Invisible Rehabilitation:

An Exploration of Rehabilitative Practices within a Community Work Agency.

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Masters of Applied Psychology

at

The University of Waikato

by

NASALIFYA NAMWINGA

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2016

ABSTRACT

Community Work is one of the most utilised community based sentences in New Zealand. It is a low cost and low intensity sentence that is extensively used to punish low level offences. Although Community Work is not an explicitly rehabilitative sentence, it does possess some implicitly rehabilitative traits. In her Ireland based study, McGagh (2007) argued that rehabilitative practices enhance Community Work and lead to better outcomes for offenders. The most recent New Zealand based study on the sentence was conducted over 2 decades ago by Asher and O'Neill (1990). This is the research gap this study sought to fill by exploring rehabilitative practices within a faith-based Community Work agency.

The study was an ethnographic case study of a faith-based agency within which offenders on Community Work sentences completed sentenced hours. A number of qualitative data collection methods including observations, interviews, a focus group and analysis of testimonial data were used to triangulate findings. The researcher gathered data from three participant groups at the agency. These groups were; individuals currently or previously on community work sentences at the agency, agency staff and agency volunteers.

When offenders on community work sentences arrive at this agency their status as offenders is kept private. They are consequently introduced as *volunteers* and have access to all the same benefits of volunteers. The ability to keep their offender status private and be regarded as any other volunteer was a central theme present in the data. This helped those

sentenced to community work to develop a *non-offender identity*. The invisibility of offender status helped offenders distance themselves from the offender identity, while being offered the visible prosocial 'volunteer' identity helped them shift their self-narrative from that of an offender to a non-offender.

Desistance research suggests that subjective changes in an offender's self-narrative can be indicative of the offender engaging in the desistance process (Farrall & Maruna, 2004; Healy, 2010; Serin & Lloyd, 2009). This study found that anonymising the offender status of individuals in community work sentences at this agency may have initiated a shift in self-narratives as individuals shifted their identity from offenders to *volunteers*. This narrative shift potentially helped trigger and maintain offender desistance. The principle of treating offenders as desisters rather than persisters displays a confidence in the offenders' ability to change. This faith in an individual's ability to change has been found to be desistance supportive (Raynor & Robinson, 2005).

Anonymising offender status as a rehabilitative practice can lead to the onset or maintenance of desistance. It is a potentially effective intervention that could be broadly integrated into the community work sentence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to give thanks to God who has given me the grace and ability to get through this academic journey.

A big thank you to the agency staff and volunteers, without whom this research would not have been possible. Thank you for giving of your time and sharing your experiences with me.

To my fantastic supervisors, Armon and Neville who have been my guides. Thank you for believing in my ability to complete this work and pushing me to not only getting it done on time but also to a level that I could be proud of.

I would also like to acknowledge the love and support of my church family, who have prayed for me during this stage of my life. I am so grateful to have a surrogate extended family in you.

To all my friends that have put up with my inability to commit to plans and constant complaints about university stress, thank you. You reminded me it was worth the work.

Last but not least to my loving family, what can I say? I love you. Dad, Mum, Ali and Kvka you have been my rock! I am so blessed to have a family that supports my every endeavour. I hope I have made you proud.

Table of Contents

THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter begins with a prologue which gives an introduction to the research and its researcher. It will cover the researcher's interest in offender research and the data collection methods used. It is followed by an overview of the relevant literature on the history of the Community Service sentence, models of effective intervention and the current perspectives on desistance.

The second chapter describes the theories that underpin the research approach used. It will also describe the demographics of the participant sample and the qualitative methods utilized. It will end with a section on the ethical considerations. Chapter three will report of the study's findings. It will include several direct quotes from participants organised according to themes that emerged from thematic analysis. The fourth and final chapter will be a discussion of the study's findings integrated with literature. It will also discuss the study's limitations and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER ONE—INTRODUCTION

Prologue: The Researcher

When I first arrived at the agency which is the setting for my research, I was there not as a researcher but as a probation officer. I was there meeting with the agency manager and an offender/ client who was to complete their hours at the agency. During this meeting, I was taken aback by the manager's approach toward the offender. The manager spoke about the offender being called a 'volunteer' while completing their sentenced hours. The manager also made it clear that the offender had no obligation to disclose their offence with anyone at the agency. At this point I noticed a marked look of relief on the offender's face.

The thing that struck me most was not only the manager's approach but also the offender's response to it. The offender appeared overwhelmed by the manager's approach and was in tears. The offender thanked the manager for allowing her to complete the sentenced hours with the agency and revealed an eagerness to do well while at the agency.

The genesis of my interest in this research project could be traced back to this meeting. However, my interest in the desistence process of offenders has deeper roots. My research took an ethnographic approach which has a constructionist epistemological foundation. In line with this perspective is the idea that as researchers we are not objective observers. Instead we are actively involved in the construction and interpretation of the research data. We have unique worldviews, opinions and biases that we

bring to the research. From the ethnographic perspective, these are only problematic if we are unaware of them, do not acknowledge them or do not try to minimise their influence on our research. However, they are always present.

I shared the above story in order to have epistemological consistency in this study. In order to be transparent about the unique lenses with which I looked at the data I included this introductory section to hopefully answer the following questions. Why this research? And why in this way?

While completing an undergraduate degree in psychology and criminology, I became increasingly interested in the psychology of criminal behaviour. In particular, I was interested in the onset and desistance of criminal behaviour. During this time I worked as a probation officer and focused mainly on community based sentences such as Community Work. I often heard how offender clients got into their criminal behaviour but they were often unable to see a way out. When I went to the meeting with the agency manager and the offender client, there was a shift in the offender's attitude/perspective. The client showed an enthusiasm to complete the sentenced hours and a desire to get involved in the work the agency does. This appeared to me like a potential way out of an offending lifestyle.

Once I completed my degree and began my post-graduate journey, I became interested in the ethnographic research approach. I appreciated that it acknowledged that researchers were rarely objective observers but a part of the data collected. I also valued that it was an approach interested

in the subjective reality of participants. This heavily influenced how I planned and conducted the research. I was interested in the subjective reality of not only agency staff but the offenders who completed their hours there. I wanted to find out what they thought about the agency and if possible how they constructed their way out of offending.

This study is an exploration of these curiosities. As a probation officer I was not able to explore the agency experiences of the offenders on community work sentences I worked with. This study is an effort to discover what happens to offenders on community work sentences once they are assigned to an agency. In this case the agency was a non-profit faith-based organisation. Offenders on Community Work Sentences mostly serve their hours in the agency's opportunity shop. The aim of this study is to explore and understand the experiences of offenders on Community Work sentences. The study is also an attempt to make sense of the positive feelings I had about the agency during that initial meeting.

Literature Review

…the flesh will be torn from his breasts, arms, thighs and calves

with red-hot pincers, his right hand, holding the knife with which

*he committed the said parricide… (*Foucault, 1977, p. 3)

Foucault vividly described the execution of Robert-François Damiens, who was charged with attempted regicide in the mid-18th century. Foucault contrasted this chaotic and violent torture with the regimented order of inmates in early 19th century prisons. The graphic language used to describe Damien's execution was perhaps used by Foucault to elicit a

3

visceral response from the reader, in the hope that this would motivate the reader to see the need for alternative ways of punishing crime.

According to the most recent statistics, among OECD countries the United States of America has the highest incarceration rates with 701 inmates per 100,000 population: Iceland, at 37 per 100,000, has the lowest rate. New Zealand was the seventh highest with 155 inmates per 100,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). The management of inmates consumes over 60 per cent of the New Zeeland Department of Corrections 1.6 billion annual spending (Department of Corrections, 2014). The cost of high incarceration rates hopefully serves as this study's 'graphic description of Damien's execution'. Today Damien is incarcerated and requires the average cost of $90,977 per year to be kept in prison. Just as Foucault's graphic description illustrated the need for alternatives to torture, there is need for more cost effective alternatives to incarceration.

Community based sentences are an alternative to incarceration, with the Community Work sentence being one of the most utilized. There were a total of 66,002 community based sentences in New Zealand between July 2014 and June 2015. The biggest proportion of these were Community Work sentences: these accounted for 16,704 sentences. Imprisonment made up a comparatively less 7,162 of the total sentences (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Making the Community Work sentence one of the most utilized sentence in New Zealand during this period.

This chapter will review the Community Work sentence and its emergence. This will be done by firstly, exploring retributive theory and utilitarian philosophical positions. These form foundations of contemporary approaches to crime and punishment. Secondly, this chapter will look at two models of offender rehabilitation; the Risk Needs Responsivity model and the Good Lives Model. It will thirdly explore the process of ceasing to offend and the various models that attempt to explain it. Lastly, the chapter will then speak to the emergence of the Community Work sentence.

Retribution theory and Utilitarian Philosophy

The philosophical positions of Retributive theory and Utilitarian philosophy are two responses to crime and how it is punished. Retributive theory states that punishment is imposed on an offender because it is deserved (Mandery, 2011). In his writings on retributivism, 18th century German philosopher Immanuel Kant stated that a punishment should never be used to promote good for the offender or society as a whole. Instead a punishment should be inflicted solely because the offender has committed a crime and therefore deserves to be punished (Lewis, 2015). According to retributive theory an offender ought not to be punished as a way to deter others from committing a similar crime. If that is done the offender is being treated as a means to an end. Retribution states that a person is only punished because they have earned punishment by offending.

Central to retributive theory is the idea that the punishment must be equal to the crime committed, regardless of its cost or its deterrence value. Kant fervently held this idea and famously stated that "Even if a civil society

were to dissolve itself…the last murderer in prison must first be executed"(Mandery, 2011). The central ideas that underpin retributive theory are that firstly, a person must be guilty to be punished. Secondly the individual's punishment must be proportional to the gravity of the crime committed. These two ideas are foundational to most modern sentencing conventions and approaches including rehabilitation. Rehabilitation is also only justified when the person is found guilty and the treatment is in proportion with the offence (Brooks, 2014).

The idea of proportionality is not unique to retribution theory: it also embodies a utilitarian perspective. At its simplest utilitarianism states that something is good if it produces the greatest good for the largest number of people. Bentham was an influential proponent of utilitarian tradition (Schofield, 2010). In Bentham's utilitarianism, punishment must be proportionate to the pain of the victim as well as wider society. Bentham suggested that the pain of the offence was not only felt by the victim but also by wider society (Draper, 2002). Retributive theory, in contrast, states that it does not matter the cost: punishment is just if it is proportional to the crime (Mandery, 2011)

Punishment under a Utilitarianism model is only just if its benefit outweighs its cost, making the 'pain' or cost of the punishment of crime an important factor. Bentham presented an analysis of the distribution of pain from legal and political sanctions. He sought to identify the 'pain' inflicted on individuals and wider society by offences as well as punishments.

The utilitarian justification for punishment can be viewed in three ways. The first is as a pure cost benefit analysis. An example of this is the incarceration of a violent offender in order to protect society from further violence. The cost to the offender is significant but his removal from society is beneficial if he has a high propensity towards violence. The second and most common utilitarian justification for punishment is deterrence. This is based on the idea that the offender is a rational actor whose behaviour will reduce if it is punished (Carlsmith, Darley, & Robinson, 2002). The third punishment justification is rehabilitation. The ideal utilitarian penal system is one that positively affects society as a whole. Reforming offenders into prosocial and productive members of society, through rehabilitative efforts is therefore in line with the utilitarian tradition (Raynor & Robinson, 2009).

Both utilitarian and retributive philosophies hold two statements to be true. Firstly that punishment is only justified if the person charged is found guilty and second that punishment ought to be proportional to the offence committed. The two philosophies differ in how they view the place of cost in the justification of punishment. Retribution states that punishment is just if it is proportional, no matter the cost. While utilitarianism holds that a punishment's benefit must outweigh its cost for it to be just.

Modern day capitalism dictates that the cost of punishment must make sense fiscally and socially. This is reflected in the requirement for the New Zealand Department of Corrections to produce annual reports. This can be argued as evidence suggesting that utilitarian philosophy has an influence on New Zealand's response to crime and its punishment. In recent

years New Zealand has become well known for pioneering restorative justice work (Daly, 2002), particularly the Children, young Persons and Their Families Act 1989. This act introduced 'Family Group Conferences' into juvenile justice. Restorative justice possess utilitarian properties, in particular it aimed to do good for the victim, the offender, the victim's family, as well as the offender's family.

The adult penal field however, is markedly different. As mentioned, the rate of imprisonment (155 inmates per 100,000) was the eighth highest among OECD countries. The rate of imprisonment of Maori men aged 18-30 is estimated to be 600 to 700 per 100,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). Despite Maori making up 15 per cent of the general population, they make up approximately 50 per cent of the prison population (Pratt & Clark, 2005). New Zealand's criminal justice policies appear to become increasingly more punitive. The average length of imprisonment increased by 75 per cent between 1985 and 1999 (Department of Corrections, 2001). This was despite the fact that in 1992 reported crime peaked and has since undergone a downward trend. Also between 1996 and 2001 the rates of reported serious and violent offences dropped from 56,237 to 46,653 (Pratt & Clark, 2005).

So despite reported crime decreasing and serious and violent offences dropping incarceration lengths still increased. This suggests a retributive approach to punishing crime as prison sentence length increased despite the high cost of incarceration. The New Zealand justice system has influences of both utilitarian and retributive philosophies. An ideal model of

punishment is likely to incorporate aspects of both philosophies. The next section of this chapter will explore the two prominent correctional models in New Zealand, the RNR model and the GLM.

The RNR Model

The Risk Needs Responsivity (RNR) model is an approach to correctional interventions by Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge (1990). It proposes three principles for effective correctional interventions: Risk, Need and Responsivity. It is the key model utilized by the New Zealand Department of Corrections. This next section will explore the model's three principles.

