EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FORENSIC PRACTICE KNOWLEDGE, CORRECTIONAL ORIENTATION AND ENGAGMENT IN CORE CORRECTIONAL PRACTICES AMONG CORRECTIONS OFFICERS

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ABSTRACT

Via their frequency of contact alone, Corrections Officers (COs) have maximal opportunity to role model pro-social behaviour and further rehabilitative outcomes for offenders. Yet previous research indicates that one of the barriers to COs adopting this additional and sometimes contradictory job requirement, is that COs generally maintain largely punitive attitudes towards inmates. The purpose of the current study was to determine whether one reason for CO punitiveness is that these frontline workers lack knowledge of basic forensic practice (FP) research findings which describe elements that lead to offender change. Utilizing mixed-methods, the nature of the relationship between FP knowledge and the Correctional Orientation of COs, consisting of support for rehabilitation (SR) and support for punishment (SP), was explored. Further examined was how FP knowledge, SR and SP related to COs self-reported engagement in Core Correctional Practices (CCPs) which delineate the quality of interactions that facilitate positive rehabilitative outcomes.

Employing a new measure of Correctional Orientation developed and piloted on an undergraduate sample (N=148) in Study 1, Study 2 involved surveys of Corrections Workers (CWs) (N=227) employed in the four provincial adult correctional facilities in Saskatchewan. Hierarchical multiple regressions including demographic covariates confirmed a robust relationship between FP knowledge and SR, and FP knowledge and SP. Likewise, though FP knowledge was significantly positively correlated with CCPs, the addition of SR and SP to a third multiple regression on CCPs rendered the contribution of FP knowledge non-significant. SR was a better predictor of CCPs than SP. Finally, in Study 3, eight CWs varying in their survey responses were interviewed. Utilizing thematic analysis three broad models were produced which described the reasons CWs may or may not support rehabilitation or punishment and engage in CCPs. Additional themes describing how interviewees responded to FP research were also generated.

In the discussion the findings of all three studies were combined. Notably, SR appears to be more responsive to FP knowledge than SP, while salient job-related experiences of CWs are likely to increase SP. Yet, CWs can increase their SR without a comparable decrease in their SP and vice versa. Interviewees felt that the largest obstacle to their engagement in CCPs were the current features of the institutional settings which generated a cynical, burnt-out and punitive staff culture whereby peer pressure was employed to maintain prescribed modes of interaction.

Comprehensive recommendations for reducing stress and burnout, education and training targets, and hiring criteria which could screen out problematic applicants are provided.

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DEDICATION

Let's just say this process has been a grand adventure. There were times when I worried I would never get this research off the ground, resulting in all the anxiety and distress you would expect. The people that were there for me during all that (and more) were my wonderfully patient husband Chris, and my very supportive and sometimes perplexed mom and dad. There were hundreds of "you can do it"s, "it will work out"s, "I will still love you if you quit"s and "how can I help?"s, I'm grateful you never let me quit.

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Chapter 1.

Examining the Relationships between Forensic Practice Knowledge, Correctional Orientation and Engagement in Core Correctional Practices among Corrections Officers

Not everyone agrees on whether the primary purpose of the criminal justice system is to facilitate retribution or punishment, incapacitate, or rehabilitate, and in many cases it is expected to perform all of these acts simultaneously (Maahs & Pratt, 2001). Notwithstanding, it can generally be agreed that the government, and the public which it represents, expects that along with providing a source of justice, one of the primary goals of the criminal justice system is to assure the safety of communities. As such, a principal element of the governmental mandate of the Canadian criminal justice system which includes the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC; federal), and the Ministry of Justice –Custody, Supervision and Rehabilitative Services (CSRS; provincial), is to assure the safety of the public through appropriate management of criminal offenders (Correctional Service of Canada, 2007; Government of Saskatchewan, 2015). Consequently, these organizations have historically drawn upon the extensive empirical research base of correctional and forensic psychology and criminology to design and implement offender rehabilitation initiatives which increase public and institutional safety by reducing reoffending. These efforts have included a documented commitment to training corrections officers (COs) in the skills necessary to meet this mandate. In the provincial system in Saskatchewan efforts to direct the focus onto the rehabilitative orientation of the CO role has extended to the renaming of the position to Corrections Worker (CWs)[1], with the accompanying goal of training CWs in Core Correctional Practices (CCPs) which require them to (among other things) "interact with inmates as case managers" (Saskatchewan Ministry of Corrections, Public Safety and Policing, 2009, p. 3).

Despite past commitments to the utilization of empirical evidence to inform the provision and design of appropriate services (Government of Saskatchewan, 2012) and a substantial body of research demonstrating the efficacy (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a) and cost effectiveness (Brown, 2006; Farrington, Petrosino & Welsh, 2001) of specific offender rehabilitation practices, the continuation of these initiatives are frequently threatened by political ideology (Correctional

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[1] Throughout the document, 'COs' will be used to refer to Corrections Officers generally, for example when discussing past research. When speaking specifically of those employed in this role in the provincial institutions in Canada they will be referred to as 'CWs' or Corrections Workers. Thus, in some places in the document both COs and CWs are used in the same section.

Service of Canada Review Panel, 2007; Jackson & Stewart, 2009) and practical threats to integrity (Gendreau, Smith, & Theriault, 2009). At a more foundational level, within the correctional institutions, rehabilitative priorities have likely always been perceived by correctional staff as standing in opposition to security priorities (McLaren,1973; Hepburn & Alberatti, 1980) with clinical staff struggling to retain the administrative and practical support from COs necessary for maintaining efficacy (Gendreau, 1996a; Parkinson & Steurer, 2004).

In order to harness the role of COs to support rehabilitative goals, the authors of past research have examined the predictors of correctional employees' and COs' attitudinal orientations including their support for rehabilitation and support for punishment, known as correctional orientation (Lambert, Barton-Bellessa & Hogan, 2014). Much of this research found high levels of support for punishment and low levels of support for rehabilitation among COs (Farkas, 1999; Higgins & Ireland, 2009; Lariviére & Robinson, 1996; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Young, Antonio & Winegard, 2009) while also suffering from important methodological flaws and leaving much still unknown about the sources of COs attitudes.

The purpose of this research was therefore to explore the sources of information COs used to inform and justify their correctional orientation. This included examining the notion that one contribution to lack of CO support for rehabilitation initiatives is that COs are largely uninformed about the positive effects of rehabilitation, the necessary components of effective rehabilitation, and their role in contributing to positive rehabilitative outcomes. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that sources of attitude-relevant information derived from the empirical research on offender behaviour change, and taught in initial training, are less likely to inform CO attitudes. Instead it was surmised that CO attitudes were based upon alternative sources of information which are strongly related to the job-role specific experiences of COs. Further, owing to attitudes being based on unempirical sources of information, within their daily work COs may be less likely to adopt behaviours consistent with CCPs, such as modeling prosocial behaviour, engaging in rehabilitation orientated casework, and supporting institutional and political policies that, despite their ideological appeal (such as being "tough on crime"; Cohen & Fekete, 2011), undermine the mutual goals of reducing crime and improving public and institutional safety (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a; Gendreau, 1996a; Jackson & Stewart, 2009).

1. Literature Review

1.1 Current State of Forensic Practice (FP) Knowledge

There is a broad assumption made across this research that within a governmental organization and professional job-role, best practice involves the use of policy and practices which are guided by the current empirical evidence. It is then desirable that those working within the institutions are knowledgeable about this evidence base, and that both their expressed intentions and behaviours are consistent with this information. In order to assess the tenability of this assumption a broad review of the current empirical knowledge base regarding offender behaviour change and rehabilitation, focussing on information that is supported by a consensus of professionals in the field, is presented. Likewise, findings related to the role of COs in rehabilitation are presented in expanded detail.

1.1.1 The rehabilitation debate.

Since the 1960's those interested in the areas of criminology, sociology and forensic psychology have witnessed ebbs and flows in support for offender rehabilitation fueled by changing political and philosophical ideology and accompanied by multiple systematic reviews (Petrosino, 2005). The authors of many of these original systematic reviews concluded that rehabilitative efforts were ineffective, perpetuating the often cited "Nothing Works" movement which commenced with Martison's (1974) seminal review of the rehabilitation research that had occurred prior to 1967. Despite their conclusion that nothing worked, most of these authors had noted that the available evaluation research was plagued by methodological problems. Yet, instead of stating that a definitive conclusion about the efficacy of rehabilitation could not yet be made in the absence of stronger research designs, many (though not all) of the authors of these reviews erroneously concluded that the evidence indicated that offenders could not be rehabilitated (Petrosino, 2005). However, with the introduction of quantitative research reviews, or meta-analyses, which were able to overcome the noted methodological flaws by statistically accounting for inconsistent research designs and small sample sizes, evidence began to accumulate that rehabilitation programs which adhered to specific principles were in fact effective in reducing recidivism (Gendreau, 1996a; Petrosino, 2005).

The authors of one of these formative meta-analytic reviews observed that many of the previous qualitative reviews failed to show due consideration of the nuanced nature of criminal behaviour and personal change. They argued that the effectiveness of correctional interventions

were determined by a combination of the nature and quality of the intervention, the features of the offenders to whom the intervention was delivered and the setting in which it was carried out (Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, & Cullen, 1990). Consequently, failure to consider these elements in evaluation of treatment programs was likely responsible for previous disappointing results. Instead, with a gradual increase in the number of meta-analytic studies, it became clear that on average the interventions lead to a small reduction in reoffending, with most reporting recidivism reductions of at least 10 percent compared to the control group (Petrosino, 2005). As early as 1987, Gendreau and Ross concluded that "it is downright ridiculous to say 'Nothing works'(....)The principles underlying effective rehabilitation generalize across far too many intervention strategies and offender samples to be dismissed as trivial" (p. 395). In fact, so many meta-analytic reviews of offender rehabilitation have been undertaken that there are now systematic reviews of the meta-analytic reviews available (e.g., Lipsey & Cullen, 2007), with these authors likewise concluding that "every meta-analysis of large samples of studies comparing offenders who receive rehabilitation treatment with those who do not has found lower mean recidivism for those in the treatment conditions" (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007, p. 314).

Having more firmly established that rehabilitation could be effective, researchers began working to institute a hefty research base to contravene the "Nothing Works" era. Thus, the "What Works" movement advocated for the development and implementation of an empirically based model of offender rehabilitation (Gendreau, 1996a, 1996b; Gendreau, Smith & French, 2006; Latessa, Cullen & Gendreau, 2002; McGuire, 2002). The primary framework became known as the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) principles developed originally by Don Andrews, James Bonta, and Robert Hoge (1990) and later expanded by Andrews and Bonta (2010a). The principles identify the 'who, what and how' of effective offender rehabilitation, and are outlined below (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a).

1.1.2 The Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) principles of effective correctional intervention.

Since the introduction of the RNR principles, detailed work has been done to delineate and research them. For the current purposes, the three primary elements will be described, though there are in fact fifteen principles which have been researched. The interested reader is

therefore referred to *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct* by Andrews and Bonta (2010a) for further specifics.

Firstly, in this context, risk is understood as the risk that an offender will commit further crimes. The *risk principle* dictates that the level of therapeutic intervention should match the risk level of the offender. Thus the highest risk offenders should receive the most intensive treatment, while low risk offenders may need no treatment at all and should be generally separated from contact with higher risk cases. The *need principle* states that certain risk factors, or "criminogenic needs", are moderately to largely associated with criminal behaviour and that these "needs" should be made the target of therapeutic interventions. Further, risk level is a function of the number and severity of criminogenic needs, with higher risk offenders having more criminogenic needs. Criminogenic needs have been identified through research and meta-analyses examining the correlates of crime as well as the outcomes of interventions designed to reduce offending.

The criminogenic needs identified by Andrews and Bonta (2010a) are sometimes identified as the "Central Eight" and can be broken into two parts. The "Big Four" are so named as they represent the four major risk factors for crime, which consists of: history of antisocial behavior, antisocial personality pattern, antisocial attitudes and cognitions, and antisocial associates/social supports for crime (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a, p. 61). The other four factors are moderately associated with crime and consist of family/marital circumstances, school/work, leisure/recreation and, substance abuse (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a, p. 61). In contrast, factors which have been shown to be weak risk factors for criminal behaviour, or "noncriminogenic needs" include poor self-esteem, history of victimization, vague feelings of personal distress, feelings of alienations and exclusion, lack of physical activity, hallucinations, anxiety, and stress, disorganized communities, and lack of ambition (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a, p. 310). The need principle further dictates that these factors are dynamic (aside from history of antisocial behaviour) and should thereby be made treatment targets, with the focus being on transforming these risk factors to strength areas (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a).

The *responsivity principle* is often divided into general and specific responsivity. *General responsivity* indicates that behavioural, social learning, and cognitive-behavioural therapeutic (CBT) techniques are the most effective means of changing criminogenic needs. Social learning theory states that people learn within a social context through observation of behaviour modeled

by others (Bandura, 1979). CBT theory indicates that behaviour changes through teaching of behavioural skills, and when the cognitions and emotions which support the behaviour are changed (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a). The *specific responsivity principle* indicates that the use of these therapeutic techniques should be flexibly modified to meet the unique learning styles of the individual. Specific responsivity factors include issues such as gender, culture, personality, learning style, intellectual ability, mental health issues, motivation, and other factors which are continuously being explored (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a).

Multiple meta-analytic studies of the RNR principles have demonstrated that "programs that incorporate all of these principles into their therapeutic framework are associated with the strongest reductions in recidivism, with an average reduction of 26% to 30%" (Dowden & Andrews, 2004, p. 204). A later meta-analysis confirmed these results with the authors finding "programs that departed from the need, responsivity, and risk principles had a mean effect size in the vicinity of zero, whereas those that embodied those principles achieved an effect size of phi=.26, equivalent to a recidivism reduction of around 50 percent (as cited by Lipsey & Cullen, 2007, p. 18). In addition to the basic RNR principles, the model of effective rehabilitation also included that interventions should target multiple criminogenic needs (the principle of *breadth*), should assess personal *strengths* in order to enhance responsivity, utilize *structured assessments* of risk through validated risk instruments, and only utilise *professional discretion* for specific reasons. Finally, the model also describes three organizational principles which refer to the settings, staffing, and management features which characterize effective programs.

1.1.2.1 Organizational principles: Core correctional practice.

Three organizational principles which research has shown to be related to increased rehabilitative outcomes are: a preference for *community-based* services (noting that the RNR principles are still applicable within an institutional setting); *core correctional practice* (CCP), which describe the need for high-quality relationship and structuring skills; and *management* practices which promote professional implementation and monitoring of RNR principles (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a). As the implementation of CCPs relates specifically to the role of COs in effective rehabilitation, this principle is reviewed in closer detail.

Originally introduced in 1980 by Andrews and Kiessling, CCPs represent five key components of correctional practice, informed by social learning theory and empirically supported for maximizing the efficacy of therapeutic interventions for nurturing prosocial

behavioural change and reducing recidivism (Dowden & Andrews, 2004). They are simply: effective use of authority, which consists of enforcing rules and boundaries via respectful and straightforward communication practices and positive reinforcement; anticriminal modeling and reinforcement; teaching concrete problem solving skills; use of community resources; and interpersonal relationships between staff and client characterized by openness, warmth, and mutual respect and liking (Dowden & Andrews, 2004, p. 204; see Dowden & Andrews, 2004 for more detailed information about CCPs). Though these practices are most importantly implemented by the therapeutic treatment staff, Dowden and Andrews (2004) also noted the importance of these practices similarly being implemented by front line staff including COs (Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Simply what this means is that COs need to consistently model and reinforce prosocial behaviour and attitudes which includes showing patience, support, guidance, teaching and respect in all of their interactions with offenders.

Dowden and Andrews (2004) investigated whether or not adherence to CCPs was empirically linked to rehabilitation outcomes. They conducted a meta-analytic review of the use of CCPs in programs described as "human service programs" and those that additionally adhered to the RNR principles. Disappointingly, CCP principles were absent from many of the programs reviewed, with the most commonly employed principles present in only 16 percent of the studies. However, each of the CCPs, other than advocacy/brokerage and effective disapproval (found in only 3 percent of the studies) were significantly positively associated with effect size and appropriate treatment. Using an amalgamated measure of all CPPs, the authors found that the programs which incorporated some CCPs had higher effect sizes than those that did not. Furthermore, programs that adhered to the RNR principles and also CCP had mean effect sizes that were even higher. The authors concluded that incorporation of CCP "substantially enhanced the positive effects of clinically relevant and psychologically informed treatment programs (ie., human service programs that adhered to the principles of risk, need, and general responsivity"; Dowden & Andrews, 2004, p. 211). These findings lend important preliminary support to the premise that the positive behaviour of COs as described by CCPs can contribute to improved outcomes of rehabilitation programming and therefore decreased recidivism.

1.1.3 Ineffective interventions: Punishment based interventions.

In addition to what is currently known about effective means of reducing recidivism, there is also a considerable body of research which describes interventions that are both

ineffective in reducing recidivism and those which may lead to small increases in recidivism. The first, and perhaps most unsettling of the list of ineffective interventions, are those based on punishment. Though there are a number of moral, political and practical reasons why punishment based interventions dominate our criminal justice system, one of the most invoked justifications for their use is their proposed deterrent effect (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a; Ball, 1955; McGuire, 2002). Deterrence is based on the premise that crime will be prevented by potential offenders believing that if they break the law they will be punished with unpleasant circumstances such as incarceration (Ball, 1955). Deterrence is sometimes separated into *specific* and *general* deterrence, where specific deterrence is conceptualized as the deterrent effect of the sanction on the specific person who experiences the sanction, and general deterrence is the impact that knowing about this sanction is proposed to have on the behaviour of others (McGuire, 2002). But, like the question of whether or not rehabilitation is effective in reducing criminal offending, whether or not criminal sanctions deter criminal behaviour is also an empirical question (Cullen, Jonson & Negin, 2011; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007) which a substantial number of researchers have endeavoured to address. In fact, so many studies on punishment based intervention approaches have been undertaken that one can focus on the overall conclusions made from a number of qualitative and quantitative reviews of the literature.

One such review conducted by McGuire (2002) involved a review of the recidivism outcomes for deterrence based interventions and community-based intermediate punishments, including studies which utilized randomized experiments and a number of meta-analyses. McGuire (2002) found that across the research there was no evidence that deterrence based interventions reduced recidivism and that in some cases there was evidence of a negative effect, or a slight increase in recidivism. McGuire (2002) continued by outlining the theoretical reasons why deterrence is unlikely to be effective considering what is known by psychological researchers about the conditions necessary for punishment to be effective, and the unlikelihood that they can be adequately realized in a real-world criminal justice setting.

