Reintegration of Child Sex Offenders in New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

Reintegration of child sex offenders following incarceration is most successful if matched to the needs of offenders, victims and the community, whilst minimising risk of recidivism and developing offenders into prosocial citizens (Austin, 2001). This study explored child sex offenders' expectations for and experiences of reintegration into the community. A longitudinal design was used in which semi-structured interviews covering issues identified in the literature as being related to reintegration. Nine offenders were interviewed within one week prior to release from prison, 3 months post-release and 6 months post-release. Interviews were analysed using thematic analysis. Seven themes emerged that identified child sex offenders' expectations for release that included fear of community members' reactions, the importance of having pre-arranged accommodation and employment, social support, relationships with probation officers, maintaining optimism for a new way of life, and the place of cultural needs. Participants' expectations for release closely reflected their experiences of release. Negative community reactions were encountered and were stressful, there were problems finding accommodation and employment, social support was important, relationships with probation officers were problematic, as was building a new life, and there were issues concerning accountability to one's cultural group. This data confirmed that most child sex offenders' fear their release from prison into the community and once released struggle to live in society. Overall reintegration planning was simplistic and aimed primarily to manage risk factors rather than promote positive reintegration. Those offenders who were most successful on release, tended to have more comprehensive reintegration plans which enabled them to visualise what life would be like after release, consequently increasing their optimism that they could live successfully in the community. Recommendations are made to enhance current reintegration.

To my mother.

"A goal without a plan is just a wish"

Larry Elder

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The sexual abuse of our youngest and weakest members of society, our children, is often considered the most horrific and socially taboo criminal offence (Ward, Polaschek & Beech, 2006). As a result, judicial, political and community bodies demand a tough on crime approach where child sex offenders are often sentenced to finite terms of imprisonment. However, unless an offender dies in prison, the majority of offenders will eventually be released. Within the socio-political context where sexual offenders are despised and will eventually be released, there is limited research on how child sex offenders reintegrate into the community.

My interest in the topic of child sex offender reintegration arose from my experience as a Probation Officer for the New Zealand Department of Corrections. In my job I was required to perform three main tasks. Firstly to write specialist pre-sentence reports on offenders (including child sex offenders) in order to identify reintegrative needs and guide the court with sentencing recommendations. Secondly, I was required to write emotional harm or reparation reports for the court to document as reported by the victims; the magnitude of consequences caused by offending. Thirdly, I was required to write pre-release reports on offenders (including child sex offenders) that were being considered for release by the New Zealand Parole Board. In this last task I was to evaluate the suitability of proposed release plans (i.e., accommodation, employment, social support, victim access, cultural issues etc.) and provide evidence to support release with related conditions of parole, or decline release based on the unsuitability of proposed arrangements and perceived risk.

As a consequence of these three tasks within my job, I began to grasp the complexity of serving justice and preventing future offending, while balancing the interests of all parties. I quickly began to realise the significant consequences of unsuccessful reintegration and therefore the importance in identifying what does and does not work in reintegration, particularly for specific groups of offenders such as child sex offenders who, perhaps, face some of the greatest reintegration issues of all offenders.

It is thought that re-entry of child sex offenders into society is most successful if it is a holistic process, in which reintegrative initiatives match the needs of offenders, victims and the community, minimising the risk of recidivism and developing offenders into prosocial citizens (Austin, 2001). However, reintegration initiatives worldwide are often considered to

lack the proper planning and coordination to be effective (Swain, 2004). Commonly offenders return to live in communities in which they are despised and isolated with limited or no support, restricted in their job prospects and accommodation arrangements, which ultimately hinders long-term treatment generalisation and true reintegration (Graffam, Shinkfield, Lavelle & McPherson, 2004). Therefore, it is often too difficult for offenders to adapt to a new lifestyle and become a productive member of society. It seems that we lack the knowledge to conceptualise reintegration for what it is; a long term process of lifestyle change (Ward, 2002a) that cannot be simply managed according to narrow risk assessment and measured by the presence or absence of recidivism (Ward, 2002b).

Unlike other research that has focused on general offenders and the management of risk, the current study attempts to understand reintegration from the perspective of child sex offenders by talking to child sex offenders about their expectations and experiences of reintegration into the community after release from prison. Information about the factors that hindered and helped child sex offenders reintegrate can then be used to develop a more thorough and needs based approach to reintegration.

Chapter One presents a review of the literature focused on adult males convicted of sexually offending against children. However, due to lack of published research on the reintegration of child sex offenders, there is inclusion of literature on the reintegration of offenders in general. The review is presented in six sections; first, a background to the area of child sexual offending including the definition of child sexual abuse, the incidence and prevalence of child sexual offending, and the associated impact of child sexual abuse for victims and the wider community. In the second section the characteristics of perpetrators will be discussed, including current aetiological theories that attempt to explain the pathways to child sexual offending, and treatment theories for child sex offending from three dominant theoretical models. In the third section, justice responses to crime will be outlined including a discussion of the specific strategies used post-sentence to manage the risk of child sex offenders released from prison, and how these may help or hinder the process of reintegration. In the fourth section reintegrative theory is outlined with an emphasis on empirical understandings of barriers and protective factors of reintegration. In the fifth section the response to child sex offending in New Zealand is outlined in terms of the legal framework, treatment approaches, and reintegration process. Finally, a summary of the literature is presented, followed by an outline of the present research.

Definitions, Prevalence and Impact of Child Sexual Abuse

What is child sexual abuse?

It is important to define the term child sexual abuse (CSA) prior to reviewing the literature in order to clarify and provide a contextual basis for the subject matter. While there is no authoritative definition, CSA occurs when the "dominant position of an adult allows him or her to force or coerce a child into sexual activity" (American Psychological Association, 2001). Within the New Zealand Crimes Act 1961 and Crimes Amendment Act 2005 there is no statutory definition of child sexual abuse, however there are a range of sexual offences involving minors. CSA can range from rubbing up against others (frottage); fondling and sexual molestation of a child's genitals; buttocks or breasts; masturbation; oral-genital contact; digital or object penetration; vaginal and anal intercourse (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004). However, CSA is not limited to physical contact and can include obscene phone calls or sexual threats, sexual exposure of genitalia, theft of clothing for sexual gratification, voyeurism (observing others without their knowledge or permission for the purposes of sexual gratification) and child pornography (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon).

Prevalence

Research on the prevalence of CSA has indicated that CSA is not uncommon (Alikasifoglu et al., 2006; Chen, Dunne & Han, 2004; Crisma, Bascelli, Paci, & Romito, 2004; Finkelhor, 1994a; Helweg-Larsen & Larsen, 2005; McCrann, Lalor & Katabaro, 2006; Neame & Heenan, 2003; Nhundu & Shumba, 2001; Sas, Wolfe & Gowdey, 1996). Across the international literature prevalence studies consistently report that approximately one in four girls and one in seven boys are victims of CSA (Briere & Elliot, 2003; Goldman & Padayachi, 1997; Romero, Wyatt, Loeb, Carmona & Solis, 1999; Vogeltanz et al., 1999). Finkelhor's (1994b) review of large sample population–based studies in 19 countries found the estimated prevalence of CSA ranged from 7% to 36% for females and 3% to 29% for males.

New Zealand prevalence figures reflect statistics reported internationally, such as Anderson, Martin, Mullen, Romans and Herbison's (1993) study which found that one in three girls were sexually assaulted during childhood (before age of 16), including 14% of victims were abused more than ten times (including non-genital contact, genital contact, attempted and completed intercourse). Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle and Perese's (2007) recent retrospective study of New Zealand women, despite being plagued with

methodological flaws, yet again indicated the pervasive nature of CSA showing that between 23.5% and 28.2% reported having been sexually touched, or made to do something sexual that they did not want to do prior to the age of 15.

Moreover, longitudinal research by Fergusson, Horwood and Lynskey (1996) and Fergusson, Horwood and Woodward (2000) highlights the instability in the reported incidence of CSA, in that if a sample is given only a single opportunity to disclose CSA the true prevalence of CSA may be substantially underestimated. The birth cohort included in their longitudinal study comprised 1019 at age 18 and 983 at age 21 New Zealanders. At age 18, 13.9% of girls and 2.7% of boys reported experiencing CSA before the age of 16, however (from the reduced sample) at age 21, 17.3% of girls and 3.4% of boys reported experiencing CSA before the age of 16. Thus CSA statistics are generally considered to be conservative estimates due to the secretive nature of CSA and victims' reluctance to disclose abuse (Anderson et al., 1993; Briere & Conte, 1993; Browne & Finkelhor, 1986; Finkelhor, 1994b).

Variability in prevalence estimates can in part be attributed to differing research methodology such as inconsistent definitions of sexual abuse, failure to define the nature or severity of incidents classified as abusive by victims, the inconsistent criterion used to determine if abuse has occurred according to the age difference between the victim and perpetrator, type of sample used (i.e., clinical versus non-clinical), and the method used (i.e., self-report versus structured interview) to evoke disclosure of CSA (Finkelhor, 1994a; Johnson et al., 2006; Putnam, 2003).

Despite these difficulties that appear to produce some variability in CSA prevalence figures, research continues to highlight the pervasive nature of CSA, with approximately one in four girls and one in seven boys experiencing CSA (Briere & Elliot, 2003). However, there is reason to suggest that the rate of CSA may be decreasing. Jones and Finkelhor's (2001) review of data from child protective services in the United States of America suggests that since the early 1990s the incidence of CSA has declined in that country at least. Finkelhor and Jones (2004) suggest that such a statistic may be the result of a number of factors including; increased awareness among the public and professional community and subsequent practices that may have influenced the ease at which victims feel prepared to disclose, and improved detection and judicial response to offending that cause many potential or repeat offenders to be deterred by the prospect of prison sentences.

Impact

To understand the impact of CSA it is necessary to describe the typical process of CSA. In addition to the physical contact that can occur as part of CSA, perpetrators typically employ a 'grooming' type process prior to abuse to befriend and allure the child in order to obtain their trust and manipulate them into sexual activity (Berliner & Conte, 1991; Conte, Wolfe & Smith, 1989; Lang & Frenzel, 1988). Berliner and Conte (1991) emphasize how victims are often selected by offenders who recognise them to be vulnerable targets and their needs for closeness or intimacy are exploited in order to establish a "safe relationship". Consequently, the child is then easily conditioned, and coerced into sexual contact.

Commonly, perpetration of CSA occurs in secrecy within relationships of trust (Berliner & Conte, 1991). It is estimated that approximately 75-85% of perpetrators of sexual abuse are family members or are known to the child (Finkelhor, 1994b; Green, 1993; Kendall-Tackett & Simon, 1987; Lamb, 1994; McKenzie, 2004; Peleikis, Mykletun, & Dahl, 2004). Lang and Frenzel (1988) suggest that victims of incestuous sexual abuse are often dependent on the perpetrator and sexual abuse is misconstrued to be a sign of love or privileged attention. Similarly, CSA has also been reported to occur within children's interactions with non-family adults in professions (e.g., teachers, priests, doctors, sports coaches) that allow adults to have specific authority or influence over children (Finkelhor, 2003; Langevin, Curnoe & Bain, 2000).

CSA has a diverse range of short- and long-term psychological, behavioural and social consequences for victims (Kendall-Tackett, Williams & Finkelhor, 1993). There appears to be no specific symptom manifestation or associated sexual abuse syndrome, and instead effects can vary from no apparent symptomology to profound psychological difficulties (Finkelhor & Berliner, 1995; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993; Putnam, 2003). CSA effects that impact on children are typically classified into short or long-term effects, however such effects tend to be developmental and age specific (Black, Heyman & Slep, 2001; Kendall-Tackett et al.). Moreover, symptoms typically associated with CSA cannot be understood independently of the child's environment, as such symptoms cannot always be solely attributed to the trauma of CSA and instead may be a more global consequence of CSA compounded by living in a dysfunctional or maltreating family environment (Finkelhor, Ormrod & Turner, 2007).

A review by Kendall-Tackett et al. (1993) documents a number of age-specific symptoms experienced by victims, with pre-school children more frequently experiencing anxiety, nightmares, clinical PTSD cluster symptoms, internalizing and externalizing

behaviours, as well as inappropriate sexualized behaviour. Older school-aged children were found instead to experience fear, manifest clinical mental illness, aggression, nightmares, academic problems, hyperactivity, and regressive behaviours. Adolescents were reported as more likely to experience withdrawal, depression, suicidality and self-harming behaviour, somatic problems, delinquent behaviour and substance abuse. Similarily a meta-analysis by Paolucci, Genuis and Violato's (2001) which reviewed 88 samples is consistent with Kendall-Tackett et al.'s findings that CSA victims typically experience more negative symptomology in the short-term than non-abused children.

While some studies report that 40% to 50% of victims show few or no symptoms at all (Finkelhor & Berliner, 1995; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993), it has been suggested that some asymptomatic children may instead experience a delayed onset of symptoms whereby their general psychological wellbeing gradually deteriorates over time (Finkelhor & Berliner, 1995; Gomes-Schwartz, Horowitz, Carcharelli & Sauzier, 1990; Hewitt & Friedrich, 1991; Mannarino, Cohen, Smith & Moore-Motily, 1991). Conversely, the impact of CSA in adulthood may simply be a continuation of symptoms from childhood.

Prevalence statistics for psychiatric populations suggest a higher incidence of CSA than the general population with studies reporting that between 24% to 40% of male psychiatric inpatients and outpatients were victims of CSA (Bagley & Ramsey, 1985; Carmen, Reiker & Mills, 1984; Hutchings & Dutton, 1993; Jacobson & Herald, 1990; Morris & Bihan, 1991). Gender comparison studies indicate a higher incidence in females, with research reviewed by Ainscough and Toon (1996) reporting that 50% of female and 23% of male psychiatric patients have experienced CSA. A review by Jumper (1995) supports the relationship between CSA and long term psychological difficulties, reporting that experiencing CSA accounts for 7% of the variance in adult victim psychological symptomology, 5% of the variance in the level of depression experienced by adult victims, and 3% of the variance in the degree of self-esteem problems experienced by adult victims.

Prevalence figures of victimization reported in criminal offender populations are significantly higher than that of the general population (Johnson et al., 2006; McCormack, Rokous, Hazelwood & Burgess, 1992; Rubinstein, Yeager, Goodstein & Lewis; 1993; Worling, 1995). A meta-analysis of 166 studies conducted by Holmes and Slap (1998) concluded that 22% to 33% of non-sex offenders (e.g., burglary, auto theft, or other non-drug felony arrests) were victims of CSA, and 41% to 43% of sex offenders reported suffering CSA.

Variation in the effects of CSA tends to be mediated by a number of factors associated with the nature, context and severity of the sexual abuse. Severe psychological difficulties tend to occur more often when the child is in a close or dependent relationship with the perpetrator as is common in intrafamilial abuse (Conte & Schuerman, 1987; Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). Unsurprisingly, severe or violent (i.e., using force or threats) abuse that involves penetration (oral, anal or vagina) (Friedrich, Whiteside & Talley, 2004), and abuse that occurs at a high frequency or over a long duration is also associated with more adverse outcomes (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). In addition, victims who have feelings of shame or feel that they are to blame for the abuse tend to experience more severe trauma-related symptomology (Barker-Collo, 2001; Coffey, Leitenberg, Henning, Turner & Bennet, 1996). More positively, family contextual factors such as having maternal support or another supportive caregiver tend to mitigate the severity of CSA symptoms (Gries et al., 2000; Jonzon & Lindblad, 2005; Plummer, 2006).

There is little doubt CSA causes the most serious effects for the primary child victim, however, it may also have impact on the wider community in often unpredictable ways (Finkelhor & Kendall-Tackett, 1997). Victimisation of an individual is often interpreted by the group as a threat to the cohesiveness of the community and is considered a serious group norm violation (Finkelhor & Kendall-Tackett). CSA can result in strong group reactions including alienation of the victim and/or offender, disintegration of social structures, as well as religious, political and social protest (Finkelhor & Kendall-Tackett).

Characteristics of Offenders and Their Treatment

Child sex offenders

Perpetrators of child sexual abuse are typically male (Anderson et al., 1993; Fergusson et al., 1996), however, less commonly (4-10%) women also perpetrate abuse (Becker, Hall, & Stinson, 2001). Studies suggest that male offenders perpetrate 98% of CSA against female children and 83% of CSA against male children (Finkelhor, 1994a). However, Heatherton and Beardsall (1998) highlight how the figures regarding offender gender may be distorted in light of a possible gender bias in reporting due to societal views that abuse by female perpetrators is uncommon and less likely to lead to negative outcomes for victims compared to male perpetrated abuse.

Child sex offenders are often considered a heterozygous group in terms of their demographic profile on variables such as age, family background, cognitive functioning,

occupation, socio-economic status, marital status and ethic group (Becker, 1994; Fergusson et al., 1996). However, in comparison to other offenders, some studies have suggested that child sex offenders are more likely to have been victims of CSA (Holmes & Slap, 1998), be employed, been married, to be of European descent and older than 30 years at time of conviction (Cullen, Smith, Funk & Haaf, 2000). However, the incarcerated population of child sex offenders may not be representative of the group as a whole, as those offenders who belong to higher socioeconomic groups may have the means or status to avoid detection and prevent conviction (Briggs, 1995; Cossins, 2002).

Aetiological theories

Understanding the cause of sexual offending is crucial for primary prevention, offender rehabilitation and reintegration. Within the child sex offending literature three main explanatory models exist. The first is Finkelhor's (1984) precondition model that suggests that the primary cause for sexual offending is explicit sexual thoughts, emotions and arousal. More specifically, an offender develops motivation to offend by believing that his emotional needs will be met by a child, a child is sexual gratifying or that alternative sources of gratification are not available or less arousing. Cognitive distortions are thought to develop that act as an internal (i.e., taboos, religion) and external (i.e., access to children) offending disinhibitor facilitating risk taking behaviour and eventually leading to offence-related planning such as strategies used to groom the victim that reduce a child's resistance to being abused. Thus, sexual offending occurs as a result of the development of maladaptive thoughts that promote risk taking behaviour.

The second explanatory model is Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) integrated theory, which explains sexual offending as the result of an early developed vulnerability caused by brain development (evolution, genetics and neurobiology) as well as adverse life experiences that have typically led to problems differentiating sex and aggression. Sexual offending is thought to happen when proximal and distal contextual factors interact with a combination of existing developmental vulnerability factors. Thus, sexual offending occurs as a result of a biological vulnerability that in combination with adverse experiences (e.g., victimisation) places an individual at risk of developing antisocial behavioural problems (e.g., deviant sexual arousal).

The third explanatory model is Hall and Hirschman's (1992) quadripartite model, which conceptualises sexual offending as the result of a 'primary motivational precursor' that in turn impacts on a wide range of additional problems. 'Distal vulnerability factors' (i.e.,

CSA or neglect) are thought to lead individuals to develop specific personality problems that perpetuate the development of deviant physiological sexual arousal, affective dyscontrol, and cognitive distortions that within certain contexts leads to offending behaviour. Thus, sexual offending occurs as a result of experiences that impact the development of personality that leads to cognitive, emotional and physiological problems that places an individual at risk of sexual offending.

In addition to these three explanatory models, Ward and Siegert's (2002) pathway model was constructed in an attempt to integrate the main facets of Finkelhor's (1984) precondition model, Marshall and Barbaree's (1990) integrated theory, and Hall and Hirschman's (1992) quadripartite model. Ward and Siegert (2002b) describe sexually abusive behaviour as a process whereby situational variants (e.g., babysitting a child) interact with psychological vulnerabilities (i.e., maladaptive thinking – "CSA is ok I'm teaching the child about sex") that have developed in response to adverse experiences (e.g., childhood victimisation). As a result, problems in four areas are thought to develop: (1) intimacy and social skill deficits, (2) distorted sexual scripts, (3) emotional dysregulation and (4) cognitive distortions.

Ward and Siegert's (2002b) model hypothesizes that there are five flexible aetiological pathways that lead to child sexual offending. The first pathway, termed 'multiple dysfunctional mechanisms', suggests that some individuals have problems as a result of all four psychological mechanisms, but with particular problems in terms of distorted sexual scripts. Individuals who follow this pathway typically have a history of sexual abuse that has led to distortions about children's sexuality and intimate relations, in that an 'ideal sexual or intimate relationship' is considered to be between an adult and a child. Deviant sexual arousal tends to be generated by a distorted sexual script, in which a child is the preferred partner and it is this distortion that is reinforced by positive emotions while perpetrating CSA and negative emotions during adult intimate relations.

The second pathway termed 'deviant sexual scripts' suggests that some individuals have become prematurely sexualised due to suffering CSA and as a result have developed distorted sexual scripts and models of relationships (Sperling & Berman, 1994). More specifically, an individuals' sexual scripts tend to be distorted in terms of the context in which sex occurs, rather than having a specific preference for an inappropriate partner. Thus, there is often confusion between sex and intimacy in which relationships are viewed only in sexual terms (Marshall, 1999). Adult relationships are typically unsuccessful due to their desire for impersonal sex and associated avoidance of others' attempts to establish intimacy,

leading to rejection by partners (Ward & Beech, 2006). During times of rejection by adults, children are typically viewed as a vulnerable opportunity to obtain sexual gratification (Ward & Siegert, 2002b).

The third pathway termed 'intimacy deficits' suggests that some individuals have an insecure attachment style due to developmental experiences that lead to intimacy problems in adult life. While these individuals typically have a normal sexual script in that they prefer adult sexual relations, during times of acute loneliness or problems within adult relationships, intense intimacy needs are sought via CSA by substituting an 'accepting' child as a surrogate partner.

The fourth pathway termed 'emotional dysregulation' suggests that some individuals have problems with emotional regulation (Saarni, 1999). In particular they have limited emotional coping mechanisms and have problems controlling emotions such as anger (Ward & Siegert, 2002b). Some individuals perpetrate CSA as a way of punishing an adult partner or during times of increased emotional arousal (i.e., stress) such individuals "lose control" and use sex (often with vulnerable targets) as a soothing strategy. Cortoni and Marshall (2001) suggest that some individuals use sex as means of emotional regulation due to early development within environments that had limited reinforcers or models of appropriate emotional regulation. They suggest that as a result individuals during adolescence begin to use excessive masturbation as a means of emotional regulation that may precipitate emotional dysregulation during adulthood.

The fifth pathway termed 'antisocial cognitions' suggests that some individuals possess a number of antisocial attitudes and beliefs about offending in general. More specifically, they tend to hold patriarchal attitudes and have a heightened sense of their own superiority that dominates their thinking, feeling and behaviour (Polaschek & Ward, 2002). As result, such individuals commit numerous offences, in addition to sexual offending (Smallbone & Wortley, 2000; Soothhill, Francis, Sanderson & Ackerley, 2000). Such individuals typically perpetrate CSA as they believe that the law or norms of society do not apply to them and therefore seek any opportunity for self gratification (i.e., sexual pleasure).

Ward, Polaschek and Beech (2006) suggest that to date the Ward and Siegert (2002b) pathway model is the most comprehensive and widely accepted aetiological explanation of CSA. They claim the pathway model is now used as the predominant method of conceptualization and formulation for individualised child sex offender treatment (Ward & Siegert).

Treatment

Internationally, child sex offending is defined as a crime, and therefore something to be dealt with by the justice system rather than the mental health system. Within the justice system current theoretical understandings of the aetiology and treatment of CSA, is typically conceptualised within a psychological paradigm, particularly a cognitive-behavioural framework (CBT; Hanson et al., 2002; Losel & Schmucker, 2005). CBT is based on the premise that offenders hold inappropriate or distorted thoughts, feelings and behaviours that lead them to engage in CSA, and thus treatment is focused on changing the dysfunctional cognitions, emotions and problematic behaviours that lead to offending (Weerasekera, 1996).

Occasionally, in some countries, medical treatment for child sex offending is used in conjunction with psychological therapies, as child sex offending is understood to be, at least in part, a consequence of abnormal physiological sexual arousal (Scott & Holmberg, 2003). Medical treatment is primarily focused on suppressing the offender's sexual response by targeting hormones and neurotransmitters involved in sexual response or more permanent methods such as surgical castration that eliminates endogenous production of androgens (Seto, 2008).

Psychological treatment for child sex offenders has been found to be most effective if delivered via group therapy with adjunctive individual therapy to address any issues that are unable to be addressed within the group format (Jennings & Sawyer, 2003). Generally, group therapy highlights the inclusion of interpersonal interaction (i.e., the real context of relationships with others) as a treatment target and process (Sawyer, 2000). Group therapy is not only more time and cost efficient (Marshall & Barbaree, 1990) but "enables individuals to interact freely with others, [then] helps them to identify and understand what goes wrong in their interactions, and ultimately enables them to change those maladaptive patterns" (Yalom, 1995, p. xiv).

In considering the treatment effectiveness literature, Gendreau (1996) suggest that successful treatment for sexual offenders incorporates the following elements:

- The services are intensive and psychologically informed.
- The interventions are behavioural, and target the criminogenic needs of high risk offenders.
- Programmes utilise the responsivity principle to teach pro-social skills.
- The use of positive reinforcers outweighs punishers by at least 4:1.
- Therapists are interpersonally sensitive and constructive.
- Social networks are used to displace antisocial influences, and promote pro-social ones.

Risk Need Responsivity Model: Due to the severity and socially unacceptable nature of child sex offending many proponents argue that such offenders are not entitled to treatment, and therefore treatment guidelines are based on reducing reoffending as an outcome rather than focusing on wellbeing and quality of life (Marshall, 1999). As a result the predominant treatment model in terms of correctional psychology and offender rehabilitation policy, termed the 'Risk Need Responsivity model' (RNR), has focused on relapse prevention and managing individual and social risk factors (Andrews & Bonta, 2003; Ashford, Sales & Reid, 2001; Gendreau & Andrews, 1990). The RNR model (Andrews & Bonta) operates under the assumption that the probability of recidivism will be minimized if an individual's dynamic (changeable) risk factors are reduced through need-specific treatment, and managed by teaching individuals how to recognise and cope with risk factors to prevent relapse. The application of the RNR model is based on a framework of three primary principles and is typically delivered via CBT; that is, the modification of dysfunctional thinking and problematic behaviour that has been reinforced by a number of internal (physiological) and external (environmental) factors (Andrews & Bonta).

The first principle termed the "risk principle" categorises offenders in terms of risk and matches treatment intensity and duration to an offender's risk of reoffending, in that those most at risk should receive the most intense treatment (Andrews & Dowden, 2006; Friendship, Mann & Beech, 2003). The second principle, termed the "need principle" states that treatment should target criminogenic needs that is, dynamic risk factors (i.e., deviant sexual arousal, intimacy deficits, emotional regulation, substance usage, criminal attitudes etc.) that are amenable to change but, without intervention, tend to remain constant thereby increasing the level of risk (Hanson & Harris, 2000a; Thornton, 2002). In contrast, non-criminogenic needs (e.g., housing, financial problems, self-esteem, health) are not directly targeted during treatment as they are considered to be indirectly related to offending and therefore weakly associated with recidivism (Beech & Mann, 2002). The third principle, termed the "responsivity principle", states that treatment is most likely to be successful if matched to offenders' individual needs (e.g., culture, cognitive abilities, learning style etc.; Andrews & Bonta, 2003). The RNR model allows for treatment flexibility by recommending that professional discretion be used to override the RNR principles if necessary. Evaluation of the efficacy of the RNR approach suggests that when treatment strictly follows all three principles (effect size = .26), compared with if only one (effect size = .02) or two principles (effect size = .18) were followed (Andrews & Bonta, 2003).

While the RNR model is the primary treatment model used within the correctional domain, it is not without its critics who suggest that the RNR model lacks a theoretical basis that fails to provide an adequate framework for therapists to work with offenders and facilitate successful reintegration (Ward, Melser & Yates, 2007). It is important to highlight possible problems with the current RNR treatment as these in turn may impact the reintegration process for offenders, and impede the development of reintegration initiatives due to the underlying framework and assumptions of such a model.