The Risk principle has two facets. The first is that criminal behaviour can be predicted and the second is that the allocation of treatment services should match the risk level of the offender. The higher risk of an offender the more intensive and extensive the intervention required in order to reduce re-offending. While for low risk offenders to reduce re-offending no intervention or only minimal intervention is sufficient. Research studies on matching offender treatment to risk level have found recidivism of high risk offenders was only reduced when intensive levels of intervention were provided (Andrews & Bonta, 2000; Andrews & Kiessling, 1980; Lovins, Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2007; O'Donnell, 1971). When intensive services were provided to low risk offenders, the intervention was found to have a negative effect on reducing reoffending (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). This finding supports the principle of proportionality inherit in both retributive and utilitarian philosophies on punishment.

The second principle is Needs. Offenders tend to have several needs and these can be divided in two groups, Criminogenic Needs and Non-Criminogenic Needs. Criminogenic needs are factors that have an empirical relationship with offending and its reduction. Non-Criminogenic Needs include things like employment and housing and these typically have a weak association with recidivism. Andrews and Bonta (2010) argue that in order to reduce reoffending, interventions need to affect change on criminogenic need factors. A list of eight central domains of criminogenic needs was compiled as part of a need assessment instrument called the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (Raynor, 2007). Andrews and Bonta (2010) divide these eight factors into the Big Four and the Moderate Four. The big four have the strongest risk predictive power and are made up of the following.

1. A history of antisocial behaviour.
2. An antisocial personality patter.
3. Antisocial cognitions.
4. Antisocial associates.

The moderate four have a comparatively weaker predictive power and are made up of the following.

1. Marital and familial circumstances.
2. School and/ or work.
3. Leisure and recreation.
4. Substance abuse.

Addressing the needs of offenders, criminogenic or non-criminogenic, is in line with the utilitarian principle of punishment having a benefit. The Needs principle assumes that if offender needs are addressed through intervention it reduces recidivism. This means that not only is the offender benefiting from the intervention, so is the wider community.

The final principle of the RNR model is Responsivity. This referrers to the appropriateness of the intervention style and mode in relation to the offender's ability and learning style. Consideration of offender specific responsivity issues is key to ensuring that the intervention can be best matched to the offender. There is value in various psychological approaches to offender rehabilitation but their efficacy is often dependant on how well they adhere to this responsivity principle (Lester & Van Voorhis, 1997). If characteristics of the offender such as intelligence, cognitive maturity and anxiety are identified, this information can guide what intervention approach is most suitable (Andrews & Bonta, 2010), therefore increasing the probability of the intervention being effective.

These three principles of the RNR model can be applied to the Community Service sentence to make it an effective intervention. Firstly, the Risk principle can be used. Low risk offenders need low intensity interventions. The offenders on Community Service sentences tend to be low risk offenders. Community Service is arguably a low intensity intervention as it does not explicitly seek to target any criminogenic needs.

Secondly, the Needs principle. The offender's Probation officer and the Community Work agency may work collaboratively to address offender needs. The probation officer is likely to address the offender criminogenic needs, while the agency may target non-criminogenic needs.

Lastly the Responsivity principle. Again correctional staff and agency staff may both look at the offender's responsivity factors. The correctional staff may place the offender in an agency that matches the offender's responsivity factors. While the agency staff may assign the offender particular tasks that match the offender's specific responsivity factors.

The Good lives Model

The Good Lives Model (GLM) (Ward & Brown, 2004; Ward & Marshall, 2004) is a strengths-based approach to the rehabilitation of offenders. It was initially formulated as an alternative to the RNR model (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). GLM is based on a three part argument. Firstly, that offenders are actively in search of primary human goods. These goods include a sense of belonging, autonomy, relationships and mastery experiences in their environment. However, due to an absence of certain internal or external conditions they are unable to attain these human goods in prosocial ways. It is this lack of prosocial means that leads to offending behaviours.

Secondly, the model argues that targeting these internal and external conditions has an effect on reoffending due to the etiological role the play in offending. An intervention that responds to some of these internal or

external conditions would not only reduce the offender's risk of reoffending but also enhance the offender's ability to engage in desistance.

Thirdly, the model's approach more easily elicits motivation from offenders to engage in intervention. This is because of its strength-based approach that focuses on enhancing prosocial ways for the offender to attain the same goods they sought from offending behaviour (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Ward and Maruna (2007) propose that there are primary and secondary goods sought by people: however this is yet to be tested cross-culturally. A list of ten primary goods are listed by the theorists. The list includes the following.

1. Life, which encompasses physical functioning and healthy living.
2. Excellence in play and work including mastery experiences.
3. Agency in the sense of self-directedness and autonomy.
4. Inner Peace specified as being freedom from stress and emotional turmoil.
5. Friendship including family, romantic and intimate relationships.
6. Spirituality in the broad sense of finding meaning and purpose in life.
7. Knowledge.
8. Community.
9. Happiness.
10. Creativity.

Secondary or *Instrumental* goods provide ways and means by which primary goods may be attained. For example a work environment is an instrumental good, as it provides opportunity to experience the primary goods of Agency and Excellence. Instrumental goods are particularly important when the GLM is being applied to the offender population. This is due to the way offending aetiology is conceptualised in the model as a result of offenders trying to attain primary goods without having prosocial instrumental good to achieve their goals. They therefore end up engaging in anti-social or offending behaviour.

The GLM suggests that there is a direct link between the management of risk and 'goods promotion' in the rehabilitation process. The model focuses on promoting specific goods that are likely to modify or eliminate common risk factors that maintain offending behaviour. The Model's goal is to enhance an individual's ability to live a happy, constructive and ultimately meaningful life. The aim of GLM is ultimately to promote offender desistance (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

The model arguably attempts this through changing the system that the offender is involved in. A system includes the environment, relationships and available resources and can be based on physical location such as prison, relational ties such as a family or occupational links such as work (Ward & Maruna, 2007). It is within these systems that instrumental goods are located. With access to instrumental goods there is potential for primary goods to be attained. An application of the GLM on an offender would ideally place the offender in a system that is instrumentally *goods* rich in which the

offender can potentially attain primary goods or gain the internal or external conditions to be able to attain them.

Some of the concepts of the GLM have direct relevance to the Community Service sentence. Offenders on this sentence typically avoid being placed within the prison system and are placed into a work system for their sentenced hours. During these hours they are removed from the system within which the offending occurred. Instead they are in an environment rich in instrumental goods. For instance, the work system has the potential to provide the primary goods of mastery experiences, community, friendships, and a sense of purpose. This study looks at what happens when an offender is placed into a work system to serve their Community Work hours. It seeks to explore if access to goods available has an impact on the experience of offenders on Community Work sentences.

The RNR model is the primary model utilized by the New Zealand Department of Corrections. However, the RNR and GLM models are not mutually exclusive. They have some overlapping principles. For instance the offender's needs are important in both models. The RNR model prioritizes targeting criminogenic needs and focuses on the offender's deficits as a way to reduce reoffending. The GLM model on the other hand focuses on the offender's strengths and prioritizes targeting non-criminogenic needs as a means to reducing reoffending.

Both models have implicitly utilitarian goals of doing the most good for the most people. The RNR for example has an explicit focus on risk

management as a good for the community. While it is also aware of offender specific needs and responsivity issues that may limit the offender's ability to benefit from society and correctional intervention in a prosocial way. The GLM talks explicitly about 'goods' with a focus on assisting offenders to access both primary and secondary goods. This is done with the purpose of helping offenders become productive and prosocial members of wider society. The aim of helping form more good citizens is in line with utilitarianism.

The goal of reducing reoffending is also utilitarian, while punishing individuals for their offence is retributive. The Community Work sentence has potential to achieve both these goals as the Community Work sentence is a punishment that has rehabilitative potential. It is a sentence that can also fit into both the RNR and GLM model. As offenders on Community Work sentences tend to be low risk, a low intensity intervention is most effective. The GLM provides a low impact approach to intervention that may be utilized for offenders on Community Work sentences. This study will seek to observe the rehabilitative practices of a Community Work agency and review if the practices fit within the GLM and/or RNR model.

Cessation of Offending

Criminal history data suggests that the vast majority of offenders will eventually mature out of offending in their lifetime (Bevan, 2015). How, when and why they stop offending is of interest, particularly for those involved in offender management seeking to reduce offending behaviour. This section will explore how the phenomena of stopping offending is

16

theoretically understood. Rehabilitation, desistance and the trans-theoretical model will be explored in relation to reducing reoffending.

Rehabilitation

"No idea is more pervaded with ambiguity than the notion of reform or rehabilitation" Allen (1959, p. 226)

Since Allen made this statement much has changed in the field of criminology and the penal system, however the ambiguity around the understanding of rehabilitation still remains. It is fairly common to come across the term in policy as well as academic contexts with no accompanying definition and even when it is defined it is not always defined clearly. Raynor and Robinson (2005) argue that rehabilitation is the process of effecting positive change in an individual. There are various types of rehabilitation including physical, psychological and correctional. A common thread in these ideas is that they are based on effecting positive change. Correctional rehabilitation however has some unique characteristics.

In his writing Foucault (1977) suggested that 'normalisation' is the objective of correctional interventions. This principle is echoed in more current literature on offender rehabilitation. The correctional model for rehabilitation holds the notion that (at least some) offenders have the propensity to change 'for the better' (Raynor & Robinson, 2005). The desired result of this change is to bring the offenders back into line with the law-abiding 'norm'. There is an underlying assumption that change can be elicited by subjecting offenders to a regime, intervention or programme. This

rehabilitation model is therefore understood as a corrective response to deviation of offenders from a law-abiding 'norm'.

The cause of this deviation is central to what rehabilitative responses address. There are a variety of causal theories for offending. This diversity is reflected in the broad nature of the correctional model and approaches encompassed within it. The explanatory model of why people offend is a core source of intervention targets. Hollin (2001) defines correctional rehabilitation as taking the stance that the prevention of crime is best tackled by addressing the economic, social or personal factors believed to cause criminality. This definition captures the theoretical breadth of the correctional rehabilitative model. The goal of this rehabilitation model is to remove or undo the cause of offending, an objective often associated with desistance.

These causal factors are intervention targets. The RNR model has the 'Big 8' risk factors. While the GLM has the absence of conditions that facilitate the prosocial attainment of human goods. Rehabilitation under the RNR model eliminates or minimises the big 8. While rehabilitation under the GLM would involve providing conditions necessary to attain human goods. Both approaches seek to realign the offender to a prosocial way of being.

Desistance

Desistance is understood as the underlying causal process that leads to and maintains the termination of offending behaviour (Maruna, 2001). Rather than the event of stopping offending, desistance is a process, while termination is the point at which offending activity permanently ends (Laub & Sampson, 2001). As desistance is a process, much of the criminological research on the topic has been to uncover the factors that contribute to the process.

One theory of how desistance occurs is captured in the phrase 'asymmetrical causation' coined by Uggen and Piliavin (1998). These theorists suggest that most of the risk factors that predict the onset of offending would in reverse predict desistance (LeBlanc & Loeber, 1993). The example of the risk factor of antisocial associates illustrates asymmetrical causation. According to Farrington (1992) having antisocial associates predisposes criminal behaviour, while an increase in prosocial influences is a predictor of desistance.

Spontaneous Desistance

LeBlanc and Loeber (1993) argue that desistance predictors differ at the different ages. They state that desistance can occur at any age. However desistance at age 18 looks different to the desistance of a 37 year old. An alternative perspective on desistance was suggested by Wolfgang (Iser, 1972) who theorised that some offenders simply cease offending in the absence of any external intervention. This is called 'spontaneous remission'. Stall and Biernacki (1986) added to this concept by examining

spontaneous remission from substances including opiates and alcohol. What is compelling about their findings is that these substances are generally considered addictive.

Although the research by Stall and Biernacki (1986) is based on remission from substance use, the underlying concepts may be relevant in understanding spontaneous remission in reference to offending behaviour. These researchers proposed a three stage model of spontaneous remission. The first stage is building the motivation and resolve to quit, second a public pronouncement to quit and the final stage is the resolve to maintain abstinence from the problem behaviour. A key concept of this model is the idea of a new identity as a 'nonuser', social support and integration into new nonuser social networks. However this model was not without critics with Weitekamp and Kerner (1994) going as far as stating that the concept of spontaneous remission be discarded in the study of desistance because the concept is theoretically barren and unclear.

The definition of what counts as 'spontaneous desistence' adds to why the concept is theoretically unclear. A strict definition of the spontaneous desistance requires that the offending was never detected and termination occurred without any formal or informal sanctions (Takala, 2007). Self-report population studies reveal that more people report committing crimes than are caught by the police and they also show that many of them have not committed crimes for a long time (Budd, Sharp, & Mayhew, 2005). This is particularly evident with young people. Most of these young people committed offences and desisted irrespective of whether they

get caught or not (Mulvey et al., 2004). However these offenders predominantly commit minor offences such as occasional illegal substance use, petty theft or minor criminal damage (Takala, 2007). From these findings it can be hypothesised that many people spontaneously desist without any criminal justice intervention.

A less strict definition of spontaneous desistance is 'detected offending that offenders desisted from offending without receiving specific-behaviour-altering therapy' (Stall & Biernacki, 1986). Trasler (1979) believed that spontaneous desistance from crime occurs as a result of a change in the contingencies of reinforcement. He stated that a change in situational factors such as having a wife, a job, children, adult friends, a home and adequate income as reinforcers of prosocial living lead to desistence. Since Trasler (1979) there has been a lot written on predictors of desistence (e.g.Farrall, 2002; Laub & Sampson, 2001; Maruna, 1997). Many of these reinforcers identified by Trasler (1979) remain constant features in much of the literature. These are not factors that can be packaged and delivered to offenders in a rehabilitative programme as they tend to occur more organically and often void of criminal justice intervention.

The Trans-Theoretical Model

Overall, criminology has a poor understanding of the process of desistance (Mulvey et al., 2004). Prochaska, DiClemente, and Norcross (1992) came up with the Trans-theoretical model which explains the underlying structure of change. This is a model that is not problem specific or technique-oriented. The underlying structure of change is reflected in the

'robust commonalities' in the way people make changes to stop various problem behaviours; from addictive behaviours to offending. The 'trans-theoretical model' by Prochaska and Velicer (1997) hypothesises that there are six stages of change; pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, maintenance, and termination. These stages help bring an understanding to when certain shifts in attitudes, intentions and behaviours occur. The stages, like the process of desistance are not linear, individuals can move from one stage to another and can also regress to a previous stage. This is because there are off ramps at each stage. Although this study does not claim to measure desistance, it does however look at how an agency helps offenders take steps toward a crime-free lifestyle.