Gendreau, Goggin, Cullen and Andrews (2000) comparably conducted a quantitative summary of the literature on the effects of community sanctions and incarceration on recidivism outcomes, including a meta-analytic summary of the data. One of the punishment based interventions they reviewed was the recently popular use of intensive supervision programming (ISPs) which have been promoted as a less expensive alternative to incarceration that is not

considered as "soft" as ordinary probation (Gendreau et al., 2000). ISPs "greatly increase supervisor/offender contact, confine offenders to their homes, utilize electronic monitoring, submit them to random drug tests, require them to pay restitution to their victims, enforce curfews, and finally, financially account for the cost of their supervision, all under the assumption that these measures would enforce and engender pro-social behaviour via the threat of immediate punishment" (Gendreau et al., 2000, p.11). The authors however found little evidence that ISPs reduced recidivism among the 47 comparisons made between the recidivism rates of offenders under ISPs versus regular probation (n= 19,403 offenders), with both groups recidivating at a rate of 29 percent. When the authors weighed the studies by sample size (those studies containing a larger sample given more weight), ISPs were associated with a 6 percent increase in recidivism (CI .04 to .07). They went on to observe that lower recidivism rates were detected when restitution and fines were included, and interestingly, that when "treatment" was also included, a 10 percent reduction in recidivism was observed. Unfortunately, there was scarce information on the elements of this treatment, limiting the authors' ability to determine treatment quality. Nonetheless, Gendreau et al. (2000) tentatively concluded that "the effectiveness of intermediate sanctions is mediated solely through the provision of treatment" (p. 12).

More recently Cullen et al. (2011) reviewed the research on the effectiveness of incarceration for reducing recidivism, noting that caution should be employed in determinations of when to use custodial sanctions if it is known that such sanctions do not reduce offending. They too concluded that across a multitude of research methodologies applied in multiple contexts, and examining all offender populations, the evidence showed that prisons do not have a specific deterrent effect and specifically that custodial sentences are not more effective in reducing recidivism than noncustodial sanctions.

A popular method for discrediting the deterrence research and to justify "getting tough on crime" is to argue that the sanctions are not severe enough and that if prison terms were longer or more unpleasant/ harsher, this would lead to reductions in recidivism (Farkas, 1999). Chen and Shapiro (2007) investigated precisely this premise by comparing the recidivism rates of offenders housed in higher and lower security units to determine if the harsher nature of the higher security units led to lower rates of reoffending. They noted that higher security units were harsher than lower security units as the offenders in high security had less contact with the

community, less freedom of movement and higher risk of serious injury. Methodological controls were implemented in order to manage the confound of differential risk levels of offenders housed at different security levels. Utilizing a number of complex statistical techniques, the authors found that offenders housed in the harsher conditions were no less likely to reoffend than those in the less harsh conditions. Furthermore, they found some evidence to suggest that the harsher prison conditions contributed to increased rates of re-offence upon release. They also noted that their analyses indicated that the negative effects of harsher prison conditions on re-offence outcomes may be larger for offenders who served longer sentences.

In addition to their review of ISP, Gendreau et al. (2000) employed quasi-experimental methods to examine whether longer periods of incarceration were associated with lower rates of recidivism than shorter periods. They reviewed 222 comparisons of offenders who served an average of thirty months incarceration, versus those who served an average of seventeen months, and who were matched on between one and five risk factors (n=68,248 offenders). Regardless of the weighting of the effect sizes, there was a slight increase in recidivism (3 percent) for those serving longer sentences. In a second sample of 103 comparisons between offenders (n=267,804) who were briefly incarcerated versus those who received a community-based sanction, they again found no deterrent effect for incarceration when the studies were weighted by sample size, and a 7 percent increase in recidivism for the unweighted comparison. Likewise, Cullen et al. (2011) also concluded that their review of the evidence suggested that prisons, and in particular especially harsh prisons, may be criminogenic, or lead to increases in criminal behaviour. This may be especially the case for low-risk offenders for whom increased exposure to antisocial attitudes and peers and the destruction of pro-social relationships and job opportunities is especially salient (Cullen et al., 2011).

Additionally, although it is beyond the scope of this research to examine the justifications and efficacy of capital punishment, the potential deterrent effect of this sanction is relevant to this discussion. Capital punishment is the most severe sanction and, according to the premise that if the sanction was harsh enough it would be effective, most likely to reduce crime. However, again, a majority of research has failed to detect a deterrent effect (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a). Finally, boot camps, shock incarceration interventions such as "scared straight", wilderness programs, non-directive and insight orientated psychological interventions (e.g., psychoanalytic), and non-interventions such as those indicated by labelling theory, have all also been shown to be

ineffective in reducing recidivism, and in some cases have been shown to lead to slight increases in re-offence rates (Gendreau, 1996; Latessa, Cullen & Gendreau, 2002).

What a review of this literature shows, is that despite its popularity, the principle of deterrence is without empirical support (Gendreau et al., 2000). In fact, if we return to Lipsey and Cullen's (2007) review of systematic reviews, they observed that the largest mean reductions in recidivism for criminal sanctions were still smaller than the lowest mean reductions in recidivism for rehabilitative interventions. So convinced were they by their findings they made the bold conclusion:

> The preponderance of research evidence, therefore, supports the general conclusion that rehabilitation treatment is capable of reducing the reoffense rates of convicted offenders and that it has greater capability for doing so than correction sanctions. The volume of research and the consistency of the finding of the systematic reviews make this a sufficiently sound general conclusion, bordering on beyond a reasonable doubt, to provide a basis for correctional practice and policy (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007, p. 314).

1.1.4 Influence of rehabilitation on the institutional environment.

Having established the efficacy of rehabilitation for the primary goal of reducing post-incarceration recidivism, it is important to turn one's attention to the impact rehabilitation interventions have on the primarily punitive prison environment. Rehabilitation programs have been found to be less effective when delivered in correctional institutions, versus when they are delivered in the community (Andrews et al., 1990). Many factors could be considered to contribute to this finding. As such, before research specifically examined the role of rehabilitation on prison environment, Wright (1993) examined the characteristics of the prison environment which influenced behavioral outcomes of offenders.

Wright (1993) examined the role of eight environmental factors consisting of privacy, safety, structure, support, emotional feedback, social stimulation, activity, and freedom, on the outcomes of disciplinary reports, record of assaults on staff and inmates, and disruptive behaviors including refusal to obey an order and inmate altercations. He also included a questionnaire of the prisoners' perceptions of their adjustment on external, internal and physical dimensions. Wright (1993) observed a number of surprising findings which contradicted the prevailing assumptions of the institution. Firstly, he observed that as structure increased, so did

disruptive offender behaviour. Likewise, lack of freedom, lack of privacy, and lack of support were also all associated with more disruptive behaviour. Importantly, he noted that lack of support included lack of access to reliable and tangible assistance for self-improvement and advancement. He theorized that inmates who desired to improve themselves but lacked opportunity to do so may act out in frustration, or likewise, that they may act out due to boredom resulting from an absence of gainful activities, thus accounting for the finding. Consistent with this, Wright observed that inmates who experienced more self-efficacy were also less disruptive[2]. Wright (1993) concluded:

> Individuals who feel they receive institutional support to change and improve have a goal upon which to focus and a worthwhile activity to occupy them. They feel better about themselves and have a sense of accomplishment. They have less time to confront others as well as less reason to do so. Self-advancement takes the place of self-assertion and machismo testing to establish one's identity (p. 104).

Drawing upon the success of the use of meta-analysis in determining the impact of rehabilitation on recidivism, French and Gendreau (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of sixty-eight studies (21,000 male, female, adult and juvenile offenders) of the effects of the principles of effective correctional intervention on institutional misconducts. The authors noted that even small reductions in the rates of institutional misconducts can contribute to a less chaotic prison environment, and as high as six-figure institutional cost-savings (French & Gendreau, 2006, p. 209). Although there were some notable limitations to the conclusions (due to the authors of the contributing studies providing limited information on relevant offender characteristics, such as offender risk level and misconduct history) the authors still found a significant effect of programming on misconduct rates. Specifically, they found behavioural treatments had the largest effect on reductions in prison misconducts, with an effect size of $r = .26$, (95% CI of .18 to .34), while the effect sizes of non-behavioral and educational/vocational programs were $r = .10$ (CI .02 to .18) and $r = .02$ (CI= -.14 to .18) respectively (French & Gendreau, 2006, p. 208). Additionally, the authors observed that consistent with the recidivism research, the more criminogenic needs the program targeted, the greater the reduction in institutional misconduct.

1.1.5 Cost effectiveness.

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[2] This finding is also consistent with the primary role of self-efficacy in desistance. See Maruna (2001).

If the evidence for the efficacy of rehabilitation for reducing reoffending and increasing institutional safety, combined with the substantial failure of punishment based interventions to do so, have not been persuasive enough to promote broad political and institutional support for rehabilitation, one final consideration may be useful. A popular misconception often used to discredit rehabilitation initiatives is to argue that they are too expensive. Though measuring cost-effectiveness and cost-benefits involves consideration of a number of complex tangible and intangible factors including (but by no means limited to) the societal cost of offending on victim and offender employment, health, social services and of course the criminal justice system, some authors have made noteworthy attempts.

Farrington et al. (2001) included within their systematic review of correctional interventions, a small number of cost-benefit analyses. Cost-benefit analyses, or efficiency evaluations, aim to carefully balance the allocation of resources (Brown, 2006). Farrington et al. (2001) found that all of the nine studies which included benefit-cost information found a benefit for rehabilitative programming which outweighed the cost, with ratios ranging from a low of 1:1.13 to a high of 1: 7.1. In other words, "for each dollar spent on the program, the government or taxpayer and crime victim received in return $1.13 to $7.14 in various savings" (Farrington et al., p. 351). In Canada, Brown (2006) examined the cost-effectiveness of correctional treatment. In contrast to cost-benefit analyses, cost-effectiveness analyses do not provide a monetary assessment of program benefits, but instead determine the substantive or practical costs. Brown outlined the multiple ways victims, society and offenders could benefit from correctional programming, as well as the costs of correctional programming to each of these groups. She continued by reviewing the previous research on the cost-effectiveness of correctional programming, comparing treatment to punishment, and examining treatment of juvenile offenders, sexual offenders, education and employment interventions, and substance abuse treatment. She concluded that the sum of empirical literature indicated that evidence-based correctional interventions are cost-effective.

1.2 Research Findings on the Attitudes of Corrections Officers

Having broadly outlined the current state of FP knowledge, including the efficacy, importance and overarching principles of effective rehabilitation, the research on CO attitudes and their correspondence with this knowledge base can now be reviewed. In this section a brief general examination of the attitude construct is provided, followed by a summary of the specific

attitudes that have been studied. Following this, the research on the job-related attitudes of COs is explored, with a particular focus on the demographic and work-related variables that have been found to correlate (or not) with CO attitudes. The section concludes with a summary of the success of this previous research in explaining these attitudes.

1.2.1 Defining attitudes.

It may be useful to begin by briefly examining some overarching issues regarding the attitude construct. In the literature on CO job-related attitudes which is reviewed below, a somewhat vague and implied definition of attitudes is employed by the researchers. In particular, in these peer reviewed articles, not much space is dedicated to defining or exploring the attitude construct or its components. Yet, in social psychology, extensive work has been undertaken to define attitudes, differentiate them from other concepts such as beliefs, delineate their components, and understand their relationships with other elements including affect and behaviour (Albarracin, Johnson & Zanna, 2005).

The popular tripartite model of attitudes conceptualizes attitudes as consisting of cognitive (belief), affective and behavioural components. In this context *affect* was defined as "the feelings that people experience and may or may not concern a particular object or event"; *beliefs* as "cognitions about the probability than an object or event is associated with a given attribute"; and finally *behaviours* as "the overt actions of an individual" (Albarracin et al., 2005, p. 3). However, a number of attitude researchers suggested that these components are better understood as *sources of information* which people use to form their attitudes and are therefore used by researchers to identify attitudes (Albarracin et al., 2005), or as correlates of attitudes (Fabrigar, MacDonald & Wegener, 2005; Kruglanski & Stroebe, 2005). Thus, an *attitude* seems to be best defined as "an evaluative judgement" (Kruglanski & Stroebe, 2005, p. 324) which is based upon a summary of the information derived from cognitive, affective and behavioural sources (Fabrigar et al., 2005). The definitional ambiguities of the attitudinal construct have meant that the research on criminal justice attitudes has varied in the way relevant attitudes were measured. How this influences the interpretation of the past research and the implications to the current project will be described in the section on limitations of the research.

1.2.2 Attitudes examined in the correctional literature.

Research on COs has examined the influences of varying factors on multiple attitudinal orientations. These include (but are not limited to) attitudes towards prisoners/inmates (e.g.,

Jurik, 1985, as cited by Tellier, Dowden Fournier & Franson, 2001), perceptions of inmates (Tellier et al., 2001), desire for social distance (e.g., Klofas & Toch, 1982), interest in contact with inmates (Tellier et al., 2001), human service orientation (e.g., Robinson et al., 1992), custody orientation (Blevins et al., 2007; Cullen et al., 1989), interest in counselling roles (e.g., Klofas & Toch, 1982), concern with corruption of authority (e.g, Klofas & Toch, 1982), attitudes toward correctional work (e.g., Robinson, Porporino & Simourd, 1993), punishment/control orientation (Tellier et al., 2001), punitiveness or punitive orientation (e.g., Klofas & Toch, 1982; Lambert, Hogan, Barton & Elechi, 2009; Tellier et al., 2001); treatment services orientation (Tellier et al., 2001), rehabilitation orientation/support for rehabilitation (e.g., Blevins et al., 2007; Cullen et al., 1989; Lambert et al., 2009), beliefs about the prison, prisoners and the guard's role (Tellier et al., 2001), and job satisfaction (e.g., Maahs & Pratt, 2001). As the focus of this study is on the predictors of CO support for rehabilitation/treatment and support for punishment, a combination named *correctional orientation* (Lambert et al., 2013), the review will focus primarily on findings related to them.

1.2.3 The correctional orientation of corrections officers.

Before examining the correlates of support for rehabilitation, it is helpful to broadly establish whether or not support for rehabilitation exists among COs at all. In one of the seminal articles of CO attitudes, Cullen, Lutze, Link, and Wolfe (1989) surveyed 155 COs in the Southern US correctional system in 1983. The survey measured both endorsement of items indicative of a custodial orientation and items indicating support for rehabilitation. A sample of the public of a small city in Illinois in 1982 was also surveyed regarding their support for rehabilitation, with their rates of endorsement directly compared to the CO sample. Though the study is clearly dated, and generalizability of the findings questionable, results indicated that while the COs endorsed many items suggesting they hold a custodial orientation (78.1 percent agreed with the statement "many people don't realize it, but prisons are too soft on the inmates" p. 35), there was still some support for rehabilitation as a goal of corrections among the officers. For example, 53.9 percent agreed with the statement, "I would support expanding the rehabilitation programs with criminals that are now being undertaken in our prisons" (Cullen et al., 1989, p. 37). Furthermore, as compared to the public sample, the COs were slightly more supportive of rehabilitation.

Farkas (1999) surveyed 125 COs to establish if the increase in punitive political policy had influenced CO attitudes towards inmates. The survey examined desire for social distance, punitive orientation, concern for corruption of authority and a preference for counselling roles. Only one item specifically addressed support for rehabilitation (as part of the measure of punitiveness); "rehabilitation programs are a waste of time and money" (Farkas, 1999, p. 501). Seventy-one percent of the officers disagreed with this statement (29 percent agreed), though 63 percent agreed that "counseling is a job for counselors, not officers" (p. 501). Farkas took the level of endorsement of this single item to indicate that "rather strong support for rehabilitation was expressed" (p. 501) and that the punitive public and policymakers had not infiltrated the attitudes of the COs.

In Canada, Lariviére and Robinson (1996) conducted a survey of the attitudes of federal COs and other staff employed by Correctional Service of Canada in 1994. The survey examined empathy towards offenders, punitiveness and support for rehabilitation. Of the 1,970 officers surveyed, 23.3 percent endorsed empathic views of offenders, 76.2 percent held punitive views of corrections, and 53.6 percent supported rehabilitation. Though this figure shows support for rehabilitation among COs, it was also found that compared to the eight other occupational groups within the service (which included administrative support, correctional supervisors and managers, and labour and technical staff), COs were less empathic, more punitive, and less supportive of rehabilitation than all of them (n=4640; Lariviére & Robinson, 1996). In fact, in all but one of the studies reviewed, where COs were compared to other staff positions working in correctional facilities (varying from case management officers to administrative staff), COs held the lowest levels of support for rehabilitation (Robinson et al., 1993; Robinson, Porporino & Simourd, 1996; Young et al., 2009) and most negative attitudes towards offenders (Higgins & Ireland, 2009), compared to the other occupational groups. In the one study where CO position did not predict attitudes towards rehabilitation, position as a CO was however significantly related to punishment orientation, with COs being more likely to support punishment than non-COs (Lambert et al., 2009). In another study, being a CO was the only demographic variable (gender, age, tenure, education, and race) which was a statistically significant predictor of support for rehabilitation, with COs being the least supportive group (Lambert & Hogan, 2009). In one particularly salient study of juvenile custody workers, 87.1 percent of the respondents at least slightly agreed with the survey item, "the rehabilitation of adult criminals just does not

work" (Blevins et al., 2007, p. 66), with only 30 percent of the general public at the time largely agreeing with a similar statement (Blevins et al., 2007). Review of the other items revealed that the juvenile custody workers were lacking in consensus regarding their attitudes towards rehabilitation, and that they possessed "complex, if not inconsistent, views about rehabilitation" (p. 66). From this research it appears that those with the most frequent and intense contact with offenders, are the least likely to hold positive attitudes towards rehabilitation. Despite this, some COs did hold attitudes supportive of rehabilitative initiatives, though the magnitude of support has varied largely across time, place and offender population served. The following section outlines the attempts to understand this variation.

1.2.4 Correlates of corrections officer attitudes.

A seminal article by McLaren (1973) was among the first to draw attention to the differing attitudes and behaviours of COs. McLaren provided a descriptive analysis of different corrections officer types which he labelled as "cons, hacks and educated screws" (p. 30). According to Blevins and colleagues (2007) a movement towards the quantitative description of the job-related attitudes of COs s commenced in the late 1970 and early 1980s, when prison officials became interested in the professionalization of the correctional role. These authors described how a number of researchers endeavoured to investigate the "sources of correctional employees' attitudes and beliefs toward the purpose of corrections" (p. 55). The lead to two opposing models: The individual experiences/importation model and the work role/prisonization model (Blevins et al., 2007). The findings from each of these lines of enquiry will be reviewed in turn.

1.2.4.1 Demographic correlates.

According to the individual experiences/importation model, an employee's perception of his or her correctional work is determined by the individual characteristics and experiences that they bring to the correctional position (Blevins et al., 2007; Maahs & Pratt, 2001). The variables examined usually consist of gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education, but also sometimes include marital status, political ideology and rural versus urban residence.

1.2.4.1.1 Gender. Of the studies reviewed, most found that gender was not a significant predictor of support for rehabilitation, or attitudes in general (Cullen et al., 1989; Jurik, 1985; Lambert & Hogan 2009; Lambert et al., 2009; Robinson et al., 1997;), including in a meta-analysis of COs attitudes which included treatment orientation (Maahs & Pratt, 2001). Gender

has however been significantly associated with human services orientation (Hemmens & Stohr, 2000), preference for counselling roles and punitiveness (Farkas, 1999), and contradictorily, both job satisfaction (Robinson et al., 1997) and negative attitudes towards their job (Maahs & Pratt, 2001). In only one study reviewed were female COs more supportive of rehabilitation than male COs, but they had comparable levels of empathy and punitiveness (Lariviére & Robinson, 1996).

