MAINTAINING SAFETY

The Social Support and Monitoring of Men who Have Completed Therapy for Sexual Offending

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Abstract

This study enquired into the social support and monitoring of men who had offended sexually against children, and who had completed therapy at the Kia Marama Special Treatment Unit, Rolleston Prison, Christchurch. The current literature regarding treatment for sexual offending was identified as largely drawn from the discipline of psychology. From that perspective it tends to focus on personal characteristics and behavioural patterns of the individual who offends. Therapeutic processes are described in detail. However from the perspective of social work, it was observed that inadequate attention has been paid to the social context in which these men live, and must maintain their therapy gains. These men benefit from significant professional intervention: they participate in intensive therapy at Kia Marama, and following their release they receive valuable oversight and support from Probation Officers as they reintegrate back into the community. However support from more "natural" social systems, which may include families or whanau, friends, neighbours, work colleagues or church groups, is noted in social work literature as being vital in the longer term maintenance of behavioural change.

In this study the post-treatment life experience of a group of men, who had completed therapy at Kia Marama, was examined from a social-ecological perspective. Although this perspective accounted for both the men's immediate social situations and the wider policy and cultural contexts, the predominant focus was on the functioning of their immediate social support networks. The ideal role of social support networks is twofold: it is important that the men are able to build close, open and supportive relationships with other adults. However support

network members also have a vital function of being aware of the men's offending patterns, and situations that may present a risk of further offending, and monitoring their behaviour from the basis of this awareness.

The study found that social support was highly valued by the men as assisting them to lead safe and non-abusive lifestyles. Information sharing within support networks was identified as vital for ongoing safety. However there was considerable variation in the levels of information sharing and ongoing contact between the professionals responsible for the men's therapy and parole oversight, and their "natural" support networks. Inadequate sharing of specific offence related information, and lack of ongoing communication, were found to be associated with confusion about risk issues and compromised safety. The findings of this study suggest the need for more consistent processes of ongoing co-ordination and communication within support networks, particularly between formal and informal systems.

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Finally I must mention my parents, Jim and Margaret Matthewson. The values of care and compassion for others that I learned from them have been instrumental in my pursuit of social work as a career. While their affinity for the specific field of sex offender treatment would be limited, their consistent interest in and support for me in my work and study has been valued. My mother passed on while I have been working on this thesis, and it is to her memory that this work is dedicated.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sexual offending against children has become an area of significant public and professional interest and concern in the last two decades. Awareness of sexual abuse as a phenomenon impacting upon a significant number of children in our communities has been highlighted by research and media reports. For example a recent survey of adult women conducted in Otago found that 20% had been victims of sexual abuse involving genital contact prior to the age of 18. A further 6% had been subjected to inappropriate touching or kissing, and a further 7% to non-contact abuse (Anderson, Martin, Mullen, Romans and Herbison, 1993). Broadly similar figures have been found in a number of studies in Western societies. Findings of rates of abuse victimisation among boys are more variable, and although generally assessed as lower than those for girls, are also significant. The vast majority of sexual offenders, against both male and female victims, are men. Effects of sexual abuse upon victims include acute traumatic responses; memory and concentration problems; behavioural difficulties in children including inappropriate sexualised behaviours; depression and low self esteem; self destructive behaviour; social and relationship difficulties; sexual difficulties and vulnerability to re-victimisation (MacDonald, Lambie and Simmonds, 1995). These effects may be experienced in childhood and continue into adulthood.

Assisting men who offend sexually to change their behaviour is recognised as a valid and effective means of preventing further abuse. Therapy for male sex offenders is a growing area of social work and clinical psychological practice. In New Zealand the Kia Marama Unit at Rolleston Prison, near Christchurch, has been operating since 1989

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and a similar unit, Te Piriti, was opened at Auckland Prison in 1995. Additionally a number of community based programmes operate in different centres, such as the SAFE programme in Auckland and the STOP programme in Christchurch. A residential treatment programme for adolescent offenders is planned to open in Christchurch in the near future.

Such treatment programmes, particularly those based on cognitive-behavioural approaches, have achieved significant recognition as providing effective treatment for men who offend (Marshall and Barbaree, 1990; McLaren, 1992). In particular a recent evaluation of the Kia Marama programme found a reconviction rate of 8% among men who had completed the programme, in comparison with 21% among a control group of men who had not been treated (Bakker, Hudson, Wales and Riley, 1998).

However there remains a question of how men who have completed therapy can be most effectively supported in the ongoing implementation and maintenance of treatment gains in their lifestyle. This is particularly pertinent for men who have completed therapy in the artificial environment of a prison programme, and are subsequently faced with the challenge of implementing a changed lifestyle on reintegration back into the community.

Although sex offender therapy is generally conducted in a group context, the bulk of therapeutic content is psychologically based, in that it focuses on the individual's cognitive processes and behavioural management strategies. From a social work perspective it is also important to examine the individual man in the context of his social environment: how does he relate to and interact with others in the social system(s) he is part of, and how do those systems function in

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supporting, or possibly undermining, behavioural change. This is the focus of this study.

Men released from the Kia Marama Unit have a number of formal and official sources of support and oversight. They are subject to parole conditions[1] which provide both support and control measures, administered by a Probation Officer. The Psychological Service of the Corrections Department has a commitment of life long availability to Kia Marama and Te Piriti graduates in need of further psychological assistance in relation to offending related issues. A monthly follow up support group for Kia Marama and Te Piriti graduates operates in most larger centres, facilitated by Probation Officers and/or psychologists: attendance at this group is generally a condition of parole.

In addition, and ultimately more importantly, graduates are part of "natural" social systems in the community, which may include their families and/or whanau, employment situations, sports clubs, churches, and other social groups. As sexual offending is recognised as a life long problem which thrives in secrecy, it seems important to have mechanisms for ongoing monitoring and support in place in the men's natural social systems for when the official oversight of parole is terminated. The Kia Marama programme strongly encourages men to develop a **support network** of family members, friends, employer contacts, etc who agree to provide ongoing support for them in the community. This is described as

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[1] Prior to the Criminal Justice Amendment Act 1993 parole was for six months. Since that amendment parole has been for varying amounts of time, up to the remainder of the prison sentence term. Parole terms of 12 to 18 months are now not uncommon, although nine months to one year is probably more typical.

> *a critical bridge between the entire intervention effort and*
> *the community in which the man hopes to spend the rest*
> *of his life.* (Bakker, Hudson, Wales and Riley, 1998:10)

A number of assumptions can be proposed about ideal factors and dynamics in men's social networks for supporting relapse prevention. Successful reintegration and relapse prevention would most likely be enhanced by the graduate being involved with a rich social system with a significant number of people, and relatively stable relationships. It is essential that there is an unshakeable value conviction within the support network that sexual abuse is wrong, and that the graduate is responsible for his behaviour. An absence of any cognitive distortions, such as denial or minimalisation of offending, among key support people is also vital. Within this network of relationships, the graduate should be willing and able to relate and communicate honestly and in depth with others, particularly about key issues related to his offending, risk factors, and possible lapses[2]. In response, it is valuable if key people in his support network are able to listen empathically, be "unshockable" but not collusive, and able to challenge and hold the graduate accountable. For this to be possible, support people need a clear understanding of the relapse process, the graduate's high risk situations, danger signs etc, and have an agreed plan for dealing with crisis or risk situations. Of course the graduate needs to be open to challenges from his support people, and respond to them by appropriately changing his behaviour. It is hoped that the graduate is effectively monitored; that he is being open about his activities and behaviour, and people generally know what he does,

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[2]In relapse prevention theory a lapse is an initial occurrence of a problem behaviour, while a relapse is returning to previous behavioural patterns. The application of these concepts to sexual offending is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

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where he goes, and how he is emotionally. It is also valuable if key people in his different settings, for example his partner and Probation Officer, know each other and are able to communicate openly with each other. Such open communication should be accepted as necessary and encouraged by the graduate; secrecy must be eliminated. Support people also need adequate preparation, information, and support for their role, so that they can perform their role without feeling that their own personal safety is at risk, or that they are being "dumped on" or held responsible for the graduate's behaviour. These working assumptions informed this study.

To promote this awareness and communication, shortly after a graduate's release a support network meeting is convened, facilitated by his Probation Officer. This meeting typically includes the graduate making a personal statement about his offending and his ownership of responsibility for it, as well as outlining significant factors influencing his behaviour, potential relapse risks, changes in his lifestyle he needs to maintain to avoid reoffending, and how others can support him. Participants in the meeting have the opportunity to seek further information from the graduate and/or his Probation Officer, and also to state specifically the nature and level of support they are willing and able to provide.

However although apparently valuable, this practice seems to be based on "practice wisdom", with little empirical support from current research regarding sexual offenders. Indeed the developer of the Kia Marama programme, Dr Bill Marshall (1994, cited by Palmer-Morgan and Wales, 1996), has questioned the time invested in this support network meeting process. In contrast the importance of social support in the maintenance of behavioural change generally has been

asserted in social work literature[3]. This study therefore seeks to begin to address this identified gap in current research knowledge, in exploring the actual ongoing life experience of Kia Marama graduates and the functioning of their support networks. It is considered that practitioners and policy makers in the field need a greater understanding of this "critical bridge" between professional intervention and the graduate's community.

Literature relevant to this study is discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Chapter Two reviews the current literature concerning therapy for men who offend sexually. It is observed that this literature is largely psychologically based, focusing on the individual offender and therapeutic processes. Inadequate attention is paid to the man in his social context, or to his ongoing maintenance of a safe lifestyle after completing therapy. Chapter Three seeks to redress that imbalance. The importance of social factors in assisting the maintenance of behavioural change is noted. Appropriate attention to social-environmental issues is identified as the unique dimension that social work as a discipline contributes to the rehabilitation process. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological analysis is introduced as a useful theoretical framework for this study, in that it incorporates consideration of an individual's immediate social environment and broader social and cultural factors that may impact on him. Literature relating to the nature of social support is also examined. The policy context of the Community Probation Service of the Department of Corrections, as the primary service agency working with men after release from prison is considered, and broader social-cultural issues are also noted. In Chapter Four the methodology of this study, a

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[3]For example Barber and Crisp (1995); refer Chapter Three.

qualitative, case study approach, is explained. Chapters Five through to Eight present and discuss the findings of this study. Chapter Five examines the overall functioning of support networks, and issues from these findings are discussed in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven examines the pivotal role of the graduate's Probation Officer in some detail. In one case examined in this study, a man who had offended within his family was engaged in a process of family reintegration; this is examined in Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine outlines strengths and weaknesses of this study, and brings together recommendations for practice, policy development and further research.

My interest in the subject of this research derives from my value commitment to the safety of children and families, and my own practice experience in the field of sexual abuse in a variety of agency settings. I have worked in child care and protection in both statutory and voluntary agencies. More recently I have been employed as a Probation Officer, which has provided the opportunity to gain experience in working with men who have offended. In this context I have co-facilitated the Kia Marama Follow Up Support Group in Christchurch, and have been seconded as a therapist in the Kia Marama programme.

Finally, a word about language: as noted the vast majority of sexual offenders are men, and the Kia Marama programme currently only provides therapy for men. The use of exclusively male pronouns to refer to these men is therefore entirely appropriate and does not reflect sexist language. However the term "offender" is used only with some reluctance. I am concerned that this term defines a person's identity in terms of one particularly negative aspect of his behaviour. To avoid this the phrase "men who have offended sexually" (Jenkins, 1990) is often utilised. However this phrase is rather cumbersome, so

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the term "offender" is used in contexts of generalised discussion for the sake of concise expression. Men in therapy are generally referred to as clients, and men who have completed the Kia Marama programme, especially those who participated in this study, are referred to positively as "graduates" of the programme. This study examines only men who have offended against children; accordingly references to offenders are therefore to be understood as indicating offenders against children.

CHAPTER 2

MEN WHO OFFEND SEXUALLY AND THEIR TREATMENT

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Theories of sexual offending, and practice models for treatment of men who offend, have been largely drawn from the discipline of psychology. Although feminist theorists in particular have paid some attention to socio-cultural factors, the bulk of theoretical work on the etiology of sexual offending is psychologically based and focused on the individual offender. (Socio-cultural perspectives on sexual abuse will be considered in the following chapter.) Similarly the literature on therapy for men who offend is dominated by descriptions of psychological treatment processes, albeit often conducted in a group treatment mode. Reference is made to measures of post treatment recidivism (Marshall, Jones, Ward, Johnston, and Barbaree, 1991; McLaren, 1992). However little attention is paid to the offender in his social context, or to the ongoing lives of men who have completed treatment.

Personality Characteristics of Child Sexual Offenders

Men who offend sexually against children have often been described as being passive, inadequate and dependant. They seem to suffer from low self esteem and depression: they are often socially isolated and present with poor social skills, difficulties in maintaining adult relationships, and intimacy deficits (Banman, 1994; Williams and Finkelhor, 1990; Dwyer and Amberson, 1989; Araji and Finkelhor, 1986; Hudson and Ward, 1997; O'Hagan 1989; Prendergast, 1991). Paradoxically Williams and Finkelhor note that incestuous fathers are also often described as dominant and tyrannical. Emotional loneliness

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is considered to lead to hostile attitudes towards women and children, and acceptance of interpersonally aggressive behaviour and violence (Hudson and Ward, 1997; Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert, 1995; citing Check Perlman and Malamuth 1985, Diamant and Winholz 1981). It is also suggested that sexual offenders are characterised by empathy deficits, and therefore are unable to appreciate the pain or terror of their victims (Marshall, Hudson, Jones and Fernandez, 1995; Williams and Finkelhor 1990; Hildebran and Pithers, 1989).

In a classic study of 175 men convicted of sexual assaults against children, Groth and Birnbaum (1978, cited by Bagley and Thurston, 1996) proposed a taxonomy of two, apparently quite separate, types of sexual offenders. Fixated offenders are described as having a primary sexual attraction to under-age persons. Typically these men are paedophiles with a long history of sexual offending against children, often since adolescence, and they have abused numerous victims. Many offenders classified as fixated were victims of sexual abuse in their own childhoods. On the other hand regressed offenders (typically intra-familial incest offenders) are seen as having reverted to more "primitive" forms of behaviour after having previously achieved mature, adult sexual relationships. More recent researchers have challenged this dichotomy, proposing more of a continuum. In particular the profile of the regressed offender has received less empirical support (Simon, Sales, Kaszniak and Kahn, 1992). Knight (1992) proposes four typologies: high fixation, low social competence; high fixation, high social competence; low fixation, low social competence; and low fixation, high social competence. Further distinctions are made according to the amount of contact the offender has with children, the meaning of that contact (primarily sexual or interpersonal), and the degree of physical injury to the victims.

The important point is that men who offend sexually against children are not a homogeneous group, and accordingly their treatment needs may well be different. It also must be noted that these observations have all been based on men who have been legally convicted for sexual offences, and may not therefore be applicable to other abuse perpetrators. In particular the most socially competent offenders are likely to be those most able to avoid detection (Bagley and Thurston, 1996). Bagley and Thurston also observe that these supposedly timid and fearful individuals enter high risk situations, risk arrest, incarceration and the ongoing hostility of the community, to gain sexual access to children. Nevertheless at this stage in the development of this field of practice, intervention models need to be based around the characteristics and needs of offenders we do know about.

Theories of the Etiology of Sexual Offending

A number of theories attempt to explain sexual offending against children. Organic or physiological theories attribute deviant sexual arousal at least partially to biological factors such as hormone levels or chromosomal make-up. Some studies have linked child molesting behaviour with endocrine abnormalities, genetic abnormalities, and structural brain damage (Barnard et al, 1989; Langevin, 1990; Finkelhor, 1984; Kelly and Lusk, 1992). However Kelly and Lusk assert that ultimately the most important biological feature of the paedophile is being male: over 90% of offenders against male and female children are men.

Furthermore acknowledgement of the possibility of biological factors influencing deviant sexual arousal does not render abusive behaviour inevitable or acceptable:

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> *. . . biological factors present the growing male with the task of learning to appropriately separate sex and aggression and to inhibit aggression in a sexual context. Human males must learn not to use force or threats in pursuit of their sexual interests; they must learn not to engage in sexual behaviours which are frightening or humiliating to their partner; and they must learn to constantly change the age of their preferred sexual partner as they grow older* (Marshall and Barbaree 1990:260).

In psychodynamic theories sexually deviant behaviour is seen as caused by early emotional, physical or sexual trauma, the impact of which is so severe that it results in emotional immaturity or an arrest in development (Barnard, Fuller, Robbins and Shaw, 1989). It is frequently claimed in popular discourse that men who sexually abuse children do so because they themselves were sexually abused as children (Briggs, 1995; Sheldrick, 1991; Williams and Finkelhor 1990). A number of studies (reviewed by Araji and Finkelhor, 1986; Banman, 1994) do find significantly higher proportions of histories of child sexual abuse among abusers compared with various control groups. However all the studies reviewed report rates of sexual abuse histories among abusers of below 50%. Interestingly Williams and Finkelhor (1990), in reviewing studies of abuse histories among incestuous fathers, found higher rates of physical abuse than sexual abuse. Further it is clear that the vast majority of sexual abuse victims do not go on to sexually abuse children as adults (Finkelhor, 1986; Lew, 1988). Indeed the experience of sexual abuse could be a powerful motivation to avoid inflicting such suffering on others.

Moreover the connection between abuse victimisation and offending behaviour is far from clear. Psychodynamic explanations of sexual offending behaviour include attempts to master early sexual trauma through re-enactment of the cruel experiences (Barnard et al,

1989), traumatic bonding with the abuser and reliving the abuse in an empowered manner (Kelly and Lusk ,1992). Alternatively early sexual experiences may condition an arousal to children (Araji and Finkelhor, 1986). The development of sexually abusive behaviour in sexual abuse victims could equally be explained by social learning theory (Kelly and Lusk, 1992; Marshall, 1990). However social environmental factors at the time of childhood abuse victimisation may be significant. Banman (1994) cites a study by Gilgun (1990) which compared men with a history of childhood sexual abuse, who had committed violent offences as adults, and men with a similar history who did not. The factor which differentiated the two groups was the experience of "childhood rescue": those who did not go on to offend had benefited from the availability of supportive confidants with whom they could share their experiences. According to Banman

> *the role of the social network is critical in the cycle of abuse in the lives of sex offenders. Starting in childhood, these men lack supportive confidants with whom they can share intimately regarding their life. This pattern of no emotional support to buffer them from the psychological pain and stress of abuse and life stress continues through adolescence and into adulthood. As adolescents, most of these individuals will develop sexual behaviours as a way of reducing stress and/or seeking intimacy. This pattern continues and increases in its deviant and abusive nature in late adolescence and adulthood. As adults, sex offenders go through life transitions in which they continue to cope without adequate supports within their environment (1994:46).*

Other psychodynamic explanations propose that paedophilia results from unresolved intrapsychic conflicts which cause fixation at, or regression to, the phallic stage of psychosexual development. These include the offender's failure to develop a clear sense of self, and self-object representations (Juda, 1986, cited by Kelly and Lusk,

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1992), or the offender, particularly the "fixated" offender, having arrested psychological development, experiencing himself as a child, with a childish emotional need to relate to other children (Finkelhor, 1984, citing Hammer and Glueck, 1957 and Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982). Kelly and Lusk note limitations of psychodynamic theories: that they typically refer to "fixated" rather than "regressed" offenders; small samples or "armchair reasoning" are used to derive theoretical conclusions; and they tend to depend on the validity of psychoanalytic concepts such as fixation and stages of psychosexual development, the evidence for which is weak.

Attachment theory, drawing from the work of Bowlby, has been employed to explain intimacy deficits in sexual offenders (Hudson and Ward, 1997; Ward, Hudson, Marshall and Siegert, 1995; Marshall 1989 and 1993). Secure attachment is seen as developing from infancy as a result of appropriately sensitive and affectionate parenting. This results in a positive view of both self and others, a necessary precondition for satisfactory adult relationships. Hudson and Ward (1997) describe a number of different types of insecure attachment styles that have been found in violent and sexual offenders.

Learning theories explain sexual offending by processes of classical or operant conditioning. In classical conditioning the powerful reinforcers of sexual arousal and orgasm become paired with the sight, sound or presence of children. This conditioning may originate in childhood or adolescence. In operant conditioning positive reinforcers strengthen a response when presented. A child molester who has not had many affirmative experiences in life may experience a positive feeling state through sexual contact with a child. This reinforces molesting behaviour and increases the possibility of it recurring in the

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future. Both classical and operant conditioning may be further reinforced by masturbatory fantasies regarding children (Kelly and Lusk, 1992; Laws and Marshall, 1990).

Social learning theory adds the dimension of behaviour as learned not only through conditioning processes, but also through observing the modelling of others, observing both others' behaviour and the consequences of that behaviour. The role of cognitive processes in mediating that information is also recognised in social learning theory (Laws and Marshall, 1990; Payne, 1997; Hudson and Macdonald, 1986). Related to sexual abuse, abusive behaviour may be learned from others in the family environment, from peers, or from one's own abuser(s) through participant modelling (Laws and Marshall, 1990).

Sexual deviance has also been viewed from the perspective of addictive behaviour. Carnes (1983, 1989) defines sexual addiction as a pathological relationship with a mood altering experience (1989:4). He describes "sexual addicts" as having lost control over their ability to choose, and to say "no". The applicability of the concept of addiction to sexual offending has been debated (George and Marlatt, 1989; Pithers, Kashima, Cumming and Beal, 1988; Gold and Heffner, 1998). Similarities between sexual offending and other addictive behaviours, include the immediate acquisition of short term gratification at the expense of longer term consequences, high personal and social costs, and difficulties in long term maintenance of behavioural change. However it is asserted that the concept of sexual addiction has no scientific merit, unlike alcohol and drug addictions where physiological dependence can be demonstrated (George and Marlatt, 1989).

From the perspective of family systems theory, incest has been described as

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> *. . . . the **product** of a problematic family rather than as the cause, and [this perspective] sees all family members as sharing in the cause and maintenance of the incest. To this end all family members are both perpetrators and victims of the abuse* (Trepper and Barrett 1989:18).

An incestuous family system is seen as comprising a pathological triangle of the adult abuser, the child victim, and the non-participating, colluding other adult, usually the mother (Vander Mey, 1992, citing Rist, 1979). Furniss (1991) describes different patterns of interactions and abuse in "organised" and "disorganised" families, and suggests that child sexual abuse performs family functions of conflict avoidance in organised families, and conflict regulation in disorganised families. Trepper and Barrett extend this to a Multiple Systems Model, which considers vulnerability to incest in terms of a combination of individual personality/psychopathology factors, family systems factors, family-of-origin factors, and socio-environmental factors. Family systems approaches are criticised as blaming victims or other non-offending family members, especially mothers, for the abuse (Salter, 1988). Indeed in descriptions of "incestuous families" more attention may be paid to the mother than the offending father! (for example CIBA Foundation, 1984, cited by Glaser and Frosh, 1993). However it may be possible to draw a distinction between explanation of the relationships which surround the abuse, and responsibility for the abuse which must rest with the abuser (Glaser and Frosh, 1993).

Finkelhor (1984) asserts the need for a multi-factor theory to explain child sexual abuse. In a model which has been influential in informing treatment approaches in recent years, he suggests that motivation to sexually abuse a child is influenced by four factors:

- emotional congruence - the offender finds relating to a child emotionally satisfying;

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- sexual arousal to children;

- blockage - the offender is blocked in his ability to get his sexual and emotional needs met in adult relationships;

- disinhibition - conventional social inhibitions against having sex with children are overcome or are not present.

Finkelhor also proposes a model of four preconditions which must be met for sexual abuse to occur:

- the offender must be motivated to sexually abuse, as influenced by the above four factors;

- the offender must overcome internal inhibitions against acting on those motives;

- the offender must overcome external inhibitors in the social environment which would normally operate to sanction such behaviour and protect children;

- the offender must overcome the victim's resistance.

A significant strength of this model is that it accommodates both psychological and sociological factors in explaining sexual abuse. Accordingly a number of theoretical explanations of sexual abuse may be incorporated within it; for example sexual arousal to children is an essential element of the model, which could be explained by either psychodynamic or learning theories. From the perspective of this model a comprehensive approach to preventing sexual abuse needs to both address offenders' internal motivations, and to strengthen external inhibitors.

Finally Jenkins (1990) questions the value of theorising about explanations for abusive behaviour. He is particularly concerned that, especially in the therapy situation, a protracted search for the explanation for a man's abusive behaviour is likely to distract him from the essential task of taking responsibility for his behaviour and

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changing it. Rather than asking "why did this man offend?", Jenkins finds it more therapeutically useful to ask "what is stopping him from behaving in a respectful manner towards others?". Accordingly he proposes a theory of restraint, however the factors he suggests as restraints are similar to what other theories present as explanations.

Treatment of Sexual Offenders

According to Barnard et al (1989) prior to the 1960s individual psychotherapy or psychoanalysis was the sole psychological treatment for men who offend sexually. The focus of therapy was on gaining insight into the causative intrapsychic conflicts, re-experiencing previously repressed trauma, and supplanting early life experience with growth from a corrective emotional experience. More current experiences and crises may also be addressed in an insight oriented psychotherapeutic approach (Schorsch, Galedaary, Haag, Hauch and Lohse, 1990). Research into the effectiveness of such therapy, in sexual offending as well as in other problems, has yielded little in the way of conclusive findings, and it has been suspected that any gains were far outweighed by the vast investment of time required (Barnard et al 1989). Indeed Beckett (1994) categorically asserts that there is no evidence to support the use of these methods with sexual offenders. This form of therapy has also been criticised, from a feminist perspective, as not actually directly addressing sexual offending behaviour (Herman, 1990).

Carnes (1983, 1989), in addressing what he defines as sexual addiction, adopts a Twelve Step approach adapted from Alcoholics Anonymous. However the model has not found wide acceptance in the field of treating sexual offenders against children. It is criticised as allowing offenders to view their behaviour as a disease over which

they have no control, rather than as behaviour they must take responsibility for (George and Marlatt, 1989). Nevertheless the Twelve Step model includes the process of making "a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves" (Carnes, 1989:155). Other difficulties in utilising the addictions concept in treating sexual offenders are that, unlike substance abuse, every incident of sexually abusive behaviour involves victimisation of another person, and that the concept does not acknowledge the powerful role of fantasy in maintaining sexual offending (George and Marlatt, 1989).

Family systems approaches view incest as lying in the enmeshed pathological inter-relationships of all family members, and family therapy may focus on addressing these inter-relationships. Reference is made to "incestuous families" (Trepper and Barrett 1989) rather than abusers and victims. These approaches have been criticised as apportioning blame at least partially to the victim and other non-offending family members, rather than attributing responsibility to the man who has offended (Salter 1988; Jenkins, 1990). However Trepper and Barrett assert a distinction between the causes of incest, which they consider to be multiple, and the responsibility for it, which they see as lying with the abusive parent. Interventions are directed at assisting the family to make that attribution of responsibility. Glaser and Frosh (1993) observe that family therapy has some value in focusing some attention on the network of relationships that allowed the incest to continue, and which may well be the environment in which the victim, and possibly the abuser, will continue to live. Indeed incest offenders who have completed therapy returning to live with families in which there are actual or potential victims is highly problematic. This scenario will be explored further in Chapter Three, and was the situation for one case

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examined in this study. It is noted that substantial work with the family is essential in these situations. Family therapy is also considered essential with adolescent offenders who are still regarded as to some degree under the control of their parents (Lambie and McCarthy, 1995; Steen and Monnette, 1989). As well as assisting the family to attribute responsibility for the abuse to the abuser, family therapy may usefully address issues of secrecy and communication, sexuality, safety planning and "rules", siblings' issues and attitudes, inter-generational boundaries and family organisation, and other family problems that have emerged (Glaser and Frosh, 1993). Specific marital or partner therapy may also be needed, particularly as offenders' failure to maintain intimate and satisfying relationships is often identified as a precursor to sexual offending (Lawton, 1998).

Medical treatment, aimed at reducing offenders' sexual drive, particularly through the use of anti-androgens, has met with some success and is considered beneficial for some offenders. It must be noted, however that while such treatment may reduce a man's overall level of sexual arousal, it does not change the direction of that arousal. Accordingly it is considered that such treatment should form part of an overall treatment package along with cognitive and behavioural interventions (Bradford, 1990; Marshall, Jones, Ward, Johnston and Barbaree, 1991).

Behavioural therapies attempt to change offenders' conditioned patterns of sexual arousal to children. Specific techniques include masturbatory reconditioning and aversive therapy (Maletzky, 1991; Laws and Marshall, 1991; Johnston, 1995).

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Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy

However the form of therapy that has been most widely recognised as effectively changing sex offenders' behaviour is cognitive-behavioural (Beckett, 1994; McLaren, 1992; Marshall, Jones, Ward, Johnston, and Barbaree, 1991; Marshall and Barbaree, 1990). Cognitive theories focus on thinking processes, arguing that behaviour is significantly influenced by perceptions and interpretations of the environment (Payne, 1997; Coulshed, 1991). In relation to sexual offending a key concept is that of cognitive distortions, which are systems of misperceptions or erroneous beliefs that men who offend use to justify their behaviour. Examples include thinking that the abuse is not doing any harm, or that the child is enjoying the abuse. Challenging these misperceptions is an essential element of cognitive-behavioural therapy (Murphy, 1990; Jenkins-Hall, 1989).

Cognitive-behavioural interventions typically address the motivational factors identified by Finkelhor. A detailed analysis is conducted of the thoughts, feelings and behaviours leading up to a sexual assault. Particular attention is paid to sexual arousal and fantasy, cognitive distortions which the offender utilised, and the means by which the offender gained access to the victim, overcoming other social controls. Factors such as low mood states and social isolation are also identified (Beckett, 1994). As sex offenders have been considered to maintain offending through a lack empathy for their victims (Marshall, Hudson, Jones and Fernandez, 1995; Williams and Finkelhor, 1990) efforts are made to enhance empathy through education about victim effects and action, role-play methods (Salter, 1988; Hildebran and Pithers, 1989). Social skills training, and relationships and sexuality education, are also considered relevant.

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Behavioural techniques to modify deviant sexual arousal patterns, as described above, are also utilised.

A significant component in more recent programme development has been the incorporation of relapse prevention theory (Hall, 1996; George and Marlatt, 1989; Laws, 1989; Pithers, 1990; Pithers, Kashima, Cumming and Beal, 1988; Marshall, Hudson, and Ward, 1992). Relapse prevention has been imported into sex offender treatment from the field of addictions treatment. The theory of relapse prevention assumes that relapse into problematic behaviour after apparently successful therapy, rather than being a sudden, unpredictable event, is a process that follows a predictable pattern. A number of distinct stages in this process have been identified, although different authors use somewhat differently constructed models and terminology to describe these stages (Ward and Hudson, 1996). The process typically commences with the individual experiencing some kind of stress, lifestyle imbalance, or negative emotional state. He/she may make some kind of choice which appears inconsequential but in fact sets the scene for a relapse to occur. This is referred to in the literature as an Apparently Irrelevant Decision, although Kia Marama has adopted the term Seemingly Innocent Choice, abbreviated to SIC. An example for a child sexual offender might be choosing to befriend a sole parent with children, or living in a street near a school. At this stage the individual is not, at least consciously, aware of the possibility of a return of the problem behaviour. Then, in the negative emotional state, and possibly as a result of an apparently irrelevant decision, the person enters a High Risk Situation. For sexual offenders this is defined as a situation in which a potential victim is present and there are no protective factors, such as other adults close by. Once in a high risk situation the

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individual is likely to experience some urge for gratification of the desires associated with the problem behaviour. This is referred to as the Problem of Immediate Gratification, or the PIG. Some kind of lapse may follow, which is an initial occurrence of the problem behaviour. This could be having one drink for an alcoholic, or one cigarette for an ex-smoker. For a man who has offended sexually, a lapse may be indulging in a sexual fantasy about a child, or engaging in "grooming"[4] behaviour without proceeding to offend (George and Marlatt, 1989). Once this occurs the individual is likely to experience the Abstinence Violation Effect, which is created by cognitive dissonance between the individual's perception of him/herself as having changed and abstaining from the undesirable behaviour, and the recent experience of a prohibited thought or desire. The individual may experience a sense of confusion, guilt and hopelessness, and is vulnerable to concluding that therapy has been unsuccessful and he/she has not changed after all. At Kia Marama this is colloquially referred to as the "Whathell (what the hell) effect". In addictions treatment relapse is generally defined as return to previous levels of the addictive behaviour. However in relation to sexual offending the concept of relapse has been changed to refer to any offence, in recognition of the fact that a single offence involves the victimisation of a child (George and Marlatt, 1989).

The cognitive-behavioural approach to relapse prevention consists of teaching men who have offended to anticipate these stages of potential relapse, and training them in appropriate skills to cope with these events and avoid relapse. This is referred to as the "Internal Self

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[4]Grooming refers to the behavioural process of developing a relationship with a child to the point where sexual advances are more likely to be accepted. Typical methods include giving presents or sweets, playing games that gradually acquire a more sexual nature, exposing the child to pornography, and especially with adolescent victims, supplying alcohol or drugs.

Management" dimension of relapse prevention (Pithers, 1990). Some programmes, including Kia Marama, add an "External Supervisory Dimension" (Pithers, 1990; Cumming and Buell, 1997). This, along with the socio-ecological approach to relapse prevention (Barber and Crisp, 1995), will be further explored in the following chapter.

The application of relapse prevention concepts to sex offender treatment has recently been subject to critical review (Ward and Hudson, 1996; Hanson, 1996). Empirical research currently shows only marginal benefit from the incorporation of specific relapse prevention components into therapy programmes, although the need for further research is acknowledged (Marshall and Anderson, 1996). Further, problems have been identified in relation to the application of the theoretical concepts of relapse prevention to sexual offenders, particularly the definitions of lapse and relapse (Ward and Hudson, 1996; Hanson, 1996; Laws, 1996). Hudson and Ward (1996) suggest that many of these theoretical problems can be minimised simply by equating relapse with offending behaviour. This approach has been adopted in the Kia Marama programme, and will be assumed in the ecological analysis in the following chapter.

Group work has become generally accepted as the preferred treatment modality for working with men who offend sexually (Beckett, 1994; Salter 1988; Garrison, 1991; Prendergast, 1991). Group work is seen as having a number of advantages. A group setting is likely to provide an identification and mutual empathy between group members, a sense of not being alone, and working together on similar problems. The group may also provide men who have had abusive backgrounds with the opportunity for a "corrective emotional experience" (Yalom, 1985); an experience of acceptance and affirmation in contrast with previous negative social experiences. Groups also provide an ideal

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environment for observation and feedback on unhelpful interpersonal and relationship behaviours (Yalom, 1985), and learning and experimentation with social skills. Particularly with sexual offenders other group members with similar offending patterns may be more effective than individual therapists in recognising and challenging denial, minimisation and other cognitive distortions (Beckett, 1994; Marshall and Barbaree, 1990b)

A confrontational approach has often been thought necessary to counter denial and cognitive distortions in men who offend sexually (Prendergast,1991). However there is a risk that in seeking to avoid collusion with offenders workers may fall into oppressive or abusive practice (Gocke, 1995). Confrontational approaches may indeed incite further defensive reactions and denial in clients, and motivational interviewing approaches may be more respectful and effective (Kear-Colwell and Pollock, 1997)

The Kia Marama Therapy programme operates from a cognitive-behavioural orientation. Group work is the primary mode of therapy. The programme includes the following elements. First clients are assisted to develop an understanding of their own "offence chain" - an outline of the specific factors which contributed to their own offending. Background problems such as self-esteem and relationship difficulties are noted, and the specific behaviours which led to and maintained the offending are identified with reference to the Finkelhor model. Cognitive distortions, rationalisations which men who offend use to support and/or justify their behaviour are addressed in the process of developing the chain. Behavioural methods of sexual arousal reconditioning are taught and practised. A substantial proportion of the programme is devoted to promoting clients' understanding of the effects of sexual abuse and developing victim

empathy. There is training in relationships skills and sexuality education, enhancing men's skills to meet their emotional and sexual needs through appropriate adult relationships. Significant attention is also paid to mood management, in recognition that negative mood states are often precursors to deviant sexual arousal and offending. Again the relationship between cognitive processes and emotion is emphasised, and clients are taught cognitive strategies for managing mood states. Relapse prevention concepts are incorporated into the cognitive-behavioural chain model used.

Overall the literature of treatment of sexual offenders concentrates on the implementation of psychological treatment processes in the therapy context. The client may be taught relapse prevention principles and methods, but little attention is paid to maintenance issues, other than to vaguely assert the importance of some form of follow up or aftercare (Prendergast, 1991). It often seems to be assumed that decreases in deviant sexual arousal and cognitive distortions, and gains in social skills, that have been achieved in the therapy situation, will be maintained and generalised into other situations (Hall, 1996). This seems to be a highly questionable assumption, particularly for institutionally based treatment programmes where the client in therapy is isolated from other social situations. Beckett observes that

> *Despite the recognition that sex offending is a life long problem there is little research or experience to guide practitioners and their agencies in deciding what is sufficient input to maintain treatment progress.* (1994:100)

Beckett notes that improved social competence as a result of therapy may actually take a considerable time to become established in a client's natural setting, which emphasises the importance of long term

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monitoring and support. He advocates long term follow up/maintenance programmes post treatment. On the other hand Marshall and Anderson (1996) question whether there is currently sufficient empirical evidence for the value of such long term intervention, to justify the cost involved.

Further, in much of this literature, the client in therapy is considered in splendid isolation from his life situation. Little attention is paid to the offender in his social context, or to how his inter-action with people in, or aspects of his social environment may assist him to maintain, or alternatively undermine, treatment gains. As sexual offending is recognised as a life long problem which thrives in secrecy, it seems important to have mechanisms for ongoing monitoring and support in place in the men's natural social systems that will continue beyond the term of statutory oversight .