Desistance supportive factors

The research on the process of desistance has focused on the maturation process which has an influence on the process of ceasing offending (Bevan, 2015). The concept of growing up can lead to a review of what is important and a reassessment of personal values, this can alter the perceived value of offending (Barry, 2000). This shift in values may be influenced by maturation alone or may be a result of a change in social groups. Creating new prosocial friendship groups or reconnecting prosocial peers has been found to be supportive of the process of desistance (Giordano, Cernkovich, & Holland, 2003). In several studies offenders who desist spoke about separating themselves from antisocial peer groups as a part of their journey toward desistance (Healy, 2010; MacDonald, Webster,

Shildrick, & Simpson, 2010; Murray, McIvor, Jamieson, & Scottish Office, 1999).

Employment has been found to have an impact on the process of ceasing offending. Several studies found that stable employment can promote desistence from crime (Bottoms, Shapland, Costello, Holmes, & Muir, 2004; Farrall, 2002; Wright & Cullen, 2004). The link between employment and desistence may be dependent on particular elements of what the employment provides (Bevan, 2015). Stable employment may generate a sense of personal purpose which promotes desistence. This is because having purposeful employment can increase independence by providing income, reduce unstructured time, create new social networks, help develop a legitimate identity, increase self-esteem and provide personal goals (Farrall & Maruna, 2004; MacDonald et al., 2010).

Engaging in recreational and training activities can also provide ex-offenders with sense of personal purpose that has been found to have a positive impact on the process of desistance. Participating in training, attaining educational qualifications, and volunteering have been found to generate necessary purpose in the lives of desisters (Calverley, 2012; MacDonald et al., 2010). Having the opportunity to engage in a prosocial meaningful activity appears to be central to finding personal purpose. This concept is evident in the GLM's inclusion of the primary good of opportunity for excellence in work and play (Ward & Maruna, 2007). This good included the opportunity of having mastery experiences in employment, recreational

or training activities. These may hold within them the necessary conditions for desisters to find personal purpose.

Narratives and desistence

In an article on desistance King (2013) differentiated two forms of desistence, primary and secondary desistance. Primary desistance consists of lulls in offending behaviour. While secondary desistance is the long-term maintenance of non-offending. During secondary desistance the development of a non-offender narrative helps maintain desistence. Discovering a prosocial narrative life is an example of a subjective change. Subjective changes are frequently indicative of the offender being in the secondary desistance process (King, 2013).

King (2013) also proposes that narratives serve three crucial functions in the desistance process. These are that narratives;

1. Provide subjective distancing from past events.
2. Help elicit meaning from particular life-course events, or turning points
3. Facilitative construction of new non-offender identities.

Other studies talk about these subjective changes as being 'cognitive transformations' which are important in the process of ceasing to offend. This change is demonstrated by a shift in identity from a persister to desister (Farrall & Maruna, 2004; Healy, 2010; Serin & Lloyd, 2009). In their model of remission of drug users Stall and Biernacki (1986) found that the

development of a non-user identity was key to remission. In correctional rehabilitation the belief that offenders have the propensity to change for the better is key for rehabilitation to occur (Raynor & Robinson, 2005).

Other researchers found that factors such as having a prosocial peer group (Giordano et al., 2003) and getting stable and purposeful work (Bottoms et al., 2004; Farrall, 2002; Wright & Cullen, 2004) are supportive of desistance. One reason as to why these changes trigger desistance may be that they lead to subjective changes in how the offender sees themselves. The offender begins to see themselves perhaps as a part of a team, an employee or as having a greater purpose. Having purposeful employment can help an offender develop a legitimate identity (Farrall & Maruna, 2004; MacDonald et al., 2010). Long term maintenance of desistance is perhaps supported by these subjective changes due to the principle of cognitive dissonance (Britt, Blampied, & Hudson, 2003). Arguable this is because the individual's new legitimate identity developed is in some way inconsistent with their offending lifestyle. The desistance of offending may be a way to reduce the individual's cognitive dissonance between these two factors.

A study of ex-offenders by Maruna (2001) contrasted the life history data of desisters and active offenders (persisters). The study findings revealed that a key difference between these two groups was that persisters held a 'condemnation' life script while desisters had a 'redemption' life story. Persisters had a fatalist perspective in which they saw themselves as doomed by their deviance and their only prospect is to live a hedonistic life in search of the 'big score'. In contrast desisters who held a 'redemption' life

script, saw themselves as essentially good people who had overcome the forces that maintained the cycle of offending by realizing their true potential. Appleton (2010) agreed with Maruna (2001) findings and stated that desisters form prosocial narratives to explain as well as disentangle themselves from their offending past.

According to Maruna (2004) the development of these positive self-narratives are supportive of offender efforts to maintain long-term desistance from crime. Maruna also suggests that these self-narratives do not even need to be objectively true to be effective. He states that they may serve as "positive illusions" (Maruna, 2004, p. 197) that aid in the long term maintenance of desistance. This concept is echoed in the Ross, Polaschek, and Ward (2008) model of Therapeutic Alliance (TA) in offender rehabilitation. The authors claim that the efficacy of a rehabilitation programme is dependent on the offender possessing some belief that he or she is capable of change, or at the very least a preparedness to be convinced of this by a therapist.

The trigger for change in desisters is not always apparent. However in the Maruna (2001) study an outside force like an agency or a judge who displayed sufficient faith in the desisters' helped them achieve their transformation. Perhaps the words of German poet Goethe illustrate how an outside force may trigger change. He once said

If you treat an individual as he is, he will remain as he is. But if

you treat him as if he were what he ought to be, could be he will

become what he ought to be and could be (Gangrade, 2005, p. 18).

Desistance Research Summary

The rehabilitation and desistance research discussed suggests that people who offend, do so while outside of the social norm. They are however often capable and have a desire to realign with social expectations of a productive member of society. The action of this realignment is what Foucault (1977) termed 'normalisation' but in contemporary literature is called rehabilitation (Raynor & Robinson, 2009). The desistance of offending behaviour includes the underlying cause for and maintenance of this rehabilitation (Maruna, 2001).

Research on desistance suggests that it is a process that consists of cumulative steps and stages. For instance Stall and Biernacki (1986) suggest that they are three stages of desistance which involve building the motivation, a public pronouncement to quit and the maintain abstinence from problem behaviour. As previously discussed a key element of this model is the individual's development of a desister identity. The trans-theoretical model has similar format of desistance with its six-stages of change. It introduced the concept of 'off-ramps'. This suggested that desistance is not linear and at each stage individuals may progress or regress from one stage to another.

Factors that have been found to onset and help maintain desistance include aging, finding meaningful employment and creating prosocial

27

relationships (Giordano et al., 2003). A suggested underlying reason for these factors onset and maintaining desistance is how they help change how individuals see themselves (Farrall & Maruna, 2004; MacDonald et al., 2010). King (2013) suggested that subjective changes such as self-narrative are indicative of an engagement in the desistance process. Having a prosocial self-narrative creates cognitive dissonance between the new identity and an offender lifestyle (Britt et al., 2003). This dissonance helps illicit and maintain desistance.

This study does not directly seek to explore the desistance of offenders. However, in exploring rehabilitative practices of a Community Work agency, it hopes to comment on how much the practices are in line with the literature. There is growing interest in the rehabilitation potential of the Community Work sentence. This is because the sentence has potential to possess several desistence supportive factors, such as meaningful work and the creation of prosocial relationships (McCulloch, 2010). The next section will give brief summary of the sentence, its origins and its rehabilitative potential.

Introduction to Community Work

The modern Community Work programme was first developed in 1966 in Alameda County, California. The programme was targeted toward female traffic offenders unable to pay the fine and for whom a jail sentence would cause hardship. They were instead required to perform unpaid work in the community (McGagh, 2007). Although the sentence gained traction and was adopted in other parts of the United States it was more popular in

Britain (McIvor, 1992). This can probably be attributed to the concerns in Britain at the time, around increased cost, low rehabilitative efficacy and overcrowding issues with imprisonment.

In many modern jurisdictions these remain concerns and the use of the Community Service sanction is widespread. Its appeal may be a result of its ability to fulfil both punitive and rehabilitative sentencing aims with a fraction of the cost of incarceration. The sentence's ability to appeal to both retributive and utilitarian philosophical stances is why McGagh (2007, p. 14) describes it as having a "catch all nature". This Community Service as a rehabilitative sanction has the face validity that incarceration is arguably losing particularly in light of the economic and social costs of incarceration.

In an annual report, the New Zealand Department of Corrections reported spending 1.3 billion between July 2013 and June 2014. Over 60% of that was used to manage prison sentences of 8,460 offenders in prison, while just under 20% was used to manage 36,500 offenders on community based sentences. The cost of managing prisoners was the single greatest financial cost of the Department of Corrections. It was over 4 times the amount spent on rehabilitation and reintegration (Department of Corrections, 2014). Community based sentences cost the Department a fraction of the financial cost of incarceration, despite there being over 4 times more offenders in the community than in prison. Not only are community based sentences more economically viable, they also benefit the wider community. Between July 2013 and June 2014 offenders on Community Work sentences completed 2.5 million hours.

These are unpaid work hours completed by offenders, as a way for them to pay something back for the offence they committed. Community Service punishes offenders without the economic burden of incarceration. The offender is made more accountable to the community by them providing a free service. Free labour is a good for the community, at the cost of 'evil' of a single offender's time. Overall Community Service is an economically and philosophically satisfying sanction for judicial and correctional systems as well as much of the general public. Community Service satisfies retributive theory which states that a person who commits a crime ought to be punished for that crime (Lewis, 2015). At the same time it also speaks to Utilitarian philosophy that the total good produced by punishment should exceed the total evil (Draper, 2002). The community service offender is punished by servicing unpaid hours, while the community can benefit from their labour.

In New Zealand, community work had its roots in Periodic Detention, a sentence introduced in 1962. Periodic detention was originally introduced as a residential sentence. It was available for 15 to 20 year old young people convicted of an offence punishable by imprisonment (Ministry of Justice, 1999). It had a maximum term on 12 months, during this time offenders were to report to a Periodic Detention work centre and undertake Community Work outside the centre (McGagh, 2007). In 1966 this sentence was extended to a non-residential sentence for offenders convicted of an imprisonable offence. This adaptation of the periodic detention sentence was extended to any offender aged 15 years and over (Ministry of Justice, 1999).

In 1978, the New Zealand Government's election manifesto promised the introduction of a standalone community service sentence. According to the then Minister of Justice this was in response to "a growing body of opinion that felt that in some instances it is appropriate to exact some form of community service from an offender" (Ministry of Justice, 1999). The community service sentence was established in New Zealand through an amendment to the Criminal Justice Act 1954. This amendment occurred concurrent to the phasing out of high cost residential period detention in favour of lower costing non-residential periodic detention. The reason for this shift was a result of a lack of evidence that residential periodic detention was more effective than non-residential periodic detention in reducing re-offending (Leibrich, Galaway, & Underhill, 1986).

In the 1980's there was a global and rapidly developing academic interest in criminal justice. Many academics focused on evaluating the effectiveness of specific criminal justice policies in reducing reoffending (Bernard, 2016). This had a policy impact as there was growing desire to have evidence based approaches to sentencing as evident in New Zealand's phase out of residential period detention. The community service came into effect as a standalone sentence in 1981. It was the first sentence in New Zealand in which the community shared part of the responsibility to supervise the offender. It was also the first sentence where the offender had to consent to the sentence before it was imposed.

Community Service is a sanction by the court that requires convicted offenders to perform unpaid work that benefits the community. It is an

alternative to custody or paying fines. In the New Zealand Department of Corrections it is referred to as Community Work. When it was introduced, offenders on community service sentences were not in custody or supervised by a statutory officer, a feature which distinguished community service from periodic detention. This is not the case for all offenders serving a community service sentence today. Nowadays offenders on Community Work sentences are split into two categories, 'agency' and 'work party'. The work party category typically consisted on those considered more high risk; they are placed on a work party van in groups and are supervised by a statutory officer while in the community. The agency categories consist of those offenders deemed lower risk and serve their hours at Probation-approved non-profit agencies and are supervised by agency staff. The agency group are the population being researched in this study. They are of particular interest as they most closely model the ideal of the community service sentence, as being one that is serviced in the community and supervised by the community.

Asher and O'Neill (1990) study of New Zealand community sanctions found that the Community Service sentence was viewed by the public as 'soft' and inappropriate for 'serious offenders'. These sentiments were echoed in a North American study (Harris & Lo, 2002) which suggested that this perspective may be the reason for the 'patchy' and 'localised' adoption of the sanction in the United States. The Community Service sanction was viewed as an unrealistic sentencing option for 'serious offenders'. According to the 'Risk Need Responsivity'(RNR) model (Andrews & Bonta, 2010) there is some validity to the opinion. According to one aspect of the RNR

model, more high risk offenders require more intensive levels of intervention to reduce reoffending. Low risk offenders on the other hand require less intensive interventions to reduce their reoffending.

There is therefore value in the public opinion that Community Service may not be an ideal sentence for some 'serious offenders' who may need more intensive rehabilitative options. However for the offenders who do not meet the high risk threshold, Community Service has the capacity to be an effective intervention, one that has a low impact and low cost. This study looks at the rehabilitative qualities of the Community Work sentence served by a particular population in a particular context. The offender participants of this study are those who would have been placed in the 'low risk' category by the department of corrections as they are those serving their community sentence within an 'agency' rather than a 'work party'. According to the RNR model, these offenders due to their risk rating would benefit from a low intensity intervention.

This study will examine what the low intensity intervention on a particular agency consists of. The agency within which this study is conducted is faith-based. The next section of this chapter will explore what a faith-based agency is.