1.2.4.1.2 Age. Though some authors have hypothesized that older COs are more cynical and less supportive of rehabilitation programs than younger COs, the majority of the findings examining the relationship between age and attitudes found that older COs are "mellower" than their younger counterparts (Lariviére & Robinson, 1996; Robinson et al., 1997; Young et al., 2009). Lariviére and Robinson (1996) found that compared to younger COs (under 50), older COs had more positive attitudes towards offenders, as did Jurik (1985) in a multivariate analysis controlling for other variables. Paboojian and Teske (1997), Lambert et al. (2009), and a meta-analysis by Maahs and Pratt (2001), found that support for rehabilitation increased with age, and that older officers were less punitive (Robinson et al., 1997). Similarly, older COs (Klofas & Toch, 1982; Maahs & Pratt, 2001) and COs who started their correctional work at an older age (Cullen et al., 1989) have been found to hold a more human service orientation and preference for counselling roles (Farkas, 1999; Robinson et al., 1997).

However, Farkas (1999) found no relationship between age and punitiveness, and Blevins et al. (2007) found that younger juvenile correctional workers were more supportive of rehabilitation than older workers, though the correlation did not remain significant when work related variables were included in the model alongside demographic variables. Finally, Lambert and Hogan (2009) found no significant relationship between age and attitudes towards rehabilitation in their survey of COs working in a private correctional facility, nor was a relationship found between age and support for punishment (Lambert et al., 2009).

1.2.4.1.3 Race/Ethnicity. Differences between the attitudes of COs of differing racial and ethnic backgrounds have been conducted by comparing black versus white COs (e.g. Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989), while others have included other ethnic minorities such as Hispanic COs (e.g. Farkas, 1999). Findings have generally been as hypothesized with a number of studies finding that minority status is significantly related to support for rehabilitation (Cullen et al. 1989; Maahs & Pratt, 2001; Paboojian & Teske, 1997), as well as more positive attitudes toward offenders (in multivariate analysis controlling for other variables; Jurik, 1985), and to having a

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less punitive orientation (Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989). However, Farkas (1999) found no correlation between race and punitive orientation or preference for rehabilitation or counselling roles, and it was also not a significant predictor of attitudes towards rehabilitation in a study by Lambert and Hogan (2009), and attitudes towards rehabilitation or punishment in a study by Lambert et al. (2009).

Unfortunately, very little is known about race/ethnicity as a potential correlate of CO attitudes in a Canadian context, which varies in important ways from the USA. In Saskatchewan in particular, there is a complex and ongoing colonization history of Aboriginal peoples, one consequence of which is the over-representation of Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian criminal justice system (Government of Saskatchewan, 2012). Notably, although First Nations and Métis people compose approximately 15 percent of the Saskatchewan population, around 70-80 percent of the custodial population are Aboriginal (Government of Saskatchewan, 2012). In its 2012-2013 strategic plan, the Minister of Corrections, Public Safety and Policing Division noted that one way the Ministry was attempting to improve respect for cultural issues was to seek First Nations and Métis staff members. The Minister noted that "the proportion of First Nations or Métis staff compares favourably to the provinces' public service sector rate of 12 per cent", and that attempts were being undertaken to increase this number. That said, it is generally unknown how much of the current population of CWs in Saskatchewan identify as Aboriginal, and if or how one's race or ethnicity influences correctional orientation in a Saskatchewan context.

1.2.4.1.4 Education. Education has been the focus of a number of authors who hypothesized that job satisfaction and support for offender rehabilitation would be promoted by recruiting officers with postsecondary educational credentials (e.g. Robinson et al., 1997). Robinson, Porporino and Simourd (1997) explicitly examined the influence of previous educational attainment on attitudes toward rehabilitation and job performance of COs, citing previous inconsistent research findings on the connection between officers' attitudes and education. The sample of COs was taken from a larger survey of staff from the Correctional Service of Canada, representing five geographic regions and ten occupational categories (n=213). Levels of the education variable consisted of "not completed postsecondary training; received a community college diploma; obtained a bachelor's degree; and, some work at a community college or a university" (Robinson et al., 1997, p. 65). Regrettably, the authors did not include specification of what areas or fields of study their education was in. Dependent

variables consisted of multiple sets of measures taken from previous studies measuring five broad domains: correctional orientation set, job satisfaction set, organizational commitment set, career orientation set, and job performance set (Robinson et al., 1997).

Overall, the Robinson et al. (1997) found that education was correlated with endorsement of rehabilitation but accounted for only a minor proportion of the variance in attitudes ($R^2 = .03$), with age and gender being superior predictors of positive attitudes than. Yet, specifically the authors noted, that a university degree was the "critical increment in achievement required to produce influences on correctional orientation" (p. 71) with university-trained COs showing more positive attitudes toward offenders, slightly more supportive attitudes towards rehabilitation, and also less punitive orientation and less interest in custody than their less formally educated counterparts. However, university graduates did not hold a strong human service orientation and education was unrelated to endorsement of offender counselling as an appropriate role for COs. There were also no noted effects of education on job performance, job involvement and career development needs. Similarly, in a study by Lambert et al. (2009) higher support for treatment was found among those with a college degree, while those without a college degree were more likely to support punishment, though the sample included all prison staff positions, as opposed to just COs.

The bulk of other research reviewed found that education was not a significant predictor of any of the attitudinal variables examined (Cullen et al., 1989; Farkas, 1999; Hemmens & Stohr, 2000; Jurik, 1985, Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Maahs & Pratt, 2001; Paboojian & Teske, 1997; Robinson et al., 1993), and oddly, in one study of juvenile corrections workers, respondents with fewer years of formal education showed more support for rehabilitation (Blevins et al., 2007).

1.2.4.1.5 Additional demographic variables. A few studies have included additional individual experience/importation variables. One variable which received more attention in the past was urban versus rural residence. As predicted by the authors, COs residing in rural areas or smaller towns held attitudes less supportive of rehabilitation (Paboojian & Teske, 1997). Marital status, previous military service, prior experience in law enforcement or corrections and population of the officer's childhood town/city were all observed in the same study but were not significant predictors of attitudes (Paboojian & Teske, 1997, p. 430). Political ideology was also

not a significant predictor of rehabilitation orientation among juvenile corrections workers (Blevins et al., 2007).

1.2.4.2 Work related correlates.

In contrast to the individual experience/importation model, the work role/prisonization model proposed that the prison environment affects those who work within it, thus influencing their attitudes (Blevins et al., 2007; Jurik, 1985; Lambert & Hogan, 2009). From this perspective, COs become institutionalized in the same way that prisoners are observed to, with the role demands of the occupation leading to the development of negative attitudes despite personal characteristics (Jurik, 1985). Variables examined in this line of research have included tenure (years as a CO), security level of the institution, shift worked (those with more or less inmate contact), perception of dangerousness, role stress, job variety, whether the person's work environment impacts negatively on their family (work-on-family conflict), whether negative family environment issues are impacting on their work (family-on-work conflict), integration, instrumental communication, input into decision-making, organizational fairness, job satisfaction, job stress, supervisory support, peer support, and organizational commitment (Cullen et al., 1989; Farkas, 1999; Jurik, 1985; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lariviére & Robinson,1996; Maahs & Pratt, 2001). These variables are sometimes separated into the "deprivation model" which distinguishes predictors related to the prison as an institution (e.g., facility security level, shift worked perception of dangerousness) from the "management model" which relates to daily management practices (e.g., role conflict, supervisory support and peer support; Maahs & Pratt, 2001).

Where the work related variables are not self-evident (e.g., security level of institution), they were usually measured by a number of small scales. Lambert and Hogan (2009) examined an impressively large number of work environment variables, each measured by small scales of between four and nine attitudinal statements developed by previous authors and combined by Lambert and Hogan. For example variables such as "Family-on-work conflict" were measured by five items including endorsement of the statement "My family and/or social life interferes with my job" (Lambert & Hogan, 2009, p. 515). Most work-related variables have been inconsistently examined. Thus, similar variables are reviewed together.

1.2.4.2.1 Length of service/Tenure. The majority of hypotheses regarding the influence of tenure on CO attitudes was, that COs developed more negative attitudes the longer they worked,

as a result of the socialization process and role demands of the position (Jurik, 1985). Noteworthy was that this hypothesis is opposite to that regarding the influence of age, whereby older COs were proposed to be mellower than their younger counterparts, thus highlighting the necessity of differentiating between age and tenure.

Cullen et al.'s (1989) findings reflect the differential hypotheses of the roles of tenure versus age: They found a small tendency for tenure to reduce belief in rehabilitation and slightly increase custody oriented attitudes, but noted that those who became COs at an older age were more inclined towards human services. Similarly, Lariviére and Robinson (1996) found that compared to their more experienced colleagues, federal COs with less than one year of experience reported more positive attitudes towards offenders, with over 80 percent supporting rehabilitation. However, of those who had completed one year on the job, only 59 percent endorsed rehabilitative goals. Again reflecting the nuanced influence of age, COs over age 50 were more supportive of rehabilitation than younger COs. Finally, Jurik (1985) also found that the more months respondents were employed, the more negative their attitudes towards inmates were.

However, like all of the previously reviewed predictors, overall findings indicated that tenure is another unreliable predictor of attitudes. One study found that more experienced COs showed more favorable responses to ethics statements regarding inmate treatment and respect for inmates than the other demographic groups examined (Stohr, Hemmens, Kifer & Schoeler, 2000). Likewise, Farkas (2000) found that more experienced corrections workers were more flexible in their approach to rule enforcement and discipline as well as more focussed on positive interpersonal communication and personalized relations. Tenure was unrelated to COs' attitudes in four other studies reviewed (Blevins et al., 2007; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Lambert et al., 2009; Robinson et al., 1997).

1.2.4.2.2 Shift. Those COs who typically work a later shift or a night shift have been found to be significantly more likely to hold attitudes supportive of harsh conditions for offenders while also being more supportive of rehabilitation (Farkas, 1999). However, they have also been found to be more likely to hold a custodial orientation (Cullen et al., 1989) and in a meta-analysis by Maahs and Pratt (2001), working the night shift was the only deprivation variable examined to be significantly related to attitudes with a moderate relationship between working night shift and being less likely to hold a treatment orientation.

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1.2.4.3.3 Perception of dangerousness and institutional security level. Blevins et al. (2007) found that four of the five work related variables examined (years at present agency, role conflict, supervisory support, job title) were not significant predictors of juvenile corrections workers attitudes toward rehabilitation. But contrary to prediction, those who perceived higher levels of dangerousness were more supportive of rehabilitation. In contrast, Larviére and Robinson (1996) found that among Correctional Service of Canada federal COs, working in a lower security level was associated with more positive attitudes toward offenders (medium and maximum security were comparable), while Cullen et al. (1989) found no effect for perceived dangerousness of the job, as well as no effect for working in a U.S. maximum security institution. A meta- analysis revealed a weak effect size for security level and perception of dangerousness with regards to CO treatment orientation.

1.2.4.2.4 Career orientation. Across the studies, a number of career orientated variables have been associated with more desirable attitudes. More positive attitudes towards offenders have been found among COs who took the job for more intrinsic reasons, such as an interest in human services or security work, versus those who took the job due to factors such as benefits and pay (Jurik, 1985). Similarly, more liberal attitudes towards offenders were found among COs who held a stronger need for growth, those who expressed more interest in career planning and development, and those most involved in their job (Robinson et al., 1997). Lariviére and Robinson et al. (1996) also found that COs who were happier in the jobs, less stressed at their jobs, and who were more committed to Correctional Service of Canada, were more empathic, less punitive, and more supportive of rehabilitation. Cullen et al., (1989) and Lambert et al. (2009) however found no effect for job stress on attitudes, while Lambert et al. (2009) and Lambert and Hogan (2009), found similar to Lariviére and Robinson, that organizational commitment was positively related to support for offender treatment, as was job variety and integration (group cohesion among staff members, work groups, departments and divisions; Lambert & Hogan, 2009). Lambert and Hogan (2009) also found that work-on family conflict was negatively related to support for offender treatment. Perhaps providing some additional insight into the dubious relationship between tenure and attitudes, Lambert et al. (2009) observed that the positive relationship between organizational commitment and support for rehabilitation suggested that bonding with the organization, regardless of the time spent in the role, may be accounting for the relationship.

Robinson and colleagues (1993) specifically examined whether career orientation influenced CO support for rehabilitation. Their variables included rehabilitation orientation, job satisfaction, growth need, job involvement, human service orientation, attitude towards correctional occupations, interest in security, and a measure of social desirability. Utilising multiple regression they found that "attitudes toward correctional occupations, human service orientation, career salience, and growth need strength explained 31 percent of the variance in attitudes toward rehabilitation (adjusted R^2 = .29)" (Robinson et al., 1993, p. 172). They concluded that the most influential variable in their model of CO attitudes was positive attitudes towards the correctional occupation, while human service orientation was also a key factor.

1.2.4.3 Other influences on corrections officer attitudes.

1.2.4.3.1 Pluralistic ignorance. Two historical articles also shed light on other influences on CO attitudes. Kaufman (1981) proposed that COs may misperceive their CO colleagues' attitudes towards offenders and support for rehabilitation; a situation referred to as "pluralistic ignorance". Thus, Kaufman developed a survey utilizing case scenarios in which COs were described as behaving in a certain way. Participants were then asked whether they agreed with the COs actions in the scenario, as well as how many COs and how many treatment staff members they thought would answer the question the same way as them. Consistent with her hypotheses, Kaufman found that in all eight scenarios officers tended to "underestimate the proportion of their fellow officers who hold attitudes sympathetic toward inmates and treatment" (Kaufman, 1981, p. 285). Interestingly, she observed that compared to officers who gave responses sympathetic to offenders, officers who responded to the scenarios in ways unsympathetic to offenders were also far more likely to believe that the majority of their fellow officers would agree with their responses.

Klofas and Toch (1982) replicated Kaufman's findings when they examined pluralistic ignorance and varying CO subcultures in four different U.S. institutions. Respondents completed a survey of work-related alienation and professional orientation, and then were asked to guess how they thought other officers in their institution would respond to the survey items. Like Kaufman's results, officers consistently rated their peers as holding more negative perspectives; overestimating their levels of alienation and underestimating their professionalism. Likewise, officers who most strongly endorsed nonprofessional responses to items were the most likely to perceive themselves as being in the majority. In other words, the most cynical and most

inaccurate officers were those who were most likely to believe that their views were shared (Klofas & Toch, 1982). Thus, all authors concluded that there was support for pluralistic ignorance among COs that consisted of a strong belief in a non-existent, anti-inmate subculture (Klofas & Toch, 1982).

1.2.5 Total variance accounted for.

One of the most prominent and unanimous observations of the research on CO attitudes is that the majority of the models have accounted for only 15 percent of the variance in attitudes (Cullen et al., 1989; Paboojian & Teske, 1997; Robinson et al., 1997; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989), with Maahs and Pratt (2001) noting a maximum of only moderate mean effect sizes (largest $Mz = .15$) for individual variables predicting COs' treatment orientation. Moreover, researchers generally did not agree on whether demographic variables were better predictors than work variables (Blevins et al., 2007), work variables better than demographic variables (Robinson et al., 1993; Farkas, 1999), or equally important (Jurik, 1985). Lambert and Hogan (2009) produced a model which accounted for an impressive 30 percent of the variance, but being a CO (versus not) was the only statistically significant demographic contributor of the eighteen total variables examined[3], and therefore does not provide much insight into the attitudes of COs specifically.

However, the addition of a few work-related factors have increased the predictive ability of the models considerably: Lambert et al. (2009) accounted for 28 percent of the variance in attitudes toward rehabilitation and 34 percent of the variance in attitudes towards punishment in their models which included organizational commitment as the main contributing factors to the model. Likewise, as cited above, Robinson et al. (1993) accounted for an impressive 31 percent of the variance in attitudes toward rehabilitation in their model which included favorable attitudes towards correctional work, having an interest in career development, a preference for work involving people and for work that provides opportunities for personal growth.

1.3 Limitations of the Research on Corrections Officer Attitudes

1.3.1 Officers support for rehabilitation versus officers as rehabilitators.

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[3] The variables examined by Lambert and Hogan (2009) were: gender, age, tenure, position, education, race, perception of dangerousness, role stress, supervision, job variety, work-on-family conflict, family-on-work conflict, integration, instrumental communication, input into decision making, perception of organizational fairness, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment (p. 518).

There are a number of factors which makes generalization of the reviewed research difficult. One factor is that in some studies COs' general support for rehabilitation also included officers' preference for taking on human service functions or working *as* rehabilitation service providers, such as acting as social workers or facilitating rehabilitation programs and services (e.g. Farkas, 1999; Klofas & Toch, 1982; Robinson et al., 1997; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989). Whether COs support rehabilitation generally is a separate question from whether they believe COs should also act as rehabilitative service providers, and bears consideration of many pros and cons. This includes the challenge of maintaining somewhat contradictory roles as well as the level of clinical skills and training necessary to adequately perform counselling duties. For example, a number of studies have found that officers who experience more role conflict are less likely to support rehabilitation (Cullen et al., 1989; Maahs & Pratt, 2001; Whitehead & Lindquist, 1989). Thus, in the context of this research, this distinction will be considered in the interpretation of the results.

1.3.2 What is rehabilitation?

Another factor which may be affecting findings in the previous research is that these studies rarely, if ever specified what was meant by "rehabilitation". A question asked of correctional officers in Texas by Paboojian and Teske (1997) revealed that rehabilitation may mean more to some researchers than others. Participants were asked the open-ended question, "Do you feel that work is more important in rehabilitating the inmate than are the treatment programs such as the academic educational, vocational educational, medical, psychological, and religious programs that have been referred to herein?" (p. 430) In this case, rehabilitation not only included psychological interventions aimed at reducing reoffending risk, but also educational, vocational, and religious rehabilitative initiatives.

In contrast, Sundt, Cullen, Applegate and Turner (1998) distinguished between education and vocational training, and psychological counselling when asking the public about their opinion regarding the "best policy for dealing with inmates while they are in prison" (p. 435). They found that in both 1986 and 1995, support for education and vocational training was higher than for psychological counselling, though support for both had decreased by 1995. Pertinent to this finding is the previous review of effective and ineffective interventions, with psychological interventions which address the Risk-Need-Responsivity principles shown to have the strongest effect on reducing recidivism (Andrews et al., 1990). Lambert and Hogan (2009) alluded to this

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perspective when they reminded readers that "It is possible that if a correctional staff member has seen many inmates pass through an ineffective treatment program, his/her view of rehabilitation will be lower than for a staff member who has witnessed the change in inmates in a more effective treatment intervention" (Lambert & Hogan, 2009, p. 523-4). It may be unsurprising then that findings regarding attitudes towards rehabilitation are inconsistent when research does not consistently identify the types of rehabilitation they are referring to, with acknowledgement that attitudes may differ depending upon what participants know about each type of intervention.