Ward et al. (2007) suggest that the RNR model has six significant problems in conceptualising and treating offenders. Their first criticism of the RNR model highlights the implicit problem of motivating offenders to change due to a deficit-based approach focused on risk management that is disempowering and personally irrelevant (Mann, Webster, Schofield, & Marshall, 2004; Marshall et al., 2005). Their second criticism suggest that the RNR model operates with a significant lack of focus on personal agency or narrative identity, described as "self-directed, intentional actions designed to achieve valued goals" (p.210) that as a result fails to promote change that is meaningful to the person and therefore changes are less likely to be sustained long-term (Maruna, 2001). More specifically, the RNR model also fails to achieve genuine long-term change by circumventing the importance of offenders' personal ability to make change. Their third criticism suggests that the RNR model ignores humans' innate drives to seek out goals to establish personally meaningful and fulfilling lives (Ward & Stewart, 2003a). Their fourth criticism suggests that the RNR model fails to recognise the value of the therapeutic alliance beyond the principle of responsivity, as well as the importance of addressing non-criminogenic needs in order to facilitate reintegration and well-being (Marshall et al., 2003; Yates, 2003). Their fifth criticism suggests that the RNR model places limited emphasis on the importance of contextual and ecological factors (e.g., culture) that are essential for offender treatment and reintegration (Ward & Brown, 2004). Their sixth criticism suggests that the RNR model is often applied in practice as if offenders were a homogenous group, rather than a group of individuals with individual needs and therefore rather than being a responsive treatment model the RNR model appears more similar to a psycho-educational format (see also Green, 1995).

In summary the RNR treatment model allows those who are assessed by structured actuarial measures, and/or unstructured clinical judgment to be at higher risk of recidivism, to receive treatment that is tailored to specific criminogenic and individual needs (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). In order to reduce dynamic and acute risk factors, CBT is used to teach offenders to identify dynamic risk factors (situational and psychological) that are part of their

historical offence cycles (Abel, Osborn, Anthony & Gardos, 1992), and how to manage (i.e., avoid or escape) such situations or states to reduce offending behaviours and prevent escalation to further recidivism (Laws, Hudson & Ward, 2000; Pithers, 1990; Ward & Hudson, 2000).

Relapse Prevention Model: The Relapse Prevention (RP) model can be considered an extension of the RNR model, which is derived from Prochaska and Di Clemente's (1982) Trans-Theoretical Model of Change. In that treatment focuses on the 'maintenance' stage of behaviour change (Marlatt, 2000), with a focus on behavioural avoidance goals that control contingencies to prevent lapse or relapse. However, many authors (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1981; Reitzel & Carbonell, 2006) highlight the difficulty maintaining avoidance goals, with Wormwith et al. (2007) pointing out that that "a punitive, fear-based treatment approach focus[ed] on avoiding "bad" behaviours has not been very successful in reducing relapse among sex offenders" (p.886). Instead, models such as the Good Lives Model that focus on approach goals rather than avoidance goals are considered to have a greater motivating and orienting effect on behaviour (Mann et al., 2004). Ward et al.'s (2007) criticisms of the RNR model outlined above, can be equally applied to the RP model. Despite this, a treatment approach that combines the principles of the RNR model and RP model is considered to produce more empirically effective treatment (Ward & Mann, 2004) than RNR alone.

Good Lives Model: Proposed is an alternative strength-based treatment model termed the 'Good Lives Model' (GLM) (Ward & Stewart, 2003b) aims to enhance well-being and utilises an alternative pro-social method of meeting individually defined needs, to live meaningful, constructive and happy lives: an approach goal. As a result this type of approach increases the likelihood of successful reintegration and prevents the need to return to offending. More specifically, offenders are thought to seek the same primary goods or goals, such as close relationships, intimacy, happiness, as the general population, but do so via inappropriate and socially unacceptable means - child sexual offending - as they lack the prosocial capacities (i.e., skills, attitudes and context) to meet their needs via appropriate channels (Marshall 1989; Marshall et al., 2005; Marshall, Anderson & Fernandez, 1999).

Treatment is therefore focused on constructing an individual's "ideal self" or "ideal life" and giving offenders the internal capabilities (i.e., social skills) and external environment (i.e., opportunities and supports) to promote self-optimism for change and to translate their "good life" into a concrete way of living (Ward & Brown, 2004). Moreover, treatment identifies the obstacles (criminogenic needs) that prevent offenders leading

fulfilling balanced "good lives" via pro-social means and as a consequence, risk of recidivism is reduced (Ward & Mann, 2004).

Any reduction in sexual offending has far reaching positive benefits, however even the most robust programmes show only modest reductions in reoffending (Kirsch & Becker, 2006). Treatment effectiveness and generalisation is an important consideration in preventing reoffending, achieving successful reintegration and long-term desistance. While there have been a number of contributions as to "what works" in sex offender treatment (McGuire, 2002), it seems that further empirical work is necessary to understand the important features of treatment and/or obstacles to treatment and how these may be overcome, as well as the relationship between the dosage of treatment for various risk levels to achieve behaviour change long-term and desistance (Harkins & Beech, 2007).

Recidivism and risk prediction

While aetiological theories may increase understanding of criminal conduct they provide limited insight into the prediction of future criminal behaviour. Risk prediction methods are critical in determining appropriate sentencing, effective delivery of offender treatment, public safety and protection, and the reintegration of offenders back into society (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). However, accurately classifying offenders in terms of likelihood of reoffending is inherently difficult, as many offending behaviours occur at a low base rate (Andrews & Bonta). Nonetheless, while some theorists have questioned the validity of predicting dangerous behaviour (e.g., Mathiesen, 1998; Meloy,1992), a number of statistical risk assessment tools have been utilised.

Offender risk assessment can be described in three evolving generations with increasing validity, accuracy and utility. The first generation risk assessment tool was termed *clinical judgement*, in that the assessor used unstructured or semi-structured clinical interviews that had limited empirical basis or relationship to offending (Bonta, 1995). This method of risk assessment relied solely on the opinion of the 'expert' assessor (Garb, 2005). Pure clinical judgement (i.e., expert opinion) is now considered ineffective in accurately predicting reoffending compared to actuarial risk assessments (i.e., standardised risk assessment tools based on variables found to be predictive of future offending; Andrews & Bonta, 2003; Hanson & Bussiere, 1998).

The second generation risk assessment tools, termed *actuarial methods*, focus on predicting future offending based on historical or static variables (i.e., criminal history; Bonta, 1995). While these factors are empirically derived and statistically correlated with re-

offending they do not include or consider changeable or dynamic risk factors of offending (e.g., substance use; Andrews & Bonta, 2003). As such they lack the sensitivity to assess changes in risk and are unable to identify the factors that are amenable to change (i.e., treatment targets) to ultimately reduce risk of reoffending (Hanson & Harris, 2000a; Thornton, 2002).

The third generation risk assessment tools, focus on assessment of dynamic risk factors of offending, that are amenable to change (Bonta, 1995). As such third generation risk assessments provide valuable information that informs treatment, assesses changes in risk over time, to more accurately assess likelihood of reoffending at any given time. One of the most frequently used dynamic risk assessments is the STABLE and ACUTE 2007 (Hanson, Harris, Scott & Helmus, 2007). This tool measures two types of dynamic risk factors, the first, stable dynamic factors (those factors that are expected to remain unchanged for months; e.g., deviant sexual interests), and acute dynamic factors (those factors that are expected to change within hours or days; e.g., victim access).

Perhaps the most substantiated actuarial risk assessment tool within the area of child sex offending is the STATIC-99 (Hanson & Thornton, 1999). This tool focuses on the historical correlates of sexual recidivism to create a base level of risk by sorting offenders into one of four risk categories (low, moderate, moderate high and high) that can then be appropriately adjusted by further assessments of current dynamic risk. Hanson and Thornton (1999) used a sample of 1301 male offenders from the United Kingdom and Canada to determine the predictive accuracy of the STATIC-99 in differentiating recidivists and non-recidivists based on static predictors. The STATIC-99 was found to have a moderate predictive accuracy for sexual recidivism ($r = .33$, AUC = .71) and violent (including sexual) crimes ($r = .32$, AUC = .69) (Hanson & Thornton). Recently, the New Zealand Department of Corrections has begun using a modified computer-scored version of the STATIC-99 known as the Automatic Sexual Recidivism Scale (ASRS) to estimate an offender's static sexual risk (Skelton, Riley, Wales, & Vess, 2006). The ASRS was normed and validated on 1,113 New Zealand male sexual offenders and found to have an AUC of 0.78, 0.75, and 0.70 at five, ten, and 15 years respectively, indicating significant association with sexual recidivism (Skelton et al.,).

Research by Thornton (2002) and Hanson and Harris (2000a, 2000b, 2001) suggest that sexual offending stable dynamic risk factors can be classified into four domains; (1) sexual interests and sexual self-regulation, (2) distorted attitudes and attitudes tolerant of sexual offending, (3) socio-affective functioning/intimacy deficits, and (4) self-management

and general self-regulation problems. Hanson and Harris (2000a) suggest that sexual offending acute dynamic risk factors can be classified into six domains; (1) self-management, including victim access and perceiving self as no risk to recidivate, (2) low remorse or victim blaming attitudes, (3) psychological symptoms such as anger, negative mood, psychiatric symptoms, general hygiene problems, (4) substance abuse, (5) social adjustment problems, and (6) manipulative, low commitment and lack of cooperation with supervisory agencies.

Hanson et al.'s (2007) study of 997 male offenders from Canada serving a period of community supervision for a recent sexual offence found that by combining STABLE and ACUTE 2007 scores with STATIC-99 scores they were slightly more able to accurately predict sexual recidivists (AUC from .74 to .84) and violent recidivists (AUC from .71 to .80) from non-recidivists (Hanson et al.).

Overall, in considering the relationship between risk of reoffending and reintegration, risk assessments provide strong guidelines in regard to post-release management strategies and the necessity or intensity of supervision (Harris & Rice, 2003). The system used in New Zealand will be discussed in later sections. The participants in the present study were all subjected to STATIC-99 and STABLE-07 risk assessments prior to release.

Society Responses to Child Sex Offenders

Justice responses to crime

Child sex abuse is considered a crime and therefore dealt with by the justice system. Historically, the justice response to crimes like CSA has fallen under three main approaches; retributive justice, reformative justice and restorative justice (Eglash, 1977). Each of these approaches assumes an eventual return of offenders to the community and thus for the safety of the community reducing the risk of reoffending is often prioritized over goals of successful reintegration (Clear, Rose & Ryder, 2001).

Retributive justice: This approach is based on the historical yet barbaric *lex talionus*; law of retaliation of "an eye for an eye" (Darley & Pittman, 2003). The focus of such retribution is on punishing the wrongdoer, rather than compensating the victim for harm done (Coleman, 1992). Subsequently, retributive justice operates under two main assumptions; firstly, that punishment deters crime, discouraging the offender from committing further crimes (specific deterrence), and illustrating to society the consequences for violations of the law (general deterrence) (Sanders & Hamilton, 2001). Secondly, punishment of the offender acts as a form of vengeance for the harm caused to the victim, or to disavow the behaviour of

the perpetrator, thus, allowing the victim to reassert power and status over the offender reaffirming self-image, and differentiating the victim from the offender (Vidmar, 2001).

Custodial sentences are a common form of punishment for more serious crime, including child sex offending, under the retributive justice approach. The implementation of a retributive approach to justice has contributed to an ever increasing prison population worldwide (World Prison Population List, 2003), and consequently more offenders who will eventually be released and need to reintegrate into the community.

Understanding the effects of imprisonment on offenders is important in reintegration planning in order to prepare offenders for living in the community. Oleson (2002) argues that imprisonment acts essentially as a "punitive behavioural coma" whereby offenders' enduring propensities are simply put on hold whilst in the prison environment (e.g., sexual deviance), until release, when new opportunities are available to allow offenders to continue their previous behaviour (e.g., abuse children). Many proponents emphasize how our past experiences significantly impact our future behaviour, thus highlighting how the pains experienced as a part of the institutional context of prisons (e.g., arbitrarily enforced rules, lack of privacy, mono-sexual environment) can affect offenders' wellbeing in the present and future ultimately reducing their chance of reintegrating successfully back into society (Haney, 2005).

On the positive side, imprisonment is considered by some as a reprieve for many offenders who otherwise live chaotic and traumatic lives (Bloom, Owen & Covington, 2003). Imprisonment provides a controlled environment for offenders to remain healthy with the restriction of harmful substances, a strict diet, and the availability of gymnasiums. Many offenders have serious health problems due to previous risky behaviour (Abramsky, 2002), and the removal from environments that are destructive can allow offenders the chance to extradite themselves from old ways or associates, and establish new beliefs or positive plans for the future (Clear, Rose & Ryder, 2001).

More commonly however, the consequences of imprisonment have included essentially a disintegration of the personality known as "prisonisation' (Irwin, 1980) or institutionalisation (Mauer, 2003). Irwin and Owen (2005) describe how the restricted daily routine and lack of opportunities to exert choice within the prison environment causes prisoners over time to lose a sense of agency; defined as "the capacity, condition or state of acting or exerting power" (p.98). Subsequently, prisoners at the time of release are often unable to cope in a society that lacks rigid structure and requires offenders to take control and

manage their own lives hindering reintegration and often leading to recidivism in order to return to the order of prison life (Irwin & Owen).

Taxman, Young and Byrne (2002) highlight how ex-convicts experience a double jeopardy type situation whereby they have served their punishment as dictated by a court of law, but upon return to the community they often experience a second punishment for their crime(s): employment difficulties or restrictions, electoral voting restrictions, and prejudice (Taxman, Young, Byrne, Holsinger & Anspach, 2002).

Reformative justice: This approach to justice assumes that there is something wrong with the offender, typically framing the offender as in need of treatment. Luna (2000) highlights how this model assumes that an offender is not responsible for their actions due to their "sickness" and therefore cannot be held accountable. Consequently, an offender is often required to attend involuntary treatment to reform them to law-abiding citizen (Petersilia, 2004). This type of justice focuses solely on the offender and his subsequent reformation, excluding victims, bystanders and the wider community from the justice process.

Cohen and Jeglic (2007) assert that reformative justice is unique compared to other methods of responding to CSA, in that treatment aims to prevent further recidivism by removing the desire to offend, and equipping offenders with the knowledge and skills to manage their own risk to prevent reoffending (Beck & Klein-Saffran, 1990; Levenson, 2003). Within the literature there are outlined three theoretical treatment models typically administered within the correctional domain for child sex offenders. These include the Risk Need Responsivity Model (Andrews & Bonta, 2003), Relapse Prevention Model, and the Good Lives Model (Ward & Stewart, 2003b), as reviewed above.

While it is a common belief that offenders are treatable, there are a number of political and sociological factors that govern the type of treatment deemed appropriate for child sex offenders (Ward et al., 2006). As a result, treatment providers within the criminal justice system are charged with the responsibility of administering treatment that enhances public safety as the number one priority. The RNR model with an emphasis on risk reduction may appear more palatable than the GLM. Goals and treatment that aim to create a "good life" for offenders lack the necessary face validity to be understood and encouraged from the public perspective as a way of reducing reoffending. While support or implementation from correctional staff would require a conceptual shift in how offenders are treated. To date there has been limited empirical research on the efficacy of the GLM with child sex offenders. The promotion of such an approach like GLM that focuses on offenders' strengths and happiness,

needs to be clearly and empirically grounded in reducing reoffending, successful reintegration, and long-term desistance.

Restorative justice: The third justice system approach for responding to crime is termed restorative justice. Marshall (1998) describes restorative justice as "a process whereby parties with a stake in the particular offence come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offence and its implications for the future" (p. 37). Schmid (2001) suggests that restorative justice has three main aims: firstly, to provide an opportunity to repair the harm caused by a crime, and ensure the safety of the community by taking action to reduce the chance of future harm (Morris, 2002; Seiter & Kadela, 2003). Secondly, to provide offenders with the opportunity to take affirmative action and be accountable and responsible for the harm they have caused from offending (Latimer, Dowden & Muise, 2005). Thirdly, to seek reparation and restitution for victims by offenders to enable successful community reintegration of both the victim and the offender (Beven, Hall, Froyland, Steels & Goulding, 2005; Koss, Bachar & Hopkins, 2003).

Moreover, Schmid (2001) explains that restorative justice differs from conventional justice approaches in that offending is essentially understood as a violation of human relationships which is recognized by the law. Thus, those parties involved in the offence such as the victim, the offender, and the community are considered to be the best form of crime control to collaboratively understand and mutually decide upon the method by which amends can be made for the harm caused by the offending (Luna, 2000). This type of approach promotes voluntary inclusion of all parties with the entitlement of support, so that each member feels they are involved in the process of justice without coercion and with freedom of discourse, promoting ownership of the outcome and facilitating reintegration (Latimer et al., 2005).

Similarly due to the flexible nature of restorative justice processes, greater accommodation is able to be made in terms of practical, social, cultural and ethnic differences better suiting all parties involved, and increasing the chances of reintegration success by matching justice initiatives to individual and cultural needs (Olsen, Maxwell & Morris, 1995; Stuart, 2001). As a consequence the social capital of society is utilized, enhancing the power of the community to influence and prevent crime by strengthening community links, capacities for social control as well as opportunities for offender reintegration (Marshall, 1998). More generally, the restorative justice process allows victims and community members a greater insight into how and why the offending occurred, increasing awareness

and allowing the community to be more informed and thus help itself by advocating for services when and where they are needed (Marshall).

Commonly, CSA and other crimes that fall under the category of gendered or sexualized violence have been excluded from restorative justice initiatives. Such exclusion is typically based on the view that restorative justice lacks a "hard on crime approach" that is necessary for serious crimes (Daly, 2002; Lewis, Dobash, Dobash, & Cavanagh, 2001; Stubbs, 1997), while the usefulness of such practices are thought to be overridden by the significant power imbalance present between offender and victim (Daly & Stubbs, 2006; Parker, 2004; Stubbs, 2002). Thus it is assumed that reaching an appropriate outcome for all parties is highly improbable (Hudson, 2002). While there are many problems associated with disclosure of CSA to authorities - the revictimisation of complainants during prosecution, followed by often low rates of conviction through traditional justice approaches (Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003; Julich, 2006; Kelly, 2001) - there is limited research evaluating restorative justice initiatives in dealing with serious crimes such as CSA (Daly & Stubbs).

Community management strategies

In addition to criminal justice responses to severe crimes like child sex offending (i.e., retributive, reformative and restorative) there are a number of additional legal policies and laws that further attempt to control sex offenders within the community (Petrunik, 2002). This type of legislation is based on the unsupported assumption that child sex offenders commit crimes that are "more severe, or more recidivistic, than other sexual or violent crimes" (Wood & Ogloff, 2006, p.182). Garland (2001) points out that while the media is quick to portray the child sex offender as incurable; little mention is made of the effects of stigmatisation on the rate of future recidivism. This heightened concern by the community about the (often overstated) risk of recidivism of child sex offenders (Lussier, 2005), creates a climate of fear and pressure on political bodies to further control and monitor child sex offenders to prevent anticipated recidivism (Cohen & Jeglic, 2007; Petrunik, 2002; Scheela, 2001).

There are four main types of legislation enacted in different countries in an attempt to enhance community protection post-sentence by further controlling child sex offenders to prevent future recidivism (Cohen & Jeglic, 2007). Discussion of different types of community management strategies that aid or hinder the process of reintegration in different jurisdictions is helpful in understanding how reintegration of child sex offenders and offenders in general could be more effective.

Community Notification Laws: Community notification laws require that offenders be compulsorily registered allowing information about the offender and their whereabouts to be available to professional agencies (Levenson, 2003). Community notification can also be used to manage risk by broadcasting the whereabouts of child sex offenders and the details of their crimes to the community via news releases, internet postings, and community meetings (Finn, 1997). However the utility of such legislation is questionable as it is well acknowledged that the majority of CSA is perpetrated by people who are well known to the victim (Catalano, 2005). Furthermore, research on the efficacy and impact of community notification laws reveal that there is no significant difference between registered and non-registered sex offenders in terms of recidivism, although registered sex offenders were commonly found to recidivate more quickly (Schram & Milloy, 1995). A meta-analysis by Ronken and Lincoln (2001) concluded that community notification laws fail to prevent CSA and instead cause numerous consequences to the detriment of the community and offender reintegration.

The collateral consequences for child sex offenders and the community as a result of the enactment of community notification laws contribute to unsuccessful reintegration. As a result of such laws, child sex offenders often experience difficulty obtaining accommodation and employment (Petrunik, 2002; Ronken & Lincoln, 2001; Zevitz & Farkas, 2000a), while in more extreme cases child sex offenders have been known to be subject to acts of brutal vigilantism including threats, harassment, physical assaults and property damage (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a, 2005b). A number of offenders experience significant stress due to fear of vigilantism increasing dynamic risk of recidivism (Zevitz & Farkas, 2000b). Moreover, Levenson (2003) suggests that community notification indirectly removes the offender's personal responsibility for rehabilitation hindering the chance for successful reintegration.

Supervision or Monitoring Schemes: The second type of legislation used to manage offenders in the community are supervision or monitoring schemes that aim to prevent recidivism by controlling sex offenders after release. Supervision entails long-term or lifetime supervision of child sex offenders by a Probation/Parole Officer who has special training to monitor and manage these types of offenders (Worth, 2005). These types of supervision orders are typically accompanied by a number of conditions that include restrictions on place of residence and employment as well as areas of prohibition in which children regularly frequent, such as schools, parks, and playgrounds (Worth).

Electronic Monitoring: The third type of legislation used to manage offenders in the community is electronic monitoring. This tool is used to supervise child sex offenders by

requiring them to wear an electronic device for the rest of their lives that monitors their physical location 24 hours a day (Russell, 2005). Evaluation of electronic monitoring suggests that it has relatively low costs for implementation, and the negative effects of technical failure are minimal and quickly rectified (Russell, 2005).

A study by Beck and Klein-Saffran (1990) examined the efficacy of electronic monitoring devices and reported that such devices were able to successfully monitor the physical location of offenders. In addition, offenders who were supervised by electronic monitoring devices were recalled to prison due to parole violations or supervision non-compliance at a significantly lower rate than offenders solely supervised via parole (Vollum & Hale, 2002).

Sex Offender Re-Entry Courts: The fourth type of legislation or response to the risk posed by child sex offenders is sex offender re-entry courts, which primarily aim to promote a smooth transition from prison to the community. Sex offender re-entry courts allow dynamic management of sexual recidivism risk, rather than measuring dynamic risk at a certain time-point and assuming that such risk stays relatively stable (LaFond & Winick, 2003). The essence of sex offender re-entry courts involve a gradual process whereby offenders move from restrictive (i.e., incarceration) to less restrictive (i.e., independent living) release conditions based on dynamic risk factors. The process of reintegration is managed by an interdisciplinary team led by a Judge. Appropriate lifestyle is managed using behavioural contracts while changes in risk are tested via periodic polygraph testing. To date there has been limited empirical research evaluating the efficacy of sex offender re-entry courts or impact such an intervention may have on reintegration.

Electronic monitoring, authority supervision and conditions for child sex offenders beyond sentence are important initiatives in managing risk, however the efficacy of such initiatives needs to be evaluated in terms of community protection, reduction of risk/recidivism while considering the impact it may have on reintegration success.

Offender Reintegration

Reintegration and desistance

Offender reintegration is defined as the specialist support that offenders receive whilst incarcerated to help them address their social/living or offending-related needs from reception through to release, to enable them to lead productive lives within the community (Willis & Grace, 2009). There is no doubt that successful reintegration of offenders is best

achieved by planning for offender reintegration prior to release from prison, rather than waiting and dealing with the aftermath of problems as they occur (Graffam et al., 2004; Hammett, Roberts & Kennedy, 2001; Petersilia, 2003; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Taxman, 2004).

Of particular relevance to the understanding of how "successful" reintegration can occur, are the factors that promote desistance from crime. Desistance is understood as the cessation or absence of further acts of crime. While reintegration and desistance are not necessary mutually exclusive (i.e., an offender may not reoffend but is not a productive citizen of society), the factors that contribute to both concepts may indeed at times overlap.

Research suggests that the offender's environment is a significant factor in the initiation and maintenance of desistance from crime (Blokland & Nieuwbeerta, 2005; Paternoster, Dean, Piquero, Mazerolle, & Brame, 1997), as is the environment in promoting successful reintegration. To date there is no published research specifically into the environmental processes of desistence from child sex offending.

Many offenders consider their desistance to be a conscious decision influenced by environmental and developmental factors (Mulvey & La Rosa, 1986; Sommers, Baskin, & Fagan, 1994). For example, changes in relationships such as marriage, ceasing association with criminal associates, or constructing a new social group (Haggard, Gumpert, & Grann, 2001; Mulvey & La Rosa, 1986; Sommers et al., 1994; Walters, 2002), and/or increases in hope for a different way of life. This may include identity or self-view changes, sense of connection to conventional social order, altered expectancies regarding criminal and non-criminal activity, affirmation by others of pro-social identity, preoccupation with avoiding risk (Haggard et al., 2001; Hughes, 1998; Jolin & Gibbons, 1987; Sommers et al., 1994; Vaughan, 2007).

While these factors appear to promote desistance it is important to note that they are not exhaustive, and by no means encapsulate all offenders given that they are a heterozygous group. However, despite these limitations, the factors that appear to promote desistance appear remarkably similar to the factors [see below for discussion] that have been suggested to promote "successful" reintegration. In light of this, research regarding desistance from sexual offending is considered relevant, if not pertinent, in understanding the process of "successful" reintegration.

Promotion of reintegration

In reviewing the literature within the field of offender reintegration there are two main ways to conceptualize "what works" within the offender reintegration process and promotes long-term desistance (Petersilia, 2004). These include the principles of successful reintegration and the type of reintegration initiatives that are associated with successful reintegration.

Principles of reintegration: The literature suggests that there are five underlying principles that must be followed to enable successful integration. The first principle of early intervention with offenders is considered essential in order to provide the appropriate planning and support (Graffam et al., 2004) and to communicate the role and responsibilities of the offender (Taxman et al., 2004).

The second principle of timely and flexible responding to each individual offender's needs as they occur is crucial, as expecting an offender to wait their turn on a waiting list is inappropriate and expecting an offender to change ingrained habits overnight to conform to the intake criterion of rehabilitation programmes is unrealistic and setting offenders up for failure (Graffam et al., 2004; Taxman et al., 2004).

The third principle recognizes that general reintegration initiatives for example, do not provide the comprehensive type of support to target all needs that tailored individualised services can provide (Taxman et al., 2004). Services are thought to more adequately address the needs of offenders by targeting specific need areas such as individualised support, accommodation services, social support contacts, psychological counselling, and working as a collaborative team or interagency of services coordinated by a single person (Graffam et al., 2004; Hammett et al., 2001; Jenuwine, Simmons & Swies, 2003).

The fourth principle suggests that intervention intensity should be based on an individual offender's need, risk and motivation to change rather than simply matching an offender to a programme that covers their need area to allow more targeted intervention (Taxman et al., 2004).

The fifth principle suggests that change occurs at a slow rate and thus to obtain long-term stable change a long-term commitment to reintegration is necessary (Graffam et al., 2004). This idea highlights how offenders cannot adjust from dependence to independence overnight and instead progress through a series of stages as categorized by Prochanski and DiClemente's (1989) Stages of Change model and applied by Taxman et al. (2004) to the reintegration of offenders (see Table 1). More generally, Taxman et al. (2004) suggests that

for the change process to happen, slow and controlled increases in liberty are needed to allow the offender to become accustomed to life in the community (Johnson & Grant, 2001).

The sixth principle recognises the value of informal social control such as family, friends, and the wider community as having the most direct and lasting effects in terms of change than any form of formal control as dictated by the court (Taxman et al., 2004). Thus, the involvement and influence of social systems in the process of reintegration is an essential tool to be utilized (Petersilia, 2003).