Faith-Based Agencies

There are a number of faith based probation approved agencies within which offenders serve their community Service sentence. The agency where this study was conducted self-identified as faith-based. There is no

one widely accepted definition of a Faith-Based organisation, however, they are characterized by sharing one or more of these traits: expression of religious values in founding documents such as mission statement, a religious body with which the agency is affiliated or controlled by. It has religious sources of financial support and religious influence or base in the implementation of programs (Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013; Ferris, 2005). There are two characteristics that differentiate faith-based organisations from secular humanitarian organisations. Firstly, for faith-based organisations their faith is their motivating factor for their work. Secondly, they have a basis which is broader than humanitarian concerns. For them to be a 'believer' is to have a responsibility to come to the aid of the marginalised and poor (Ferris, 2005).

The development of the panopticon prison system was the birth of the current, expensive mass incarceration system. In New Zealand retributive philosophy has inspired a penal populism approach to the adult judicial system. While utilitarianism has been more influential in the juvenile system with use of the alternative restorative justice approach to punishment. The New Zealand correctional system's use of the RNR has meant that the concept of proportionality of punishment is calculated using the principle of risk. Low risk offenders benefit from low intensity rehabilitative interventions. The GLM model is a low intensity alternative to the RNR model, particularly as it does not focus on criminogenic needs but is instead a strength-based approach to rehabilitation.

Rehabilitation put simply gets the individual to the point of becoming prosocial. While desistance is the underlying causal process that leads to and maintains the termination of offending behaviour. There are several factors that have been found to onset and support offender desistance. A suggested underlying principle to desistance is the offender having a prosocial narrative. This narrative creates a cognitive dissonance between the offender's new identity and offender lifestyle and possibly elicits or maintains positive change. The Community Work sentence is not explicitly rehabilitative but it possesses implicit rehabilitative potential. It is also the most utilized community based sentence in New Zealand. However, despite its potential and popularity there is little research on the sentence. The most recent New Zealand based study on the sentence was conducted over 2 decades ago by Asher and O'Neill (1990). This is a research gap this study seeks to fill by exploring rehabilitative practices within a faith-based Community Work agency. Although desistance is not directly being studied, this study will review the presence of desistance supportive factors.

CHAPTER TWO—METHODOLOGY

This chapter will explain the epistemological reasoning for the research design. It will outline the research design and the participant demographics. It will then give a summary of the research procedure, data collection methods and analysis and end with ethical considerations.

Research Theory

Social constructivism assumes that people develop multiple subjective meanings to their experiences. These meanings are constructed through cultural and historical norms as well as meaningful interactions with others (Schwandt, 2000). The way in which people make sense of their constructed social reality influences how they think about and behave within that reality.

Research aimed at understanding the behaviour of people within a particular context ought to review participant experiences. This would ideally also explore the setting and interactional processes that occur within it (Creswell, 2013). To uncover the varied lived experiences of participants a qualitative rather than quantitative approach is ideal. A qualitative approach would provide methods to explore the constructed norms and meanings within those experiences and discover the underlying systems that maintain and promote participant behaviours within the context.

Quantitative research methods can provide a breadth of information on measurable patterns of behaviour. A qualitative approach on the other hand can provide depth of understanding of why the behaviour occurs. Due

to the often time-consuming nature of qualitative methods compared to quantitative methods, they typically demand smaller participant numbers. The small sample size does restrict the generalizability of qualitative research. When exploring the behaviour of a particular population in a specific setting, depth of understanding is often more important than breadth.

Qualitative research has several associated strategies of inquiry. These include Narratives, Grounded Theory, Phenomenology, Case studies and Ethnographies. These methodological strategies develop from different philosophical stances and have various associated research methods and techniques. All these strategies of inquiry base their findings on the views and experiences of participants. They however differ in their intended outcome of the research process.

In narrative research participants tell their life story which is then restored or retold by the researcher to create a collaborative narrative of the participants life (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2013). A grounded theory researcher aims to derive a theory of a process, action or interaction based on the participant's views (Charmaz, 2014). Phenomenological research seeks to uncover the 'essence' of the human experience concerning a phenomenon described by participants (Finlay, 2012). Case studies are an in-depth exploration of a program, event, and activity of one or more individuals. The researcher collects detailed information over a sustained time period using a variety of data collection methods. The researcher can therefore report with some confidence on that particular sample but the findings may not be easily generalizable to other settings (Yin, 2013).

Similar to case studies, ethnographies explore an intact cultural group for a prolonged period of time. An ethnographic researcher conducts their research within the participant's natural setting collecting observational data primarily. The process of research is flexible and typically evolves in response to the realities of the field setting (Clancey, 2006).

Research Design

This research aim was to explore the rehabilitative practices within an agency that provides community work opportunities for offenders serving Community Work sentences. The goal is to discover what desistance-conducive practices and experiences are present within this context and discern to what extent their presence motivate and promote desistance-conducive behaviours and attitudes in offenders. Another goal was to discover how informal practices within this Community Work agency contribute to the rehabilitation of the probation-volunteers.

To achieve this aim and these goals, an in depth exploration of the agency and the experiences of participants was conducted and Case Study and Ethnographic strategies were utilised. This is because both of these strategies seek to conduct in-depth explorations of participant experiences. Case studies do this through collecting detailed information from participants often consisting of retrospective accounts of experiences. Ethnographic research also collects detailed information from participants, however this is done within the participant's natural environment and also involves the collection of observational data. Ethnographic research often

includes participant experiences, as they occur in 'real-time' and were used to corroborate the retrospective participant accounts.

The use of a mixture of ethnographic and case study research methods also led to a triangulation of the overt and covert process and practices of the agency and the experiences and views of those within it. The case study approach provided information on the overt and formal processes and practices of the agency. The ethnographic aspect of the approach revealed the more covert and informal practices of the agency. A combination of the two approaches provided a robust image of the agency.

This study involved a large number of elements and a range of approaches including observations, walk-along interviews, semi-structured interviews, a focus group and testimonial document analysis. This variety of data collection approach was used to facilitate a triangulation of information and therefore get a more robust understanding of the agency and its practices.

Participants

The study was conducted with a faith-based agency in Hamilton. A faith-based agency is one that is characterised by expression of religious values in founding documents such as a mission statement as well as a religious body with which the agency is affiliated or controlled by.

The faith-based agency within which this study was conducted runs across two locations. The agency employs six full time staff members: a

general manager, two opportunity store managers, an office manager, a project coordinator and a carpenter (handy man). The agency is largely dependent on volunteers to run several aspects of the organisation. The volunteers represent a wide diversity in social economic status, age, ethnicity and backgrounds. These volunteer staff are made up of retired and semi-retired senior citizens, the general public, clients from intellectual disability support services and probation-volunteers completing their Community Service Sentence.

Probation-volunteer was the term used to describe individuals on Community Service sentences serving their sanctioned hours at this agency. This term was used to honour the agency's insistence on not identifying individuals serving their Community Service sentence as offenders. While at the agency these individuals were called 'volunteers'. However for the purpose of this study it was important to differentiate between these individuals and volunteers from the general public. This term was coined to capture this difference while acknowledging the 'volunteer' identity offered to offending individuals by the agency.

In this study there were a total of 21 agency research participants with varying levels of participation. There were ten male participants and the remaining eleven participants were female. There was a wide variation in age with the youngest participant being in their early 20's and the oldest in their 90's; five of the participants were full time paid staff members. One participant was volunteering at the agency as part of a work placement through an intellectual disability service provider. Four of the participants

were retired or semi-retired senior citizens. Two participants were former probation-volunteers who had continued service with the agency. Nine of the participants were probation-volunteers completing their community service hours at the time of their participation.

The participants who were probation-volunteers or former probation-volunteers, did not always disclose information about their offences or sentence. One participant shared that they were serving community service hours as a result of driving offence fines being converted into community work hours. Agency staff shared that many of the probation-volunteers they took on had committed fraud related offences. Three participants shared that they were serving multiple sentences including Periodic Detention, Community Detention, Supervision as well as their Community Work hours.

Purposive sampling was used to select which participants to engage in this study. The researcher sought to gather data from a range of agency staff and volunteers. Sampling was also determined by availability of participants. The participants were informed of the researcher's role, the study and its purpose. Confidentiality was discussed and participant consent was sought verbally prior to engaging in a walk-along interview. As observations and interviews were conducted during work hours, the participants were engaged in their usual duties and were often busy. This meant the walk along interviews were typically brief or conducted with the participants while they were between other tasks. In depth interviews on the other hand were pre-arranged and occurred within the participant's usual work hours.

Observations

Amit (2003) states that observation research encourages the researcher to view participants as multifaceted social beings with experiences and stories that go beyond the limited view of any study. This perspective occurs through interactions during fieldwork, which involves observations of participants in their natural environment. Observations over a few weeks enable a researcher to gain a level of agency understanding which can launch into more focused further data collection.

Clancey (2006) states that any environment can be natural for those who spend enough time in it. Observations of people in their natural environments can from this perspective be extended to their work environment. Ethnographic observations are systematic observations that cover relevant situations and roles in a sequential or dynamically planned way.

In this study, observations at one of the agency sites were conducted. These occurred across a period of months in order to gain a good understanding of what is done, where, with whom, how and why. The observations were of a variety of the agencies services including the opportunity stores and a feeding the homeless initiative. Participants included all the staff, volunteers, probation-volunteers and general public who were present during these times. The walk along interviews were conducted during these times.

Interviews

Interviews can vary in levels of directedness of the researcher. They can follow a conversational semi-structured format (Carpiano, 2009). Semi-structured interviews follow an open-ended approach that is characteristic of qualitative and ethnographic research approaches (Whitehead, 2005). The researcher has some basic topics germane to the study that they explore with participants within a 'natural' setting (Carpiano, 2009). This conversational approach is used to elicit information from participants by using the setting as a prompt, it was also used as an immediate way to query organisational practices.

Four in depth interviews were conducted. One male and three female participants were interviewed. Two of these participants were former probation-volunteers who had continued to serve with the agency. One of the interview participants was completing their Community Service hours with the agency. The last participant was a volunteer from the general public.

Walk-along interviews are an ethnomethodology that are a variation on qualitative interviewing, they are particularly useful for understanding the lived experiences of people within their local context (Carpiano, 2009). According to Carpiano (2009) walk-along interviews provide a unique way for researchers to observe participants environments as well as their way of navigating those environments and their perceptions and processes while doing so.

Five walk-along interviews were conducted in this study. Three of these participants were general public volunteers, and the remaining two were with probation-volunteers. Walk along interviews were used to explore the participant's perceptions of the observed rehabilitative processes identified by both the participants and the researcher. The researcher was able to examine the participant's experiences and interpretations within an environment familiar to the participant (Carpiano, 2009).

All interviews took place within the agency setting. The available and private office space was used so that participants would not have to travel to a different location. The interviews were also scheduled on days participants were at the agency and at times when they were not busy making participation less disruptive to their lives and also to the work the agency does. The researcher had general questions (Appendix Six) which were used as prompts but the goal was to elicit answers from the perspective of the participant. The goal was to better understand the agency, its practices and the opinions of those within it. Brief notes were made during the interviews.

For walk along interviews the schedule topics were used as general prompts for discussion, as well as direct observation information. While for the in-depth interviews the interview schedule questions were used and covered in more detail with participants.

Focus Groups

Focus groups can be used to gather information about a range of feelings and ideas about an issue as well as shade light on different perspectives between groups of individuals (Rabiee, 2004). In this study the focus group was a method used to gather information from paid agency staff that also supervised the probation-volunteers. Interviewing them as a group allowed the researcher to discover some of the agency staff members differing perspectives as well as explorer their common views.

One focus group was conducted with four agency staff members participating. Participants of a focus group are not necessarily a representative but rather a purposive sample of all those who held supervisory roles within the agency. This qualified them to comment on the research question of what rehabilitative practices the agency engaged in. The focus group questions are attached (appendix Four). These were used as a guide rather than a strict verbatim interview guide.

Testimonials

Documents have long been used in social research as sources of data to answer particular questions. The way in which they have been viewed has predominantly been as inert objects that are non-reactive. Grounded theory suggest that documents are more akin to informants and interviewees. They inform us about intentions, aspirations, describe places and social interactions of a period of time in which we are not present (May, 2011). Analysis of the function of documents reveals that they are more than containers of data, The can be active agents in social organizations and

interactions (Prior, 2008). This study analysed the testimonial documents of probation-volunteers and concentrated on the content of these texts as informant data.

Four probation-volunteer testimonials were analysed. Two testimonials from 2012 and two from 2014. One male and three female participants wrote these testimonials. The testimonials were collected by the agency, for the purpose of improving community service for probation-volunteers. The agency sought to discover what the agency did that probation-volunteers found helpful as well as what needed to be improved. Testimonials were collected sporadically and purposively by agency staff. Probation-volunteers were free to choose to complete a testimonial or not with no impact on their sentence. These was done independent of this study, however a sample of those testimonials was used as an additional data source for the study.

Data Analysis

The Thematic analysis process identifies, analyses, and reports themes present within a rich data set. Qualitative data tends to be detail laden and highly descriptive in nature. It leads itself well to thematic analysis as this allows the central features of the data to be identified. It also allows the researcher to interpret and make meaning out of large amounts of data. The researcher has the flexibility to decide what counts as a theme as it emerges through analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006).

Thematic analysis was the method used to make sense of the data in a theoretically consistent way, as thematic analysis fits into the constructivist paradigm in which this study is located. This study produced various qualitative data sets from the data collection methods utilised. Thematic analysis was able to cut across the various data sets produced and find central themes. As part of the analysis process the data was organised into thematic categories that directly related to the research question. A central theme of visibility was identified across all the data sets and participant groups. Two organising themes were identified;

1. Anonymity of offender status
2. Non-offender identity

These two organising themes were generated by following Braun and Clark's (2006) guide of thematic analysis. The authors recommend continuously writing down ideas of potential coding schemes throughout the research process. During data collection potential themes began to emerge, which were written down and these become key coding schemes during the analysis stages. The first stage of making sense of the data involved transcribing verbal data and noting down observational data and basic themes. The research supervisors reviewed these possible themes and assisted in refining the basic themes, organising themes and final global themes. This helped ensure meaningful interpretations of the data were made.