       1.3.3 Holding "contradictory" attitudes: Understanding correctional orientation.

       In some of the previous research examining attitudes towards offenders and their treatment, support for punishment or negative attitudes towards offenders, and support for rehabilitation, are conceptualized as mutually exclusive, or lying on "opposite ends of a continuum" (Lambert, Hogan, Barton, Jiang, & Baker, 2008, p. 93). For example, the measure developed by Klofas and Toch (1982) and reused in a number of other studies (Farkas, 1999; Tellier, 2001; Whitehead & Linquist, 1989) measured punitiveness using four items including "rehabilitation programs are a waste of money" (Farkas, 1999, p. 501). Likewise, a survey of public support for rehabilitation (Cullen et al., 1989) utilized a forced choice question asking respondents the primary reason for putting the offender in prison. In a survey of COs, liberal attitudes toward offenders were measured as a composite of "endorsement of rehabilitation and low custody orientation" (Robinson et al.,1997, p. 69), and even in a more recent meta-analysis, COs' attitudes toward treatment where determined as a combination of treatment orientation, custody orientation and punitiveness (Maahs & Pratt, 2001).

      However, other research reveals the problems with these approaches. Farkas (1999) found that COs who worked the later shifts were simultaneously more supportive of rehabilitative programs, and expressed a greater preference for harsh conditions for inmates. Likewise, Robinson et al. (1993) found that COs could be simultaneously attracted to the security aspects of the profession while also supporting rehabilitation, while juvenile corrections workers were found to simultaneously support custody and rehabilitation. Moreover, Sprott (1999) found that women in the Canadian public were both more punitive and more likely to support rehabilitation, while Lambert et al. (2009) found that position as a CO was significantly related to support for punishment but not support for rehabilitation.

What these findings illustrate is that a scale item that measures attitudes towards offenders as a function of high support for rehabilitation and low custodial priorities is problematic as it assumes that a custody or punishment orientation and support for rehabilitation cannot co-occur, and also that support for rehabilitation and 'positive' or 'liberal' attitudes towards offenders are also the same. Furthermore, while there are merits to forced choice items (Blevins et al., 2007), a forced choice also implicitly assumes that people cannot or do not believe that prisons need to facilitate justice and incapacitate, while also strongly believing in the duty to rehabilitate. Therefore, it is necessary to examine support for rehabilitation independent of support for incapacitation or punishment (Blevins et al. 2007; Lambert et al., 2009). More recent research has reflected this observation. For example, Lambert and colleagues (2013) examined the relationship between correctional orientation, defined as support for rehabilitation and support for punishment, and organizational citizenship behaviours. Consistent with the above criticism, organizational citizenship behaviours were differentially related to support for rehabilitation and support for punishment.

1.3.4 General versus specific questions.

Another observation made in the literature which highlights the scrupulousness of attitudes towards rehabilitation, is the differential outcomes of research which poses general versus specific questions. A number of authors observed that many policy makers cite opinion polls which show punitive public attitudes, as justification for their policies (Applegate, Cullen, Turner, & Sundt, 1996; Cumberland & Zamble, 1992; Sprott, 1999; Zamble & Kalm, 1990). To investigate the appropriateness of these polls, Zamble and Kalm (1990) compared the responses of a sample of the Canadian public on global measures of punitiveness to the same subjects' responses to a set of brief scenarios which required them to provide sentencing decisions. They found while the majority of respondents indicated that they thought the criminal justice system treats offenders too leniently, they also made sentencing decisions which were consistent with the judicial practices of the time.

Applegate and colleagues (1996) examined global versus specific attitudes towards "three strikes" legislation in the USA, which necessitates a life sentence with no possibility of parole for twenty-five years, for a third felony conviction. They found that when participants were simply asked if they supported implementing the legislation in their state, 88.4 percent indicated they were somewhat to strongly in support. However, when provided with specific scenarios,

although the sentences chosen were not lenient in nature, only 16.9 percent of the sample chose the life sentence which would have been required according to the "three strikes" legislation. The authors noted that the difference between the levels of global and specific support were "not only statistically significant (p<.001) but enormous" (p. 525) and that 72.2 percent of the respondents provided inconsistent responses.

Finally, Doob and Roberts (1988) reviewed a number of contradictory findings in surveys of public perceptions of criminal justice issues in Canada to determine what might be influencing the findings. For example, while a majority of the Canadian public consistently indicated that they believed sentences were too lenient, when asked for a solution to prison overcrowding, a majority (70 percent) chose alternative sanctions such as probation, restitution and community service, over building more prisons. In some ways, it may be fair to say that for some people, when they respond to surveys asking if sentences are too lenient, their responses reflect their perceptions about the levels of crime and their dissatisfaction with the crimes they know about. Or in other words, the respondents are answering the question as if it were actually posed, "Are you satisfied with the current crime rate?" and "Do you think more should be done to reduce crime?" As these studies show, a bulk of literature has found that especially in the area of criminal justice, people tend to maintain attitudes which appear contradictory, and that often closer investigation is needed (Doob & Roberts, 1988).

1.3.5 Attitudes versus beliefs.

As noted earlier, the general attitude research distinguishes between attitudes and beliefs. Though there remains some controversy (Kruglanski & Stroebe, 2005), cognitively based beliefs are generally accepted as one of the sources of information which people use to inform and justify their attitudes (Fabrigar et al., 2005). In a discussion of the ambiguities involved in measuring beliefs and attitudes, Wyer and Albarracin (2005) defined a belief as an "estimate that an inference is correct" (p. 276). They observed that participants agreeing with a statement which is thought to reflect a belief (e.g. Cigarette smoking will be declared illegal) and agreeing with one thought to reflect an attitude (e.g. Cigarette smoking should be declared illegal) are likely both influenced by the participant's estimate of the probability that the statement is true; making the distinction between them illusory. Nevertheless, they also observed that the difference between the statements manifests in the fact that the "…validity of a descriptive (belief)

statement can often be verified empirically, whereas the validity of a prescriptive (opinion) statement cannot" (Wyer & Albarracin, 2005, p. 276).

Consistent with a conceptualization of attitudes as being related to beliefs, many of the scales employed in the above-reviewed research included items which assessed beliefs as part of the measure of attitudes. For example, Blevins et al. (2007) borrowed scale items from previous research, including Cullen et al. (1989), reviewed herein. As in most attitude research, participants rated their agreement with attitude statements on a six point Likert-type scale. One such item was "Rehabilitating a criminal is just as important as making a criminal pay for his or her crime". In contrast, other items on this scale were "The rehabilitation of prisoners has proven to be a failure", and "The only way to reduce crime in society is to punish criminals, not try to rehabilitate them". While the first statement isolates the ideology or opinion of the participant regarding the goals of the criminal justice system, the latter two are more consistent with the definition of beliefs, as the validity of the statement could be empirically verified. Specifically, if these statements had instead been posed as true or false questions, the forensic psychological literature would indicate that they are both false, as has been discussed. Yet, Blevins and colleagues (2007) found that over 80 percent of the juvenile corrections workers they surveyed either slightly to strongly agreed with each of these statements, and over 35 percent either agreed or strongly agreed with them. So, if the statement had required a dichotomous true or false response, over 80 percent of the sample would be leaning towards answering "true" which is, according to the empirical research, incorrect. This example illustrates that what may be heavily contributing to anti-rehabilitation attitudes is anti-rehabilitation beliefs which are based upon a fundamental lack of knowledge and education about the efficacy of rehabilitation (versus punishment) for reducing offending behaviour.

In fact, an examination of the attitude measures from all of the previously discussed research, including Tellier et al.'s (2001) review of the available measures of COs professional orientation, show that most include items which contain belief statements for which their validity could be established through empirical evidence (e.g. Antonio, Young, Winegard, 2009; Blevins et al., 2007; Cullen et al., 1989; Farkas, 1999; Lariviére & Robinson, 1996; Melvin, Gramling, & Gardner 1985; Sundt et al., 2008; see Appendix A for specific items). While Wyer and Albarracin (2005) argued that the distinction between statements which measure attitudes and beliefs is fuzzy, the distinction becomes important if one is interested in determining the level to

which certain attitudes are based upon beliefs that are, or are not, supported by the empirical literature. Why this is important will be discussed further below.

Taken together, the problems with the previous surveys of CO attitudes suggest that prior to embarking upon further examination of the sources of CO attitudes towards rehabilitation and punishment, an improved tool for measuring them should be developed.

1.3.6 Knowledge versus previous education.

What may seem contrary to the proposition that inaccurate information is contributing to anti-rehabilitation and punitive attitudes is that as discussed earlier, higher education does not consistently correlate with more positive attitudes toward rehabilitation (Blevins et al., 2007; Lambert & Hogan, 2009; Paboojian & Teske, 1997; Payne, Gainey, Triplett, & Danner, 2004). Robinson et al. (1997) found a correlation between education level and support for rehabilitation only once education level reached attainment of a Bachelor's degree. However, studies exploring education level as a correlate with punitiveness rarely, if ever, specify the area of the education or whether the curriculum studied included research on offender rehabilitation (Blevins et al., 2007), or even human behaviour. It may be unreasonable to expect that educational attainment in fields unrelated to forensic psychology or criminology would correlate with attitudes in this area.

1.4 Understanding Criminal Justice Attitudes

1.4.1 Some surveys of the public.

Remember, Farkas' (1999) found that some COs were concurrently supportive of rehabilitative programs and expressed a greater preference for harsh conditions for inmates. Perhaps some of what was accounting for this inconsistency was that some officers believed that the harsh conditions would be rehabilitative. Providing insight, Payne and colleagues (2004) examined how people justified their punitive criminal sentencing decisions. Compared to demographic characteristics, justifications, such as general and specific deterrence were relatively strongly linked to punitive attitudes. They concluded that "those who recommend longer sentences (which are punitive) are not necessarily punitive for the sake of retribution. Rather, this research suggests that they are punitive because they believe that longer sentences specifically deter the offender and generally deters others" (p. 203).

Sprott (1999), who found that women were both more punitive and more likely to support rehabilitation than men, observed that females were also more likely to believe that crime rates were increasing, and that it was this belief that was associated with the belief that criminal

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sentences for adults were generally too lenient (Sprott, 1999). Likewise, Doob and Roberts (1988) asked a sample of the Canadian public what they believed was the most effective way to control crime. Only a little over a quarter of the respondents chose the option, "make sentences harsher" but of those that did, respondents who believed that sentences were too lenient were more likely to endorse this option. The authors noted that for both the group of respondents who endorsed sentences as being "too lenient", and those who indicated they were "about right", reducing unemployment was the option most frequently chosen, though increasing social programs was barely endorsed (7 percent of "too lenient" group and 15 percent of "about right" group), again, perhaps because they were not aware of the efficacy of such programs.

In the same study, the public was also asked to rate the importance of different reasons for making sentences harsher. Seventy-six percent endorsed "offenders deserve more punishment", followed by, "to express society's disapproval of the criminal behaviour" (68 percent), then to "deter potential offenders" (63 percent), "deter the offender" (62 percent) and "incapacitation" (57 percent; Doob & Roberts, 1988, p. 119). While endorsement of these items demonstrated an element of punishment for punishments sake, 62 percent who endorsed "deter the offender" showed some belief that a sanction can act as a deterrent. Furthermore, Doob and Roberts (1988) found that the public were incorrect with regard to a number of issues: Namely 74 percent largely overestimated the percentage of crime that involved violence, 67 percent incorrectly thought that murder had increased since the abolition of the death penalty, and a majority overestimated the rates of recidivism of first time offenders convicted of violent crimes (Doob & Roberts, 1988).

More recently, Doob (2000) again surveyed the Canadian public regarding their views on sentencing. Though he observed that less than one third of respondents indicated a belief that the best way to control adult crime was to increase the harshness of sentences, he noted that the public knew little about what sentences actually were. Further, he observed that a substantial proportion also believed that those sentenced to community service did not complete it; a finding unsupported by the evidence.

Lastly, Doob and Roberts (1988) observed a number of ways that providing additional information changed responses. They provided a sample of the public with a newspaper article about a particular offence. Consistent with the position of the article, the majority of respondents rated the sentence as "too lenient". However, when they were provided the same details of the

crime as the courts, the majority rated the same sentence as "too harsh" (although 19 percent of respondents who read the court based documents still rated the sentence as "too lenient"). Similarly, in 2000, when respondents were reminded that offenders would eventually return to the community, or that imprisonment is expensive, support for rehabilitation increased significantly (Doob, 2000).

At least one study included a knowledge measure alongside the attitudinal measures. Cumberland and Zamble (1992) surveyed 166 Canadian adults on their attitudes towards the criminal justice system using global and sentencing case scenario questions. They included a 10-item measure of knowledge of the criminal justice system. The authors found that the participants' knowledge of the criminal justice system was generally poor, with only three items correctly answered by the majority of respondents. Analysis of the knowledge questions produced very poor internal consistency and was only weakly correlated ($r = .28$, p<.001) with the measure of attitudes. Despite the disappointing relationship between their measures of knowledge and attitudes, Cumberland and Zamble (1992) still concluded that "More work needs to be done with measures of this sort, in order to elucidate the interplay of cognitions and emotions in the genesis of attitudinal judgements" (Cumberland & Zamble, 1992, p. 453).

1.4.2 Educational interventions.

Also suspecting the role of empirically inaccurate beliefs in criminal justice attitudes, some researchers examined attitudes prior to and following an educational intervention. Lambert, Camp, Clarke and Jiang (2011) examined whether attitudes toward the death penalty changed among public university students, following provision of information regarding the absence of deterrent effect of the death penalty and the likelihood of wrongly killing an innocent person. The authors initially noted the more knowledge participants had regarding death penalty issues prior to the intervention the less likely they were to support the death penalty, as compared to their less knowledgeable counterparts. Secondly, in line with their hypotheses, the authors found that the attitudes of participants became less supportive of the death penalty following reading an educational package, but that some demographic groups (women and non-White respondents) were more likely to change their opinion than others. Interestingly, even when participants had poor knowledge of death penalty issues, many still held strong opinions.

In two quite similar studies, Antonio, Young and Winegard (2009) and Young, Antonio and Winegard (2009) examined support for treatment and rehabilitation among correctional staff,

including COs. Young et al. (2009) compared the attitudes of different occupational groups following training on basic forensic practice knowledge, while Antonio et al. (2009) compared attitudinal change of COs and treatment staff before and after the same training. The training consisted of "principles of effective correctional intervention, including social learning theory, cognitive behavioral approaches, targeting criminogenic needs, using more positive reinforcers than punishers, and increasing sensitivity in any inmate interaction" (Young et al., 2009, p. 437). Antonio et al. (2009) found that attitudes changed in the desired direction for all staff following the training session, including COs. They noted that attitudes changed the least for treatment staff who understood concepts and supported inmate treatment and rehabilitation at high rates prior to the intervention. Thus, the training was deemed to reduce the differences between treatment staff and COs regarding their beliefs about the treatment of offenders, rehabilitation programs and the roles and responsibilities of COs within the prison. The authors did however express some concerns that even following the training, COs still differed significantly from treatment staff on their responses to four items, with treatment staff being "more likely than CO to strongly disagree with statements indicating that inmates cannot be treated with respect and that treating inmates with respect will make a prison more dangerous" (p. 379), as well as being "less likely to believe that their actions inside a prison will have an impact on inmate rehabilitation efforts or inmate behavior" (Antonio et al., p. 380). Furthermore, Young et al.'s (2009) analyses showed that post-training COs held the least favorable attitudes towards inmate treatment and rehabilitation than any of the occupational groups examined, though they were still relatively supportive. The authors concluded that additional training targeting issues encountered by COs, was needed (Young et al., 2009).

1.4.3 "Common sense" and other sources of attitude-relevant information.

As noted previously, the evaluative judgements known as attitudes are based on a summation of information from a number of sources including beliefs, affect, behaviour[4], and in some models, goals (defined as desired outcomes; Kruglanski & Stroebe, 2005). To further complicate the matter, reciprocal relationships have been identified between each of these components (Fabrigar et al., 2005). For example, existing attitudes and affect can distort perception and understanding of new attitude-relevant information such that it is modified to be

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[4] According to Bem's (1972) self-perception theory, we observe ourselves behaving in certain ways and infer our attitudes from these behaviours.

consistent with the current attitude or belief, or discredited completely (Fabrigar et al., 2005). Lord, Ross, and Lepper (2008) examined the effects of already formed theories or attitudes on the consideration of new and ambiguous evidence. They found that when they presented (fake) research about the deterrent effect of capital punishment that was consistent with participant's already firmly held views about capital punishment, it was more readily accepted than similar information that was contrary to their view. When the new information was contrary to the already formed opinion, the information was subjected to more extensive critique of the data, methods and generalizability of the results, despite their appropriate criticism being equally valid for the data which they readily accepted. The authors observed that "people with opposing views can each find support for those views in the same body of evidence" (p. 344), causing the equivocal evidence to not lessen each side's conviction in their beliefs but to instead contribute to polarization between the groups.

Returning to the criminal justice research reviewed above, though many of the studies found that the attitudes of participants changed with the provision of attitude-relevant empirically based information, for some participants' attitudes did not change (Doob & Roberts, 1988; Lambert et al., 2008). In fact a number of findings showed that those who held the strongest punitive beliefs were most lacking in accurate information. For example, when Doob and Roberts (1988) surveyed the Canadian public on their responses to sentencing decisions following reading a newspaper article, they found that 58 percent of participants rated their confidence in the accuracy of their assessment as 'very confident', while 35 percent were 'somewhat confident' and only 7 percent were 'not at all confident', despite the articles being brief and containing a paucity of information. Furthermore, when the participants' assessment of the sentence was that it was 'too lenient' (consistent with the widely held view that sentences are too lenient) people were more confident in their assessments (Spearman correlation = .50, $p<.05$; Doob & Roberts, 1988, p. 127). Likewise, in his examination of attitudes towards the death penalty, Lambert et al. (2008) noted that even when participants had poor knowledge of death penalty issues, many still held strong opinions. Lastly, Klofas and Toch's (1982) research on pluralistic ignorance among COs (1982) found that the COs who most strongly endorsed the nonprofessional response to the case scenarios (and who therefore held attitudes which differed most significantly from the actual majority) were also the most likely to believe that they were in the majority (p. 243). Thus, attitude theory and research indicates that although people weigh the

evidence available to them to form their attitudes, they do not often give each source of information equal weighting in making their decisions. For extreme attitudes, attitude-relevant information consistent with the existing attitude may be given more weight than inconsistent information (Fabrigar et al., 2005). Furthermore, this also presupposes that people have empirically accurate information available to them in the first place, and this may not be the case. This raises the question, what are the sources of information which people primarily draw upon to form and justify their criminal justice related attitudes?