Table 1.

Prochanski and DiClemente's (1992) Stages of Change model and applied by Taxman et al. (2004) to the reintegration of offenders

Re-entry Stage	**Stages of Change**	**Constructs**	**Offender's Needs**
Institutional	Precontemplation	Beginning to consider that a noncriminal lifestyle is possible	Motivate the offender to change his behaviour; define own needs to correct
Institutional/ Pre-release	Contemplation	Offender begins to contemplate changes in his lifestyle	Offender defines areas that are likely to be a threat to public safety such as housing, support network, employment
Pre-release/ Post-release	Action	Offender lays out a plan to make changes in different components	Certain areas (e.g., employment, leisure activities, family, etc.) have been defined as contributors to negative behaviours; focus on mediators to these factors
Post-release Reintegration	Maintenance	Offender establishes plan to stabilize the situation	Establish a noncriminal network to support the prosocial lifestyle through financial independence

In implementing the principles of reintegration it is accepted that such an undertaking has a considerable financial cost attached. To justify the utility of the six principles, Graffam et al. (2004) highlights that in comparison to the cost of retributive approaches such as incarceration and the immeasurable social and psychological costs to potential victims of crime, the implementation of responsive and effective reintegration initiatives that prevent further recidivism seem like a necessary alternative.

Successful reintegration initiatives: While there have been a number of attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of reintegrative programmes (Harrison & Schehr, 2004; Seiter & Kadela, 2003; Sherman, Strang & Woods, 2000) the majority of studies tend to be plagued with methodological flaws particularly in relation to the definition of effectiveness, the voluntary nature and thus motivation of those who participate and those who do not, and the use of drop-out or non-completer data and how this is used or omitted to report outcome data (Petersilia, 2003). Similarly, Byrne, Taxman and Young (2002) highlight how eligibility criteria for reintegration programmes typically excludes those offenders who can be considered as most in need of reintegration initiatives.

One well documented reintegration initiative that captures the essence of the six principles (described above) in conceptualising the process of reintegration is the Transition from Prison to Community Initiative (TPCI) in Massachusetts, U.S.A (Parent & Barnett, 2004). The TPCI model describes the reintegration process as commencing from the start of incarceration till approximately six months after release (Figure 1).
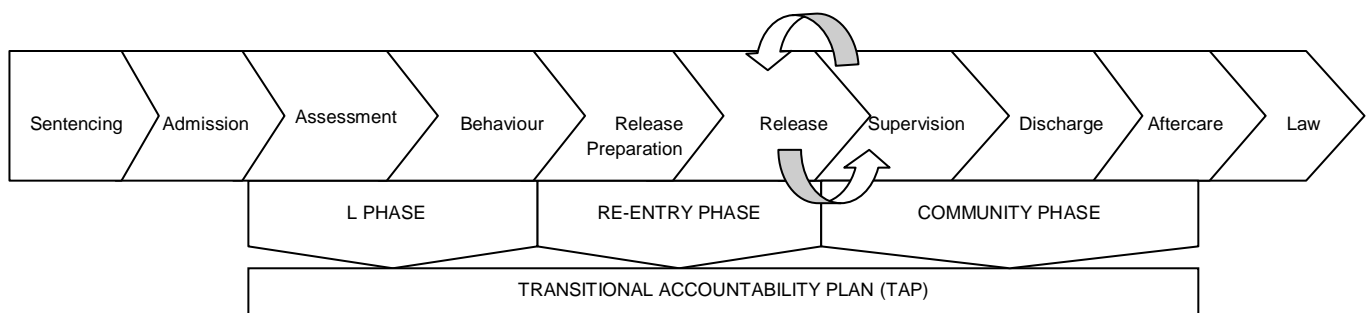
Figure 1. The Transition to Prison to Community Initiative (TPCI) (Parent & Barnett, 2004).

In recognition of the difficulties in classifying "what works" in terms of reintegration, Petersilia's (2003) review of U.S.A. and Canadian reintegration programmes suggests that successful reintegration programmes are likely to have the following features: location mostly in the community (as opposed to institutional settings), at least six months duration,

focus on high-risk individuals (risk level determined by classification instruments), use of cognitive-behavioural treatment techniques, matching of therapists and programmes to individual characteristics of offenders, involve the use of positive reinforcers in all programme components, custodial programmes with an intensive and mandatory aftercare component, and involve vocational training as offenders change their thinking patterns.

Barriers and protective factors of reintegration

Research concerning the factors necessary to promote successful reintegration of offenders' remains limited (Taxman et al., 2002). However, it has been suggested that the barriers to successful reintegration can be better understood by identifying individual and social needs, and accommodation and employment factors that influence re-entry (Graffam, et al., 2004; Petersilia, 2003). In addition, the restrictive legal requirements of offenders post-incarceration have been suggested to impact and perhaps limit an offender's ability to truly reintegrate. Child sex offenders are a specific group of the offender population that can be considered to have specific needs due to the nature of their crimes and the community response to their offending. However, research to date has generally been restricted to understanding the barriers for all offenders post-incarceration without particular relevance to sex offenders.

Individual needs: Post-incarceration offenders have numerous individual needs that can vary from physical and mental health needs, to offending specific needs, to basic living skills. A recent qualitative study by Graffam et al. (2004) interviewed 12 general ex-prisoners (with convictions for assault, burglary, grand theft auto, possession of various drugs with intent to sell and shoplifting) and 22 professionals to identify the issues that affected success or failure in the transition to a more positive lifestyle upon release. Their barriers for reintegration as reported by participants were perceived differently by the two groups.

Ex-prisoner participants typically identified substance addiction as significantly affecting their ability to reintegrate into a law-abiding society, anxiety related issues around public or social situations, and tendencies toward acting aggressively when threatened, and financial problems or instability that prevented many being able to 'get back on their feet'. In contrast, the professionals identified difficulties in the process of reintegration, such as fear of failure, of change, of society and of humiliation, poor budgeting skills and poor education or academic skills. In addition, ex-prisoners stated that being 'ready to change' was essential to making positive gains in the community, as well as having good physical health and the ability or opportunity to further their employment prospects through training rather than

settling for a 'basic job'. Similarly, Petersilia (2003) highlights a number of commonalities among offenders that pose additional barriers to reintegration such as having a history or current allegiance to gangs, and responsibilities associated with having young children.

Social needs: Naser and La Vigne (2006) hypothesize that the role of an offender's social system can have a considerable impact on reintegration, as release into the community can be likened to other traumatic events that involve change or loss. Whereby the support one receives from their social network often enables them to process and deal with such trauma in a productive capacity. A number of studies have suggested that increased tangible and emotional family support can positively impact reintegration (Hairston, 2002a; Holt & Miller, 1972; Klein, Bartholomew & Hibbert, 2002) by reducing post-release depression (Ekland-Olson, Supanic, Campbell & Lenihan, 1983), increasing employment prospects and reducing substance abuse (La Vigne, Visher, & Castro, 2004; Nelson, Deess, & Allen, 1999; Sullivan, Mino, Nelson, Pope & 2002; Visher, Kachnowski, La Vigne & Travis, 2004), and reducing risk of recidivism and reconviction (La Vigne et al., 2004; Sullivan et al., 2002). In addition, the development of pro-social identities through family roles (Hairston, 2002b; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Uggen, Manza, & Behrens, 2004) and spending time with children within the family context has been associated with reduced rates of recidivism (Waller, 1974), however, this is unlikely to be the case for child sex offenders and may instead serve as a risk factor. Similarly, offenders with limited social networks are often placed in half-way house type accommodation that increases the likelihood that they will have contact with negative associates and other antisocial habits (i.e., drugs) that increase the risk of recidivism and decrease the potential for successful reintegration via prosocial role modelling (Graffam et al., 2004).

Biswell (2003) highlights how a number of issues arise for offenders in terms of the nature, quality and frequency of social relations, with some researchers suggesting that acceptance by support systems is the greatest difficulty encountered by offenders (Taxman et al., 2002). This may be true for the case of child sex offenders who often retain few social supports due to the nature of their crimes, but also because their offending often occurs within the relationships of the family unit (Taxman, 2004). Moreover, offenders who are convicted of severe crimes like child sex offending typically are sentenced to lengthy periods of incarceration. This often causes the offender to have difficulty keeping in contact with those who do provide support, thereby causing the offender to become more isolated in prison and on release (Taxman et al., 2002a). As a result, offenders often develop and maintain social networks with those whom they associate with in prison, which in segregated

child sex offender units can be exclusively child sex offenders. More specifically, social relationships with criminal and anti-social associates are strongly related to the maintenance of antisocial lifestyle habits strongly increasing the risk of recidivism (Graffam et al., 2004).

Similarly, research suggests that offenders' (both general and child sex offenders) interpersonal relationships do not always provide positive or neutral support during reintegration, but instead such "support people" can condone or minimize offending behaviours, or less directly influence reintegration via the stressful nature of resuming relationships post-incarceration (Naser & La Vigne, 2006). Zamble and Quinsey's (2001) study highlights how influential negative inter-personal relationships can be in shaping reintegration outcomes, in which recidivist offenders reported that interpersonal conflict primarily within heterosexual relationships was the second greatest problem encountered, next to substance abuse, upon their return to the community.

Interpersonal relationships such as a stable marriage have been consistently cited as a protective factor for successful reintegration due to the availability of emotional support, by providing a motivation to change or to continue treatment generalization as well as the increased possibility of financial support upon release (Hairston, 2002a; Petersilia, 2003). However, again the variable of marriage or having a long-term relationship cannot be simply recognized as a positive experience as such a partner may inflict or incite violence, condone offending and contribute to financial hardship (Petersilia, 2003).

It is however important to note that it is not only offenders' social networks that can be a stressful and negative influence on offenders, but that offenders themselves can cause considerable stress and disruption to families and social networks upon their return to the community. Consequently findings like those of Sullivan et al. (2002) suggest that those members of an offender's social network who experience stress as a result of the offender's re-entry into the community are less likely to provide stable support over time and therefore potentially increase the risk of recidivism (Naser & La Vigne, 2006).

In addition to personal support provided by families and friends, legislation typically dictates that offenders have access to and are required to report for professional oversight in order to provide all offenders with an avenue of support. Current legislative practice in New Zealand and worldwide to date tends to assume that greater contact with professionals may increase the likelihood of successful reintegration via increased supervision (Department of Corrections, 2007c). Therefore those offenders who are considered to be at a higher risk of recidivism are required to report more regularly to their Probation Officers.

However, research suggests that the utility of such professional support by Probation Officers and Psychologists in providing for the needs of offenders is somewhat questionable (Brown, 2002). Furthermore the frequency of contact with a Probation Officer, as a separate variable, has been found to have no impact on the rate of recidivism (Brown). Moreover, a related study by Hobbs and Dear (2000) of 187 prisoners suggested that prisoners for whatever reason rarely approached prison officers for support, and if they did it was typically for practical type help rather than emotional support. Hobbs and Dear suggest that offenders require at least two types of support during reintegration, that of emotional support and practical help.

One innovative volunteer-based intervention named the Circle of Support and Accountability (COSA) model from Canada aims to provide child sex offenders who typically have limited or no social support with an artificial prosocial community-based support network to enhance reintegration and prevent sexual recidivism (Wilson, 2005). The COSA model is a community-based intervention whereby the offender who is due to be released (core member) has demonstrated a will not to re-offend and voluntarily agrees to be held accountable by an allocated COSA (Wilson, 2005). In response the COSA, assists the offender with practical life skills, emotional needs, accommodation problems, settling into the community, dealing with the media, and any activism against them (Cesaroni, 2001). A COSA is usually made up of four to six volunteers that form a circle around the core member. These volunteers are trained in areas including group dynamics, patterns of sexual offending, and legal issues but work as a collaborative team with professionals involved with the core member such as Police, Probation Officers and Psychologists (Wilson, McWhinnie, Picheca, Prinzo, & Cortoni, 2007). Ultimately the COSA model (Figure 2) attempts to address the needs of the offender in light of the fear experienced by the community, while enabling community-based risk management (Wilson, Huculak, & McWhinnie, 2002).

An evaluation of the COSA model conducted by Wilson, Picheca and Prinzo (2005) indicated that the experience of being involved in a COSA by core members, circle volunteers, professionals, supervising agencies, and wider community members had a significant impact on all parties. More specifically, core members were found initially to have variable opinions about COSA, but over time grew to realise how helpful the support of the COSA had been during their reintegration. Analysis of surveyed views of core members suggested that if they had not participated in the COSA, 90 % of offenders would have had significant difficulties reintegrating into the community, while 66 % of core members felt they would have reoffended. Similarly, circle volunteers acknowledged feeling an increase in

community safety, with wider community members who were not directly involved in the initiative reporting that they "would feel safer if they found out that a high risk sexual offender in their community belonged to a circle" (Wilson et al., 2005; p. ii). Associated professionals involved in the case of each core member acknowledged the success of the COSA model and 75% of professionals recommended that the COSA initiative be trialed in other States.
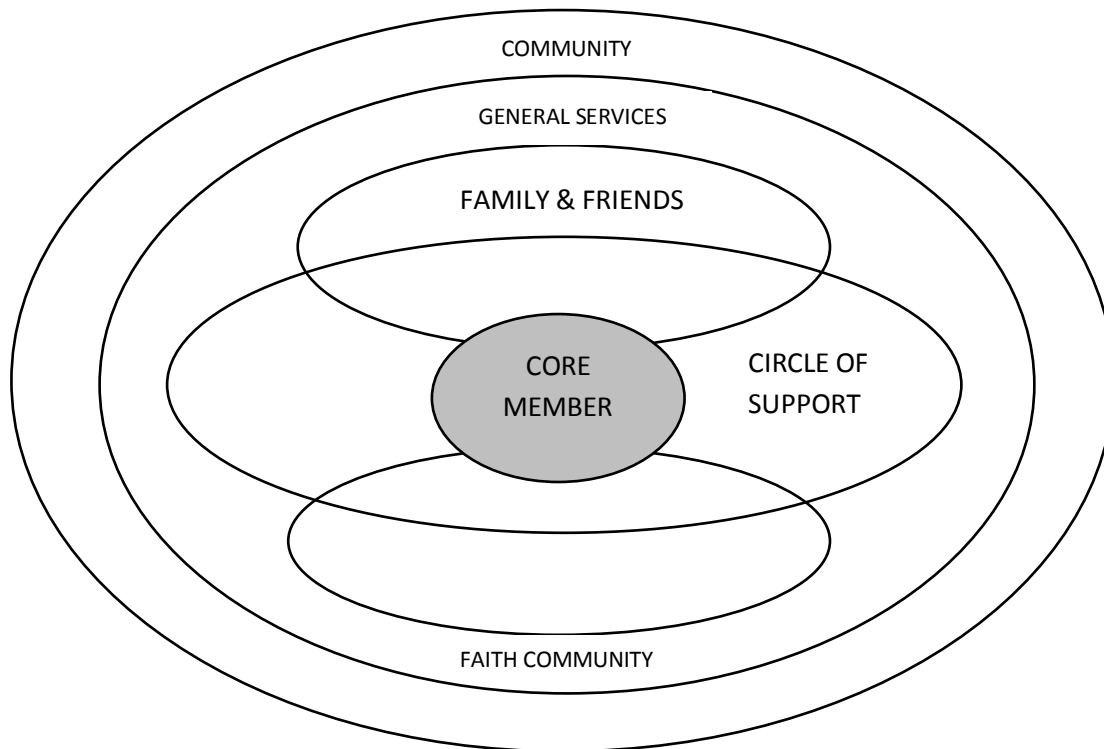
Figure 2: The Circle of Support and Accountability (COSA) model (Biswell, 2003)

A second study by Wilson et al. (2005) evaluated the efficacy of COSA as a reintegration initiative with recidivism as the determinate of success or failure. Sixty high risk sex offenders who were or had been involved in a COSA were matched in terms of risk, time in the community, specific sexual offender treatment received to a control group. Offenders who had participated in the COSA had a sexual recidivism rate of 5 %, whereas the control group had a 16.67 % sexual recidivism rate. Furthermore, those recidivists who participated in the COSA committed new crimes that were less severe in nature compared to the control recidivists.

Accommodation: Residence arrangements for offenders upon their release from prison is an important factor in determining reintegration success (Whitty, 2004), as without

accommodation it is very difficult for other reintegration needs to be met (Hammett et al., 2001). Current practice dictates that accommodation is typically arranged for offenders prior to their release from prison, however, a number of legal barriers exist that limit certain offenders such as child sex offenders from living in particular areas due to notable risk factors. Sex offenders are often prevented from living close to their support network of family and friends, as these people may either be their victims or have young children who live within their homes increasing the ease and risk of further offending (Department of Corrections, 2007c).

Due to restrictive residence conditions such offenders are often excluded from specific half-way house programmes, or only allowed to live outside of a defined radius in which there are schools, child care facilities and other areas in which children are known to populate. Some countries such as the U.S.A. have enacted legislation that prevents any convicted child sex offender from living within 1000 feet of schools, day-care centres, parks and bus stops (Levenson & Cotter, 2005b). While such legislation aims to reduce the risk of reoffending and increase the safety in specific areas for children, a study by Levenson and Cotter (2005a) suggests residence restrictions in fact isolate offenders increasing the probability of offending.

Graffam et al. (2004) found the majority of offenders interviewed were residing in transitional or public (state) housing, with only a few offenders residing in private rental accommodation due to the limitations imposed by residence restrictions. They noted that a number of accommodation arrangements such as supportive or group accommodation and/or halfway houses were found to be rife with substance abuse or located within areas where crime rates were high. These types of situations were thought to limit the development of pro-social and positive social contacts. Some offenders reported that they isolated themselves from others to prevent relapsing into criminal behaviour. Others reported that shared living type arrangements enhanced their living skills, as they learnt to cook, clean and maintain a household, while others stated that kitchen facilities were not available causing them to need to eat out leading to poorer health outcomes.

Employment: Once an offender has a place to live, employment serves an equally important aspect of their lives in terms of meaningful activity, financial security and reducing the risk of further recidivism. More specifically, a meta-analysis on the predictors of sexual recidivism identified employment instability as an important predictor of further offending (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004). Perhaps one of the most important outcomes of employment is that offenders are able to view themselves in some way repaying society,

thereby ultimately facilitating the process of reintegration (Taxman et al., 2002). Moreover, Schaefer, Friedlander, Blustein, and Maruna (2004) suggest that work and social relationships cannot be viewed and treated as separate and are instead interdependent.

Child sex offenders, in contrast to other offenders, tend to have significantly better education and stable employment histories (Seleznow, 2002; Sullivan & Beech, 2002). However, child sex offenders often encounter a number of barriers to employment such as the age at release after serving a long sentence of incarceration which compounds employment prospects (Seiter & Kadela, 2003). In addition, the somewhat procedural implementation of criminal record checks and the associated community view on child sexual offending convictions compared to other convictions increases ineligibility for employment. This stigma around child sexual offending limits where such offenders can work (Graffam et al., 2004).

As a result of the above factors, child sex offenders obtain basic jobs due to the nature of their offending, which can cause an excessive focus on work, frustration and boredom that often leads to and predicts sexual relapse or risk-taking behaviour (Hanson & Harris, 2000). While the majority of child sex offending occurs within a familial context, employers' reservations to employ child sex offenders highlights an important reintegrative issue, of how to minimize the potential access to children (particularly for those offenders who are known to target stranger victims), while enhancing the protective factor of employment stability for offenders to prevent further sexual recidivism (Sullivan & Beech, 2002).

Response to Child Sex Offending in New Zealand

Legal framework

The New Zealand criminal justice system adopts a multi-theoretical approach, in which crimes that are severe and cause considerable harm to victims and communities, including child sexual offending, are treated first with a retributive approach implemented with a punitive sentence of imprisonment followed by a period of parole, or release on conditions. Secondly, a reformative approach is adopted in which offenders engage in RNR based-treatment that is specific to their individual needs under the assumption that sex offenders are treatable. Thirdly, a limited restorative justice approach is also implemented in that, victim impact statements are prepared to aid sentencing and restorative mediations are used where appropriate (Department of Corrections, 2005).

Community management strategies for child sex offenders in New Zealand are limited. Community notification laws are not enacted in New Zealand but information sharing exists between the Police, and Child Youth and Family Services (CYFS). Extended supervision orders were implemented in New Zealand in 2004 and constitute an amendment to the Parole Act 2004 (Department of Corrections, 2007a). The aim of this legislation is to manage the long-term risks posed by medium to high risk child sex offenders for up to 10 years after release. This type of supervision order differs from the oversight involved in parole or release-on-conditions type monitoring as it extends past the length of the offender's original sentence handed down by the court (Department of Corrections, 2007a). Offenders subject to an extended supervision order are required to report to their Probation Officer regularly, are monitored via home and employment visits, and are required to attend any treatment or counselling as directed (Department of Corrections, 2007a). To date there is limited empirical research evaluating the compliance and effectiveness of supervision orders.

Electronic monitoring is only used in New Zealand to monitor the highest risk offenders by tracking their physical location post-sentence (Department of Corrections, 2007a). Sex offender re-entry courts are not currently implemented in New Zealand.

Treatment approaches

Child sex offenders in New Zealand who are sentenced to community based sentences may attend a community-based treatment programme. However the content and efficacy of community-based programmes for child sex offenders are not reviewed here, as the current research is focussed on the reintegration of child sex offenders who were sentenced to prison.

Child sex offenders in New Zealand who are sentenced to prison attend one of two specialist child sex offender prison-based treatment programmes. These are; Kia Marama within Rolleston prison which serves the lower half of the North Island and the South Island catchment area, and Te Piriti within Paremoremo prison which serves the central and upper North Island (New Plymouth upward) catchment area. Child sex offenders who have committed one or more sexual offences against children or young people under the age of 16, who voluntarily consent (people exhibiting various degrees of denial are not excluded) and are eligible, typically enter treatment before their earliest possible prison release date into one of these two units (Hudson, Wales & Ward, 1998). Each unit holds 60 men, approximately 40 of whom are involved in treatment at any one time. The remaining beds are available for men who have recently completed treatment and are awaiting release, or men who are awaiting the commencement of their treatment.

Both units promote a therapeutic community, that is, every individual in the unit including all staff and offenders are expected to collaboratively work towards a common goal of reducing reoffending. A cognitive-behavioural/social learning theory-based approach is used within both treatment units to promote behaviour change (Hudson et al., 1998). However, in addition Te Piriti has an explicit mission statement to adhere to the central principles of the Treaty of Waitangi by providing treatment within a bicultural context that recognises the Treaty partnership and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) (Larsen, Robertson, Hillman & Hudson, 1998).

After transfer to a special treatment unit, child sex offenders are assessed over a number of sessions via individual interviews, psychological questionnaires, cultural assessment, and plethysmographic measurement of physiological deviant sexual arousal in order to develop a clinical formulation to guide the treatment process. Each offender undergoes a similar assessment towards the end of treatment in order to measure progress.

If the decision is made to accept the offender into the treatment programme, offenders join a group format programme, with 10 men and one or two therapists. The group operates three days a week, for three hours a day. There is no specific length to the group treatment for any one offender, as the group operates as a rolling programme in which each offender is at a different stage of treatment to enhance vicarious learning, with new members joining, as other members complete treatment.

The content of the programme includes four main modules, three modules that are used at the discretion of the therapist, and is concluded with a relapse prevention module to equip offenders with skills to cope with release. The first module is "group norm building", which aims to develop a positive code of conduct and promote group cohesion. The second module is "offending patterns", which aims to develop comprehensive insight into each offender's offending pattern or "relapse cycle". The third module is "sexual reconditioning", which aims to eliminate the sexually arousing effects of deviant (child) sexual fantasies while redirecting arousal to appropriate adult partners. The fourth module is "victim impact and empathy", which aims to increase understanding of the widespread, long-term effects of CSA in general and then in relation to their own victims, enabling offenders to gain a sense of empathetic emotional concern.

The programme in the later modules then shifts to the acquisition or enhancement of skills to lead a non-abusive lifestyle. Three other modules can be utilised at the discretion of the therapist, depending on the needs of the group. Firstly, the "relationship skills" module focuses on the meaning of intimacy, interpersonal skills, disturbed patterns of past

relationships, and solving conflicts. Secondly, the "sex education" module provides offenders with accurate information about sexuality, anatomy/function, range of appropriate sexual behaviour, while challenging inappropriate sexual attitudes (i.e., children, women). Thirdly, the "mood management" module teaches offenders to be aware and manage their emotional states appropriately.

The "relapse prevention" module is always the final part of treatment, whereby offenders learn to cope with specific difficulties that arise that may indicate a sign of relapse. More specifically, offenders learn to identify their "seemingly irrelevant choices", "high risk situations", learn about the process of "lapsing" (e.g., grooming a victim, fantasising about child sex), and the "abstinence violation effect". Towards the end of this module offenders develop a personal statement that outlines their understanding of their offence chain and how they are committed to achieving a lifelong goal of avoiding future offending.

Research regarding the efficacy of these treatment approaches suggests that they are effective in reducing recidivism. Nathan, Wilson and Hillman's (2003) evaluation of the Te Piriti special treatment programme for child sex offenders found that from the sample of 201 men who had completed treatment the rate of sexual recidivism (5.47% reoffended) was significantly reduced for the follow-up period (average 3.9 years) compared to the control group (n = 284) (20.8% reoffended). All the men in the study were matched to a control group on variables such as age, ethnicity, and number of previous sexual offences.

Similarly, Bakker, Hudson, Wales and Riley's (1998) evaluation of the Kia Marama special treatment programme for child sex offenders found that from the sample of 238 men who had completed treatment (8%), the rate of sexual recidivism was significantly reduced for the follow-up period (average 4.6 years) compared to the control group (n = 284). All the men in the study were matched to a control group on variables such as age and number of previous sexual offences, however there were a statistically higher proportion of Maori and Pacific Island offenders in the control group. The control groups for both studies were sourced from a group of men who were imprisoned for child sexual offending between 1983 and 1987, prior to the establishment of Kia Marama or Te Piriti.

Reintegration

The level of pre-release planning in New Zealand for an offender is currently based on the offender's level of risk (including risk of reoffending and risk to the community) and need (including rehabilitative and reintegrative needs) – an offender who is assessed as posing a high risk and high need will require and receive more intensive pre-release planning

than an offender assessed as posing a low risk and having low needs (Department of Corrections, 2007d).

Twelve months prior to a prisoner's parole eligibility date the prison service implements and commences reintegrative programmes and/or activities for the offender in prison to address any reintegrative needs that have been identified within the sentence plan. Child sex offenders, who consent to and are eligible, enter into one of two specialist treatment units, Kia Marama and Te Piriti (Department of Corrections, 2007b).

Eight months prior to the parole eligibility date, prisoners are introduced and given various forms by the Reintegration Coordinator to obtain information for a proposed release plan. These include a form on which prisoners identify potential support people, and a form on which prisoners identify their release plans which include their immediate plans after release, including travel arrangements and accommodation, permanent accommodation, if different from initial accommodation, marriage/relationship issues, support people, work/income issues, victim(s) of offending, where they are now, and intentions for contact in the future, community rehabilitation issues (e.g., drug/alcohol counselling, marriage counselling), and lifestyle balance, including hobbies and interests. Upon submission, the prisoner's therapist and the Reintegration Coordinator review and discuss the appropriateness of the release plans (Department of Corrections, 2007b, 2007c).