So while there are some references in the literature to the value of some form of "monitoring network", there is little elaboration of how this should function, and even less indication of empirical research into how such networks actually do function on an ongoing basis, and what effect they have on offenders' progress. From a social work perspective this is a significant deficit in the current literature which this study seeks to address. It is to the social context of sexual offending, and treatment for men who offend, that we now turn.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SEX OFFENDER REHABILITATION

It was observed in the previous chapter that theory and practice in the field of treatment for sexual offending is largely drawn from the discipline of psychology. As such it is focused on the individual who offends. This is especially true of the treatment literature, which focuses almost exclusively on the process of treatment with the individual client. Little attention is paid to his social context either during or following treatment.

In this context it is essential to question what specific contribution social work as a discipline and profession can make to sex offender treatment. To answer that, it is necessary to look at the role and place of social work within the helping professions. The focus of social work has traditionally been to work with the person in the context of their social relationships and the social environment, and on what could be defined as social and/or wider systemic, rather than intra-psychic problems (Whittaker and Tracy, 1989; O'Connor, Wilson and Thomas 1991; Germain 1979). Whittaker and Tracy especially consider that social work lost a major part of its uniqueness and effectiveness when it detoured from this focus, into psychodynamic approaches to intra-psychic personal problems, between the 1930s and the 1960s. They comment on the need

> *to correct much of the presumed narrowness of contemporary micro-level practice by viewing the client within an environmental context that needs to be understood and intervened with if effective practice is to occur.* (1989:12)

The importance of adequate attention to the social environmental dimension is demonstrated by a number of studies

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which have shown that the presence of social support is associated with the maintenance of treatment gains in various fields of practice (Whittaker and Tracy, 1989). Indeed behaviour change and/or skills training strategies may be ineffective, or even counter productive if the client's broader environment is not taken into account (Wahler 1980; Whittaker 1983).

In particular, as was noted in the previous chapter, the theory of relapse prevention has been adapted to sex offender treatment from the addictions field (Ward and Hudson 1996; George and Marlatt, 1989; Pithers, 1989; Laws 1989; Marshall Hudson and Ward 1992). In relation to addictions, Barber and Crisp distinguish the cognitive-behavioural tradition of relapse prevention, which emphasises client self-efficacy, and coping skills in preventing relapse, from the "social-ecological approach to relapse prevention," which "emphasises the crucial role played by post-treatment social factors" (1995:283). It is the cognitive-behavioural approach which has been applied to sex offender treatment (Nelson, Miner, Marques, Russell and Achterkirchen, 1989; Laws, 1989; Pithers, 1990). However in a follow up study of clients who had received in-patient treatment for alcohol abuse, Barber and Crisp found that the most powerful predictor of maintained abstinence or relapse was the social support available from the most supportive individual in the client's natural support network. Interestingly, they found no significant association between self-efficacy and abstinence from alcohol. Barber and Crisp provocatively conclude that:

> At present, the emphasis in relapse prevention is on producing change within the user to prepare him or her to meet high risk situations outside of treatment . . . However, if relapse is first and foremost a social problem, it may be that changes in coping behaviour and situational confidence are only of secondary importance.

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Social problems must be met with social solutions.
Perhaps the notoriously high rate of relapse within the
field of addictions is attributable to a misinterpretation of
relapse as largely a psychological problem.(1995:294)

Similarly, in relation to rehabilitation of prison inmates generally,
Taylor (1998) cites a number of studies which confirm a link between
offenders' family ties and post release success. Chaiklin states the
case strongly:

Unless one considers the network of important social
relationships the offender is involved in, it is probable that
every rehabilitation program is compromised in some
way. People do not change in limbo. If they alter their
behaviour, those most closely connected with them must
be prepared to accept the change. No correctional
program can succeed if it does not include those who the
offender will live with after prison (1972:786).

Specifically in regard to sexual offending, research currently in
progress at a community based treatment programme suggests that
the predominant common factor among men who have reoffended after
completing the programme has been a lack of support people who
have participated in the programme's progress review process (Vivian,
Mark, personal communication, 1998). These considerations strongly
suggest that further attention needs to be paid to the social context of
sex offender treatment, and to social interventions that may help
prevent relapses. Indeed minimal research seems to have been
conducted into long term recidivism of offenders treated using relapse
prevention after the termination of Probation or parole (Pithers and
Gray, 1996), possibly because of the comparatively recent application
of these concepts in the field. Pithers and Gray conclude that at this
stage it is not possible to determine whether the effectiveness that has
been associated with relapse prevention is attributable to enhanced
self efficacy, or supervision by criminal justice and/or social service

agencies, or a combination of both. This is not to suggest that one should choose between cognitive-behavioural and socio-ecological approaches to relapse prevention. Both are important. Indeed the principle of the offender's responsibility for his behaviour demands that he learns and applies the cognitive-behavioural approach, especially as sexually abusive behaviour can occur quite covertly and quickly, and omnipresent monitoring is impossible. Further, external monitoring could produce a simply external motivation that may subside with the termination of official oversight (Hall, 1996).

Nevertheless the socio-ecological dimension seems likely to be vital support to clients' application of the cognitive-behavioural approach. It seems likely that relapse is not the result of skill attrition, and that social factors are highly significant in influencing clients' motivation for ongoing implementation of the skills they have learned (Hudson, Stephen, personal communication, 1998). Yet the social dimension has been inadequately addressed in the sex offender treatment literature to date. The traditions and history of social work as a discipline equip it to meet this deficit.

Further, in view of Hudson and Ward's (1996) suggestion of equating offence behaviour and relapse, rather than drawing a distinction between them, the ecological analysis that follows can be equally applied to the offending process, the therapy situation, and post-treatment maintenance, although this research study largely focuses on the post release situation.

The Ecological Framework

What has been described as the most useful framework for analysing the environmental influences on the individual (Garbarino and Eckenrode, 1997) has been proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979).

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Bronfenbrenner describes human development as occurring in an ecological context, which he conceptualises as a series of concentric systems, pictured as similar to a set of Russian nesting dolls. This framework can be represented diagrammatically thus:
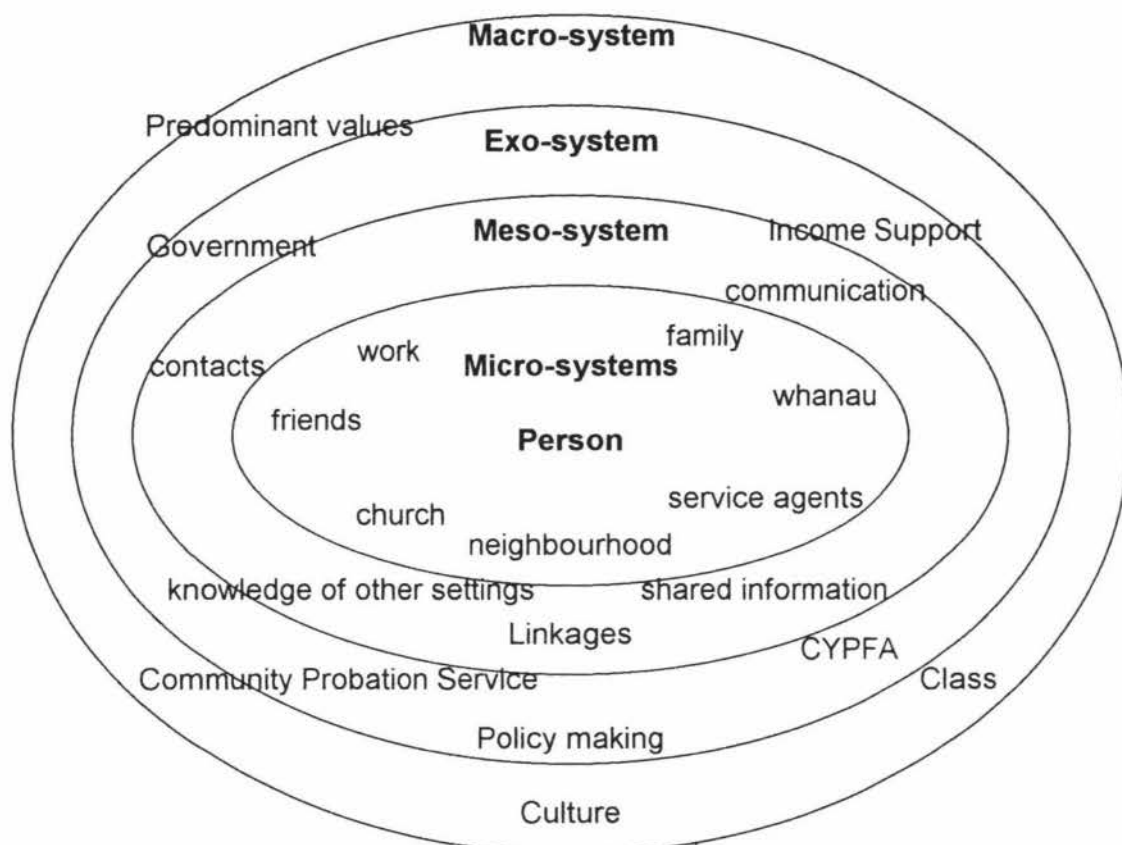
The first level in this ecological system is termed micro-systems, which are situations or settings in which the individual is present and directly interacts with significant other people in the setting. Examples could include family or other domestic situations, wider family or whanau, workplace, school, church and other community settings. An individual may be a part of a number of different micro-systems, indeed Bronfenbrenner notes positive developmental effects of participation in a variety of settings.

The second level is the meso-system, which consists of the relationships and linkages between the different micro-systems, for example for a child contact between his/her parents and school. Linkages between micro-systems consist of participation by people in more than one micro-system, communication of all forms between micro-systems, and inter-setting knowledge: information that people in one setting have about another setting. The importance of multiple linkages and direct, personal communication is stressed. Bronfenbrenner emphasises the importance of meso-system linkages which

> *encourage the growth of mutual trust, a positive orientation, goal consensus, and an evolving balance of power* [or responsibility] *in favour of the developing person.* (1979:212)

Immediate social support for an individual predominantly occurs at the micro and meso-system levels.

The third level, the exo-system, consists of situations in which the individual is not present and has no involvement, but in which events occur or decisions are made which have implications for the individual and the immediate systems he/she is part of. Examples include decisions of local or central government, or health and social service agencies. Finally the macro-system is the overall cultural context in which the other systems are located. It contains taken for granted assumptions about life which influence the functioning of all lower levels.

Because this study explores post-treatment social support and monitoring of men who have offended sexually, it largely concentrates on the micro-system and meso-system levels, although exo-system and macro-system factors will be acknowledged.

Micro-Systems of Men In and After Treatment

During and following therapy, clients are present, and participate in a number of micro-system settings. First is the setting in which therapy is delivered. At Kia Marama, this is a therapeutic unit within a prison. Indeed within this situation, a number of separate micro-systems can be identified. First there is the therapy group in the therapy unit. While in therapy inmates are living in the prison compound environment, where relationships with other inmates, and with prison officers, are a significant part of their lives. They may engage in prison employment situations. They participate in prison case management, and may also avail themselves of other rehabilitative functions such as alcohol counselling or education. They often make a connection with prison chaplains and visiting church groups. They also receive visits from family and friends.

The merits of sex offender treatment within prison have been debated. Criticisms include the problem of offenders motivated only by giving a favourable impression to parole boards, and engaging in treatment only on a superficial level. Often the prison social milieu provides little opportunity to practice skills taught in therapy, particularly heterosocial skills. The hostile aggressive environment of prison does little to reinforce appropriate social behaviours. There is also a concern that behaviour changes in the prison setting may not be generalised to the real world, and so may not become a solid part of the client's behaviour (Wodarski and Whittaker 1989). Further Abel and Rouleau (1990) observe that sex offender treatment programmes in prison reach only a minority of men who abuse.

However community based programmes are not immune from some of these difficulties, particularly with court ordered clients. As presumably the most dangerous high-risk offenders are imprisoned,

providing therapy for these men may be very effective in reducing further victimisations. At Kia Marama the more negative impact of the prison environment is mitigated by the fact that the therapy unit is attached to a specialised custodial unit which houses only child sex offenders who are participating in the therapy programme.

Towards completion of the therapy programme, men in Kia Marama are encouraged to identify individuals who will form a support network to help support them and monitor their behaviour after release. It is envisaged that within the first month after an offender's release, the Probation Officer will convene a support network meeting. At this meeting the graduate will read his personal statement, which includes key elements of his "chain"[5], high risk situations and warning signs. Opportunity for questions and discussion is provided, and support network members are invited to assist the graduate to maintain safety. Recently a survey of post release support network meetings was conducted by the Kia Marama Unit (Palmer-Morgan and Wales, 1996). This survey found that for the vast majority of men released in the course of the survey a support network meeting was held and relapse prevention issues were addressed to the satisfaction of the Probation Officer. However investigation into the ongoing functioning of support networks, and association of that with recidivism, was beyond the scope of that survey. The lack of relevant existing research was noted. Marshall and Anderson suggest that "these groups rarely appear to carry out their assigned function" (1996:216), although they fail to cite any research to support this assertion.

Indeed the concept and process of such networks has received comparatively little attention in the sex offender literature. Some

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[5]A Kia Marama graduate's offence chain is his outline of his behavioural process that led to his offending. This concept is explained in Chapter Two.

reference is made to the "external supervisory dimension" of relapse prevention, with the suggestion of establishing "surveillance networks" (Pithers,1990; Cumming and Buell, 1997; Hudson, Marshall, Ward, Johnston and Jones, 1995; Abel and Rouleau 1990; Laws 1998; Marshall, Hudson and Ward, 1992). The emphasis is on network members monitoring offenders' behaviour and reporting to the Probation Officer or therapist, possibly to the extent of filling in a form on a monthly basis (Abel and Rouleau, 1990). Little acknowledgement is made of any positive supportive role, or role beyond termination of therapy or parole. Further, this suggestion is generally addressed in these sources in a couple of paragraphs, or a page or two at most, with no acknowledgement of the complexities of the role, or possible stresses for network members. No research is cited in this literature on how such networks actually function for clients on an ongoing basis. Pure surveillance with little attention given to positive support for the men is unlikely to be met with acceptance by either clients or their network members. In view of the link noted earlier between social support and maintenance of behavioural change, there is a need to explore the concept of support, and the functioning of the social networks of sexual offenders, more fully. This gap in the current research was also identified by Banman (1994), who conducted a quantitative examination of the structure and characteristics of the social networks of men who had offended sexually. Her findings will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Nature and Value of Social Support

Over the last twenty years a substantial body of literature has developed addressing the subject of social support. Provisions in general of social relationships have been defined by Weiss (1974) as

including a sense of attachment and social integration, the opportunity for nurture and reassurance of personal worth, and the obtaining of guidance. These provisions are important for us all, particularly for sex offenders with dysfunctional attachment styles, and poor social and intimate relationships.

Social support as a concept sounds readily understandable, but in fact it is difficult to define precisely. There is some confusion in the literature over precisely what the term refers to (Veiel and Baumann, 1992; Thompson, 1995). Nevertheless useful working definitions have been proposed. Gottleib (1983:22) cites Cobb's definition of social support as:

> *information leading the subject to believe that he is cared for and loved, that he is esteemed and valued, that he belongs to a network of communication and mutual obligation.*

However according to Gottleib this definition fails to account for forms of support that are more action orientated, or involve tangible assistance. As an alternative, Gottleib (1983:28) proposes that:

> *Social support consists of verbal and/or non-verbal information or advice, tangible and/or action that is proffered by social intimates or inferred by their presence, and has beneficial emotional or behavioural effects on the recipient.*

A more dynamic definition, which recognises the complex inter-personal and intra-personal processes involved in support is proffered by Vaux (1992:194):

> *Social support refers to a complex and dynamic process involving transaction between individuals and their social networks within a social ecology. Broadly it is a process whereby people manage social resources to meet social needs and to enhance and complement their personal resources for meeting demands and achieving goals.*

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Expressions of social support referred to in the social support literature meet a variety of needs. Emotional support, intimate interaction, and close friendship give the individual a feeling of being cared for. Social integration and interaction and companionship results in the individual feeling part of a group that has common interests and concerns. Esteem support reinforces the individual's sense of competence and self esteem. Other forms of support include guidance and advice, including feedback or telling a person about a socially undesirable behaviour. The provision of role models, and monitoring and sanctioning conduct, are also significant in social development. Supportive people can also provide tangible and material assistance and referrals to other sources of assistance (Gottleib, 1983; Whittaker and Tracy, 1989; Cohen, Hettler and Park, 1997; Tracy, 1990; Thompson, 1995).

Social support has been found to protect individuals against stress (Gottleib, 1981, 1983; Cohen and Hoberman, 1983); and depression (Henderson, 1992). These mental health enhancing effects of social support are significant for men who have offended sexually, as stress and depression are identified as background problems for many men who offend sexually, and are addressed in the Kia Marama programme.

However, the precise mechanism by which social support achieves these effects remains unclear. Distinctions have been drawn between individuals' social embeddedness, their participation in a social network; enacted support which is observable supportive behaviour proffered towards the recipient; and perceived support - the person's perception of support available to him or her. Indeed perceived support may be the most significant in contributing to individual well-being and moderating stress (Procidano and Walker-

Smith, 1997; Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason and Joseph, 1997; Thompson, 1995).

Personality factors of the recipient also play a significant role in determining an individual's experience of support (Pierce, Lakey, Sarason and Sarason 1997; Thompson 1995). Specific factors include the person's interpretation of potentially supportive transactions, ability to utilise assistance given him/her, and social skills and ability to elicit support (Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason and Joseph 1997).

These authors note that individuals play an active role in the construction of their social networks and social environments they experience. Ironically, many individuals who most need support lack the social skills to develop close relationships that could be a source of support. Individuals with avoidant attachment styles may well seek less support and withdraw into themselves under stress (Nadler, 1997). This highlights the importance of social and relationships skills training in therapy programmes for men who have offended sexually.

Social Networks and Social Support

Social support may be derived from a variety of sources including an individual's natural social network - family, friends, neighbours etc. Often informal help is extended by "community gatekeepers" such as physicians, clergy, and even hairdressers and bartenders. Mutual self-help groups, other community groups, and neighbourhood based informal arrangements for delivering of social services are also valuable (Gottleib, 1981; Whittaker and Tracy, 1989).

A social support network is defined as:

a set of interconnected relationships among a group of people that provides enduring patterns of nurture (in any or all forms) and provides contingent reinforcements for

efforts to cope with life on a day to day basis. (Whittaker 1983:29).

It seems support provided by an individuals natural social network, or primary group, rather than by contrived groups, is most significant in providing health and well being (Gottleib 1983), and in helping maintain behavioural change (Barber and Crisp 1985). Such networks are the focus of this study.

It is important not to simplistically identify social networks with social support. Indeed social network ties may well include negative relationships which may be a source of stress rather than a buffer against it (Thompson, 1995; Tracy, 1990). Rather social networks

> *provide the inter-personal resources – rich and accessible for some individuals, rare and unreliable for others - from which support may be forthcoming.* (Thompson 1995:44.)

A number of dimensions within which social networks can be differentiated have been identified. Thompson (1995) usefully categorises these into structural and affiliative features of social networks. Structural features are more readily observed and/or measured, and include the overall size of the network; social embeddedness, which refers to the frequency of contact; and dispersion, which is the ease with which individuals can contact social network members, and may be related to geographical proximity. Network stability, and extensivity - the degree to which social interaction in the network occurs in small groups, are also considered significant. However, it is not possible to make assumptions about quality of supportive interactions from these more measurable elements. Structural factors are poor indicators of perceived support (Tracy 1990).

Affiliative features emphasise the meaning of network relationships to the individual. These include valence, the emotional quality of relationship with network members. Positive relationships are generally better sources of assistance. Reciprocity refers to the extent to which social support in relationships is mutual as opposed to unidirectional. Reciprocal support relationships are usually most satisfying for both partners. Homogeneity, the extent to which support network members share common attributes such as socio-economic status or religious values, is also considered significant in network functioning. Network density or complexity, the amount of contact that different network members have with each other, is also significant. This is the meso-system in Bronfenbrenner's framework (Thompson, 1995).

The value of professionals engaging and collaborating with individuals in informal social support networks is strongly asserted in the literature (Whittaker and Garbarino, 1983; Olsen, 1986; Whittaker, 1986; Whittaker and Tracy, 1989; Gottleib 1983; Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981). A collaborative partnership that recognises both the limits of professional effectiveness and the value of the informal support is vital (Whittaker, 1983; Gottleib, 1983). Social support needs to be incorporated as an integral part of practice rather than being separated out as a distinct strategy or intervention. However it is essential that this is not used as a pretext for dumping professional and statutory responsibilities on lay volunteers in the community, in the line with new right economic policy (Froland, Pancoast, Chapman and Kimboko, 1981; Olsen, 1986; Whittaker, 1983). Indeed effective liaison with clients' social networks may well be time consuming and resource intensive (Whittaker, 1986).

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Social Support and Child Abuse Prevention

Although social support has received little attention in the sex offender treatment literature, there is substantial recognition of the value of social support in the more general prevention of child abuse (Thompson, 1995; Mencher, 1995; Jack 1997). Many aspects of the relationship between social support and other forms of child abuse seem equally applicable to sexual abuse. Indeed sexual abuse is often found to co-occur with other forms of abuse and neglect (Thomas, Eckenrode, and Garbarino, 1997). As with sexual offending, social isolation is associated with increased risk of child abuse (Tracy, 1990; Mencher, 1995; Thompson, 1995; Jack, 1997). Abusive parents may have little social contact other than conflicted interactions with kin and statutory agencies. Marshall (1989) noted that even for sexual offenders with numerous social contacts, relationships were described as lacking in intimacy. Therefore a significant task for clients with their support networks is to work on deepening relationships generally.

Social support is considered to reduce the risk of abuse through the well recognised stress buffering effect of social support (Thompson, 1995), and through social integration and the amelioration of isolation (Jack, 1997; Tracy, 1990; Thompson 1995). Emotional support particularly enables parents to be more sensitive to the needs of children and feel greater empathy for their concerns (Mencher, 1995; Jack 1997). This is significant for sexual offenders in view of the importance placed on developing empathy in therapy. Thus these positive benefits of social support are likely to apply equally to sexual abusers.

However beyond this the process becomes more complicated with some inherent contradictions. It is noticed that the presence of negative or critical relationships within social networks can counter-act

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the benefits of supportive relationships (Mencher, 1995; Tracy, 1990). As well as social isolation, a pattern of negative or critical interaction with social network members has been related to poor treatment maintenance in behavioural parent training interventions, despite apparent success in treatment (Wahler, 1980; Tracy, 1990).

However in relation to prevention of child abuse, including sexual abuse, the function of social networks in monitoring and sanctioning undesirable behaviour is especially significant. Support network members are likely to be in a position to observe the client's behaviour far more closely than statutory or law enforcement agencies, and the sanctions of support network members may be particularly salient. There is a problem in that there is a potential conflict between this controlling form of social support, and the more clearly positive aspects of support. Indeed clients may not perceive this monitoring as supportive. It may, therefore, be difficult for supportive agents to critically challenge the recipient's behaviour and still be perceived as supportive by the recipient (Thompson, 1995). Indeed this is recognised as being difficult enough for trained professional therapists:

> *The critically important factor is the simultaneous capacity*
> *of the therapist to extend respect to people as human*
> *beings, to empathise with their pain, and to believe in*
> *their capacity to do better in the future, while not colluding*
> *with sexual abuse one single inch.* (Salter, 1988:92)

Support network members may experience considerable conflict between being emotionally nurturing in the role of a partner, friend, or relative, and the expectation to monitor, control, and possibly report recipient's risky behaviour to authorities. Thus the danger is of the support network not only failing to curb risky behaviour, but indeed enhancing it by providing esteem-supportive affirmation to the abuser

and reassurances to others (Thompson, 1995). The client may choose to maintain frequent contact with associates perceived as emotionally affirming, and limited contact with those who challenge his behaviour.

An instructive study of women incarcerated after killing their children (Korbin, 1989) found that these mothers were not socially isolated. As abuse of their children continued these women gave signals to others that problems existed, but tended to minimise and deny the seriousness of their behaviour. Their support network members responded with emotional support, with the result that the women were reassured that others knew about their abusive behaviour but did not consider it serious enough to take action. Thus both the woman and her support network became involved in a self-reinforcing circle of minimising the risk of abuse. It is not difficult to imagine a similar situation developing with a child sex offender indulging in risky behaviour.

Thompson (1995) suggests that for effectiveness in supporting child protection endeavours, support networks need to be characterised by consensual values inconsistent with child maltreatment, courageous associates who would risk being perceived as emotionally non-nurturing to protect children, and a willingness to immediately challenge abusive behaviour even in the face of threats of recrimination, rejection or even physical assault.

Men who complete Kia Marama have had a significant experience of having their behaviours and cognitions challenged in the context of a therapeutic environment. They are expected to invite their support networks to monitor and challenge their behaviour. However this openness to challenge, which is learned in the micro-system of therapy, still needs to be generalised to normal life in the community

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and ongoing relationships with social network members who have not had the same therapy experience.

Social Networks of Men who Offend Sexually

One study which has specifically examined the social networks of men who have offended sexually was conducted by Banman (1994). Banman compared the social networks of a group of 56 men engaged in community based sex offender treatment programmes, with a control group of 36 men not identified as sexual offenders. She hypothesised inter alia that the structure of the social networks of offenders and non-offenders would be different; that offenders would experience a lower level of perceived support within their networks; that offenders would show a lower level of perceived intimacy in their primary relationships than non-offenders; and that the longer offenders were in treatment the more closely their networks would resemble those of non-offenders. However her results were somewhat confusing and inconclusive, and possibly distorted by being based on participants' self reporting rather than objective observation. Nevertheless there were some notable findings. Networks of men who had offended contained more family members than those of non-offenders. Offenders actually perceived their networks to be more supportive than non-offenders. However offenders perceived larger proportions of their networks, particularly family members, to be always critical of them. Banman interpreted this as suggesting that these men were being challenged regarding their abusive behaviour, however in view of the considerations noted above about criticism this finding would merit further exploration. Offenders were also more isolated from their supportive network members, particularly from friends, than non-offenders; despite perceiving them as supportive they often had little contact with them. Offenders did not

report a lower overall level of perceived intimacy within their support networks than non-offenders. However there was no difference between the perceived level of intimacy reported by married and non-married offenders, compared with a significant difference in intimacy reported by married and non-married participants who had not offended. Further, in contrast to non-offenders, offenders reported no significant differences in the level of intimacy they experienced in relationships with their spouses or partners, compared to their best friends. However for offenders, as therapy progressed, the total size of social networks, and the proportion of non-family members relative to family members, both tended to increase. Banman advocates thorough assessment of offenders' social networks at the commencement of treatment, engagement of social networks in supporting clients' relapse prevention efforts, and monitoring their ongoing contact with them.

Issues in Relation to Specific Micro-Systems

A number of issues can be identified in relation to particular micro-systems which may form part of offenders support networks. The place and role of immediate and extended family in support networks merits close attention. Kinship ties are "based on who you are," in contrast to non-kin ties, which are more likely to be based on what you do (Thompson, 1995). Kinship ties therefore possess a level of stability and reliability that is unlikely to be matched by other relationships. This history of relatedness, and a sense of obligation towards family members in need, may well provide a foundation of valuable support (Thompson, 1995).

However kinship ties may also be characterised by long-term conflict, animosity and stress (Thompson, 1995; Tracy, 1990).

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Alternatively kinship networks may share values and beliefs which condone abusive or other risky behaviour, such as substance abuse. They may also fail to challenge or report abuse for fear that broader patterns of family dysfunction may be uncovered by an abuse investigation. They may also restrict access to outside sources of assistance (Thompson, 1995). Thompson concludes that:

> *Kin ties – by virtue of their formality and stability – offer the greatest potential sources of assistance, but extended families may also be sources of stress and may contribute in other ways to the enduring problems of troubled adults and their offspring. The more voluntary associations with neighbours and friends in the community can also provide meaningful support, but these relationships may be transient and thus unreliable.* (1995:31)

Family reintegration of incest offenders is particularly problematic. It would be easy to conclude that the inherent risk of further victimisation in this scenario is too great to contemplate:

> *there are considerable doubts about the possibility of desexualising relationships and of bringing about sufficient change in relationship patterns to ensure unequivocal safety for children* (Glaser and Frosh, 1993:156).

However this could be seen as denying the possibility of change, which would contradict a fundamental social work value (Williams, 1995). On a more pragmatic level it has been suggested that some families feel the effects of separation keenly and desire reconciliation (Matthews, Raymaker and Speltz, 1991; Wright, 1991). Further to prevent reintegration officially may invite families to reunite covertly, particularly once the formal oversight of parole is terminated (Smith, 1994).

Given this reality, in some cases it may be appropriate to facilitate some kind of reintegration process with appropriate monitoring of safety issues, and attention to the therapeutic needs of the victim and their family members. A number of essential preconditions for this to occur have been identified. First the offender must have taken full responsibility for his abusive behaviour, and have made adequate progress in treatment. All members of the family, especially victims, need to be verified as independently agreeing to the process. The therapeutic needs of victim, the non-offending partner, and other family members need to be addressed. The entire family needs to be provided with clear information about sexual abuse and risk situations, and to develop the ability to recognise risk situations. Clear safety rules must be negotiated. A recognised means of monitoring and oversight, and a family culture of transparency, needs to be established. A graded staged process is envisaged, with careful monitoring of each stage (O'Connell, 1986; Smith, 1994; Jenkins, 1990; Cumming and Buell, 1997). It is important that the pace of reintegration is determined by the victim's therapeutic process rather than the graduate's wishes, although this may be difficult to accommodate within dates dictated by parole terms (Smith, 1994). Smith also describes the tendency of offenders to create a "groomed environment", which is organised so that he is physically and emotionally closest to the child, and others, especially possible protectors are distanced. Family work therefore needs to strengthen and empower possible protectors within the family system, especially the victim's mother or offender's partner. Careful monitoring and evaluation, and communication between all parties is essential. In particular it is important that the different professionals involved, including therapists, child protection agencies, and criminal justice

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personnel, have a clear agreement on the goals and intervention, and an effective communication process (Furniss, 1984; Cumming and Buell, 1997).

Employment has been traditionally regarded as beneficial in the rehabilitation of offenders generally (Leibrich, 1993), and in assisting people recovering from addictions to maintain change (Barber and Crisp, 1995). For men who have offended sexually it is therefore reasonable to believe that employment is likely to promote lifestyle balance, and thus contribute to reducing reoffending (Cumming and Buell, 1997). However the problem of employers who exploit the work-aholic tendencies of some sexual offenders has been noted (Cumming and Buell, 1997). Also the support available from colleagues in low income jobs may be limited by their transience (Thompson,1995).

A significant proportion of men who complete the Kia Marama programme have some form of religious affiliation and church involvement. Church communities have been identified as making a number of unhelpful responses to abuse and violence: specifically supporting offenders' denial, or alternatively accepting offenders' guilt and ostracising them; offering uncritical love and support to members; assuring forgiveness and promoting family reconciliation without evidence of real responsibility or change on the part of the offender; failing to involve outside sources of assistance or authorities; and endorsing patriarchal values of male dominance which may support abuse (Thompson, 1995; Fortune, 1983; Sandford, 1988; Alsdurf and Alsdurf, 1989; Hall, 1996). However, religiously based inhibitions against extra-marital sexual expression, and values of compassion towards others, may act as a protection against sexual abuse (Hall, 1996). With appropriate education and information to clergy and congregations, church communities can be valuable sources of

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support and monitoring (Fortune, 1983; Whitman, 1988; Sandford 1988; Thompson 1995). Some churches have developed policies for managing members who are known to have offended sexually, and for responding to allegations of sexual abuse, within their congregations (Dunedin City Baptist, 1998; Eastside Invercargill, 1997).

Finally, the particular relationship between the offender and his Probation Officer merits further exploration. The dilemma between positive support and assistance to an offender, and exercising a monitoring or controlling function, is particularly pertinent to the Probation Officer's role (Kaplan, 1985). Probation Officers do offer support, counsel, and assistance to clients, and this support has been identified as beneficial in reducing criminal behaviour in offenders generally (Leibrich, 1993). However the Probation Officer also has a clear statutory responsibility to ensure compliance with parole requirements and the power to initiate drastic legal intervention including recall to prison in cases of non-compliance (Criminal Justice Act 1985; Community Corrections Service Manual, 1997). It has been suggested that this power may limit the client's view of the Probation Officer as therapeutic, and willingness to trust him/her, particularly when discussing sensitive issues such as acknowledging deviant sexual arousal or risky behaviour (Kaplan, 1985). However Leibrich (1993) suggests that this dilemma may be less significant in clients' perceptions than it is in academic debate. According to Morrison (1994) compassion for men who have offended, as clients, does not necessarily imply collusion, and the helping role should not be seen as in conflict with the role of social control.

It is noted that sex offenders constitute a different population from other criminal offenders. They are often, at least superficially, compliant with requirements and present few management problems

(Cumming and Buell, 1997). Accordingly it is recognised

conventional Probation approaches may not be effective in de

with the issues they present and that specialised training is req

(Cumming and Buell, 1997; Laws 1998). There is a very high danç

professionals, such as busy Probation Officers with high caseli

colluding with sex offenders who present in a pleasant, superfi

compliant manner. It is important for workers to be aware of up-tc

research and etiological theories, to counter-act the tendency to

and to practice in terms of simplistic understandings of sexual ε

(Ward, Connolly, McCormack, and Hudson, 1996). In Prol

practice it is essential that sexual offending and the various fε

contributing to it are directly and appropriately addressed (Cur

and Buell, 1997).

In view of this a recent study of the parole supervision (

offenders in a New Zealand region (Laws, 1998) makes disti

reading. Laws found a significant inadequacy of training

knowledge of sexual offending among Probation Officers ac

supervising child sex offenders. Only two Probation Officers fi

sample of ten, expressed confidence in recognising when a clier

at risk of relapse, and one client reported that he had never disc

anything relating to his sexual offending with his Probation Office

It is a clearly stated expectation of Kia Marama and Te

programmes that Probation Officers will have a thc

understanding of their clients' offence patterns, and the content (

therapy, and will continue to reinforce therapeutic gains ov

course of parole. The values underpinning Probation practic

policies currently impinging on the Community Probation Ser

New Zealand will be further addressed in the section on exo-

factors.

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The Dynamics of the Meso-System

The meso-system is the pattern of inter-relations between the different micro-systems in which an individual is at times present. The meso-system is thus a system of micro-systems. The meso-system links between the Kia Marama therapy setting, and other micro-systems in which the client participates could benefit from further attention. Indeed Olsen (1986) suggests that the strength of the meso-system linking the setting in which an intervention is implemented, and the settings in which the individual spends most significant time, is crucial for the long term effectiveness of the intervention and the maintenance of effects.

For men who have offended sexually, the benefits of improved social competence may happen over a timescale longer than therapy, which indicates the importance of long-term maintenance, support and monitoring of the client's progress (Beckett, 1994). Olsen's comments would suggest that therapeutic effectiveness could well be enhanced by engaging a support network and incorporating its members into the therapy process at a much earlier stage, as indeed is the practice in other prison and community-based programmes (Nathan, 1998; STOP Programme)

It is also significant that the actual therapy process at Kia Marama occurs in a prison setting. A specialist inmate accommodation unit has been established, with aims of protecting child sex offenders from violence and abuse from mainstream inmates, and creating a milieu conducive to supporting therapeutic gain. This environment is considered essential in providing offenders with a safe situation to disclose and address their offending behaviour. Indeed research currently underway highlights the importance of day to day interaction between inmates, in the compound, in reinforcing therapeutic gains

(Frost, Andrew, personal communication, 1998). The importance of effective communication between therapy and custodial staff, and of custodial staff maintaining attitudes and behaviour that support and do not undermine the therapy process, in such a situation, is critical (HM Inspectorate of Probation 1991).

Meso-systems may be characterised by multiple or weak linkages. Multiply or densely linked meso-systems are often identified as desirable (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Garbarino and Eckenrode, 1997). However Bronfenbrenner does acknowledge there is a point in human development when the benefits of linkages diminish, due to the individual's need for greater independence. In particular when individuals are implementing significant behavioural changes in their lives such as establishing an abuse-free lifestyle, dense social networks have the risk of trapping them into well established, socially reinforced patterns of behaviour, whether these patterns are desirable or not. In these circumstances a less dense network may contribute the opportunity for obtaining different information, ideas, and support from associates with alternative perspectives. Dense social networks may also restrict access to outside sources of assistance or intervention (Thompson, 1995).

Nevertheless, in relation to preventing abuse, communication and co-ordination with the social network is essential (Thompson 1995). In particular, it is important that the social network that is supporting a man who has offended sexually has a shared base of information regarding his offending pattern, high risk situations, and warning signals, and that there is a free flow of communication regarding his activities (Cumming and Buell 1997). Further, effective co-ordination of, and communication between formal agents, such as Probation Officers, and informal networks, is essential. This entails

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mutual understanding of, and respect for the nature and limits of both professional and informal roles (Thompson, 1995; Gottleib, 1981).

Social workers have a number of significant tasks in relation to informal networks. First, assessment of the network is essential (Tracy, 1990; Whittaker and Tracy, 1989). Given the potential pitfalls of social networks, including conflicting, critical networks, or network members with collusive attitudes, it is important that there is some assessment of and possibly intervention with, proposed support network members to ensure that the support that eventuates is appropriate. A goal consensus needs to be established between the client, the social worker and the support network members.

There is also a valuable role for the professional in providing information, and facilitating communication, within the network. In relation to Kia Marama graduates, the initial support network meeting is an important venue to commence this. However this needs to be an ongoing process rather than an isolated event.