Gendreau, Goggin, Cullen and Paparozzi (2002) argued that within the criminal justice system, "common sense" logic, not empirical evidence, has predominantly informed attitudes and consequentially guided correctional policy. They contrasted the differences between common sense and empirical sources of knowledge, analytical processes, and integration of evidence. Chiefly, they noted that the sources of common sense knowledge stem from "authority, testimonials, anecdotes, intuition, superstition, prejudices, ethnocentrism, morally superior visions, and the media" (p. 362), while empirical knowledge is based on evidence derived from the scientific literature. Likewise, common sense analytical processes bias interpretation of new information. The errors Gendreau and colleagues (2002) specifically describe were: judgemental heuristics such as availability bias, which is when judgements are made based on over-reliance on a single event or example that comes quickly to mind, usually because it is vivid and unusual, and hindsight bias, which includes thinking, "I knew it all along", while overlooking occasions when the suspicion was not accurate (Gendreau et al., 2002, p. 362). They also noted the fundamental attribution error, which is when we attribute causes for the behaviour of others to individual characteristics of the person while discounting situational determinants of behaviour (and doing the reverse for explaining one's own behaviour). Likewise, illusory correlations involve seeing structure or causal relationships where none exists, and discounting the fact that things happen simply by coincidence. False consensus is the tendency to overestimate the popularity of one's opinions (like pluralistic ignorance). And finally, uniqueness/self-serving explanations include an inflated view of one's abilities which one also assumes to be unique (Gendreau et al. 2002, p. 362).

All of these concepts have been described and researched within the extensive cognitive and social psychological research (Vaughan & Hogg, 2005) and represent the foundation of what is known about the "profound systematic and fundamental errors in judgement" (Gendreau et al.,

2002, p. 361) which humans make in the gathering and processing of information from our environment. The authors provided a striking example taken from Vaughn (1994) of the powerful influence of common sense notions on criminal justice attitudes:

> A spokesman for Governor Zell Miller said that "we don't care what the study thinks" – Georgia will continue to use its boot camps. Of note, Governor Miller is an ex-Marine, and says that the Marine boot camp he attended changed his life for the better; and he believes that the boot camp experience can do the same for wayward Georgia youth. Allen Ault, Georgia's Commissioner of Corrections, also joined the chorus of condemnation, saying that academics were too quick to ignore the experiential knowledge of people "working in the system" and rely on research findings (Gendreau et al., 2002, p. 363).

In this example, the Governor discredited the empirical evidence, instead forming his belief upon his own personal experience. While the multiple reasons this is so can only be speculated, one could hypothesize from the literature review above that he observed his own behaviour change, combined these observations with his emotions about that experience, possibly also not understanding how academics drew their conclusions, and placed more weight on these to form and justify his attitude.

1.4.4 "Common sense" and corrections officers' experiences.

So how is all of this relevant to understanding the correctional orientation of COs? At the commencement of their careers, CWs employed within provincial institutions in Saskatchewan are provided with educational training on some of the basic FP knowledge reviewed above, including the elements of effective intervention and Core Correctional Practices (Government of Saskatchewan, 2012). In this way, it is assumed that these educational interventions will communicate to CWs the importance of these matters and that in their professional role they are expected to uphold these principles. Yet, it is unclear if these training initiatives improve CWs knowledge, attitudes and job-related behaviours, because as has been demonstrated above, just because a person was exposed to empirically accurate attitude –relevant information, does not mean that it was incorporated into their attitude. Instead, consistent with the findings on low support for rehabilitation among COs and the role of tenure on CO attitudes, "common sense" sources of information may be more likely to inform attitudes among COs both due to prior

beliefs which contributed to the decision to become a CO and job related factors which are particularly relevant for COs.

More specifically, COs have a vast quantity of positive and negative personal experiences with offenders, other COs (remember pluralistic ignorance), and clinical/therapeutic staff. The emotional and adversarial environment in which COs operate nurtures particular allegiances and priorities, generating powerful in-group/out-group dynamics (Zimbardo, 2007). Depending on the nature and strength of their previous attitudes, the emotional salience of the experience, and many other cognitive and social psychological factors, new information may be selectively attended to and reinforced (Fabrigar et al., 2005; Fazio & Petty, 2008). For example, by nature, COs only see the offenders for whom treatment fails (Blevins et al., 2007).[5] In this way, cognitively based empirical knowledge of the efficacy and importance of rehabilitation must compete for salience with other prominent sources of information including dimensions of lived experience. Thus, if it is imperative that COs meet their mandate of contributing to the rehabilitation of offenders, it becomes important to determine the extent to which their attitudes are informed by these sources of information, as opposed to the empirically derived FP literature taught to them at the commencement of their careers.

1.4.5 The relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

A key assumption has been made above that has as yet gone unaddressed, and that is that attitudes (in this case CO attitudes) are related to behaviour. This assumption is not without controversy. Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) reviewed the history of research on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, observing that though it was initially broadly assumed that attitudes were related to behaviour, a substantial proportion of research outcomes indicated that attitudes were generally a poor predictor of behaviour, eventually leading some researchers to abandon the concept. However, following a number of lines of investigation, researchers identified that part of the failure to find a relationship was in the attempt to predict specific behaviours from general attitudes, noting that many additional factors moderated the relationship (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). Specifically, having a vested interest or involvement, or direct experience with the attitude object was found to improve the likelihood of predicting a specific behaviour based upon a general attitude (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005).

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[5] Included in the judgment errors described above is confirmation bias, which involves selective attention to information which confirms what one already believes to be true, while overlooking, ignoring, or distorting evidence which disconfirms or challenges what one already believes. See Vaughan and Hogg, 2005, or Lord, Ross and Lepper, 2008.

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Another problem with this research was the way that behaviours were measured, which generally involved trying to predict a single, idiosyncratic behaviour considered representative of the attitude (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). Upon further investigation Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) found that "when the behavioral criterion is broadly representative of the behavioral domain, rather than a single, arbitrarily selected action, strong relations between attitudes and behavior are observed" (p. 181). They went on to state that both reliability and construct validity are improved when a set of behaviours which are deemed representative of a domain of behaviours are measured.

In their extensive experimental research, Ajzen and Fishbein focussed on determining the factors which influence the initiation of a specific behaviour. According to the theory of reasoned action, "…people's behavioral intentions are assumed to follow reasonably from their beliefs about performing the behavior" (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005, p. 193). Thus, a key component of the theory is that behavioural intentions precede behaviour. Further, the model identifies *behavioral beliefs, normative beliefs, and control beliefs* as influencing intentions. Ajzen and Fishbein's (2005) model of the combined theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour is provided below.

Figure 1.1: Combined theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005).

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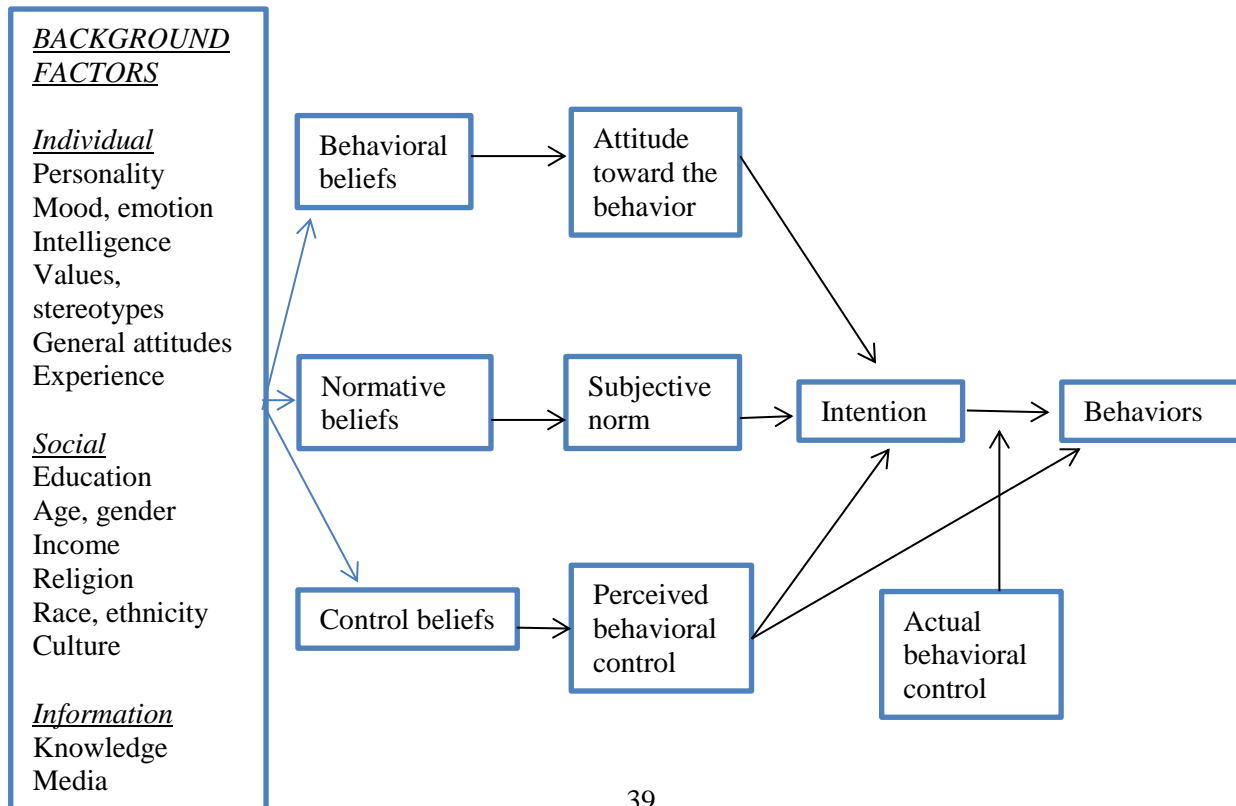
Pertinent to the current discussion, is the specification of the background factors which contribute to the behavioural, normative and control beliefs. The background factors specifically named by Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) consisted of *individual factors* including personality, mood/emotion, intelligence, values/stereotypes, general attitudes and experience; *social factors* including education, age, gender, income, religion, race/ethnicity and culture; and *information,* specifically knowledge, media and intervention (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005, p. 194). These factors are consistent with elements which have been examined and identified in the literature review of CO attitudes. Specifically the demographic correlates of CO attitudes are consistent with *social factors*, work-related correlates are *individual factors* such as experience and emotion, pluralistic ignorance contributes to *normative beliefs*, the proposed "common sense" influences are reflected in both *individual and information* factors including stereotypes, experience, emotion, media, and general attitudes, and finally FP knowledge and training are *information* factors. In sum, a multitude of sources of information influence the formation of beliefs and attitudes, and attitudes about the behaviour are one influence on the implementation of a specific behaviour, with other factors such as the interpersonal norms and one's perception of control over the behaviour also contributing equally to the intention to act.

1.4.6 The need for greater depth: Adding a qualitative component

The reviewed research has employed primarily quantitative methods. This type of research has generated useful information about the rates and correlates of correctional orientation and related attitudes. Yet, it does not provide insight into the specific sources of information that COs use to inform their job-related attitudes, nor how they manage attitude-relevant information which is pertinent to their job role and may contradict their existing attitudes. For example, there is much left unknown in the relationship between working the night shift and supporting harsher conditions for offenders. Perhaps there is something specific about this experience which contributes to this attitude which a CO could identify, if asked. Thus, in the current research I employed quantitative methods to examine the influence of specific FP knowledge as a source of information which relates to correctional orientation, while acknowledging that the failure of previous research to thoroughly capture CO attitudes, suggested that more qualitative exploratory work may also be beneficial. As observed by Teddlie and Tahakkori (2006), a primary advantage of mixed-methods research is the ability to

concurrently ask confirmatory and exploratory questions, allowing for the simultaneous verification and generation of theory.

To illustrate the insight that qualitative methods can provide, Dickson, Lee and Riegel (2011) used a mixed-method study to examine the effects of cognitive function and knowledge on heart-failure self-care. They found that while quantitative survey data revealed that many participants had accurate knowledge about necessary self-care techniques, qualitative interview data revealed that some lacked understanding about the importance of these techniques and the ways in which they maintained their health, and that this factor was contributing to their failure to implement these techniques. Thus, qualitative interview methods would allow direct insight into the multitude of sources of information COs use to form and justify their attitudes towards rehabilitation and punishment, as well as how FP knowledge is handled and/or retained.

1.5 Summary

Taken together the review of the literature has demonstrated that there is more to be learned about how correctional systems can harness the potential of COs to improve correctional outcomes and continue towards the goal of professionalizing the CO role. The next chapter describes the program of research that was developed to address the identified limitations and unanswered questions, as discussed in the literature review. It begins with a description of the epistemological grounding of the research project which is called forth by the decision to employ mixed-methods, which is also further explained. The overarching methodology is outlined, including the overall research design, data sources and model. The chapter concludes with the research questions and hypotheses for the three studies, accompanied by an argument for their significance. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 contain the methods and results for the consecutive studies which explore the sources of Saskatchewan CWs correctional orientation and engagement in CCPs. The final chapter combines the results from all three studies into a comprehensive discussion, drawing on the literature. The thesis closes with a number of specific recommendations to the Ministry on how to apply the new knowledge that was gleaned from the project.

Chapter 2.

The Present Research: A Mixed Methods Exploration

The previous chapter offered a framework for the premise of this research, for which the broad questions are: To what extent do COs base their correctional orientation attitudes on beliefs informed by information derived from FP research? What other sources of information do they use to support their attitudes? And how do all of these factors influence their job-related behaviour? Before further discussing this research, I will first discuss my epistemological assumptions and personal biases which inform my research questions, consistent with the qualitative research tradition (Crotty, 1998).

2.1 Epistemological Assumptions

Consideration of epistemology, or the philosophy of knowledge (Wertz, Charmaz, McMullen, Josselson, Anderson & McSpadden, 2011), is often overlooked in mainstream psychological research. It is taken-for-granted that the positivist, empirical methodologies which dominate mainstream psychological research, like all methodologies, are based on philosophical assumptions regarding what knowledge is, and how knowledge can be obtained (Darlaston-Jones, 2007). Specifically, positivism holds that reality exists independent of persons and is objective and measurable if the appropriate methods are employed (Crotty, 1998). However, with the gradual increase in the use of qualitative research methods in psychology, such as discourse analysis and grounded theory (Wertz et al., 2011), questions of epistemology and how these philisophical assumptions influence the formulation of research questions and hypotheses, and choice of data sources and collection methods, have increasingly been considered (Wertz et al., 2011). Based upon critiques of positivist philosophical assumptions, for example whether objectivity and generalizability are achievable, and whether the techniques of study employed within the natural sciences are appropriate for the investigation of human experience and mental life (Dilthey, 1977), more psychologists have adopted research methods that stem from epistemologies other than positivism. Of particular relevance is social constructionism, which holds that reality is contextually influenced by multiple factors including time, cultural context, social norms and politics, and is therefore constructed by and between persons (Darlaston-Jones, 2007).

Because of the fundamental philosophical differences between the epistemological foundations of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, some authors have debated whether

the two can be consistently and appropriately combined (Bazeley, 2009; Waterman, 2013). Yet, outside this debate, many researchers have already made strides in developing protocols which employ and advocate for the use of both quantitative and qualitative (mixed) methods (ie., Bazeley, 2009; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Mason, 2006), despite the supposedly contradictory epistemological assumptions. Additionally, while other psychologists maintain their allegiance to empiricism, more efforts have been made to incorporate qualitative data into quantitative investigations, or at minimum, philosophically position the research by acknowledging the epistemological assumptions that have been made; as follows.

This program of research assumes a realist/post-positivist paradigm. Additionally, my research questions were generated deductively from positivist/post-positivist research. This epistemological stance is most prominent in two areas: Firstly, as my primary interest is to understand the relationship between FP knowledge and CO attitudes, a position on knowledge is clearly taken. In this way I make the positivist "…assumption that reality exists separate from the perceiver and that definite knowledge can be identified", but that, as post-positivists believe, "reality can only be apprehended imperfectly" (Haverkamp & Young, 2007, p. 268). Thus I make the assumption that the findings of positivist, quantitative, empirical research in the area of offender rehabilitation provide reliable and valid inferences regarding the current state of offender rehabilitation initiatives. Specifically, this means that past research indicates that in general criminal offenders can and do change their behaviour from a trajectory of continued offending to leading a prosocial life that at minimum includes no longer committing offences which bring them to the further attention of the criminal justice system. Additionally, while I acknowledge that there is still much progress to be made in understanding criminal behaviour, the processes of human change, and how to assist offenders in this process, I also believe that research has shown that there are key elements which are currently known, as described in the literature reviewed (though they may change).

The second area where my post-positivist perspective is also prominent is the ability of this study to contribute to attitude theory, particularly in the area of corrections and criminal justice. Most of the criminal justice attitude research has relied on quantitative methods to observe attitudes which are presumed to lie within the individuals who possess them. This line of research has led to useful insights but it also shows that the use of multiple methods could

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improve understanding of these attitudes through convergence of findings (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) as well as better delineating their contextual nature.

Further to contributing to attitude theory, this epistemological perspective also has implications for how attitudes are observed. Expression and manifestation of attitudes have been found to be influenced by the setting in which they are accessed (Fazio & Petty, 2008). Thus, while participants may express one attitude on an anonymous survey, they may express a different or even contradictory attitude to a researcher. Unlike a constructionist perspective, which would propose that the interaction between the researcher and the participant generates the data (and thus the 'attitudes'; Fabrigar et al., 2005), a realist/post-positivist epistemology presumes that people may be more or less forthcoming depending on their comfort with the format, therefore implying the use of multiple methods to get closer to the "truth". However, it also holds that people can and do possess contradictory attitudes which manifest in their behaviour depending on the context of the situation in which they are required. Thus, incongruous findings are still insightful.

2.2 Assumptions/Biases for Research Questions: My Personal Background

Consistent with the qualitative research tradition, it is important to acknowledge the ways in which my personal experiences have influenced my choice of research topic, questions and hypotheses (Wertz et al.,2011). This is because the qualitative research principle of reflexivity necessitates the ongoing consideration of how the qualities, experiences, knowledge and assumptions of the researcher influence all phases of a research project, from conceptualization to interpretation of results (Wertz et al., 2011).

Like many researchers, I chose a topic which I felt strongly about. My first involvement with forensic psychology was working as a Programme Facilitator for the New Zealand Department of Corrections. In this role I facilitated manualized Cognitive Behavioural Therapy rehabilitation programs for high-risk violent offenders in a group-therapy format. The program was run in a specially designed unit which was intended to function as a Therapeutic Community. I did this job for two years while continuing my graduate education in psychology.

During this time I was trained in the body of theory and research which supports the efficacy of rehabilitation. I was particularly impressed by the allegiance to empirical methods in this field, but I began to suspect that the rigorous research in the area was a function of the impetus to "prove" that rehabilitation can work. I soon became exposed to the negative reactions

of people when they learned what I did. Many expressed skepticism that "criminals" could change. While unsurprising, this skepticism was more troubling when I heard it expressed by COs. This was especially the case when these attitudes were accompanied by unhelpful behaviour which undermined the goals of the therapeutic community where everyone had the power to positively or negatively influence the behaviour of others. On a number of occasions I observed the difference in outcome when an offender had a negative, antagonistic interaction with a CO, versus when a CO took the time to listen, help, and role-model, acting as though the person had the potential to be different.