People who have been identified by each prisoner as potential support people are sent letters by the Reintegration Coordinator informing them of the prisoner's commencement of treatment, and inviting them to be a part of the prisoner's support network. The letter clearly states that there is no obligation for any potential support person to become involved in a support network, and that a support person can change the type of support s/he is prepared to offer, or withdrawal of support, as the release date approaches. Attached to this letter is a form that potential support people are asked to complete and return if they are interested in becoming a support person. On this form they are asked to indicate whether or not they are able to attend an opening celebration (mihi whakatau) and the whanau hui (family group meeting) within the specialist treatment unit, and asked to indicate what type of support they are able to provide following the prisoner's release. Such support ranges from phone/written contact, to attendance at support meetings with Probation Officers, to the provision of accommodation for the period of probation. It is generally accepted that it is inappropriate for victims to be members of support networks. Psychological Services (a division of the NZ Department of Corrections) current policy stipulates that restorative justice meetings cannot be arranged or held while the prisoner is attending a specialist treatment programme.

The Reintegration Coordinator assists the minority of prisoners with no identified support people to make contact with volunteer support people through church groups, the prison chaplain, or New Zealand Prisoner Aid and Relief Services (NZPARS). In the case of church groups, ex-prisoners with no identified support people are encouraged to attend services and build relationships with members of the church. This option is acknowledged as long term and is not associated with any guarantee of support. The prison chaplain is able to offer volunteers to visit prisoners on an ongoing basis. Consistent with this, prisoners with no identified support people can apply to NZPARS for an appropriate volunteer to assist them on an ongoing basis.

The Sentence Planner (prisoner based organiser of prison movements) notifies Community Probation and Psychological Services (CPPS) of the initial release proposal and the offender's eligibility for residential restrictions. CPPS receives the notification, carries out an Offender Warning System check, and completes a brief initial check of the proposal. If the offender is identified as a high risk offender (HRX), included in the offender warning system (OWS), or CPPS hold significant concerns about the offender's possible release, formal pre-parole liaison is initiated and the prisoner is allocated to a Probation Officer.

The formal pre-parole liaison is typically a routine procedure that is carried out with all child sex offenders due to the nature of their offending. However, two separate processes are used at the two specialist treatment units in regard to the management of risk and subsequent release arrangements. The first method caters primarily for medium to high risk prisoners (identified by standardised risk assessment instruments) for which support meetings are held towards the end of the treatment phase with the prisoner, the Reintegration Coordinator, support people, Probation Officer, Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ), and any other relevant agencies, for example Child Youth and Family Services (CYFS). The prison then transports the prisoner to the family/support meeting, which is usually held at the CPPS office of the district where the prisoner plans to be released (often, but not always, where he originated from prior to incarceration). A similar process is in place for prisoners identified as having a low risk of sexual recidivism following treatment. The key difference is that the support meeting is not held until the prisoner is released, and therefore facilitated by CPPS.

The second method of release arrangements in terms of the timing and location of meetings is not dependent on prisoners' risk. Instead whanau huis (family/support meeting) are held approximately four and a half months into the treatment programme, after the victim empathy module. These meetings are held for all prisoners engaged in the treatment

programme at this time, unless there are no identified support people. Most of these meetings are held at the specialist treatment unit and CPPS are invited to attend, however, if support people are unable to attend at the prison then arrangements are made to transport the prisoner to the local CPPS office and the hui is held there.

During the whanau hui (or family/support meeting) the prisoner presents his offence chain, and outlines his high risk situations and warning signs. Reintegration needs are then discussed and include, accommodation, CPPS programmes (these are often a condition of release/parole), community support, victim issues, education and employment, as well as any additional individual prisoner needs (possibly arising from their individual offence chain). The Reintegration Coordinator writes up this dialogue in case notes, which is then presented in a formal parole assessment report to the New Zealand Parole Board (NZPB). Support people may decide at this stage that it is inappropriate for them to offer their intended support. However this is a rare occurrence. CPPS is responsible for following up plans made at the support meeting, including canvassing any imposed residential restrictions.

Temporary releases (home leaves) are considered an important part of the reintegration process at Te Piriti as they are thought to facilitate re-establishment of contact between the prisoner and support person(s) providing the prisoner with an opportunity to practice implementing tools and skills gained from the specialist treatment programme (Johnson & Grant, 2001). However, at some specialist treatment units temporary releases are rarely granted due to issues associated with risk. Auckland Prison (including the specialist treatment unit Te Piriti) has a specific policy that states that the first 12 hours spent on temporary release must be in Auckland. The lengths of successive temporary releases prisoners are then eligible to apply for are granted from 24, to 48, to 72 hours. Shorter leaves of three to four hours nearing a prisoner's release date may be granted to prisoners who have served relatively longer periods of incarceration. The Reintegration Coordinator accompanies the prisoner on these leaves, which often involve a short walk around town, arranging an appointment with WINZ (Government department that provides financial assistance and employment services) and setting up a bank account.

An alternative way of planning for reintegration recently developed by the New Zealand Department of Corrections is the Release Proposal Feasibility Assessment-Revised (RPFA-R) Version Three (Wilson, 2009) based on the RNR model (Andrews & Bonta, 2003). This instrument was designed for the New Zealand Parole Board to assist members to make an actuarial assessment of the feasibility of the reintegration plan via a structured decision making process. It also allows the assessment of recommended release conditions to

manage an offender's assessed risk of recidivism. As the RPFA-R is a new measure the reliability and validity have not yet been validated.

Summary and Outline of Present Research

Child sexual abuse is an abhorrent crime that attracts strong public opinion and an equally reactive political response. As result the criminal justice system has a number of ways of dealing with the problem of child sex offending through retributive, reformative and restorative justice approaches, as well as community management and monitoring strategies. While the goals of these justice responses vary, there is limited understanding of how child sex offenders will reintegrate successfully back into society.

Throughout the literature a number of reintegration initiatives and legislation have been outlined, in particular how reintegration organisation and planning is most effectively instrumented (i.e., prior to release). Research suggests that there are a number of broad areas that are particularly important to consider when planning for reintegration, with instruments such as the RPFA-R highlighting some of the broad reintegrative factors, such as individual needs, social needs, accommodation and employment. It is however unclear if child sex offender needs differ from the non-sexual offender population, but that specific yet unknown reintegration barriers exist for particular sub-groups of offenders (i.e., child sex offenders) due to the socially condemned nature of their crimes.

At present there is little known about child sex offender's perspectives on the process of reintegration into the community. Specifically how child sex offenders themselves anticipate reintegration, subsequently prepare themselves, and on release how they experience reintegration into the community. Such knowledge is necessary in order to inform optimal practice in the successful reintegration of child sex offenders. Re-entry of child sex offenders into society would be considered most successful if it was a holistic process involving the offender, the victim and the wider community (Seiter & Kadela, 2003).

The current research aims (1) to describe child sex offenders' expectations for reintegration and the associated factors that participants anticipate would aid or hinder their reintegration. Secondly, it aims (2) to describe child sex offenders' experiences of the factors that aided or hindered their reintegration into the community.

It is likely that reintegrative planning, legislation, and initiatives would be more successful if informed by the experiences of offenders' in managing their own needs and identified factors that lead to offending, perceived barriers that exist to hinder offenders'

reintegration as well as the perceived strengths of current initiatives such as Community Probation or artificial support groups (i.e., religious supporters). Only when reintegrative initiatives match the needs of offenders, victims and the community will the risk of recidivism be truly minimized and the development of offenders as prosocial citizens be possible.

CHAPTER TWO

METHOD

The present study was guided by two main aims. The first aim was to describe child sex offenders' *expectations* for reintegration and the associated factors that participants anticipated would aid or hinder their reintegration. The second aim was to describe child sex offenders' actual *experiences* that aided or hindered their reintegration into the community. One-on-one semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore the reintegration process over time. A longitudinal design was adopted in which interviews with nine child sex offenders were conducted, within one week of release from prison (T1), three months post-release (T2), and six months post-release (T3). Interviews were subsequently transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis. The data was organised according to semantic content and subsequently coded into themes to allow interpretation of patterns. Themes were further clustered in relation to likely reintegration issues identified in the literature: accommodation, social support, employment, knowledge/skills/attributes, financial situation, physical/mental health, stress, culture/identity, long-term goals and community responses.

Qualitative analysis was used to collect contextually 'rich' data about participants' reintegration as previous research within the field of offender reintegration has tended to be quantitative in nature using standardized questionnaires and/or measuring risk and reoffending as defined by external assessors (e.g., Zamble & Quinsey, 2001). Many researchers have highlighted how successful reintegration has the potential to reduce the risk of sexual recidivism (Willis & Grace, 2008; 2009), and that further longitudinal studies, are needed to identify the determinates and interventions that make reintegration work (Shrinkfield & Graffam, 2009). The adoption of a prospective longitudinal research design, rather than a retrospective design where memory for events is inevitably affected, is a unique feature of this research as interviews were conducted in real time where current expectations and experiences were salient.

Before conducting qualitative research, such as the current research, a researcher must consider the epistemological underpinnings that guide qualitative research design, process and interpretation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). More specifically, qualitative research is guided by a number of assumptions, beliefs and values about the nature of human beings and the construct of reality. In that individuals' choose their reality based on the meaning that they ascribe to their experiences: there is no one "truth" or "reality" (Patton, 2002). Individuals

may perceive the same experience in a number of different ways with the meaning they ascribe to an experience based on their own history and present context (Silverman, 2000). Connected to this idea is that an individual's own "reality" is not stable, in that temporal and cultural changes create an evolving "reality" (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Similarly, qualitative research is not without the influence of the researcher in that the researcher acts as the primary research tool influencing the collection (i.e., questions asked, emphasis given to answers) and interpretation of data (i.e., selection of codes and themes; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Subsequently it is essential to identify the epistemological orientation of the researcher and their related experiences, values and assumptions. While there are a number of qualitative researcher positions, such as a constructionist or contextualist perspectives (Boyatzis, 1998), my own position as a qualitative researcher may be described as an essentialist or realist perspective. My work as a Probation Officer assessing and managing the needs of offenders to prevent reoffending whilst balancing the interests of victims and the community has in some respects caused me to develop an interest in the individual experience. In that I am interested in the experiences and content of each individual's account of their "reality" and how this information could be used to inform and enhance the success of reintegrative planning, initiatives and legislation.

After considering the epistemological underpinnings that guide research design and the position of the researcher, a number of strategic decisions need to be made that influence data collection and data analysis. This requires the researcher to determine the type of analysis that best suits the research questions being asked. In terms of the current research, thematic analysis was chosen to explore the common aspects or patterns of the process of reintegration as described by child sex offenders themselves.

In conducting thematic analysis there are a number of issues that need to be considered, namely where themes are derived from and what level themes are identified. Themes can be derived in two ways: by means of an inductive or deductive approach. An inductive approach is data-driven requiring themes to be coded from the data, independently of specific research questions (e.g., any pattern of data may be coded as a theme; Patton, 2002). In contrast a deductive approach is driven by a researchers' interest in the topic, with data produced heavily influenced by the specific questions asked of participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, if a researcher was specifically interested in experiences of employment, any data that included content about employment would be grouped together to find the commonalities in that specific subset of data.

The current research adopts a hybrid approach where a deductive approach is used to provide a detailed analysis of possible reintegrative issues with the design of interview schedules structured around ten key topics of inquiry (see later section). However, the research is also flexible in responding to individual issues or specific reintegrative needs allowing a data-driven or inductive description of the process of reintegration within and outside of categories of questions specified in the interview schedule. By using a semi-structured interview schedule that allowed both inductive and deductive approaches to be utilized, coded themes captured detailed aspects of issues of reintegration previously identified in the literature as well as a general overview of the process of reintegration from the perspective of child sex offenders. If the research had focused on only one of these approaches, it is likely that the coded themes would represent child sex offenders' experiences of reintegration in a less comprehensive manner.

Within qualitative thematic analysis, themes can be identified at two levels: the semantic level or interpretative level (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To identify themes at the semantic level, data is organised according to surface meaning by observing concepts that are explicitly expressed. In contrast, to identify themes at the interpretative level data is interpreted and organised according to underlying meanings or phenomena. Braun and Clarke suggest that thematic analysis is most effective when it follows a process from description of semantic content to broader interpretation of the significance of the themes or patterns within the context of previous literature. This process of *description* through to *interpretation* was used during the current research, with data initially organised according to surface meaning rather than including any underlying interpretation (e.g., P3"I just need someone who will be there"; Boyatzis, 1998). In the later stages of data analysis, themes were then interpreted in regard to previous literature (e.g., P3 importance of social support in supporting change; Patton, 2002).

Participants

All potential participants were male offenders over the age of 18 convicted of a child sexual offence. All participants were incarcerated within the Te Piriti child sex offender unit at some point between October 2007 and January 2008 ('recruitment period') and awaiting release from prison. It was expected that participants would be excluded from the research if they suffered from a psychiatric condition that was likely to interfere with study procedures

or if they were unable to understand written and/or spoken English. No participants were excluded on the basis of mental health problems or limited language abilities.

New Zealand Department of Corrections records indicated that 76 offenders were incarcerated within the Te Piriti unit at some point during the recruitment period (October 2007 - January 2008). From this population of 76 offenders, 25 offenders were recruited for potential inclusion in the study. That is 51 chose to not volunteer for the study. Of the 27 from the 76 who were eventually released from prison during the release period, 9 had volunteered to participate in the study.

Initially it was envisioned that the research would include up to 25-30 participants. In retrospect this number of participants would have been too many considering the time available for a single researcher to conduct interviews, transcribe and analyse interview data. In the planning stages of the research, Department of Correction's staff indicated that up to 60 child sex offenders were likely to be released each year, and therefore a sample of 25-30 was considered obtainable. However, during the year of the research there were significantly less child sex offenders released from prison. While it is difficult to identify the specific reasons for this change, possible contributors included high profile offenders that offended on release and subsequent pressure on the New Zealand Parole Board or political bodies to take extra caution when releasing offenders on parole.

Originally it was planned that the study release period would only be six months long (October 2007 – January 2008), however as the research progressed the pattern of reduced releases emerged. It was decided that the study release period would be extended (October 2007 – July 2008) to increase the chance that more participants from the recruited sample would be released. Given that only 27 child sex offenders of the population were released during that period, the nine child sex offenders who eventually participated in the study represented 33% of the release population. As is typical in qualitative research, the sample was small. This inevitably limits the generalisability of the findings. Nevertheless the sample included a sizable proportion of sex offenders released in the year the study took place with data gathered indicating a range of experiences approaching data saturation.

Demographic data was collected for each participant and is summarised in Table 2. In this table 'Sexual Index Offence' refers to the most serious offence for which the offender has been convicted in the current sentence. The sexual index offence does not represent the most serious offence the offender has ever committed, as there may be more serious offences that the offender has committed for which he has served previous sentences, or an offender may have committed more serious unreported offences. 'Combined Risk Score' refers to the

offenders' assessed risk of sexual reoffending based on a combined score of the STATIC-99 (static factors) and STABLE-07 (dynamic factors). See below for a detailed description of this measure.

Table 2.

Demographic Variables of Participants

Participant	Age at Release (years)	Ethnicity	IQ	Sexual Index Offence	Length of Current Sentence (months)	Completed Treatment	Combined Risk Score
P1	37	NZ Euro	No data available	Indecently assaults female under 12	12	Yes	Moderate-High
P2	43	NZ Maori	103	Male rapes female over 16	108	Yes	Low
P3	35	NZ Euro	86	Indecently assaults female under 12	27	Yes	Moderate-Low
P4	28	NZ Maori	105	Unlawful sexual connection on female under 12	72	Yes	Moderate-High
P5	31	NZ Maori	No data available	Attempt to rape female 12-16	48	No	Low
P6	43	NZ Euro	67	Indecent assault on boy under 12	27	Yes	Moderate-High
P7	41	NZ Euro	69	Unlawful sexual connection with young person 12-16	40	Yes	Moderate-Low
P8	63	NZ Maori	103	Other incest	42	Yes	Low
P9	35	NZ Maori	86	Male rapes female less 12	126	Yes	Moderate-High

As qualitative research explores the meaning or experience of a particular phenomenon to the participants, it was important to provide a background to their expectations/experiences by collecting contextual data on each participant. This allowed greater understanding of the individual differences between participants and how such differences may impact on their expectations for release as well as their experiences throughout the reintegration process. The following sections outline the reintegration data

collected for each participant and is summarised according to each participants' circumstances and context pre-release and post-release.

P1 was a Pakeha (Maori term for non-indigenousness New Zealanders) man in his 30s who had previously served a five year prison sentence for child sexual offending against four related male and female victims under 12 years of age. He was re-convicted and sentenced to a further 12 months after additional historical charges of child sexual offending were brought before the court. At the time of his release he was assessed as a moderate-high risk of reoffending. A community petition prevented him from returning to his home community and one week prior to release this man had no idea where he would be living. At the last minute PARS organized accommodation for him in the central city where he knew few people and had little contact with his family or friends. He described himself as single, a beneficiary and illiterate with significant physical health problems.

Post-release P1 continued to live in the central city where he knew few people. He spent the first three months post-release living in PARS accommodation, before looking for rented accommodation. He experienced significant difficulty initially finding any accommodation that he could afford on the sickness benefit and that was appropriate in terms of his release conditions. Between 4 and 6 months after release, P1was exited from his accommodation by his Probation Officer on three occasions after the unexpected presence of children playing in the neighbourhood. This constant upheaval in regard to accommodation caused him significant stress and without the offer of temporary accommodation with a good friend, he would have had nowhere to live. Furthermore, due to his illiteracy and significant physical health problems he felt unable to better his financial situation by obtaining employment. During his first 6 months post-release he made no new friends or intimate relationships, and generally felt unsupported during his release. P1 had a difficult relationship with his Probation Officer. He was convicted of breaching his release conditions after being observed driving with a child, in an area where he was prohibited from visiting. He was convicted by the courts and discharged with no further punishment.

P2 was a Maori man in his 40s who was assessed to be of average intelligence. He was serving a 9 year custodial sentence for raping his step-daughter during her teenage years. At the time of release he was assessed as a low risk of reoffending and was returning to live in a rural community where his history of sexual offending against children was well known. He was separated from his wife and planned to live with his extended family on release. Full-time employment was secured prior to release as a machine operator in a company associated

with correctional inmate employment (employment for inmates within prisons in New Zealand). He had no physical or mental health difficulties.

Post-release P2 remained separated from his wife but resumed indirect contact with his victim and began rebuilding relationships with extended whanau. He found it difficult to renegotiate roles with his ex-wife, daughter and step-daughter [victim], and his whanau found it difficult to support his reintegration whilst also supporting his victim. P2 had a positive relationship with his Probation Officer and was working towards talking about sexual abuse and taking responsibility for his own offending on his marae. However, his whanau did not want to talk about familial child sexual abuse and P2 believed that his whanau was trying to cover up other ongoing abuse within the whanau. He began working full-time as planned and progressed in his job to a position of more responsibility where he was second-in-charge. Six months after release he began an intimate relationship with a new adult female partner.

P3 was a New Zealand European man in his 30s who was assessed to be of average intelligence and serving a 3 year sentence for child sexual offending against an unrelated female victim under 12 years of age and producing child pornography. At the time of release he was assessed as moderate-low risk of reoffending. He had no idea where he would be living. Less than 3 days before release PARS confirmed accommodation for him to live in the central city where few people knew about his offending. He described himself as single, a beneficiary, suffering from mental health problems with no supportive family or friends.

Post-release P3 had difficulty adapting to living in an urban setting as he was more familiar with quieter rural towns. Between 3 and 6 months of release P3 moved to a rural town with the help of another child sex offender. While he had no supportive non-criminal friends or family, P3 developed a close friendship with the child sex offender who had helped him move. He reported significant dissatisfaction with his accommodation, financial and employment situation, often considering that it was too hard to reintegrate into the community and that prison was a better life.

P4 was a Maori man in his 20s who was assessed to be of average intelligence who was serving a 9 year sentence for child sexual offending against four of his step-children under 12 years of age. At the time of release he was assessed as moderate-high risk of reoffending. He was returning to live in supported accommodation with other child sex offenders, in a city where few people knew about his offending. He described himself as single, with a few supportive family members living nearby.

Post-release P4 worked hard to obtain employment, cold calling and working with WINZ. Despite having a significant fear of rejection by employers and the community, P4

was able to obtain a job in a factory, and gradually obtained independent accommodation. By 6 months after release P4 had formed an intimate relationship with a female work colleague and was in the process of moving in with her. P4's ex-partner broke into his residence and vandalised his property to express her disapproval of his release from prison. This type of event appeared to perpetuate P4's fear of negative community reactions for himself and those he cared about. At times he experienced episodes of depression, as he considered himself unworthy of the success he had achieved since leaving prison.

P5 was a Maori man in his 30s who was serving a 4 year sentence for child sexual offending against an unrelated female victim aged between 12 and 16. At the time of release he had never received any treatment for child sex offending and was assessed as ineligible for group treatment due to his low risk of reoffending (i.e., high risk offenders are prioritised for treatment). P5 returned to live with his family in his local neighbourhood. He described himself as in a defacto relationship with his partner of 10 years, and had regular supervised access to his seven children.

Post-release P5 lived with his mother and younger brothers in their family home. Whilst in prison, P5's father had died after the family home was broken into by intruders and he was assaulted. This was perceived to be a consequence of P5's conviction for child sex offending. P5 experienced significant grief over the loss of his father, as he felt he should have been there to protect him. Despite this, P5 developed a closer more open relationship with his partner. Within the first 3 months after release P5 obtained a job at a local factory with the help of a family member. P5 reported that he felt very comfortable with his Probation Officer as she knew his family personally.

P6 was a Pakeha man in his 40s who was assessed to be of borderline intelligence and was serving a 3 year sentence for child sexual offending against five male unrelated child victims aged under 12. He had an extensive history of child sex offending. At the time of release he was assessed as moderate-high risk of reoffending. He was returning to live with a married couple in his local community. His history of sexual offending was well-known in the community and he received extensive media coverage regarding his incarceration and release. He described himself as single, a beneficiary, suffering from mental health problems with a few supportive family members living nearby.

Post-release P6 began a three-some type sexual relationship (P6, similar age male and similar age female) with his co-habitants. P6 experienced much happiness in developing his first relationship with adults. However, P6 continued to have a difficult relationship with his parents as they found it difficult to accept him for sexually offending against children. At

times P6 experienced negative community reactions as his offending was well known in the community. Due to his extensive history of offending and high risk of reoffending in the community P6 was subject to an extended supervision order (ESO) to increase the intensity and duration of his monitoring. Three months after release Participant 6 gained voluntary employment for a short period of time. He however experienced several episodes of depression due to constant rejection by employers and the community.

P7 was a Pakeha man in his 40s who was assessed to be of borderline intelligence was serving a 4 year sentence for child sexual offending against an unrelated female aged 12-16 years of age. At the time of release he was assessed as moderate-low risk of reoffending and was returning to live in supported accommodation with a number of other child sex offenders in a city where few people knew about his offending. He described himself as separated from his previous partner, a beneficiary with mental health problems and no supportive family members living nearby. Post-release he declined to participate further in this research stating that he thought "Te Piriti [treatment programme] had been a waste of time and I just want to get on with my life".

P8 was a Maori man in his 60s who was assessed to be of average intelligence and was serving a 4 year sentence for child sexual offending against his granddaughter who was under the age of 12. At the time of release he was assessed as low risk of reoffending, and was returning to live with his sister in a familiar suburb. He described himself as divorced, a beneficiary with physical and mental health problems.

Post-release P8 found it difficult living with his sister as he felt he was an intrusion on her life and in her home. P8 tried to obtain supervised access to his grandchildren without success. He reported experiencing a severe episode of depression due to his lack of contact with his grandchildren. Due to his mental and physical health problems P8 intended to remain on the sickness benefit until he was eligible for the pension. At 6 months after release P8 hoped to buy a house in rural New Zealand in the near future and live off the land. He was negotiating with the Community Probation Service as to the type of residence that would be likely approved as suitable accommodation under the conditions of his parole. Overall P8 experienced a difficult relationship with his Probation Officer.

P9 was a Maori man in his 30s who was assessed to be of average intelligence and was serving an 11 year sentence for child sexual offending against an unrelated female under the age of 12. At the time of release he was assessed as moderate-high risk of reoffending. He had no idea where he would be living. At the last minute PARS arranged accommodation for

him in the central city where he knew few people and had little contact with his family or friends. He described himself as single, a beneficiary with mental health problems.

Post-release P9 found it difficult to form positive relationships with family members as he perceived them to be a negative influence due to their heavy involvement in gangs. Despite this P9 reported that he was able to distant himself from that gang and that he was no longer a patched member. P9's family, however, continued to support him financially by providing him with more substantial accommodation, transport and general financial aid. While at times P9 had trouble managing his eating disorder, he reported that as he became more settled living in the city and forming a routine where he felt much better about himself. P9 explained that while reporting to Community Probation was a hindrance, he had been able to develop a positive relationship with his Probation Officer. He considered that this relationship could have been enhanced if he had been given the option of a Maori Service Provider. At 6 months after release P9 had developed an intimate relationship with a similar age female who was on home detention for violent offending.

Measures

File search: File information was accessed at the New Zealand Department of Corrections to obtain demographic information about age, ethnicity, level of education, IQ, length of current sentence, number of months sentenced to prison over lifetime, number of CSA victims, index offence, completion or non-completion of treatment, and formal release plans. The collection of demographic information provided insight into the variability of the sample and contextual information about each participants' circumstances.

Risk measures: A combined risk score on the ASRS/STATIC-99 (Skelton et al., 2006) and STABLE-2007 (Hanson et al., 2007) as measured by Department of Corrections staff at pre-release (T1) was collected by the primary researcher via file audit. The combined risk score included firstly an assessment of static risk as measured by the Automated Sexual Recidivism Scale (ASRS; Skelton et al., 2006), a New Zealand validated brief actuarial instrument designed to estimate the probability of sexual recidivism among adult males who have been convicted of at least one sexual offence against a child or non-consenting adult. The ASRS scale includes items that assess static factors relating to risk and has been found to accurately classify sex offenders into four risk categories, from low to high risk of sexual recidivism. This instrument provides probability estimates of sexual recidivism and has been

shown to be robustly predictive across a number of representative New Zealand sex offender samples.

The combined risk score also included an assessment of stable dynamic risk as measured by the STABLE-2007 (Hanson et al., 2007) that assesses six relatively stable factors (significant social influences, intimacy deficits, sexual self-regulation, attitudes supportive of sexual assault, cooperation with supervision and general self-regulation) that predict sexual recidivism. The STABLE-2007 has shown to have a moderate ability to differentiate between sexual recidivists and non-recidivists.

Reconviction data: Reconviction data was procedurally collected during the current study via file audit at six months post-release (T3). However research suggests that sexual offending is a low base rate behaviour and therefore the rate of sexual offending within the limited study period (six months) was expected to be low; at one year post-release the average rate of sexual recidivism is only 4% (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004).

Interview schedule: Semi-structured interviews were conducted at pre-release (T1), and post-release (T2, T3) in accordance with three separate interview schedules (see Appendices C, D, E). The purpose of conducting interviews at three time points was to explore the dynamic reintegration process for child sex offenders over time. The semi-structured interview format allowed the interviewer to approach the interview with an open framework in which a conversational style was utilised to focus on specific and sometimes sensitive topics.

A deductive approach was used to develop the interview schedules based on existing literature of reintegrative factors. This produced ten key topics of enquiry: accommodation, social support, employment, knowledge/skills/attributes, financial situation, physical/mental health, stress, culture/identity, long-term goals and community responses. These topics were identified in the literature as relevant to the treatment and reintegration of offenders in general, and specifically within the Good Lives Model (Ward & Stewart, 2003b) of treatment as necessary considerations in the pro-social attainment of goals and meeting needs. See chapter one for a detailed explanation of reintegration factors.

The flexibility of the semi-structured interview format also allowed an inductive approach to be followed, wherein the interview schedule was not strictly followed, and additional follow-up questions were formulated during the interview. This provided space for additional query into specific details, or discussion of individual issues.