The professional also needs to determine the capacity of social network members to offer the demanding, long term assistance that might be required to reduce the risk of abuse or reoffending (Thompson, 1995). This may extend well beyond the termination of parole (Beckett, 1994). It is also essential to recognise that to be able to effectively carry out their role on a long term basis, support network members are likely to require significant support themselves. Abuse perpetrators may be disinterested in, or resistant to support that provides emotional nurture, but also challenges inappropriate or risky behaviour. They may make unrelenting and unreasonable demands, or have needs that are overwhelming to supporters who may have limited capacities to meet them. Men who have offended may also have difficulty in maintaining supportive relationships, because of poor

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social skills, and may be unlikely to reciprocate the support they receive. In addition both the client and the support network members may be living in neighbourhoods that promote feelings of despair, suspicion, hostility and hopelessness (Thompson, 1995).

The potential negative personal impact on support network members, as a result of maintaining relationships with men who have offended sexually, must also be recognised. It has been noted that working with men who have offended sexually can have a detrimental negative impact on the personal lives of helping professionals (Erooga, 1994; Edmunds 1997). This occurs despite the professionals' formal training, and defined roles and boundaries, that may act as protective factors. It is important to be aware of the inner conflicts and turmoil that may be experienced by social network members who are continuing to offer their support to their partner, husband, brother, son, friend or employee, despite the horrendous crimes the latter has committed. Further, a professional is likely to be dealing with only one individual, either the offender, or the victim, in a sexual abuse case. Support network members are more likely to have, or to have had, some knowledge of, or relationship with both the man who has offended, and the victim(s), especially in cases of intra-familial abuse. Thus one of the most crucial professional social work roles may be providing support to the support network members (Thompson, 1995).

Especially in cases of intra-familial abuse and family reintegration, effective co-ordination and communication between different professionals is essential. Such cases may require intervention from a number of different legal, child protection, criminal justice, therapeutic and social service agencies and personnel. The potential for conflicts within the professional network is evident. A clear goal consensus, and good co-ordination is vital (Furniss, 1984, 1991;

HM Inspectorate of Probation, 1991). It is also essential that there is a shared base of knowledge and understanding about the dynamics of sexual offending in general, as well as communication of specific information about individual cases, between therapy staff at a unit such as Kia Marama, and other professionals involved with graduates after release. This especially applies to Probation Officers, Corrections Department psychologists, and Children, Young Persons' and their Families Service social workers, as well as other mental health professionals. Shared contributions to training can be a valuable means of achieving this co-ordination. As noted previously, Laws (1998) found significant deficits in this area.

The Role of the Exo-System – the Policy Environment

In Bronfenbrenner's (1979) terminology the exo-system consists of settings that do not involve the individual as a participant, but in which policies are formulated, decisions are made, and actions are taken which have a significant effect on his/her life. Exo-systems typically include such institutions as local and central government, health and education systems, and courts. In relation to sexual offender rehabilitation, significant exo-system components are the criminal justice and welfare systems.

A significant policy issue impacting on sexual offenders is whether or not treatment should be compulsory or coerced in some way. Traditionally it has been considered that therapy or counselling generally should be the free choice of the client and should not be imposed on him/her. As well as ethical concerns about "punishment dressed up as treatment", it has been suggested that coercion is unlikely to foster genuine motivation and change (Gocke, 1995). However in favour of some form of compulsion it is argued that, given

the demonstrated effectiveness of current forms of sex offender treatment, the protection of victims and the public in general from sexual abuse demands that efforts are made to ensure that men who offend are treated (Kilgour, 1996; Cumming and Buell, 1997). Because of the reproach associated with their particular behaviour, and the cognitive distortions they typically engage in, men who have offended sexually may not readily volunteer for therapy (Gocke, 1995). Some form of official compulsion has been promoted, either as a means of getting offenders engaged in the treatment, or as a legal reinforcement to the therapeutic process (Gocke, 1995; Furniss, 1984, 1991; Jenkins, 1990; Salter, 1988). In New Zealand, community based therapy programmes are often mandated by the criminal courts, under special conditions of a sentence of supervision, as a condition of receiving a community based sentence rather than imprisonment. Prison based programmes, at Kia Marama and Te Piriti, currently are not able to be legally ordered, and thus clients who participate in them are technically voluntary. However it must be acknowledged that more subtle forms of coercion may apply, including the fact that sex offenders who do not complete treatment are unlikely to be considered appropriate for early release by Prisons and Parole Boards (Kilgour, 1996). Informal family or whanau pressure may also be brought to bear on offenders' decision making.

The most significant exo-system institution impacting on Kia Marama graduates after their release from prison, during their parole period, is the Community Probation Service (formerly Community Corrections Service) of the Department of Corrections. Policies and practices within this Service have a major impact on interventions with parolees. It is therefore important to consider the traditions of the Probation Service, and current policy trends, in some detail.

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In New Zealand Probation has had a history of over 100 years, and over most of that time its development has been largely guided by traditions of Probation practice originating from the United Kingdom. British Probation services are described as having developed from strong social work origins, with roots in evangelical Christianity (Williams 1995; Arnold and Jordan, 1995; Munday, 1986). Values inherent in this tradition of Probation work have included a strident critique of the detrimental effects of imprisonment, and a strong promotion of community based sentencing alternatives. Within these non custodial sentences practice has been focused on social work for the rehabilitation and welfare of the offender as client, with the traditional role of the Probation Officer defined in British statute as to "advise, assist and befriend" the offender (Burrell, 1998). Radical practice approaches have paid particular attention to issues of poverty and discrimination as they impact on the lives of offenders (Hugman, 1980; Raynor, Smith and Vanstone, 1994). However in Britain, as in New Zealand, over the last two decades these traditions have been vulnerable to the impact of New Right social and economic policies. Nevertheless an emphasis on social control has tended to be seen in England as less than compatible with Probation values (Williams, 1995).

With this rehabilitative social work orientation, British Probation services have been active in implementing therapy programmes for sexual offenders. These programmes are typically conducted by Probation Officers, utilising the cognitive-behavioural interventions described in the previous chapter (Gocke, 1995; Garrison, 1991).

In contrast United States approaches to Probation practice tend to be more control oriented and punitive (Kaplan, 1985; English, Pullen and Jones, 1997; Cumming and Buell 1997). Indeed the requirement

in at least one American state that Parole Officers "demonstrate proficiency in the use of firearms" (Kaplan, 1985) would be unlikely to meet with acceptance among many British or New Zealand Probation Officers! Thus in American approaches treatment is identified as the responsibility of therapists, whereas the role of Probation Officers is clearly defined as risk management through monitoring and control (Cumming and Buell, 1997).

Within the New Zealand context, the extent to which Probation is a specialist form of social work, or a distinct profession in itself which draws from various disciplines including criminology and social work, has been contested over a number of years. This contrasts with the British situation where Probation training has traditionally been conducted in University Social Work departments. This shifting ground has been reflected in the changing stipulations of qualifications required for appointment as a Probation Officer in New Zealand. Throughout the 1980's a social work qualification was considered desirable, but not mandatory, and staff were encouraged to study towards such qualifications, with full time bursaries being provided. Then in 1992, on the recommendation of a working party reviewing training, a requirement of a social work qualification for appointment as a Probation Officer was implemented, however full time bursaries for current staff were withdrawn. Then in 1996 the social work qualification requirement was removed, and instead an intra-departmental competency assessment process is being implemented. Such competency programmes are noted as part of an international trend, and have been criticised as enhancing managerial as opposed to professional values and objectives (Williams, 1995; Dominelli, 1997).

In general the development of the Community Probation Service in New Zealand during the 1980s and early 1990's saw a shift from the

rehabilitative emphasis in the 1954 Criminal Justice Act, towards a more controlling and punitive orientation. This was reflected in the Penal Policy Review of 1981, and the new Criminal Justice Act enacted in 1985 (Dale, 1997). Probation Officers were to be regarded as brokers of services rather than social workers, and the new supervision order was envisaged as a "penal sanction involving surveillance and control of the offender in the community" (Department of Justice, Penal Policy Review Background Papers, 1981, cited by Dale, 1997)[6].

In common with other public sector agencies in New Zealand, the Community Probation Service has been influenced by New Right economic policies, and what have been described as "new managerialist" initiatives, since the late 1980s. In particular the impacts of "new managerialist" values on the Community Probation Service have included:

- an emphasis on management rather than policy and technical or professional skills, with "middle management" having an increasing responsibility for results achievement and budgetary control;

- a shift from the use of input controls and bureaucratic procedures and rules, to a demand for quantifiable output measures and performance targets;

- the disaggregation of a large bureaucratic structure (the former Department of Justice) into quasi-autonomous agencies, including the Department of Corrections of which the Community Probation Service forms a part;

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[6]Similar debates and changes are now starting to occur in Britain (Williams, 1995; Burrell, 1998)

- the separation of policy advice from policy implementation, and the imposition of a funder/provider split and contracts for service delivery within the Department of Corrections;

- a preference for contracting out and contestability in public service provision; this has yet to become a major reality in the Community Probation Service although offenders are regularly referred to community agencies for rehabilitative services;

- the imitation of private sector practices including performance agreements and performance-linked remuneration systems, and the development of new management information systems;

- a stress on cost-cutting and efficiency;

- a significant use of private sector consultants; and

- a substantial concern for corporate image (Boston, 1991; Matthewson, 1996).

In line with these trends, in 1996 a restructuring process was implemented in the Community Probation Service. The rationale for this was to enhance the efficiency of service delivery and to position the organisation to compete in a contractual, potentially contestable environment. A flatter management structure has been implemented, with significant devolution of management functions and budgetary control to Service Managers, who manage teams of up to 10 Probation Officers and administrative staff. Staffing changes have included an increase in the number of Probation Officer positions, but a corresponding decrease in the number of management and administrative staff. Probation Officers have therefore been expected to undertake an increased amount of clerical work. There has been a determined move towards breaking up large central city offices, into suburban Service Centres, housing one of these teams. The traditionally more punitive, work oriented sentence of Periodic

Detention is being co-located with other Probation functions in these Service Centres, rather than separately located as previously. A major emphasis in these changes has been senior management's perception of the need for business flexibility and staff responsiveness to changes in demand. This has been reflected in the expansion of the Probation Officer's Job Description to include the administration of Periodic Detention, which was previously managed by the separate occupational class of Wardens, as well as the monitoring of home detention (Community Corrections Service, 1996).

Within this policy context there have been a number of significant developments in Probation practice. Quantitative, actuarial assessments of reoffending risk, and criminogenic needs, are now being applied with all clients. Probation Officers have been trained to apply an Integrated Model of Supervision to their casework. This model was developed by Professor Chris Trotter, of the Social Work Department of Monash University, Melbourne, and emphasises a number of approaches which have been empirically demonstrated as effective with offenders. First, offenders who are identified as having a high risk of reoffending are targeted for intervention, in view of the finding that Probation intervention has been shown to be effective with such offenders, but can be counter-productive with lower risk offenders. Clients are coached in structured problem solving processes with specific goals and strategies. The use of pro-social modelling, and rewarding offenders' pro-social behaviour, and the use of empathy and reflective listening by the Probation Officer, are also seen as essential (Trotter, 1993). In actual practice interventions, in some respects this model represents an application of a Task-Centred Model of generic social work practice to the Probation field. This model has been further enhanced in the Service with a training package

known as CRIMPS (McMaster, 1996), which adds skills in motivational interviewing, cognitive-behavioural interventions, and relapse prevention.

These models of practice are derived from generic social work models for intervention with individual clients. As such they have generally been warmly received by Probation Officers. However the Integrated Model of Supervision has been incorporated into Community Probation Service practice manuals in a notably prescriptive manner, with no reference to a theoretical knowledge base and little scope for professional discretion (Dale 1997). Further there is little direct guidance within these models for engaging with offenders' wider social systems.

Currently the Department of Corrections as a whole is continuing to pursue substantial change in its approaches to the management of offenders. Indeed the pace of change is such as to threaten that anything written is liable to be almost immediately outdated. Although the strategic direction is difficult to define precisely (Duell, 1998), the predominant driver is the imperative of demonstrated effectiveness in reducing reoffending. A major initiative is the introduction of an Integrated Offender Management framework, which implements consistent procedures and practices for managing offenders across all custodial and community based sentences. The framework will be supported by an integrated information technology system, and represents a significant advance over previous piecemeal systems, with, for example, minimal consistency between prison programmes and parole interventions.

An essential component of this approach is the promotion of offenders' participation in rehabilitative programmes which can be demonstrated as effective in reducing reoffending. Such programmes

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will be provided in both prison and community based sentence contexts; it is currently proposed that programmes be introduced into the traditionally work oriented Periodic Detention sentence. "Core" programmes include programmes considered likely to benefit most offenders, such as lifeskills education, cognitive skills training, and substance abuse programmes, and specialised interventions targeted at specific types of offending, including programmes for violent, sexual and driving offenders (Department of Corrections 1998b).

The knowledge base underpinning these interventions is clearly derived from cognitive-behavioural psychology (Duell, 1998). Although "community/family involvement" is identified as a key principle of the framework (Department of Corrections, 1998a), it is unclear how this will be implemented apart from a proposal for family and "multi-systemic" therapy for adolescent offenders (Department of Corrections, 1998b). Probation Officers and prison officers are currently being trained in similar assessment and intervention methods and protocols, with the aim that "all interactions with offenders reinforce and support rehabilitation" (Department of Corrections 1998a). The rehabilitative emphasis in these developments is to be welcomed as consistent with Probation traditions and values. However personal communication with some Probation Officers reveals a fear that their professional status may be reduced to that of technicians who implement the prescriptions of clinical psychologists, rather than professionals who contribute a complementary dimension derived from the discipline of social work. In view of the importance of social-ecological factors in maintaining behavioural change, as described above, this development would be regrettable.

Further these initiatives are at a very early stage. Since the 1996 restructuring of the Community Probation Service there has been

little acknowledgement, encouragement, or training for practising Probation Officers to develop work in specialised areas, such as with sexual offenders. In particular it is noted that many men who have offended sexually would not score highly on the tools used for assessment of risk of general criminal offending, and thus may escape being targeted for more intensive intervention, despite a high risk of sexual reoffending. There is a clearly enunciated need for specialist training for working with sexual offenders (Gocke, 1995; Cumming and Buell, 1997; Laws, 1998), which in recent times has not received adequate attention within the Community Probation Service (Laws, 1998).

As mentioned above the Community Probation Service is also currently implementing a competency assessment process (Community Probation Service, 1997). This entails Probation Officers undergoing a detailed assessment of their performance and competence in a range of Probation tasks. Financial remuneration is to be linked to the achievement of competencies. However the emphasis is on generic Probation functions, rather than specialist areas such as sexual offending. The assessment process is demanding and time consuming for Probation Officers and management, and this, together with the training requirements for the new Integrated Offender Management framework and information technology system, may well limit the organisation's capacity for other training initiatives.

In a particularly welcome initiative the Service is currently implementing a project to provide professional supervision for Probation Officers, which has been strongly promoted by management (Community Corrections Service 1997). The principles underpinning this project have been largely derived from social work (Hawken, 1998), with the aims of supervision defined as to promote accountable

practice, professional development, personal support, and mediation and advocacy. It is valuable that the mediation and advocacy function of the supervisor includes providing feedback to management on the effect of policies on staff and clients, helping staff to articulate to management where tension exists between professional or cultural goals and the goals of the organisation, and facilitating staff to seek changes within the Service if appropriate. Although most supervision will be provided within the Service, there will be access to external supervision for specialist needs.

Finally, Morrison (1994) has argued that for effective child protective work there is a need for co-ordination between the different professionals involved in child sexual abuse cases. This needs to occur at a systemic level as well as between individual practitioners:

> *Arguably the more significant influences in dealing with offenders' denial are not the individual skills of practitioners, but the impact on offenders of effective co-ordination between the child protection and criminal justice systems* (Morrison, 1994:25).

However it is questionable how effective this is generally in New Zealand at present. The removal of the social work qualification requirement for Probation Officers may limit Probation Officers' opportunity to gain knowledge of other fields of social work, including child protection. The section in the previous Community Corrections Manual requiring Probation Officers to notify the Children, Young Persons and their Families Agency of children at risk they encountered in the course of their work, has been omitted from the current Manual. Current discussion about protocols for communication between the two departments has been characterised by legal argument rather than assessment of practice needs. The "Strengthening Families" initiative

currently being implemented within a number of Government agencies may well signal some progress towards meeting this need.

Finally it is important to consider the relationship between the Community Probation Service and the community it serves. A long standing tendency for the Service to impose its expectations on community agencies has been previously identified (Tie, 1993), and the current trend towards requiring demonstrated effectiveness in work with offenders could further reinforce this pattern. In regard to Kia Marama graduates and their support networks, there is a risk of the Service similarly imposing its expectations on lay support people without adequate recognition of those people's needs.

The Impact of the Macro-System – the Wider Influence of Culture

The macro-system consists of the broad ideological and cultural patterns of the social environment, the widest level of analysis that impacts on all the subordinate layers. It includes taken for granted, culturally conditioned assumptions about how things ought to be. A number of macro-system factors, which seem to have some influence on the etiology and maintenance of child sexual abuse, are outlined below. For therapy to be effective practitioners, and indeed clients, need to have some awareness of these. It is essential that these influences are not cited as causal explanations in a manner which undermines the offender's responsibility for his behaviour (Jenkins, 1990). However the reality is that men who have offended still have to manage their lives within the context of the prevailing culture. Their responsibility therefore includes reflecting on these influences and challenging their dominance over their ongoing lives. Indeed some process of conscientisation and praxis may result (Friere, 1995).

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One major socio-cultural factor which has been considered significant in creating a climate for sexual abuse is the value placed on personal and family privacy in Western cultures. According to Garbarino and Eckenrode (1997:78,80),

> *we allow* [child maltreatment] *by valuing privacy above the essential support-system functions of feedback and nurture . . . privacy works against natural healing forces and makes it more difficult to deliver help as well as to ask for it.*

Similarly cultures that place a high value on individual rights, and the importance of individual achievement, are considered to constitute a higher risk of sexual abuse than more collectively oriented cultures (Hall, 1996).

However it is difficult to be certain whether, and if so how, these observations apply in the New Zealand context. According to statistics obtained from the Ministry of Justice, 27% of male offenders convicted of child sex offences in 1997 were Maori, and a further 9.9% were Pacific Peoples. These figures represent significantly higher proportions than the concentrations of these groups in the general population[7]. A cursory interpretation of these figures would suggest that in the New Zealand context, child sexual abuse is more prevalent among cultures which place a lesser value on individual privacy than the pakeha. However it is generally accepted that only a small proportion of child sexual abuse incidents result in the prosecution and conviction of the offender[8]. In view of this it could be suggested that

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[7]The New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1998, cites 1996 census figures of Maori comprising 14.5%, and Pacific Peoples 5.6%, of the New Zealand population.
[8]Russell (1994, quoted by Fisher in Morrison et al eds 1994) found that less than 10% of sexual assaults are reported to the Police and less than 1% result in the arrest, conviction and imprisonment of the offender.

sexual abuse is more likely to be disclosed or detected in cultures that place a lesser value on privacy.

Nevertheless the proposition that secrecy creates a climate for sexual abuse is not disputed. Men completing the Kia Marama programme experience the value of openness in therapy, and are encouraged to maintain open and accountable relationships with their social networks after release. However it must be acknowledged that this is contrary to prevailing social custom, at least in pakeha culture, and social networks may require some education and intervention to actually effect this. Further, in view of the community ostracism of sexual offenders (explored further below), graduates do have some difficult decisions about who to be open with.

Socio-economic factors have often been cited as significant in criminal offending generally (Hugman, 1980; Williams, 1995; Raynor, Smith and Vanstone, 1994), and have been strongly linked to general child abuse and neglect (Garbarino and Eckenrode, 1997; Thompson, 1995). The extent to which socio-economic factors are significant in child sexual abuse has been debated. There is a notable predominance of lower socio-economic status among reported incidents of child sexual abuse and apprehended sexual offenders (Thomas, Eckenrode, and Garbarino, 1997).

However surveys of adults' recalled experiences of childhood sexual abuse tend to suggest that sexual abuse is equally distributed across all social classes (Thomas, Eckenrode and Garbarino, 1997; Peters, Wyatt and Finkelhor, 1986). It is often suggested that there is a class bias in the detection of child sexual abuse cases, so that abuse occurring in lower class families is more likely to come to official notice, whereas middle and upper class families are more likely to be able to maintain secrecy. Middle class families may also seek

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assistance from private counselling services that maintain strict confidentiality and fail to report cases to official authorities. On the other hand there could equally be an opposite class bias operating in adult recall surveys; poorer adults may well be suspicious of being asked personal questions, and may in any case be generally less likely to participate in such surveys (Thomas, Eckenrode and Garbarino, 1997).

Of clients who have participated in the Kia Marama programme to date, over 50% have been in the lowest income grouping, currently set at under $20,000 per annum. Only about 18% have had annual incomes of higher than $30,000. Lower socio-economic status may well lead to difficulties in obtaining employment, and in implementing the leisure activities and lifestyle balancing skills taught in the programme. Such graduates may also be forced to live in neighbourhoods where there is little social support or resources (Garbarino and Eckenrode, 1997; Thompson, 1995); however these neighbourhoods may contain higher concentrations of vulnerable children (O'Hagan, 1989).

The socio-cultural dimensions of child sexual abuse have been highlighted by feminist analysis. Feminist theory and activism has played an essential role in drawing the issue of child sexual abuse to public and political attention. In feminist analysis sexual assault is identified as being intrinsic to a social system of male supremacy and is therefore

> . . . . part of a continuum of male behaviour that exercised collective and individual power over women and children in order that men be serviced economically, domestically and sexually (Gocke, 1995:173).

Accordingly

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> *the unanswered question posed by feminists is not why*
> *some men rape but why most men do not* (Herman,
> 1990:178).

Feminists also draw attention to the prevalence of pornography, and objectification of women and children in male dominated societies.

However despite this culture of male dominance and sexual exploitation there is an incongruous severe disapproval and ostracism towards child sexual offenders (Gocke, 1995; Thompson, 1995; Morrison 1994). In New Zealand this has been evidenced by the publication of a paedophile directory (Codlington, 1996) and angry community opposition to the siting of an adolescent sex offender treatment unit in Christchurch. Possible policies of requirements for Police and community notification of sexual offenders' whereabouts have been debated in the United States and the United Kingdom (Home Office, 1996; Cumming and Buell, 1997). There has been one notable case of Police pasting posters about a known offender around a suburban area in a New Zealand city. This level of ostracism can be a significant impediment towards the ongoing rehabilitation of men who have offended sexually.

The possible impact of some more recent societal trends on sexual abuse is also worthy of exploration. Whether rates of child sexual abuse have been increasing in recent decades, or whether greater awareness and openness has simply led to an increase in reporting of abuse, is a matter for debate (Salter, 1988; Peters, Wyatt and Finkelhor, 1986; O'Hagan, 1989). It is undeniable that child sexual abuse is not a new phenomenon, and that there has been a significant recent increase in the disclosure and reporting of previously hidden incidents (Salter, 1988; Peters, Wyatt and Finkelhor, 1986; Fortune, 1983). Studies such as that of Anderson, Martin, Pullen, Romans and

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Herbison (1993) have found roughly equal reporting of childhood sexual abuse experiences by adult women of all ages.

However other studies have noted an increase in prevalence in children born after 1950 (Bagley and Thurston, 1996) and it is reasonable to speculate that trends in recent decades may have promoted some increase in prevalence. Increasing rates of marital separation, divorce and blended families may be significant (Bagley and Thurston, 1996; Thomas, Eckenrode and Garbarino, 1997). A number of studies have found that with intra-familial abuse, there is a significantly greater risk of children being abused by stepfathers or their mothers' partners than by biological fathers. In particular Russell (1986, cited by Finkelhor and Baron, 1986) found that 17% of girls growing up with stepfathers had been abused by them, compared with 2.3% of daughters growing up with their natural fathers. Further the types of abuse committed by stepfathers were more intrusive and more violent. In a New Zealand context Anderson, Martin, Mullen, Romans, and Herbison (1993) observe that stepfathers are 10 times more likely to abuse than biological fathers. Thomas, Eckenrode and Garbarino (op cit) suggest that the position of stepfather may constitute a particularly high risk because it offers the authority and opportunity for exploitation that the parental role brings, without the natural inhibitions associated with biological fatherhood. In addition, Finkelhor (1980, cited by Finkelhor and Baron, 1986) found that girls with stepfathers were victimised at greater rates by other men as well. Poverty and substance abuse may well exacerbate the risk of such situations (Thomas, Garbarino and Eckenrode, 1997). Sex offenders reintegrating back into the community, and social workers intervening with them, therefore need to be particularly aware of the risk involved in forming relationships with partners who have children. Indeed

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O'Hagan (1989) paints a bleak picture of the compounded risk factors operating for offenders being released from prison and facing social ostracism and economic poverty, entering such relationships with partners in deprived communities.

Finally O'Hagan (1989) speculates on the possible impact of the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s on the prevalence of child sexual abuse. He describes the prevailing theme of the sexual revolution as asserting individuals' rights to pursue sexual satisfaction and fulfilment in whatever way they choose. The asserted philosophy of permissiveness is described as

> *advocating as much sexual experimentation and gratification as one wanted, and propagating the view that individuals were unfulfilled in proportion to their reluctance or failure to do so* (O'Hagan, 1989:95)

This has been further promoted by a significant, and continuing increase in the availability of written and visual erotica and pornography, which enhances the status of sexual exploits. O'Hagan describes the continuing expansion of the pornography industry, which

> *now produces a type of pornography that , in its perversion, violence, and illegality, is well beyond the imagination of the most enthusiastic advocates of permissiveness in the sixties* (1989:98).

Even without considering the extremes of the pornography industry it is notable that the popular media, including magazines and television, is increasingly sexually oriented and promoting a similar message. One recent study found that a typical hour of United States network prime time television contains an average of 1.6 references to intercourse, 1.2 references to prostitution and rape, 4.7 sexual innuendoes, 1.8 kisses and 1 suggestive gesture. This study states that on average television characters talk about sex or display sexual behaviour 15

times an hour, or once every four minutes (Svetkey, 1993). O'Hagan proposes that the impact of all this propaganda on socially and relationally inadequate men, who may be unlikely to be able to achieve sexual success with other adults in terms of these norms, is likely to fuel motivation to sexually abuse a child. This effect is particularly likely in view of the

> *sense of powerlessness which is the most potent force in motivating and directing such individuals towards a type of victim over which they could easily exercise power, and at the same time, sexually gratify themselves as much as everyone was then being urged to do* (O'Hagan, 1989:97).

The Kia Marama programme includes information and education on appropriate and healthy adult sexuality. While moral prescription is avoided, other than a strong proscription against sexual behaviour with children, it is suggested to men that the most satisfying sexual expression is likely to occur in the context of an ongoing intimate relationship with an adult partner. Graduates and their support network members have the ongoing task of critically examining the media images and messages they expose themselves to, and abstaining from the use of pornography involving violence and/or children.

Conclusion

An ecological approach to child sexual abuse therefore needs to incorporate factors at all levels of the social environment as well as the individual offender. Such an approach to intra-familial incest has been proposed by Vander Mey (1992, citing Vander Mey and Neff, 1986). This explanation cites societal factors including cultural ascription of an inferior status to women and children and reverence

for family privacy, neighbourhood factors including socio-economic status and community levels of violence, and intra-family factors of the father's power and control, and dominating and abusive behaviour. Fully effective social work intervention in child sexual abuse must therefore occur at all levels.

The review of the literature presented in this and the previous chapters supports the conclusion that cognitive-behavioural therapy has been demonstrated to be effective with child sexual offenders. However the ecological literature suggests that to maximise this effectiveness, particularly the ongoing maintenance of therapeutic change, this therapy needs to be supplemented by adequate attention to what has been defined as the socio-ecological dimension of relapse prevention. The vital importance of surveillance as described in the relapse prevention literature is recognised. However there is also an important role for more positive forms of social support, which may provide emotional nurture, enhance ongoing social skills development, and act as a buffer against stress.

This assertion of the importance of social support does not undermine the principle of the offender's responsibility for his behaviour. It is recognised in the ecological and social support literature that individuals shape their social environments, particularly at the micro-system and meso-system level. They can learn the skills they need to elicit appropriate support; indeed such social skills are taught in Kia Marama and similar programmes. They must also assist their network members to make appropriate attributions of responsibility. In addition they have the task of being aware of the influences of the prevailing culture and challenging the impact of such influences on their lives.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Subject and Purpose

This study enquires into ongoing life experience, in a social context, of men who have offended sexually against children, who have been released from prison after completing therapy at the Kia Marama Treatment Unit for child sex offenders at Rolleston Prison, near Christchurch, New Zealand. The particular focus has been on the functioning of their support networks in supporting the maintenance of their treatment gains and their ongoing safety. A qualitative, collective case study approach was utilised. Particular questions examined included:

- How did the men's support networks actually function over the parole period, and where possible to ascertain, beyond that? This includes reference to the frequency and the nature of contact at the micro-system and meso-system levels of Bronfenbrenner's analysis;

- What was the graduates' experience of relating and communicating to others in their networks and being supported? What did they find helpful?

- How were risk situations handled?

- What was the experience of people in the graduates' support networks of their supporting role? Were they themselves supported adequately?

- What impact did exo-system and macro-system factors have on the graduates and their support people's experience?

- What, if any, were significant aspects of, or factors in offenders interactions with, and the functioning of, their social networks, that

seem to be associated with either successful maintenance of change, or relapse?

It needs to be acknowledged at the outset that the way a researcher poses a research question can have major social implications (Renzetti and Lee, 1993). For example Renzetti and Lee observe that the question "why do battered women stay with partners who abuse them?" immediately constructs the issue of domestic violence in terms of the behaviour of the victim rather than the abuser. In this research there is the danger that Kia Marama graduates maintaining a safe lifestyle could somehow become seen as the responsibility of their support networks. Morrison (1994) notes the propensity of men who have offended sexually to project onto others responsibility for their feelings and actions. Offending behaviour is ultimately the choice of the offender, for which he alone is responsible. Nevertheless as the literature cited in Chapter Three reflects, human behaviour does not occur in isolation but in the context of interaction within a social environment. The significance of the social-ecological dimension of relapse prevention (Barber and Crisp, 1995) suggests the importance of investigating ways in which to appropriately utilise the resources of Kia Marama graduates' social systems to monitor and support their relapse prevention efforts, in a way that does not exploit or overload those people, and most importantly does not effectively transfer responsibility for the graduate's behaviour to them. This tension can be resolved by the proposition that it is part of the graduate's responsibility to recognise social isolation and secrecy as part of his offending pattern, and to counteract this by actively building an effective support network, remaining open and accountable to support people, and seeking and utilising support appropriately. It is this process which is the subject of this research.

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The primary purpose of the research was exploratory. Babbie (1989) identifies three possible purposes for research: exploration, description and explanation. Exploratory research aims to provide a beginning familiarity with a topic, particularly when it is relatively new or unstudied. It was observed in the previous two chapters that the literature regarding treatment of sexual offenders has to date paid relatively little attention to offenders' social situations, or to their post-therapy experience.

Research Paradigm and Methodology

The exploratory nature of this research, the particular research questions, and the need to explore the actual life experience of graduates and their support people in some depth and detail, indicated the use of qualitative methodology. In particular a case study approach was utilised. The case study is a qualitative research method which aims to discover what can be learned from specific identified cases. Case studies are particularly useful where one needs to understand a particular problem in some depth, and a great deal can be learned from a few examples (Patton, 1990). A case is defined as a functioning, specific, bounded system (Stake, 1994). In this study each case (or unit of analysis) was the functioning system of a Kia Marama graduate and the microsystems that he is involved in, the people involved in his support network, and the mesosystem that is directly concerned with him. This study is what Stake (1994) describes as a **collective case study** - a study of a number of cases jointly in order to provide insight into an issue or a particular problem.

The adoption of this method places this study within the interpretivist research paradigm, which aims at the understanding of social facts through the perspective of people who are involved in the

social situations under consideration. This contrasts with the more "objective" positivist paradigm which tends to promote more quantitative methodology. Arguments about the supposed superiority of either quantitative or qualitative methods in social science research seem to be giving way to the realisation that methods chosen need to be appropriate to the particular research being conducted (Bell and Newby, 1976; Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986; Sieber, 1982). A particular strength of qualitative methods, particularly relevant to this research, is their value in exploring and conveying the complexities of human situations (Smith and Noble-Spruell, 1986).

However qualitative methods are often criticised on the basis of a limited ability to generate valid, generalisable data. The extent to which qualitative research generates valid, generalisable data and indeed causal explanations is contested. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) insist that the aim of qualitative research is not generalisable data but a deeper understanding of phenomena from the perspective of participants. On the other hand Huberman and Miles (1994) consider that qualitative studies can both be generalisable and generate causal explanations. It is acknowledged that a study of this scale (four cases) can make no pretence at presenting generalisable data. However issues are highlighted in subsequent chapters which would merit further investigation at a broader, more quantitative level. Sieber (1982) asserts the value of qualitative research in identifying issues that can be subjected to broader more quantitative investigation, and the complementary value of quantitative approaches in assessing the generalisability of qualitative findings and verifying interpretation.

This study does depart from the tradition of much qualitative methodology which emphasises a purely inductive approach to data

gathering and analysis (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Within this tradition is what Stake (1994) describes as the "intrinsic" case study in which a case is studied for its own sake to learn whatever it may have to tell us. In contrast this study is in the nature of an "instrumental" case study, in which attention is drawn towards exploring how the concerns of researchers or theorists are manifest in the case. No apology is made for the instrumental nature of this study. The prevention of sex offender recidivism is a matter of vital public interest and significance for corrections and child protection services.

Further as researcher I have not adopted a purely inductive approach. Huberman and Miles (1994) consider that both inductive and deductive approaches to analysis and theory generation are valid in qualitative research. Indeed Miles (1983) asserts that

> *research projects that pretend to come to the study with no assumptions usually encounter much difficulty . . . a rough working frame needs to be in place near the beginning of fieldwork . . . the risk is **not** that of "imposing" a self-blinding framework, but that an incoherent, bulky, irrelevant, meaningless set of observations may be produced, which no one can (or even wants to) make sense of.* (p119, emphasis in original)

From consideration of the literature outlined in the previous two chapters, and my own practice experience, I brought to this study a number of "working assumptions", outlined in Chapter One, which have informed this research. However they were not hypotheses that were formally tested in a positivist deductive sense, and on the basis of the small scale of this project they could not be considered as proved.

These considerations highlight the tension experienced in much interpretivist research between exploring human experience and objectively examining issues of interest:

> *They* (interpretivist researchers) *celebrate the permanence and priority of the real world of first person subjective experience. Yet in true Cartesian fashion, they seek to disengage from that experience and objectify it.*
> (Schwandt, 1994:119)

Nevertheless the importance of the topic under investigation, and the limited scale of this study, demanded an objective focus on relevant material. The practical elements of conducting this study will now be considered in more detail.

Sampling

The cases selected were an explicitly **purposive** sample. A purposive sample is indicated when there is a need to gain a deep understanding of a phenomenon as experienced by a carefully selected group of people (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). My original proposal was to study a group of five graduates who seemed to be successfully maintaining a safe lifestyle, in comparison with five who were known to have reoffended. For each case, interviews would be sought with the graduate, his Probation Officer, and two or three members of his support network. My supervisors suggested that that might be achievable if I took a year off work and employed a team of research assistants! Not having the means to do either, I needed to moderate my ambitions to what could be achieved by a sole researcher on a part time basis at a Masters level. Ultimately a sample size of four cases was determined as achievable and adequate for the purpose of an exploratory study.

The proposal of comparing men who were successfully maintaining safety with men who had reoffended also merited further consideration. It was never intended to seek a causal explanation for reoffending in a graduate's social situation. Offending is a behavioural choice which a man must take responsibility for. Nevertheless there still seemed to be some value in exploring the post-release life experience of at least one man who had reoffended.

Ultimately one man who was known to have reoffended was identified as a particularly relevant case to study. This man had particular social and mental health difficulties, and he was assessed at the completion of therapy as still having a very high risk of reoffending. However he was also assessed as having made very good therapeutic progress on the programme, and at the time of his release he had identified a close and well functioning support network, albeit largely composed of professionals and formal social service agents. Although in view of his particular difficulties and needs he was not typical of most men who attend Kia Marama, he was not unique either. Stake (1994) observes that instrumental and collective case studies require case selection to have some regard for generalisability. However there can be a tension between selecting cases that are typical and cases which seem to offer substantial opportunity to learn. In these instances Stake advises selecting the latter:

Often it is better to learn a lot from an atypical case than a little from a magnificently typical case. (1994:243)

Accordingly it was considered that much valuable information could be gained from exploring this man's story. However, unfortunately, this man had died at the time of commencing this study. Also he had not accrued a further conviction; he was known to have

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reoffended on the basis of having acknowledged it to support network members, and at the time of his death he had been arrested and was awaiting a Court appearance. The decision of whether or not to include this case in the study posed significant practical and ethical dilemmas. (Ethical issues in relation to this study generally will be considered in detail later in this chapter.) The potential value to the study of the information to be gained from this case was considerable. However on a practical level this man's own story of his post-release experience could not be included; I would have to rely on information from support network members, which could distort the findings in comparison to the other cases. More importantly, in relation to ethics, he was not able to consent to his case being included in this study. His high level of motivation for therapy when he was at Kia Marama could have suggested that he would have been willing to assist in research that may assist the improvement of rehabilitation services: however that could not be presumed. Consideration was also given as to whether consent should be sought from his next-of-kin. However records indicated that he had been brought up in state and institutional care, and his family had had minimal meaningful involvement in his life over many years. These issues were discussed with my supervisors, and another senior staff member of the Massey University School of Social Policy and Social Work, with significant expertise in research ethics and methodology, was also consulted. On the basis of this advice a decision was made to proceed with including this case in the study, and that it was not necessary to inform or seek consent from the graduate's next-of-kin. Care has been taken, as in all cases, not to

include any potentially identifying information[9] in this report. Findings from this case that could be distorted as a result of not being able to include the graduate's perspective have been clearly indicated in this report.