When I returned to Canada and completed my summer clerkship at the Regional Psychiatric Centre, which is designated as a therapeutic facility for offenders with mental disorders, I again observed frequent negative behaviour and attitudes of COs towards offenders. Likewise, my husband began working as a CO in one of the local facilities, providing further anecdotes of COs who believed that offenders required an endless barrage of "consequences" for their behaviour, and that if these did not produce change, this indicated that these "consequences" were not harsh enough.

What has always made these observations most difficult for me, is that every experience I had confirmed that COs, myself, the punitive members of the public, and those who developed and researched rehabilitative programs, all wanted the same thing: a continued reduction in crime, safer communities and safer institutions. Though I understand based on my studies of psychology, that many factors contribute to this sentiment, including powerful personal experiences and moral ideology, I could not help but wonder if more people knew (for example) that punishment does not deter criminals and can even increase the severity of crimes, and that rehabilitation is effective for reducing crime rates, would their attitudes be different? And would their behaviour change? And moreover, would the efficacy of rehabilitation improve? As I acknowledged that all of these experiences, frustrations and curiosities meet the descriptions of the "common sense" derived knowledge I have described above, and because I have an allegiance to the ideal of evidence-based knowledge and practice, I thought it was imperative that I empirically investigate my experiences, thus producing the foundation for this research and my research questions.

2.3 Methodology

The purpose of utilising mixed methods in this study was that of complementarity or "seeking elaboration, enhancement, illustration, and clarification of the results from one method with results from the other method", and expansion, "seeking to expand the breadth and range of research by using different methods for different inquiry components" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 22). I do however acknowledge that the qualitative analysis may also generate findings which contribute to the study in other ways, such as triangulation. Further, consistent with mixed method research tradition, I reserved the right to choose to modify the proposed research design as the project was completed (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2006).

2.3.1 Overarching research design.

Another feature of mixed methods research is the lack of prescriptive relationship between research question and methods and design (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2006). As a result, researchers must carefully consider the multitude of available design options which vary according to phases, data collection, prioritisation of data type, analysis and integration (Hanson, Creswell, Plano Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005). As such, I considered two possible designs for use in this study. I ultimately chose a sequential explanatory design as it provided a large quantity of qualitative information for thematic analysis compared to other possible designs considered. A sequential explanatory design is often used for explaining relationships (Hanson et al., 2005; Ivankova, Creswell & Stick, 2006). It usually prioritises quantitative data and thus begins by collecting and analysing quantitative data. Qualitative data is collected following the statistical analysis and is used to augment the quantitative findings by refining, explaining, and elaborating on the quantitative results through exploration of participants' views (Hanson et al., 2005; Ivankova et al., 2006). The two forms of data are integrated during data interpretation and discussion.

For the purpose of this study, use of sequential explanatory design therefore involved three steps, separated into distinct studies. The first study entailed the development of an improved measure of correctional orientation in order to address problems with the previous measures as noted above. The second study involved administering a survey designed to answer solely the quantitative research questions. The survey was used to recruit participants to the third study, designed to answer the qualitative research questions and consisting of semi-structured

interviews, with volunteers' survey results utilized as selection criteria. Finally, findings from all three studies were combined to comprehensively answer the research questions.

2.3.2 Data sources.

The Canadian Criminal Justice System is separated into provincial and federal jurisdictions. Offenders in the provincial system are either on remand ("temporary detention of a person while awaiting trial, sentencing or the commencement of a custodial disposition", Public Services Foundation of Canada, 2015, p. 38), or are serving a sentence of less than two years, while offenders in the federal system are serving more than a two year sentence. This research utilized CWs employed within the provincial system in Saskatchewan as they are a largely under-researched population (Public Service Foundation of Canada, 2015).

Additionally, within these institutions, a small number of CWs are responsible for facilitating the Courage to Change (C2C) program which is considered an intervention process which utilizes CCPs (Government of Saskatchewan, 2011). CWs refer to the program colloquially as engaging in "case management". The program was implemented in order to increase the number of interventions available to offenders in the province. C2C involves one-to-one structured sessions between these trained CWs and offenders, guided by a series of workbooks which address criminogenic need areas. The program is only offered to inmates residing in specific units within each institution and excludes offenders on remand. Some CWs have therefore received special additional training in the C2C program and the RNR model over and above other CWs. These CWs then assist inmates in completion of workbooks, by meeting with them on a regular basis and going over the workbooks together (Government of Saskatchewan, 2011). As these CWs have both additional training and direct experience with offender rehabilitation they were asked additional questions to explore whether they perceived that their attitudes and/or interactions with inmates changed since completing this training and taking on this additional role.

2.3.3 Overarching model.

As noted, both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to examine the sources of information COs use to support their correctional orientation. A slightly modified version of Ajzen and Fishbein's (2005) model is provided below (Figure 2.1) to illustrate the components examined, acknowledging that it is beyond the scope of this research to examine all of the elements. In the model below, bold items indicate the application of the general model to

this specific context. Asterisks indicate which elements which were directly measured during the quantitative component of the study. Qualitative methods were used to enrich the understanding of these relationships, as well as to identify the other sources of information COs use to support their correctional orientation.

Figure 2.1. Combined theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour, modified for specific attitudes and behaviours of interest

BACKGROUND FACTORS

Individual
Personality
Mood, emotion
Intelligence
Values, stereotypes
General attitudes
Experience
(tenure)*

Social
Education*
Age*, Gender*
Income
Religion
Race, ethnicity*
Culture

Information
Knowledge – FP*
Media
Intervention

Behavioral beliefs

Attitude toward rehabilitation and punishment*

Normative beliefs

Subjective norm

Intention

Engagement in CCPs (ie. behaviour supportive of rehab and punish)*

Control beliefs

Perceived behavioral control

Actual behavioral control

Note. Bold items are modifications to the model;* identifies items measured in quantitative component; underlined elements are those hypothesized to be identified in qualitative component.

2.4 Research Questions and Hypotheses

Following from the review of the literature I generated two sets of research questions and hypotheses. The first set of questions are those answered via quantitative research methods, the focus of which was establishing the existence and magnitude of the relationships between each of the variables of interest: knowledge, attitudes and behaviours. Prior to the numbered presentation of the accompanying hypotheses, a comprehensive rationale, which I generated

deductively from the literature review, is offered. The quantitative hypotheses are separated to distinguish between the two studies (and participant samples) used to address them, and further by section according to the statistical analyses used. The second set of questions and hypotheses are those addressed using qualitative methods. The focus of these questions was to seek depth of information to assist with the interpretation of the quantitative findings by providing insight into the attitudes and experiences of CWs which the previous literatures and quantitative methods may have overlooked.

2.4.1 Quantitative research questions.

1. How familiar are COs with the basic FP research findings discussed above?
2. Among COs, what are the relationships between:
    a. Support for rehabilitation and support for punishment?
    b. FP knowledge and support for rehabilitation?
    c. FP knowledge and support for punishment?
    d. FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs?
    e. Support for rehabilitation and engagement in CCPs?
    f. Support for punishment and engagement in CCPs?
3. Does FP knowledge account for the relationship between support for punishment or support for rehabilitation and other variables? For example: Does education increase FP knowledge which increases support for rehabilitation? Does longer tenure lead to reduced FP knowledge which leads to greater support for punishment?
4. Do COs specially trained to offer rehabilitation based case management differ from non-trained COs in their FP knowledge, support for rehabilitation, support for punishment or engagement in CCPs?
5. Do COs who regularly facilitate rehabilitation based case management differ from other COs in FP knowledge, support for rehabilitation, support for punishment, or engagement in CCPs?
6. Do COs trained to facilitate rehabilitation based case management report a change in support for rehabilitation, support for punishment or engagement in CCPs following this training?

2.4.2 Rationale for hypotheses.

As the literature review revealed, all attitudes are informed by multiple sources of information (Albarracin et al., 2005). It follows then that pro-rehabilitation attitudes can be informed by "common sense" and any of the other identified sources of information. For example, COs may support rehabilitation for offenders without knowing it is effective and what is necessary to do so. They may also object to harsh punishments without knowing that they are ineffective in generating prosocial behaviour. Therefore, those with low FP knowledge likely base their attitudes on other sources of information and thus may hold any attitudinal orientation. Accordingly, a CO who supports rehabilitation but with low FP knowledge may not engage in CCPs as they may not know which behaviours are supportive of rehabilitation and which are not.

Punitive attitudes are conceptualized as being informed partly by FP knowledge (or lack thereof, for example COs incorrectly believe that punishment changes behaviour; knowledge of deterrence, as found by Payne et al., 2004), but also partly a function of different goals or morals (such as desire for retribution, as found by Doob and Roberts, 1988). Thus, COs can know that punishment does not produce prosocial behaviour change, but not care because they think retribution is the real goal. Therefore, one can possess FP knowledge but still be ideologically punitive. That said, as also suggested by the literature, prioritization of the goal of retribution, and "common sense" derived sources of information may interfere with the retention of specific FP research findings which contradict one's existing attitudes and beliefs (Fabrigar et al., 2005). This means that COs who have strong ideologically informed punitive attitudes may not gain FP knowledge, or find ways to discredit this source of information in order to maintain their beliefs. Therefore, with some exceptions, most CO who are punitive probably do not have high FP knowledge.

What is also revealed by the past research is that people can be simultaneously supportive of both rehabilitation and punishment (Farkas, 1999; Lambert et al., 2009; Robinson et al., 1993; Sprott, 1999). This may be partly be because they think that punishment is rehabilitative (as above), because they do not know that punishment can undermine rehabilitative efficacy, and/or because they see a need both for justice as well as long term strategy for reducing reoffending.

Lastly, as COs constantly interact with offenders, it is very unlikely that there are any COs who neither support rehabilitation nor punishment. Attitude research indicates that we

generally only hold apathetic attitudes towards objects or situations that we do not regularly interact with, as attitudes guide our interaction patterns (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005).

2.4.3 Quantitative hypotheses.

2.4.3.1 Study 1.

The primary purpose of the first study was to develop an improved correctional orientation measure. As such there were only two hypotheses.

1. The SR and SP scales of the correctional orientation measure will be significantly negatively correlated.
2. SR and SP items will fall on separate factors in a factor analysis.

2.4.3.2 Study 2.

Section 1: Saskatchewan provincial corrections workers forensic practice knowledge

1. Participants will have low FP knowledge scores as determined by the mean score of the sample falling below 75% correct on the FP knowledge measure.
2. Participants with low SR and high SP will obtain the lowest FP knowledge scores as compared to participants with the other high/low SR/SP combinations.

Section 2: Relationships between support for rehabilitation, support for punishment and forensic practice knowledge

1. There will be a significant positive correlation between FP knowledge and SR.
2. There will be a significant negative correlation between FP knowledge and SP.
3. The correlation between FP knowledge and SR will be significantly larger than the correlation between FP knowledge and SP as determined by the t-test for differences between two non-independent correlations (Howell, 2010, p. 277-278).
4. The demographic variables of age, ethnicity and gender will account for a small but significant proportion of the variance in both SR and SP.
5. The work variables of education and tenure will account for a significant proportion of the variance in both SR and SP.
6. FP knowledge will account for a significant amount of variance in both SR and in SP.

Section 2.1: Semi-partial correlations

1. There will be a significant positive correlation between education and SR, but a semi-partial correlation between education and SR, controlling for FP knowledge, will be

positive and no longer significant. Thus, as education increases, FP knowledge increases, which increases SR.

2. There will be a significant negative correlation between education and SP. The semi-partial correlation between education and SP, controlling for FP knowledge, will be negative and no longer significant, such that education increases FP knowledge which decreases SP.

3. There will be a significant negative correlation between tenure and SR. The semi-partial correlation between tenure and SR, controlling for FP knowledge, will be negative and no longer significant, such that as tenure increases, FP knowledge decreases, and so does SR.

4. There will be a significant negative correlation between tenure and SP. The semi-partial correlation between tenure and SP, controlling for FP knowledge, will be positive and no longer significant, such that as tenure increases, FP knowledge decreases and SP increases.

Section 3: Relationships between forensic practice knowledge, support for rehabilitation, support for punishment and engagement in core correctional practices

1. SR will be significantly positively correlated with engagement in CCPs.
2. SP will be significantly negatively correlated with engagement in CCPs.
3. FP knowledge will be significantly positively correlated with engagement in CCPs.
4. FP knowledge will account for a significant amount of variance in engagement in CCPs after controlling for the other variables (demographics, education, tenure).

Section 3.1: Interactions on core correctional practices

1. SR will interact with the relationship between FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs such that: CWs with high support for rehabilitation will engage in CCPs at a higher rate when they also have high FP knowledge (compared to low FP knowledge), while CWs with low support for rehabilitation will not differ in their engagement in CCPs as a function of FP knowledge.

2. SP will not interact with the relationship between FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs such that: CWs with high support for punishment will not engage in CCPs at a higher rate when they have high FP knowledge (compared to low FP knowledge).

Likewise, CWs with low support for punishment will also not engage in CCPs at a higher rate when they have high FP knowledge.

Section 4: Courage to change trained corrections workers compared to non-trained corrections workers

1. C2C trained CWs will have significantly higher FP knowledge scores than non-trained CWs.
2. C2C trained CWs will endorse significantly higher engagement in CCPs than non-trained CWs.
3. C2C trained CWs who regularly facilitate the program will have significantly higher SR scores and significantly lower SP scores than non-trained CWs.

Section 5: Courage to change trained corrections workers reports of change in support for rehabilitation, support for punishment and engagement in core correctional practices

1. C2C trained CWs' current SR scores will be significantly higher than their scores prior to training.
2. C2C trained CWs' current SP scores will be significantly lower than their prior scores.
3. C2C trained CWs' current CCP scores will be significantly higher than their prior scores.
4. C2C trained CWs' who do not regularly facilitate C2C sessions will not have significant change scores.

2.4.4 Qualitative research questions: Study 3

The goal of the qualitative study was to gather information which would assist with the interpretation of the quantitative findings. The primary research questions were therefore:

1. How do CWs justify their attitudes towards rehabilitation and punishment?
2. What other sources of information or "knowledge" do CWs use to support their correctional orientation?
3. How does FP knowledge influence the attitudes and on-the-job behaviours of CWs?
4. How do CWs respond to the provision of FP information? What if it contradicts their existing attitudes?

2.4.5 Qualitative hypotheses: Study 3.

Hypotheses in qualitative research are either avoided or purposely broad or vague (Wertz et al., 2011). In this case, they depended on the specific research questions. It was broadly hypothesized that some COs' attitudes are more heavily based on cognitive sources of attitude-

relevant information such as the empirical evidence, while others' attitudes are more strongly influenced by other sources of information discussed in the literature review. Therefore, it was anticipated that COs would support their attitudes with information consistent with Gendreau and colleagues' (2002) descriptions of "common sense" sources of attitude-relevant information, including "authority, testimonials, anecdotes, intuition, superstition, prejudices, ethnocentrism, morally superior visions, and the media" (Gendreau et al., 2002, p. 362), as well as those encompassed in Ajzen and Fishbein's (2005) description of background factors which contribute to attitudes. These overlap with the "common sense" descriptions but also explicitly include culture, religion, values, stereotypes, mood and emotion, personality and experience. These may also specifically include some of the variables found to be related to support for rehabilitation in previous quantitative research such as favorable attitudes towards correctional work, having an interest in career development, a preference for work involving people and for work that provides opportunities for personal growth (Robinson, 1993).

It was also hypothesized that COs may present information which they believe stems from the FP literature but demonstrates a misunderstanding of the information. This could happen for both pro and anti-rehabilitation and punitive and non-punitive COs. Finally, it was hypothesized that among punitive and anti-rehabilitation COs, attitudes would specifically be related to arguments for retribution or "just deserts" sentiment[6].

2.5 Significance

While some past efforts have been made to explore the work-related knowledge of COs, much of this research has suffered from the multiple problems noted above. As such, an examination of how specific FP knowledge influences (or doesn't) CO correctional orientation and job-related behaviour is absent from the literature. There are a number of reasons why CO attitudes and behaviours matter.

First, if the principles of CCPs are true for clinical staff this should also be the case for COs who have more contact with offenders than any other correctional staff (Hemmens & Stohr, 2000; Lariviére & Robinson, 1996). COs have the power to either undermine or support offender change simply through their frequent contact with offenders and multiple opportunities to model prosocial behaviour, which offenders could "benefit from imitating" (Gendreau, 1996, p. 122).

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[6] "Just deserts" is the basic sentiment that a sanction should be proportionate to the harm caused by the crime (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a)

Second, inappropriate behaviour of COs can undermine treatment integrity. Lowencamp, Latessa, and Smith (2006) found that "satisfactory" programs, as determined by (among other things) staff attitudes toward treatment, staff training, the ability of staff to have input into the program, use of rewards and sanctions, and disruptive changes in the program, were associated with a 22 percent reduction in recidivism, while "unsatisfactory" programs averaged a mere 1.7 percent reduction.

Thirdly, there is strong evidence that the knowledge and correctional orientation of COs can improve outcomes for COs and the institutions themselves. For example, Parker (2006) found that providing mental health training for COs who worked in a special unit for inmates with mental health issues resulted in a significant decrease in the number of total incidents, number of incidents involving officers' use of force against inmates, and incidents of inmate's battery by bodily waste on officers. In the case of battery by bodily waste, the training eliminated the problem completely. Additionally, support for rehabilitation has been found to be positively related to organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behaviours and decreased stress (Dowden & Tellier, 2004; Lambert et al., 2008). Organizational commitment includes identification with, loyalty to, and involvement in the organization, and has been positively related to increased job performance and inversely related to absenteeism and staff turnover (Lambert et al., 2008). In contrast, support for punishment was found to be negatively associated with organizational commitment. This was particularly true for organizations that emphasized rehabilitation.

The final argument for this research is political, and advocates for the professionalization of correctional practice through the application of evidence-based interventions, as argued by a number of influential correctional researchers (e.g. Andrews & Bonta, 2010b; Cullen et al, 2011; Cullen, 2007; Gendreau, 1996). It is nevertheless imperative to qualify this research by stating that the pro-rehabilitation authors cited (Gendreau, Cullen, etc.) believe that there is a place for incarceration as a tool for justice and incapacitation, among other things. However, a goal of this research is to remind the public and policy makers that they need not be convinced of the moral reasons for helping offenders, nor do they need to have empathy for offenders oftentimes disturbing and heartbreaking early life experiences (Cullen et al., 2009), nor do they need to believe that offenders "deserve" an opportunity to lead a 'good life' (Ward & Brown, 2004). They need only subscribe to the purely pragmatic acknowledgement that our correctional system

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simply cannot house every offender for the entirety of their lives, that consequently the vast majority *will* be released back into society, and that it makes good sense to have made some sort of good-faith, evidence based and genuine effort to rehabilitate them towards prosocial behaviour before their return. From this, one need only understand that the bulk of empirical evidence indicates that prison alone does not rehabilitate, that some interventions can, and that these interventions, at minimum, should be supported and promoted in the interests of protecting public safety (Lipsey & Cullen, 2009) and reducing victimization.