The three interview schedules (T1, T2, T3) were reviewed by members of the research team and research advisors within the New Zealand Department of Corrections to

ensure that all important and relevant topics were included. A pilot interview was used to refine the interview questions, question order, and assess if there were any potential problems with the schedule. Some minor modifications were made to the schedules following the feedback from the Department of Corrections and the pilot interview.

Pre-release interviews (T1) began with initial questions regarding participant's expectations for release and the release planning process whilst in prison, designed to elicit information on participants' experience of preparing for reintegration (e.g., "What are the things that you fear upon your release from prison?" or "What do you anticipate you will need or could need to help you successfully reintegrate into the community?"). Post-release interviews (T2, T3) began with initial open-ended questions regarding participant's experience of reintegration at 3 or 6 months after release (e.g., "What types of things have you had difficulty managing in the last three months?"), with particular emphasis on how their experience may have differed from their prior expectations. While it was accepted that some participants would talk freely about many of the key topics of enquiry during initial opened-ended questioning, it was acknowledged that others would require prompts to elicit information specific to the ten key topics of enquiry (e.g., "Who are the important people in your life?", "What type of support does each of these people provide for you?").

As a part of the interview schedule more specific questions relating to each of the key areas of enquiry were developed to be used at the discretion of the interviewer to elicit information as to how each of the key areas may have played a role or impacted on their process of reintegration, as well as allowing participants space to offer any suggestions as to how their reintegration could be, or have been made more successful (e.g., "What would you like to add about your reintegration that I have not asked you about?").

Cultural specific questions were developed after cultural consultation with the Maori Cultural Consultant within the Te Piriti unit. These included such questions as "How would you describe your own culture identity and your connections to your culture?", "Thinking about your own association with your culture, what difficulties related to your culture do you think you may experience upon release?".

Procedure

Ethical approval for the study was granted by the University of Auckland Human Participants and Ethics Committee, and the New Zealand Department of Corrections Ethics Committee.

Psychologists within the Te Piriti unit introduced the study outlining the purpose and proposed methodology in an open forum to all offenders at three points during the recruitment period (October 2007 – January 2008). This ensured that the entire population of child sex offenders incarcerated within the unit during the recruitment period were offered the opportunity to participate. Participants were then asked to meet with the researcher after the meeting to gain further information about the study (Participant Information Sheet; Appendix A) and sign consent forms (Appendix B) if they wanted to participate. If potential participants did not want to participate in the research then did not have to meet with the researcher at any point and they were reassured by staff that their decision to not participate had no repercussions in terms of their treatment, incarceration or release. Participant recruitment occurred over a 4 month period to allow for all pre- and post-release interviews to be completed within a 2 year period.

The researcher was notified by the Reintegration Worker within the Te Piriti Unit as soon as each participant had a confirmed release date by the New Zealand Parole Board. Participants were formally interviewed for approximately 60 to 90 minutes individually, face-to-face, as close as possible to their release date (pre-release) at the Te Piriti unit or transfer prison. Post-release interviews in the community at 3 and 6 months took place within an interview room at the nearest Probation Service Centre to the participants' residence or workplace. Prior to the start of each interview, the researcher outlined the bounds of confidentiality, the consequences of spontaneous disclosure of offending, and their right to withdraw from the study or stop the tape at anytime. All participants gave permission for the interview to be audio taped and for handwritten notes to be taken. In addition, participants were advised of the interview process and the topics to be discussed. All participants regardless of ethnicity, were given the opportunity to request that a Cultural Consultant sit in on the interview(s) to provide support, however all participants declined this opportunity.

Data analysis

Qualitative analysis: The audio-taped interviews were transcribed verbatim and included repetitions, incomplete sentences, pauses, as well as non-verbal cues and gestures as noted at time of interview. Interview transcription was done in part by the primary researcher as active listening of interview content was thought to aid in the early stages of familiarising oneself with the data, in order to prepare for more detailed qualitative analysis (Braun &

Clarke, 2006). Ten percent of interview transcripts were reviewed by my supervisor to evaluate structure and content of interviews.

After transcription of each interview, a theoretical thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke (2006) was conducted. Raw data generated from each interview transcription was collated and reread to allow further familiarisation with the data. My research supervisor and the Maori Cultural Consultant at the New Zealand Department of Corrections reviewed interview transcripts at several points throughout the data collection phase and guided interpretation of the data.

The data itself was organised in separate word processing documents according to semantic content to capture broad features of the data according to the specific research questions; (1) child sex offenders' expectations for reintegration into the community, and (2) child sex offenders' experiences of reintegration into the community. Given that the research was approached with a specific analytic interest - that is data inclusive but not exclusively restricted to reintegration issues identified in the literature – data was then coded (cut and pasted into separate word processing documents) against the ten areas of enquiry whether or not comments were made in response to a particular question around that issue. This produced ten word processing documents for pre-release data and an additional ten documents for each of the post-release data points. The data was semantically organised under the areas of enquiry, while there was space for new or different concepts to be identified, semantic content from the interviews formed a pattern within the ten previously identified areas.

From here, commonalities in the data within the 10 areas were manually highlighted on hard copy documents to identify frequent patterned responses. These were specifically identified as fragments of text that were coded as sharing similarities in terms of content or meaning related to the research questions and reintegration issues. These patterned responses were then collated by copying and pasting data extracts into more refined versions of the original word processing documents to more clearly organise the data into possible themes.

The prevalence of each theme and subtheme across the data set (i.e., at the level of the data item) was noted to provide some gauge for the reader about how each theme was determined in addition to the overall relationship to the research question. In discussing each theme a number of conventions were adopted to represent the prevalence of the theme within the data set, these included 'all participants' (pre-release n=9; post-release; n=8), 'most participants' (pre-release n=7-8; post-release n=6-7), 'many participants' (pre-release n=4-6;

post-release n=4-5), 'some participants' (pre- and post-release n=2-3), and 'one participant' (pre- and post- release n=1).

Several reviews of the data were made to reconsider and process themes and sub-themes. At this stage, what Braun and Clarke (2006) identify as a thematic visual map was used to investigate the frequency of coding, and the relationship between coding, sub-themes, and themes. This is a visual representation similar to a flow diagram of the hierarchical relationship between levels of coding, to determine if the current sub-themes or themes fit the data or require further revision (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). A thematic visual map was used for each of the ten areas of enquiry at all time points, to ensure that the data was clearly represented.

Revision of coding appropriateness and different levels of themes was considered via consultation between the research team and the New Zealand Department of Corrections Maori Cultural Consultant. Feedback was given suggesting modifications to theme level and text fragment location, and subsequent revisions were made to themes to better capture the essence of the data by reviewing the refined word processing documents with data extracts, and producing further thematic visual maps. Themes were then finalised when it was felt that they represented the data set and adequately addressed the research questions.

CHAPTER THREE

EXPECTATIONS FOR RELEASE: ANALYSIS OF THEMES

Through transcribing, coding and analyzing the responses, seven major themes were identified from the pre-release interviews, with further subtheme divisions. While the seven themes fell within the ten areas of enquiry, the reintegration issues identified in the literature did not completely match the reintegration expectations or fears of child sex offenders in the current research.

Fear of Community Members' Reactions

The participants' responses reflected a range of fears about the communities' reactions to their upcoming release from prison. All but one participant described fears of returning to the community as they expected that members of the community would respond negatively to their release. Participants' responses reflected different types of fears about community reactions resulting in two subthemes. They described their fears and worries of being out in public, and they also described more extreme fears of being threatened with violence from members of the community.

Fear of Being Identified as a Sex Offender

The majority of the participants feared that the community would respond negatively if they were to find out about their release and as a result many participants feared being out in public as they perceived that they would be judged or discriminated against.

> You'd be walking down the street and everyone looks at you, they know something you know, and so it's going to grow, excuse the pun it'll take a big amount of balls to be able to walk out on the street with everyone knowing... (P2)

> I guess you hear all things inside that you're walking around with a great neon sign above your head but I've kept that in perspective and thought you know that's silly it depends on who you are I think. I guess that was a small fear, just in how people will react. (P4)

> The other thing I'm fearing from tomorrow onward is walking on the street …I knew a lot of people there…and they all gonna be going…hmm…he's back out on the street, that sex offender that was having sex with...all that time…and that only takes one person and within a week it'll be everywhere. (P6)

Fear of Threats or Violence

The majority of the participants explained that their fear of the community was due to an expectation that they would be persecuted and that members of the community were likely to threaten them or be violent towards them if they were to find out about their past offending. Their responses ranged from worrying about how the community may react, to fears that violence from others was likely due to strong opinions often held about child sex offenders.

Come up to me with violence or try to move me on.. it'll affect me emotionally actually cause I would have to move on..I can't change the past, I can't keep on running so what more can I do than talk it out. (P1)

Ool ugly probably, I would, if the boot was on the other foot and I was the one outside and I knew someone was coming out. (P2)

Probably a brick through the window, paint on the house, torching the car maybe, burn the house down, all sorts of shit. I know of one guy who had windows, his front windows smashed numerous times, like he's married with missus and kids and everything like that, and he offended and he had his front windows smashed a few times with bricks and stones through and he had his son's car got torched in the back shed um the house has been demolished a few times over and been repainted, animals killed. You feel like you're being persecuted for the rest of your life, so unless they legalise guns to shoot people... (P3)

Pre-Arranged Accommodation is Important

The participants' responses highlighted the importance of arranged accommodation that is suitable for the individual given their circumstances. All participants described accommodation arrangements as a critical factor in their upcoming release from prison. Participants' responses reflected different views about significant problems that have an impact on accommodation planning, these included problems of institutionalisation and the uncertainty for offenders of not knowing where they will live, and this resulted in two subthemes.

Uncertainty about Accommodation Arrangements

Many of the participants discussed an uncertainty about their accommodation or lack accommodation arrangements. Their responses ranged from significant worries about not having any arranged accommodation, to worries about the circumstances of their arranged accommodation.

I've got my name down for PARS but I've heard nothing so I don't know. I dunno what's happening. Unless I can get a place approved by Probation I haven't got a place to go when I get out. (P1)

When I had my whanau hui nobody knew where I was going or anything. PARS won't tell ya where your accommodation is going to be, the parole board doesn't know where you're going to be. If PARS falls through, my accommodation is going to be care of army style tent the domain. (P3)

I am worried about going there, just for that fact that I'm going to live with offenders and all that. (P4)

Worries about Coping after Living in an Institution

Many of the participants discussed problems associated with becoming institutionalised to prison life and the subsequent difficulty of adapting to independent living in the community. Their responses centred on worries about being unable to cope in a society that lacks rigid structure and requires offenders take control of their own lives. Many participants expressed a limited sense of agency after living in a prison environment for a long time with a restricted daily routine and lack of opportunities to exert choice.

It's not just a little change…it's a huge change…because I'm basically taken from…how should I put it…Umm…I'm basically being taken from captivity and put in to the wild…And in the wild…anything can happen…I mean there is all sorts of stuff in your hand that you want…as we are in behind bars captivity umm custody there is only a certain amount that you can do. (P7)

I'm used to being told what… when to get up and work…when to get locked up…basically…when to eat…and shower…tomorrow is gonna be like being in an uncontrolled environment…'cause this environment is controlled…it becomes your pattern and you're used to it and you just do it and do it and do it and do it…tomorrow all that's changed…so it's gonna be my old life here and I step over that line tomorrow and move into the future. (P8)

Accommodation That Promotes Independence

Most of the participants described the importance of accommodation that allowed them to work towards leading an independent lifestyle. Their responses represented a mixed view of graduated accommodation with both positive and negative views of half-way house type accommodation with other child sex offenders provided by agencies such as Prisoner Aid and Rehabilitation Society (PARS) or Christian Ministries. All participants described their long term plan was to work toward obtaining their own accommodation and living independently.

I still feel a bit like I'm inside because you have your room and everything else is a communal type of thing…which is good you know, but I still don't feel that I'm connecting with where I want to be...there was none of that before so just seeing myself with my own place, with my own hobbies and with bits and pieces on the side. And living up to those things. Having my family around and my friends. (P4)

I reckon PARS is a good thing for fellas like us, you know, that um get helped get back on our feet and with living…because I can also work with them CPPS or to get my own pad…. yeah it'll be pro, you know probably be pretty easy to do it that way for me because PARS is in contact with probation and can sort of organize things and get it approved quicker. (P9)

Supportive Accommodation is Desired

All of the participants described the importance of accommodation with co-habitants that were supportive of a crime-free lifestyle and could provide support in terms of emotional and practical needs. Their responses consistently considered living with pro-social supportive family or friends as the ideal accommodation immediately after release, however many participants recognised that this was not possible due to parole restrictions (i.e., geographic restrictions, child co-habitants) and considered that any accommodation that was supportive in essence was better than nothing.

If I didn't have supported accommodation, I wouldn't be getting out tomorrow... the people running are Christian people…they are very nice people…so…hmm….they could've said to me ohh don't know…you are sex offender…nah I don't think we want you….but they've given me a chance…like all the other guys there….so…most that…we can do to them is to respect them on the chance...they've basically saved us…from being in jail who would have our whole length...so…and allowed us to come and live with them. (P7)

I told my family cause…they said ahh, you know you should come and, move down in South Auckland. I said no. I said I said, I've got nothing against you fella's, its just the place …like you know, South Auckland's got a bad rep for… everything you know. Crime and that and for me I find it a lot easier not putting myself around that area. Because in saying that I got a lot of whanau that are still…doing the bad stuff and that. But no, I'm ….for me not being around the situation will be a hell of a lot better, yeah. (P9)

Need Employment to Support Self

The participants' responses highlighted their need to obtain employment as they perceived that they would be unable to support themselves financially by other means. All participants described plans to financially support themselves initially by obtaining "steps to freedom" financial support and then applying for a benefit. With the exception of one

participant, all participants described a period of "settling in" to the community before actively trying to obtain employment as they expected that welfare type of support would be financially inadequate long-term. Participants' responses reflected different views about the expected difficulties associated with relying on the benefit as a sole source of income, and expected difficulties finding employment. In addition, participants' responses also reflected the intrinsic value placed in working for a living, particularly the associated satisfaction, and associated increases in self esteem.

Relying on the Benefit will be Difficult

All of the participants described concerns that relying on the benefit or other type of welfare as a sole source of income long-term would be financially difficult. Their responses consistently considered relying on the benefit as an immediate financial solution upon leaving prison. However, all participants considered welfare type financial support as inadequate to support their lifestyle and frequently many participants relied on others such as family or friends in addition to welfare to support them in the short term. Due to the perceived financial difficulties of relying on welfare-type support long-term, this motivated most offenders to actively seek out employment to substitute their income. Others recognised that they would need further advice to be able to manage financially.

> It's not going to cover things, I'm just going to let my bills build up, all they can do is go back to court and turnaround and be like you going to pay this? And I'll be like if you can get blood out of a stone, can't take money out of someone that's got no money. (P3)

> I've never been on the dole before. A stink experience, it's going to pay my rent, going to pay my food and stuff and it's going to keep me going until such time as I can get a job, although it's not much. (P4)

Finding Employment will be Difficult

Most of the participants described concerns and obstacles to finding employment. Their responses included two main types of difficulties, namely general difficulties precluding employment and offender related difficulties precluding employment. General difficulties included health reasons, illiteracy and lack of qualifications. Offender related difficulties included problems obtaining identification after many years in prison, parole restrictions, impact of having a criminal record particularly for child sex offending and recognition of the need to avoid high risk situations (i.e., vicinity of schools or parks).

If they find out what I was in prison for they may not want me for a bar of soap, that's just something I'm going to have to accept, due to the fact they could get guys throwing stuff at the trucks. Somebody could try run me off the road. (P6)

The only difficulty I find in getting a job is…an employer having teenage daughters and thinking well I wouldn't want this guy or this situation happening to my daughter and saying no, sorry you can't have this job…umm where I'm being honest and say wow look, I've done this, I did this, I should admit what I did, I'm letting you know now…so in future you don't find out from someone else, so basically living for a chance actually…(P7)

I guess it's just working in parks where there's teenage girls about…and no supervision, that'll be the problem....so.... labouring wouldn't be..... a   good   idea, anything doesn't matter what it is, as long as it's not near parks and gardens. (P7)

Employment Will Promote Satisfaction and Self esteem

Some of the participants described the importance of obtaining employment for the satisfaction they expected to gain from working for a living and perceived that this would result in an increased sense of self esteem. Participants' responses ranged from thinking that employment was solely a way of becoming financially independent, while others thought that employment was more than a means of making money, something that was enjoyable and provided an opportunity to contribute to society with positive benefits for the self (i.e., self esteem, self image). The following statements represent this theme:

It's not just for the money, I enjoy it. I don't mind the long hours. (P1)

You see your work, you know, you don't just jump in the truck and drive, you see it grow and you see everything working and that's giving me a good um I suppose feeling good about myself, knowing that I helped or I stopped a cow from dying, doing it all yourself. It would give me a lot more self esteem knowing that I could do that. (P2)

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Social Support Is Important

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The participants' responses highlighted their need to have a social support network to successfully reintegrate into the community. All participants described the importance of having supportive relationships particularly from family or friends who are understanding and supportive of developing a pro-social offence-free lifestyle. Participants' responses reflected a range of views about the importance of social support, including the value of positive relationships as a critical supportive factor, the expected difficulties establishing new relationships, and the problematic nature of old relationships.

Positive Relationships are Valuable

All of the participants recognised the value of positive supportive relationships in helping them reintegrate into the community. Participants' responses described positive relationships as supportive of living a pro-social lifestyle in which participants expected positive supporters to challenge, to understand and know them as a person, be available to talk to during difficult times, and provide practical (i.e., transport) and emotional support. One offender discussed the importance of having positive relationships, and suggested that support groups may be an alternative for those offenders who have little or no support.

> They know me well enough and they know that the horrible situations and stuff came from me. So in that sort of way they can see or hear, definitely hear, if something's amiss you know... and be quite willing to say so if they do hear that. Other than that, they are supportive as they have a vehicle and can come pick me up and all those sorts of things and help me out in that way. And just to be there to talk to, that's the big one you know. I can just pick up the phone and talk to them. (P4)

> I don't know what I'd do without them [family/friends]…I'd be like I can't find anybody to help me out…I don't want to talk to this person and that person because they don't know how I'm feeling…it's better that everybody is in that circle towards you, knows about your feelings, you can go to anyone of them, doesn't matter who, and you can be honest with them and tell them everything that's going on and they can help you. (P7)

> Knowing that my whanau is there fully behind me regardless of the life I've lived regardless of the offending… To know that they're still there to you know, I never gave them the time of day back in the past, and that that's something that I'll be forever grateful for, to my family. And, no that's probably my biggest buzz is having the whanau's support and love. (P9)

Establishing New Relationships Will Be Difficult

Many of the participants expected that it would be difficult to establish relationships, particularly new relationships that were able to support the offenders' specific needs as they reintegrated into the community. Participants' responses ranged from thinking that it would be difficult to form new relationships as they expected that many people would respond negatively to their history of child sex offending, while others participants believed that community disclosure of past offending would create a climate of fear and mistrust that would hinder getting to know someone new. Other participants expected difficulties in building new pro-social and appropriate intimate relationships as this was considered a new and foreign experience.

People just don't want me, there is a lot of anger there from a lot of people and I can understand that, within my family, within anyone that's there but once they know who I am and where I'm going, a lot of mistrust big time mistrust cause that's what I broke um there will be a lot of fear there as they don't know how I'm going to act. (P2)

Yeah relationships that has got to be a big one for me. I'm a bit nervous about that ...well just you know from back in the day where everything started out as sexual you know what I want is like a friend at first you know I want to get to know a person which is something I haven't done and that is new for me. (P9)

Old Relationships Can Be a Problem

All of the participants expected to experience difficulties with old relationships with family, friends, associates and other community members. Participants' responses represented three clear areas in considering the problems of old relationships. Within the first area many participants described the negative influence of support people in directly condoning or colluding offending type behaviour and the difficulties in distancing oneself from negative support people who in some cases were also close family members, or the only support they had.

Knowing that it's a bad situation to begin with. And just, not so much avoiding it but making sure I think about it before I go to visit [previous friends who are drug users/dealers] and when I do just to let them know exactly where I am and what I'm doing. (P4)

They're good in that they support me, but I think they want to support me in negative ways... some of them were like can you still do this and still do that and I said fuck no I can't get up to that sort of stuff no more...some of them are still getting used to it. Some of them respect my wishes…I have always told them you know, I said fuck you guys can always come and visit me, but only as a family member not as a gang member...some of them got a bit snarky about it. (P9)

Within the second area most participants described old relationships as conflicted due to the long-term impact of child sex offending on victims and family members as well as the indirect effects such as changes in family roles and hierarchical structure. Old relationships were expected to be different from where they were left many years ago prior to coming to prison. Other participants described the conflicting expectations for themselves compared to family and friends in regard to reforming old relationships.

I've seen what it's done to my family..for me I was hoping my family would support my wife and my two girls and my wife's family support them but they went against them because they were still there for me and I couldn't understand it, couldn't understand where they were coming from..I was in jail out of the way and the conflict stayed there for years. (P2)

I try to contact him [his young son], but my mother who he is living with, every time I ring he's either busy or doing something, he's not home, so yeah. I can't wait for her [his mother] to die actually. As long as I keep paying child support, she's happy. I wouldn't describe her as a support person, I rang her and all she was worried about was what the neighbours would say. So that idea is out the window. There's this thing with me old man, he's never ever been there, I can't be bothered with him either. (P3)

Within the third area some participants described the grief they felt in losing old relationships with family and friends due to their offending or the length of time spent in prison. The loss of these relationships for some acted as a continued reminder of the life they had lost, while others regretted not getting to know their now deceased extended whanau and the possible verbal knowledge that they may have bestowed.

The hardest thing for since I've been in prison, was to let my wife go. And when it was time for her to go, we actually went as friends and that freaked me out cause I thought I'd go backwards big time...knowing now that...the connection that we had is not there, is the hardest part. (P2)

Probation Officers Need To Get to Know You

The participants' responses highlighted the value of Probation Officers taking the time to get to know the individual, rather than making preconceived judgements about them as a person given their history of child sex offending. Most participants explained that they wanted their Probation Officer to get to know who they were as a person to facilitate an open and comfortable relationship for both the offender and the Probation Officer. Participants' responses had minimal variation in the range of views and instead, such responses centred on the need to be understood as a person rather than labelled as just another child sex offender. Some participants suggested that if they had been able to meet with their Probation Officer prior to release this would have helped them feel more comfortable with a clearer understanding of parole requirements. Participants also thought that if this type of meeting was to occur this would also reduce possible pre-judgements by Probation Officers.

It would be good to meet my Probation Officer so they can get to know who I am, what I'm about, how my offending happened, when I offended. Get to know me instead of judging me without seeing me, I don't even know if they read my file or what. (P1)

Ask questions about what's going on and what I need. Actually get to know the person on a one-to-one basis not just oh its number 56, what's he done this week sort of thing, actually talk to people and get to know them, like an accountant gets to know someone else's business, cause if they don't know about the business, the business is going to fall over, they are going to lose clientele, they are going to lose money. So they actually get to know the business owner and figure out how the business is working so that they are on a one-to-one basis, they actually understand it. (P3)

Hope for a New Way of Life

The participants' responses reflected their hope for a new way of life. All participants described their hopes for leading a different lifestyle compared to their lifestyle prior to prison, particularly around the time of offending. Participants' responses reflected different views about the importance of being happy in life and feeling good about yourself, aspirations for themselves and goals for the future, as well as their hopes to be a different person in the future, this resulted in three subthemes.

Hope to be Happy

Some of the participants described the importance of being happy and achieving happiness in life often described as subjective life satisfaction. Participants' responses had minimal variation in the range of views and instead such responses centred on feeling content, happy and good about oneself, while other participants did not acknowledge that happiness was an important factor in life.

I'm quite happy with how things are now, I'm quite happy with myself, with the path that I have taken. I guess I'd be happy if I can continue with this path and just get better at it. Just get better and better at it. If I feel good everything else around me seems to work better. (P4)

Setting Goals is Important

All but one participant described aspirations for the future and the goals they hoped to achieve in living a different lifestyle. The setting of goals appeared to play a critical role in preparing for a new way of life that was somehow different from previously experienced. Participants' responses ranged from setting goals to improve the self physically, mentally and

by learning new skills, providing for family (i.e., buying a house, financial support), obtaining employment to become financially secure, hopes to work towards living independently, reformation of good relationships with family and formation of new positive relationships. The most common goal among participants was to live a crime-free lifestyle, stay out of trouble and keep themselves and everyone else safe.

> Improving myself mentally, physically, improving my life so everything is where it needs to be and improving my kid's life. I would like to have a farm at some point. Something in a trust for my family, my daughters, my girls. I guess my main goal is to have a point where at the right age they'll have some choices, some paths to go down, not just you know, trying to do it themselves. I'd be a happy man if I could do that. (P4)

> I wanna be able to say I got a job, I got a good income, I am still crime-free, I am still general crime-free... sexual crime-free …move to my own place…and that's working fine…I want a new relationship where I don't have rush into it and watch it fall apart down the track. (P7)

> Cause my dream goal is to be home back up home within the next five years after I'm released, own my own business running some little tourist thing up in the bay of islands you know. Just some diving tours, fishing tours…and just take them around home from where our people are from and give them firsthand experience. Show how our people used to live on the Marae and you know. Other goals ah yeah to um definitely re-establish and have a good relationship with my kids and my grandchildren...re-establish contact with my biological mother. (P9)

Wish to Be a Different Person

Many participants described wanting to be a different person and leaving behind the person they perceived themselves to be when they offended. Participants' responses seemed to centre on how they wanted to be remembered, particularly someone who had made mistakes but had also made changes to be a different person.

> I grew up when I came in here. It took me 37 years but I matured when I got in here... I suppose in a couple of words on my headstone um I suppose when it comes to that, a man who picked himself up from failure I suppose instead of someone going down as a total f-wit to someone who did something about what he had done, to see that there is hope in the turmoil of what is going on in our world, yeah that's pretty much who I want to be. (P2)

> I'm on the pathway to live a new different life instead of my old, old life and that's something that's ah…I'm excited about but I also, kind of say scared too. When my days come to an end, I just want to know that from here onwards, I just want to know I've just lived a good life. I haven't forced any more victims. (P9)

Cultural Needs Are Not Considered Important

Participants' responses tended to show a lack of understanding or confusion around cultural identity and cultural needs. Many participants' responses highlighted a lack of identification with their own culture or perhaps a sense of ease living amongst a variety of cultures sometimes experienced by people living in urban environments. Other participants' responses ranged from thinking that culture was not a current priority, difficulty understanding what culture meant in terms of belonging to a community, uncertainty about the process of acceptance into past cultural roles, identifying lines of decent as central to cultural identity, wanting to be open and take responsibility for offending in formal cultural settings to promote cultural healing and prevent the familial cycle of offending.

> I honestly don't know [does not know what he needs culturally]…because from tomorrow there is basically only me moving into the community. I don't have any intentions having anything to do with my family…so…the cultural side of it's out. (P7)

> At the moment just Maori is I suppose...all I do there is all the kitchen work, I'm just one of the workers and make sure everything's done properly where it's suppose to be, but what I've got to do out there, where I'm going next, is just see where I'm allowed to go now and what I'm allowed to do on the Marae and things like that, am I allowed cause of what I've done and where I've gone and with my crime in that am I allowed to go there, my father he's at the hospital now he's got to have an operation and we're not sure if he'll come out or not, with the funeral...I'm going to ask if I'm allowed to go into the whanaunui and see him..a lot of our brothers would just walk in there and not bother about it but it's just the understanding..knowing where I suppose where I stand, within my culture. (P2)

Summary

Child sex offenders' expectations for release differed from what could be expected from the existing literature on reintegrative factors. Interviews were guided by ten areas of enquiry derived from the literature: accommodation, social support, employment, knowledge/skills/attributes, financial situation, physical/mental health, stress, culture/identity, long-term goals and community responses. However participants' expectations produced seven key themes which overlapped but were not identical to the ten areas of enquiry. Child sex offenders' expected that having accommodation and employment arranged prior to release would be advantageous in setting themselves up for a new life after prison. It was anticipated that positive social support from family or friends would encourage them to

pursue a pro-social offence free lifestyle, however many offenders expected that they would have difficulties renegotiating old relationships and forming new relationships. In addition to personal support, offenders hoped that they would be able to develop an understanding and supportive relationship with their Probation Officer. Despite hopes of positive support from others, many offenders feared how the community would react to their release and anticipated that they would be threatened and ostracised from the community. Offenders did not consider that cultural needs were an important consideration when planning for reintegration. Overall offenders who had more comprehensive release plans felt more optimistic or hopeful about release and their ability to reintegrate into the community. To follow on from child sex offenders' expectations for release, the following chapter will consider child sex offenders' experiences of reintegration as identified at post-release (T2 and T3).