Issues in relation to selecting other cases were not all straight-forward either. My original intention was to seek graduates who had been released from Kia Marama at least two years previously, and whose parole had been terminated for some time. This would yield invaluable information on how support networks had functioned over a significant period of time. It would be particularly useful to gain information on how their support networks continued to function after the official oversight of parole was completed. However this intention also had to be reconsidered on ethical grounds. Clients of the Department of Corrections have not, as a rule, given consent to be followed up and contacted for research, or for any other purpose, after the termination of their official involvement with the Department. Moreover at a practical level the most likely means of making contact with such people would have been to send an invitation letter and information sheet to their last address known to the Community Probation Service. However former parolees may well have moved from the last address known to the Service. In this case there would be a significant risk of others opening and reading the letters, thereby learning the graduate's name and the fact that he had been at Kia Marama. The risk of this breach of confidentiality could not be contemplated. Accordingly it was decided to seek participation from

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[9]It is not possible to guarantee that people who already have some knowledge of this man would not recognise him from reading this report. However such readers would be most unlikely to learn anything personal about this man that they did not already know from findings discussed in this report.

graduates who were still on parole, who could be readily contacted through their Probation Officers. It was still considered essential that participants had been released for several months so that the functioning of their support network over a significant period of time could be investigated. One graduate had had a two year parole term. In this and one other case the graduates were approached and consent to participate was obtained at the end of their parole terms, however interviews were not conducted until some weeks after their parole had terminated.

Possible candidates for participation were identified in consultation with therapy staff at Kia Marama. The process of engaging graduates to participate in the study was frustrating as, contrary to my expectation, the first several men approached refused. I would admit to despairing at one point over whether I was ever going to have a sample to research, and considering going back to the drawing board. A number of different methods of contact were used. At first I e-mailed the invitation letter and information sheet to the graduates' Probation Officers requesting them to print them out and pass them on to the graduates. With one graduate I obtained his phone number from the Probation Officer and made an initial telephone approach, following that with the invitation letter and information sheet in the mail. In one case the graduate's former therapist at Kia Marama made a telephone approach on my behalf. Eventually the most successful approach was making a home visit to explain the research in person, and leaving the invitation letter and information sheet with the graduates for their consideration prior to seeking consent.

Ultimately I ended up with a sample of four cases. Between them the graduates had been convicted of a range of offences

including intra-familial and extra-familial abuse, against boys and girls, and recidivist exhibitionism. Three graduates were participants and were interviewed, all of whom were successfully maintaining a safe lifestyle as far as is known. These graduates nominated members of their support networks whom they consented to also be interviewed. In the case of the man who had died, appropriate participants were identified by the Probation Officer. In all I ended up with 17 participants who completed a full interview. Included in this group were the three graduates, four Probation Officers, eight support network members including three social service agents in connection with one case, one counsellor and one Police Officer. Two further support network members were interviewed briefly by telephone. Participants were living in two large cities and one rural area. Travel for interviews was facilitated by a Massey University Graduate Research Fund grant.

Finally it must be noted that the graduates interviewed are assumed not to have reoffended, in that they have not been convicted of a further sexual offence. However there is no way of knowing that these men have definitely not reoffended. Sexual offending occurs in a context of secrecy, and as noted previously it is generally accepted that only a small minority of sexual abuse incidents come to official notice. The possibility must be acknowledged that one or more of the men identified as not having reoffended may in fact have reoffended. Hopefully the fact that an offender has previously been identified and prosecuted may render further offending more likely to be reported: however that cannot be guaranteed. Also, potential participants were informed in the information sheet provided that the discovery in the course of conducting this research, of further offending, or a child at risk of abuse, was the one potential ground for breaching research

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confidentiality: this would have been likely to deter any graduate who had reoffended from participating.

Data Collection

The most essential data for this study was information on the experiences, understandings, thoughts and feelings of the participants, both graduates and members of their social networks. The primary method to gather this information is in-depth interviewing. Maykut and Morehouse describe the essential quality of such interviewing as a "rich discussion of thoughts and feelings" (1994:80). It was essential to allow adequate time for each interview. The length of interviews ranged from approximately half an hour to two hours; most interviews lasted well over an hour. In addition, in the case of the man who had died, a meeting of all participants was held. As well as being valuable for me in identifying key events and themes in relation to this case, it seemed to be a valuable debriefing exercise for the participants.

Interview guides, lists of topics to be explored and specific questions to be asked, were developed in consultation with one of my supervisors. An interview guide is useful when exploring a specific issue, and seeking similar information from a number of people. It assists in making interviews of a number of people more systematic and comprehensive by delimiting in advance areas to be explored (Patton, 1990). It also helps to ensure that all relevant information from each informant is obtained in the planned interviews; in this study interviews required a significant investment of time, and in some cases some emotion, from respondents and it would have been a discourteous imposition on them to repeatedly go back with yet another question (not to mention the time constraints for the researcher). Separate interview schedules were developed for

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graduates, Probation Officers and support network members (refer Appendix 2). However it was essential to allow significant flexibility to explore topics fully, and to allow informants to raise issues that were not anticipated by the researcher (Whyte, 1982). Indeed I found, as did Tie (1993) that interviews often took on a more conversational form. Tie observes that within Western culture question/answer interview formats are not a common means of personal interaction. Thus although the interview schedules were followed sequentially and most participants were asked all questions on the schedule relevant to them[10], the questions tended in many cases to act as a stimulus to a conversational interaction, rather than the interviews laboriously following a rigid question/answer format. However while allowing room for this more natural interaction, it was important for me to guard against introducing my own ideas on the subject in the place of exploring the experiences of the participants.

This study was on a sensitive personal issue that had significant personal implications for most informants. Oakley's (1981) concerns about traditional research interviewing treating respondents as sources of information to be impersonally manipulated to gain the information desired by the researcher, were particularly relevant. In particular, as Oakley experienced, some informants sought information, feedback and assistance from me as the interviewer, and it was important to respond appropriately. In some cases it seemed to be therapeutic for informants just to be able to tell their story to an empathic listener. In other cases I felt it appropriate to respond to requests for information, or the apparent need for validation of

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[10]In some cases questions were omitted where either the information sought had already emerged in previous conversation, or previous information indicated that the specific question was not relevant to that person.

participants' ideas and feelings about a particular issue. At the completion of interviews I checked with participants how the experience of being interviewed had been for them, and how they were emotionally. It was more difficult for me to know how to respond when participants seemed to want feedback from me on particular issues or situations, if I did not agree with the way they had assessed or handled the situation in question. I was very much aware that these informants were doing me the favour of participating in interviews, and in most cases I was a guest in their homes for that purpose. I did not see myself as having any mandate or invitation to give them critical feedback. Ultimately I resorted on these occasions to giving a vague reflective response and proceeding to the next question!

Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed, although informants were given the option to turn the tape recorder off when discussing particularly sensitive material and this was done at one point in one interview. Patton (1990) insists that it is the verbatim quotations of the informants, not the summaries and interpretations (or distortions!) of the researcher, that constitute the raw data of case studies. In addition, I initially planned to take some notes during interviews. Notes can assist in formulating further questions, possibly referring back to something said earlier. Patton (1990) advises that even when interviews are tape recorded, notes can assist in later analysis, including finding pertinent quotations on the tape. He also observes that note taking can provide valuable non-verbal feedback to the informant that what he/she is saying is important and is being taken seriously. However note taking in interviews is controversial: Whyte (1982) considers that it may distract the interviewer from focusing fully on the informant, particularly on non-verbal communication, and may make the interview more disjointed. In

practice I found that the further I got with the interviews the less notes I took, and when it came to data analysis the few notes I had taken were of minimal use.

Interviews with graduates were also enhanced by administering the Social Network Map and Grid (Tracy and Whittaker, 1990; see Appendix 2) to facilitate examination of support network composition and supportive behaviour. Banman (1994) also utilised this instrument, and found that a significant number of sex offenders' social network members were identified as being critical towards them. Banman attributed this finding to the men being challenged about their behaviour by social network members. However, as noted in Chapter Three, Thompson (1995) comments on abusive parents experiencing social networks members as being destructively critical rather than positively challenging. At Kia Marama the importance of being open to positive challenges is promoted in therapy. To clarify this issue I adjusted the Social Network grid, by dividing the "critical" column into "positively challenging" and "destructively critical" items.

The other source of data was documentary information. Consent was sought from graduates to peruse their Kia Marama therapy, and Community Probation Service files. One graduate in particular was reluctant for me to examine his therapy file in detail and only consented to me reading his final therapist's report, which was included in his Probation file. Files were not perused in detail until after the interviews, and then only used to confirm information obtained from interviews.

Data Analysis and Reporting

Interviews were transcribed verbatim, largely by myself. Two considerations effected this decision. Transcribing the tapes myself

assisted me to develop an intimate familiarity with the data. Also, at a pragmatic level I did not have the funds to employ anyone else to do it. I was nevertheless exceedingly grateful to receive some assistance with transcription from my wife, with participants' consent[11].

A separate file was kept of all the transcripts relevant to each case. The first step in data analysis was to read all the transcripts pertaining to each case a number of times, to enhance familiarity with them and to facilitate identification of all the issues that emerged from each case. I also followed Patton's suggestion of writing a case record, a compilation of data into an organised framework that would be used in final analysis.

> *The case record must be complete but manageable; it should include all the information needed for subsequent analysis, but it is organised at a level beyond that of raw case data.* (1990:387)

In practice most case records took the form of sheets of paper on which all the key events, themes and issues arising from the case were recorded in a form akin to brainstorming rather than being written in a more formalised style. This enabled me to ensure that all the issues arising from each case were identified.

The next step in the process was analysis and organisation of the data. Several key themes were identified. These correspond to the various sections in Chapters Five, Seven and Eight. Large envelopes were labelled for each of these themes. The transcripts were all photocopied, and sections of the copy of each transcript that related to each theme were literally cut and placed into the appropriate envelope (Lofland and Lofland, 1984)[12]. It seems embarrassing to acknowledge

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[11]She was bound by the same standard of confidentiality as myself: refer to ethics section.
[12]The original copy of each transcript was retained complete.

in this electronic age that the transcripts were hand-written and this procedure was conducted entirely manually. However at a pragmatic level computer processing of this data did not seem likely to be any more efficient than the process adopted. While the value of information technology is certainly acknowledged, it also seems salutary not to be compelled to adopt unnecessary computerised processes for the sake of it.

In reporting case studies Patton asserts that case outlines should be included in the research report. Each case should be allowed to speak for itself before any cross case analysis is considered:

> The case study should take the reader into the case situation, a person's life . . . Each case study in a report stands alone, allowing the reader to understand the case as a unique, holistic entity. At a later point in the analysis it is possible to compare and contrast cases . . .
> (1990:387)

However in view of the subject matter of this study it has not been considered appropriate to follow this advice. Sexual abuse is a sensitive personal issue, rendering the usual research imperatives of confidentiality and anonymity of participants particularly vital. In a small country such as New Zealand, there is a danger that despite all precautions of anonymity and the omission of any identifying information, such as location and details of offending, full case descriptions could possibly lead to identification of participants. From the perspective of ensuring confidentiality it is appropriate that the final report contains information in generalised thematic form only. It is acknowledged that this presentation does not allow each case to tell its unique story to the reader. Huberman and Miles (1994) also warn of the danger of analysing multiple cases to end up with smoothed out

generalisations that do not apply to any particular case. However the small scale of this study mitigates against this possibility, and my process of reading the transcripts several times and completing a case record for each case, admittedly for my own use only, did ensure that each case did tell its story to me as the researcher even if not directly to the reader. It must be acknowledged that my identification and interpretation of issues could have been limited by my working assumptions and the interview schedules. Further there is a sense in which these comments sound like saying "just trust me", however the imperative of confidentiality and anonymity precluded any other form of presentation.

The presentation of findings in the following chapters relies heavily on direct quotations from participants. This is essential as the data of qualitative research is derived from what the participants actually said. However in view of the sensitivity of the subject matter, for the purpose of ensuring confidentiality and anonymity, quotations are cited only to the participants' roles of graduate, support network member, or Probation Officer; not even pseudonyms are used, as is sometimes the practice in qualitative research reports. Because of this, and the thematic presentation, it is generally impossible for the reader to put together what different participants said in relation to the same case[13]. This could be considered limiting. However the specific information sought required that the confidentiality assured to each individual participant included confidentiality and anonymity in relation to other participants. Participants needed the freedom to share information or feelings that they wanted kept confidential from others involved with that case: for example a support person could share

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[13]On occasion I have brought together perspectives from different participants where that is vital to make a point.

something that he/she did not want the graduate to know about, and graduates needed to be able to talk frankly about the roles of support network members and Probation Officers. The ability to obtain such information was essential to the nature of the research subject. Participants were provided with a list of direct quotations from their interviews, and their approval sought for the use of those quotations. They will also be provided with a summary of the overall findings.

In summary, the purely thematic presentation adopted is contrary to generally accepted practices in reporting case studies (Patton, 1990; Huberman and Miles, 1994), and may present some limitations with respect to readability. However the overriding imperative has been that the confidentiality and anonymity of participants be maintained: this has also enabled the depth and quality of the findings to be obtained.

Triangulation

From the perspective of ensuring validity several authors have asserted the importance of triangulation, approaching data from different perspectives and research methods. It is acknowledged that the forms of triangulation in this study are limited. In each case information was obtained from interviewing a number of different participants, and confirmed through perusing file records. These steps should constitute what Denzin refers to as "within method triangulation" (1989:243). However it is acknowledged that between method triangulation, such as using both qualitative and quantitative methods, was beyond the scope of this study. Huberman and Miles note that triangulation is a "term with multiple meanings", and conclude that

triangulation is less a tactic than a mode of inquiry. By self-consciously setting out to collect and double-check findings, using multiple sources and modes of evidence, the researcher will build the triangulation process into ongoing data collection (1994:438).

Situations where inconsistent information was given by different participants relevant to the same case, largely reflecting different memory of details, perspectives and personal experiences, are noted in the findings presentation chapters.

Ethics

The ethical issues surrounding research in the field of child sexual abuse are complex, and are vitally important considering the sensitivity and trauma associated with it, and the safety issues involved. Accordingly, ethical approval was sought and obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (refer to application in Appendix 1). Massey University's <u>Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving Human Subjects</u> requires attention to five principles. These are informed consent, confidentiality, minimising of harm, truthfulness and social sensitivity.

<u>Informed Consent</u>

Written information about the study was provided to all potential participants and written consent was sought. Consent was first sought from graduates for inclusion of their cases in this study. This included consent to be interviewed, for access to relevant files, and for the researcher to interview identified support people. Similarly consent was sought from support people to participate. In the case of the two brief telephone interviews, verbal consent was obtained before proceeding, as endorsed in the Code. The formal consent of the Department of Corrections to interview clients and staff members, and

to utilise Departmental records for research purposes, was also obtained. Signed consent forms, and copies of written correspondence have been retained.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality and anonymity of participants are of the utmost importance in dealing with such a sensitive issue. In particular it was essential in this study to guarantee confidentiality and anonymity to each individual participant. In addition it was imperative to assure Probation Officers that no identifiable information about their practice would be available to the Department of Corrections as their employer. In granting ethical approval the Human Ethics Committee were concerned that all practical means of ensuring confidentiality were implemented.

As discussed in the previous section on data analysis and reporting, to maintain these requirements it was essential that no information that could lead to the identification of any participant be included in the final report. This meant not only excluding any reference to names, but also location, employment details, and precise descriptions of specific offences. As noted above, findings have been presented thematically rather than in individual case studies. The only partial exception to this principle is that in one case a family reintegration process was being implemented and this is specifically considered in Chapter Eight. However only information specifically relevant to the family reintegration is included in that chapter; other information from that case is included thematically in the other chapters. These measures should render it extremely difficult for any reader to piece together any one case story.

However one potential exception to the confidentiality principle was identified. It was accepted as possible that in the course of

conducting this study a further offence or child at risk could have been discovered. Social work ethics would have required notification of such a situation to appropriate authorities. This limit on confidentiality was included in the information sheets given to prospective participants when seeking consent. Fortunately this situation did not eventuate.

Minimising of Harm

The following possibilities of harm, or perceived harm, to participants were identified. The topic relates to sensitive personal issues which could have been distressing to discuss. For graduates, and for some support people, this study could have been perceived as "dredging up the past" when they are trying to put it all behind them. However the Kia Marama programme emphasises that relapse prevention is a life-long issue, so a graduate who was seeking to "leave it all in the past" could be seen as probably at risk of reoffending and in need of challenging.

In the case of the graduate who had reoffended it was possible that support people may have been blaming themselves, and the very situation of being interviewed had the potential to reinforce this perception. Regardless of this possibility, the experience of seeking to support this man had been a difficult experience for those involved with him and his death had been distressing. It was important to listen empathically to participants' pain, but still reinforce the graduate's responsibility for his behaviour. Further, participants in such a situation may well desire catharsis rather than sanctuary (Renzetti and Lee, 1993). This seemed to have been the situation in this case; participation in this study, particularly the group meeting of participants, seemed to be a valuable debriefing for them.

One potential source of harm, or at least perceived harm to participants, that did not occur to me until I started reflecting on and

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processing the data, is that participants could perceive themselves as being criticised by my analysis of the findings. This reinforces the importance of ensuring absolute anonymity in the presentation of data. However I also would categorically state that comments in subsequent chapters are not intended to be critical of any individual, but rather to identify weaknesses in current professional practices and policies in this field.

<u>Truthfulness</u>

Full written information on the nature and purpose of the study was given at the time of seeking consent, and requests for further information during the course of the study were answered. No deception was engaged in. Sexual abuse thrives in an atmosphere of secrecy and deception, and relapse prevention requires openness and honesty. These qualities should be modelled by practitioners and researchers in the field.

<u>Social Sensitivity</u>

In qualitative research interviews the research instrument is the researcher, in this case a man. I did not have the resources to employ other interviewers, and from the perspective of in depth familiarity with all the data it was important that I conduct all the interviews. I was aware that this could create difficulties for interviewing women, particularly women who may have been victims of sexual abuse. However ultimately I had no option but to proceed on the basis that participants consented to be interviewed by me.

Further, in relation to culture only pakeha graduates were included in the study. For purposes of validity it cannot be assumed that macrosystem factors will be similar for men of other cultures. More importantly Stokes (1985) and Smith (1986) highlight the harm caused to Maori by research conducted by pakeha operating from pakeha

methodology and theoretical understandings. Especially in an area as sensitive as sexual abuse it is essential that research in relation to Maori men is conducted by Maori researchers with an in-depth understanding of tikanga Maori and whanau, hapu and iwi structures, systems and processes.

In summary this study required constant awareness that it is dealing with a traumatic and sensitive issue which has touched all informants personally at some level. Finch (1984) notes that it is quite easy for a skilled interviewer to get people to talk about very sensitive personal issues. It was essential not to abuse this trust. Such information needs to be treasured, to be guarded carefully and only reported with the utmost respect and care for confidentiality.

Values

A number of value positions and beliefs explicitly underpin this study. Sexual abuse is inherently exploitive of and harmful to children, who are vulnerable and have an absolute right to nurture and protection. Society must implement policies and provide services aimed at preventing sexual abuse, and dealing effectively with sexual abuse cases, in a manner which protects victims, and holds men who offend accountable for their behaviour. Men who offend are able to change their behaviour and embark on non-abusive lifestyles; and assisting such men to implement and maintain this change is an effective means of protecting victims. Therefore treatment of sex offenders should be adequately resourced.

Politics and Policy Implications

Despite the exploratory nature of this study I am presumptuous enough to consider that it has generated useful information for

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ongoing practice and policy development. Indeed a number of recommendations for practice and policy are made, although in view of the small scale of this research they are proposed tentatively and with the recognition that they would need to be subject to ongoing evaluation. Such recommendations being derived from research is associated with what Bulmer (1982) describes as the engineering model of the application of social research to policy. Adoption of this model is justified in this case on the basis that the recommendations address a specialised field of professional practice rather than more far reaching social policy development, and I am a practitioner in the field as well as the researcher in this study. The proposals are also logically derived from the literature reviewed, particularly in Chapter Three in relation to principles of person-in-environment practice, as well as the findings of this study. In addition there is broad agreement on the value positions outlined above between most researchers, practitioners, and policy makers in this field. This research has political implications in that sexual offending is an area of keen public interest and concern. It is acknowledged that the recommendations proposed could have resource implications which would need to be addressed.

We now turn to examine the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 5

THE FUNCTIONING OF SUPPORT NETWORKS

Data from this study is presented in this and the following chapters. As discussed in the previous chapter, findings are presented thematically rather than each complete case being presented separately, in order to ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. This chapter describes the general functioning of the support networks, and the experiences of the Kia Marama graduates and their support network members. First, the composition of the graduates' support networks, and how people came to be involved in them is outlined. The level of engagement that support people had with the graduates while they were in Kia Marama, and with their therapy process, is examined before considering experiences after the graduates' release. Following this, the experiences of the graduates and their support network members are explored. Issues surrounding communication of offence and risk related information, openness and secrecy, and meso-system level communication within the support network have particular significance. It is also essential to pay due attention to the personal experiences of support network members, the impact of their role on them, and the level of support they felt that they had for themselves. Finally attention is given to exo-system and macro-system factors. Issues emerging from these findings will be explored in the following chapter. The significance of the role of the Probation Officers in graduates' support systems is such that Chapter Seven is devoted to that. Chapter Eight considers the experience of the process of family reintegration for the graduate and his wife who pursued that course.

The Composition of Support Networks

Examining the composition of the graduates' social networks was assisted by the use of the Social Network Map and Grid (Tracy and Whittaker, 1990), which was completed during interviews with graduates. The Social Network Map identifies different domains from which social network members are drawn, which are identified as household, other family, work/school, clubs/organisations/church, friends, neighbours, and formal services. Generally there was a limited number of support network members from household and family domains. For one graduate a key supporter was his wife. Two graduates listed brothers as part of their support networks. One also initially included his parents, but quickly dropped them due to their colluding and victim blaming attitude. Indeed one Probation Officer observed that

> *I suspect that family members are perhaps not particularly useful members of support networks. If anything goes wrong I think there's probably more of a tendency for them to keep it within house, rather than go blowing the whistle, unless it's something of major proportions. So I think it is better to have people outside the family.*

Two graduates had no family members in their support network. One graduate listed a neighbour as part of his network but did not invite this person to the official support network meeting.

Two of the graduates were employed. One was employed by his brother who was identified as a significant support person although he hadn't attended the support network meeting. The other employed offender did not include anyone from his employment situation in his support network. He had not informed anyone at his work of his offending.

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Friends were the most significant support people for two graduates, and were also included in the support network of a third. Two graduates identified other Kia Marama graduates as significant friends, who played a valuable supporting role for them, although in neither case was the other graduate part of the formal support network and included in the support network meeting. Neither were identified as participants for this study. Indeed one Probation Officer noted a trend for Kia Marama graduates to get together and form their own mutual support networks. Given that being in Kia Marama may have provided the context for the closest and most supportive relationships many of these men have experienced, and that many face significant difficulties in building relationships and gaining support once released, this may be understandable. Nevertheless, it is a development which causes some concern:

> *What they tend to do is actually form their own support network* [together] *and that's not always a good thing. In fact at one stage we had a chap out who's now on preventive detention, we felt it was quite dangerous, and he was kind of the lynch pin of this quite large group of graduates who met regularly and all had computers, and the concern is about just what was going on. So my idea is to try and channel them into their own communities and neighbourhoods.* (Probation Officer)

One graduate prior to his release identified his church as a significant support. His pastor was included in a reintegration meeting at Kia Marama prior to the graduate's release, however after his release the graduate attended a different church. This was not necessarily an adverse development, as there were apparently not many people of a similar age with whom he might form social relationships within the first church congregation, and he did maintain some ongoing contact with the original pastor. One Probation Officer

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noted that from her experience churches were significant in the support systems of a number of graduates who had little other support:

> *A lot of them don't have support out there in the community . . . So between people from the church and professional people, that seems to be about their lot . . . I'd say that* [churches] *would be quite unsafe really. They tend to extend trust to these guys far beyond what would be sensible. Certainly it seems to be up to the Kia Marama graduate themselves to educate people about their high risk situations and stuff.*

No other graduates in this study had clubs/organisations/church featured in their social networks.

Formal services featured significantly in the support networks of three graduates. One graduate's support network was made up entirely of professional or formal service providers. Indeed two Probation Officers and one graduate commented that many graduates find themselves with very little support at all:

> *I find it saddening in a way that some of them end up not having much support when they start off, but learning to be independent and cope and exercise their safety strategies. I think it's an important role for the Probation Officer to be able to help them reintegrate knowing that they haven't got a lot of support . . . my experience is that apart from professional support these guys are pretty much on their own. And because they generally can't get employment they therefore don't have much money, they can't do things to get them out into the community and find their own support people.* (Probation Officer)

> *Other times support networks are just a complete and utter joke and that's not necessarily a reflection on the willingness of people to get involved in that sort of thing because of men who are so incapable of forming normal healthy ongoing stable adult interactions - there's nobody there . . . it is very difficult to get a group that is there in a positive, supportive and mutual respect type way. So the whole business* (support networks) *is very good, and sometimes works particularly well, but there are others*

*where the chances of it working are "nine fifths of stuff all"
really.* (Probation Officer)

*I know that some of the guys that go to the Kia Marama
support group have especially difficulty with friends and, I
know they need it, not being able to find work . . . not so
much struggling with being at risk or anything, although I
guess in some ways they might be, just that they're
struggling in general* (Graduate)

Recruitment of support networks

In most cases graduates had known their support people for
some time prior to doing the programme. This was certainly true for all
the support people from the friends and family domains, and also in
one case for those in the formal services domain.

In the case of friends, one person had developed a friendship
with the graduate after meeting at a party. At the time the graduate
was awaiting court proceedings for the offending and attending a
community based treatment programme. The graduate quite openly
acknowledged his offending to this person early in the development of
the friendship. In this case recruitment was a process of
communication of the idea of a network over the course of the therapy
programme:

*The people that were there, my support people, knew I
was going in for it, so it was just communicating to them
during the* [therapy] *group that this was what was going
to happen, and this is what the therapy required of me,
and if they're prepared to be supportive of me.*
(Graduate)

One support person saw her role largely as a continuation of a
friendship, and seemed somewhat reticent about a more formalised
role:

*Then when he came out of prison I think they're obliged
to have a support network, and there was only myself
and* [other support person] *really. I don't find it any big*

deal as far as a correct group, I'm just a friend. I would have done the same if he didn't have to have a support group.

In the case of a graduate who served a lengthy sentence, he first met key support people through their involvement in the Prison Fellowship ministry. Although he was already imprisoned at the time, it was some years prior to his commencing the programme.

One graduate describes identifying his support network "strictly by the book" in terms of following Kia Marama instructions, and sending information. He acknowledged being somewhat tardy in doing so, although he was not pursued by therapy staff to get it done:

I got the impression that it didn't really bother them anyway . . . they didn't really mind whether I had a support group or not basically. It didn't seem to bother them too much. Having said that I could have done more myself, but I didn't. (Graduate)

In this case both the graduate and the Probation Officer subsequently questioned the appropriateness of some of the people originally selected. Both concluded that more careful thought by the graduate, and professional intervention in the selection process, would have been beneficial. The graduate considered that earlier consideration of his support network

may have put them through a process of elimination, whether they were in fact wanting to support you for the right reasons or they want to support you because you're an old drinking mate or because you're a son and you could never do anything wrong. It may have just sorted those things out. You may have thought of six people and you may come out at the end with only three, but you know that those three people you can rely on and you can actually call support.

He concluded that

[The] support group is definitely important. Think carefully about selecting it. Your support network is important so you think about it a long time before you have to, who you're going to have because they're important.

One graduate talked about the meaning and value of friendship:

If you're friends you're genuinely interested in that person's life, and if you're not you're not really a friend are you? You take a person as a whole. . . Close friends . . . accept me as I am, that includes the past and includes the present and if they can swallow that then good on them.

In the case of the graduate whose support network was largely composed of formal and professional services, the key people had already had significant contact with the graduate over a number of years. They had largely been incorporated to meet specific needs, through a process of referral from other service providers. In one case the graduate had stormed into an agency premises in a crisis state some years previously, and this had commenced a long term helping relationship with a worker there. This graduate was highly dependent on social service agencies for practical needs, including semi-supervised accommodation. However, as noted in Chapter Four, due to his death it has not been possible to canvas his perspective on the development of his support network.

Stability of Support Networks

The nature of social relationships and networks is dynamic, so it is not surprising that all of the networks experienced some change over the time since the graduates' release. A number of people initially identified were no longer part of support networks. In one case a graduate had, initially after release, moved to live with a couple, but conflict quickly developed over issues including his sexual orientation,

and the relationship was terminated with some mutual ill feeling and recrimination. In another case, a person who had been a key support person through the graduate's sentence, subsequently had a vastly diminished role in the support network. This person was a friend of the graduate's wife, and according to the graduate, she was unable to accept their reconciliation. However, according to the Probation Officer, she had advised the Probation Officer of some concerns about the situation, and was subsequently distanced by the graduate. A graduate's parents came to be regarded as inappropriate for close support, because of their minimising and victim blaming attitude towards his offending.

As well as people being effectively dropped from networks, there were new additions into significant support roles. For one graduate, a brother who had not been invited to the support network meeting, came to play a far more significant role in his support network than another brother and his parents, who had been part of the initially identified network. There were also changes in formal service personnel. However only one graduate had a change of Probation Officer during his parole.

In one city the Community Probation Service was engaged in an initiative to develop a closer liaison with the Police. In line with this development, a specific Police Officer was designated as a liaison Officer for a graduate. This was because of the public nature of his offending and his assessed high risk of reoffending, and was envisaged as a preventive and supportive initiative:

> *And I was quite proud of the fact that I initiated the liaison with the Police, cause that's something that we're doing now in this office and I thought "well there's no time like the present to start". If anyone needed that it's* [Graduate]. *So that's when* [Police Officer] *was appointed his liaison Officer, and I said to* [Graduate] *"if there's any*

problems contact [Police Officer]*"* . . . *and I said "do you have any objection to him coming up to see you?" and he said "what?" and I said "really it's for your support" and he got on board with that and I was really surprised actually.* (Probation Officer)

However, people who later came into significant roles in the graduates' actual ongoing support networks did not tend to be incorporated in any formal way, and were not generally introduced to other members of the network.

It's sort of happened. It was more he offered, he said if there was anything I want or need or want to talk about or anything at all I only have to ring or ask or whatever. It started happening just round about, with the relationship we had and also working for him. (Graduate)

Two of the graduates emphasised the importance of having the most appropriate people in their networks, and selecting carefully with this in mind. Graduates envisaged their support networks continuing to function for them after the termination of their parole. Indeed, two of the graduates were invited to participate in the study towards the end of their parole, so that their parole had actually terminated at the time of the interview. One expressed a significant determination to keep his support network in place.

Even though my parole's finished it's still there . . . Other parts of the network (apart from the Probation Officer) *have been retained and become a bit stronger after an initial period, so it's balanced out.*

Support Network Engagement During the Therapy Programme

All three graduates interviewed described the Kia Marama Therapy Programme as a positive experience. In interviews the graduates demonstrated a good understanding of the programme content, and that the concepts and principles were still very much

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"alive" for them. Indeed one graduate pointed out his folder of therapy material readily available for reference on his lounge table over two years after his release:

> I keep the file sitting there, that's Kia Marama stuff. It's just a normal daily part of my life, it's very important to me.

Each of the men had different aspects of, or learnings from the programme which were most salient for them. For one the most important learning was understanding the process of his offending and how to intervene and stop that process. For another it was victim empathy, and for the third it was learning to be honest, to be able to openly acknowledge the difficulties he faced, and to communicate feelings.

Two of the men described the challenge and struggle of doing the programme:

> It was hard. It was soul searching. It tore me down and gave me a chance to put myself back together. But it was hard work. By the same token I have to say it was well worth it . . . So it's worth its time in gold. I don't think I could have had the skills to survive this long without the programme.

One man particularly described a process of moving from a position of blaming everyone and everything else for his offending, to examining his own behaviour, and taking responsibility for it.

All three men described a high level of contact with their support network members during the programme. They generally received weekly visits from at least one of their key support people during the programme. It must be acknowledged that geographical constraints would limit the availability of support in many cases. Furthermore, this support was particularly important in helping them sustain their

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motivation during the more difficult parts of the programme, although they considered they had sufficient determination to complete the programme even without this:

> *It was very important, because there were times when the programme was getting pretty hard, and there were times when I asked myself was all this agony really worth it . . . They kept me motivated, kept me on track, kept me pushing in the right way which was really important. They came out on a Saturday and talked about it . . . I still would have got through. It came close but my determination to succeed wouldn't allow me to walk away.*

One man described the process of developing his offence chain, and discussing this with his wife when she visited, finding to his consternation that she was sometimes able to identify factors in his offending quicker than he was.

However there was a significant difference in the level of engagement of the support people with the therapy process and the contact they had with therapy staff, and the participants' reactions to this engagement. In one case support people had no contact with the therapy unit staff. The graduate felt that he would have "quite liked" his support people to meet his therapist, but was not overly concerned that they did not. The support person interviewed described receiving the standard letter, sent by the therapist, inviting contact if she wanted to, but she felt no need. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that this person expressed significant minimisation and confusion about issues of risk for the graduate. Another graduate attributed the lack of contact between some members of his support network and therapy staff to his tardiness in getting his support network identified, although as noted he gained the impression that therapy staff did not place a high priority on it.

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In the case where family reintegration eventuated, the graduate's wife had a couple of meetings with the therapy staff earlier in the programme, but these were primarily for the purpose of addressing safety issues for home leaves. Further meetings about reintegration planning were held towards the end of the programme.

With another man, key lay support people played a significant role in motivating him to do the programme prior to his commencement, to the extent of planning to introduce him to someone else who had been through the programme. These people were involved in a number of reintegration meetings[14] with therapy staff and his Probation Officer prior to the graduate's release. The graduate described this process as very important:

> *They* (reintegration meetings) *were very important. The flow of information was really required for* [support network members] *and myself, and it was crucial that it happened.*

He also described himself as "one of the lucky ones" to have had this process occur before his release.

However, in both of these cases, the support people expressed significant dissatisfaction with the level of engagement they had with the graduates' therapy process:

> *I think I would have been more satisfied if I had more involvement, if I knew exactly what was happening and could talk it through more with* [graduate], *knowing exactly what was going on . . . I think it would have made it a lot easier on* [graduate] *and on me too, if I understood exactly where* [graduate] *was and how things affected him, sometimes with visits the different sort of moods and things like that.*

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[14]Reintegration meetings are meetings held at the Kia Marama Unit, prior to a client's release, to identify issues related to his reintegration back into the community and assist with planning. The use of the term "reintegration" in this context is not to be confused with family reintegration situations.

Another couple commented about the reintegration meetings they attended that

> *We had a couple of meetings I suppose before* [graduate] *was released but we didn't go into too much depth at that stage. We had no idea before his release of some of the issues. They're told about high risk situations and different ways to handle themselves and look after their behaviour but you don't get much of an insight into it.*

This couple gained the impression that

> *There seemed to be quite a bit of secrecy about the programme from the staff . . . .It was very much a closed shop . . . Basically you felt like you were fairly much excluded - that they were doing their thing - and you came along and visited - and the support concept was quite afar off at that point. I don't think they really recognised the support you were trying to give or encouraged it as much as they could have.*

This couple also described an incident of severe trauma within their family as a result of assisting an inmate at Kia Marama (not a participant in this study), which they considered could have been averted if they had had more openly communicated information about that inmate's progress in therapy.

In the case of the graduate whose support network largely consisted of social service agents, these people had limited contact with the therapy process. One support person kept in touch with him by letter during the programme. Others were contacted by the reintegration co-ordinator at Kia Marama when release plans were being made. His Probation Officer also had significant consultation with his therapist following his release, which she found very valuable. The support people interviewed were generally satisfied with the information they had, as being sufficient for their perceived roles,

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which will be considered further below. Unfortunately, it was not possible to gain the graduate's view of this process due to his death.

"The Green Green Grass of Home" - General Experiences of Release

Graduates' experiences of being released and adjusting back into society varied. One described release as a let down after the expectation he had built up after months of imprisonment. For another, being accepted back in his home area was a positive experience. Another man, who had served a lengthy sentence, found considerable difficulty in adjusting to the changes in society over the time he had been in prison. Financial management was a particular stress for him. This man also had to cope with physical and psychiatric health problems at the time of his release, and as a result of all this, suffered times of severe depression. The support he had from his support network through these times was particularly valuable to him.

All three graduates interviewed found their geographic living situations reasonably satisfactory; in particular none reported any significant risk factors inherent in their living situations and neighbourhoods. The deceased graduate had a special need for semi-supervised accommodation, and a flat was arranged for him in a block of flats which houses a number of psychiatric patients, and others with particular needs. This was a generally ideal situation for him, apart from the fact that it was reportedly located on a route between a girls' private school and the bus routes. However, it was the only facility of its type available, and there was no report of this graduate having subsequently offended in the neighbourhood.