There are three levels of thematic coding used to analyse this study's data. A global theme, organizing themes and basic themes. These work sequentially as displayed below.

| Basic Theme | Organising Theme | |
| Basic Theme | Organising Theme | Global Theme |

Figure 1. Thematic Codes (adapted from Attride-Stirling, 2001)

A basic theme is the lowest-order theme that is derived from the textual data, which on its own says very little about the text as a whole. For this level of theme to make sense it needs to be explained within the context of an intermediate organising concept. This is the organising theme, it groups basic themes into groups that together help paint a more complete picture. Organising themes help to summarize the key assumptions of a group of Basic Themes. They are therefore more abstract and reveal more about what is happening in the data. These organising themes cluster the central concepts proposed by several Basic Themes. They simultaneously dissect the key assumptions at the core of a broader theme that is significant in the data as a whole. The key assumptions constitute global themes which encompass the principle metaphors present in the data as a whole (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

During data analysis potential themes were refined into basic themes. The basic themes which emerged across the various data sets were then used to also code across all the data sets. These basic themes were then categorised into the two organising themes of 'Anonymity of Offender Status' and 'Non-Offender Identity'. The basic themes were coded for these two organising themes and placed under the corresponding organising theme. The central underlying theme of 'Visibility' was identified as unifying both organising themes as well as being present in the basic themes. It became the global theme of the data. This data analysis process is displayed in figure 2.
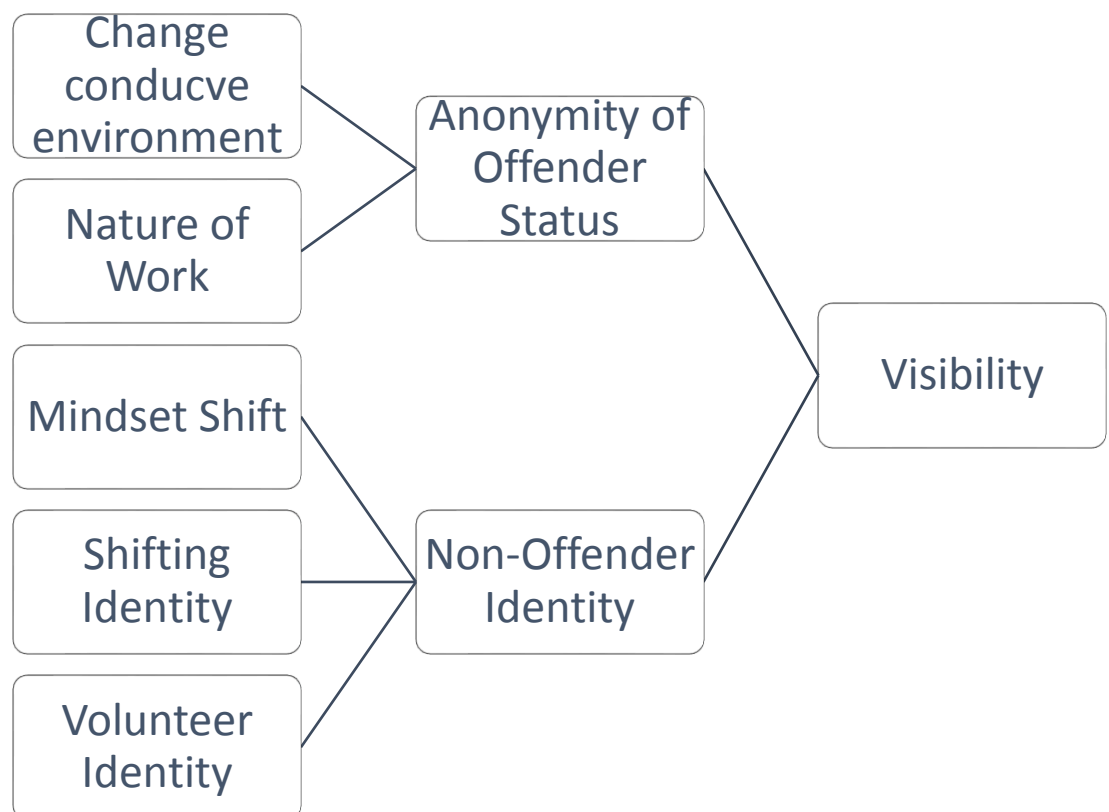

Figure 2. Research coded themes

Cultural Considerations

The unique ethnic background of the researcher, who is a black African female, may also have an impact on the research. As stated in the prologue of this research study, the researcher sought to be explicit about her unique perspective on the research. To add to that the researcher also has a culturally constructed lense from which she sees the world. This is heavily influenced by her ethnic background as well as cultural, religious and gendered life experiences. These influences were acknowledged and attempts made to limit or make explicit their impact on the research. One way these influences were limited in their impact was through the use of two culturally different research supervisors. By including them in the data analysis it restricted the researcher from solely interpreting the data from a single cultural lense.

The researcher's ethnic background was also likely to have an impact on how the participants viewed her. A study on the impact of the researcher on the researched found that in qualitative research, the race of the researcher had an impact on the data collected (Mizock, Harkins, & Morant, 2011). This study was conducted in the United States and looked at the interactional differences between a mono-racial and cross-racial researcher-participant pairing. The participants and researchers were either black or white. The study found that when discussing the topics of race, ethnicity and culture, there was a difference in the function of off-script comments by researcher's dependant on their race.

As this was within the particular cultural context of the United States, the findings of the study cannot be directly translated into the New Zealand context. However, the general principle that researcher race has an impact on participant-researcher interaction is useful in the New Zealand context. The study found that in mono-racial pairings of black researcher and participant's off-script discussions of ethnic, cultural and racial issues included communication of shared understanding, these were not present in cross-racial pairings.

In relation to this study, the researcher had more cross-racial than mono-racial pairings with participants. It is possible that due to this there may have limited the communication of shared understandings. This may also limit how open participants are to discuss cultural, ethnic or racial aspects of their experiences. In order to manage this impact of the researcher's ethnic background, the researcher, when appropriate, tried to create a culturally safe space for participants by asking them if they wish to engage in karakia, whakawhanonatanga, or any other significant rituals before beginning data collection.

The researcher will also give all participants opportunity to make clarifications or changes to their data. This is in order to minimise the researcher placing their own ethnic, racial or cultural slant on the data.

Coercion

Prior to the study the researcher held a role within the Department of Corrections as a probation officer. Having primarily worked with Offenders

on Community Work sentences meant the researcher had some prior experience with the agency. At the time of the study, the researcher was no longer employed by the Department of Corrections as a Probation Officer. This information was disclosed to the agency staff and some participants. It was possible that some of the participants may have come into contact with the researcher prior to the study through the Department of Corrections.

The researcher disclosed having been previously employed by the Department of Corrections to the agency staff and was transparent about the previous employment to participants when necessary. However it was emphasised to participants that the study was being conducted as part of university work and not on behalf of the Department of Corrections. This was in order to avoid coercive recruitment. As participants may have feared that not participating in the study may impact on their interactions with the Department of Corrections. For participants completing their Community Service sentence it was emphasised that participation was voluntary.

Anonymity

The agency will not be named in any publication of the study. The agency did however agree to being named in verbal presentations of the study. All efforts have been made to protect participant's anonymity in the reporting of findings. Participants were made aware of potential publication, presentation and report uses of their data as part of the informed consent process. This was done through the information sheet (Appendix Three) and verbally when needed. All participant information was anonymised unless

otherwise agreed upon. This is done to protect the identity of agency volunteers and staff.

Maintaining the anonymity of Community Work participants during data collection was a key ethical issue. The agency introduced offenders on Community Work sentences as volunteers to the other agency volunteers. This a central feature of their approach to supervising offenders on Community Work sentences.

Given the deliberate privacy given to the offender status of this sample it was important to maintain this anonymity during the data collection process. In order to achieve this, during observations the researcher often worked alongside various participants. This also reduced visibility of the researcher to the general public. The researcher also spoke to all available participants during the observations. This was so that it did not appear that only certain individuals were being singled out. Also the questions asked during walk along interviews did not inquire about participant's offender status.

CHAPTER THREE –FINDINGS

The concept of visibility came up across all participant groups and data collection methods. This concept is broken down into two themes which are Anonymity of Offender Status and the development of a Non-Offender Identity. The following section will explore these themes and discuss the subthemes that emerged in the data. It will lastly relate these findings back to the concept of visibility.

Anonymity of Offender Status

When offenders arrive at the agency they are introduced to everyone as *volunteers*. This serves as a way for them to preserve their anonymity as offenders. During the focus group, the staff all spoke about the offenders being called volunteers as an integral part of the agency's approach. The staff repeatedly made statements such as, "to me they are all volunteers" and "we don't make any distinction between them [offenders and other volunteers]."

A Department of Corrections staff member would have previously orientated the offender to the Department's expectations for them while they are with the agency. When offenders come to the agency to complete their hours for the first time, they are orientated to the agency's expectations of them. They also receive a general agency orientation which is when they are introduced to the staff and volunteers. A staff member explained the orientation process.

First, when they come here we explain what we exactly do…The explanation we give them is that, by doing community service you're actually working for the community…You're giving back to that community and you're a part of a wide range of people. You're not the only one here. We introduce them as volunteers, therefore they get all the same privileges as volunteers…There's no separation and they are just a part of a bigger team.

From the orientation with the agency the offender is known as a *volunteer* and their status as an offender is to an extent no longer visible. The extent of this invisibility will be explored in more depth in the next sections of this chapter. For the purpose of clarity in this section the offenders will be called probation-volunteers.

Introducing the probation-volunteers as volunteers is a way that the staff try to integrate them into the bigger agency team working to serve the community. The staff member quoted above illustrates the point that the probation-volunteer is now *"a part of a bigger team"* of volunteers. The orientation first explains what the agency does to serve the community and then tells the probation-volunteer that they are a part of that. The probation-volunteer's offender status is not only made invisible, they are given a visible status of a volunteer. An identity that has positive social connotations in place of the social stigma attached to being seen as an offender.

When the probation-volunteers in the study talked about their experience at the agency, many spoke positively about the orientation process. One volunteer stated

[I] liked how [the agency] gave me a brief rundown of [the agency] organization and what you do. So I had a better understanding of whom I was working alongside.

The same probation-volunteer also said *"[I] loved the way you introduced us (offenders) as a "volunteer" and not someone doing hours."* Many of the probation-volunteers spoke about being called volunteers as a normal part of serving their time at the agency. This was something that was largely appreciated by the probation-volunteers. Some of them appreciated never having their offender status being visible. While others valued having the choice to share their reason for being at the agency and making their offender-status visible to some when they felt ready to do so.

A former probation-volunteer, now a staff member, also spoke about having a choice in making their offender-status visible.

You're called a volunteer. You have a choice, it's absolutely confidential, whether you choose to share it with the staff or don't.

A different former volunteer spoke about the decision to make the offender status visible. Saying

[agency staff] introduced me as a volunteer but I'm the silly one

who'd be like "I did have to come here to do my hours because"

and I'd just let it all out then.

She continued

I live my life as an open book…I think half the time it's best not

to say it. I mean it's all good, nothing happened but they [other

volunteers] were like 'wow'…I wasn't proud of it [the offending] I

just thought to share.

These two former probation-volunteers statements display some of the added complexities of being seen as a probation-volunteer. Although the staff will keep ones offender-status invisible, if the probation-volunteer's offender-status is made visible that brings with it added dynamics. There were two examples of this occurring in the data collected that will now be explored.

One probation-volunteer talked about her offender status being made visible on some occasions.

[I] didn't enjoy coming into the office to sign off my hours in the

folders each day when others appeared in the office. I know this

can't be avoided but maybe the folder could have been closed

until they left. As on a couple of occasions I was quite

embarrassed by other's reactions towards me when they

realized I was doing hours.

The same probation-volunteer added

[I] hated on a few occasions having the fact I was doing hours

highlighted by other volunteers and being belittled by

them…one person asked me in front of another volunteer, "how

many hours I had to go.

Although agency staff aim to keep probation-volunteer's offender-status invisible this is not always possible. The above quote gives an example of how the probation-volunteer's offender-status is made visible. During observations it was noted that the office where probation-volunteers would sign off their hours was typically busy. It is an open plan shared office space with an open door policy. It was not unusual to have volunteers and staff walking in and out throughout the day. Probation-volunteers have to sign off their hours to satisfy the Department of Corrections requirements and this is done in this office. Due to the public nature of the office space it is likely that when probation-volunteers go to sign of their hours others will sometimes be present. This undermines the agency's intention to protect the visibility of the probation-volunteers offender status.

Not all occasions when probation-volunteers offender-status was visible invoked negative responses. One probation-volunteer who was completing his hours talked about making his offender status visible. He stated that because he was introduced as a volunteer he was given the power over the visibility of his offender-status.

[They] let me tell everyone in my own time what I was actually here for. Once I built a relationship with the person, I got to know them, I [was] able to tell them. Instead of just nobody knows who I am. I'm that [Probation] guy. It makes me feel more comfortable and it makes you want to come. Because it makes you look good because you're here 'volunteering' but really you're here for hours.

Here there are several factors that differentiate this occasion when the offender-status is made visible compared to the previous example.

The key feature is that in this situation the probation-volunteer had a sense of autonomy about the decision to make it visible. Secondly he was able to build a relationship with the recipients of the information prior to telling them. This for him eliminated the stigma of being seen as more than an offender. Related to being seen as an offender this probation-volunteer also talks about *"looking good because you're [at the agency] 'volunteering'."* This demonstrates the idea that while the offender-status is made invisible by being called a volunteer, it replaces it with a volunteer-status.