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPERIENCES OF RELEASE: ANALYSIS OF THEMES

Through transcribing, coding and analyzing the responses, seven major themes emerged from the post-release interviews, with further subtheme divisions. The data from post-release interviews at 3 (T2) and 6 months (T3) was merged at the data analysis stage as participants noted few differences in their experience of reintegration between the two time points. Any changes in themes over time are identified in the following sections. While the seven themes fell within the ten areas of enquiry, the reintegration issues identified in the literature were not identical to the reintegration experiences of child sex offenders in the current research.

Negative Community Reactions Were Stressful

Many participants described experiencing negative community reactions to their release and attempts to reintegrate into the community. Those participants who experienced negative community reactions described being persecuted on a number of different levels by the community, particularly in settings such as work places, or potential accommodation arrangements. Their experiences of persecution ranged from ostracism, discrimination, attempts to defame character and reputation, pre-judgements of character, malicious rumours, intrusions of privacy (i.e., spied upon by neighbours), community petition, verbal and physical threats to property and person.

> Being ostracized by most people and the ones that actually talk to me are the ones that have problems themselves. Well I don't make it a secret as to what the hell I did, and most people either run the other way or don't want talk to me at all. (P3T2)

> We got a couple of boys there who didn't like the idea of me becoming 2 IC because of where I've just come from. Like when I did talk to them especially the son walks away and has a grump on it and the father wasn't too bad, but he was of the opinion that it's ok but you could tell he wasn't. (P2T2)

Changes over Time - 'Negative Community Reactions'

Participants described feeling like a community target, however over time many participants, to their surprise, had not experienced any negative reactions from the

community. Despite this, many participants took a number measures to prevent others finding out about their history of sexual offending as they feared the repercussions of such a disclosure.

> When you've got a moustache like this and wear a black leather jacket...well I think the reason why that it doesn't happen to me is, because um, how can I put it ah more domineering about my stature, um where as the likes of John Smith he's a bit of a mummy's boy, a bit of a push over and people can see it as, where as with me I don't walk around like I've got something to hide, and yeah then people take a stand back from ya and give you a little bit of space. (P3T2)

> It's very, very strange. I have had no negative anything from anybody. Well, yeah, cause, you know, you hear it inside all the time, that people have got out, for any kind of crime, or whatever, have always said that, you know, oh, "I feel like I've got an arrow pointing at me, and everyone knows what I'm up to and blah, blah, blah, blah, blah." (P4T2)

Accommodation Problems

Most participants described experiencing considerable difficulty finding and retaining accommodation that was appropriate as specified by their parole conditions. Participants experienced three significant problems in relation to accommodation arrangements resulting in three subthemes. These included the negative personal impact resulting from unstable living arrangements, negative influence of co-residents, and difficulty adapting to independent living due to institutionalisation.

Accommodation Instability

Many participants described problems associated with unstable living arrangements, particularly three months after release when PARS accommodation leases were terminated. As this accommodation is designed to be a short term accommodation solution after release, many participants were expected to find alternative accommodation that met parole conditions after this time. Frequently many participants found accommodation that seemed suitable after a viewing, notified their Probation Officer who also viewed the property, however after a number of days or weeks an aspect of the property became a risk factor (i.e., child living/visiting in the vicinity) and the participant was quickly exited from the property. For some this upheaval of moving between properties occurred frequently within the 6 months after release.

Got to move out of this flat up here that I've spent two days in. Got the place checked out and then come Monday, and I've moved all my stuff and paid the $1400 and find out I can't live there. I must have seen 100 houses, but oh shit there's a park down the road. I can't live there. Oh there's a school just down the road, aw, so starting to do my head in you know. (P1T2).

Negative Influence of Co-residents

Some participants described worries about living with people or within situations that indirectly or directly condoned risky or anti-social behaviour. Some participants felt that the negative influence of co-residents was a risk factor for future offending and impacted their quality of life.

I don't want to go to one of those half way houses, there's alcohol, drugs and all that. Not my kind of life, kind of like a jail, with all those people, they share a kitchen, all crowded. Have small rooms and...can't go out to the toilet in my underclothes you know. You would have to always get dressed to go to the toilet. (P1T2)

Worries about Coping after Living in an Institution

Most participants described problems associated with becoming institutionalised to prison life. Participants discussed their anxiety and difficulty adapting to independent living without external structure. During interviews, many participants became emotionally upset when talking about how they were coping in adapting to community life, and it seemed that the problem of institutionalisation was a major stressor in their lives.

Bit shaky at first, for the first month...just getting used to being out again. Not, having to, yeah, realising that I can walk out my door and it's okay. Sort of like that, the, that took a while to get used to. But, yeah, wasn't very comfortable. I was pretty comfortable being in jail, cause least, I had structure... first couple of days I was scared. Not sc-, yeah, scared to come out of my house. You know, it's still get you know, was still getting used to the fact that, you know, that the doors not locked, I can walk out. (P9T2)

Changes over Time - 'Accommodation Problems'

Most participants consistently described their difficulties adapting to living in supported accommodation coupled with the instability of accommodation arrangements. Initially, primary importance was placed on finding any accommodation that appropriately fulfilled parole conditions; however over time the participants placed greater importance on finding 'ideal' accommodation, a place that felt like home or that supported them to live a new or different life.

I don't think PARS is my place, I pay them rent every week but it wasn't my place. They come and do an inspection every week. I had to have my bed perfectly made every time. I had to have the floor cleaned, every day vacuum. I don't have to vacuum every day, it's got a little bit of fluff on it, but it was clean but I cleaned the toilet. I shouldn't have to make my bed every day if I don't want to. So they came in on Monday 'oh your beds not made' but I've been out and it's only a blimming bed, and they go 'oh you've got coke in the fridge'. Yeah I've got coke in the fridge, 'oh aren't you worried about your diet' I said I've just got out of prison. (P1T2)

To be honest I'm quite sick of the place that I'm in, it just doesn't feel like its….my place. I guess, well for me, living with people from inside, reminds you of being there. And you come home and you feel like you're there again. (P4T2)

Over the first six months after release, many participants frequently had difficulty finding accommodation and wanted extra help to find appropriate accommodation. One participant suggested that offenders need to be supported to begin planning for release much earlier to minimize the difficulties experienced at the time of release.

The planning side of Te Piriti is not followed through in my own experience. I started asking questions 12 months before I got to Te Piriti, and no one at Mangaroa [prison] could tell me anything. Although the staff at Te Piriti say they put out information to those prisons, no one at Mangaroa could tell me anything, I mean I talked to unit managers down to case officers. Because you know, planning could be going on before you get there. (P8T2)

Obtaining Employment is Important

Most participants discussed financial difficulties whilst in receipt of an invalids, pension or unemployment benefit as they considered this source of income as insufficient to meet basic needs (i.e., food, rent). As a result most participants considered that obtaining employment was particularly important. Participants discussed a number of positive and negative consequences in their quest to obtain and secure employment resulting in four subthemes. These included a reduction in poverty of living, and often increased self esteem providing a meaning to life. However, many participants frequently experienced difficulty finding employment that could be flexible enough to allow adherence to parole conditions (i.e., reporting times, location of employment), while others experienced frequent rejection by employers due to their history of sexual offending.

Reduces Poverty

Many of the participants described significant difficulties surviving financially on the income of a benefit or other type of welfare. Their responses consistently considered that obtaining employment was critical to improving their financial situation and motivated some participants to actively seek out employment. Those that gained employment experienced reductions in poverty of living and found able to pay their bills and have money left over, while those who continued to rely on the benefit had trouble paying for basic needs and at times needed to rely on others for financial support. Others recognised that they needed financial advice to budget and manage money.

> After rent and everything comes out...you're left with nothing at the end of it, if you've got even enough for all of that... I've got to find some [employment]. But in the meanwhile I haven't got anything on the outside, might as well be sitting in jail cause everything gets paid for. So I just need to get a job so that I can actually start affording to pay for things... on average, I only live off bread and sausages.....and coffee. And that's all I live on. (P3T2)

> It wasn't to begin with. You couldn't live I've never been on such low wages. But it's, it's moving up [since getting a job], you know what I mean, but it's good now as it is cause I'm paying all my bills and I've still got money left over, you know what I mean, so it's a good thing. (P4T3)

Employment Promotes Self-esteem and Satisfaction

Many of the participants described the positive consequences of working for a living, particularly how this effected their self esteem and view of themselves. Participants' responses ranged from thinking that employment was solely a way of becoming financially independent, while others thought that employment was more than a means of making money, something that was enjoyable and provided an opportunity to contribute to society with positive benefits for the self (i.e., self esteem, self image). Some participant's discussed indirect benefits from working such as the opportunity to form fulfilling relationship.

> Work was just a place just to get money, where now I'd stay back now, I'll come in on Saturday's and days off to make sure things got put in place. So it's more, more than that now, it's more than just money making. It's part of my life now you know it's making me feel good as in before I fell into that thing oh I have to be at work cause I have to which made it horrible, but now it's a different place. (P2T3)

Feels really good, you know, I mean, the fact that they want me to go with them into these new venture and all that sort of thing, you know, is, well it says something, and that's why I kind of, I do my best at, when I'm at work and, and, and be there when they kind of need it as much as I can. (P4T3)

Difficulties Obtaining Employment

Most of the participants described a number of difficulties they had encountered in the process of trying to find and secure employment. Their responses included two main types of difficulties, namely the impact of parole restrictions, and the emotional impact of being frequently rejected from employment due to having a criminal history of sexual offending.

I've been offered but i'm gonna wait till I get off probation, cause probation would want to ring in and it's not worth the hassle. I don't know it just seems easier. If i've come off probation I won't have to take time off work as well. (P1T3)

I've seen them in the papers and I've rung up and I've said "excuse me, I'm interested in the job you have got advertised in the paper, but I will be honest and truthful with you, before we go any further, I am on parole and I have to run everything that I do past my Probation Officer due to the fact that I've been in prison." Very sorry sir, but, when you're off parole ring us and we'll have a look at it then, but while you're on parole we're not interested in employing you." (P6T3)

I've been to, and asked about jobs and what not, and as soon as you mention "I'm on parole and I've been in prison, I've." "Would you get off the premises please, we're not interested". I've got to understand. Some people may not like you wanting [a job], but it makes it frustrating and gets me angry and that's when I get depressed and go backwards a little bit. (P6T3)

Changes over Time - 'Employment'

Over time all participants continued to experience the same problems in trying to survive on the benefit and realising that finding an alternative source of income was an important factor in their reintegration. Many participants continued to experience difficulties securing employment, with one participant suggesting that if WINZ had a list of employers that were willing to consider people who had a criminal history for employment, this could potentially reduce the anxiety associated with applying for a job.

If employers actually went on a list if they were prepared to take on, ex convicts it would help. Yeah it would give you someone that you could actually phone and turn around and say hey have you got something, even if it is only one day a week or something like that, it's a foot in the door sort of thing to be able to get some work. (P3T3)

Social Support is Important

All participants described their experiences of the importance of having a social support network to successfully reintegrate into the community. Participants' responses reflected a range of views about the importance of social support particularly the value of positive supportive relationships, the difficult process trying to reform or renegotiate old relationships, while forming new relationships was viewed as difficult but an exciting process, this resulted in four subthemes. Over time, participants described experiencing no stable change in social support, and perceived the social support to be equally important at 3 and 6 months post-release, similarly participants described the same difficulties in negotiating old relationships and forming new relationships.

Positive Relationships Are Valuable

All of the participants recognised the value of positive supportive relationships in helping them reintegrate into the community. Participants' responses described positive relationships as supportive of living a pro-social lifestyle in which participants expected positive supporters to challenge, understand and know them as a person, be available to talk to during difficult times, and provide practical (i.e., transport) and emotional support. One participant suggested that support groups may be an alternative for those offenders who have little or no support.

> I just need someone who will be there to actually understand where I'm coming from. That's all I need. It's more important than money, it's more important than accommodation, just to have somebody that when something goes wrong, I can actually ring them up, and say "hey, this is happening, what can I do about it?". Someone who I can actually trust and rely on. (P3T2)

> Keep looking for that positive support, because it helps. You need it, you need as much positive, I reckon the more positiveness you surround yourself with out here, the better. It helps me, it lets me know that I'm loved, I don't have to do anything on my own any more. It's alright to ask for help. I realise that some guys out here have got no one, but hey, there's always someone out there for them, regardless if it's family or just someone that cares. (P9T2)

Difficult Negotiating Old Relationships

All of the participants found it difficult to rebuild or negotiate old relationships under new terms with family, friends, and other community members. Participants' responses described a number of difficulties or barriers to negotiating old relationships such as the

changed relationship between perpetrator and victim/s (often familial), the changed relationship with previous adult partners, the residual impact of sexual offending, external expectations or judgements about the offender, the offender's family feel they are to blame for the sexual offending, and disagreement among supporters as to whether an offender has 'done their time' or should be further punished/restricted (i.e., not allowed to come to family events).

> She didn't know what to call me and I just called her what I always called her I called her mate and I could tell she was uncomfortable with it, and she was calling me [by his name]. You just have to call me what you think you have to call me, I said it's not my call it's yours. So she went straight back to calling me Dad again. (P2T2)

> There's a lot of family out there that are, they're not negative to me but they want me to get up to the negative things again. And there're some family members out there, that don't like what I did, but hey, I respect their opinions and they've every right to feel that way. But I don't surround myself with them. (P9T2)

> Dad said "we don't condone what you've done, we forgive you. We know that it happened to you when you were young and we did not realise there was help for you, obviously it's plagued on your mind and upset you as you've grow up and it's made you offend, which we sort of feel as we're to blame." (P6T3)

Establishing New Relationships Is Difficult

Many of the participants found it difficult to establish new relationships, particularly supportive relationships with people who were understanding of the difficulties they faced as a sex offender and reintegrating into the community. Participants' responses ranged from considering the prospect of developing new relationships as somewhat impossible given their history of offending, while other participants' developed intimate partner relationships, but still found it difficult to accept that they were valued as a person, rather than judged for the crimes they had committed.

> Fear of her not understanding where I've been, and the changes that I have made. And not giving me a chance or not being open enough to see that. (P4T2)

> At the moment we're just taking one day at a time, cause I sat down with her and said if this goes any further you'll have to know why I went to prison and she goes 'oh I already know'. I said to her 'what do you know' and the hardest thing for me was to sit there knowing this lady wanted to go to the next step and she knew what I had done, she said you're a good person from what I can see. (P2T3)

Probation Officers Are Unsupportive

All but one participant described their experiences within the Community Probation and Psychological Service (CPPS) and particularly their interactions with their case officer or Probation Officer as unsupportive and negative in a number of areas, hindering their ability to reintegrate into the community. Participants' responses reflected a range of views about the importance of being understood as an individual, having a Probation Officer that is flexible and responsive to individual needs, the tedious and often unhelpful nature of relapse prevention groups run by CPPS, and the need for further support from Probation Officers, this resulted in four subthemes. Over time, participants' described experiencing no stable change in the level of support they received from their Probation Officer, and encountered the same difficulties as outlined in the four subthemes to be equally present at 3 and 6 months post-release.

Need to be Understood as an Individual

Participants' responses highlighted the value of Probation Officers taking the time to get to know them as an individual, rather than making preconceived judgements about them as a person given their criminal history of child sex offending. All participants explained that they wanted their Probation Officer to get to know them as a person, however many participants' experienced multiple case officers with a lack of individual rapport and feeling like they were treated as just another child sex offender rather than an individual person with individual needs. Some participants' described working hard to develop a good relationship with their Probation Officer to a point where they described experiencing mutual respect and trust.

> All they want to do in Auckland do is just get you in the door and out the door again, they're not actually interested in what you've been doing or anything like that, they don't actually want to take an interest in you because they've got so many people. (P3T3)

> I think the biggest problem is that everybody's put in the one basket, being treated by officialdom as the worst of the worst. Regardless of who they offended with, the age of the offence etc. And I don't think that's helpful to the individual people. I know it's hard from a from the legal side of it to treat one different to another. Yet nobody wants to listen to you and nobody wants to help you deal with it. I just think to myself, although I sit there and talk the word, I know that "oh, this is going to be a waste of breath. You'll be out of there in five minutes, forget about it." You back off

and close down. You reveal only what you need to reveal. They need to become your confident and friend, as much as they can. (P8T3)

Lack of Flexibility

All participants' described their Probation Officer as inflexible and unresponsive to individual needs. Participants' responses had minimal variation in the range of views and instead such responses centred on situations where they believed that the inflexibility of their Probation Officer had hindered their reintegration (i.e., work commitments, securing accommodation, and building relationships with the community). While most participants' could understand the need for Probation Officers to 'follow the book' and enforce their conditions, they explained that it was the way in which these conditions were enforced in a blanket-type approach that served to create hostility rather than reduce specific risks for each offender.

> They yell it so the whole neighbourhood can hear [community announcement that he is a child sex offender]. I don't believe that that's how it should be done. Perhaps if locked the door and said my names so and so, and I'm from Probation instead of going out, instead of looking at the town and yelling it [that he is a child sex offender]. Nobody wants it to be shouted out; I know they need to know. Kids don't need to hear it. Yes the adults might need to know but the kids don't need to know. (P1T2)

> They try to make it such a forceful thing with all the conditions, but to try and make them understand that this is part of the journey. Trying to be flexible to a point where you help people do what they have to do. But there are different ways of making them understand how to do it. (P2T2)

> Actually have someone turn around and say "well, okay,we'll try this, try that" instead of having all this "we can't do this over the phone, well, come and see us next week". That's the sort answer that I keep getting every time I ring my probey. It doesn't work you need that support then and there, not three weeks down the track, because by that time the situation has changed. You get no support, all you get is this big, heavy handed, "your going to do this, your going to do that, whether you like it or not." (P3T2)

Relapse Prevention Groups Unhelpful

The participants' responses reflected their experience of relapse prevention groups run by Community Probation and Psychological Services (CPPS) as unhelpful and unnecessary for successful reintegration. Most participants' explained that they found the relapse prevention groups ran infrequently and therefore they were unable to establish trust or relationships within the group, others described the content of relapse prevention groups as

not targeting the real issues, or that the content was traumatic and brought up past memories of their own abuse, or simply taught offenders how to get away with future crimes.

> You don't see these people for a whole month, so it's really hard to get involved because they're just strangers...we had one guy talking about something that was on the news, and he spent an hour of the session talking about this irrelevant sort of thing. And I'm sitting there tired, I'm in a group for five hours, and I'm sitting there thinking, let's talk about something that's real you know, let's talk about what we're doing here, you know and life stuff, how people are getting on, you know some guy might be having trouble getting a job or something you know, or feel shame about going to an interview and having to explain himself and you might be able to give him some pointers or something. But those things don't seem to come up. (P4T2)

> I think it's a waste of time, all I'm hearing is their stories, and it makes me feel bad even more hearing about other victims out there. It hurts me that stuff, I can't get to sleep at night. (P1T3)

Further Support is Needed from Probation

As a result of participants' experiences of Community Probation and Psychological Services (CPPS) as unsupportive, unwilling to understand the individual and inflexible, many participants' highlighted the need for Probation Officers to further support offenders on a personal and practical level. Their responses canvassed a range of aspects in regard to reintegration where they thought Probation Officers could further support them, these included having legal documents organized prior to leaving prison (i.e., birth certificates, WINZ payments, bank accounts), having someone to contact to advise them how to access particular services rather than assuming offenders know how to use a phone book for example, extra support finding employment to reduce the affects of rejection, and being genuinely available for emotional support on a personal level.

> I suppose having a phone number they can call if they want to do something like that, say Maori Ora…When you have a problem or even before that, like some of them are getting out and they think they got jobs, they think they got accommodation, they think these things are happening and all of a sudden it's not there. I was apprehensive when I walked into WINZ and the bank cause' I'd been to prison. And if the boys haven't got all that before they leave they don't have to go through that. (P2T2)

> It's not that hard to do an internet search- okay you've got someone that's come out of jail, they've got these skills, they've got this sort of background, and this medical history. Okay, when they first get out, it's not that damn hard to combine all of that criteria together, and have a list. Okay well we've got these jobs that can apply for, and we've got these places that are approved that you can go and check out. (P3T2)

Coming in here is probably the hardest thing now. I don't reckon there's going to be a car park and they say oh you can catch the train or the bus, I don't like doing it cause I don't know which bus goes where. I can't read or write so I don't know where the bus goes if i'm by myself. Which bus do you take, because there's nobody at the bus station, got them all on the timetable but I can't read. Oh where am I going? (P1T3)

Building a Life

Many participants reflected the importance they placed on building a new life after leaving prison. Participants' responses reflected a range of views about the importance of building a new life, particularly their belief about their capabilities to attain certain goals or manage prospective situations, the value placed in being happy with who you are, as well as being part of society or a family, and the planning of future goals or aspirations, this resulted in four subthemes. Over time, participants described experiencing no changes in their endeavours to build a new life, placing the same value on aspects of self-efficacy, happiness and goal setting/future planning at 3 and 6 months post-release.

Having Self-efficacy

Many participants described the belief in oneself as an important aspect in the process of change and reintegrating into the community. Belief in oneself as a good person who has the ability to change with thoughts, feelings, and beliefs that are valid, appeared to play a critical role in motivating participants to build a life as they desired. Participants' responses ranged from being true to themselves to having a strong belief in themselves as an active participant in their life choices.

Still a good person inside, so I kept looking for that person, and understanding where it was, and not beating myself up, if something bad comes owning that part and I suppose that's the part I'm talking about owning, if you own it, understand it and then know what the experience has done you keep on walking. (P2T3)

Every time I, sort of, bring something up like that it's like, "well, no, you can't be doing this, you can't be doing that." And I'm sort of, "look, you know, this is who I am, I'm not just an offender, you know, I am a person with my own needs and my own beliefs." (P9T3)

Happiness

Some of the participants described the importance of being happy and achieving happiness in life often described as subjective life satisfaction. Participants' responses had

minimal variation in the range of views and instead such responses centred on achieving an aspiration or task that perhaps is difficult or requires much forethought/planning, as the path to happiness in oneself. Other participants did not acknowledge that happiness was an important factor in life.

> I call it the poxy lifestyle. It's sort of like, I don't know, holding you're glass of wine with your pinky hanging out, kind of thing, you know, you're pinky sticking up with a swimming pool, and having a nice house and having some money put away that you know you can call on whenever you need it, and just being happy with who you are and what you're doing and with work and life and the people that you're with. That'll, that'd be my ultimate happiness. (P4T3)

> Oh, I've just been happy, happy go lucky and feeling real happy when I'm able to achieve something. I start out doing it and it gets, starts to get frustrating, so I walk away from it for five minutes, then I walk back and it all falls into place, and goes real well for me, and that brings me, a real happy feeling, I've been able to achieve and finish something I've started. And I really and truly get happy with me self about that. (P6T3)

Being part of society

Many participants described learning the value of being part of something, whether that be contributing to society or feeling part of a family or social group. Participants' responses had minimal variation in the range of views and instead such responses centred on their experiences of being excluded from society whilst imprisoned, and the value they now placed on being part of the world.

> Just having contact with people and feeling like I am part of the world, and um, feeling good about it. You know I almost feel like I'm high off it. You know that same buzz I used to get when I was banging up the 'P' or what ever, I was, I'm getting the same sort of thing now. Just the ideas I used to get when I was on that, and thinking they were really good ideas. I am getting those ideas. And they are really good ideas. And I'm putting them into practice, and it's a buzz. (P4T2)

> Prison's just done the world of good for me cause' I realize how precious every single moment is, hence why I don't mind working and before I went to prison, if I had sick days I'd have every single one of them, and if there were any other days after that I would have them as well. (P2T3)

Planning for the future

All participants described goals or aspirations for the future and how these represented the new life they wished to lead. The setting of goals and development of plans for the future appeared to be a significant motivating factor in continuing to build a new life.

Participants' responses ranged from providing for family (i.e., buying a house, financial support), being open and honest, developing happy relationships and spending time as a father or grandfather with children, proving to others that they had made changes, and returning to past hobbies or employment.

> At this stage I'm building the foundations, but I guess where I'm heading to is a future where it's just you know a little bit easier. I don't like living from week to week like I used to. It's about my kids, and giving them something when they're older where they have a bit more opportunity. I guess, just having a family that works together. If I'm able to be in a position where I can do that and not feel guilty and not have these hidden agendas, I'll be a happy man. (P4T2)

> Five years from now, well happily married, hopefully a couple of tamarikis, heaps of mokos, and just kicking back with my partner. Yeah, but definitely, I want to be married in five years time, settle up North, working. And just being a loving dad and granddad, that's all I can be. (P9T2)

> My goals are to try and move on, prove to [the] public, and Probation Officers, that I'm not going to reoffend. I've got no interest in reoffending whatsoever. And try and prove, so that I can get off my ESO earlier, and return to my favourite job before I get too much older, get back working, driving trucks, if I can. (P6T3)

Cultural Accountability

Participants' responses highlighted the importance of culture and cultural identity as a central aspect to their reintegration. Many participants described the need to be culturally accountable for their offending, particularly in front of family, friends, and victims within formal cultural settings (i.e., on the marae, Powhiri), however as participants were often faced with resistance to prevent the family name being brought into disrepute, while other participants discussed cultural engagement as a function of identity, this resulted in two subthemes. Over time, participants' described experiencing no changes in the importance that they placed on cultural accountability and cultural identity at 3 and 6 months post-release.

Family Resistance of Offending Disclosure in Cultural Settings

Some participants discussed the importance they placed on wanting to be open and take responsibility for their offending in a formal cultural setting to promote cultural healing and prevent the familial cycle of abuse. However, these participants encountered much resistance from their family in their attempts to be open about child sexual abuse, with participants' feeling like family members did not want such abuse to be brought out into the

open as this may bring the family name into disrepute or have other consequences. Participants' felt strongly about their families' resistance to allow such disclosure in a cultural setting, and perceived their families to be excusing or covering up child sexual abuse. Other participants' did not acknowledge any desire to disclosure their offending in a cultural setting.

> All my family knows I want to get back into, stand up on a marae, definitely, and do the big whanau hui, cause that's something, that's still part of my goals that I want to do. I explained I want to do [this] for the whanau. And, he's going "oh, boy, you know, in our culture, we shouldn't be bringing that shit up, we should just leave that stuff in the past". I said, "well, maybe in the culture you're thinking about in your head, but ," I said, "fuck, I want the cycle to stop at me mate." And he's going "oh, you know, but, but" and I said, "there's no buts about it." I said, got to stop thinking back in the old days, that cause we were tutū-ed with when we were little it was, it was only, it's not that bad, and I said "it's affecting our tamariki." It's affecting lives all over. But yeah, he's just like the rest of my Dad's brothers, all stubborn. I think they're just scared to air out their laundry. I don't know if that might be just what they're scared about, they don't want [it] to all come out to light, but, I'm not there to, to put the light on them, I just want to get my shit out. And let all my whanau, give them understanding what was going on. (P9T2)

Cultural Engagement is about Identity

Many participants described how engagement with their culture on a number of different levels was an important aspect of their identity. Participants' responses ranged from wanted to be involved in cultural customs, language and heritage, to reconnecting with cultural elders.