Two of the graduates had employment. Both described their jobs as reducing their risk of reoffending through keeping them busy

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and occupied during the day. One found the job somewhat mundane though, which created room for some unhealthy thinking. He expressed a desire for more mentally stimulating employment. Another described keeping strict limits on the place of work within his life, in comparison with "work-aholic" tendencies at the time leading to his offending. Another graduate was unable to cope with full time employment, but engaged in computer work at a part-time hobby-business level. This helped with lifestyle balance.

Communication of Offence Related Information

For support people to be able to effectively carry out their role of monitoring the graduate's behaviour and noticing and challenging any risk situations or behaviours, it is essential that they are provided with a base of information about the graduate's offending pattern, high risk situations and warning signs. Kia Marama envisages this will be communicated at a support network meeting facilitated by the Probation Officer. The ideal is that in that context the graduate reads his offence chain and personal statement, including an outline of his high risk situations, and invites his support people to watch out for these. Support people are invited to challenge the graduate if any risk factors arise and report back to the Probation Officer if necessary.

In the research interviews, I asked the graduates to briefly outline their offence chains, and also asked the support network members to outline their understanding of the factors leading to the graduate's offending, with the aim of gaining some sense of how effectively the information had been communicated and understood. This strategy was less than entirely successful. The graduates seemed somewhat reluctant to answer this question in detail; one graduate was notably resistant to discussing this in any more than a minimal way. In

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retrospect this was probably to be expected, as this was the most intrusive question in a research interview which focused on mainly post-release circumstances. Support people also seemed to find this question difficult to answer precisely, although in one case a support person seemed to outline more pertinent factors than the graduate had. With hindsight, to focus on the most essential current information, it may have been more appropriate to ask about high risk situations and warning signs rather than offence chains.

Out of this sample of four graduates, in two cases post release support network meetings, as envisaged by Kia Marama, were actually held. In both of these cases, the selection of support people to attend, and the process of invitation, was largely left up to the graduate by their Probation Officers. In one case, the Probation Officer considered with hindsight that more intervention with this process might have been beneficial:

> That's an area that in future perhaps I would possibly handle a bit differently. I think I might have given him too much say there, and of course I didn't know these people really from a bar of soap, and didn't feel the need to phone them up individually or whatever . . . perhaps I could have pushed him a little bit more in that area, to explore that a little bit further.

In one case a support network member brought her adult daughter, who hadn't been invited to the meeting, as they were going somewhere together afterwards, which created some awkwardness. Nevertheless in both cases key support people attended and the meetings were considered by those interviewed to have been successful. In a case of intra-familial offending, the graduate had indicated a desire to read his personal statement and make an apology to his victim (his adolescent stepdaughter) in the presence of

his support network. After the Probation Officer had consulted with the graduate's therapist at Kia Marama and the victim's counsellor, this was considered to be appropriate. The victim was given the opportunity to leave the meeting after the initial statement and apology, and chose to do so.

Although one of the graduates found his meeting quite uncomfortable, both considered that the process of communicating offending related information to their support people in that way was important and valuable:

> *As uncomfortable as it could possibly be. I didn't have to, but I read my personal statement. It was advised at Kia Marama but not enforced. I could see the value of it. I was sitting there with my support group and if there was any doubt whatever that I was responsible it should have cleared that up, should have eliminated any doubt that it wasn't what the victim had done. So it was not nice, it was quite hard, tough going to read. But I guess it set it off on a footing of "this is serious, not a day out". It was set up for a reason from the start.* (Graduate)

Both graduates thought that the process was successful and their support people had understood and assimilated the information. In one case both the graduate and the Probation Officer commented on the appropriateness and relevance of the questions that support people asked as an indication of their understanding. In another case the Probation Officer thought that the graduate was somewhat vague about issues of high risk situations and safety planning, and described working with him in the meeting to facilitate more specific communication. She was also concerned about the tendency of one support person to minimise the risk of reoffending. However the graduate seemed able to resist this minimisation. At one meeting the Probation Officer also took the opportunity to encourage some relationship rebuilding between the graduate and his brother.

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In one case, although no formal support network meeting was held after release, there had been a number of reintegration meetings prior to the graduate's release, which support people attended. Both the graduate and his Probation Officer considered that information had been fully communicated in those meetings. However as noted previously the support network members interviewed expressed some dissatisfaction with the depth of information they received. No support network meeting was held after release, apparently as a result of the graduate's conflict with one couple in his support network, and a health crisis.

Finally in one case there was a reintegration meeting at Kia Marama prior to release, attended by the graduate's pastor, where the graduate outlined his offence chain. The pastor was also provided with a copy of a policy for dealing with sex offenders within a congregation that had been derived from another church. However, as mentioned previously, the graduate did not continue to attend that church after his release. Subsequently, he attended a Bible study at another church, but no information regarding his offending was provided to people within the new church, at least on a formal basis. He returned to an established support network composed largely of professionals and social service agency personnel. He had intensive contact with these people, virtually daily with some. However no support network meeting was held of these people. The Probation Officer described a frustrating process of seeking to arrange a meeting, which was sabotaged by the graduate's lack of co-operation and immediate crises. The process

> *was diabolical. Whenever I said "let's start it" so he'd come today we'd start the planning process and in the session we'd have a queue of distractions and other crises to talk about, so I'd say when we meet next week we'll invite the people and then he wouldn't come to that appointment. Now he might drop in at other times during*

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the week, but not at the time where I had enough space, where I planned to sit down and discuss it. He just kept doing that. Or he'd come in and he'd say "she can't come, I'm not having anything to do with her at the moment", [Support Network Member] was definitely in that boat at one stage. So it was just impossible. It was all right for the Police to be there and then it wasn't - it was incredible frustration. I even actually thought of setting it up, and just saying to him this is the day, this is the time, be there, but I didn't have enough confidence in him being there and I could see that I'd be running it myself, and I wasn't so sure that would be a good idea . . . And he would say occasionally in the early days "what about the support network meeting, we're supposed to have that in the first month" and I would say "yes we are and when we can stop having crises we'll do it" . . . bringing him back to it and reordering the list and him deciding he wanted to include other people and contacting them and because he treated them badly they didn't want to . . .

The Probation Officer eventually concluded that

It was my process, something that I needed to be done, and although he would use it sometimes, most of the time it was irrelevant to him really. He had all the support he (perceived he) needed really, he was in contact with these people all the time himself, he probably didn't see the benefit of it, although I did explain to him at times we were dealing with it that what these people really needed to know was what it had been like for him in Kia Marama, and what the nature of his offending was exactly, and what his high risk situations were and his pattern.

Further, members of this support network were professional and social service agents, who perceived themselves as having defined roles and tasks which did not necessarily include understanding the graduate's offence related issues and monitoring his risk of offending:

I knew the nature of his offending but he didn't discuss it with me . . . I didn't encourage him to do that because it wasn't my part, although I'm a fully trained social worker and could have been - I mean he had [Probation Officer] and [counsellor] and so there were structures . . . one of the tenets of social work is that you don't come over on someone else's patch. (Support Network Member)

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I didn't feel that was ashamed or unprepared to acknowledge and talk about it. It seemed clear that in the programme he'd taken responsibility . . . I didn't really encourage him because basically I was his landlord and I felt there were other people who probably had a more intimate role. I assumed that he had some sort of therapist or psychologist in Community Corrections and I knew [Probation Officer] *was working quite closely with him and I also knew that* [Support Network Member quoted above] *was working quite closely with him . . . my role is to work more with bricks and mortar. So I was certainly prepared to sit down and take some time with him but I didn't feel it was my role to delve unless it was obvious that he needed to talk. If he needed to talk then I would try to make time whenever he did.* (Support Network Member)

Yet this person also described himself as a "watchdog" on the spot, as the person who had the most immediate awareness of crisis situations.

These perceptions are probably generally appropriate in most social service situations, however they differ markedly from the role of a support network member as envisaged at Kia Marama and outlined in Chapter Three. Of course as a support network meeting had not been held, these people had not been invited or sanctioned by the graduate to adopt the role as envisaged by Kia Marama, rather than the roles they normally defined for themselves. Nevertheless, the end result of the scenario was that the people who had the closest contact with the graduate on a day-to-day basis, including one who described himself as a "watchdog" on the spot, did not have a comprehensive information base from which to perform an offence risk monitoring role. The graduate did seem to have communicated in more depth over a period of time with one person, but she had some questions about his understanding of his offending, and it was not communicated in a formal setting where information could be clarified and endorsed by a Probation Officer. It must be acknowledged that this graduate's risk of

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reoffending was assessed as extremely high, and it certainly cannot be concluded that better information sharing in his support network would have prevented him reoffending. Due to his death, it has not been possible to include his perceptions of the process described.

Support network members who had attended reintegration meetings prior to a graduate's release, or support network meetings after release, generally seemed to have achieved a reasonable understanding of factors involved in graduates' offending, although this was not always precisely expressed. Some were quick to refer to the graduate's experiences of having been abused as children, although one support person considered that the experience of being sexually abused as a child should have acted as a deterrent against abusing. Nevertheless all support network members were able to cite the graduates' adult behaviour patterns including depression and stress, unsatisfactory relationships with adults, desire for power, emotional congruence with children, offence planning, substance abuse and sexual fantasy. All support network members described the graduates as clearly taking responsibility for their offending behaviour. In one case a support network member with whom the graduate had discussed his offending in some detail, but who had not attended a meeting where information would have been endorsed by the Probation Officer, expressed some doubts about this:

> *I was sure that he was convinced of it* (his explanation of his offending). *I'm not convinced of it. His issues started from birth in his life really. It was pretty messy, I don't think many people would have survived it . . . Basically I thought that where I was just basic support, that I didn't have to buy into that "you have to be guilty and responsible for your behaviour", because sometimes I don't actually believe all of that anyway, but because he'd been to Kia Marama it was quite good to try and follow what* [Probation Officer] *and them were trying to do. One time with* [Support Network Member] *and I saying*

"[Graduate's] behaviours were not acceptable to society so he has to change and he can change it and that's the only way" - that's what I find unaccepting. Where I would probably go more for that he actually needed more psychological help and that, and probably that behaviour model wasn't going to make a big difference in the long run.

As previously noted, graduates' support networks are dynamic, with some people dropping out, and newer members being added or coming to have a more prominent role. The amount of information that newer members received seemed variable. One graduate described a pattern of generally giving comprehensive information to people he was in regular contact with:

Basically the lot, like it or not they get it . . . I don't have a problem giving it (information about his offending). *I retain this value that I keep no secrets. that's what really counts.*

This process seems to have been verified by the Probation Officer:

I verified or [Graduate] *substantiated that he was informing people - important people who were around him, or I verified myself that there was that level of awareness . . . generally it was* [Graduate] *that instigated it, that's why I was encouraged by* [Graduate's] *openness.*

However none of those newer members of the support network were included in this graduate's nominated consented participants.

In another case the graduate's brother, who hadn't attended the support network meeting came to play a valued role in his support network. The graduate described a gradual process of communicating his offence chain to his brother:

In bits and pieces over a period of time he probably had all of it, but not in one hit. It would conveniently come up. We might be talking about something and it may just happen . . . I would lead in from there . . . that showed on some of my chain as well, and that related to my

offending. So different angles as it came up. At the end of the day he would have got the full chain but instead of taking him round it as sitting down now he probably would have forgotten everything I told him, we related it to something - seized on naturally occurring opportunities to communicate.

In this case the brother did not participate in a full interview due to time and distance constraints, but was interviewed briefly by telephone. However he described the graduate's communication about his offending as minimal. There seems to be no reason to doubt the graduate's intention that his brother have this information, or that he did implement the communication process described. However it seems likely that the brother never received a package of information prefaced with "this is important information you need to know so that you can support me in keeping safe". More probably conversations, in which the graduate saw himself as seizing opportunities to communicate aspects of his chain, remained in his brother's perception as chats about such matters as business experiences.

Ongoing Experiences and Perceptions of Support

We now turn to examining the ongoing functioning of the support networks. With each client interviewed, I administered the Social Network Grid (Tracy and Whittaker 1990; see Appendix 2), which accompanies the Social Network Map described above. The Social Network Grid lists members of a client's network, and rates them on scales regarding frequency of contact, length of time the target individual has known the person, and how often the person exhibits different types of supportive behaviour. The behaviours measured are concrete support, giving information or advice, being critical, the direction of help, and closeness. In view of the importance of support network members being able to challenge the graduates, as

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distinguished from destructive criticism, I divided the critical column on the grid into positive challenging, and negative criticism. For most items, clients rate the person on a three point scale of:

1. Hardly ever, 2. Sometimes, 3. Almost always.

Direction of help is rated:

1. Goes both ways, 2. You to them, 3. Them to you.

Closeness is rated:

1. Not very close, 2. Sort of close, 3. very close.

The graduates' subjective experience of the different forms of support, and the importance of the different sorts of support to them, were explored further. Support network members were asked about types of support they saw themselves as providing. In the case of the graduate who died, no attempt was made to complete the Social Network Grid, although support network members were asked about the types of support they provided.

On the support network grid, graduates indicated that in most cases they had known key members of their social networks, from the family and friends domain, for several years: over five years in most cases. They tended to have known professionals for a shorter period of time, although in the case of the graduate who had died, a number of social service agents had been involved with him for several years. The graduates had contact with the key members of their support networks weekly or more often, except for one case where the graduate reported monthly contact, and the support network member reported weekly to fortnightly. This discrepancy may have arisen from attempting to estimate average contact levels over a two year period.

From the three graduates with whom the support network grid was completed, ten individuals were identified who attended support network meetings and continued to play a significant supportive role,

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or alternatively came to play a significant role despite not having attended a meeting. The ratings for frequency of the different kinds of supportive behaviour exhibited by these people is outlined in the table below. Not all of these people were participants, and people the graduates no longer regarded as part of their active support network have not been included in this analysis.

Supportive Behaviours	Number of People Rated:		
	3	2	1
	Almost Always	Sometimes	Hardly Ever
Concrete Support	7	1	2
Emotional Support	8	2	0
Information/Advice	10	0	0
Positive Challenging	7	3	0
Negative/Critical	0	2	8

The three people who received ratings of hardly ever or sometimes for concrete support were all Probation Officers, which is appropriate to that professional role. The people who rated as sometimes on both the positive challenging and the negative/critical behaviours were all from the family and friends domains. Regarding closeness, seven people were rated as "very close". The three rated as "sort of close", were all Probation Officers which again seemed appropriate in respect of their professional role. Regarding direction of help, all three graduates rated the help "them to you" for their Probation Officers, and "goes both ways" for everyone from their family and friends domains. However, in one case, the interview with the support network members indicated that the reciprocation from the graduate had been minimal in comparison to the support they had given him.

It is notable that the support network members from the family and friends domains, which in most cases is likely to be the most

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important long term, were perceived as somewhat less likely to offer challenge, or confrontation of the graduate's behaviour than provide other means of support. They were also slightly more likely to be perceived as negatively critical. It seems that people that the graduates did not perceive as rating highly on most forms of support were dropped fairly quickly from the active support networks. In some cases this development was clearly appropriate, such as people who expressed attitudes of denial or minimisation of offending behaviour.

Beyond this it is difficult to draw substantive conclusions from these ratings. The rating scale is rather crude, and relies entirely on the graduates subjective perception, rather than objective measures, although in most cases support network members saw themselves as giving the kinds of support the graduates had rated them highly on. In one case a graduate scored a support network member highly on giving advice or guidance despite the fact that she described trying to avoid doing that. Overall, despite its limitations as a research instrument, the Social Network Map and Grid is likely to prove a very useful clinical tool for assisting men in therapy to examine their overall social networks and assess who would be appropriate to invite to be part of their support network.

In the case of the graduate who had died, it was not possible to administer the grid. The support network members interviewed described him as requiring, and themselves as providing, intensive practical and emotional support. With the exception of the Police Liaison Officer, their level of contact with him was generally three or four times a week. However two of these people in particular did not perceive monitoring his risk of offending and challenging risky behaviour as part of their defined roles, as noted in the previous section:

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Practical help certainly. Understanding offence related issues - that wouldn't be part of my brief. Picking up (and actually dealing with) *warning signs, again that wouldn't be part of my brief.* (Support Network Member)

Nevertheless this person was aware of warning signs and did report these to the Probation Officer.

When graduates were asked what type of support was most valuable to them, and the basis on which they assessed people as appropriately supportive, answers included availability; listening; acceptance of them as a person despite what they had done; awareness of the severity of the sexual abuse and refusal to minimise it; the willingness and ability to challenge them; emotional support and expression of feelings; friendship, and commitment to a shared goal of safety.

> *Emotional, being able to express my feelings is a big one for me, I find that very helpful . . . How well I get on with them, more if they seem to be on the ball, understand everything I say and can add something on the end of it all, or reflect what I've just said to them.* (Graduate)

> *I guess someone that if you're talking to them they aren't minimising what you've done. They're your friend but don't want to be the friend I had four years ago when I was offending, same old mate, same old friend. Someone like that's probably not a lot of use. Someone who realises the severity of sexual abuse, what it can do, not to the adverse that anybody who offends needs to be shot, not anti, but someone who realises that sexual abuse does happen.* (Graduate)

> *If people listen, they're quite happy to confront you on an issue where they think you're out of place, are honest and not worried about being up front about it and accept me as an individual, not so much my past but me as an individual, that's the biggest asset. As long as they're strong enough within themselves which is important.* (Graduate)

One graduate spoke positively about the experience of being challenged:

I also feel one which [Support Network Member] has done in the past too is challenging support, not criticism but just challenging. I guess because she knew I'd gone through my chain which she understood anyway, I suppose if there's any fear of reverting back she's pretty quick to see it and she'd comment on it. She would actually challenge me, say to me "don't you think work is coming before reality again" - she'd comment on it. As far as staying safe is concerned that's a fairly critical one.

He described a very open attitude to this challenge:

I'd be disappointed if she didn't. Quite at ease with that. Not at ease to the stage where I'd sit back and say I don't have to take care of my safety [Support Network Member] can do it for me - never to that stage, but quite relaxed that she's on the ball, doing what she can. Having said that I'd never leave it up to her. She's brought it up and I recognised what she was getting at.

When asked about the limits of their support, support network members mentioned giving money to the graduate; discussing the graduate's perceived difficulties in another relationship; the adverse effect of a graduate's behaviour on other people the carer had a responsibility for; and responding to late night phone calls. In one case the support was conditional, on the basis that the graduate maintained an active commitment to safe behaviour.

Gender issues in relation to support roles, in particular women being expected to meet the emotional needs of men, were noted in some cases:

I generally communicate that close stuff to women, who I tend to be more emotional around. (Graduate)

And he managed to personalise his relationships with people, and he'd often say to the women "you're just like my mother", and it was his way of making them feel

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special and important to him, but he would go and say
that to every other woman he was happy at the time to
talk to. (Probation Officer)

Meso-system Communication

The meso-system is made up of the relationships and interactions between the different members of the support networks and their communications either including or independently of the graduate. To effectively support the graduate and monitor risk, it is desirable if the support network has a shared base of information, that all members are giving consistent messages in their communication with him, and that network members have the freedom to communicate with each other about issues of concern. This was emphasised by one graduate:

> *I believe now that there should be regular support group*
> *meetings of the support network with those people that*
> *are involved in their lives, whether it be psychologists,*
> *Probation, other professional people who are actively*
> *involved, and I think there should be regular meetings*
> *where everyone gets together, cause let's face it even*
> *from my point of view I see it as sometimes you give*
> *some people information and other people no information*
> *and sometimes other people can see what's going wrong*
> *and not be able to relay that information to where it needs*
> *to be. And I think so long as there's a free flow of*
> *information in the support network then the better the*
> *client's going to be.*

The amount of meso-system communication within the support networks of the graduates studied varied considerably, according to perceived needs.

In the family integration case the Probation Officer maintained very regular contact with the graduate's wife, independently of him, both by phone and occasional home visits. There were also regular

meetings of the graduate, his wife, the Probation Officer and the victim's counsellor/advocate, to review progress.

In one case, as noted above, there was an instance where a support network member phoned the Probation Officer with some concerns about the situation, which gave the Probation Officer some information with which to effectively challenge the graduate. According to the Probation Officer the graduate responded positively to this challenge. However this resulted in a rift between the graduate and this person, who subsequently played a minimal role in the support network:

> *I acted on a call I did receive, but I don't know how much do people know what's going on. You know one hopes that people are observing what's going on and that they're going to be able to share if they see something untoward. But as I say I have my reservations about family support networkers, and of course with friends as happened in this case when an incident was reported it certainly created a real rift, so there was a real sacrifice there. So my gut feeling is that the support network's value is limited. There is going to be the odd one or two who will probably give you the information you want, you should be getting, but there'll be any number of members who perhaps are going to struggle with disclosing information.* (Probation Officer)

In another case there were a couple of occasions where the support network met at informal luncheons, but these were in the first weeks after the graduate's release. Subsequent to that, the graduate ceased contact with some members of the network. More recently contact between the support network had been variable, and tended to be in response to particular needs or crisis situations which were not necessarily directly related to the graduate's offending risk.

In another case there was an intensive amount of contact, both telephone and in meetings, between various support network

members. This contact seemed to be largely reactive and crisis driven. Generally this contact was occurring on at least a weekly basis. Interestingly, one support network member perceived herself as somewhat isolated from others in the network, and considered the level of contact in the network less than satisfactory, while the other support network members clearly perceived her to be an integral part of the network and described the ongoing communication as including her.

In one case the level of meso-system communication was minimal. There had been one or two conversations between one support network member and the Probation Officer, occasioned by the support network member passing onto the Probation Officer information about the graduate being unable to attend a meeting. The support network member also described having contact with another support network member on approximately a monthly basis, although it is unclear if that contact served any purpose other than social interaction. There was a general sense that all was well with the graduate, and people could contact each other if they needed to:

> *I haven't seen* [other support network member] *for about a month. We do sometimes talk about* [Graduate]. *If I felt there was any problems I would go and see* [other support network member]. *If there was something I couldn't say to* [Graduate] *maybe, I would go and see him. Or perhaps I would ring up his Probation Officer. I'm not sure, I haven't really had to.* (Support Network Member)

> [Support Network Member] *has come in a couple of times to explain him not being at a meeting. I talked to her a couple of times but I don't think I talked to* [other support network member]. . . *There wasn't really a great lot* (of contact). *I could have had more than that, but it seemed to work. If I had concerns I would have felt OK about contacting both of them but I didn't. We just had that first meeting and knew how to contact each other. I had a bit*

of contact with [support network member] *anyway, it probably was OK given that* [Graduate] *was doing all right.* (Probation Officer)

However in this case, lack of meso-system communication was associated with minimisation of risk, and confusion regarding his risk situations by one support person.

To summarise from all cases the purposes of meso-system contact included sharing of information, reviewing progress, considering responses to crises, debriefing and sharing frustrations, identifying together in caring for the graduate, and social interaction.

Minimisation and Collusion Within the Network

Two of the graduates encountered attitudes and comments minimising of their risk, and effectively denying the graduate's responsibility for his offending, among the support network members. One graduate encountered significant victim blaming and minimising attitudes from family members:

> [Family member] *basically outright said that it was all* [victim's] *fault, it wasn't anything I did, and* [another family member] *who started out in my network and came to the follow up meeting, his attitude was "ah well it doesn't matter, you probably won't do it again, we'll go and have a beer".* (Graduate)

The graduate described making some effort to convince the people concerned that the offending was his responsibility, but to no avail. He then came to the decision that this support was not appropriate for him. He still maintained an amicable relationship and received some practical help from them, but chose not to discuss significant issues with them.

In another case a support network member, seemed at interview to be confused about risk issues, but generally minimising the graduate's risk of reoffending.

> *I've actually got a lot of faith in him. I don't think he will offend again - but we can't always say that can we . . . Personally I don't think that [Graduate] is any risk to children at all.*

The graduate described having discussed this attitude with his Probation Officer and sought to confront it with the person:

> *It's (support network minimisation) happened a bit and I've talked to [Probation Officer] about it and brought it up which was helpful. And I've also challenged them on it and said this is what it sounds like, so being able to reflect what I've thought as though they've said and communicate. It may have only happened once. We talked about it and they realised that it wasn't that great.*

However the Probation Officer remained concerned and expressed this to the graduate. Yet she did not address this issue directly with the person concerned:

> *I also several times made a point of telling him that what [Support Network Member] was doing, when he talked with [Support Network Member] about issues to do with his offending or any possible high risk situation, anything like that, he had to stop and think about what she said, because what she was saying often wasn't helpful. And at that stage I think I suggested to him that he talk that over with her as well, and I guess with hindsight that's something that I should have talked to her about too, again because it obviously had carried on.*

Graduate's Motivation, Openness or Secrecy

All the graduate's interviewed expressed a strong commitment to the value of open communication:

> *I'd never say (sharing openly) is getting easy, but I'm probably more accepting of having to do it. I accept I have to do it. I have to let other people know how I'm*

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feeling, otherwise I'm going to end up back where I was. I'd never say I'm at ease doing it, but I recognise the importance of it so I make myself do it. Whereas before nobody would have got it out of me. Not even [wife], she'd never know from one day to the next how I felt and if she ever asked it was always "yeah OK". (Graduate)

[I] d*idn't do it* (share with others on a deeper level) *at all before the programme. Being able to open up and talk about stuff has been really good . . . Now I'm into that, I like communicating with people now.* (Graduate)

I still share about things and I still talk to people about even the more hard things to talk about like the past, and I still keep a lot of the programme on board, even with sharing with people it's never been an issue. It's been on a par, if anything my sharing with people has been enhanced since the programme . . . no secrets. (Graduate)

Two graduates in particular described this as a significant change compared to their communication prior to therapy. One graduate described open communication as the most important thing he learned from Kia Marama, and the most important contributor to his safety:

I used to by not communicating my feelings I'd get into situations where nobody knew, I was secretive. So by being honest and open it disperses that.

These graduates were assessed by the support network members interviewed, particularly their Probation Officers, as being motivated to avoid reoffending. Their openness was seen as vital for that goal:

I felt he was open with me . . . generally speaking he told me things he didn't have to share with me. He expressed a number of concerns about potential high risk situations or seemingly irrelevant choices over the period of time . . . he asked my advice on a number of things like that and I felt that he was genuine in wanting to avoid reoffending and avoid high risk situations. (Probation Officer)

I think the business of working towards, or encouraging and promoting an openness and honesty about risk to relevant others is probably the most critical factor in terms of managing the safety of others and [Graduate] was good at that. I don't believe he was selective as some choose to be quite obviously. He bought into that principle very well and made a good job of it really. (Probation Officer)

One graduate in particular was described as actively minimising his risk both through his open communication and his setting himself up in a living situation and lifestyle which made it very difficult for him to resume his former patterns.

One support network member expressed some surprise at the graduate's willingness to talk about his offending, and seemed confused about the appropriateness and necessity for it:

I found when I first met him . . . he almost told me straight away why he was here, we'd probably only been talking for five minutes, I found thinking back that was quite surprising. But apparently they had been told at the [community based] programme they were to be open about it . . . Since he's come out of prison I said to him don't be so eager, you don't have to tell everybody you meet until you get to a certain stage in a relationship of any kind really. That's what I think anyway, although they are taught to be a bit open about it . . . It just seems to flow out of him quite easily and he didn't have any problems discussing it with anybody. That's why I used to say when he first came out "you don't have to talk to everybody like this" . . . When he shifted down to the bedsit . . . he said to me perhaps he should say something to the landlord and I said "no I don't think you need to at all" so he didn't. I don't know if I gave him the right advice . . . I think he's getting a wee bit better at keeping himself to himself a bit, and not worrying about whether he should. If there's anything I say to him "bring it up at the group".

It was noted that in this case meso-system communication both during therapy and since release had been minimal.

Another graduate was described as very open about issues directly relevant to his risk of sexual offending, but sometimes more secretive and defensive about other behaviours and responsibilities.

> *I've had to challenge him about other behaviours . . . I don't know if they had any significant bearing on his risk of further sex offending against children. We were always reasonably OK about relating about that but it became quite tense when he was challenged about other behaviours.* (Probation Officer)

> *He shut down and he wouldn't talk about it. We actually tried to help him , and said we've got to talk about this - "I can' t take the pressure it's too much for me" and even* [Probation Officer] *felt that was a bit of a cop out. He would use his health and pressure and say "I can't cope with it". He'd go over the edge - so you'd have to back off and that in a sense was manipulation. You couldn't hold him accountable.* (Support Network Member)

The graduate who had died was described as highly motivated to avoid reoffending when first released:

> *I think my understanding was that he'd actually made quite a lot of progress at the unit but that was kind of in that frame of reference, in that special place, and that we couldn't expect miracles, and he was likely to reoffend; there was an expectation that he would reoffend. But when he came out I was really impressed. And for at least the first couple of weeks I didn't see much of the old difficult, aggressive, tricky* [Graduate] *at all. So it was like perhaps he'd been brainwashed. And then he rapidly deteriorated. It was interesting how everyone noticed the same things, and it seemed we were at a loss to arrest the process . . .* [His motivation] *was very high when he first came out. Even though he was aware that he was expected to reoffend he certainly wasn't planning to just give in and go on with it. He was really quite clear that he wanted to stop.* (Probation Officer)

However in ensuing months he seemed to lose his motivation and his overall management of his life. As this progressed he became less open to challenge, leaving his support network feeling quite powerless.

It is acknowledged that due to his death it has not been possible to explore his perception of this process.

High Risk Situations and How They Were Handled

High risk situations are identified as a critical link in the chain of sexual offending. Strictly defined, a high risk situation is a situation in which an offender is present with a victim or potential victim and there is no protective adult present. High risk situations are sometimes more broadly understood as any situation which could lead to offending. Offenders generally are considered to place themselves in high risk situations through choices they make. However participants in therapy in Kia Marama are also taught that they may find themselves in high risk situations through unexpected events not of their making. All the graduates in the study seemed to have encountered situations in which issues of risk arose.

A graduate having times of withdrawal and secrecy caused concern to support network members. In one case a support network member experienced some concern regarding the age of some young men that the graduate had met at gay night-clubs. The support network member considered that although these young men were unlikely to be under the age of consent, they were still considerably younger than the graduate and possibly vulnerable to manipulation by him. The support network member suspected that the graduate was unaware of the possible risks and discussed it with him. The issue was not taken any further, but the graduate had not continued to pursue such an active involvement in the subculture, and the support network member's concerns abated.

At one stage one graduate started to develop a relationship with a woman who had children. This was clearly recognised as a high risk situation by his Probation Officer who challenged him about it:

> *He wasn't concerned at all. So I was quite direct with him, about he was entering a high risk situation by having a relationship with this person, and hadn't at that stage talked to her about his offending . . . He wasn't expecting it, there hadn't been other situations like this that had arisen. But he was "yes, you're right" and he got on board with that and said what he was going to do, he was going to start off by talking to her.*

However his key support network member seemed confused about the situation, but seemed to minimise the risk:

> *When he met [woman] and he just asked, and thought about she had children, he said well he'd read her the chain, and it was all right with her, and what else could I have said really . . . but I don't think he's in a high risk situation . . . he's not living there or things like that . . . I don't think he is a risk to her children and I don't know what I'm basing that on really . . . I don't think that seeing her could be wrong, is a high risk situation for him as far as Kia Marama goes . . . I don't suppose I really challenged him, and when I think about it perhaps I should have moreso, and he just said "I read [woman] the chain and it was fine with her". I didn't push it, but I realise that I'm letting my personal feelings overcome what we're meant to be doing. So I didn't say, well you know what else could I have said anyway if it was all right for the mother?*

Indeed, according to the Probation Officer

> [this support network member] *had said 'You don't have to tell* [Probation Officer]. *You're fine.*

In the light of this development, it seems significant that in this case, meso-system communication within the support network, both during therapy and since the graduate's release, had been minimal. If there had been a greater level of engagement with the support network

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by therapy staff and/or the Probation Officer, there may well have been less confusion and a more consistent understanding. This situation also underscores that even a graduate that has been identified as making good progress can, apparently through a seemingly innocent choice, enter a situation in which risk issues need to be assessed. There is no room for complacency in this field of practice.

Finally, as mentioned, men in therapy at Kia Marama are taught that they may find themselves in a high risk situation as a result of an unexpected event that is not of their making. One graduate had this experience, which is described by a support network member:

> *There was another time when he was in* [employer's] *yard and* [employer's wife] *wasn't home and* [employer's daughter] *came home from school. I think that* [employer's wife] *must have called and told him that* [employer's daughter] *would be home and to watch her. When* [employer's daughter] *came hot off the bus* [Graduate] *just said to her "you go inside and watch telly and I'll be out here". He is aware of the risk factor and did not want to put himself in that situation . . . I felt that he dealt with that really well and he told me about it.*

Experience of Support Network Members

Support network members were asked about their perceptions of the combination of support and accountability functions, issues of responsibility, any negative reactions from the graduate, the personal impact of the role, and their own support.

Lay support network members tended not to see a major issue in the combination of support and accountability functions, in the support network member's role. The support network members drew a comparison with a parental role:

> *He's a bit like a teenager. It's kind of a Mum and Dad role.*

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One graduate's partner found the combination of roles very draining:

It is something you can do but it's very hard work and if you're prepared to be devoted to that yes you can do it but its very demanding. And there are times when I've felt "Is it all worthwhile?"

Support network members generally did not experience a sense of the graduate's responsibility for offending and safety issues being shifted to them. In one case the graduate's partner described attributing that responsibility to herself, although she had not received that message from the graduate or from others. In another case a support network member described being implicitly blamed for a graduate's offending after having responded rather abruptly to a late night telephone call from the graduate:

I spoke to him a couple of days later and he said "you know I've offended" and he was implying that our response on the phone was the cause of it, so yes in a sense he did. But I knew he had offended a number of times before that . . . and he said " I just wanted to talk to you" and I said "well I do have a private life too and at 10 pm on a Sunday night we assume we are going to get some".

Another issue that arose was the demand that can be placed on support networks in relation to problems and issues that are not directly related to offending. One graduate encountered significant difficulties in relation to health and financial issues. His Probation Officer did not consider that these stresses necessarily indicated an increased risk of sexual offending. However his support network members experienced significant difficulty, both in knowing how to respond appropriately to the graduate's behaviour, and in accessing appropriate services. Although they experienced the graduate as being very clear about his responsibility to his sexual offending, they felt

manipulated into taking responsibility for the graduate in other areas of his life:

> There was that "you've got to be there for me, but I don't have to be there for you in return."

They experienced some feelings of guilt when discussing these issues among the network without involving the graduate. They expressed some interest in how Kia Marama therapists would have responded to some of the graduate's behaviour:

> It would be good to know what the therapists do in these situations, how they break through that, whereas they probably don't accept the "it's too much, I can't take the pressure, back off, leave me alone" - they probably have ways of getting through that.

They also described significant difficulty in accessing health services at times of crisis:

> We had the greatest of difficulties when these crises would occur. There'd be a panic telephone call from [another support network member] to either one of us and it was like pulling extremely painful teeth to get any contact with his psych workers . . . we're talking a matter of two or three days sometimes and you couldn't get a message through to them. They didn't return your messages.

All the lay support network members interviewed had experienced significant personal impact from their involvement with the graduates. One graduate's partner had experienced criticism from her family and friends as a result of continuing her relationship with him. Another encountered severe abuse from family members:

> My daughter did say to me "how can you be involved with a man like that" . . . [another family member] really did abuse me verbally and I just dissolved into a heap of tears, I wasn't ever used to being spoken to in an unreasonable way . . . It wasn't very nice. I suppose it sounds a bit strange that all this should happen because

of [Graduate] . . . *because he* (family member) *was so abusive we couldn't talk. He really backed me into a corner, and he was telling me what I could and couldn't do in my own house and life, and I wasn't going to have it. He got to the stage that unless I didn't see* [Graduate] *at all, anywhere, that I wasn't going to see* [grandchildren].

One couple had previously experienced severe trauma within their own family as a result of supporting another Kia Marama inmate (not a participant in this study) through their prison ministry activity. In the current situation they had felt manipulated:

If he has manipulated you you're not actually aware of it at the time, it's very very subtle. It's afterwards you suddenly realise, now hang on a minute. But at the time he's very convincing.

They had also suffered some financial loss.

None of the lay support people interviewed felt that they themselves were well supported in their role.

That's a good question really. Sometimes I do think "is anyone looking after me?", and then I think "you've just got to look after yourself . . . he (Graduate) *is quite self centred. I suppose I could talk to* [another support network member] *he would listen and that's sometimes all you need, to have a moan about a given situation . . . Sometimes I think I have given* [Graduate] *a lot, at the same time I don't want to sound as though I'm being victimised . . . and I don't think there has been anything that I haven't really wanted to do.*

One married couple described drawing support from each other and from a counsellor. One graduate's partner described receiving mutual support from him. It seems significant that none of the lay support people reported being supported by professionals working with the graduates. However none reported feeling that "the system" held them responsible for the graduate's success or failure, although more than one described attributing that responsibility to themselves.

In the case of the support network composed largely of professional service providers, the personal impact was described as minimal. Although the graduate was demanding and working with him was stressful, the support network members generally had a high level of mutual support for each other, although one network member did not perceive herself to be as closely incorporated into the network, or as supported as others.

Nevertheless, all the support people interviewed valued the relationships they had with the graduates:

I don't have any regrets . . . He's become a friend.

Exo-system Issues

In Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological analysis the exo-system refers to environments where the individual is not present, but in which discussions are made that have a significant impact on his/her life. The policy arena is particularly significant, including Government departments and health service providers. The Department of Corrections was discussed in detail in Chapter Three and will be referred to further in Chapter Seven, which examines the roles of Probation Officers in this study.