2.6 Summary

This chapter described the overall foundation for the program of research that was undertaken. When utilizing mixed-methods it is important to strategically craft the research design in order to capitalize on the strengths of both, while also utilizing one method to compensate for the weaknesses of the other (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). That said there are complexities to utilizing research methods which stem historically from disparate epistemological stances, which this chapter has addressed, in order to honour the qualitative principle of transparency (Given, 2008). There is a compelling movement towards the utilization of mixed methods research which allows for powerful opportunities to address complex and important research questions, such as those outlined in this chapter (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In the chapter that follows, the first step in this sequential exploration is presented.

Chapter 3.

Study 1: Development of Correctional Orientation Measure

Due to the previously noted problems with past measures of Correctional Orientation, including the outstanding uncertainty about the relationship between support for rehabilitation (SR) and support for punishment (SP), as well as overlap between belief and knowledge items, a new measure of Correctional Orientation was developed, piloted and modified, prior to administration with the target population of CWs.

3.1 Methods

3.1.1 Participants.

A total of 150 participants were recruited from the University of Saskatchewan undergraduate participant pool. One participant withdrew their participation before submitting their survey. A second participant spoiled his/her data by choosing not to respond to the demographic items and selecting the "Neither Agree nor Disagree" option for all of the scale items. Thus, this person's data was completely removed from the sample and excluded from all analyses, resulting in a sample of N=148. The remaining sample consisted of 110 females and 38 males (N=148). The sample ranged in age from 17 to 36 years old with the vast majority (78.1%) being between 18 and 20 years of age ($M = 19.55$, $SD = 2.71$). The ethnicity variable was left open for participants to determine and coded following the completion of data collection. The sample was primarily Caucasian (n=104, 70.3%; self-identified as Canadian, Caucasian, White, Ukrainian, Polish or Eastern European). Some participants (12.2%) chose not to identify their ethnicity (n=18), 7.4% were coded as Asian (n=11; self-identified as Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino or Indian), 3.4% (n=5) were coded as First Nations, 2.7% (n=4) were coded as South American, and 3.4% (n=5) were coded as Miscellaneous/Other.

3.1.2 Measures.

Five existing measures have been employed in previous research on CO attitudes and were used as sources for scale items in the development of the new measure. Melvin and colleagues (1985) developed a scale titled "Attitudes towards prisoners" containing 36 items measured on a five-point Likert scale. The scale was intended for use with multiple different populations including the public and law enforcement. Klofas and Toch's (1982) measure included items examining multiple attitudes described as a preference for counseling roles, punitive orientation, desire for social distance, and corruption of authority. Individual scale items

were provided by Farkas (1999). Antonio and colleagues (2009) created a measure to examine attitudes and beliefs of staff towards inmate treatment and rehabilitation. The authors described the measure as assessing "prosocial or antisocial attitudes and beliefs concerning the treatment of inmates, support for rehabilitative programs and an understanding about their roles and responsibilities inside a prison" (p. 368). Cullen and colleagues (2007) refined their tool over time. In 2007 they used a measure with a separate scale of support for rehabilitation (nine items, α=.82) and support for custody (seven items, α = .72; p.61), which utilized a six-point Likert scale with no neutral option. The individual scale items were found in Blevins, Cullen and Sundt (2007). Finally, Hemmens and Stohr (2000) created a measure examining the correctional role consisting of 34 items on a seven-point Likert scale measuring identification with what they described as "the hack and human service approaches" (p. 332).

3.1.3 Procedure.

After selection of source measures individual scale items were examined for suitability. Consistent with the previous research findings suggesting that SR and SP are separate but correlated attitudes as opposed to opposite ends of a single dimension, this measure was designed with two scales. Scale items from the previous measures were amalgamated, and/or modified based upon whether they reflected SR or SP. Items that reflected 'belief' statements were excluded to eliminate overlap with knowledge scale items. A number of additional items were written.

Fifteen items were chosen for each scale. Half of the items for each scale were reverse worded such that statements reflected SR, non-SR and, SP and non-SP. All items were combined into a single measure which alternated in pseudo-random order between scales and directionality. The completed measure was shared with a group of graduate students specializing in forensic/correctional psychology at the University of Saskatchewan (n=15), in order to request feedback on the wording, and modifications were again made. (See Appendix B for the Correctional Orientation measure used in the pilot, with coding and scale identifiers.)

The survey was made available electronically via the SONA systems website: the University of Saskatchewan's experimental management system. This system allows first year undergraduate students in psychology the opportunity to earn a credit towards their grade for participating in graduate student research projects. Each half hour of participation was worth one credit and students could earn a maximum of four credits towards their grade. Psychology

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students were provided with login information via their class professor. This information allowed the system to track their participation and automatically grant credits.

The survey appeared alongside a number of other graduate student research projects. A brief description of the survey was provided, consistent with the other research projects, so the student could choose which (if any) surveys they would like to complete. Students were informed the survey would take between five and ten minutes to complete, earning them one research credit (as half credits could not be granted). They were also informed that they could choose to withdraw from the survey at any time and still be granted their research credit. The survey was available online until all of the available credits had been granted. (See Appendix C for the consent form that was electronically presented to the students prior to their participation and the word version of the survey as they saw it, including the debriefing form.)

Prior to completing the correctional orientation items participants were asked three demographic questions (sex, age, ethnicity). Scale items were presented in the same order to all participants because the survey was planned for administration to the CW participants in paper form, which would not allow for randomization of presentation across participants.

3.1.4 Data screening.

First, reverse worded scale items were recoded such that a high score on the SR scale indicated strong support, and likewise a high score on the SP scale would also indicate strong support. Second, missing data were examined. As the goal of the pilot was to refine the Correctional Orientation measure, a participant choosing not to respond to items suggested that the item may be problematic and should not be included in the primary survey. Thus, individual scale items were examined to determine the frequency of missing data. Examination of the count of missing responses for each of the items revealed a maximum of three non-responses for any item, with the exception of item P15 ("Corporal punishments should not be used in Canadian prisons"). Ten participants chose not to respond to this item, suggesting that it may be problematic. Additionally, examination of the frequency of the remaining responses to the item indicated that the most frequent response was "Neither Agree nor Disagree" (45.3%). It is possible that the source of the ambivalence towards this item is related to confusion over the definition of 'corporal punishments'. The only other item achieving close to this number of "Neither Agree nor Disagree" responses was item R13 ("We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated and start paying more attention to the real

victims of these criminals") with 45.9% "Neither Agree nor Disagree" responses and three participants choosing not to respond.

Examination of the individual cases revealed that seventeen participants chose not to respond to at least one item on the scale (excluding demographic items). The maximum number of scale items to which a participant chose not to respond to was four items (n=2; cases 70 and 110). As the sample size was already small, it was decided to maintain these cases for the Factor Analysis (reported below). Missing scale values were substituted with the neutral /"Neither Agree nor Disagree" value of 3. Missing Values Analysis determined that the values were missing completely at random (Little's MCAR test: Chi-Square (363) = 286.811, p =.999).

3.1.5 Data analytic plan.

First, in order to assess the scale reliability, internal consistency of the individual scales was assessed by calculating Cronbach's alpha coefficient for each. According to Field (2009) alpha coefficients should exceed α=.70 to be considered acceptable, noting that the number of items in the scale can influence the likelihood of achieving such a value (Field, 2009).

Second, item analysis was undertaken. Items which are theorized to measure each of the dependent and independent variables should have significant (.05 or better) inter-item correlations. Robinson, Shaver and Wrightsman (1991) indicated that inter-item correlations of r = .30 or better are exemplary, 20-.29 are extensive; .10-.19 are moderate; and below .10 are minimal (p. 12-13). These criteria were therefore used to determine whether or not individual items should be retained.

Finally, a Principle Factor Analysis was used to explore the scales and determine if SR and SP items fell on different factors.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Scale reliability.

Scale reliability is understood as the level to which a scale consistently reflects the construct that is being measured (Field, 2009). For example, when a measure is reliably assessing a construct of interest, one person taking the test at two different times should receive identical scores (all other things being equal). Likewise, two people with identical attitudes should receive identical scores on the scale. Cronbach's alpha is a widely employed measure of scale reliability with high scores indicating high reliability (Field, 2009).

3.2.1.1 Support for rehabilitation scale.

The Cronbach's alpha for the fifteen SR scale items was α=.844 which is considerably above the acceptable range (Field, 2009).

3.2.1.2 Support for punishment scale.

The Cronbach's alpha for the fifteen SP scale items was α=.787 which is marginally above the acceptable range (Field, 2009).

3.2.2 Item analysis.

Item analysis is used to determine whether individual scale items improve or decrease the reliability of the scale. Thus, correlations between each of the scale items (inter-item correlations) were calculated. Robinson and colleagues (1991) provide guidelines for assessing the magnitude of the correlations. When inter-item correlations are too low (.10 and below) it suggests that they may be negatively influencing the reliability of the measure and should be removed. Corrected item total correlations indicate what the Cronbach's alpha would be if the individual scale item was removed (Field. 2009).

3.2.2.1 Support for rehabilitation scale.

Inter-item correlations were calculated for the SR scale items and SP scale items separately. Examination of the inter-item correlations for the SR scales revealed that the many of the correlations were within the exemplary (.30 or better), extensive (.20-.29) and moderate (.10-.19) ranges (Robinson et al., 1991). However, items R7 ("Offenders who will be released into society should participate in rehabilitation programs before their release") and R12 ("It is most important that offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison") had a number of correlations in the minimal range (.10 and below), including some negative correlations with other items. Additionally item R7 did not have any correlations above .266 (extensive).

Corrected item total correlations were generally above the acceptable limit of .30 with the largest being $r = .666$ for item R6 ("Rehabilitating offenders is NOT important"). However, the corrected item-total correlations for items R7 and R12 were below $r = .30$ ($r = .290$ and $r = .238$ respectively), consistent with the low inter-item correlations. The Cronbach's alpha if R7 was deleted was α=.843, which is slightly lower than the total alpha with the item (α =.844). The Cronbach's alpha if R12 was deleted was α=.846; a small increase. Thus, Cronbach's alpha was recalculated following removal of items R7 and R12 and resulted in a value of α =.847; a slight improvement.

3.2.2.2 Support for punishment scale.

Examination of the inter-item correlations for the SP scales revealed a number of correlations were within the exemplary (.30 or better), extensive (.20-.29) and moderate (.10 - .19) ranges. However, the correlations were on average, lower than for the SR scale.

Examination also revealed that items P1 ("Corrections officers should NOT interact with offenders other than to carry out security roles") and P5 ("Incarceration alone is sufficient punishment for prisoners") were problematic, with a number of negative correlations and correlations in the minimal range (.10 and below). Item P5 had no correlations above the moderate range and item P1 had only two within the extensive range. Additionally, item P15 ("Corporal punishments should not be used in Canadian prisons") also appeared somewhat problematic, though less so. Two of the inter-item correlations were in the minimal range (ignoring the correlations with P1 and P5) and none achieved the exemplary range.

Corrected item total correlations were generally above the acceptable limit of .30 with the largest being $r = .653$ for item P6 ("I do not care if offenders have a hard time in prison; they are just getting what they deserve"). However, the corrected item-total correlations for items P1, P5 and P15 were below $r = .30$ ($r = .036$, $r = .023$, $r = .279$ respectively), consistent with the low inter-item correlations. The Cronbach's Alpha if R1 was deleted was $\alpha = .802$, and if P5 was deleted was $\alpha=.803$; both notable improvements. The Cronbach's alpha if P15 was deleted was $\alpha = .784$, a minor decrease. Cronbach's alpha was recalculated following removal of items P1 and P5 and resulted in a value of $\alpha = .820$. With the additional removal of P15 the value was $\alpha =.824$.

3.2.3 Correlation between scales.

A simple bivariate correlation was calculated between the total scores for the SP scale and the total scores the SR scale. The correlation was calculated using at 148 cases with the scale substitutions removing the problematic items of R7, R12 and P1, P5 and P15 resulted in a correlation of $r = -.633$, $p<.001$. Thus, the first hypothesis was supported.

3.2.4 Factor analysis.

As planned a Principle Axis Factoring (PAF or FA) was run on the 25 items from the combined SR and SP scales using the 148 valid cases. One hundred cases is considered a poor sample size for completion of FA and 200 is considered fair (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) so the sample size was less than ideal. An oblique (oblimin) rotation was used to maximize simple

structure as the variables were correlated (Field, 2009). The identified problematic scale items of P1, P5, P15, R7 and R12 were not included in the factor analysis.

Inspection of the correlation matrix showed that all variables had at least one correlation coefficient greater than 0.3. The overall Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .836 ('great' according to Field, 2009). Individual KMO measures were also adequate ranging from .602 (P10) to .900, with the vast majority above .8. Bartlett's test of sphericity, x^2 (300) = 1391.141, $p<.001$, indicated that correlations between items were sufficiently large. Finally, the determinant was 0.0000414. The determinant should be greater than 0.00000001 which is of an acceptable size to rule out multicollinearity. Likewise, examination of the initial communalities did not reveal any approaching 1, again indicating no concerns with multicollinearity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

The initial PAF revealed six components that had eigenvalues greater than 1 and which explained 29.93%, 8.54%, 5.84%, 5.22%, 5.03% and 4.46% of the variance respectively for a cumulative total of 59.02%.Visual inspection of the scree plot was slightly ambiguous indicating two or three components should be retained and, as the sample was less than 200, the eigenvalues and communalities for the two solutions were compared. The two component solution explained 38.473% of the total variance. There were 127 (42%) nonredundant residuals with absolute values greater than 0.05 which is under the maximum criteria of 50% but clearly less than ideal.

Table 3.1 replicates the two-factor structure matrix containing the factor loadings incorporating the shared variance. Table 3.2 replicates the pattern matrix and contains the factor loadings isolating the unique contribution of the variable to the factor. Field (2009, p. 644) summarizing the work of Steven (2002) indicated that when determining the importance of factor loadings, sample size should be considered. For a sample size of 100, factor loadings should be greater than 0.512, and for 200 it should be greater than 0.364 (Field, 2009). As this sample was 148 the middle ground of approximately 0.4 seemed reasonable.

Examination of both the pattern and structure pattern matrices showed mostly support for punishment items loading on Factor 1, with the exception of R13 and R11. All of these items made some reference to not wanting to offer anything positive to offenders (e.g. kindness, compassion, respect, comfort). Even the two SR items reflected this in a sense: not wanting to offer employment or empathy. Generally, this factor as designed reflected SP and wanting to

make life difficult for offenders. Only SR items loaded on Factor 2, and, as they were written, were representative of the importance of rehabilitating offenders. Four items did not have factor loadings higher that .04 on either factor in the pattern matrix (R10, P10, P7 and R8). Three of these items referred to the job or role of Corrections Officers. Finally, Figure 3.1 shows the factor plot in rotated factor space. Interestingly, the SR and SP items appear to group together, including the two SR items which fell on the first factor with the SP items. The two factors were correlated $r = .509$. Based upon the results of the factor analysis, but taking into consideration the small sample size, the second hypothesis is considered cautiously supported.

Table 3.1

Structure Matrix

Item ID		Factor	
		1	2
P6	I do NOT care if offenders have a hard time in prison; they are just getting what they deserve	**-.724**	-.393
P11	Offenders should be treated with respect	**-.679**	-.368
P2	Prison life should be miserable for offenders	**-.657**	**-.447**
P14	Correctional staff should NOT be friendly or kind to offenders	**-.629**	**-.534**
P12	The most important function of the criminal justice system is to make offenders pay for their crimes	**-.609**	**-.457**
P13	Offenders do NOT deserve harsh punishment	**-.543**	-.027
R11	R11: I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated.	**.524**	**.413**
P9	Correctional staff should NOT "go soft" on offenders	**-.524**	-.230
R13	**We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated and start paying more attention to the real victims of these criminals**	**.511**	.341
P8	The purpose of prison is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve	**-.502**	-.373
P3	Offenders should NOT be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately	**-.443**	-.288
P4	Offenders give up their basic rights when they choose to commit a crime	**-.433**	-.223
R10	**Corrections Officers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming**	.393	.379
P7	It is NOT the job of Corrections Officers to make offenders pay for their crimes	-.323	-.302
P10	Prison is NOT a place for payback	-.301	-.252
R6	Rehabilitating offenders is NOT important	.391	**.748**
R9	Offenders do NOT deserve treatment programs	**.458**	**.705**
R5	Corrections Officers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work	.360	**.688**

R14	As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do NOT care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are in prison	.312	**.633**
R1	I would support an increase in the number of rehabilitation programs in Canadian correctional institutions	.325	**.630**
R2	By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are NOT being held accountable for their behaviour	.234	**.610**
R4	Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily	.377	**.593**
R15	Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitation services while incarcerated	.354	**.500**
R8	Corrections Officers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison	.388	**.465**
R3	Correctional staff should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration	.250	**.428**

Note. N=148. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold.
Scale items which load on a factor opposite to the scale they were written for are also in bold.

Table 3.2

Pattern Matrix

Item ID		Factor	
		1	2
P13	Offenders do NOT deserve harsh punishment	**-.714**	.336
P6	I do NOT care if offenders have a hard time in prison; they are just getting what they deserve	**-.707**	-.033
P11	Offenders should be treated with respect	**-.664**	-.030
P2	Prison life should be miserable for offenders	**-.580**	-.152
P9	Correctional staff should NOT "go soft" on offenders	**-.549**	.050
P12	The most important function of the criminal justice system is to make offenders pay for their crimes	**-.509**	-.198
P14	Correctional staff should NOT be friendly or kind to offenders	**-.482**	-.289
R13	**We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated and start paying more attention to the real victims of these criminals**	**.455**	.110
P4	Offenders give up their basic rights when they choose to commit a crime	**-.432**	-.003
R11	**I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated**	**.424**	.197
P8	The purpose of prison is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve	**-.422**	-.158
P3	Offenders should NOT be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately	**-.400**	-.085
R10	Corrections Officers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming.	.270	.241
P10	Prison is NOT a place for payback.	-.233	-.134
P7	It is NOT the job of Corrections Officers to make offenders pay for	-.228	-.186

	their crimes.		
R6	Rehabilitating offenders is NOT important.	.014	**.740**
R5	Corrections Officers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work.	.014	**.681**
R2	By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are NOT being held accountable for their behaviour.	-.103	**.663**
R14	As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do NOT care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are in prison.	-.013	**.640**
R9	Offenders do NOT deserve treatment programs.	.134	**.637**
R1	I would support an increase in the number of rehabilitation programs in Canadian correctional institutions.	.006	**.627**
R4	Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily.	.101	**.542**
R15	Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitation services while incarcerated.	.135	**.431**
R3	Correctional staff should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration.	.043	**.407**
R8	Corrections Officers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison.	.204	.362
	Eigenvalues	7.483	2.136
	% of variance	29.93	8.54

Note. N=148. Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold.

Scale items which load on a factor opposite to the scale they were written for are also in bold.

Variables with high loading in the matrix represent the factor uncontaminated by other factors in the solution.