Change-conducive Environment

All of the participants of this study commented on the environment of the agency positively. Several probation-volunteer participants talked about the agency environment being non-judgemental and inclusive of them. One probation-volunteer theorized that the reason for the agency's positive impact on offenders was a result of three factors.

59

There are three major things I feel [the agency] do incredibly

well that would surely help offenders move forward in a positive

manner, these are: - 1. Being non-judgmental of my

circumstances or me as a person. 2. You offer a place of

belonging and always ensure offenders feel a part of [the

agency] team.3. Everyone is treated equally in a warm and

welcoming environment.

The two themes of the agency being an inclusive and a non-judgemental environment are evident in these three factors. These two themes were echoed by many of the probation-volunteers in this study. The themes were also directly credited as having a positive impact on the probation-volunteers experience at the agency.

A former probation-volunteer spoke about experiencing a sense of belonging.

[The agency] have many strengths, they're really accepting

people, respectful people, supportive, loving, it's just like a

family unit really. They make you feel really welcome. They've

just got huge hearts.

This probation-volunteer likens her experience at the agency to that of a family. She merits this as one of the agency's strengths. The comparison to a family is justified because, in her mind, the agency is accepting, respectful, supportive and loving. Although this is an idealised concept of the characteristics of a family, it is illustrative of this participant's

experience of the environment provided by the agency. These terms used to describe the agency environment are to an extent captured by the concepts of being non-judgemental and inclusive. These terms are strongly evident in how other participants describe the agency. For instance one probation-volunteer in his testimonial wrote the following quote.

[I] was welcomed with open arms. The working environment, the atmosphere, the staff at [the agency] was above my expectations. During my 4 months, I was at [the agency], I was trusted, I was never judged on my appearance or how I dressed or looked. So long as I did what was asked of me

Here again the concepts of being inclusive and non-judgemental are echoed. This probation-volunteer noted that the atmosphere of the agency went beyond his expectations. This is perhaps due to his anticipation that his experience at the agency would be marked by the social stigma of being an offender. The probation-volunteer here also added that as long as he did the work, neither his appearance nor his presentation were judged. This may be indicative of where the agency placed value. That people are not judged based on their appearance or past mistakes but rather on their actions while at the agency. One of the effects of the agency environment is displayed in the following testimonial quote by a probation-volunteer:

Everyone was very friendly and accepted me without any negativity at all. I looked forward to going and doing my hours each week as I feel welcomed and accepted when I am there.

61

The probation-volunteer in this quote brings up an important point. Due to the agency having a positive environment the probation-volunteer looks forward to going in to complete community work hours. This speaks to the offenders being motivated to complete their mandated community service hours and potentially no longer being involved with the Department of Corrections. This therefore has the most direct impact of the probation-volunteer developing a non-offender identity. The non-judgemental and inclusive environment of the agency increases probation-volunteer motivation to complete their sentence.

The two themes of the agency environment being non-judgemental and inclusive maybe underpinned by the experience of being seen as a 'volunteer', rather than an offender. The probation-volunteers talked about being treated the same as other volunteers at the agency.

…Everyone is treated equally in a warm and welcoming environment.

This idea of being treated equal to others is meaningful to the probation-volunteers because they recognise that they are different to non-probation volunteers. The following probation-volunteer noted that offenders are made to feel part of the agency team. Rather than being treated as offenders, they are accepted into the quasi-family unit.

… [The agency] offer a place of belonging and always ensure offenders feel a part of the team.

This is of significance to many of the probation-volunteers in this study. The non-judgemental and inclusive environment is maintained at the agency through the anonymity of the probation-volunteers offender status. There is no distinction between how probation-volunteers and volunteers are treated because they are all called, and to an extent seen as volunteers. Therefore the anonymity of their offender status underpins probation-volunteers experience of a positive agency environment.

Nature of the work

The nature of the agency work also supports the probation-volunteers engagement with the agency and in turn their sentence. The nature of the work they engage in with the agency was mentioned as a motivating factor for engaging with their sentenced hours. A probation-volunteer talked about being motivated to complete her hours because she felt the work she was doing had a *"purpose."* A former probation-volunteer explained the reason she felt the work was purposeful in the following quote.

> *You'll really be blown away by what [the agency staff and volunteers] do for people…I think for the first three weeks I was constantly going to the toilet to cry because there were so many sad stories and that took me…even thinking back now it still sort of makes me teary eyed but it just blows me away…[seeing the community impact of the agency's work] makes you want to be a part of something positive, want to be helping in the same capacity, you want to help your fellowman.*

This former probation-volunteer discussed her experience of seeing the value in the work the agency does. She talked about the work as evoking an emotive response within her. She spoke more about the various "sad stories" that she encountered, these were stories of people who sought out the agency's assistance through difficult life circumstances. When describing the agency's response to these "sad stories" she made the following statements.

They are just there to give you support in any way they can. It could be furniture, food, bills or clothing…they didn't judge [a homeless client], that really got me.

It appears that it was the social impact of the agency's work that motivated this former probation-volunteer to want to *"be a part of something positive"* by continuing to service at the agency after completing her community service hours.

Another probation-volunteer talked about how the symbiotic nature of the work the agency did had an impact on them and their family.

During my time at [the agency] I was fortunate to help so many different people from all walks of life. This included feeding the homeless, broken homes, the elderly, lunches in schools, drug and alcohol rehab centers, head injury, hospice and so many more. The impact this has had on my life and my family's has been life changing.

The charitable nature of the agency's work had an impact on this probation-volunteer's appreciation of things in life. It also inspired this probation-volunteer to be more philanthropic towards those in need.

> *…I now realize it's the little things in life that make a difference. I no longer take things for granted. One of the most important things I learnt from [the agency] is giving to those in need of help and support.*

From the information collected, it appears that the probation-volunteers value the work done by the agency. This in turn serves as motivation for them to remain engaged in the work and complete their sentenced hours. It is also a motivating factor for them to desire to maintain contact with the agency once their hours are completed.

Non-Offender Identity

The agency attempts to treat offenders as if they were model citizens who voluntarily give their time to serve at the agency. There is an implicit shift by the agency to not identify probation-volunteers as offenders. In place of this identity the prosocial term "volunteer" is used to identify them. Even with the limits of the invisibility of their offender status, being seen as volunteers has an impact on probation-volunteers participants. A majority of the probation-volunteer participants in the study commented on their time at the agency having a positive impact on their outlook on either themselves, society or others.

Mindset Shift

Several other probation-volunteers in the study talked about having a shift of mindset. This was consistently seen as a positive move towards having a more positive outlook. One probation-volunteer spoke more about how the agency experience changed her general outlook on her future. In her testimonial she made the following statement;

> *I think that being able to work my community service hours at [the agency] has given me a reason to look forward and be positive about my future. That may be silly but that's how it makes me feel.*

A former probation-volunteer at the time of the interview was working full time in a job she enjoyed. She talked about how being at the agency had an impact on her social life.

> *It's changed me in a huge way but it is all positive. I'm more sociable, I'm happy with myself. I'm happy with the job I'm doing…I think the socializing with the community was a good thing, because before I actually started at [the agency] I was quite a depressive person, because I didn't really socialize that much…after I left [the agency] I had the confidence to want to go get a job.*

Although it was unclear what the underlying reason for these probation-volunteers' shift in mindsets, one theory is that it is due to them distancing themselves from an offender identity. Firstly, not being called an

66

offender while at the agency creates an initial distance from the identity. This is further enhanced by not being treated like an offender. The probation-volunteers' comments about the agency environment as being non-judgemental and inclusive are testament to this. The distance from the offender identity appears to initiate the probation-volunteers seeing themselves differently. It may be this distance from the offender identity that helped the probation-volunteer feel more positive about her future. It may also have contributed to the former probation-volunteer having the "confidence to want to get a job" after leaving the agency.

Another probation-volunteer talked about how completing community work at the agency changed how she saw herself in relation to her offending.

> *Whilst I cannot say I spent any major time one on one with [agency staff] working on my indiscretion, I can say the environment [the agency] did in some way help me on my emotional journey to reaffirm to myself that I was a good person and much better than the misdemeanor that society has seen.*

Shifting Identity

This probation-volunteer talked specifically about how serving her sentence at the agency was instrumental in a shift in how she saw herself. The agency helped her reaffirm that she was a "good person" and not just an offender. Having some distance from offender identity appears to induce a shift in mind-set of the probation-volunteers. This was reflected in how

67

some probation-volunteers spoke about themselves. A former probation-volunteer gave the following quote about her perception of how probation-volunteers are treated within the agency.

> *I think they are treated with respect, compassion and faith that*
> *they are going to make the right choices at the end of their*
> *service.*

She not only talks about the offender being treated with respect and compassion, she also talks about faith. According to this participant the agency treats offenders in a way that displays a belief in them making the *"right choices".* This is significant as this display of faith further distances them from the offender status as well as the social stigma attached to it. They are not seen as people who will continue to offend. Instead the agency staff display faith in their ability to make positive choices moving forward.

This former probation-volunteer here referred to offenders at the agency as *they* rather than *us.* By not using a personal pronoun when talking about offenders this former probation-volunteer distanced herself from the offender identity. Her use of this distancing language can be seen as an outward display of the internal identity shift she has made.

A former probation-volunteer talked about how being called a volunteer made a difference for her. She stated that because you are called a volunteer *"you still get to keep your pride…knowing that you're not looked upon as being a criminal."* This emphasises the desire for the probation-volunteers to avoid the stigma associated with being seen as an offender.

This may signify the beginning of the probation-volunteers shifting their own identities through distancing themselves from the offender label.

Volunteer Identity

In place of the offender identity an alternative identity as a 'volunteer' is offered to the offenders. Not only does this volunteer identity carry far more positive social connotations, it is an identity that many of the probation-volunteer participants held with pride.

The agency manager talked about the goal of the agency in relation to probation-volunteers below.

> *[The] whole aim is to minimize the number of people that reoffend. When they finish I shake their hand and tell them 'well done, I never want to see you back here again. Only to volunteer, really volunteer'.*

There is an underlying redemptive ideological perspective reflected in this quote. It is also present in the overall attitude of the agency staff toward probation-volunteers. That is that the agency makes a deliberate effort not to treat probation-volunteers like offenders but rather like volunteers. This is with the hope that the probation-volunteers will internalise this alternative identity and as a result desist from offending. This statement by the agency staff member also highlights the reality that probation-volunteers are different to non-probation volunteers. This is in how they are seen by staff who are aware of their offender status. They are not 'really' volunteers, they are offenders being treated like volunteers. This

is in the hope that this approach will be rehabilitative. That it will "Minimise the number of people that reoffend" and transform the probation-volunteer into a 'real' volunteer.

This redemptive approach to rehabilitation appears to have been effective, at least for some of the probation-volunteers. The participant sample of this study included former probation-volunteers, some of which had maintained contact with the agency by actually volunteering. This suggests that they had taken to their new identity as 'volunteer'. Also in the testimonial data many probation-volunteers offered that they would be motivated to maintain their role as volunteers after they had completed their community service hours. This indicates that for these offenders the being called volunteers contributed to their internalization of that identity to the point that they actually became or wanted to become volunteers.

CHAPTER FOUR–DISCUSSION

Community Work is the most utilised community based sentence in New Zealand. It costs a fraction of the price of incarceration and is a philosophically satisfying sentence. This is because it simultaneously punishes the offender for the crime, while the wider community benefits. In terms of retribution, the offender pays for the crime through serving unpaid hours in the community and in relation to utilitarianism, the community benefits from free labour for a non-profit agency. The sentence also possesses rehabilitative potential, from which the offender can benefit. This is perhaps why it is such a well utilized sentence in New Zealand.

Prior to this study, the most recent New Zealand based research looking specifically at the Community Work sentence was conducted in 1990. This study sought to fill a two-decade research gap by looking at the rehabilitative practices of a community work agency. The rehabilitative potential of the Community Work sentence was explored through an ethnographic case study of the agency, using multiple sources for data triangulation.

Rehabilitative/ desistance supportive practices

This study was able to achieve the research aim of exploring the rehabilitative practices of a community work agency. The study identified a number of rehabilitative and desistance supportive practices engaged in by the agency, its staff, the volunteers and its probation-volunteers. The agency focused on non-criminogenic primary goods and this generally produced positive outcomes for probation-volunteers. This was particularly

evident when the primary good was related to the probation-volunteer self-narrative. The study found that two factors led to shifts in the self-narratives of these participants. These were: the anonymity of the probation-volunteers offender status and the probation-volunteers being offered an alternative prosocial identity.

Narrative shifts of individuals from offenders to non-offenders has been found to help maintain long term desistance from offending behaviour (Maruna, 2001: Appleton, 2010). The role developing non-offender narratives play in the desistance process is threefold. Firstly, narratives distance individuals from their offending past. Secondly, they help individuals create subjective meaning to particular life events as turning points. Lastly, they elicit the development of new prosocial identities (King, 2013). These three factors were evident in the findings of this study.

The central theme of visibility underpinned these findings. Firstly, the anonymity of the probation-volunteers offender created a distance between the probation-volunteer and the offender identity and consequently their offending past. The second stage of creating meaning of life events was less explicit. However, for many of the probation-volunteer participants, being at the agency was their turning point. Several of them talked about their time at the agency leading to a shift in how they saw themselves, the world and those around them.

The final factor of developing a non-offender identity was facilitated by the probation-volunteers being called 'volunteers'. The agency's

insistence on treating the probation-volunteers as volunteers rather than offenders contributed to some probation-volunteers internalizing the 'volunteer' identity. This was evidenced in the data by former probation-volunteers maintaining contact with the agency through actually volunteering after completing their sentenced hours. It was also supported by most of the probation-volunteers stating that they had intentions to maintain contact with the agency after they completed their sanctioned hours.

The reason for this desire to maintain contact can be interpreted as an internalisation of the 'volunteer' identity. The possible explanations for this identity being internalized are the change conducive environment of the agency and the nature of the agency work. Several of the probation-volunteer participants noted that they felt the agency environment was non-judgemental and inclusive and attributed their desire to engage with the agency to this positive environment. Probation-volunteers also talked about appreciating the charitable nature of the agency's work in the community. This was also noted as a reason for individuals wanting to engage with the agency.