> It's about finding out genealogy kind of stuff and obviously also language, tikanga, which is practices and protocols around certain areas and places and stuff. So it's all based around the identity thing. Just knowing where I've come from. You sort of don't know where to go, if you don't know where your from. I think that's the problem with a lot of, especially, Maori you know. They just, don't know who they are and there's always this inner things because of who they are. You know they're screaming out for that. So I reckon that's a big issue for a lot of people. (P4T2)

Summary

Child sex offenders' experiences of reintegration differed from what could be expected from the existing literature on reintegrative factors. Interviews were guided by ten areas of enquiry derived from the literature: accommodation, social support, employment, knowledge/skills/attributes, financial situation, physical/mental health, stress, culture/identity,

long-term goals and community responses. However participants' experiences produced seven key themes which overlapped but were not identical to the ten areas of enquiry. Child sex offenders' experienced unstable and often unsuitable accommodation arrangements and significant difficulties obtaining employment due to their criminal history. Despite difficulties getting a job, offenders perceived that employment was a means by which to relieve financial stress and provide meaning to life. As expected, positive social support was experienced as important to reintegrate into the community, however many offenders experienced difficulties renegotiating old relationships and forming new relationships. Despite hopes of support from professionals, offenders experienced Probation Officers as unsupportive. For many offenders their initial fears of negative community reactions were confirmed, with a range of experiences of persecution by way of threats, discrimination and violence. After release, some offenders considered that they needed to be culturally accountable for their offending in formal cultural settings in order to move forward with life. Overall building a new life was perceived to be a key goal or benchmark for successful reintegration into the community. Child sex offenders who had more comprehensive reintegration plans experienced fewer difficulties in the community. As a result offenders with more comprehensive reintegration plans were more optimistic at pre-release and experienced reintegration as a positive process.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

This chapter begins by reviewing the main aims of the research. The interpretations are then summarised and these provide the basis for describing the components of "successful" reintegration from the experience of child sex offenders. Next, the strengths and limitations of this study are examined. This is followed by suggested directions for future research.

The present study was guided by two main aims. The first aim was to describe child sex offenders' expectations of the factors that would aid or hinder their reintegration into the community. This included exploring their expectations for reintegration and the associated factors that participants anticipated would aid or hinder their reintegration. This was termed the pre-release data or time one data, as it was collected via interview with each participant prior to release from prison.

The second aim was to describe child sex offenders' experiences of the factors that aided or hindered their reintegration into the community. This included exploring their experiences of reintegration in the preceding 3 months, particularly those factors that participants considered aided or hindered their reintegration. This was termed the post-release data or time two/three data, as it was collected via interview at two time points (3 and 6 months) with each participant after release from prison. Any changes that occurred between 3 months post-release and 6 months post-release were also documented.

The themes identified and described at pre-release (T1) and post-release (T2 and T3) were similar in terms of the issues they canvassed as the interview schedules were based on existing literature on reintegrative factors. Overall this study demonstrated that most child sex offenders feared returning to society, as they expected that the public would respond negatively to their release, they were worried about their living arrangements, how they were going to support themselves financially, renegotiating old relationships, forming a relationship with their Probation Officer, while hoping to live a new way of life. Similarly, when the child sex offenders were released, men did experience negative community reactions (as they had feared), unstable accommodation arrangements, difficulty obtaining employment and financially supporting themselves, problems negotiating old relationships and forming new prosocial relationships, feeling unsupported by their Probation Officer, while trying to build a new way of life where they were able to be culturally accountable.

While this study demonstrated that child sex offenders anticipate and experience difficulties reintegrating into the community, it is important to recognise the range of expectations and experiences reported by participants. Those child sex offenders who presented as more optimistic at pre-release considered release as an opportunity, that they could visualise and discuss their future in concrete terms. It appeared that while there were still considerable barriers to reintegration for these child sex offenders, their release plan had an element of certainty. For example, they knew the area where they were going to live in, they were familiar with their accommodation arrangements, had employment pre-arranged, had a number of positive supporters and had begun reconciling with victims, and had a number of realistic goals for how life would be different. As a result, on release, these child sex offenders felt more satisfied and secure with their situation. This was evident in their report of greater security in their living arrangements, financial independence, proactive behaviour about forming relationships with positive supporters and their Probation Officer, beginning to put their goals into action and taking responsibility for their offending within cultural settings.

Overall, offenders tended to fall into one of two groups. Those offenders who expected that there would be difficulties but that they were not insurmountable, believed that things would work out and reported more positive experiences in the community, tending to approach new experiences with a "go getter" attitude. Conversely, those offenders that expected negative things to happen or perceived that there were formidable barriers to reintegration, experienced such difficulties in the community.

Expectations and Experiences of Reintegration

Thematic analysis of the qualitative data collected at pre-release (T1) and post-release (T2 and T3) revealed that it may be helpful to conceptualise offender *expectations* and *experiences* of reintegration under one of seven themes, as opposed to the four broad categories of individual needs, social needs, accommodation and employment outlined in the literature (Graffam et al., 2004; Petersilia, 2003). These themes can be broadly described as; community reactions, accommodation, employment, social support, professional support, hope for a new life, and cultural needs.

Most participants feared returning to the community as they expected that members of the community would respond negatively to their release. In particular, participants' fears focused on being identified as a sex offender and then being subject to violence, threats or

discrimination. The literature outlines the risks associated with the ostracisation of child sex as a result of negative community reactions or management strategies such as community notification (Beck, Clingermayer & Ramsey, 2004). Such risks include increasing social isolation and leading some offenders to harbour feelings of resentment towards the community. The current research suggests that negative community responses strongly affect child sex offenders' expectations and their hope for successful reintegration.

As expected by them at pre-release, some participants did indeed experience negative community reactions, particularly in settings such as work places, or potential accommodation arrangements. Their experiences of persecution ranged from ostracism, discrimination, attempts to defame character and reputation, pre-judgements of character, malicious rumours, intrusions of privacy (e.g., spied upon by neighbors), community petition, verbal and physical threats causing much stress and anxiety. Because of the fear of negative community reactions, many participants took a number of steps to prevent people finding out about their history of offending (e.g., omitting their offending history to employers).

The literature discusses the effect of negative community responses on the reintegration of child sex offenders, however this is often downplayed as the fault of the offender as they should not have sexually abused children (Uggen, Manza, & Behrens, 2004). Yet this could be interpreted as a double jeopardy type situation where the community perceives that the sentence the offender served was not sufficient and they deserve to be additionally punished by the community. It appears in this situation that justice responses to child sex offending are not adequately meeting the needs of the community. Apart from the direct negative effects of persecution or ostracisation, the current study suggests that the fear of being a target creates stress, which can cause physical and mental health problems, a perception of powerlessness, and present-orientated failure hindering adjustment (Graffam et al., 2004, Phillips, 1991). From the experiences of the participants in the current study, thorough reintegration pre-planning appears to mitigate stress, allow visualisation of future life and increase optimism for reintegration success.

Participants reported that planning and having accommodation arranged prior to release was critical to success in the community. Participants highlighted a number of accommodation problems that impacted their ability to adapt to living in the community. When participants lacked accommodation or there was uncertainty around accommodation arrangements, there was considerable anxiety about moving into the community or potentially being detained for longer in prison (e.g., P1 [whilst crying]: "I don't know where I'm going, what I'm doing, or how I'll cope").

For others having pre-arranged accommodation provided some perceived structure, as they worried about being able to cope in a society after becoming institutionalised to prison life. Many participants had completed previous prison sentences, with 4.6 years on average spent in prison for the current sentence. Others however, considered that having pre-arranged accommodation as a stepping stone for graduated release to independent living. Overall pre-arranged accommodation that included a social support system that was supportive of a crime-free lifestyle was desired. However this was not possible for many participants due to child inhabitants or geographic restrictions.

Participants' emphasis on pre-arranged accommodation is important as it parallels concerns outlined in previous research that accommodation is critical for success (Whitty, 2004), and without such accommodation it is unlikely that other reintegrative needs will be met (Hammett et al., 2001). Typically New Zealand practice outlines that accommodation will be arranged for offenders prior to release, however in the current study within 1 week prior to release three of the nine participants did not know where they would live.

Two of the key barriers for reintegration staff in arranging accommodation for child sex offenders included residence restrictions (i.e., required to live a certain distance from areas were children were likely to reside/attend), and lack of family support to provide parole-acceptable. As a result reintegration staff members relied heavily on support agency accommodation (i.e., PARS, Christian Ministries). At times the support agencies were unable to meet the demand to house child sex offenders.

Participants experienced three significant problems in relation to accommodation arrangements, these included the negative personal impact resulting from unstable living arrangements, negative influence of co-residents, and difficulty adapting to independent living due to institutionalisation. Primary importance was placed on finding any accommodation that appropriately fulfilled parole conditions; however over time the participants placed greater importance on finding 'ideal' accommodation, a place that felt like home or that supported them to live a new or different life.

As is highlighted in the literature, accommodation arrangements that focus solely on the management of risk, which at times leads to situational marginalisation and environmental deprivation, continue to be a significant problem for offenders reintegrating into the community (Levenson & Cotter, 2005a). By continuing to segregate and isolate child sex offenders through accommodation arrangements, it is neither encouraging offenders to be part of the pro-social community nor reducing the risk of reoffending.

Participants perceived that they would need to obtain employment to be able to support themselves financially. Participants planned to financially support themselves initially by obtaining 'steps to freedom' financial support (one-off payment to prisoners leaving prison) and then applying for a benefit, described as a "settling in" period, before actively trying to obtain employment as they expected that welfare type of support would be financially inadequate long-term. Participants anticipated that employment was more than 'just making money' and was a way of contributing or working for a living, associated with life satisfaction and increases in self esteem. However, participants expected that gaining employment would be extremely difficult due to general difficulties such as health problems, illiteracy and lack of qualifications, and offender-related difficulties such as lack of identification, history of offending particularly child sex offending, parole restrictions or commitments, and need to avoid high risk situations (e.g., P6: this man was not permitted to drive long-haul trucks as this would give him the opportunity to use bathrooms in isolated locations and potentially abuse children in bathrooms - a common feature of his offending).

The expectation by participants that employment is necessary to support adjustment is matched by assertions in the literature that employment offers more than financial benefits, in terms of being a meaningful activity that gives offenders a role as productive members of society (Taxman et al., 2002). Alternatively employment instability is considered a predictor of sexual recidivism (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004), highlighting the importance of obtaining stable employment. In the current study, only one of the nine participants had employment arranged prior to release. The pre-planned arrangement of employment was perceived to be an important factor in this participant's reintegration, as it provided financial stability, opportunities to upskill, social contact, and meaning to life.

As expected by participants at pre-release, many participants experienced financial difficulties whilst in receipt of the invalids, pension or unemployment benefit as they considered this source of income as insufficient to meet basic needs. As a result most participants considered that obtaining employment was particularly important. Participants discussed a number of positive and negative consequences in their quest to obtain and secure employment, such as reductions in poverty of living, and often obtaining a job led indirectly to increases in self esteem as the job provided a new meaning to life (e.g., repaying society, reason to get up in the morning, responsibility). However, many participants experienced difficulty finding employment that could be flexible enough to allow adherence to parole conditions (i.e., reporting times, location of employment). While others experienced frequent

rejection by employers due to their history of sexual offending that was revealed by criminal record checks or direct questions about offending.

Over time all participants experienced the same problems in trying to survive on the benefit and realising that finding an alternative source of income was an important factor in their reintegration. Many participants continued to experience difficulties securing employment, with one participant suggesting that if WINZ had a list of employers that were willing to consider people who had a criminal history for employment. This could potentially reduce the anxiety associated with applying for a job and reduce the likelihood of rejection.

As stated above, employment is considered to have a number of positive benefits in addition to financial gains (Taxman et al., 2002), but is frequently too difficult to obtain. Given that working for a living may be one of the key markers in the process of reintegration, there appears to be a number of barriers for child sex offenders in obtaining employment. A number of offenders in the current study reported motivation to work but were unable to obtain employment; one possible consideration may include increasing offenders' likelihood of gaining employment by teaching work skills (i.e., job interview skills, communication). Alternatively, considering what further factors inhibit or prevent offending obtaining jobs (i.e., fear, prejudice by employers etc.), or how offenders can be further supported to work towards holding a job (i.e., volunteer work, trials).

Participants reported that they expected they would need to have a social support network to successfully reintegrate into the community, particularly family or friends who were understanding and supportive of them developing a pro-social offence-free lifestyle. However, participants expected difficulties establishing new relationships due to their history of child sex offending, while adult intimate relationships were considered a foreign experience. Old relationships were anticipated to cause problems during reintegration due to condoning or colluding offending behaviour (e.g., P9: family heavily involved in gangs), while the reformation of old relationships was expected to be significantly difficult due to the long-term impact of their offending, as their offences were often against their family (e.g., P8: family contact restricted due to the presence of historical victims). Social support at pre-release for the participants in the current study ranged from no supporters, to families and communities that took an active vigilantism approach.

While it is recognised that social support can be a positive and invaluable resource for offenders (Naser & La Vigne, 2006), it is acknowledged that like the participants in the current study, social support systems are diverse and variable (Graffam et al., 2004). However, participants in the current study appeared to place significant value or weight on

the existence of relationships that support an offence-free lifestyle, and did not discriminate on who they expected this support to come from or did not clearly anticipate their role within their social support system (e.g., P4: Unsure of his place in his family after committing familial offending). Participants frequently did not have high expectations for the support they could expect from their family, friends or social support system (e.g., P3: Felt that he could not rely on his family to support him as they had disowned him many years ago due to his offending). Many participants considered that their Probation Officer was likely to be a central person in their support system. Overall, any positive support was considered better than no support. Over time, participants described experiencing no changes in the type or quality of social support they received, and continued to experience significant difficulties negotiating old relationships and forming new relationships.

As previously documented in the literature, social support appears to be an important factor for reintegration of child sex offenders as well as general offenders (Naser & La Vigne, 2006). While there is little doubt that positive social support in a myriad of ways empowers offenders to adapt to society (i.e., La Vigne et al., 2004; Sullivan et al., 2002; Uggen et al., 2004), problems arise when an offender has little or no positive support on release.

The situation of having no support is perhaps more significant for child sex offenders, as they are often disowned by their family due to offending against family members or ostracised from the community due to the socially abhorrent nature of their crimes. Other methods of supporting child sex offenders on release need to be explored to increase the chance of successful reintegration into the community (Graffam et al., 2004). Particularly methods of supporting offenders outside the professional realm, one previously mentioned example is the development of artificial support networks such as COSA (Wilson, 2005).

While old relationships (i.e., adult family and friends) could be potential sources of support for such offenders, there appears to be a number of barriers to reforming old relationships. Specifically, child sex offenders in the current study often felt like they were no longer accepted by their family, and that there was no chance of reconciliation due to what they had done to their family (i.e., direct or indirect effects of offending). Others considered that too much time had passed while they had been in prison, with family or friends who had tried to move on or had simply lost contact.

This highlights Biswell (2003)'s assertion that perhaps the greatest difficulty for offenders in reconciling with their support system is the belief that they will not be accepted. Whether families and friends are likely to reject offenders on these grounds is unknown, however, informal restorative processes (i.e., whanau meetings) throughout prison sentences

could go a long way to healing the unspoken wounds between family members and reducing the disruption that an offender can also cause to a family/victims on release. Furthermore, increased restorative practices are likely to reduce the likelihood of interpersonal conflict within such relationships upon release, a key factor identified by Zamble and Quinsey (2001) in the lives of recidivist offenders.

Participants hoped that Probation Officers would take the time to get to know them, rather than making preconceived judgements about them as a person given their history of child sex offending. As a result they thought they would feel more comfortable in this relationship and that this would be further facilitated by meeting with their assigned Probation Officer prior to release. The Department of Corrections (2007c) suggests that greater contact with professionals, as is hoped by participants in this study, is associated with an increased likelihood of successful reintegration. However, previous research questions the utility of professional support and suggests that the frequency of contact has little if no impact on recidivism (Brown, 2002).

Participants experienced CPPS, particularly interactions with their case officer or Probation Officer, as unsupportive and negative in a number of areas, hindering their ability to reintegrate into the community. Participants highlighted the importance of being understood as an individual, having a Probation Officer who is flexible, responsive, and supportive of individual needs. Over time, participants described experiencing no enduring change in the level of support they received from their Probation Officer, and encountered the same difficulties at 3 and 6 months post-release.

The literature is reasonably sparse in regard to the quality of professional support that offenders want/need to enhance reintegration. If we refer to the literature that discusses therapist characteristics that enhance treatment effectiveness with sex offenders, therapeutic alliance is the most significant variable in influencing change (Drapeau, 2005). Furthermore approaches that are aggressive or confrontational are considered ineffective, and should be substituted for more empathetic, respectful, supportive styles (Marshall et al., 2003). Thus, if we consider the perception of Probation Officers by child sex offenders in the current study, it raises concerns about the lack of therapeutic alliance and rapport building skills of such professionals in empowering such offenders to make positive changes.

However in saying that, individual professionals are not solely responsible and it is important to consider the socio-political context in which such professionals operate. In New Zealand in the year 2009, there is a tough approach to crime demanded by the public and instrumented by the government. As a result, government agencies that manage offenders

such as CPPS tend to be risk averse, in that risk management is prioritised over other goals such as reintegration. To encourage and support professionals to be positive sources of support for offenders, the traditional role of Probation Officer may need to be reconceptualised.

Participants reported that they hoped to lead a different life, compared to their lifestyle prior to prison. Important facets included being happy or feeling content about themself and setting goals to better themself. Participants initial hopes for building a new life, particularly their belief about their capabilities to attain and plan for certain goals or manage prospective situations, the value placed in being happy with who you are, as well as being part of society or a family.

Participants had few, if any expectations around their cultural identity and cultural needs. Many participants did not identify with their own culture and could be considered to be at ease living amongst a variety of cultures sometimes experienced by people living in urban or institutionalised environments. Previous research has been vague in regard to cultural needs during the reintegration process, suggesting that cultural considerations may need to be considered on an individual basis. However at pre-release the current study suggests that culture is not important to child sex offenders. There may be a number of explanations for this finding, for example, the close proximity to release may cause increased anxiety particularly around more difficult aspects of reintegration such as cultural issues and to deal with this offenders are in a state of avoidance or denial.

In contrast to the expectations of participants, culture and cultural identity was a central aspect to many participants' reintegration. In particular the perceived need to be culturally accountable for their offending in front of family, friends and victims within formal cultural settings. However some participants were faced with resistance from their family due to concerns that the family name would be brought into disrepute. Others discussed cultural engagement as a function of identity. Over time, participants described experiencing no changes in the importance that they placed on cultural accountability and cultural needs at 3 and 6 months post-release, despite experiencing a significant shift from pre-release where culture was considered unimportant in planning for reintegration.

Research around the cultural needs of offenders during the reintegration process is in its infancy. However, in reviewing the literature about cultural congruence (APA, 2003; Hwang, 2006) suggests that the delivery of culturally competent treatment (i.e., matching the race/ethnicity of treatment providers, adapting to any language issues, design of treatment

modalities that match the client's culture) that meets the cultural needs of clients is associated with a reduction in symptomology (Costantino, Malgady & Primavera, 2009).

This type of finding is promising in considering the important role that culture plays in the reintegration process. However culturally competent practice by professionals needs to be dynamic (i.e., not a one-off cultural assessment). For example in the current study participants reported at pre-release having no cultural needs, however post-release their cultural needs and engagement changed. Constantino et al. (2009) reflect on the dynamic nature of 'cultural neediness', in that as the cultural needs of clients change, culturally congruent practice also needs to adapt to meet the needs of clients with no cultural gap or disparity. Without managing offenders, including child sex offenders, in a culturally responsive and competent manner we are failing in our commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi, a founding New Zealand document. This highlights the need for ongoing cultural input for offenders, with professional services (i.e., CPPS) guided and mediated by authoritative elders (i.e., Kaumatua, cultural advisors).

Components of "Successful" Reintegration

From the perspective of child sex offenders in the current study, reintegration is a dynamic process and can be outlined by seven key reintegration factors; community reactions, accommodation, employment, personal support, professional support, building a new life, and cultural needs. While it is not possible to make extensive generalisations given New Zealand's unique social, cultural and political context, and the qualitative nature of this study, several reintegration considerations are highlighted with a view to providing insight into a more effective way of reintegrating child sex offenders back into the community.

The reintegrative factors identified in the current study support the major conclusions of Willis and Grace (2008; 2009), and highlight how poor reintegration planning is likely to be associated with not only unsuccessful reintegration but also a greater risk of sexual recidivism. When data from both of the Willis and Grace (2008; 2009) studies are pooled, the results suggested that planning for accommodation, employment and social support is the best fit predictive model of successful reintegration and predicting sexual recidivism. These three reintegrative variables identified in the Willis and Grace (2009) study clearly map onto the seven key reintegrative variables identified in the current study, namely accommodation, employment, personal support, professional support, communications, building a new life, cultural needs. In considering the current study and the studies of Willis and Grace (2008;

2009) this provides further support for the importance of quality reintegration planning, particularly within the areas of accommodation, employment and social support.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion from the current study was that overall reintegration planning was generally simplistic and aimed primarily to manage risk factors rather than promote reintegration. All the child sex offenders in the current study struggled with reintegration. While participants' expectations and experiences varied, overall they confronted significant practical barriers to reintegrating into the community. The most significant reintegration barriers included; unfamiliar and unstable accommodation arrangements, difficulty obtaining employment, and limited personal and professional support.

Those offenders who were most successful on release, tended to have more comprehensive reintegration plans considering the above areas in detail, and as a result these offenders experienced better outcomes after release. Many of the difficulties expected and experienced by child sex offenders could have been minimised by comprehensive reintegration planning within the areas of accommodation, employment, support, and cultural needs. Furthermore, offenders that had comprehensive reintegration plans appeared able to visualise what life would be like after release, and approached release with more optimism. Subsequently, those offenders with more optimism experienced better outcomes, despite experiencing many of the same challenges (e.g., rejection by employers) as other offenders.

At release offenders expected that reintegration would be difficult and feared the unknown. For most, reintegration was difficult as expected, and over time from 3 months to 6 months post-release most offenders experienced many of the same difficulties (e.g., repeated upheaval from changes in unsuitable accommodation, difficulties obtaining employment, problems reforming old relationships and forming new relationships). A few offenders (those who were more optimistic at release) were able to develop stability in some areas of their life, such as obtaining a job or moving to an independent living arrangement.

Supervision by Probation Officers of the child sex offenders in the current study appeared to focus to some extent exclusively on risk management with avoidance goals (e.g., avoid being alone with children) prioritised over strength-based or approach goals (e.g., developing better adult relationships, respect the rights of others at all times). Alternatively, research suggests that avoidance type goals are far more difficult to maintain compared to approach goals (Mann et al., 2004). Literature on the effectiveness of strength-based approaches to reintegration are limited, however the GLM (Ward & Stewart, 2003b) proposes one alternative way of pro-socially meeting individually defined needs (i.e., to live

meaningful, constructive and happy lives). Given the emphasis on building a new life by the child sex offenders in the current study, this appears to be a key way of redefining not only life itself, but essentially building a new identity.

In considering the two prominent treatment models, the RNR model (Andrews & Bonta, 2003) and Good Lives model (Ward & Stewart, 2003b), there are a number of ways that reintegration planning is conceptualised. In the RNR model (Andrews & Bonta) reintegration planning aims exclusively to manage dynamic risk factors of sexual recidivism and other offending. However, this narrow approach to reintegration may be too simplistic because the present research, and that of Willis and Grace (2009), suggests that reintegration variables in themselves (i.e., accommodation, employment, social support) are risk factors for sexual recidivism. As a result, the RNR model (Andrews & Bonta) may be more effectively applied by considering the potential risks of a reintegration plan in terms of both traditional predictors as estimated by the STABLE and ACUTE 2007 (Hanson, Harris, Scott & Helmus, 2007) as well as reintegration variables.

In contrast the Good Lives model (Ward & Stewart, 2003b) of treatment and reintegration provides an important context to understand the reintegrative factors identified by participants in the current study. Until more recently, treatment and planning for reintegration has been dominated by the RNR model (Andrews & Bonta, 2003) with little emphasis on achieving primary human goods (i.e., relatedness) and helping offenders build happy, healthy lives. The reintegrative variables in the current study highlight the areas that are critical in terms of reintegration and the type of support that offenders need to build a new way of life without offending. In practical terms, this would require not only quality reintegration planning but more comprehensive integration of the Good Lives model (Ward & Stewart) within treatment programmes, where offenders are able to visualise what a new way of life would look like. More specifically, this would require treatment programmes to include behavioural skills for offenders in how to achieve primary goods or goals, such as close relationships, intimacy, happiness, in appropriate and socially acceptable ways.

It is considered that a number of changes are needed to improve reintegration for child sex offenders and offenders in general. Some of the major changes suggested include; increased pre-release reintegration planning that comprehensively considers reintegration factors as relevant to the individual and their situation. Problems associated with pre-release reintegration planning at the present time in New Zealand are complex and multi-faceted. However, by broadly considering some of the barriers within each area of reintegration identified by participants in the current study this may provide a starting point for where

changes could be made. For example, many offenders were unsure at 1 week prior to release where they would be living. Reintegration staff had trouble accommodating offenders in the limited residences provided by support agencies (i.e., PARS, Christian Ministries). Furthermore, these residences were less than satisfactory in supporting change or empowering offenders to develop independent living skills. This suggests that the process and resources available for accommodating child sex offenders in New Zealand hinders reintegration, and that alternative accommodation arrangements needs to be considered.

A second major change needed is the allocation of increased resources to enhance the restorative processes for families and offenders, to alleviate victim impact, enhance support systems and when an offender has limited or no support, the development of an artificial support network (i.e., COSA) prior to release. Correspondingly, further training for Probation Officers is needed to increase professional support available to offenders. More specifically training for Probation Officers around accurate knowledge of sex offending, risk assessment, reintegration, and relationship building with offenders. It is envisioned that this type of training would promote community offender management that balances the monitoring of risk, while encourages approach goals that are incompatible with offending, to capitalise on strengths.

A third major change needed is strength-based reintegration planning and initiatives that focus on developing a "new me", to enhance visualisation of what a new way of life and identity would look like practically. Participants' experiences in the current study suggest that in combination with a comprehensive release plan, optimism appears related to level of self-efficacy and agency. Therefore, reintegration outcomes are likely to be more successful if treatment programmes and reintegration initiatives are able to motivate offenders to live different lives that are inconsistent with offending, rather than exclusively identifying ways to avoid, control or escape a risk factor.

Perhaps more minor changes could include; methods for combating the effects of institutionalisation, and incorporating behavioural skills components into treatment programmes so that offenders can learn to deal with common negative events (i.e., employment rejection, negative community reactions) in positive ways that promote resiliency. One further consideration could include more frequent cultural consultation as part of the process of treatment and parole.

Strengths and Limitations

Perhaps the greatest strength of the research is the use of both deductive and inductive qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis. This allowed for data to be collected according to pre-determined categories (i.e., individual needs, social needs, accommodation, employment), and for themes to be identified from the data as a result of a pattern of responses.

Rather than considering reintegration as a static process, the research adopted a longitudinal design to gain a better understanding of the dynamic and complex nature of reintegration during the first 6 months after release. This is considered a unique feature of the research, which focuses on the perspective of offenders. At the outset of planning for the research, a comprehensive review of the literature was completed to provide a context for considering the themes of the research. Recently the February 2009 New Zealand Auditor General's report on the management of offenders on parole, provided indirect support for the credibility of the findings of the current research. This report suggested that the Department of Corrections is not adequately managing offenders on parole, in terms of following sentence management procedures.