However the role of health services also needs to be mentioned. Two of the graduates in this study had significant mental health needs. In one case, as previously described, support network members experienced some difficulty in obtaining assistance from mental health services in a time of crisis. In another case the graduate had been hospitalised in his youth:

> *I think somehow if I've got his history right, it* (the ideal situation for this graduate) *needs to be somewhere through the psychiatry system basically. Because I think that he came up through* [psychiatric hospital] *till he was*

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21 I think, it was only because of his age that he was put out in the community. He was put out in the community without any social skills whatsoever, how to manage, and apparently he'd learned his offending in there. (Support Network Member)

However mental health services were no longer involved:

Forensic team know him, but they kind of washed their hands of him some time ago because he wouldn't co-operate with their plans to assist him. (Probation Officer)

This was seen by support network members as a significant lack. Overall there was a general consensus among support network members in this case that this graduate had received all the support realistically available in a community setting, given current policies, but it wasn't enough to meet his needs. Some more intensive assistance possibly involving residential care would have been needed:

Perhaps he was one of those guys that needed to be institutionalised all the time and there's just nowhere like that for people. (Police Officer)

He was receiving counselling and all the things that are available in the community and it just wasn't enough. (Support Network Member)

Unfortunately due to this graduate's death his own perspective on this issue cannot be included.

The Macro-system

The macro-system is the influence of the overall prevailing culture. In Chapter Three a contradiction of cultural messages was noted between severe ostracism towards sexual offenders on the one hand, and on the other hand an increasing prevalence in the media of explicit sexual and erotic material, that tends to reduce people,

especially women, to sexual objects. For graduates this material could be seen as "pig food".

In relation to ostracism, one graduate had experienced an attack on his flat:

> *That was ratbags here who didn't appreciate my past. I can't blame them but they just went to extremes and tried to make life hell . . . I was messed up because my place was violated. Things got broken and smashed and stuff got nicked so I was pretty upset about it.* (Graduate)

Others however had found acceptance in social situations:

> *I haven't had any adverse remarks. I've been lucky really.* (Graduate)

In relation to the influence of popular culture, the graduates were asked a series of questions:

- What is it like being back in mainstream New Zealand culture?
- What do you think about people in generals' attitudes, particularly to women and children, and matters of sexuality?
- What hits you from the media now?
- Are there any differences in how you look at things like TV and magazines etc. from before you did the programme?
- How do you handle and respond to that now?

In answering these question one graduate mentioned issues of sexism and discrimination against women. All mentioned greater awareness of the issues of sexual abuse through increased publicity. However none seemed to get the point of the questions in relation to the impact on them of general sexually orientated media images. This could mean that they are not applying a discerning awareness of stimuli around them. Alternatively it could indicate that the questions were poorly worded (Foddy, 1993). While indeed the questions could have been

confusing, I am not sure they could have been worded more clearly without virtually giving them the desired answer, for example "What do you think of the fact that half the magazines in the supermarket rack are all about celebrities sex lives?"

Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the overall functioning of the graduates' support networks, and the social factors that impacted on them. Issues emerging from these findings will be explored in some depth in the following chapter. It is already evident from the findings outlined in this chapter that the role played by the graduates' Probation Officers in their overall support systems is highly significant, so in Chapter Seven that role is examined in detail.

CHAPTER 6

ISSUES IN SUPPORT NETWORK FUNCTIONING

This chapter explores issues that emerge from the findings presented in the previous chapter. The major consideration is how graduate's social networks can be engaged and equipped to assist the graduates in maintaining safety. Social support networks can play two vital roles in the lives of Kia Marama graduates. The first is the formation of healthy adult social relationships. The lack of such relationships, often as a result of men's poor relationship skills, is often identified as a key factor contributing to sexual offending. It was observed in this study that graduates particularly valued the support functions of emotional support and listening. The other vital function of support networks is monitoring the graduate's situation and behaviour, challenging any risk behaviours, and reporting any concerns to the Probation Officer.

This is no easy task. Lay people are expected to maintain an acceptance of, and a supportive caring relationship with, men who because of their behaviour are rejected by the vast majority of society. It is hoped that they will be able to relate effectively, with significant depth and intimacy, often with men whose relationship skills have not been highly developed, although it is to be hoped that the programme will have achieved some enhancement. Support people need the awareness, and the courage and confidence to challenge risky or abusive behaviour. They may themselves encounter misunderstanding and rejection from others because of the role they adopt. Ultimately they may be exposing themselves to manipulative behaviour and risking their own safety to some extent.

Significant findings emerged from this study in relation to the selection and engagement of support networks. However the most vital theme which emerged relates to communication and the sharing of information. This is significant at both micro-system and meso-system levels. In particular significant lacks were found in meso-system engagement and communication. These issues will be considered in turn in this chapter, although the micro-system and meso-system cannot be that neatly separated.

Selection and Engagement of Support Networks

In this study two graduates emphasised the importance of choosing appropriate people for support networks. All the key lay members of support networks, and some professionals, were people the clients had already had significant relationships with before coming to Kia Marama. In most cases these people had supported the men in deciding to come to therapy at Kia Marama, and had visited and supported them throughout their time in the Unit. However graduates considered that it is important to carefully consider who should be invited to be part of their support networks. According to one graduate, choosing one's support network had received little emphasis in therapy, and some of the people he chose proved to be inappropriate for the role. It also seems important to clarify with people exactly what they are being invited to commit themselves to: it is more than just being a friend, although sincere friendship is of course vital. Similarly with professional people; the role of a support network member is far broader than most narrowly defined professional roles. Thus professionals and formal service agents need to be invited and given the opportunity to consider whether they see taking up this role as appropriate for them, they cannot be presumed upon.

The role of family members in support networks was exemplified in this study. Family members may well in some cases be the closest people to the graduate and have the most contact with him. This was the case for one graduate in this study. Particularly in cases of intra-familial abuse, family members may have a valuable oversight of the whole family situation, including the victims' well being. They may also be involved in Children, Young Persons, and their Families Service processes such as Family Group Conferences. However in this study the one graduate who did have significant contact with his family encountered unhelpful minimising and victim blaming attitudes which he was unable to effectively counter. In view of this, one Probation Officer questioned the value of family members in support networks. On the other hand in many cases graduates are estranged from their families. This was the case for two graduates in this study. Overall as regards to the role of family members in support networks, the findings of this study exemplify, but do nothing to resolve the concerns of Thompson (1995, refer Chapter Three). A greater level of meso-system engagement and communication, as will be advocated in this chapter, may assist in addressing unhelpful attitudes among family members.

Given the importance of social support I consider that there is a need for more attention to be paid to the composition of men's social networks and support systems at a far earlier stage in therapy at Kia Marama. This should start at the commencement of therapy: as part of the assessment process men's social networks should be identified and assessed. The Social Network Map and Grid (Tracy and Whittaker, 1990) would be a valuable instrument for this task. The grid especially, as modified in this study by separating positive challenging from negatively critical behaviour, could assist men in considering who

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would be the most appropriate people for support. Such a process would recognise the fact that clients do not exist in isolation but are part of a social environment that needs to be accounted for if therapy is to be fully effective in the long term. It would embody a recognition of the encouragement and support that some men have received in deciding to come to Kia Marama and complete the programme. Conversely, for some clients it may heighten awareness of their social isolation and impoverishment, which may be addressed as a therapeutic issue. It would also enable clients to start critically considering possible support people. A greater level of engagement of support people with the therapy process, as will be advocated in this chapter, would be facilitated. This would provide the opportunity for information sharing and education of potential support people, in regard to issues relevant to sexual offending. Hopefully then by the time of release unsuitable people would be identified, and the client could be released into an already appropriately functioning network, rather than the trial and error process after release that two graduates experienced. Of course the choice and engagement of support networks is an ongoing dynamic process that may well be revisited over the time in therapy and after release. Nevertheless in my judgement it needs to be an integral part of the therapy process, not a tack-on at the end.

Communication in the Micro-systems

The first and most significant arena of information sharing is the graduate being open, honest and transparent with people who are involved in his life. This includes sharing information about his offences, his offending behavioural patterns, risk situations, and warning signs. Being open to being questioned and challenged by

others, and being able to accept this without responding defensively is also essential. This open communication process was seen as vital by both graduates and Probation Officers in this study. Graduates also commented on the value of being able to share with others on an intimate and emotional level.

This open communication serves a number of purposes. First, and perhaps most significantly, it is the opposite of secrecy. Secrecy is the water in which the fish of sexual abuse swims. Openness as a general principle of life is thus desirable simply as an antidote for secrecy. Being open about feelings and needs also helps to build healthy and intimate relationships, and is a means of seeking appropriate support. It also serves the need for support people to be able to monitor the graduate's lifestyle and risk situations, and maintain accountability. All of these principles apply primarily to the graduate's relationships with people that are identified as being reasonably close to him and supportive of him.

In addition there are often people who need to know information about the graduate's offending pattern and risks for safety reasons, even though they are not close support people. These situations could include a neighbour who has young children, or an employer or landlord.

However the question arises as to whether there should be limits to this openness. As discussed in examining macro-system influences in Chapter Three, men who have offended sexually can face ostracism and even violence in this society. Indeed one graduate in this study had had his flat burgled and vandalised by people who knew of his offending history, although it is not clear whether these people came to know of his offending as a result of his open communication or through some other means. Nevertheless graduates

should not be expected to unnecessarily expose themselves to this risk.

Further this openness is contrary to norms of privacy in Western societies. Indeed in this study one support network member seemed confused about the appropriateness of the graduate's open communication, and actively discouraged it. In particular he chose not to share information about his offending with his employer or his landlord. In this case he was living in a bedsit in a building inhabited exclusively by other men, so there probably were no safety issues. However the risk remains that if open communication is too readily considered unnecessary, people who need information may not get it. It seems that there is a need for the development of more specific guidelines about who needs to know about offending, that could be given to men in Kia Marama. This would also be an important issue for training for Probation Officers, and guidance for support network members.

Nevertheless it is clear that the primary place where graduates need to communicate openly is with people who are close to them, especially members of their support networks. In this context at least, open communication needs to become a lifestyle. A particular forum for graduates to share information about their offending is in reintegration meetings prior to their release, and/or support network meetings after release. In these meetings graduates are able to clearly state their responsibility for their offending, provide specific information about their offences, describe life problems which led to their offending behaviour, and outline their risk situations and warning signs. They also can identify their own support needs, describe the role of support people, and invite people to take that role.

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The experience of people in this study validates the importance of this information being communicated in a reasonably formal setting, where it can also be endorsed by professionals working with the graduate. In this study one graduate described a process of gradual and informal communication of offence related information to a support person who had not attended a meeting. However this person apparently had not got the message. In another case, support people had questions and misgivings about a graduate's explanation which could possibly have been clarified by a Probation Officer or therapist in a meeting situation. Nevertheless in three of the four cases in this study meetings were held, either before or after the graduate's release, which seemed to have been reasonably successful in achieving their purpose.

However in the case of the graduate who was known to have reoffended, a reintegration meeting prior to his release was attended only by a pastor, who had only monthly contact with him after release. There was no support network meeting after release, despite the best efforts of the Probation Officer to organise it. The result was that those people who had the closest involvement with the graduate on a day-to-day basis, and had some oversight of his living situation, and were thus in the best position to monitor his behaviour and risk, did not have the base of information to do this. Further, these people were formal service providers who did not define their roles as including being aware of offence related issues and monitoring his risk, and had not been invited to do so.[15]

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[15]Whether they would have been willing to expand their roles to include this, if they had been invited, is of course an unanswered question. My sense is that they probably would have been willing to accept this role and would have performed it competently. However if they had been invited and chose not to, at least that would have been clear.

It cannot of course be concluded that this lack was the cause of this man's reoffending, or that if these people had been provided with offence related information, and adopted more of an offence risk monitoring role, they would have been able to prevent him reoffending. This man was assessed as having a very high risk of reoffending. Nevertheless, if all those involved with him had this information, the possibility may have been open for more consistent and effective monitoring and challenge of his behaviour. With hindsight it appears that given the crises that this man faced after his release, and the difficulty the Probation Officer experienced in implementing any form of planned casework including a support network meeting, it could have been beneficial to have a more comprehensive reintegration meeting prior to his release. With this man's risk level it would have been ideal to have all possible safeguards, especially including a fully informed and equipped support network, in place from the day he was released.

Overall however, the general picture from the findings is that graduates had accepted the importance of open communication at the micro-system level. It seemed that within the context of their support networks they were generally open regarding offence related information, and about their feelings, emotional issues and needs. For at least two graduates this was a significant behavioural change from prior to therapy. They did not always find this level of communication easy, but nevertheless valued it and expressed a commitment to maintaining it. This was generally verified by their support people and Probation Officers.

There were however a couple of exceptions to this. One graduate, although very open about offence related issues, was reported to be less open about aspects of his behaviour that did not seem to be directly related to his sexual offending. This caused some

stress to his support network members. This is concerning on two grounds. First, it could be dangerous to assume that such issues had absolutely no relation to his risk of reoffending. Stress, for example, has been identified as a precursor to relapse. Further this violates openness and transparency as a general principle. Allowing oneself to resume secrecy about some issues may make it easier to be secretive about others. Also one graduate who had been very open about his offending was actively discouraged from this by a support network member, as noted above. This suggests a need for more meso-system level communication and clarification of such issues.

Meso-system Communication

Indeed meso-system communication emerges as one of the most significant issues arising from the findings of this study. This particularly relates to the engagement of support people with the therapy process at Kia Marama, communication between support networks and Probation Officers, and support for support people's own needs in relation to their roles. As noted in the previous chapter the amount of meso-system engagement varied considerably between the cases examined. However the almost total lack of meso-system communication in one case, both while the graduate was in therapy and after his release, was associated with discouragement of open communication and significant minimisation and confusion about risk issues in the support network. This ultimately compromised consistent and effective identification and challenge of a potential high risk situation that developed. This should not be interpreted as a criticism of any individual support network members, who are well meaning

people who are generally not paid, trained or supported. Rather it indicates a need for better engagement and information. [16]

Meso-system communication serves a number of purposes. It ensures that significant people involved with the graduate have a shared information base and understanding of his situation. It provides professional validation of information that the graduate gives people. In this study two support network members expressed some reservations or misgivings about the graduate's understanding and explanation of their behaviour, including issues of responsibility and therapeutic approach. Further meso-system communication could have facilitated some clarification of these issues. It also can reduce the possibility of the graduate receiving inconsistent messages from key people. Meso-system communication also facilitates more effective monitoring and accountability. Probation Officers commented on the need to be able to independently verify information from their clients. Communication at this level between support network members enables the building of a more comprehensive picture of the graduate's progress and activities, from the perspective of a number of different people. Meso-system engagement may also enable the support network to co-ordinate their support efforts and devise agreed plans for handling situations that may arise. This could reduce the scope for manipulation.

As noted in the previous chapter the amount of engagement support people had with the men's therapy process at Kia Marama varied considerably between participants in this study. Paradoxically participants who had no contact with the therapy process had no

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[16]Of course if support network members continue to maintain minimising or collusive attitudes after further information sharing, as was experienced by another graduate, their suitability for the role must be questioned.

complaints (although as noted outcomes were not necessarily positive) while those who had some level of engagement experienced it as inadequate.

Indeed one support network member quoted in the previous chapter described the man's therapy as a **secret** process which they felt definitively excluded from. This is concerning. Sexual abuse is a behaviour which thrives in secrecy. Therapy for offending behaviour should in all aspects model the opposite of secrecy, which is openness and accountability (Dunlop, J, personal communication, 1998).

In comparison a community based therapy programme has implemented what is called a system review process (STOP Programme, Christchurch, System Review Information Sheet, undated). Acceptance onto the programme is conditional on clients identifying at least two family members or "significant others", who will support them while they are attending the programme, and to whom they will be accountable for their therapy progress and behaviour. At two to three monthly intervals throughout the client's participation in the programme (approximately one year) review meetings are held with the client, his support people, and group workers. These review meeting provide the context for ongoing assessment of the client's therapy progress, further goal setting, information sharing, assisting co-ordination, and facilitating the client's accountability to people who have a stake in his success on the programme. This process can also provide a forum for the programme's accountability to the client and his stakeholders for the therapy provided. The Te Piriti programme at Auckland Prison has also instituted a similar whanau hui process (Nathan, 1998).

A recommendation arising from this study is that a similar process be implemented at Kia Marama. This would be valuable for a

number of purposes. It would recognise and value the support that family members and others give men while they are completing the programme. More comprehensive information about the therapy programme could be provided to support people, and misunderstanding or misinformation clarified. The possibility for inconsistent communication would be reduced. This process would also provide a forum for communicating information regarding the man's progress and therapeutic issues with his support people, thus facilitating his accountability for his progress to those who have a stake in his success.

Further, maintaining supportive relationships with men who have offended sexually may involve an element of personal risk for support network members. It can be argued that they are entitled to objective information about the client's risk assessment and therapeutic progress, on which to base their own assessment of the possible risk to themselves, and their decisions about ongoing involvement with the graduate. This review process could also be useful in confirming who will be appropriate support network members for after release. If, despite this process, key proposed support people do not change minimising or collusive attitudes, then their suitability can be reconsidered before release: if they are inevitably going to have some involvement in the graduate's life (as for some family members), strategies for handling their attitudes after release can be developed with the client. Finally these meetings could be a valuable forum for release plan formation. The result would be that the open communication ethos in the support network that is envisaged for after release would have been already implemented for some months. Issues such as how the client will react if people share concerns about his behaviour, and support network members' guilt feelings about

sharing this information, could be addressed prior to release instead of becoming problems afterwards. It must be acknowledged that given the area that Kia Marama covers there would be geographical constraints on this process in some cases. However this should not be a pretext for taking no action at all. It is observed that a fund for assisting family members to travel to the Unit for reintegration meetings has been grossly under-utilised.

This study also found gaps in meso-system communication after graduates' release. Such communication seems to tend towards becoming reactive than proactive: participants seemed to have initiated communication within the support network if and when they saw a specific need for it. In one case where there seemed to be no need for such communication for some months, confusion and indecision emerged when a possible high risk situation developed. In contrast one graduate (as quoted in the previous chapter) and one Probation Officer suggested that a regular, formalised review process involving graduates and their support people, similar to that described above, be continued throughout the parole period. This proposal has significant merit for enhancing consistent communication and co-ordination, comprehensive oversight and monitoring, and accountability. A three-monthly meeting, to coincide with Probation Officers' required quarterly assessments, would seem appropriate. Indeed if there are in fact "no problems", it would be affirming to jointly declare and celebrate that.

Two further issues emerged from this study that relate to the meso-system context. In one case there was some difficulty in handling the graduate's issues that did not seem directly related to his offending risk. Support networks include lay family members and friends that have a caring holistic concern for the whole of a person's

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life and well-being, including health needs and other difficulties, as well as his offending behaviour. There is scope for some tension between this and the Corrections Department's increasing tendency to focus its interventions on issues directly related to offending behaviour. As noted previously it is difficult to assess decisively how related some of these issues are to offending risk, particularly considering the role of stress in the relapse process. In this study two Probation Officers seemed to engage significantly with support networks in promoting the graduates' overall well-being. One Probation Officer described making some efforts to address other responsibilities with the graduate, but seemed somewhat reluctant to engage intensively with the support network on issues that were not identified as relevant to offending risk. Support network members have made a formalised commitment to supporting graduates that must be recognised by the Community Probation Service. This role is considered significant in assisting the graduates to maintain safety. In response to this they should be able to expect recognition and support from the Service. At a minimal level this should at least include Probation Officers acknowledging the graduates' non-offence related needs and acting as an informed broker to other resources.

Finally lay support people in this study felt largely unsupported in their role. This is not satisfactory. The ideal role of a support network member is complex and demanding. It is expected that these people will be significant positive supports for graduates, but also to some extent act as the "eyes and ears" of the justice system. There is also the expectation that their role will continue long after parole termination. More consideration should be given to their needs. Support needs emerging from this study would include more information about the graduates therapy progress and learning. This

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should not necessarily be limited to the offence chain. As these people will be key people with whom graduates are going to be building relationships, information about the relationship skills that men have been taught in the programme would be very helpful. Advice regarding handling of specific behaviours was identified as a need by one support network member in this study, and debriefing after crises and stressful situations was also found to be valuable.

It is also noted that support network members may face personal risk from their involvement with men who have offended sexually. Indeed one couple in this study had previously experienced severe trauma in their own family through supporting a Kia Marama inmate. These people are filling a vital supportive role in graduates' lives. So they can safely fulfil this role they need objective information about the graduates' risk, and a context in which to address safety issues for themselves and their families. They should reasonably be able to expect assistance from Kia Marama therapy staff and Probation Officers in meeting these needs.

So overall the findings of this study suggest that meso-system engagement for men who participate in the Kia Marama programme requires substantial further development. It is suggested that support networks are identified and engaged at an early stage in therapy. Then a regular review process, involving the client, professionals working with him, and support network members, could be implemented, both during the therapy programme and through his parole period. Such a process would be consistent with the Corrections Departments' Integrated Offender Management framework.

Exo-system Issues

In Bronfenbrenner's (1979) framework the exo-system includes contexts in which decisions are made that impact on an individual's life, but in which that individual does not directly participate. This particularly includes the policy dimension. Policy and management issues within the Community Probation Service will be discussed in the following chapter which specifically considers the role of Probation Officers. However the other issue at an exo-system level which emerges from this study concerns health services, particularly mental health service provision. This has of course been the subject of considerable media attention. Difficulties in accessing mental health services featured in two cases in this study, and was a concern and source of stress in support networks. This is a vast subject in itself and it is impossible to address it adequately in this study, beyond asserting the need for the Department of Corrections or the Ministry of Justice at a policy level to be advocating for adequate attention to the mental health needs of Corrections clients with health authorities and service providers.

The Macro-system

The macro-system is the influence of the overall culture in which men and their support systems are located. Macro system issues that were identified in this study were Western societies' values in relation to privacy, and the contrast between ostracism of men who offend sexually and a social ethos of sexual obsession. Issues related to the need for open communication as opposed to privacy, and the risk of ostracism, were discussed earlier in this chapter. In relation to generalised sexual obsession, and the bombardment of sexually oriented messages and images from the media, graduates' responses

to questions indicated limited critical awareness. It was acknowledged in the previous chapter that graduates may have encountered some difficulty with the wording of the questions. Nevertheless it is suggested that the impact of social/cultural attitudes and the media on Kia Marama graduates needs to be addressed more specifically in the programme.

Conclusion

In Chapter One a number of working assumptions that informed this study were outlined. These included the presumed importance of a rich social network characterised by open communication, the provision of offence related information, and a balance of affirmative support with monitoring and challenging. While these assumptions were not framed as hypotheses to be subjected to experimental testing or proof in a positivist sense, the findings of this study do tend to validate these assumptions. Graduates found relationships with support people, and open and intimate communication within their support networks, to be very valuable. Information sharing was identified as essential. In one case, the fact that key support people had not been provided with specific information about the graduate's offending pattern and risk, was associated with reoffending. In another case limited meso-system communication was found to be associated with minimisation and confusion about risk issues. An additional concern was that support people did not feel adequately supported in their role. Accordingly further development of meso-system engagement and review processes, both during therapy at Kia Marama and parole, are strongly recommended.

CHAPTER 7

THE ROLE OF THE PROBATION OFFICER

The Probation Officer plays a vital role in the lives of Kia Marama graduates for the time that they are on parole. The purpose of parole is to support prison inmates' reintegration back into the community in a manner which ensures that their social needs are met and also strives to reduce their risk of reoffending. Conditions of parole combine the standard statutory conditions, which include requirements that parolees report as directed to the Probation Officer and inform their employment and address, and special conditions which are tailored to the risks, needs and circumstances of the individual parolee. The overall package of conditions generally combines rehabilitative and controlling functions. For Kia Marama graduates parole conditions generally include attending a follow-up support group, psychological counselling, and conditions restricting contact with victims and/or children, as appropriate to the individual's circumstances.

As the person responsible for administering and enforcing these conditions the Probation Officer is in a position of significant authority and power in a parolee's life. While this power relationship must be acknowledged parole is intended to be primarily positive and rehabilitative, and Probation Officers generally see themselves as having a helping role. The Probation Officer can also have a helpful overview and co-ordinating function, and for Kia Marama graduates may be a significant link between their therapy experience and life in the community. The Probation Officer must of course maintain a concern for both the needs and welfare of the parolee, and the safety of others.

This chapter will first report the findings of this study that specifically relate to the role of Probation Officers. Issues emerging from these findings will then be further discussed.

Working With Men Who Have Offended Sexually in the Context of the Community Probation Service - Probation Officers' Experiences

In this study the four Probation Officers supervising the sample of graduates were interviewed as participants. All were experienced Probation Officers, with three having eight to ten years, and one over fifteen years experience in the job. None had social work qualifications, although one had completed some study towards one. However all had relevant tertiary qualifications including a counselling diploma, diplomas in criminology and penal policy, teaching qualifications, and Maori language and culture studies. None had come into Probation work with training or experience in working with sexual abuse from other jobs. However all had attended Kia Marama relapse prevention training courses, although it is now some years since these have been provided. One Probation Officer had a previous experience of several months working at Kia Marama and from that time had developed a very supportive relationship with therapy unit staff. Another had also participated in a training workshop with a community sex offender treatment agency, and a number of general courses about sexual abuse with more of a focus on victims.

The Probation Officers were asked about their levels of comfort and confidence in working with sex offenders, and whether they had been given any choice about working with these clients. All described feeling generally comfortable working in this field, with confidence based on experience and ongoing skills development. Two referred to

the value of the direction provided to their work by virtue of the client either having completed Kia Marama, or completing a structured community based programme while on supervision. One in particular described a sense of satisfaction in working with graduates of Kia Marama who had made significant progress:

> *I think what I really like about working with sex offenders who've been to Kia Marama is that you know where they're coming from. They've been through the programme and they have actually grown as individuals in leaps and bounds in terms of their assertiveness, their problem solving skills, their insight, and it's a pleasure to work with people who have come so far . . . I find it really rewarding.*

This officer had the good fortune of working in a recognised specialist mini-team in a city office supervising Kia Marama graduates, and another had developed substantial experience in working with Kia Marama graduates. Indeed Probation Officers were asked their opinions on specialisation in working with men who have offended sexually. Replies were strikingly similar. Working with sex offenders was recognised by all the Probation Officers interviewed, as a unique area that required specialised knowledge and skills. One Probation Officer noted the risk of being too supportive and not challenging enough with child sex offenders, especially Kia Marama graduates, as they often present as superficially very compliant compared to other Probation clients. One Probation Officer felt that supervising one Kia Marama graduate every couple of years or so was inadequate for the development and maintenance of skills in this area. A need for regular refresher training was also recognised. However there was a recognition of the risk of burnout from an excessive or exclusive focus on this area of work.

All the Probation Officers interviewed perceived that individual officers' choice about whether or not they wanted to work with sex offenders would be respected. However not all had been asked whether they wanted to or not, so there was a sense that an individual who chose not to work with sex offenders for whatever reason may have to actively assert that preference. One officer acknowledged that his desire to move away from working with sex offenders had been granted. However another Probation Officer expressed some scepticism about whether managers were aware of individuals' levels of training and knowledge in working with sex offenders, and took this into account when making allocations.

Probation Officers were asked about their theoretical understanding of the causes of sexual offending against children. None referred specifically to any recognised theoretical work such as that of Finkelhor. Explanatory factors cited included childhood experiences of sexual abuse; childhood experience of other forms of abuse and emotional or relationship deprivation; unsatisfactory social and intimate adult relationships; sexual inadequacy; emotional or cognitive congruence with children; a desire for power and dominance; and deviant sexual desire.

Probation Officers were also asked what they saw as the necessary ingredients of effective work with men who have offended sexually. The requirements described included an appropriate knowledge base, and an awareness of typical behaviours of sexual offenders such as denial and minimisation. One Probation Officer stressed the importance of promoting openness and honesty about risk issues as the most critical factor in achieving safety. Knowledge of the individual client's behaviour pattern, based on obtaining as comprehensive information as possible, was also seen as essential.

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Having the time, or being prepared to commit the time, for intensive work both with the individual client, and in engagement with the support network and other professionals, was also seen as essential. Particularly in regard to family reintegration cases, it was thought valuable for the Probation Officer to be a participant in a well planned and co-ordinated process, with effective liaison with other professionals working with the family. Access to funding or resources for specialist counselling or programmes, or even to support clients getting into social activities where they might be able to build adult relationships, was also considered useful. Examples referred to included couple counselling, assertiveness training, grief workshops in relation to clients having lost relationships as a result of their offending, or even supporting appropriate club membership fees. Two Probation Officers had been able to access funding for specific needs of graduates in this study.

Responses to the question about how well the Community Probation Service enabled Probation Officers to work in an effective way with sexual offenders were mixed. Two Probation Officers described having developed their own approach to professional practice with men who have offended sexually, with little either support or hindrance from the organisation:

> I think I worked in that way and I don't think the Service encouraged or discouraged me to do that. I think I developed practices and principles around that very issue (promoting graduates' openness with others) that evolved for me albeit with support but there was no active promoting of that principle.

> It (the Service) doesn't stop me doing it. I'm pretty autonomous really.

As far as time is concerned, all the Probation Officers described heavy workloads, with caseloads of up to sixty five supervision and parole cases, at the time they were supervising the graduates. All described having to prioritise and commit the time required to work with Kia Marama graduates. One acknowledged that this could have been at the expense of other clients assessed as a lower priority. Two Probation Officers mentioned the conflict between the time required for effective engagement with clients and the demands of administrative tasks, and one described regularly coming into the office on weekends to catch up on "paperwork".

In relation to professional supervision, one Probation Officer was part of a specialist mini-team working with Kia Marama graduates which received supervision from a department psychologist, which was described as very valuable. For the others supervision was all but non-existent. The norm seems to have been that supervision from Service Managers was available if Probation Officers felt they needed it, rather than regularly scheduled supervision sessions. Probation Officers also considered that although their Service Managers would have been generally supportive, they had less knowledge or experience in relation to working with sex offenders than the Probation Officers and were therefore unlikely to be able to contribute much to solving specific problems. Two Probation Officers described availing themselves of opportunities to consult with other relevant professionals, including psychologists, Kia Marama therapy staff and other counsellors involved in specific cases. While this was valuable, such consultation lacks the dimension of accountability that is inherent in formalised professional supervision (Morrison, 1993). In a couple of cases as researcher I noted practice issues that could have been usefully explored in supervision: indeed after completing the interview

one Probation Officer engaged me in discussion that assumed an informal supervision quality. It must be acknowledged that these findings relate to the time that these Probation Officers were supervising the graduates in this study, prior to interviews in August 1998. The Community Probation Service has, to its credit, recognised professional supervision as a significant lack, and is currently in the process of implementing consistent supervision for all Probation Officers, including access to supervisors outside the organisation for specialist needs.

Regarding personal impact, one Probation Officer acknowledged considerable distress as a result of the death of the graduate, with whom a positive working relationship had developed over a number of years despite the intense demands the graduate presented. None of the other Probation Officers described negative personal impacts from working with these particular graduates, although one had elected to move to another area of work following the accumulated impact of other cases. One Probation Officer described a sense of satisfaction from the progress in the case of the graduate who participated in this study. Another Probation Officer expressed a sense that quality work often went unrecognised in the service:

> *I think it would be rather nice if they* (management) *affirmed Probation Officers for the very good work that they do.*

Case Allocation Processes

The process by which graduates in this study were allocated and came to engage with their Probation Officers varied. In one case the Probation Officer had been intensively involved with the graduate's

release planning process over a number of months prior to his release, attending reintegration meetings with the graduate and members of his support network, and preparing reports for the Parole Board. In what seemed to be an ideal process this Probation Officer continued to supervise the graduate after his release. In another case the graduate was supervised by a Probation Officer who had previously worked with him.

Two of the graduates were allocated through the standard system, of reporting to the Community Probation Office within seventy two hours of being released, and being seen initially by a duty officer, with an allocation being made at that time. This process was described by the graduates as uncomfortable and unhelpful:

> *I went to* [larger office] *and because I was living in* [outer suburb] *at that time, they sent me on to there . . . I didn't like it actually. I felt that the guy that I talked to at* [larger office] *he was nice enough, but I felt anxious about it, talking to him about it. I'm not sure if he knew my circumstances, except for the bit of paper I had, where I'd come from so he guessed whatever was on it. I guess I felt I would have preferred things to be more worked out for me, when I got out, so I didn't have to go through that process.*

> *It was a let down. I walked in there, I asked to speak to a duty officer, I got designated this lady, she looked up a book to see what area I was in and who'd be covering me and gave me a card and said good bye. So I knew who my Probation Officer was gong to be and good bye, nothing else. No support there I guess, no "settled in all right? did you get your STEPS (benefit payment)?" At the end of the day I came out with a phone number and a name which I did use the next day.*

Probation Officers also considered this engagement process to be less than satisfactory:

> *When I think about it my experience is because of the nature of their offending and their shame about it and all*

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the other fear things that go with it, how people are going to react and do I have to talk about it and all that I think that when I finally got them at [suburban office] they were actually quite anxious. I think a better process could happen, whereby they either meet them first (before release), or even if they're talked to on the phone or something. [At the suburban office] they've often gone somewhere else for a start, often they've never been in an office before . . . they just found that initial meeting quite difficult . . . (clients seeing a succession of duty Officers before engaging with their own Probation Officer) often does happen, and for some people that's really stressful and unnecessary too.

It was considered that some kind of engagement process prior to release may have been a better initiation to parole.

The Probation Officers were generally satisfied with the information they received about the graduates, although one was confused by receiving two therapy reports from Kia Marama written about a month apart with some differences in content. One Probation Officer also had expected a more specific and concise written outline of the graduate's high risk situations and safety plans. The Probation Officer expected that this graduate would have had this in writing with him when he reported, or at least would have been able to explain it more precisely and specifically than he was. She ended up somewhat confused about whether her expectations were appropriate.

Support Network Meetings

As noted in the previous chapter two of the graduates had formal support network meetings as envisaged at Kia Marama. Both Probation Officers found the idea of facilitating the support network meeting quite challenging:

I don't do it very often, and I certainly had to stop and think about what the agenda would be, it wasn't a case of just walking into a meeting and flipping into a role. But it was OK.

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One considered that more training would be helpful. However both described the process and outcomes of the meetings as very valuable.

Graduates' Contact With Their Probation Officers

The Community Probation Service Manual stipulates that parolees should be required to report to see their Probation Officer a minimum of weekly for the first quarter of their parole, fortnightly for the second quarter and monthly for the remainder. However within the constraint of minimum monthly contact, there has tended to be some flexibility in the application of these requirements. The amount of contact graduates had with their Probation Officers in this study varied according to assessed need. One graduate saw his Probation Officer two or three times per week, with additional phone contact as well, although he was not always reliable in keeping planned appointments. This level of contact seemed to be largely crisis driven. Two Probation Officers described seeing the graduates weekly for longer than the prescribed first quarter of the parole period. One Probation Officer specifically described making set appointment times rather than seeing the graduate during reporting afternoons[17]: it is likely that others practised similarly although this wasn't specifically described in interviews. In the family reintegration case the level of contact was prescribed by the complexity of issues involved, indeed in this case the graduate in the case commented on the Probation Officer "doing his homework" very thoroughly in relation to the issues involved. In another case the Probation Officer considered that the graduate had

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[17]Reporting afternoons are an aspect of probation organisational culture that are in my opinion inimical to effective change oriented work with clients and have thus long outlasted their use-by date. Over the course of an afternoon a probation officer may end up having to see up to twenty people, all of whom have effectively been instructed to drop in some time in the afternoon. This is likely to result in an over-crowded waiting room and an exhausted probation officer with little benefit to the client other than having fulfilled a legal obligation.

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carefully constructed a safe lifestyle for himself, giving relevant others comprehensive information about his offending. In view of this they fairly quickly reached a stage where little more than minimal oversight was required. However the Probation Officer did subsequently increase reporting frequency to fortnightly again towards the end of his parole, with the hope of encouraging him to address some responsibilities in other areas of his life. Another Probation Officer described the purpose of contact with the graduate as to

> *maintain a trusting relationship, because it was hard for him to form trusting relationships with people, and to have as much opportunity as possible to reinforce the positive things he'd learned at Kia Marama, just to keep reminding him, try and keep him on track.*

Graduates were asked to rate their Probation Officers on a five point scale on the following items:

- understanding of sexual offending generally, and your offence related issues in particular;
- being confident and comfortable in dealing with issues related to your sexual offending;
- being supportive and helpful;
- being challenging, offering constructive criticism; and
- being controlling, enforcing the rules.

All the graduates rated their Probation Officers highly on all items. In particular in relation to the control item, graduates saw their Probation Officers as being very clear and appropriately authoritative but not controlling for the sake of control:

> *He would try and be very clear .   .   . so that there wouldn't be any confusion. I certainly got the message that I don't want to muck it up.*

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His approach wasn't solely to enforce but rather to guide,
to point in the right direction, but if he had to he would
have. He'd enforce the rules if he had to . . . but I was
also treated with dignity.

Probation Officers' Contact With Support Networks

The amount of contact Probation Officers had with members of the support networks varied significantly. In one case the Probation Officer was in contact with support network members on a weekly or more frequent basis. At the other extreme, there were only one or two contacts other than the support network meeting. A similar finding was reported by Laws (1998).

Probation Officers saw the purpose of their contact with the support network as including corroborating information provided by the graduate, enhancing the process of the graduate sharing information, and working co-operatively with the support network to keep the graduate on "track". Asked what they thought support network members wanted from them, Probation Officers' responses included being seen as actively involved with the graduate; showing genuine interest and concern; consulting others; being objective; placing victims' interests foremost; providing the support network members with support and the opportunity for sharing concerns and frustrations; and in one case, the use of the Probation Officer's authority to address a particular situation. As noted previously one Probation Officer expressed some reluctance for intensive contact with support network members on issues that were not directly related to managing the graduate's risk of reoffending, due to time constraints.