Why a Redemptive Narrative?

if you treat an individual … as he ought to be, could be he will become what he ought to be and could be (Gangrade, 2005, p. 18).

This quote by the German poet Goethe illustrated the redemptive ideological perspective the agency had towards probation-volunteers. This

was reflected in their insistence on not seeing or treating probation-volunteers as offenders but actively chose to treat them as *volunteers*, giving them access to the same opportunities as volunteers. This was reflected in agency staff participant's statements, such as "to me they are all volunteers" and "we don't make any distinction between them [offenders and other volunteers]."

The reason for the agency holding this redemptive perspective may be a reflection of their position as a faith-based agency. For faith-based organisations, their faith is their motivating factor for their work and for them to be a 'believer' is to have a responsibility to come to the aid of the marginalised and poor (Ferris, 2005). The agency's work is therefore fundamentally founded on a religious responsibility to help the marginalised. The agency's goal with probation-volunteers went beyond simply gaining free labour, but staff sought to come to the aid of many probation-volunteers in various ways. The aim was to help them not to reoffend. The agency's intervention approach was an informal but intentional redemptive strategy.

[The] whole aim is to minimize the number of people that reoffend. When they finish I shake their hand and tell them 'well done, I never want to see you back here again. Only to volunteer, really volunteer'.

This quote from the agency manager reflects this underlying redemptive ideology, but it also has the correctional aim of reducing reoffending. This allows the agency intervention approach not only fit into

their philosophy but also to respond to the Department of Corrections' goal of reducing reoffending.

Why was narrative effective?

Stall and Biernacki (1986) suggest that they are three stages of desistance. These involve building the motivation, a public pronouncement to quit and the maintenance of abstinence from problem behaviour. The key concepts of this model are, the idea of a new identity as a 'nonuser', social support and the integration into new nonuser social networks. Having a prosocial self-narrative creates cognitive dissonance between the new identity and an offender lifestyle (Britt et al., 2003). This dissonance helps illicit and maintain desistance. Other studies talk about these subjective changes as being 'cognitive transformations' and these are important in the process of ceasing to offend. These changes are demonstrated by a shift in identity from a persister to desister (Farrall & Maruna, 2004; Healy, 2010; Serin & Lloyd, 2009).

Faith in ability to change

All rehabilitation and desistance approaches have an underlying assumption that change can be elicited by subjecting offenders to a regime, intervention or programme. The correctional model for rehabilitation holds the notion that (at least some) offenders have the propensity to change 'for the better' (Raynor & Robinson, 2005). It is this belief that motivates the development of programmes and interventions.

The belief in an offenders ability to change was found by Maruna (2001) to help desisters achieve their transformation from persisters. Maruna (2001) found that for the individuals who had desisted from offender, an outside force such as an agency or a judge had displayed sufficient faith in the offender's ability to change for the better. This concept is echoed in the Ross et al. (2008) model of Therapeutic Alliance. The authors claim that the efficacy of a rehabilitation programme is dependent on the offender possessing some belief that he or she is capable of change, or at the very least a preparedness to be convinced of this by a therapist. According to these two studies, having faith in an ability to change is vital to the rehabilitation and desistance process.

In this research study, the agency staff displayed a faith in the probation-volunteer's ability to change. This was reflected in how probation-volunteers described their experiences at the agency. For example the following quote from a former probation-volunteer, who was then employed by the agency talked about how probation-volunteers were treated.

I think they are treated with respect, compassion and faith that

they are going to make the right choices at the end of their

service.

Here the former probation-volunteer not only talks about the offender being treated with respect and compassion, she also talks about faith. According to this participant, the agency treated offenders in a way that displays a belief in them making the *"right choices".* Faith in ability to change is perhaps significant as it strengthens the offender's buy-in of the

76

alternative prosocial identity being offered. This may be because a display of faith from an outside source further distances them from the offender status.

New Narrative

As offenders distance themselves from an offender or persister identity they simultaneously head towards a new identity. Maruna (2001) found that persisters and desisters varied in their self-narratives. Persisters had a condemnation life story while desisters held a redemptive life story. Similarly, Appleton (2010) agreed with Maruna (2001) findings and stated that desisters form prosocial narratives to explain as well as disentangle themselves from their offending past. Two of the functions of narratives according to King (2013) are that it helps elicit meaning from life events and create distance from the past.

A change in self-narrative elicits meaning from life events and creates distance from the past. This research study found that the agency created a change conducive environment in which probation volunteers could change their life narrative. A probation-volunteer participant made this statement in relation to the shift in narrative.

I can say the environment [the agency] did in some way help
me on my emotional journey to reaffirm to myself that I was a
good person and much better than the misdemeanor that
society has seen.

The change in narrative was that she reaffirmed to herself that she was better than her offending as a result of the change conducive environment of the agency. This new narrative is not only redemptive, it is prosocial and perhaps most importantly it is believed by the probation-volunteer. These three factors are conceivably what made this new narrative rehabilitative. Because the narrative is prosocial, it would be inconsistent with an offending lifestyle and therefore lead to cognitive dissonance. Maruna (2004) stated that these new narratives do not even need to be objectively true to be effective. He said that they may serve as "positive illusions" that are supportive of the offender efforts to maintain long-term desistance from crime. This is because desistance of offending may be a way to reduce the individual's cognitive dissonance between the new prosocial narrative and an offending lifestyle.

The findings of this study along with literature suggests that for a new narrative to be desistance supportive, it needs to possess at least some or all of these characteristics. It needs to be redemptive, prosocial, believed by the individual and create a cognitive dissonance between itself and an offending lifestyle.

Reflections
Research Design and Process

A qualitative ethnographic case study approach was used in this study. This involved a variety of data collection methods including interviews, observations, testimonial data analysis and a focus group. The case study methods of interviews, the focus group and the testimonial data analysis

78

were used to gather formal and overt data on the agency, its practices and the experiences of the probation-volunteers, while the ethnographic methods of observations and walk-along interviews were used to gather informal and covert information.

During the ethnographic portion of data collection, the researcher's goal was to become an integral part of the agency. This meant helping with tasks within the agency setting. Although this was initially a difficult task, as data collection continued and the researcher spent more time at the agency this became easier. As a somewhat integrated part of the agency the researcher went through a similar orientation process as that of new volunteers and probation-volunteers. This gave the researcher some insight into the orientation and integration process the probation-volunteers go through.

In contrast, during the case study portion of data collection, the researcher took on a more removed role. This is because during one on one interviews and the focus group, the researcher took on a more traditional role *of a researcher*. The interactions between the researcher and the participants during this time were more formalized than during ethnographic data collection.

The shifts between the two data collection modes was occasionally an awkward transition. Particularly because the two approaches sometimes occurred within short time periods, with in-depth interviews happening between observations on the same day. This meant the researcher had to

switch between the researcher role and the integrated observer role frequently. This was sometimes an awkward transition because the researcher shifted between being an active member of the agency during observations to being a somewhat removed *researcher* during interviews. If the research was to be replicated it would be beneficial to phase the two approaches; complete with the more formal case study methods and then proceed to the more informal ethnographic methods. This would avoid the need to so frequently switch between the two roles.

The data analysis process was helped greatly by using hierarchy graphs adapted from Attride-Stirling (2001) and displayed in figure 1 and figure 2. These made it possible to map out themes as they emerged from the data. It also allowed the analysis to cut across the various data collection methods in a cohesive way. Data analysis was a time consuming process because it involved constant refining of themes to find the central theme, organising theme and basic themes from the data.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is that it is not possible to tell if the sample of participants are truly desisters. Although none of the participants self-reported re-offending, this is an inaccurate measure of desistance. If this study was to be replicated, making use of re-offending data from the Department of Corrections would be beneficial.

Despite not having an accurate measure of desistance, this study could make some assumptions about certain participant's desistance status.

The research sample included former probation-volunteers, some of whom were in full-time employment which they found meaningful. Other former probation-volunteers maintained contact with the agency by actually volunteering. This suggests that they had taken to their new identity as 'volunteer'. In the testimonial data, many probation-volunteers offered that they would be motivated to maintain their role as volunteers after they had completed their community service hours. This information does suggest that for the former probation-volunteers who had maintained contact with the agency, they had desisted or at the least were experiencing a lull in their offending.

Implications

The Community Work sentence's rehabilitative potential can be enriched by incorporating rehabilitative practices. This study found that narrative principles may also have an enriching effect on the Community Work sentence. This agency has created a change conducive environment for individuals on Community Work sentences by incorporating various features. A key feature is making the individual's status as an offender invisible to an extent. It is this invisibility that underpins the agency's other rehabilitative practices. The probation-volunteers are treated like volunteers by staff, non-probation volunteers and the public due to this invisibility.

This allows them to engage with the charitable work of the agency without having to manage the stigma of being seen as an offender. This is perhaps what elicits the shift in mind-set as well as a change in their self-narrative. Through simply making the offender status invisible, the agency

was able to elicit rehabilitative change from probation-volunteers. The agency also provides the probation-volunteers with an alternative identity which carry a prosocial redemptive self-narrative that is prosocial, internalized by the probation-volunteers and one that creates a cognitive dissonance between the new identity and an offending lifestyle.

The key implication of this study's findings is that even though this is a low intensity intervention centred on the anonymizing offender status it produced desistance supportive self-narratives in probation-volunteers. Although further research on this intervention is necessary, this study's findings are promising. Further research on this rehabilitative practice exploring other community work agencies would provide a more robust understanding of the mechanisms of the intervention. It would be beneficial to explore what anonymizing offender status entails in other agencies and find underlying common themes.

Another suggestion for future research would be to pair an ethnographic case study of an agency with the Department of Corrections re-offending data on probation-volunteers. This would be to explore if probation-volunteers were true desisters or experienced lulls in offending behaviour after completing their sanctioned hours. If probation-volunteers did reoffend after their time at an agency, the Department of Corrections data could indicate whether the seriousness of the offence type changed for the better or worse. This is also important as it may suggest that the intervention is still rehabilitative by reducing the seriousness of re-offence even if it does not produce desistance.

This study found that anonymising offender status is a rehabilitative practice that can, when applied to a community service agency, lead to the onset or maintenance of desistance. This is due to the fact that it produces a change conducive environment within which the offender can develop a positive self-narrative and therefore take on a prosocial identity.

References

Allen, F. A. (1959). Criminal justice, legal values and the rehabilitative ideal. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 226-232.

Amit, V. (2003). *Constructing the field: Ethnographic fieldwork in the contemporary world*: Routledge.

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct*: Routledge.

Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (Eds.). (2000). *The level of service inventory-revised*: Multi-Health Systems.

Andrews, D. A., Bonta, J., & Hoge, R. (1990). Classification for effective rehabilitation: Rediscovering psychology. *Criminal justice and Behavior*

Andrews, D. A., & Kiessling, J. (1980). Program structure and effective correctional practices: A summary of the CaVIC research. *Effective correctional treatment*, 439-463.

Andrews, M., Squire, C., & Tamboukou, M. (2013). *Doing narrative research*: Sage.

Appleton, C. (2010). *Life after life imprisonment*: Oxford University Press.

Asher, B., & O'Neill, R. (1990). *Community Involvement with Offenders: A Discussion Paper*: Policy and Research Division, Department of Justice.

Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative research, 1*(3), 385-405.

Barry, M. (2000). The mentor/monitor debate in criminal justice:'what works' for offenders. *British Journal of Social Work, 30*(5), 575-595.

Bernard, T. (2016). Criminal justice. In, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (

Bevan, M. (2015). Desistance from crime: A review of the literature. *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal, 3*(1)

Bielefeld, W., & Cleveland, W. S. (2013). Defining faith-based organizations and understanding them through research. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 0899764013484090.

Bottoms, A. E., Shapland, J., Costello, A., Holmes, D., & Muir, G. (2004). Towards desistance: Theoretical underpinnings for an empirical study. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(4), 368-389.

Britt, E., Blampied, N. M., & Hudson, S. M. (2003). Motivational interviewing: A review. *Australian Psychologist, 38*(3), 193-201.

Brooks, T. (2014). Beyond retribution. *Think, 13*(38), 47-50.

Budd, T., Sharp, C., & Mayhew, P. (2005). *Offending in England and Wales: first results from the 2003 Crime and Justice Survey*: Citeseer.

Calverley, A. (2012). *Cultures of desistance: Rehabilitation, reintegration and ethnic minorities* (Vol. 3): Routledge.

Carlsmith, K. M., Darley, J. M., & Robinson, P. H. (2002). Why do we punish?: Deterrence and just deserts as motives for punishment. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 83*(2), 284.

Carpiano, R. M. (2009). Come take a walk with me: The "Go-Along" interview as a novel method for studying the implications of place for health and well-being. *Health & Place, 15*(1), 263-272.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*: Sage.

Clancey, W. J. (2006). Observation of work practices in natural settings. *The Cambridge handbook of expertise and expert performance*, 127-145.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*: Sage publications.

Daly, K. (2002). Restorative justice The real story. *Punishment & Society, 4*(1), 55-79.

Department of Corrections. (2001). *About time: Turning people away from a life of crime*

and reducing re-offending. Wellington: Retrieved from http://corrections.govt.nz/objects/ps/33/633.url.pdf.

Department of Corrections. (2014). *Annual Report 2013/14*. Wellington. Retrieved from http://www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/767923/Corrections_Annual_Report_2013-14_Full.pdf

Draper, A. (2002). An Introduction to Jeremy Bentham's Theory of Punishment. *Journal of Bentham Studies, 5*, 1-17.

Farrall, S. (2002). Rethinking what works with offenders. *Probation, social context and desistance from crime*

Farrall, S., & Maruna, S. (2004). Desistance-Focused Criminal Justice Policy Research: Introduction to a Special Issue on Desistance from Crime and Public Policy. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(4), 358-367.

Farrington, D. P. (1992). Criminal career research in the United Kingdom. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 521-536.