Another strength of this research relates to the inclusion of Maori participants, with more than half of participants identifying themselves of Maori descent. Previous research has outlined concerns about Pakeha conducting research on indigenous groups. As a result, Maori have at times been excluded from research or are hesitant in participating, as "many Maori treat research with a degree of suspicion, questioning the motives of the researchers and the methodologies employed" (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999, p.39).

While some proponents suggest that only Maori should research Maori (Tolich, 2002), this research acknowledges the importance of culturally relevant and appropriate research and adopts a tiaki model (mentor), where the research process is guided and mediated by authoritative Maori people (Smith, 1999). In considering the high proportion of Maori who make up the offender population, it is considered that this research without the input of Maori participants would have been unable to adequately describe the experience of reintegration for many child sex offenders. The involvement of the cultural consultant for this research has been invaluable and enabled issues of cultural safety to be discussed as well as the dissemination of research findings based on a Maori worldview.

Patton (2002) describes the process of research and particularly the power of interviewing as transforming. For many participants, this appeared to be so. The interviews

provided a chance for participants to reflect on where they had come from, what they had achieved and what they hoped for the future. This was a particularly moving experience for many, who felt unable to openly discuss their feelings of fear, anxiety and often depression about their circumstances without worry about the repercussions or reactions from others. At the end of the final interviews, many participants informally thanked me for letting them be involved and discussed their surprise in the benefits they gained from such a process.

Inherent in any body of research are limitations. The generalisability of the data is a major limitation of qualitative research, whereby because research is often conducted with a relatively limited number of research participants, there are concerns raised about the reliability and validity of the study's findings. In the current study several different methods were used to increase the validity of the interpretation of the data. These included member checks during the interview process to clarify information provided, cultural consultation, and supervisor interpretative checks.

Despite these attempts to increase the credibility of the data, it is acknowledged that the research sample was small and may not accurately represent all child sex offenders in New Zealand. While qualitative research cannot rely on representative sampling to increase the credibility of findings (Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis, & Dillon, 2003), research with a wider cross-section of the incarcerated child sex offender population in New Zealand including more child sex offenders with within-group differences (i.e., sex, sexuality, IQ, risk of re-offending, ethnicity, treated vs. non-treated, multiple releases, monitored in different ways such as HRX, ESO, OWS, home detention) is likely to further enhance knowledge of reintegration. It is thought that within the process of considering the New Zealand system of reintegration for child sex offenders, readers have been privy to such knowledge that would allow them to a certain extent to be able to determine the way in which the New Zealand context can be applied to other settings.

Furthermore, if a larger sample size was able to be achieved (i.e., with more releases of the recruited sample in the research timeframe) this would allow for bivariate analyses with sufficient statistical power to examine the degree of relationship between variables. Originally quantitative data such as the RPFA-R (Wilson, 2009) evaluating reintegrative needs, Russell-Seymour Scale evaluating reintegration expectations and experiences, and the Quality of Life Questionnaire (Greenley, Greenberg & Brown, 1997) evaluating quality of life and subjective happiness were included in the study data collection, but were excluded during the analysis phase due to the limited number of released participants.

A particular limitation of qualitative research is its inability to establish cause and effect relationships. While this study describes child sex offenders' experiences of reintegration, and identifies some of the factors that have contributed to successful reintegration from the perspective of participants, it does not elucidate causal linkages between processes and outcomes (i.e., management of risk, quality of life).

In light of the heavy involvement of the researcher in qualitative research, there are concerns about problems of objectivity and bias. It is therefore possible that as a researcher I may have affected the research process by selectively attending to particular aspects of a participant's experience that interested me or confirmed my own beliefs. To prevent the impact of this possible bias, time was taken to identify my beliefs and epistemological position in regard to the research (see Chapter Two).

Similarly, participants may not have seen my role as a researcher as differentiated from the role of Department of Correction's staff, despite informed consent procedures, clarification of confidentiality criteria and awareness of researcher preconceptions. As a result, participants may have been subjected to demand effects whereby they felt they needed to report their expectations or experiences in a positive light for fear of possible repercussions to themselves.

Another concern of the research relates to the data lost as result of the one participant dropout. This particular participant's experience of reintegration may have differed in a meaningful way to add to the overall conceptualisation of the process of reintegration. It is entirely possible that the data from this particular experience may have been completely different to other participants. However after consent was withdrawn, no additional information could be obtained.

This study was unable to formally identify which participants increased or decreased in acute dynamic risk, factors that are present for minutes, days or weeks (e.g., intoxication, victim access) during the study period. While it would be interesting to investigate the relationship between changes in acute dynamic risk and reintegration variables, the training of Department of Correction's staff in conducting acute dynamic risk assessments was at the time of the study within the early stages of implementation. Subsequently the skill of conducting an acute dynamic risk assessment was not a universally held skill by staff managing offenders in the community, and thus data on acute dynamic risk over time was not available. It was thought that it would be inappropriate for the primary researcher to conduct the acute dynamic risk assessments as well as interviewing participants about their experience of reintegration as this would have produced a conflicted interviewer role (i.e., 'naive'

enquirer versus that of the 'policing' enquirer) influencing the type of data produced during interviews.

Furthermore, changes in risk (combined score of static and stable dynamic factors) from pre-release (T1) to 6 months post-release (T3) were not reported in the current study, as literature suggests that such factors remain relatively stable over 6 months (the research period) and thus any correlation between changes in risk and reintegrative variables would produce findings that would inaccurately represent the relationship between reintegrative variables and risk.

A final limitation of the research is the reliance on participant perception as the sole source of data. This is a concern when interpreting the results as self-report in the retrospective stages of data collection relied on the memory of participants and therefore was subject to response bias. Thus the information provided during the interviews may not reflect a balanced view of the situation. However as this study was focused on the experiences of offenders from their perspective, it is considered that even an extremely biased perception is relevant as it represented their own social construction of reality.

Directions for Future Research

The findings from this study suggest several avenues for future research. As an extension of the current research, a longitudinal study that recruits a larger cross-section of incarcerated child sex offenders from both Te Piriti and Kia Marama to capture within-group differences (i.e., sex, sexuality, IQ, risk of reoffending, ethnicity, treated vs. non-treated, multiple releases, monitored in different ways such as HRX, ESO, OWS, home detention), that has an extended follow-up after release to capture low-base rate sexual recidivism and general offending. If possible this sample could also include adult sexual offenders, characterised as committing a sexual offence against an adult, and how the reintegration of these offenders might be the same or different to child sex offenders.

With this type of sample, a research design that incorporates both qualitative 'rich' data to describe the reintegration experience and quantitative data could be used to explore the relationship between reintegration factors and risk, reintegration factors and reoffending (both sexual and general reoffending), and the relationship between reintegration factors and long-term desistance. Given the financial and time constraints of such a design, quantitative data if collected procedurally on an instrument such as the RPFA-R, could be used

retrospectively to explore statistically significant relationships between reintegrative needs at release and changes in risk, recidivism or desistance.

While the design of an instrument that could evaluate reintegration factors (i.e., finances; 2 = unable to manage finances, 1 = some difficulty managing finances, 0 = no difficulty managing finances) at a number of time points, could help professionals identify reintegration problems more efficiently and as a result provide extra support or resources where necessary. This may be one consideration that could be included in future modifications or editions of the RPFA-R (Wilson, 2009).

With the knowledge of the reintegration factors that lead to long-term quality of life (offender perspectives) and desistance, or alternatively increased risk and recidivism, clinicians and professionals alike will be more equipped in planning with offenders for reintegration into the community, and empowering offenders during the dynamic process of reintegration, while at the same time managing risk and protecting the community.

The best possible outcome for further research would include the design and pilot a planned and properly resourced reintegration programme in New Zealand based on the GLM. This pilot could then be evaluated by comparing the GLM reintegration model to more traditional approaches to reintegration adopted currently by the New Zealand Department of Corrections.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Participant information sheet for child sex offenders

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Child sex offender reintegration into the community following imprisonment and participation in a specialist treatment unit

Researchers: Gemma Russell and Associate Professor Fred Seymour

Researcher(s) Introduction

The research is being conducted by Gemma Russell, a Doctor of Clinical Psychology student at the University of Auckland. The researcher currently works as a part-time Probation Officer writing pre-sentence reports for the court on all types of offending including child sex offending. The project is the research component of the degree. My principal supervisor is Associate Professor Fred Seymour who is also from the University of Auckland. You are invited to participate in this study.

Project Aims

This project is designed to find out about your experiences of moving back into the community after completing treatment and serving a prison term. We would like to learn from you your knowledge and opinions about this difficult area, so that we can find out what types of support and services aid and hinder peoples' move back into the community.

Participants

▪ All inmates who have completed treatment at the Te Piriti Special Treatment Unit and are due to be released between July 2007 and May 2008 are invited to participate in this research.

▪ You will not be disadvantaged by participating (or declining to participate) in this research. Your treatment and parole options will not be effected in any way.

▪ It is hoped that as many inmates as possible who have completed treatment at the Te Piriti Special Treatment Unit will volunteer for this research.

Project Procedures

- The data in this study will be used for my thesis report and may be published in scholarly journals.

- Every effort will be made to prevent exposure of identity by removing all identifying details from the final report, or disclosed to any persons other than me, Gemma Russell, and my supervisor Fred Seymour, unless you reveal unreported offending. If you do disclose further offending, I am required to report this information to your Probation Officer immediately and the appropriate action will be taken by the Department of Corrections/New Zealand Police.

- With your consent, documentation on file noting your risk assessment will be accessed.

- The data for this project will be stored in a locked cabinet within the Psychology Department at the University of Auckland.

- The data will be destroyed (by shredding) six years after the research is completed.

- Participants will receive a summary of the findings, by providing a postal address to me, Gemma Russell.

Participant Involvement

There are no forms to fill in. I will ask you questions about your experience and expectations regarding moving back into the community on three separate occasions; just prior to your release, three months after your release and six months after your release. I will ask you questions about what you think will be/has been helpful, what was not, and what additional support could have helped you during your move back into the community. Each interview is likely to take 60 to 90 minutes.

You will only need to talk about the things you want to talk about and you can refuse to answer any particular question. I would like to audio tape record your interview because we have found that it is the best way of making sure we are accurate in recording what you tell us. Audio recording will only be done if you agree. Even if you agree to being taped, you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time.

You have the choice like all participants, to request that the Cultural Consultant Mr Mate Webb sit in on your interview(s) to provide support during research procedures.

It is not anticipated that the interviews will cause any harm to the participants, although some may experience mild discomfort around the nature of some of the questions. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or distressed by the procedures or content of this research please approach you therapist or psychologist immediately.

You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. If you wish to have your information deleted from this project you will need to contact the researchers before 30 May 2008.

If you have any questions about this project at any time please contact:

Gemma Russell, at the above address, or

Associate Professor Fred Seymour (the project supervisor) at the above address or on (09)373.7999 ext 88414

For any queries about ethical concerns please contact:

The Chair,

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee,

The University of Auckland

76 Symonds Street, Auckland

Tel: (09) 373.7599 ext 87830

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 15 August 2007 for 3 years.

Reference 2007/223

Appendix B

Consent form for child sex offenders

CONSENT FORM

Child sex offender reintegration into the community following imprisonment and participation in a specialist treatment unit

(this consent form will be held for six years and then destroyed by shredding)

Researchers: Gemma Russell and Associate Professor Fred Seymour

Name of Interviewer: ....

Name of Offender: ....

Participant Number: ....

- I have been given information about what the project is about and I have had the opportunity to ask questions.

- I understand that I will be interviewed three times, and each interview will last approximately 60 to 90 minutes.

- I understand that the interviewer will fill out an interview form and take notes.

- I understand that I have the choice to request that a Maori Cultural Consultant sit in on the interview(s) to provide support during research procedures.

- I understand that the interviewer will access documentation held on file discussing my risk assessment.

- I agree/do not agree to be audio-taped. I understand that even if I agree, I can choose to have the tape turned off at anytime. I understand that if I refuse to have my interview taped I will not be excluded from the project.

- I understand that the taped interviews will be listened to only by Gemma Russell and Fred Seymour.

- I understand that the tapes and interview forms will be kept in a separate locked filing cabinet and identified by the number on my consent form. My name will not be on the tape or the interview form.

- I understand the interview forms and tapes will be destroyed at the end of six years.

- I understand that this consent form will be locked in a filing cabinet separately from the interview form and tapes and will be destroyed at the end of six years.

- I understand that my confidentiality is limited in that while specific information I give will not be shown to anyone outside of the project team, if I disclose unreported offending that has not come to the attention of the authorities the researcher is required to report such information to your Probation Officer immediately. In these circumstances, I understand that appropriate action will be taken by the Department of Corrections/New Zealand Police.

- I understand that every effort will be made to protect my anonymity by removing all identifiable details in the report written at the end of this project.

- I understand I can withdraw from the project at anytime without giving a reason.

- I understand that I can withdraw from the interview(s) at anytime or if I wish to withdraw my information from the project, I will contact the researcher Gemma Russell by 30 May 2008.

- I understand that at the end of the project I will be sent a copy of the summary of results and recommendations.

I agree to taking part in this research and give permission for the principal researcher Gemma Russell to access my file held by the Department of Correction and obtain information from my Probation Officer as required for the purposes of the research.

Signed: ....

Name: ....

Proposed Release

Address: ....

           ....

Contact

Telephone Number: ....

Date: ....

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 15 August 2007 for 3 years.

Reference 2007/223

Appendix C

Interview schedule for interviews with child sex offenders at pre-release (T1)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE PRE-RELEASE (T1)

Hi <insert name of offender>, I am a researcher from the University of Auckland and just like last time, what we are <u>trying to do is to find out what is happening in men's lives after they are released from prison</u>. We are trying to find out what sorts of <u>things men find difficult as well as the types of things that men think are really helpful</u> when they move back into the community after serving a prison term. It is helpful if you can share your experience with us, so that in the future we might be able to help men like yourself successfully move into the community and prevent further offending.

The last thing I want to say before we get started is to remind you that you have the <u>right to refuse any particular question</u>, although I'd appreciate you telling me why if there's anything you don't want to answer. It is really important that I remind you that the information that you provide me with today is limited in terms of confidentiality and <u>if you do disclose further offending we are required to report this information to your Probation Officer</u>. So it is really important that you are as honest and open as you can be, so that we can gain as much information about the experiences of men like yourself. <u>Some of the questions that I ask, you may have answered last time we met, however just do your best to answer them in light of how you are currently feeling</u>. Do you have any questions before we begin?

This interview will take approximately 45 to 90 minutes.

I'd like to start by getting you to tell about what you think it will be like to be released from prison and live in the community?

Ok can you tell me more specifically…

- What are the things that you are most looking forward to upon your release from prison?

- What types of things do you think may prevent you from enjoying these activities?

- Can you please explain the importance of each of those things to you?

- What are the things that you fear upon your release from prison?

- What types of things do you anticipate you will have difficulty managing upon your release from prison?
- What do you anticipate you will need or could need to help you successfully reintegrate into the community?

- What do you anticipate would be the most helpful advice, support or aid that could be offered or provided for you upon your release from prison?

  I'd now like to find out who are the important people in your life, those friends and family members that you spend time with, talk to, or do things with. I'd like to know if you have people in your life that you care about, whose opinions matter to you, or who can make you feel happy or upset. You may have important relationships with people whose job it is to help you, such as lawyers, ministers or therapists. For now, I am only interested in your friends and family, not those people whose job it is to help you.

- Who are the important people in your life?

- What types of things do you like to do with these people?

- What type of support does each of these people provide for you? And why?

- If you had a problem, who would you go to for help and why?

  To help me understand a little more about you…

- How would you describe your own culture identity and your connections to your culture?

- Thinking about your own association with your culture, do you anticipate any particular difficulties related to your culture that you may experience upon your release from prison?

  Thinking about your plans for when you are released from prison...lets first discuss your accommodation arrangements

- Can you please explain to me what your proposed living arrangement will be upon your release from prison? Including where you will live and who you will be living with.

- What type of things are you looking forward to about your proposed living arrangements?

- What type of things do you anticipate will cause you difficulties with your proposed living arrangements?

  Now I would like to hear about any specific plans you may have to obtain a benefit, and hold or obtain employment.

- What type of plans do you have for volunteer or paid employment upon your release?

- What are some of the things that you will enjoy about working?

- What types of problems do you anticipate will occur during your employment plans? (i.e., accessing a benefit, proposed job, finding a job or lack of a job etc.)

  Thinking about your current knowledge, skills or attributes…

- Upon your release from prison, how would you like to learn, change or build on your current knowledge and skills?

- What types of problems do you anticipate you will encounter due to your current level of education and skills?

  I am also interested in hearing about your financial situation and how this may impact you.
- How financially secure do you envision yourself when you are released from prison?

- Thinking about your financial situation upon your release, do you anticipate any difficulties?

- What types of things would help you to manage your own financial situation upon your release?

I am also interested in hearing about any physical or mental health problems that may impact your ability to function in the community

- How would you describe your current health status?

- What types of health-related problems do you anticipate you will experience upon your release from prison?

- People typically experience stress in a variety of situations. What type situations do you anticipate will cause you to feel stressed?

- When you do feel stressed, how do you anticipate you will manage or cope with your feelings?

  Ok, I would now really like you to think about what it will be <u>really like</u> to live in the community after receiving a sexual offending conviction and serving a prison sentence.

- How do you think other people in the community, may react when they find out that you have convictions for child sexual offending?

- What type of difficulties do you think other peoples' reactions may cause you?

  I would now like you to think more long term about who you are, and who you would like to be after you leave prison.
- What would you like to accomplish in your lifetime?

- Can you please describe the type of person you would like to be?

- Can you please explain what having each of those qualities would mean to you?

- How might you go about being the type of person you would like to be?

- What do you think has or will prevent you from becoming your "ideal self"?

Thank you very much for talking to me today. Do you have any questions before we finish or information that you would like to add that you think is relevant that I have not asked you about?

Ok, I will contact you three months after your release from prison and we will make a time to talk again about how you are experiencing living in the community. Good luck for your release.

Appendix D

Interview schedule for interviews with child sex offenders at post-release (T2)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE POST-RELEASE (T2)

Hi <insert name of offender>, you may remember speaking to me prior to your release from prison. I am a researcher from the University of Auckland and just like last time, what we are <u>trying to do is to find out what is happening in men's lives after they are released from prison</u>. We are trying to find out what sorts of <u>things men find difficult as well as the types of things that men think are really helpful</u> when they move back into the community after serving a prison term. It is helpful if you can share your experience with us, so that in the future we might be able to help men like yourself successfully move into the community and prevent further offending.

The last thing I want to say before we get started is to remind you that you have the <u>right to refuse any particular question</u>, although I'd appreciate you telling me why if there's anything you don't want to answer. It is really important that I remind you that the information that you provide me with today is limited in terms of confidentiality and <u>if you do disclose further offending we are required to report this information to your Probation Officer</u>. So it is really important that you are as honest and open as you can be, so that we can gain as much information about the experiences of men like yourself. <u>Some of the questions that I ask, you may have answered last time we met, however just do your best to answer them in light of how you are currently feeling</u>. Do you have any questions before we begin?

This interview will take approximately 45 to 90 minutes.

I'd like to start by getting you to tell me about what it has been like for you in the last three months since your release from prison?

Ok can you tell me more specifically…

- What are the things that you have most enjoyed since your release from prison?

- What types of things have at times prevented you from enjoying these activities?

- Can you please explain the importance of each of those things to you?

- What types of things have you had difficulty managing since your release from prison?

- What have you needed or could need to help you successfully reintegrate into the community?

- What has been the most helpful advice, support or aid that has been offered or provided for you upon your release from prison?

  I'd now like to find out who are the important people in your life, those friends and family members that you spend time with, talk to, or do things with. I'd like to know if you have people in your life that you care about, whose opinions matter to you, or who can make you feel happy or upset. You may have important relationships with people whose job it is to help you, such as lawyers, ministers or therapists. For now, I am only interested in your friends and family, not those people whose job it is to help you. It is important for me to ask you about this again, because sometimes new people come into our lives or the role of existing people in our lives changes.

- Who are the important people in your life?

- What types of things do you like to do with these people?

- What type of support does each of these people provide for you? And why?

- If you have a problem, who would you go to for help and why?

  To help me understand a little more about you…

- How would you describe your own culture identity and your connections to your culture?

- Thinking about your own association with your culture, have you experienced any particular difficulties related to your culture since your release from prison?

  Thinking about your current accommodation arrangement and any changes that have occurred since your release.

- Can you please explain to me what is your current living arrangement? Including where you live, who you are living with and any changes that have happened.

- What type of things do you enjoy about your current living arrangement?

- What types of things have caused you difficulties with your current living arrangements?

  Now I would like to hear about your current employment status, attempts to obtain employment or current receipt of a benefit.

- Can you please explain your current unemployment, volunteer or paid employment status?

- What are some of the things that you enjoy about working?

- What types of problems have you experienced within or as a result of your unemployment/employment? (i.e., current job, finding a job or lack of a job etc.)

  Thinking about your current knowledge, skills or attributes…

- What would you like to learn, change or build on your current knowledge and skills?

- What types of problems have you experienced in relation to your current level of education and skills?

  I am also interested in hearing about your financial situation and how this has impacted you.

- How financially secure do you describe yourself?

- Thinking about your financial situation, have you experienced any particular difficulties in the last three months? If yes, what?

- What types of things have helped you to manage your own financial situation since your release?

I am also interested in hearing about any physical or mental health problems that have impacted your ability to function in the community.

- How would you describe your current health status?

- What types of health-related problems have you experienced since your release from prison?

- People typically experience stress in a variety of situations. What type of situations since your release from prison cause you to feel stressed?

    Last time we spoke you mentioned that you anticipated that _____ _____ would cause you to feel stressed. How do you manage or cope with your feelings of stress now?

    Ok, I would now really like you to think about what it has been <u>really like</u> to live in the community after receiving a sexual offending conviction and serving a prison sentence.

- How have other people in the community, reacted when they have found out that you have convictions for child sexual offending?

- What type of difficulties have you experienced as a result of other peoples' reactions to your criminal history?

    I would now like you to think more long term about who you are, and who you would like to be. Last time I spoke to you, I asked you about your 'ideal person'. It is important I ask you this again, as sometimes with additional experiences peoples' goals and ideals change.

- What would you like to accomplish in your lifetime?

- Can you please describe the type of person you would like to be?

- Can you please explain what having each of those qualities would mean to you?

- How might you go about being the type of person you would like to be?

- What have you done to work towards being this person that you want to be?

- What do you think has or will prevent you from becoming your "ideal self"?

Thank you very much for talking to me today. Do you have any questions before we finish or information that you would like to add that you think is relevant that I have not asked you about?

Ok, I will contact you in another three months, which will be six months since your release from prison and we will make a time to talk again about how you are experiencing living in the community. Good luck.

Appendix E

Interview schedule for interviews with child sex offenders at post-release (T3)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE POST-RELEASE (T3)

Hi <insert name of offender>, you may remember speaking to me once prior to your release from prison and again three months ago. I am a researcher from the University of Auckland and just like last time, what we are <u>trying to do is to find out what is happening in men's lives after they are released from prison</u>. We are trying to find out what sorts of <u>things men find difficult as well as the types of things that men think are really helpful</u> when they move back into the community after serving a prison term. It is helpful if you can share your experience with us, so that in the future we might be able to help men like yourself successfully move into the community and prevent further offending.

The last thing I want to say before we get started is to remind you that you have the <u>right to refuse any particular question</u>, although I'd appreciate you telling me why if there's anything you don't want to answer. It is really important that I remind you that the information that you provide me with today is limited in terms of confidentiality and <u>if you do disclose further offending we are required to report this information to your Probation Officer</u>. So it is really important that you are as honest and open as you can be, so that we can gain as much information about the experiences of men like yourself. <u>Some of the questions that I ask, you may have answered last time we met, however just do your best to answer them in light of how you are currently feeling</u>. Do you have any questions before we begin?

This interview will take approximately 45 to 90 minutes.

I'd like to start by getting you to tell about what it has been like for you in the last three months since we last spoke?

Ok can you tell me more specifically…

- What are the things that you have most enjoyed in the last three months since we last spoke?

- What types of things have at times prevented you from enjoying these activities?

- Can you please explain the importance of each of those things to you?

- What types of things have you had difficulty managing in the last three months since we last spoke?

- What have you needed in the last three months to help you successfully reintegrate into the community?

- What has been the most helpful advice, support or aid that has been offered or provided for you in the last three months since we last spoke?

  I'd now like to find out who are the important people in your life, those friends and family members that you spend time with, talk to, or do things with. I'd like to know if you have people in your life that you care about, whose opinions matter to you, or who can make you feel happy or upset. You may have important relationships with people whose job it is to help you, such as lawyers, ministers or therapists. For now, I am only interested in your friends and family, not those people whose job it is to help you. It is important for me to ask you about this

again, because sometimes new people come into our lives or the role of existing people in our lives changes.

- Who are the important people in your life?

- What types of things do you like to do with these people?

- What type of support does each of these people provide for you? And why?

- If you have a problem, who would you go to for help and why?

To help me understand a little more about you…

- How would you describe your own culture identity and your connections to your culture?

- Thinking about your own association with your culture, have you experienced any particular difficulties related to your culture during the last three months, since we last spoke?

Thinking about your current accommodation arrangement and any changes that have occurred in the last three months ago, since we last spoke.

- Can you please explain to me what is your current living arrangement? Including where you live, who you are living with and any changes that have happened in the last three months.

- What type of things do you enjoy about your current living arrangement?

- What types of things have caused you difficulties with your current living arrangements in the last three months, since we last spoke?

Now I would like to hear about your current employment status, attempts to obtain employment or current receipt of a benefit.

- Can you please explain your current unemployment, volunteer or paid employment status?

- What are some of the things that you enjoy about working?

- What types of problems have you experienced within or as a result of your unemployment/employment in the last three months, since we last spoke? (i.e., current job, finding a job or lack of a job etc.)

Thinking about your current knowledge, skills or attributes…

- What would you like to learn, change or build on your current knowledge and skills?

- What types of problems have you experienced in relation to your current level of education and skills in the last three months, since we last spoke?

I am also interested in hearing about your financial situation and how this has impacted you.
- How financially secure do you describe yourself?

- Thinking about your financial situation, have you experienced any particular difficulties in the last three months, since we last spoke? If yes, what?

- What types of things have helped you to manage your own financial situation during the last three months, since we last spoke?

  I am also interested in hearing about any physical or mental health problems that have impacted your ability to function in the community.

- How would you describe your current health status?

- What types of health-related problems have you experienced during the last three months, since we last spoke?

- People typically experience stress in a variety of situations. What type of situations have you experienced during the last three months, have caused you to feel stressed?

- Last time we spoke you mentioned that <refer to interview 2> particularly causes you to feel stressed. How do you manage or cope with your feelings of stress now?

  Ok, I would now really like you to think about what it has been <u>really like</u> to live in the community after receiving a sexual offending conviction and serving a prison sentence.

- How have other people in the community, reacted when they have found out that you have convictions for child sexual offending during the last three months?

- What type of difficulties have you experienced during the last three months, as a result of other peoples' reactions to your criminal history?

  I would now like you to think more long term about who you are, and who you would like to be. Last time I spoke to you, I asked you about your 'ideal person'. It is important I ask you this again, as sometimes with additional experiences peoples' goals and ideals change.

- What would you like to accomplish in your lifetime?

- Can you please describe the type of person you would like to be?

- Can you please explain what having each of those qualities would mean to you?

- How might you go about being the type of person you would like to be?

- What have you done to work towards being this person that you want to be?

- What do you think has or will prevent you from becoming your "ideal self"?

Thank you very much for talking to me today and participating in the three research interviews. Do you have any questions before we finish or information that you would like to add that you think is relevant that I have not asked you about?

When the research is finished would you be interested in receiving a summary of the research findings? Best of luck for the future.