Where there had been significant contact between the Probation Officer and support network members, the support network

valued the role the Probation Officer had played. Specific comments were made on the Probation Officer having a pivotal role in communicating within the network, having an overview, and having an authority role.

> *Really she was the pivot of things because she saw him more regularly . . . Her role was vital in sustaining him . . . She took a particular interest in him and she made sure there was good communication between the people that were going to be involved in one way or another. She was just doing her job and I thought she did it well.* (Support Network Member)

One support network member commented on the Probation Officer having identified where the graduate was inappropriately manipulating and demanding from them:

> [Probation Officer] *was somebody that* [Graduate] *was involved with that had a kind of overview and was* [Graduate's] *accountability point. And* [Probation Officer] *was helpful in saying at one stage* [Graduate] *has got to be becoming a bit more independent, he can't be ringing up and saying "can you pick me up in half an hour and take me to the other side of town."* [Probation Officer] *said "this has got to stop, the guy can't be reliant on people". So he was good, positive in support . . .* [Probation Officer] *was the one who was able to point out that* [Graduate] *was manipulating and he said at one stage he thought* [Graduate] *had every lay person in town at his beck and call and it had to stop.*

Parole Termination

Two of the graduates interviewed had terminated their parole at the time of the interview. Graduates reported a mixture of feelings about their parole being terminated. There was a sense of relief at being free of the clutches of the criminal justice system, but also a sense of disappointment at having lost part of their support system.

> *When my parole terminated I felt I was losing part of my support network and it felt a bit strange . . . I'm glad that*

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parole is finally over, that I am finally a free man. Last time I got to this was a long time ago . . . this is the first time I've been out of prison this long in my life.

Discussion

A number of issues emerge from these findings as presenting particular significance. These are: Probation Officers' choice and comfort with working with sexual offenders; training; allocation processes; Probation Officers' engagement with support networks; workloads; and professional supervision. These issues will be explored further in the remainder of this chapter. In the course of this discussion recommendations for policy and practice within the Community Probation Service will be made.

Choice, Confidence and Comfort in working with Men who have Offended Sexually

All the Probation Officers interviewed were confident and comfortable in dealing with men who have offended sexually, and the graduates experienced them as such. Because of the intimate personal nature of sexual offending, in comparison with many other forms of criminal activity, and the potential for personal impact upon the worker in working with such clients, it is important that workers in this area of practice have the personal strength and support to withstand or cope with the "toxic" nature of this work. For some Probation Officers, factors including previous personal experiences may indicate that it would be unwise to engage in this area of work. It is therefore important that individuals have a choice of whether they wish to work with sexual offenders or not. Probation Officers in this study were confident that their choices about whether or not to work in

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this area would be respected. However some reported that they were not asked whether they felt comfortable supervising sexual offenders or not, so there was a sense that they would have had to assert the right to choose not to. This could leave some Probation Officers, who may lack the confidence to be so assertive towards managers, in a vulnerable position. It is acknowledged that this may create some difficulties for the organisation, particularly in small centres where there may not be much choice of Probation Officers to allocate cases to. Nevertheless a worker who does not feel safe, confident and comfortable in dealing with issues around sexual offending is unlikely to do effective work. One can only speculate whether this issue was a factor in Laws' (1998) alarming finding of a client whose Probation Officer had never addressed any issues related to their sexual offending with him.

Training for Probation Officers

Working with sexual offenders was recognised by all the Probation Officers interviewed as a unique area of work, that required a level of specialised knowledge and skills distinct from standard Probation practice with other forms of offending. For example the risk assessment instrument routinely administered with all Community Probation Service clients is virtually irrelevant to many child sexual offenders. As well as understanding the specific factors in and dynamics of sexual offending, Probation Officers working in this field need an awareness of child protection issues and the interface between work with offenders and child protection concerns. Skills for engagement with support networks, and for facilitating support network meetings, are also required. The need for specific training for Probation Officers working with these clients cannot be disputed.

All the Probation Officers interviewed had at least attended a training programme provided by Kia Marama on relapse prevention for Kia Marama parolees. In addition, two of the Probation Officers had some level of recognition within their districts as specialists in this field. They had developed specific skills and approaches to their practice, with little guidance or endorsement from the Department. This parallels the situation in the United Kingdom, where programmes for sexual offenders offered by Probation services initially developed as a basic grade professional initiative. Indeed it seems an essential element of professionalism that individual practitioners and/or teams can develop innovative and effective practices free from excessive bureaucratic prescription. Yet in view of the implications for public safety there may be a need for some minimum standards of practice in this specialised field.

Further, some Probation Officers questioned to what extent managers were aware of individual officers' training levels and took this into account when making allocation decisions. As a practitioner in the field I find it concerning that Kia Marama training courses for Probation Officers have not been provided in the South Island for some years. I am uncertain what training has been provided in the North Island but Laws' (1998) findings do not make encouraging reading. The availability of Probation staff with the necessary training, knowledge and skills, as well as the comfort and confidence previously discussed, to work effectively with sexual offenders may be a significant problem in some areas, particularly smaller centres, or even larger cities with Service Centres divided on a discrete geographical basis.

Training within the Community Probation Service is increasingly dominated by the competency assessment programme. There is

currently no specific competency unit on working with sexual offenders. In view of the specialised nature of this work, and the implications for public safety, I consider that a specific competency or enabling unit related to working with sexual offenders should be incorporated into the competency framework. It is also recommended that a specific training programme for Probation Officers for working with sexual offenders should be developed. This should include the causes and dynamics of sexual offending; assessment of sexual offenders; therapy methods; child protection principles and services; specific information about the Kia Marama programme and working with Kia Marama parolees; and skills for working with support networks. Information about community based treatment programmes tailored to specific communities would also be valuable. The potential personal impact of working with these offenders should also be discussed. Ideally men who have offended sexually should only be supervised by Probation Officers who have completed this training, and have been or are being assessed for this competency.

Case Allocation Processes

Two graduates in this study were allocated to their Probation Officers through the standard process of reporting to a duty officer within 72 hours of being released, and being given a time to meet their supervising officer at a later date. The graduates found this unsatisfactory. Specific issues of concern included reporting to an office for one contact with a duty officer and being uncertain how much this person knew about them, which is significant particularly given the shame and embarrassment attached to sexual offending. More important was the lack of immediate attention to specific needs and concerns. Being released from prison is a significant and stressful

time, especially for Kia Marama graduates who have had no other contact with the criminal justice system. Much can happen in the first few days after release, so there can be a significant need for oversight and support that cannot be met by duty officers. There seems to be no reason why the Community Probation Service should not receive plenty of advance notice of parolees being released so that allocation decisions can be made in advance. It should then be eminently possible for parolees being released to be given an appointment with their supervising officer at a specific time in the first day or two after release. The Integrated Offender Management System[18] may facilitate this process.

Probation Officers' Engagement with Support Networks

The general level of meso-system communication was a significant issue emerging from this study and was discussed in detail in Chapter Six. In the case of Probation Officers' engagement with support networks, the level of engagement varied considerably between cases, and seems to have tended towards becoming reactive rather than proactive: Probation Officers engaged with support networks in response to a specifically identified need. Lack of meso-system communication was associated with various difficulties, particularly including support network confusion regarding risk issues. On the other hand where Probation Officers were actively engaged with support networks their role was valued. Support people also need support for themselves as was discussed in detail in Chapter Six, and

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[18]This is the Department of Corrections' new information technology system, that is common to all services within the Department and supports a consistent approach to managing sentences, as was outlined in detail in Chapter Three.

it is reasonable to expect that this should be at least partially provided by Probation Officers.

Given the difference in individual graduates' needs and circumstances, it may not be appropriate to be overly prescriptive in this area. However the previous chapter recommended a review process involving the graduate, Probation Officer and support network on at least a quarterly basis. This level of contact between Probation Officers and support networks is advocated as a minimum for all Kia Marama graduates.

Workloads

All Probation Officers interviewed reported supervising high caseloads. They all identified the graduates as needing intensive work, at least for part of their parole period. Engagement with support networks also required time. Probation Officers consciously prioritised the needs of these clients. Overall workload demands tended towards presenting Probation Officers with a choice between "cutting corners" and working in excess of their employment contract hours. There was certainly a sense that given the demands child sex offenders present, Probation Officers did not want too many on their caseloads at once. It is accepted within the Service that different clients do present different levels of offending risk and need and that Probation Officers do need to prioritise their work accordingly. However there is currently no accepted means within the Service for objectively measuring Probation Officers' workloads, and assessing what is a realistic workload given clients' different risk and need levels is not an easy task. Further the Probation Officers interviewed were all experienced and specifically trained in working with sex offenders. As already mentioned, there could be a risk of Probation Officers without this level of training being

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deceived by child sex offenders' often superficial compliance and failing to intervene sufficiently.

Professional Supervision

As noted previously the Community Probation Service is currently making good progress in implementing quality professional supervision for all Probation Officers. In view of the special needs presented by men who have offended sexually, it is recommended that all Probation Officers working with these clients receive supervision by someone with specialised knowledge of the field. This may require external resources.

Standards and Protocols

In the ongoing development of the Community Probation Service's work with men who have offended sexually, consideration should be given to the construction of some policy standards or guidelines for intervention. Areas that may be profitably addressed include training standards for Probation Officers working with these men, special conditions for supervision or parole[19], guidelines for engagement with support networks, protocols for the interface with child protection services, especially but not exclusively in family reintegration cases, and protocols for liaison with community based service providers.

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[19]Appropriate special conditions could include restrictions on contact with victims and/or children in general, residential conditions, appropriate control of paid and voluntary employment and leisure activities and programme requirements.

Conclusion

Managing child sex offenders in the community has major implications for the safety of abuse victims and the public in general, and is therefore possibly the most publicly and politically sensitive area of work in which the Community Probation Service engages. As such it demands a high quality of service. In particular men who have attended Kia Marama have benefited from the investment of a high quality and effective programme. It is essential that they are assisted to effectively transfer their therapeutic learning into their ongoing lives in the community, and realise the benefit of a safe and satisfying lifestyle. The Community Probation Service has a vital role in this process. The graduates in this study all had the personal benefit of engaging with well trained, experienced and conscientious Probation Officers. However Probation Officers' engagement with support networks was far more variable. Further the findings of Laws (1998) do not inspire confidence that the standard found in this study is consistent throughout the country[20]. Accordingly further development of competency requirements, training, and protocols for the Service's work with men who have offended sexually is strongly recommended.

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[20]In studies with small samples such as both this and that of Laws (1998), such discrepancies can easily occur. This suggests the need for larger scale quantitative research into issues highlighted in this study, as will be recommended in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 8

FAMILY REINTEGRATION

The literature regarding the issue of men who have offended sexually returning to live in a family which includes their actual or potential victims was discussed in Chapter Three. Although this is an area of controversy, it was suggested that a managed reintegration process, with the negotiation and implementation of clear safety rules and appropriate monitoring, may be appropriate in some cases. This could be preferable to preventing the graduate having contact with the family while on parole, only to have him move back home without any oversight once parole terminates (Smith, 1994; O'Connell, 1986; Jenkins, 1990; Cumming and Buell, 1997). However there currently seems to be a lack of research addressing these issues. One Probation Officer in this study made the general observation that when reunification with partners occurred it tended to lead to isolation of the family unit:

> *Some of them have had the good fortune of going back to marriages but quite often as a family unit they then become isolated because the extended family will turn against the woman who's decided to stick by the offender.*

In this study one graduate engaged a process of reintegration with his family, which included his victim, his fourteen year old stepdaughter. This process was far from a smooth passage for all those involved: a number of complex issues and difficulties needed to be negotiated, and indeed were not fully resolved at the time of interview, which was after the termination of the graduate's parole.

At the outset it must be acknowledged that family reintegration is a major research topic in itself. The primary focus of this study was

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the functioning of support networks. Thus the process and experience of reintegration was examined from within that context. Accordingly reintegration has been viewed from the perspective of the experience of the graduate, his wife, their counsellor and his Probation Officer. A comprehensive examination of family reintegration would require including the perspectives of the victim and professionals working with her, and possibly other family members. Some form of objective observation of family dynamics could also be valuable. However these investigations were beyond the scope of this study.

In particular the process of family reintegration poses two questions that demand close attention. The first, as posed by Glaser and Frosh (1993) is whether an adult-child relationship that has become abusively sexualised, can be de-sexualised. The second, related question, is whether an appropriate parental authority relationship can be rebuilt, after that power has been exploited through sexual abuse. The first question was not addressed in this study. In relation to the second, this posed a dilemma for the graduate as noted below, yet he and his wife suggested that an appropriate parental relationship with the victim was being rebuilt. However as the victim was not interviewed and no objective observations of family dynamics were made, no definitive findings can be asserted.

Nevertheless despite these significant limitations some useful exploratory observations can be made. Again in this chapter the findings of the study will be reported and then issues emerging from them will be discussed.

When the graduate commenced therapy, his and his wife's goal was to work towards reintegration. At one point in therapy, difficulty in their own relationship threatened their commitment to the goal. However they also perceived different messages coming from different

Kia Marama therapy staff over the course of the therapy. Early in therapy they were led to believe that

No guarantees but it was possible.

The graduate had a clear understanding of the requirements for reintegration to be considered:

First I had to do well in group, had to have understanding of the chain. Obviously my partner had to be on for reintegration and in my case the victim had to be in [agreement].

A counsellor/advocate was assigned to the victim. However as the graduate's release approached they perceived increasing resistance, particularly from one Kia Marama staff member, to reintegration, apparently on the basis of concern that the victim should not be placed in a position of making decisions about it. At the same time the graduate and his wife went through a period of stress and ambivalence about it.

To be honest I was more or less talked out of it (Graduate's wife).

Ultimately the graduate was released on parole conditions to have no contact with the victim, and the weekly access with his own children to be supervised at a child care agency.

At his first session with his Probation Officer the graduate expressed his concern about the situation. The Probation Officer formed the opinion that, regardless of the reintegration question, the special conditions imposed were unrealistically restrictive:

I think that the two special conditions relating to contact with his own children at [child care agency], and no contact with the victim whatsoever, where the District Prisons Board knows full well that this is only going to last for nine months, and that anything could happen at the end of nine months, but to extend this out for this nine

month period even when the reintegration's not going to take place I think was pretty unrealistic . . . sure there has to be some safeguards and some clear boundary lines . . . This was not a situation where everybody had split and there was just no contact at all, and I think there's a case for Kia Marama backing their programme a little bit more. There was a sense that they were just not confident that the work they had put into [graduate] was going to stand up, that everything had to be covered just absolutely down to nailing down the last nail in the corner and he was hardly going to be given an opportunity while he was on parole of showing whether he had learned anything. Just how much you expose families and victims and children to these guys during that period will always be debatable I suppose and clearly it's got to be really closely monitored.

After clarifying the situation independently with the graduate's wife, and further consultation with Kia Marama therapy staff, the Probation Officer proceeded to apply to the District Prisons Board for a change in the graduate's parole conditions. He obtained a copy of the Kia Marama Family Reintegration Policy and began to implement it with the graduate. Essential elements of the policy include ascertaining the wishes of the graduate's partner, and the victim(s), and ensuring that their therapeutic needs are met, negotiation and implementation of clear safety rules, and a gradual staged reintegration process, with close monitoring and regular reviews involving all concerned. The Probation Officer described a clear intention to manage the process effectively:

I suppose one of the reasons I argued for reintegration was that I felt it was far better for reintegration to be managed than for it to just happen on an ad hoc basis after parole had finished, which was going to happen anyway. So why not manage the thing now while we've got a chance during parole. So I was determined to manage the thing.

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The Probation Officer was aware of a clear expectation from the whole support network that the victim's interests be regarded as paramount:

> *They were keen for me also to have [victim's] interests foremost. I think that message came through, and that was a message that I obviously believed in right from the outset also, and we made sure that was something that [graduate] fully understood, that if [victim] overrode anything, and of course we had to make that possible for her, then she would have to be able to do that without any repercussions. We had to establish that.*

At the time of the graduate's release a counsellor /advocate had already been engaged with the victim, and the Probation Officer had regular contact with this person during the parole period, although there was some difficulty towards the end of the parole term as the family moved outside her service area.

Both the graduate and his wife accepted that the victim's wishes were paramount regarding reintegration:

> *If she wasn't happy about it I wouldn't have continued because that would have made her obviously distant to me* (Graduate's wife).

> *Basically the last word comes down to her* (Graduate).

However for the graduate there seemed to be an unresolved conflict between respecting the victim's wishes and not surrendering their adult and parental responsibility:

> *We didn't want to put it to that, to her, for two reasons. First, we didn't want pressure on her to think that she's got to do what Mum wants or what I want, and secondly we didn't want to have the other effect either of all of a sudden she holds all the cards and she can do what she likes and plays up to what she likes because she holds our future in her hands.*

Nevertheless the Probation Officer described a process of working closely with the victim's counsellor/advocate in ascertaining and respecting the victim's wishes:

She could certainly make up her own mind and she could certainly say yes and no . . . the very first session we had at [victim's counsellor's] *office with* [graduate's wife, victim, victim's counsellor] *and myself . . . whether she was happy about* [graduate] *having some contact with the family, and especially about him perhaps staying overnight, and we indicated to her that there would be absolutely no repercussions for her if she was unhappy about that . . . She was quite clear that she was quite happy for having contact with him, she wanted to have contact with him, she was very specific about that, in that she was happy for him to stay but not too often was her expression.*

[Victim's counsellor] *and I, in our first session with* [graduate] *tackled this situation and pointed out to him that it was going to be very difficult for* [victim] *still as a fourteen year old, and as a victim, to be able in any way to make life more difficult for him. But we would take an extremely dim view if we found out that she had been intimidated in any way by him, or bribed by him, or in any way manipulated by him in terms of what she said to him and what she did, that she had to have a free hand to express her views and concerns . . . and* [graduate] *accepted that. I constantly checked with* [graduate's wife] *about that, because in fact there was also possibly more chance of* [graduate's wife] *feeling hard towards* [victim] *because it was* [graduate's wife's] *relationship with* [graduate] *that was at the heart of this whole thing.*

There were times when [victim] *would share . . . expressed her concern . . . and at that time we asked* [victim] *how she would feel if* [graduate] *was to have one more night a week over the Christmas period, which he'd requested, and* [victim] *said no, she was not happy with that so that was not granted. So* [victim] *did in fact stand up to* [graduate] *and he had to accept that and he did in fact, and as far as I can tell . . . and as far as* [victim's counsellor] *could ascertain they had been OK and there hadn't been any threats made by* [graduate] *or any repercussions of any description* (Probation Officer).

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Safety rules were that the graduate didn't go into the girls' (the victim and his own younger daughter) rooms alone, or into the bathroom while they were in the bath, and in general was not to be alone with either of the two girls. The graduate's wife described being in the habit of dressing their younger daughter in front of the fire, but the graduate was to make sure he was not in the room when this occurred. The graduate's wife felt a sense of complete responsibility for protecting the children, although she accepted that as her parental role:

> *It has gone over the top* (Graduate's wife).

She reported that the graduate was keeping well to the requirements:

> *He accepts them. He knows it's keeping himself safe which he needs to do.*

However she felt a need to keep a constant check on the situation:

> *There might be the odd time which he might be around here and* [younger daughter] *might be in the bath on the weekend here and I just keep a check on him. So I'm up and down. If I don't know where he is I'll yell out and say "where are you?". Quite hard sometimes. I think I want to, for my own peace of mind . . . . I feel that sometimes I should actually give him the benefit of the doubt.*

The safety rules restricted aspects of family life:

> *Quite often* [Victim] *has asked to go somewhere with* [Graduate] *and I've said no. . . Of course* [younger daughter] *doesn't understand and she wants Dad to do things with her and* [Graduate] *can't because either I have to go or . . .*

However overall there was a sense that the safety rules were realistic and working "really well."

There were significant issues to be addressed within the graduate's marriage. His wife had experienced some pressure from

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him at an early stage to proceed with reintegration, but had also encountered pressure from friends and members of her family not to proceed, and rejection by them when she did. Nevertheless she was confident that she had ultimately been able to make her own decision:

> *I felt quite free about that. I made my own decision. I wasn't going to let anybody else make my decision for me.*

Rebuilding trust in the relationship was an ongoing process. A difficulty arose in relation to couple counselling. The Kia Marama reintegration policy indicated that couple counselling would be provided by the Department of Corrections Psychological Service. However that service did not see themselves as having that role:

> *There were certain expectations of the Psychological Service which they were perhaps not able to meet, which I was a little surprised, which were laid down for this particular case. Obviously some more liaison needs to happen there, between Kia Marama and what the Psychological Service here can provide, because they certainly couldn't provide in the area of couple counselling* (Probation Officer).

The Probation Officer was able to arrange funding from the Community Probation Service for counselling from a private practitioner.

Another major difficulty was the role of the Children, Young Persons, and their Families' Service (CYPFS)[21]. The Kia Marama Family Reintegration Policy clearly envisages CYPFS as the statutory agency, ultimately responsible for child protection, taking a monitoring role in family reintegration cases. Accordingly when the reintegration process was initiated the Probation Officer took the step of notifying CYPFS. When the graduate was nearing the end of parole the

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[21]This service has been renamed as the Children, Young Persons, and their Families Agency, which is presumably open to being abbreviated as CYPFA. However as it was still CYPFS at the time of these events, it will be referred to as such in this context.

Probation Officer again contacted CYPFS, envisaging they would take up a more active monitoring role. At that stage the family had moved into a different CYPFS district. The response was somewhat ambiguous - on the one hand there seemed to be some concern from CYPFS that they had not had a more active role earlier, yet they did not actually engage with the family[22].

> *CYPFS have never got back to us. They were going to take over* [Probation Officer's] *role as a monitor and they teed up a meeting.* [Probation Officer] *rang up at the last minute and cancelled, CYPFS had cancelled it, and we've never heard back* (Graduate).

> *Waiting and waiting and waiting!* (Graduate's wife)

Reintegration proceeded on the gradual basis as envisaged in the Kia Marama policy. It commenced with day visits and by the termination of parole it had progressed to the graduate staying overnight three nights per week. Over the parole period there were three review meetings with the graduate, his wife, the Probation Officer, and the victim's counsellor/advocate.

At the time of interview, approximately three months after the termination of parole, the graduate was still maintaining the level of contact, three nights per week that he had achieved at parole termination. He and his wife expressed a commitment to do things right, "by the book", to maintain the integrity of the process. They were also concerned that their situation could affect future reintegration cases:

> *We wanted to do it by the book. There's no sort of rules to it but I mean we wanted to do it right because from*

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[22]It is acknowledged that no representative from CYPFS was interviewed for this study. As they had no active engagement with the family they could not be considered part of the support network in any way.

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what [Probation Officer] *had told me there's one or two others that were due for release who are doing the same thing and they were using us as a guinea pig to see how it went so I didn't want to buck the system too much because it could be detrimental to people coming behind us* (Graduate).

However they lacked a clear future direction. They were now living outside the victim's counsellor's service area, although they probably could have renewed contact with her. They had been anticipating some oversight and direction from CYPFS, but this was still not forthcoming.

It's very hard for us, it puts us basically at a standstill I guess. If they came to us and said "keep doing what you're doing, we'll see you at Christmas", even something we'd know - if they said "we don't know what we're doing but give us two months to sort something out and we'll have a meeting in two months" at least we'd know, we'll carry on doing what we're doing, but we haven't heard a thing (Graduate).

Discussion

These experiences highlight issues in regard to professionals' communication with their clients, appropriate and realistic parole conditions, and responsibility for child protection concerns. The graduate and his wife reported receiving inconsistent messages in relation to reintegration from different therapy unit staff over the course of his therapy. Indeed they described perceiving increasing reluctance to endorse a goal of reintegration despite the graduate being assessed as making excellent progress in therapy. It is not possible to make an objective comment on this as Kia Marama staff were not interviewed and two of the staff members concerned are no longer working at the Unit. Family reintegration is a controversial topic on which workers

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may well hold differing opinions. This underscores the importance of having a clear policy and applying it consistently.

Parole Conditions

In this case after some controversy with regard to reintegration, the graduate was ultimately released with very restrictive parole conditions, including access to his own two children, who were not victims, being professionally supervised at a child care agency. This was despite the fact that his therapy report painted a very positive picture of his therapy process, and his risk of reoffending was assessed as moderate to low. Yet both the therapy report and the Probation pre-release report to the District Prisons Board (completed by a different Probation Officer to his supervising Officer) seemed to assume that these restrictive conditions were necessary, without endeavouring to justify them. In particular there was no suggestion in the reports that the graduate's wife desired restricted and professionally supervised access, or that she was assessed as inadequate in a protective role. The result was that when the supervising Probation Officer received requests from the graduate and the family for some relaxation of these conditions, he too saw them as unnecessarily restrictive. It is not my role as researcher to make a judgement about who was right in this situation. However it must be observed that if such restrictive parole conditions are to be sought, the reasons for that need to be clear and convincing to the Probation Officer who is going to have to administer and possibly enforce them.

Child Protection Responsibility

In a situation where a man who has offended sexually proposes reintegrating into a family which includes either actual or potential

victims, the safety and well being of those children must be the first and paramount concern. Safety rules must be implemented, but much more than that is necessary. The victim must have a right to determine whether s/he wants an abuser to return to the home situation, and to have that decision accepted as the ultimate deciding factor. Even that is not as simple as it sounds: s/he needs to have achieved sufficient recovery from the impact of abuse to be able to make and assert such a decision. It is also recognised that victims may be strongly influenced by the desires of the most powerful adults in their lives, their parents.

Accordingly a means must be found for independently ascertaining and advocating the victim's views, ensuring his/her therapeutic needs are met, and monitoring ongoing safety. In this case that role was performed by a worker from a voluntary agency. The overall reintegration process was managed by the Probation Officer, and the Community Probation Service was the only statutory agency involved. The Community Probation Service is of course an offender focused agency that only has authority over the graduate himself and that only for the term of the graduate's parole.

In this case the Probation Officer was involved in a number of joint meetings with the victim and her counsellor/advocate. The appropriateness of such contact between a Probation Officer and a child victim could be questioned. The Community Probation Service Manual currently does not envisage Probation Officers working intensively with victims. More importantly the Probation Officer could be identified as the graduate's counsellor and supporter. On the other hand this contact could give the victim the message that the authority who was making the ultimate decisions was listening to her and respecting her views. Certainly this was the Probation Officer's

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intention in this case, and indeed the victim was enabled to refuse a request from the graduate at one point and have her wish respected.

The role of CYPFS in this case was problematic. As noted above CYPFS were notified early in the reintegration process, but an agreement was apparently reached that they would not intervene, but assume a monitoring role at parole termination. However at the time of interviews they had not engaged with the family, which placed the family in a difficult situation. However it is possible that at that stage CYPFS may have had some difficulty in either endorsing or reviewing decisions made by another statutory agency.

The result was that in this case the safety and well being of the victim, and the other children, was the responsibility of the mother, with limited professional support or oversight. The only statutory monitoring was undertaken by the Probation Officer, advised by a worker from a voluntary agency. There was no indication in the interviews I conducted that the victim's safety had been compromised. However it is uncertain whether the process followed in this case could be endorsed as protocols to be followed in other reintegration cases.

The Department of Corrections, in particular the Kia Marama Therapy Unit and the Community Probation Service, is an offender focused agency. Kia Marama therapists are well placed to assess a graduate's offending patterns and evaluate his response to therapy. They may also be able to assess and assist with dynamics in the relationship between a graduate and his partner. The Community Probation Service is also able to assess a graduate's ongoing progress after his release and his response to parole conditions. It also has some authority over him for the term of his parole and may thus exercise some control over his living arrangements and contact

with his family. However all of this is not adequate for assessing or ensuring the safety of any identified child.

A comprehensive child protection assessment requires consideration of far more than the behaviour of a previous or potential abuser. For a victim it is essential to ensure that appropriate therapy is provided and consider his/her progress in recovery from the abuse. The protective ability of the non-offending parent and/or other adults within the family system needs to be assessed. It is also important to assess and develop the child's support system independent of the immediate family: this could include extended family or whanau, neighbours, school teachers and counsellors, health personnel, and friends. A monitoring role should also be maintained for as long as considered necessary for the child's safety, rather than being limited to the term of parole. All this is well beyond the mandate, training or expertise of the Department of Corrections.

A voluntary family service agency may well have appropriate skills and be able to provide valuable service in performing these roles to a large extent. This indeed seemed to have been the case in this situation. However a voluntary agency is limited by only being able to intervene with a child with the parents' consent.

These observations suggest that in family reintegration situations there is an essential assessment and monitoring role for the Children, Young Persons and their Families Agency, as the statutory agency with ultimate responsibility for child protection. This issue needs to be addressed in inter-agency policy negotiation at an exo-system level. A number of protocols are suggested. First, that when a man in therapy at Kia Marama proposes family reintegration and is assessed as having made sufficient progress in therapy for this to be considered possible, a referral is made to the Children, Young

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Persons, and their Families' Agency. That service should accept this referral as a notification under the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act (1989) Section 15, which states that

> Any person who believes that any child or young person has been, or is likely to be, harmed (whether physically, emotionally or sexually), ill-treated, abused, neglected, or deprived may report the matter to a Social Worker or a member of the Police.

Certainly the fact that a victim has been previously abused constitutes grounds for notification under this section. Further, a man convicted of sexual offences returning to live in a family with a known victim, or even potential victims, can be assumed as likely to pose some level of risk. The Children, Young Persons, and their Families' Agency therefore should undertake a full and independent assessment of the victim's situation from a child protection perspective. A Family Group Conference may be appropriate in conjunction with the graduate's reintegration or support network meetings. If reintegration proceeds the Children, Young Persons, and their Families' Agency should maintain a monitoring role, although day to day contact with the victim and the family may well be largely undertaken by other appropriate individuals or agencies. Nevertheless the Children, Young Persons, and their Families' Agency should retain a right of veto at any stage if it becomes apparent that the victim and/or other children in the situation are at risk of abuse.

Resources

Family reintegration is a complex process, and for it to be achieved safely and satisfactorily for all concerned adequate services and resources need to be provided. In this case there was a need for couple counselling: indeed intensive couple and family counselling is

likely to be essential in any proposed reintegration situation. However in this case it was assumed that such counselling would be provided by the Department of Corrections Psychological Service, which did not eventuate. Provision of adequate resources for these needs is absolutely essential. This requirement should be identified and confirmed at a management/policy level.

Conclusion

Family reintegration of a man who has offended sexually within the family, is a complex and potentially risky process. However it may be that a managed reintegration is less risky than seeking to prevent reintegration, only for it to proceed covertly once the restrictions of parole have been removed. Despite the limitations of this study in comprehensively addressing the issues involved, a number of recommendations for practice and policy development have been made, particularly in regards to inter-agency service co-ordination and provision of resources. However a fuller understanding of the dynamics of family reintegration awaits further specific research.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the ongoing life experiences of men who have completed therapy at the Kia Marama Special Treatment Unit, particularly in relation to how their social networks supported their relapse prevention endeavours. A review of the literature in relation to men who have offended sexually found that it was largely psychologically based, focusing on the individual man and therapeutic processes. Inadequate attention was paid to the client's social context, or to his ongoing life experience and change maintenance after completing therapy. Social work, with its tradition of person-in-environment practice, was identified as an appropriate discipline to contribute attention to this dimension. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological analysis provided a fitting theoretical framework for exploration of these issues.

This study found that graduates from Kia Marama valued their relationships with and the support they received from members of their support networks, both during and after their therapy. The importance of open communication emerged as a vital theme from the findings. Graduates were recognised as generally communicating openly within their support networks about issues related to their previous offending and risk of reoffending. However a lack of communication of this information to key support network members was associated with reoffending in one case, although this should not be interpreted as a causal explanation. In addition, considerable variation was found in the level of engagement and communication between different members of the graduates' therapy and support systems, particularly between professionals and support network members, both during therapy and

after release. This lack of meso-system[23] communication was associated with confusion and minimisation regarding risk issues within the support network in one case.

Strengths of this Study

This research has explored in some detail the social context of the whole rehabilitation process for men who have offended sexually, a vital area which had received inadequate attention in previous literature and research. The qualitative, interpretivist methodology utilised facilitated a reasonably deep exploration of the experiences and perspectives of people most intimately involved with relevant issues, namely men who had offended sexually and people close to them. The findings clearly identified relevant issues and scope for enhancement of current practices, enabling specific recommendations to be made for practice and policy development.

Limitations of this Study

Any research project has inherent limitations and weaknesses and it is essential that these are recognised and acknowledged by researchers. In this study the primary means of data gathering was an interview with each participant averaging perhaps a little over an hour in length. Within each interview participants were reflecting on experiences from periods ranging from several months to more than two years. Information derived must therefore be selective, limited and possibly distorted by participants' memory. Further, the working assumptions adopted and interview schedules developed, although

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[23] In Bronfenbrenner's (1979) framework, the meso-system refers to the linkages between different settings that the individual participates in, or communication between different people he/she has some relationship with. This is fully outlined in Chapter Three.

they gave an essential focus to a study of this scale, must inevitably reflect the theoretical assumptions and even biases of the researcher, and may have precluded adequate attention to other aspects of participants' experiences. My ability to explore graduates' ongoing life experience, and the continued functioning of support networks after completion of their parole, which would be vital information, was limited by ethical considerations.

Family reintegration of graduates who have abused within their families is a topic that urgently demands thorough research attention in view of its implications for the safety and recovery of abuse victims. In this study one graduate was pursuing a process of family reintegration, and this process was tentatively explored from the perspective of the graduate, his wife, his Probation Officer and a marriage counsellor. A full exploration of family reintegration would require inclusion of the perspectives of the victim and her counsellor. However, participants in this study were members of graduates' support networks, so that it was not appropriate to include them.

This study was limited to pakeha men, and is thus open to criticism on the basis of being monocultural. However this decision was made on ethical grounds as outlined in Chapter Four. Equivalent research in relation to clients from other cultures should ideally be carried out by researchers from those cultures.

Finally the small scale of this study inherently limits the generalisability of the findings, which would require larger scale quantitative verification. Nevertheless the richness of the findings emerging from this study lend weight to the proposal of a number of recommendations for practice and policy development, which have been discussed in detail in previous chapters and are summarised below. These recommendations are logically derived from the

literature reviewed as well as the findings of this study. It is recognised that if implemented they would need to be subjected to ongoing evaluation.

Recommendations for Practice

- That the assessment of client's social networks, utilising the Social Network Map and Grid (Tracy and Whittaker, 1990), be incorporated into the assessment process at the commencement of therapy at Kia Marama. From this process appropriate potential support network members could be identified at an early stage and engaged during the therapy process.

- That the promotion of open communication and repudiation of secrecy be modelled in all aspects of the rehabilitation process.

- That meso-system engagement and communication, both during therapy and after release, be further developed and a consistent standard maintained. As a minimum step it is proposed that a regular system review process, involving the client, his therapist(s) and/or Probation Officer, and appropriate support network members, be instituted both during therapy and after release.

- That the need of support network members for support in their role be recognised. This includes the need for adequate information relevant to their role, assistance with consideration of safety issues for themselves, assistance in dealing with graduates' issues that they may encounter (even if these issues do not seem directly related to sexual offending), and some personal support. Some form of training relevant to their role could be very valuable. In some instances reimbursement of financial expenses incurred in the course of supporting graduates may be appropriate.

- That more critical examination of social and cultural factors be incorporated into therapy with clients. It is essential that this is done in a manner which does not diminish the client's responsibility for his behaviour, but rather suggests that it is part of the client's responsibility to be critically aware of and deal appropriately with such factors as media influences.

- That clearer understandings and policies be developed around the question of who, in addition to a graduate's support network, needs to know about his offending, for safety purposes. This could then be communicated clearly and consistently with clients and their support network members, both during therapy and by their Probation Officers after release.

- That clients who have offended sexually be supervised by Probation Officers who are personally comfortable working with these clients and have completed relevant training.

- That Probation Officers working with clients who have offended sexually receive professional supervision from supervisors with recognised specialist expertise in this field.

- That allocation of parolees to their supervising Probation Officer be completed prior to their release, so that on their release they are provided with a specific appointment with their supervising Probation Officer.

Recommendations for Policy Development

- That the Community Probation Service develop specific policy standards for supervision of sexual offenders. These could include training standards for Probation Officers (see further below); special conditions for supervision or parole; contact levels; system review processes as outlined above; Probation Officers'

engagement with support networks; and liaison with community agencies and child protection and victims' services.

- That the Community Probation Service introduce a specific competency unit in relation to working with sexual offenders into the competency framework, and that specialised training as outlined in Chapter Seven be provided. A suitably comprehensive programme would include a theoretical understanding of the dynamics of sexual offending; skills in assessment of clients who had offended sexually; therapy methods; child protection principles and services; skills for engagement with support networks and facilitating network meetings and reviews; specific information about the Kia Marama and Te Piriti programmes and working with parolees from these programmes; and information abut relevant community based programmes.

- That in relation to family reintegration cases, clear inter-agency co-ordination processes be developed. In particular that the Community Probation Service negotiate protocols with the Children, Young Persons, and their Families' Agency regarding the monitoring of the safety of children in these situations. It is suggested that these protocols include that the Children, Young Persons, and their Families' Agency be notified of all family reintegration proposals, and undertake an assessment of the situation from a child protection perspective independent of the Department of Corrections. The Children, Young Persons, and their Families' Agency should also maintain a monitoring role and maintain a right of veto to the reintegration process.