Ferris, E. (2005). Faith-based and secular humanitarian organizations. *International Review of the Red Cross, 87*(858), 311-325.

Finlay, L. (2012). Debating phenomenological methods *Hermeneutic phenomenology in education* (pp. 17-37): Springer.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*: Vintage.

Gangrade, K. (2005). *Gandhian approach to development and social work*: Concept Publishing Company.

Giordano, P. C., Cernkovich, S. A., & Holland, D. D. (2003). Changes in Friendship Relations over the Life Course: Implications for Desistance from Crime. *Criminology, 41*(2), 293-328.

Harris, R. J., & Lo, T. W. (2002). Community service: Its use in criminal justice. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 46*(4), 427-444.

Healy, D. (2010). *The Dynamics of Desistance: Charting pathways through change*: Willan Publishing.

Hollin, C. R. (2001). *Handbook of offender assessment and treatment*: Wiley.

Iser, W. (1972). The reading process: A phenomenological approach. *New literary history, 3*(2), 279-299.

King, S. (2013). Early desistance narratives: A qualitative analysis of probationers' transitions towards desistance. *Punishment & Society, 15*(2), 147-165.

Laub, J. H., & Sampson, R. J. (2001). Understanding desistance from crime. *Crime and justice*, 1-69.

LeBlanc, M., & Loeber, R. (1993). Precursors, causes and the development of criminal offending. *Precursors and causes in development and psychopathology*, 233-263.

Leibrich, J., Galaway, B., & Underhill, Y. (1986). Community service sentencing in New Zealand: A survey of users. *Fed. Probation, 50*, 55.

Lester, D., & Van Voorhis, P. (1997). Cognitive therapies. *Correctional Counseling and Rehabilitation. Cincinnati: Anderson Pub*

Lewis, H. (2015). Embracing a Deweyan Approach to Punishment. *Res Cogitans, 6*(1), 102-109.

Lovins, L. B., Lowenkamp, C. T., Latessa, E. J., & Smith, P. (2007). Application of the risk principle to female offenders. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 23*(4), 383-398.

MacDonald, R., Webster, C., Shildrick, T., & Simpson, M. (2010). Paths of exclusion, inclusion and desistance. *Escape Routes: Contemporary Perspectives on Life after Punishment*, 134.

Mandery, E. (2011). *Capital Punishment in America: A Balanced Examination*: Jones & Bartlett Publishers.

Maruna, S. (1997). Going straight: Desistance from crime and life narratives of reform.

Maruna, S. (2001). *Making good: How ex-convicts reform and rebuild their lives*: American Psychological Association.

Maruna, S. (2004). Desistance from Crime and Explanatory Style A New Direction in the Psychology of Reform. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 20*(2), 184-200.

May, T. (2011). *Social research: Issues, methods and process*: McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

McCulloch, T. (2010). Realising Potential: Community service, pro-social modelling and desistance. *European Journal of Probation, 2*(2), 3-22.

McGagh, M. (2007). *Community Service: An exploration of the views of Community Service Supervisors in the Irish Probation Service*. National University of Ireland, Dublin.

McIvor, G. (1992). Sentenced to serve. *Aldershot: Avebury*

Ministry of Justice. (1999). *Review of community-based sentences in New Zealand*. Retrieved from http://www.justice.govt.nz/publications/publications-archived/1999/review-of-community-based-sentences-in-new-zealand/comminuty-based-sentences-in-new-zealand#Community%20service.

Mizock, L., Harkins, D., & Morant, R. (2011). Researcher interjecting in qualitative race research *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (

Mulvey, E. P., Steinberg, L., Fagan, J., Cauffman, E., Piquero, A. R., Chassin, L., . . . Hecker, T. (2004). Theory and research on desistance from antisocial activity among serious adolescent offenders. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 2*(3), 213-236.

Murray, C., McIvor, G., Jamieson, J., & Scottish Office, E. C. R. U. (1999). *Understanding offending among young people*

O'Donnell, T. N. (1971). Character Evidence and the Juvenile Record. *Clev. St. L. Rev., 20*, 86.

Pratt, J., & Clark, M. (2005). Penal populism in New Zealand. *Punishment & Society, 7*(3), 303-322.

Prior, L. (2008). Repositioning documents in social research. *Sociology, 42*(5), 821-836.

Prochaska, J. O., DiClemente, C. C., & Norcross, J. C. (1992). In search of how people change: applications to addictive behaviors. *American psychologist, 47*(9), 1102.

Prochaska, J. O., & Velicer, W. F. (1997). The transtheoretical model of health behavior change. *American journal of health promotion, 12*(1), 38-48.

Rabiee, F. (2004). Focus-group interview and data analysis. *Proceedings of the nutrition society, 63*(04), 655-660.

Raynor, P. (2007). Risk and need assessment in British probation: The contribution of LSI-R. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 13*(2), 125-138.

Raynor, P., & Robinson, G. (2005). Rehabilitation, crime and justice.

Raynor, P., & Robinson, G. (2009). Why help offenders? Arguments for rehabilitation as a penal strategy. *European Journal of Probation, 1*(1), 3-20.

Ross, E. C., Polaschek, D. L., & Ward, T. (2008). The therapeutic alliance: A theoretical revision for offender rehabilitation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 13*(6), 462-480.

Schofield, P. (2010). Jeremy Bentham and HLA Hart's 'Utilitarian Tradition in Jurisprudence'. *Jurisprudence, 1*(2), 147-167.

Stall, R., & Biernacki, P. (1986). Spontaneous remission from the problematic use of substances: An inductive model derived from a comparative analysis of the alcohol, opiate, tobacco, and food/obesity literatures. *International Journal of the Addictions, 21*(1), 1-23.

Statistics New Zealand. (2015). *Adults convicted in court by sentence type - most serious offence fiscal year*. Retrieved from http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE7373.

Statistics New Zealand. (2016). *New Zealand in the OECD*. wellington: Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/government_finance/central_government/nz-in-the-oecd/justice.aspx#.

Takala, J.-P. (2007). Spontaneous desistance from crime. *Promoting Self-Change from Addictive Behaviors: Practical Implications for Policy, Prevention, and Treatment. New York: Springer*, 127-137.

Trasler, G. (1979). Delinquency, recidivism and desistance. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 314-322.

Uggen, C., & Piliavin, I. (1998). Asymmetrical causation and criminal desistance. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1399-1422.

Ward, T., & Brown, M. (2004). The good lives model and conceptual issues in offender rehabilitation. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 10*(3), 243-257.

Ward, T., & Marshall, W. (2004). Good lives, aetiology and the rehabilitation of sex offenders: A bridging theory. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 10*(2), 153-169.

Ward, T., & Maruna, S. (2007). *Rehabilitation*: Taylor & Francis.

Weitekamp, E. G., & Kerner, H.-J. (1994). Epilogue: Workshop and plenary discussions, and future directions *Cross-national longitudinal research on human development and criminal behavior* (pp. 439-449): Springer.

Whitehead, T. L. (2005). Basic classical ethnographic research methods. *Ethnographically Informed community and cultural assessment research systems*

Wright, J. P., & Cullen, F. T. (2004). Employment, peers, and life-course transitions. *Justice Quarterly, 21*(1), 183-205.

Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*: Sage publications.

APPENDICIES

Appendix One: Observation and walk-along interview Verbal Consent Script

Verbal Consent Script

"Hey, I'm Sali. I'm doing the Invisible rehabilitation Study. Are you happy to have a quick chat, I'm just going to ask a couple questions about your experience at [Agency Name]. Here's an explanation of my research [offer or point to participant information sheets]. If you are happy to take part in my study we can get started......"

This will be adjusted according to the situation but this is the basis of how verbal consent will be obtained.

Ψ **School of Psychology**

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wananga o Waikato

Appendix 1
CONSENT FORM

Research Project: Invisible Rehabilitation: An Exploration of Rehabilitative Practices within Community work Agencies.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick (✓) the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
1. I have read the Participant Information Sheet (or it has been read to me) and I understand it.		
2. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not to participate in this study		
3. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet		
4. I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study up to 30 days after participation.		
5. I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me personally, will be used in any reports on this study. Limits of anonymity have been explained to me.		
6. I have the right to decline to participate in any part of the research activity		
7. I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general.		
8. I consent to this interview/ focus group being audio recorded.		
I wish to receive a summary copy of the findings (if yes, fill in additional information)		
I wish to view the summary report of my interview (if yes, fill in additional information)		

Declaration by participant:
I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee (Associate Professor John Perrone, Tel: 07 838 4466 ext 8292, email: jpnz@waikato.ac.nz)

Participant's name (Please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Declaration by member of research team:
I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it. I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate. Physical

Researcher's name : NASALIFYA NAMWINGA

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Contact Information :
Nasalifya Namwinga (Sali) (Researcher) : Tel : 0211426716, email : nasalifya@msn.com
Neville Robertson and Armon Tamatea (Supervisors) : Email : scopio@waikato.ac.nz and tamatea@waikato.ac.nz
Additional Information :
Address :
(Details to send Summary of findings/ interview Email or Physical address acceptable)

SUPERVISORS WANTED
TO TAKE PART IN A FOCUS GROUP

Invisible Rehabilitation Research Project:
This research project is a case study of an agency with whom offenders serve community work sentences. Its aim is to investigate the practices, experiences and attitudes of the agency and supervisors and through that explore any rehabilitative processes engaged in.

Participation:
An hour long focus group will be held between the 20th Nov 2014 and the 27th Nov 2014, 10am or 4pm. Dates and times depend on participant availability.

Light nibbles will be provided.

Thank you [Agency] management and staff for allowing me do my research here

This research project has been approved by the School of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee (Associate Professor John Perrone, phone: 838 4466 ext.8292, e-mail jpnz@waikato.ac.nz).

Come and share your Knowledge, Experiences, and opinions.

For more information contact:

NASALIFYA NAMWINGA (SALI)
Phone: 021 142 6 716

Appendix 2

INVISIBLE REHABILITATION: AN EXPLORATION OF REHABILITATIVE PRACTICES WITHIN COMMUNITY WORK AGENCIES.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Please read the participation information carefully and contact the researcher if you have any queries or questions.

About the Research

This research project is a case study of an agency with whom offenders serve community work sentences. Its aim is to investigate the practices, experiences and attitudes of the agency and its staff. Through conducting observations, focus groups and interviews the study hopes to explore any rehabilitative processes engaged in.

The research is being conducted to fulfill the requirements of a masters in applied psychology.

Participation

- There are three research participant groups, interviews, a focus group and informal interviews (observation Group).
- Participating in this research is voluntary, there is no consequence if you choose not take part.
- You are free to withdraw from the study at any time during the interview or focus group.
- Your participation has no impact on you serving your sentence/ employment with the agency.
- A brief summary of your responses is available on request within 14 days focus group/ interview.
- You have 30 days after the interview/ focus group to change your responses or withdraw from the study.
- All participant identifying information will be anonymised, unless otherwise agreed. It is possible that people who know you well or are familiar with the setting may be able to recognise you.

About the Researcher

My name is Nasalifya Namwinga (a.k.a Sali). I'm a clinical psychology student completing my masters in community psychology. Originally from Zambia, Africa. I moved to Hamilton, New Zealand in 2006 with my parents and two younger brothers.

THANK YOU [AGENCY] MANAGEMENT AND STAFF FOR LETTING ME DO MY RESEARCH HERE.

This research project has been approved by the School of Psychology Research and Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee (Associate Professor John Perrone, phone: 838 4466 ext.8292, e-mail jpnz@waikato.ac.nz).

Contact Information:

Sali (researcher)

Email: nasalifya@msn.com
Phone: 0211426716

Neville Robertson (Supervisor)
Email: scopio@waikato.ac.nz
Armon Tamatea (Supervisor)
Email: tamatea@waikato.ac.nz

General:

1. What is your role as a supervisor?

2. Do you have other roles?

3. What does your job involve?

4. Did you receive any training for the supervision role?

5. What are things that hinder you doing your job?

6. What are some things that help?

What?

1. What is your approach to supervising volunteers?

2. What do you do differently for Probation-volunteers?

3. What roles/ jobs are assigned to Probation-volunteers?

4. What do these involve?

5. What opportunities or experiences does the agency offer PV's?

Aim?

1. What do you see as the aim of CS?

2. What is the rehabilitation in that aim?

3. Do you think you help PV's rehabilitate?

4. If so, in what ways?

5. What do PV's learn from CS?

Relationship?

1. How are PV's received or viewed by agency staff and other volunteers?

2. Does that have an impact on them?

3. How do you develop a working relationship with PV's?

4. How do you think they view you?

5. Are PV's ever assisted or encouraged to gain some training after completing their hours?

Experiences?

1. Can you share a story of a PV that did not do well with the agency..

2. What do you think caused that and what would you do differently now?

3. Share an experience with a PV's that you feel left the agency rehabilitated. Success Story.

4. What do you think lead to them making the change?

Interview Schedule

Introduction

My research is on how The agency provides experiences or opportunities for those on Community Service to finish their hours better equipped to not offend.

I am interviewing a variety of people here, including staff and volunteers to find out from their perspectives what these experiences and opportunities may be. I am also interested in anything else they think could also help equip community service volunteers.

Karakia /Pepeha/ Recording/ Any Questions?

Interview

General:

1. What is your role here?

2. What does your job involve?

3. How long have you been with the agency?

4. What in your opinion are the strengths of the agency?

5. What could they do differently?

What?

1. What experiences or opportunities does The agency provide for volunteers?
2. What do those activities involve?

How?

1. How are these received by volunteers?
2. How often do these opportunities occur?

Experiences:

1. Do you have any examples of how Community Service Volunteers have been equipped?
2. What are they? How did it happen? Why do you think that was equipping?

Why?

1. How would engaging in [activity] helped equip CS volunteers?
2. What do you think is needed in an agency to equip Community Service Volunteers?
3. How much of that does The agency provide?

Attitudes:

4. How are CS volunteers received at the agency?
5. What is the attitude toward them from staff and other volunteers?

6. Why do you think that is?

7. How does that impact on CS volunteers?