Recommendations for Further Research

Research of an exploratory nature is likely to generate at least as many further questions as answers, and this study was no exception. The findings of this study suggest a number of areas of highly profitable further research, of both a qualitative and quantitative nature. This study has certainly not produced the final answer on the specific research questions explored, and further qualitative exploration of graduates experience of rehabilitation in their social context would be useful. In particular, a longitudinal study following a cohort of men from the commencement of their therapy, until at least a year following parole termination, could be particularly informative. Participants, as in this study, would be clients, members of their support networks, and professionals working with them. Obtaining participants' consent at the commencement of the project to follow up beyond parole termination would eliminate the ethical block that I encountered to exploring this area. Such a study could adopt a more inductive grounded theory approach. It would also be useful to explore the experiences of clients in other institutional and community based programmes.

The area of family reintegration of men who have abused within their families is a vast research subject in itself. Such research would need to adopt more of a child protection orientation, and include the victims' and other children's perspectives. The ongoing dynamics of the relationship between the graduate and the victim, particularly "desexualisation" of the relationship and the potential to rebuild an appropriate parental role, would require close qualitative attention.

Similar research in relation to men of other cultures could also be informative. However especially on such a sensitive topic as sexual abuse, it would be important that such research be conducted by

researchers with an in-depth understanding of the values, systems and processes of those cultures. Finally the findings of this study, and the proposals suggested above, would merit broader scale quantitative verification.

The rehabilitation of men who have offended sexually is a relatively young field of professional practice and research. The development of quality, effective practice to date has been greatly enhanced by a strong commitment of practitioners and policy makers to adequate research backing. As is the case in any developing field, the current study has suggested further potential refinements of practices. This quest needs to continue. The possibility of preventing the victimisation of even one further child is worth the investment of the resources required.

APPENDIX 1

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

<u>APPLICATION TO HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE</u>

NAME: Peter Matthewson

STATUS OF APPLICANT: Masterate Student

DEPARTMENT: Social Policy and Social Work

EMPLOYMENT: Probation Officer, Department of
                                        Corrections

PROJECT STATUS: Masters Thesis

FUNDING SOURCE: Employer.

SUPERVISORS: Mike Garland, lecturer, Social Policy and
                                        Social Work
                                        Celia Briar, senior lecturer, Social Policy
                                        and Social Work

**TITLE OF THE RESEARCH
PROJECT:**   Maintaining Safety - the Community
                                        Monitoring and Support of Sex Offenders
                                        after Therapy in Prison

ATTACHMENTS: Information Sheet
                                        Consent Form

SIGNATURES:

    RESEARCHER: _____

    SUPERVISORS: _____

                                _____

DATE: _____

1. DESCRIPTION

1.1 Justification

Sexual offending against children has become an area of significant public and professional interest and concern in the last two decades. The treatment of male sex offenders is a growing area of social work and clinical psychological practice. Treatment programmes, particularly those based on cognitive-behavioural approaches, have achieved significant recognition as providing effective treatment for offenders. However it is emphasised that treatment is not a "cure", and offenders must continue to apply their learning in maintaining their safety on a life long basis. The existence of a small number of men who have completed treatment, and subsequently reoffended, must be acknowledged. The question arises as to how men who are genuinely motivated to eliminate their sexually abusive behaviour can be most effectively supported in the ongoing implementation and maintenance of treatment gains in their lifestyle. This is particularly pertinent for men who have completed therapy in the artificial environment of a prison programme, and are subsequently faced with the challenge of implementing a changed lifestyle on reintegration back into the community.

Further the bulk of treatment content is psychologically based, in that it focuses on the individual's cognitive processes and behavioural management strategies. From a social work perspective it is also important to examine the individual offender in his social environment; how does he relate to and interact with others in the social system(s) he is part of, and how do those systems function in supporting, or failing to support, behavioural change. It seems important to have mechanisms for ongoing monitoring and support in place in the men's natural social systems for after official oversight is terminated. The Kia Marama treatment programme at Rolleston Prison strongly encourages men to develop a **support network** of family members, friends, employer contacts, etc who agree to provide ongoing support for them in the community. However although apparently valuable, this practice seems to be based on "practice wisdom", with little either theoretical or empirical research foundation. The ideal role envisaged for the support network is a complex combination of both monitoring/accountability and supportive functions, which seems very demanding on lay people in the community. In this context research into the post treatment social systems of offenders may provide useful data to inform ongoing policy and practice development. A survey of the current literature on treatment of sex offenders finds little attention paid to post treatment follow-up of offenders in their social setting. It is hoped that this study will make a contribution to addressing this deficit.

1.2 Objectives

This study will examine the life circumstances, relationships, and the functioning of social networks of sex offenders after release from prison following treatment at Kia Marama. A group of clients who are known to have reoffended will be compared to a group who seem to have successfully

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managed their lives without offending for a significant length of time. The research question is:

What, if any, are significant aspects of, or factors in offenders interactions with, and the functioning of, their social networks, that seem to be associated with either successful maintenance of change, or relapse?

A qualitative case study approach will be used, and the primary purpose of the research will be exploratory. The proposed study will hopefully identify useful avenues for further research, possibly of a broader more quantitative nature. It is important to assert at this point that this study does not aim to generate causal explanations of relapse. Offending behaviour is ultimately the choice of the offender which he alone is responsible for. Also the proposed study is **not** an evaluation of the Kia Marama programme or associated follow up services. However it may well provide information useful in designing future service and policy evaluations.

1.3   Procedures for recruiting participants and obtaining Informed Consent

Participants in the study will be offenders who have completed treatment at Kia Marama, and members of their "support networks" such as family members, employers, Probation Officers, church leaders etc. The study will be a collective case study, and the cases selected will be a purposive sample.

Prospective participants will be selected in consultation with the therapy staff of the Kia Marama Unit. Prospective participants will be men who are identified as having responded positively to therapy. For those who have not reoffended it will be important that they have maintained safety in the community for a significant length of time, probably two years, and are no longer subject to parole.

Prospective participants will be written to and invited to participate in the study. An information sheet and consent form (attached) will be provided. The men will also be asked to nominate appropriate members of their support networks to also participate in the study. These people will also be written to and invited.

1.4   Procedure in which research participants will be involved

The most important data for this study will be information on the experiences, understandings, thoughts and feelings of the participants, both offenders and members of their social networks. Participants will be involved in at least one in-depth interview, to seek this information. Adequate time will need to be allowed for each interview, probably an hour and a half to two hours, and it is possible that informants may need to be interviewed more than once. For each case interviews will be sought with the offender, his therapist at Kia Marama, his Probation Officer, and two or three other significant people from his support network. Participants will be interviewed in

their homes or at a mutually agreed neutral venue. It may be appropriate to also hold group interviews of offenders with their support networks. Participants will be informed that they have the right to terminate an interview or withdraw from the research at any time.

Information will also be derived from the ex-inmates' Kia Marama therapy and Community Corrections files. Consent to refer to these files will be sought.

1.5   Procedures for handling information and material produced

Interviews will be taped and transcribed, however the tape recorder will be stopped at the participant's request. I am likely to transcribe the tapes myself, however if I use any other transcriber that person will also sign a confidentiality agreement. Notes will also be taken during interviews. Tapes, notes and transcripts will be kept either in a locked filing cabinet in my office, or locked within my home. (From the perspective of confidentiality it may be preferable for material not to be stored on Department of Corrections premises, however facilities in my home are less secure.) Word processing will be performed on my personal computer which is not connected to any network.

Following completion of the project interview tapes and transcripts will be either destroyed or returned to the relevant participant, which ever they prefer. Results will be utilised within the final report in summarised and non-identifiable form.

2.   ETHICAL CONCERNS

2.1   Access to participants

Access to participants for prospective selection and invitation will be derived through discussion with therapy staff at Kia Marama. This will inevitably involve some level of discussion of who would be suitable participants prior to their being approached for consent. I consider this is sanctioned through two means:

(i)   Men entering into therapy at Kia Marama sign a treatment consent which includes information being generally used for research purposes.

(ii)   Through my position as a Department of Corrections employee I have reasonable access to Department records.

However no detailed file study will be undertaken at this stage. Potential participants will be discussed at the minimum level necessary for consideration.

Participants in the study will be able to contact me by telephone through my office at the Community Corrections Service in Christchurch. For protection of my family's safety and privacy, particularly in view of the subject matter of this study, my home address and phone number will not be given to participants.

2.2   Informed Consent

Full information about the aims of the research will be conveyed initially in writing and reiterated and clarified verbally as necessary. Information and consent forms are attached. For Kia Marama "graduates" consent will need to include consent for their support network members to talk confidentially about their experience of supporting him, and similarly consent will be needed from support network members for men to talk confidentially about their experience of their support.

2.3   Anonymity and Confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality will be guaranteed to all participants. In particular it will be important that participants within each case system (i.e. the ex-inmate and his support network) are able to talk frankly and confidentially about each other. It is also essential that participants' role in this research is kept separate from their status as former or current clients of the Department of Corrections. Accordingly:
- no offenders with whom I have worked in a professional capacity will be included
- no information in any identifiable form will be provided to the Department of Corrections about former clients
- interviews with Probation Officers and therapists will be limited to their experience and observations of working with the men and their networks at the time of their formal role. No information will be fed back about their former client's current situation. This will mean being diligent not to respond to well meaning questions like "How's he doing now?".

Nevertheless within each case system it may be useful to have a group interview if participants request or consent to this, and time is available.

However there is one vital exception to the principle of confidentiality. The study includes a group of men who are not known to have reoffended, in that they have not been convicted of a further sexual offence. However there is no way of knowing that these men have definitely not reoffended. Sexual offending occurs in a context of secrecy and it is accepted that only a small minority of sexual abuse incidents come to official notice. The possibility must be acknowledged that one or more of the men identified as not having reoffended may in fact have reoffended, and that in the course of this research a further offence or child at risk may be discovered. Social work ethics would generally require notification of such a situation to appropriate authorities, certainly in a case of continued offending or where a child remains at risk[24]. The case concerned would immediately be removed from the study. This limit on confidentiality will be included in information given to prospective participants when seeking consent.

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[24] It may be acceptable not to report an isolated, more minor offence if a significant time has elapsed since the incident and there is no identifiable victim who remains at risk. This will be discussed with my supervisors should this event arise.

2.4   Potential Harm to Participants

This study involves in depth interviews on a sensitive personal issue that is likely to have significant personal implications for most participants. The offenders may still be dealing with significant guilt feelings, particularly those that have reoffended. Offenders' family members and support people may have unresolved issues and feelings around being related to or involved with a sexual offender, or perhaps a heightened sense of responsibility for the offenders behaviour. Some participants may have strongly felt concerns about how the official system has functioned in the case. Any participant may have been a victim of sexual abuse. These issues may well arise in the course of interviews and it will be important to deal with them appropriately. It is highly likely that informants will seek information, feedback and assistance from the interviewer, and it will be important to respond appropriately. However the research interview is not therapy. It may be therapeutic for informants just to be able to tell their story to an empathic listener. However beyond that, and responding to requests for information, it will be important to be able to refer informants who may need therapy to appropriate counsellors. I will also need to be willing to terminate an interview if it is excessively distressing for the informant. Participants will also be advised of their right to conclude an interview or withdraw from participation at any time, or to stop the tape recorder at any time.

2.5   Potential Harm to the Researcher

There is some potential for harm to the researcher as a result of the toxic nature of the subject matter, and the emotional demand of interviewing people in depth on sensitive issues. The latter may be heightened as a result of tight time frames. However I have substantial clinical social work experience, including working with both victims and offenders in sexual abuse cases, which will be of assistance. I will make use of my Massey University supervisors for support. Further the research will not be addressing the specific details of sexually abusive behaviour. For protection of my family's safety and privacy my home address and phone number will not be given to participants.

2.6   Potential Harm to the University

Harm to the University could arise from a participant making some public complaint, justified or unjustified, about the conduct or results of this research. In the event of an offence or child at risk being discovered and reported, complaint may be made although this scenario is covered in the Information Sheet.

2.7   Participants' right to decline to take part

Participants have the right to decline to take part, to withdraw at any time, or to refuse to answer a particular question. This is outlined in the Information Sheet and consent form.

2.8   Uses of the information

Information will only be presented in the final report in a non-identifiable form. The final report of this project will be submitted as a thesis for the requirements of a Master of Philosophy degree in Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University. It will also be available within the Community Corrections and Psychological Services of the Department of Corrections, in view of the Department's support of this research and its relevance to policy and practice within the Department. Information in the final report will be arranged and presented thematically, rather than detailed analyses of individual cases. This will enhance the anonymity and confidentiality of participants.

The results in summarised form may also be published in the Social Work Review, the Journal of the New Zealand Association of Probation Officers and other appropriate professional publications. Results may also be referred to in presentations at conferences, seminars and lectures.

2.9   Conflict of Interest/Conflict of Roles

There is a potential for conflict between my roles as a researcher, and as a Probation Officer with the Department of Corrections. In my professional role I am also responsible for co-facilitating the monthly support group for Kia Marama ex-inmates, and I have previously been a co-therapist in a therapy group at Kia Marama as a student on placement. To minimise this possible conflict I will not include any offender with whom I have worked in an official/professional capacity, and will not feed back to the Department any identifiable information on former clients. The project will be supervised by Massey University Department of Social Work and Social Policy staff.

2.10   Other Ethical Concerns

The possibility of uncovering further offending or a child at risk in the course of this research has been discussed in the section on confidentiality.

3.   LEGAL CONCERNS

3.1   LEGISLATION

3.1.1 Copyright Act 1994

Appropriate literature use is sanctioned by Section 43 of this Act, which refers to fair dealing with a work for the purposes of research. I am not anticipating that participants in this study will be owners of copyright works, but if this is the case their written consent will be sought for any use I may make of such work.

3.1.2 Human Rights Act 1993

This study will only utilise Pakeha men, out of respect for cultural sensitivities as discussed on the section on cultural concerns below. However this could be interpreted as discrimination of the grounds of race. The Act does not refer to research as a context or form of discrimination.

3.1.3 Privacy Act 1993

Information Principles contained in this Act will be complied with. Information will only be obtained and utilised with the Informed Consent of participants. In the event of the necessity to notify further offending or a child at risk to authorities, Section 6, Information Principles 11 (e) and (f) sanction disclosure if necessary for maintenance of the law, investigation of offences, and public or individual safety.

3.1.4 Health and Safety in Employment Act 1991

Not applicable as I will not be employing other research assistants.

3.1.5 Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act 1992

Section 8(3) of this Act provides for cover for victims of sexual abuse, particularly in relation to counselling. Information related to this will be available for participants who may need such assistance.

3.1.6 Employment Contracts Act 1991

Not applicable as I will not be employing other research assistants.

3.2   OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

The possibility of discovering a further offence or a child at risk in the course of this research has been mentioned. The Children, Young Persons and their Families' Act 1989, Section 14, defines the grounds on which children or young persons are considered to be in need of care or protection. These include that a child "is being or is likely to be harmed, (whether physically or emotionally or sexually), ill treated, abused or seriously deprived". Section 15 provides that "any person who believes that a child or young person has been, or is likely to be harmed, ill treated, abused . . . may report the matter to a Social Worker or a member of the Police". Section 16 provides immunity from any civil, criminal or disciplinary proceedings resulting from a report made in good faith. It is noted that these sections apply to a concern about a specific identified child or young person, not a vague suggestion that someone may have offended.

4.   CULTURAL CONCERNS

Only Pakeha men will be included in the study. For purposes of validity it cannot be assumed that social systems will function in a similar way for men of other cultures. More importantly researchers are increasingly aware of the harm caused to Maori by research conducted by Pakeha operating from Pakeha methodology and theoretical understandings. Especially in an area as sensitive as sexual abuse it is essential that research in relation to Maori offenders is conducted by Maori researchers with an in-depth understanding of tikanga Maori and whanau, hapu and iwi structures, systems and processes.

5   OTHER ETHICAL BODIES RELEVANT TO THIS RESEARCH

5.1   Ethics Committees

Not applicable.

5.2   Professional Codes

This research is subject to the Codes of Ethics of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers and the New Zealand Association of Probation Officers. These codes emphasise treating clients with respect and sensitivity, confidentiality, client autonomy and responsibility, and the obligation of workers to ensure clients' access to relevant services.

MAINTAINING SAFETY RESEARCH PROJECT

INFORMATION SHEET

The Researcher: Peter Matthewson

Contact: ███████████████████████
███████████████████
███████████████████████

Supervisors: Mike Garland, lecturer; and Celia Briar, senior
lecturer
School of Policy Studies and Social Work
Massey University
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North
Phone (06) 350 5222, fax (06) 350 5681

The Project

This study seeks to gain further understanding about how sex offenders, who have completed treatment in the Kia Marama programme, can be most effectively supported in maintaining their treatment gains and avoiding reoffending in the community. This study is being undertaken for my thesis for a Master of Philosophy degree in Social Policy and Social Work. Results may also be used in other appropriate professional publications, and presentations at conferences, seminars and lectures.

The treatment of sex offenders depends on further research, to enable workers involved to be effective in their work and more helpful to the people they assist. While there has been much research in recent years on therapy processes, there has been very little research on follow up and support after treatment. This is a significant lack, as treatment programmes instruct their participants that they are not "cured", but will need to continually be vigilant to apply what they have learned in their ongoing lives. Men are also encouraged to seek ongoing support in accountable relationships with other people close to them. However the concept of "support" can be rather vague, and there has been little information available about what is appropriate, helpful and realistic support. The role of support network members, a combination of both supportive and monitoring/accountability functions, is complex and demanding. It will also be important to consider how people who are willing to undertake this task can be prepared and supported themselves.

This study will attempt to address this deficit. Information will be sought from men who have completed treatment at Kia Marama, about their life experience after being released, especially their experience of relating to and receiving support from other people in their "support networks". Information will also be sought from other people who have been part of these mens'

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"support networks" about their experience of supporting the men. Men who have successfully avoided further offending, and men who have reoffended may be included.

Most information will be gained from an interview of one and a half to two hours duration with each participant. A second interview, or a "support network" meeting, may be helpful in some cases. Reference will also be made to ex-inmates therapy and Community Corrections files.

With participants' consent, interviews will be recorded on audio tape. The tapes will be destroyed or returned to the interviewee at the completion of the study.

Discussion of the issues involved in this research may be distressing at times. Participants will have the right to terminate an interview, or to request that the tape recorder be turned off at any time. Referrals to further counselling will also be available. On the other hand it may well be helpful to have an opportunity to reflect on and talk about your experiences.

If you agree to participate it will be on the understanding that what you say in interview is completely confidential. The only exception to this principle of confidentiality would be if a child who has been, or is being abused, or is at risk of abuse, was discovered in the course of conducting this research. In this situation appropriate authorities would have to be advised.

The presentation of findings in the report of this research will be arranged thematically rather than by individual cases. This presentation will ensure participants remain anonymous and not identifiable. Brief direct quotations from interviews will only be included in the report with the consent of the participant concerned.

Furthermore my conducting this research will be kept separate from my employment in the Department of Corrections. No information in any identifiable form will be given to the Department of Corrections, although the final report will be available within the Community Corrections and Psychological Services, for use in ongoing staff training and policy development.

As a participant you have the right to -

- refuse to answer any particular question, and/or to request that the tape recorder be turned off at any time during the interview
- to conclude an interview and/or to withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any further questions about the study that arise during your participation
- provide information on the understanding that it will be completely confidential to the researcher and his supervisors
- be given access to a summary of the findings from this study when it is concluded

MAINTAINING SAFETY RESEARCH PROJECT

CONSENT FORM (ex inmate)

Name: _____

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is confidential as outlined in the Information Sheet.

I agree to the researcher perusing my Kia Marama therapy and Community Corrections files, and consulting with my former therapist and Probation Officer.

I agree to the following people being interviewed regarding their experience of being involved in my support network:

_____

_____

_____

_____

I agree/do not agree to my interview being audio taped. I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed _____

Date: _____

MAINTAINING SAFETY RESEARCH PROJECT

CONSENT FORM (support network member)

Name: _____

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is confidential as outlined in the Information Sheet.

I agree to the ex inmate and other support network members commenting in their interviews about my role in the support network.

I agree/do not agree to my interview being audio taped. I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed _____

Date: _____

MAINTAINING SAFETY RESEARCH PROJECT

CONSENT FORM (Probation Officer)

Name: _____

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is confidential as outlined in the Information Sheet. In particular I agree to participate on the basis that no identifiable information about me that relates to my employment will be relayed to the Department of Corrections or any other agency.

I agree to the ex inmate and other support network members commenting in their interviews about my role in the support network.

I agree/do not agree to my interview being audio taped. I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed _____

Date: _____

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - CLIENT

First I am going to ask you a few very general questions about how it was for you in prison and what life has been generally like for you since you were released, to put us in the picture.

- Generally what was it like for you in prison?
- What was it like doing the Kia Marama programme?
- What was the most important thing you got from it?
- How has it generally been since you were released? How was it getting back into the community again?
- To what extent was it what how you expected? Any surprises?
- What's it like for you living where you are living? What is the good side? What level of support and acceptance do you have near where you live?
- Any difficulties, or risks associated with where you live?
- Have you had a job? How has it been? What has the work been like?
- How important is it for you to have a job?
- What has the attitude of the boss been towards you? What about other people at work?
- How has it been as far as stress and demand goes? How does your job help you, and/or make it more difficult to keep your risk under control?
- What is it like being back in the mainstream New Zealand culture?
- What do you think about people in general's attitudes, particularly to women and children, and matters of sexuality?
- What hits you from the media now? Are there any differences in how you look at things like TV, magazines etc from before you did the programme?
- How do you handle, respond to that now?
- How have you found people in general in terms of their attitude to you as a man who has offended sexually?
- Have you encountered any social ostracism? If so, what has been the impact of that on you? How have you handled that? Was there anything that helped you handle it?

Now I want to look more specifically at your support network, and how that has worked for you.

First it would be helpful to get a picture of who's who, and where they fit in relation to you. To do that I'll ask you to help me fill out this social network map. (Complete social network map and grid as per Tracy and Whittaker instructions)

- Of the types of support that we talked about what has been the most important for you in helping you cope and stay safe?
- What has been least helpful?
- What tells you that support is likely to be forthcoming from someone?
- Was there any kind of support that you felt you needed and didn't get? If so, what?
- How did you recruit people into your support network?
- How many people have been in your support network from the beginning? How many have dropped out? Why do you thing they did?
- Who has come into your support network meeting as newer members more recently?
- How have you incorporated them into the network? How formal was that process?
- What information have you given them about your offence chain?
- How was it for you giving that information?
- Have you introduced them to others in the network?
- How much contact did you have with people in your support network while you were doing the programme?
- How much support did they give you over that time?
- How important was their support in helping you "Keep on going" on the programme?
- How much contact did they have with the therapy staff, either your therapist or the reintegration co-ordinator while you were in the programme?
- Did you have any pre-release or reintegration meetings? If so how did it go? How helpful was it in preparing for your release?
- What did you think of that level of contact? Was it about right/too little/too much?
- When did you first meet your supervising Probation Officer? How was that arranged?
- What did you think of that? How did you feel in that process? Could the process have been improved?
- Did you have a support network meeting?
- How did it go? How did you feel in that meeting?
- How worthwhile was it?
- In particular how did you go on getting your personal statement/chain across? How much support did you have from you Probation Officer in communicating that?
- How well did people listen? Did they ask questions?

In particular I would like to look at your Probation Officer. Please rate him/her also on a 1 to 5 scale on these factors:

- Understanding of sexual offending generally, and your offence related issues in particular
- Being confident and comfortable dealing with issues related to sexual offending

- Being supportive and helpful
- Being challenging, offering constructive criticism
- Being controlling, enforcing the rules.

- Have you had any changes of Probation Officer during your parole? If so why?
- How has your new Probation Officer picked up your issues?
- Overall who has been the closest person to you? The most helpful? What made him/her that?
- How has it been sharing on a more personal level with people outside your therapy group?
- How have they responded?
- Is there anything people have done that you have found particularly unhelpful? If so what?
- In particular have any of your support network said things which seemed to be colluding with your offending in some way, like denying your offending, minimising its impact on victims, or minimising the risk of you reoffending (eg "just put it all in the past")?
- How have you handled that?
- How are you feeling about parole terminating?
- How do you think things will be for you after that?
- Finally it would be helpful if you could give me a very brief outline of the key aspects of your chain, so I can check how well your support network members understood that.
- Can you give me some examples of when some of the problems that led up to your offending have threatened to reassert themselves in your life?
- How have you dealt with those times?
- Who did you tell/ not tell? Any reason for those choices?
- What have your support people done at those times? What did you find most helpful in getting things back on the "upward path"?
- Overall what has been the most important thing you have found that keeps you safe?
- Is there anything else that you think would be helpful for me to know, that could make life easier for others in the future?

Date: ___/___/___
Respondent: _____
ID: _____

HOUSEHOLD

FORMAL SERVICES

OTHER FAMILY

NEIGHBORS

WORK/SCHOOL

FRIENDS

CLUBS/ORGANIZATIONS/
CHURCH
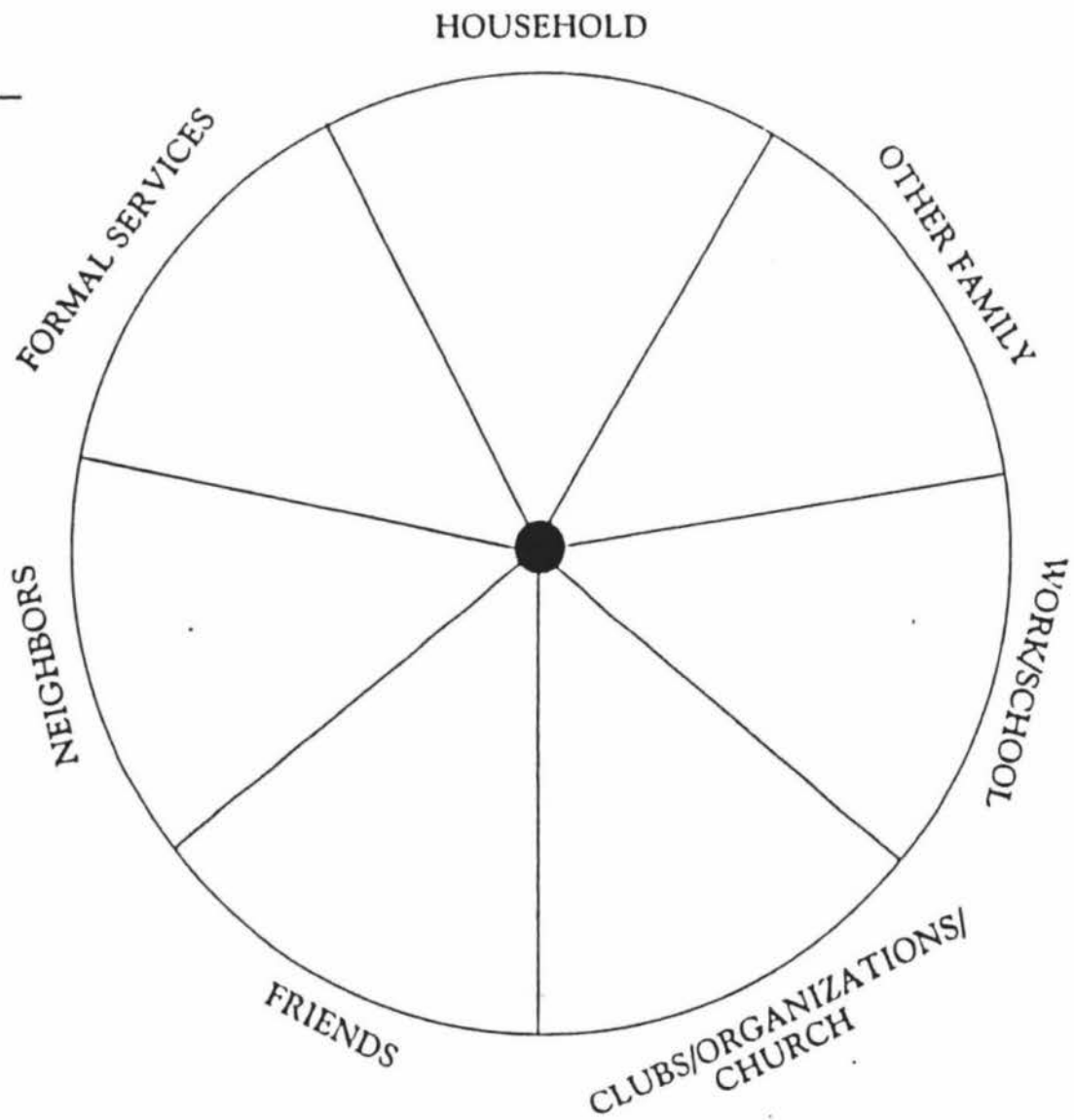
Fig 1. *Family Support Project Social Network Map*

Respondent	Area of Life:	Concrete Support:	Emotional Support:	Information/ Advice:	Critical – Positive/ Challenging:	Critical – Negative/Des tructive:	Direction of Help:	Closeness:	How Often Seen:	How Long Known:
	1. Household 2. Other Family 3. Work/School 4. Organisations 5. Other Friends 6. Neighbours 7. Professionals 8. Other	1. Hardly ever 2. Sometim es 3. Almost Always	1. Hardly ever 2. Sometim es 3. Almost Always	1. Hardly ever 2. Sometim es 3. Almost Always	1. Hardly ever 2. Sometim es 3. Almost Always	1. Hardly ever 2. Sometim es 3. Almost Always	1. Goes both ways 2. You to them 3. They to you	1. Not very close 2. Sort of close 3. Very close	0. Does not see 1. Few times/ye ar 2. Monthly 3. Weekly 4. Daily	1. Less than one year 2. 1-5 years 3. More than 5 years
Name:										

The Social Network Grid (Tracy and Whittaker,1990) as amended

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – SUPPORT NETWORK MEMBER

- How were you "recruited" into [client]'s support network?
- How long have you known him?
- What has he generally been like as a person to relate to?
- How much contact did you have with [client] while he was still in the Kia Marama programme?
- How much information did you have about the therapy programme? Was that sufficient for you?
- How much engagement with the therapy process did you have? Contact with therapy staff, attendance at pre-release meetings etc?
- How satisfied were you with the level of involvement you had with [client]'s therapy process?
- What could have been done better?
- If living in the same neighbourhood as [client], what is it like being in this neighbourhood? What is it like for him?
- Are there any particular risks for him that you are aware of?
- How has he been handling those risks?
- What was your experience of attending the initial support network meeting? How did it go?
- How did [client] communicate his 'offence chain' to you?
- What was your understanding of the key factors that led to his offending?
- Was his explanation convincing, complete? Did what he said make sense compared with what you know of him/knew at the time of his offending?
- Where did he place the responsibility for his offending?
- How did you feel about that?
- How much information did you receive from his Probation Officer, or psychologist, or other professionals?
- How satisfied were you with the information and understanding that you had? Did you feel you had enough understanding of relevant issues to be able to support and monitor [client] appropriately?
- Overall how well prepared were you for the role of support network member?
- What could have been done better?
- The role of support network members, as expected by Kia Marama, is a tricky combination of being helpful and supportive, but also keeping an eye on the client and holding him accountable for his behaviour. How did you feel about that combination of roles? Is it realistic?
- Over the months since [client]'s release, how often has the support network met?
- How much contact have you had with [client]? (Weekly or more / fortnightly / monthly / less often)
- What sort of contact has that been? (Visits / shared activities / phone / letter)
- How much contact has there been with other people in his support network, independently of him?

- What has that contact consisted of?
- In particular how much contact have you had with his Probation Officer? (Weekly or more / fortnightly / monthly / 3 monthly / less)
- What has that contact consisted of? (Office visits with [client] / office visits independent of [client] / home visits by Probation Officer)
- How important has that been in keeping the network functioning?
- Overall how well supported have you been in your role with [client]?
- Have you had any sense of his responsibility being shifted subtly to you? Have you had any message coming to you that it was somehow your responsibility to keep him from offending, keep children safe?
- How did that message come to you?
- How have you dealt with that message?

Support can mean a whole lot of different things to different people. I am going to list a number of different aspects of support. I would like you to tell me which of these you have felt most able to provide, and what you think has been most significant for [client]:

- Being emotionally supportive, listening, affirming, nurturing
- Involving [client] in social activities with you
- Being open to listen to him talking about difficult or sensitive topics
- Giving advice or guidance
- Giving practical help
- Understanding [client]'s offence related issues
- Picking up warning signs and challenging him

- What have been the limits of your support? What have you felt that you could not realistically do?
- How has [client] reciprocated the support he has been given?
- Within [client]'s support network, is there any one person you think has carried the biggest load?
- In that time, how open has [client] been with you about difficulties and struggles he has been faced with? Have you had any evidence of him being secretive?
- What was your understanding of his high risk situations?
- Over the time that [client] has been released, how has he been managing and coping with risk factors?
- What changes have you noticed in him compared with before he did the programme?
- What evidence have you seen of the factors that led to his offending reasserting themselves in his life?
- Has he got himself into any particular high risk situations that you have been aware of?
- How did you feel realising that?
- How did you handle that with him?

- Did you feel confident that he was generally open to being challenged by you?
- How has he responded to being challenged? How did you feel about his response?
- Have you experienced any negative reactions from him? If so tell me about that
- How did you cope with that?
- How has the support network as a whole communicated about those situations?

People, including professional people like counsellors, can experience some pretty difficult and negative impacts on their own lives from being involved with men who have offended sexually. These can include
- A general sense of discomfort
- A sense of identification with the man, possibly some sense of "contamination" from being involved with him
- Rejection and criticism from other in the community
- Exposure to dominating, or manipulating behaviour from the man.

- Have you experienced any of these impacts? Can you tell me more about that?
- How have you handled that?
- Who have you been able to talk to about that?
- How much support have you had for yourself?
- Have you also had any contact with the victim(s) of [client]'s offending?
- What has it been like for you being involved with both the offender and his victim? How have you managed that?
- Overall how have you felt about your role in supporting [client]?
- Have you felt supported yourself, empowered, valued? Or dumped on?
- Have you felt you have had a choice about your level of involvement, or did it feel like you were on parole too?

For partners:

- How free have you felt to choose whether to continue your relationship with [client]?
- Have you felt under pressure from others to take him back/ not to take him back?
- How much responsibility have you felt for protecting children? Has that been appropriate and realistic for you?
- What were the safety rules like? How has it been for you monitoring [client]'s keeping them?
- How well have they worked?
- What attitudes have other people had to you? How has that been for you?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - PROBATION OFFICER

Before we start talking about your experience in supervising [client] I need to ask a few general questions.

- How long have you been a Probation Officer?
- What qualifications do you have for this job? What other relevant training do you have?
- In particular, did you bring any training or experience related to working with sex offenders from any other job?
- How comfortable and confident do you feel in working with men who have offended sexually against children?
- Have you had any choice about supervising sexual offenders?
- How many graduates of Kia Marama have you had/do you currently have on your caseload?
- What do you think causes men to offend sexually against children?
- Since you have been in the Service, what training have you had in relation to working with sexual offenders? In particular what training or information have you had about the Kia Marama programme and working with men who have completed the programme?
- Over the time that you have been supervising [client] what is your general workload been like?
- To what degree have you felt able to do quality work?
- What sort of supervision have you had? How much expertise has your supervisor had in working with sexual offenders? How adequate has that supervision been?
- What do you think is needed for effective supervision of sexual offenders?
- How does the Service enable you to provide that?
- What would you think about specialisation in working with sexual offenders?

Now I want to look at your experience of supervising [client].

- How was [client] first allocated to you? What did you think about the allocation process, how satisfactory was it?
- What information did you receive when he was first allocated to you?
- How much contact did you have with Kia Marama therapy staff? Was that adequate?
- Did you feel confident that you had sufficient information for effective work with him?
- How did he present to you at first? Have there been any changes in his presentation over the time you have been supervising him?
- How would you assess his general level of motivation to avoid reoffending?
- What would you say about his general level of openness, honesty, openness to challenge?

- How was the process of setting up and facilitating the support network meeting?
- How much time did the process (organisation, preparing people, actual meeting, follow up) take? Were there any difficulties in the arrangement process? How did you handle/resolve those?
- How confident did you feel about facilitating that meeting? How did it go? Were there any difficulties?
- How well did [client] communicate his offence chain to the network? How well did they seem to understand?
- How did people at the meeting respond generally?
- What is your general impression of how the support network has generally functioned for [client] over the time he has been on parole?
- How well do you think it will keep going once he has terminated?
- Have there been any further meetings of the whole support network? If so what for? How were they organised? What was achieved?
- How much contact have you had with [client] over the time he has been on parole? Any reason for that level, what has determined your decision making about that?
- How much contact have you had with the various members of his support network since the support network meeting?
- What form has that contact taken? (support people coming to the office with [client] / support people coming in at other times / phone contact initiated by them / phone contact initiated by you / home visits with [client] / home visits without [client])
- How often has that contact been? (weekly or more often / fortnightly / monthly / 3 monthly / less often)
- What has been the purpose of that contact? What has it achieved?
- What do you think [client]'s support network members have needed/wanted from you? Have you felt able to provide that? Reasons?
- How much contact have you had with other professionals involved with [client] and/or his family? What has been the purpose of that contact? How effective has the inter-professional contact been?
- What is your overall opinion of the contact you have had with [client]'s social network? Has it been adequate?
- How much time have you realistically had available for dealing with [client]'s support network?
- What was your understanding of the specific factors that led to [client]'s sexual offending?
- Have you been aware of any of those factors reasserting themselves in his life while he has been on parole? What have you noticed?
- How much information did you receive from his support network about his activities, behaviours, any problems etc?
- From what you have been aware of how has the support network handled any problems?
- Finally often various professional people who work with men who have offended sexually experience some personal impact, and that is now

receiving some attention in the professional literature. Can you tell me if you have experienced any personal impact?

- How have you dealt with that? What support have you had from the Service for dealing with that?
- Is there anything else you would like to say that may be useful?

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