Figure 3.1. Factor Plot
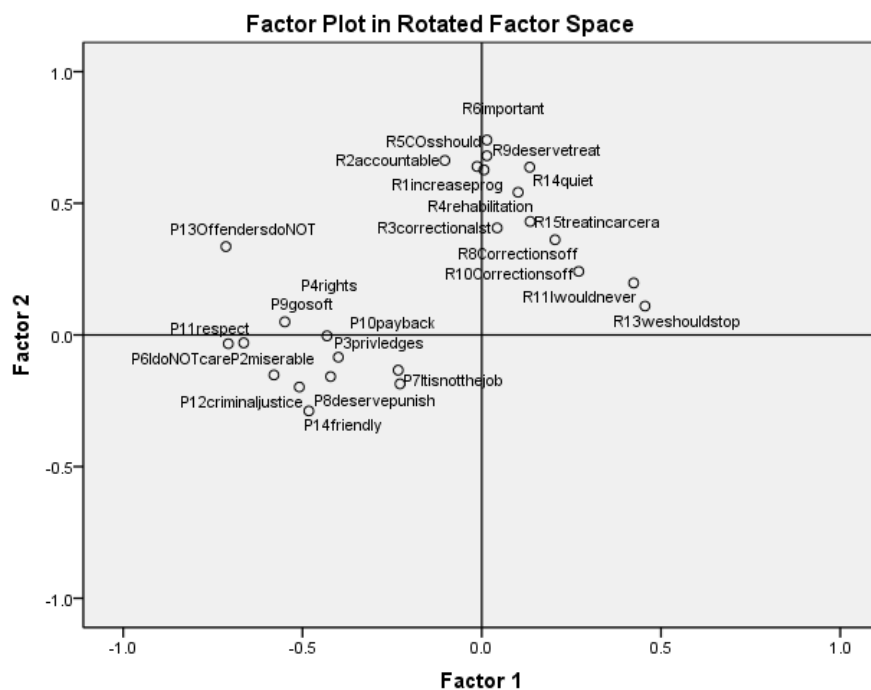
3.2.5 Final correctional orientation measure.

Table 3.3 shows the measure items from the pilot and the finalized correction orientation items side-by-side. Based on the above analyses, five items were removed from the measure leaving a total of thirteen SR and twelve SP items. One new SP item (last item in table) was written to give both scales thirteen items. The language in the remaining items was modified to accommodate the change in participants and with feedback from the Ministry of Justice. For example, in all items "prison" was changed to "incarceration" and "Corrections Officers" to "Corrections Workers". Some colloquial language was modified, for example "payback" changed to "retribution" and some items were simplified in order to reduce confusion. It was decided to retain the items in the scales as originally written due to the uncertainty of the results of the factor analysis based on the small sample.

Table 3.3

Correctional Orientation Pilot Scale Items Compared to Final Scale Items

Item ID	Pilot Scale Item	Final Scale Item
R1	I would support an increase in the number of rehabilitation programs in Canadian correctional institutions	I think there should be more rehabilitation programs in Saskatchewan's Correctional institutions
R2	By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are not being held accountable for their behaviour	By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are not being held accountable for their behaviour
R3	Correctional staff should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration	Corrections Workers should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration
R4	Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily	Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily
R5	Corrections Officers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work	Corrections Workers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work
R6	Rehabilitating offenders is not important	Rehabilitating offenders is not important
R7	Offenders who will be released into society should participate in rehabilitation programs before their release	Removed
R8	Corrections Officers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison	Corrections Workers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are incarcerated
R9	Offenders do not deserve treatment programs	Offenders do not deserve treatment programs

R10	Corrections Officers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming	<u>Corrections Workers</u> should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming
R11	I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated	I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated
R12	It is most important that offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison	Removed
R13	We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated <u>and start paying more attention to the real victims of these criminals</u>	We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated
R14	As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do not care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are in prison	As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do not care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are <u>incarcerated</u>
R15	Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitative services while incarcerated	Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitative services while incarcerated
P1	Corrections Officers should <u>not</u> interact with offenders other than to carry out security roles	Removed
P2	Prison life should be miserable for offenders	<u>Incarceration</u> should be miserable for offenders
P3	Offenders should not be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately	Offenders should not be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately
P4	Offenders give up their basic rights when they choose to commit a crime	Offenders give up <u>all of their rights</u> when they choose to commit a crime
P5	Incarceration alone is sufficient punishment for prisoners	Removed
P6	I do not care if offenders have a hard time in prison; <u>they are just getting what they deserve</u>	I do not care if offenders have a hard time while <u>incarcerated</u>
P7	It is not the job of Corrections Officers to make offenders pay for their crimes	It is not the job of <u>Corrections Workers</u> to <u>seek retribution for</u> offenders' crimes
P8	The purpose of prison is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve	The <u>only real</u> purpose of <u>incarceration</u> is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve
P9	Correctional staff should not "go soft" on offenders	Correctional staff should not "go soft" on offenders
P10	Prison is not a place for payback	Prison is not a place for <u>retribution</u>
P11	Offenders should be treated with respect	Offenders should be treated with respect
P12	The most important function of the criminal justice system is to make offenders pay for their crimes	The most important function of the criminal justice system is to punish offenders for their crimes

P13	Offenders do not deserve harsh punishment	Offenders do not deserve harsh punishment
P14	Correctional staff should not be friendly or kind to offenders	Correctional staff should not be friendly or kind to offenders
P15	Corporal punishments should not be used in Canadian prisons	Removed
	Punishment scale item not in pilot	Offenders who have personal difficulties during their incarceration are just getting what they deserve

Note. Underlining used to highlight wording changes between the two versions

Chapter 4.

Study 2: Survey of Saskatchewan Provincial Corrections Workers

4.1 Methods

4.1.1 Participants.

The Saskatchewan Ministry of Justice – Custody, Supervision and Rehabilitation Services (SCRS; formerly Corrections, Public Safety and Policing, or CPSP) has three adult correctional facilities for provincially sentenced and remanded male offenders; Regina, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert Corrections Centers, and an additional one women's facility in Prince Albert (Pine Grove Correctional Facility). Within the Ministry, Corrections Officers are known as Corrections Workers or CWs. As these are the participants in the study, COs will be referred to as CW's from this point onwards.

The total sample consisted of 226 CWs employed in one of these four facilities during September 2014 to December 2014. Participants ranged in age from 20 to 67 ($M = 38.38$ years, $SD = 11.134$) and both sexes were relatively evenly represented (47.3% male and 52.7% female).The majority of the sample, 81.9%, identified themselves as Caucasian. The next largest group, 15.9%, was Aboriginal (First Nations, Métis, or Inuit). The remaining 1.8% of the sample was Black, Hispanic, unknown, or identified themselves as "Canadian".

With regards to education, the majority identified their highest level of completed education as College or Polytechnic (39.8%), or a Bachelor's degree (38.4%), while 8.4% indicated an incomplete College, Polytechnic or Bachelor's degree. A further 8% had completed either a BA Honours or a Master's degree, and finally 4.9% of participants identified their highest level of education as High School. The majority (58%) of the sample indicated that they majored in one of the specially identified relevant educational fields of psychology, correctional studies, counselling, social work, addictions, forensic psychology, sociology, forensic nursing or criminology/criminal justice. An additional 27.4% reported having taken classes at some level in one of these fields, and 14.2% indicated no formal education in any of these areas. Table 4.1 provides the percentage for each field.

Table 4.1

Percentage of Sample Self-reporting Educational Experience in Relevant Fields

Field	College/Polytech Classes	College/Polytech Major	University Classes	University Major
Psychology	18.6	0.4	21.1	8.8
Correctional Studies	19.9	20.8	14.6	4.4
Counselling	14.6	1.3	14.2	0.9
Social Work	8.4	2.2	10.2	8.0
Addictions	16.8	1.3	12.8	0.9
Forensic Psychology	2.7	0.4	5.3	0.9
Sociology	7.4	0.4	11.9	7.1
Psychiatric Nursing	1.8	0.9	0.9	0.9
Criminology/Criminal Justice	11.1	3.1	8.8	8.0

Note. Totals do not add up to 100% as participants could take classes or major in more than one area or none at all.

Of the four correctional facilities, 40.3% of the sample worked at Saskatoon Correctional Centre, followed by 23.9% from Regina Correctional Centre, 19.5%, from Pine Grove Correctional Centre (women's institution) in Prince Albert, and 15.9% from Prince Albert Correctional Centre. The vast majority of the sample (81.4%) indicated that they worked with both remanded and sentenced offenders, consistent with the rotation system established in most institutions, while 12.8% worked with only sentenced offenders and 10% reported working only with offenders on remand.

The mean time worked as a CW was 10.6 years ($SD = 8.78$). Examining years as a CW in five year intervals, the majority worked between 1 to 5 years (27%) or 5 to10 years (23%). Additionally, 7.1% had been a CW for a year or less with the minimum time as a CW being three months, and 4.0% had been a CW for 30 years or more with the maximum time worked as 34 years. Participants were also asked if they had completed the general orientation training more than once. Consistent with the training system, 92% indicated they completed this training only once. Additionally 4.0% reported completing the training twice, 1.3%, three times, and 0.4% stated they had completed it four times (during their 15 year employment). However, 1.8% reported that they had not received this training.

Table 4.2 contains the percentage of the sample that reported previous employment in one of the related fields. Participants could self-identify "other criminal justice positions". These were coded into two categories; law enforcement or counselling/caring roles. Law enforcement

positions included military, conservation officer, customs, peace officer, court house, and highway patrol, and other counselling/caring roles including mediation casework, addictions and mental health counsellor, and program facilitator. Participants could have held more than one position in the past.

Table 4.2

Percentage of Sample Self-reporting Previous Employment in Relevant Fields

Field	Percentage
Probation or Parole officer	5.8
Youth worker	21.7
Social Worker	7.5
Other counselling/caring	2.7
Security	12.8
Police/RCMP	4.0
Other Law enforcement	8.8
No previous CJ employment	53.1

Note. Percentages do not equal 100% as participants could have previous employment in more than one or none of the listed fields.

4.1.1.1 Description of "Courage to Change" subsample.

A total of n=59 participants indicated they had received training for the Courage to Change (C2C) program. The sex of the C2C sample was close to evenly split with 54.2% male and 45.8% female participants. The average age was 41.38 years ($SD = 10.69$) which was significantly older than the non-trained CW sample ($M = 37.35$, $SD = 11.19$), $M = 4.03$, 99% CI [-.41 to 8.46], $t(217) = 2.358$, $p = .019$ (n=56; some participants missing age). Consistent with the overall sample the majority, 83.1%, identified themselves as Caucasian, 15.3% were Aboriginal and 1.9% had unknown ethnicity. Also reflective of the overall sample, the majority, 37.3% indicated they worked at the Saskatoon Correctional Centre, followed by the Regina Correctional Centre (28.8%), then Pine Grove (23.7%) and Prince Albert Correctional Centre (10.2%). A 2 x 4 Chi square test comparing the frequencies of C2C trained CWs at each institution to the non-trained CWs was not significant, $\chi^2 (3) = 3.38$, $p = .34$, indicating that completing C2C training was not related to which institution the participant worked at. The mean years worked as a CW was 12.81 years ($SD = 8.70$) which was significantly longer than for the non C2C trained CWs ($M = 9.75$ years, $SD = 8.65$), $M = 3.06$, 99% CI [-.35 to 6.47], $t(223) = 2.332$, $p = .021$. There was substantial variability in the reported number of C2C sessions the participants facilitated per month, ranging from 0 to 30 ($M = 7.81$, $SD = 9.31$). There was also

considerable difference in reported time since completing the C2C training ranging from 1 year previous to 9 years (M = 3.6 years, SD = 2.08). Finally, 26.9% (14 of the 59 complete cases), indicated they currently engaged in zero sessions per month.

4.1.2 Measures.

The measures used were designed specifically for the purposes of this study. Study 1 (previous) outlined the initial development, pilot testing and psychometric properties of the Correctional Orientation measure (consisting of two scales: support for rehabilitation and support for punishment). In addition to the demographic and work-related questions, two additional scales were created to measure the additional dimensions of interest: forensic practice (FP) knowledge, and engagement in Core Correctional practices (CCPs; behaviours).

4.1.2.1 Correctional orientation scale.

As previously noted, this scale consisted of 26 items; 13 measuring support for rehabilitation (SR) and 13 measuring support for punishment (SP). On the SR scale, seven items were reverse worded such that they reflected non-SR. On the SP scale four items were reverse worded to be reflective on non-SP. All reverse worded items on both of the scales were reverse coded so that a high score on each scale indicated alignment with that attitude: support for punishment and support for rehabilitation. Scale reliability statistics were recalculated using the CW sample. Cronbach's alpha for the SR scale was α = .887, a slight improvement from the pilot (α = .847), and for the SP scale was α = .819, a slight decrease from the pilot (α = .824). Consistent with the hypothesized significant negative correlation between the two scale, using all 226 participants, the correlation between SR and SP was r = -.74, $p < .001$.

4.1.2.2 Forensic practice knowledge scale.

Questions were written for the knowledge measure based upon important empirically established knowledge about offender rehabilitation, punishment and Core Correctional Practices, and outlined in the literature review. Questions were also written to be reflective of knowledge that CWs may gain during the training they are provided at the commencement of their employment. Both a multiple choice format and a true/false format were considered. Taking into consideration the essence of the research questions, which asked whether knowledge of fundamental, job-relevant information influences attitudes, a true or false format was chosen as a multiple choice format would warrant a more detailed understanding of the materials than deemed necessary for influencing one's attitudes. (For example, one could understand the

principle of responsivity without knowing that this is what it is called.) Once the questions were written they were sent to a correctional psychologist who trains CWs in this research, for feedback. This feedback led to some minor modifications. The questions were then brought to a meeting of graduate students specializing in forensic/correctional psychology at the University of Saskatchewan (n=12) who were asked to answer the questions as well as provide feedback on the wording of the statements. As the test was intended to be simple enough that those with exposure to the literature should be able to answer all the items correctly, the team of graduate students who specialize in the area was used to determine if the questions were of appropriate content and difficulty. Following this step, some of the items were again modified and a few more items were added in order to increase the difficulty slightly to allow for more variability.

The complete FP knowledge scale consisted of 32 True/False items. Participants were given a score of zero for each incorrect item and one for each correct item. A total score was calculated by summing all items together to create a total FP knowledge score out of 32. A raw score of 24 out of 32 constituted a score of 75% on the test. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale was $\alpha = .784$.

4.1.2.3 Core correctional practices scale.

A large number of statements regarding behavioural interactions with offenders were written which varied in their consistency with Core Correctional Practices (CCP). For example, apologizing to an inmate regarding a minor error is considered an extreme example of a positive/consistent behaviour, while antagonizing or provoking an inmate is considered an extreme example of a negative/inconsistent behaviour. Target behaviours were taken from personal observations of CWs and informal consultation with CWs about the scope of interactions with offenders. As with the other scales, the scale was shared with the team of forensic/correctional psychology graduate students for feedback on wording and modifications were made accordingly.

Initially a five-point ordinal scale response option was chosen which varied from "Almost Never" (1) to "Almost Always" (5), with statements taking the form of "I do….X" (eg. I am polite to inmates). However, concerns were raised by Ministry of Justice officials that some questions could be construed as being self-incriminating. Thus, some items were removed and the scale was modified to a traditional Likert format ranging from "Strongly Disagree" (1) to "Strongly Agree" (5) with statements including both CCP consistent and inconsistent behaviours

and moderating language such as "I think it is acceptable…" or "I sometimes…" added to reduce the sensitivity of some of the items.

The complete scale included 30 items, 18 of which were positively worded or described behaviours consistent with CCPs and 12 which were negatively worded or described behaviours inconsistent with CCPS. Participant responses were coded such that a high score on the scale indicated high engagement in CCPs. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale was $\alpha = .905$.

4.1.2.4 "Courage to Change" questions.

In order to address research questions 4, 5 and 6, questions were included which asked participants whether they had been trained to facilitate the "*Courage to Change*" (C2C) program. If they answered yes, they were administered follow up questions: "Approximately how long ago did you complete the training for the *Courage to Change* program?" And "In a typical month, how many face-to-face *Courage to Change* meetings do you have with offenders?

4.1.2.5 Total survey.

The first page of the survey contained the consent form which required the participant to agree, prior to commencing the survey, that they were a CW currently working at one of the four Provincial Correctional facilities. They were also asked to agree that they were completing the survey only once. The consent form was followed by basic demographic questions, a detailed educational and work history, and finally the scales discussed above. The final pages of the completed survey included a volunteer form for participation in an interview (Study 3 to follow) involving a description of their potential participation and the purpose of the interviews. This was followed by an opportunity to provide an e-mail address to be entered into a draw for the incentive prize consisting of a chance to win one of twenty available twenty dollar gift cards from their choice of Tim Hortons or McDonalds. The final page gave the participant the option to provide their email address if he/she would like to receive a summary of the results of the research. In all cases the participant could choose not to provide any contact information in order to remain completely anonymous. (The total survey measure including consent form, demographic, education, and work-related questions, interview recruitment, and incentive participation may be found in Appendix D.)

4.1.3 Procedure.

A lengthy consultation process was undertaken with a representative from The Ministry of Justice. The Ministry required that the research proposal be approved by its internal research

committee and that approval be obtained from the university Research Ethics Board prior to consideration. The application included negotiating the feasibility of administering the survey electronically, based upon whether CWs had access to the internet. Permission was given to distribute the survey to the CW participants electronically via institution wide emails distributed by the facility directors, which CWs would be permitted to access online during work hours. Thus, the survey was made accessible online utilizing *Fluid Survey Systems*; the survey tool that was supported by the University of Saskatchewan. After the survey had already been completed on the Canadian *Fluid Survey Systems*, the company was bought by an American online survey company, *Survey Monkey*. This meant that the data storage was no longer in Canada. An amendment to the consent form containing this information was made prior to distribution of the survey.

Use of the electronic survey provider allowed for the survey to be modified for each participant. This included the randomization of question presentation such that for the questions for the 'Correctional Orientation', 'Engagement in CCPs' and 'FP Knowledge' scales were presented in a different order to each participant, thus eliminating any order effects. Additionally, in order to examine whether C2C trained participants thought that their attitudes and on-the job interactions with offenders had changed following this additional training, if a participant indicated that yes, they had been trained in C2C, they were administered the 'Correctional Orientation' scale and engagement in CCPs scales a second time and requested to respond to the scale items as they would have "prior to" participation in this training.

On September 26, 2014, a Ministry representative emailed the recruitment letter (see Appendix E) with the link to the survey to the facility directors instructing them to distribute the link to all CW staff. A total sample of at least 200 participants was sought. The individual facility directors send out an email with the recruitment letter (containing the link to the survey) as an attachment to their email. There was an initial burst of responses however at least half of the responses were incomplete. A few weeks into the distribution the student researcher received email feedback from a participant indicating that they were having difficulties with the survey freezing when trying to change pages. It was concluded that this was likely a result of the unreliable internet access and possibly accounted for a number of the incomplete responses. A follow-up email was sent to the site directors on October 16, 2014 requesting they send out a reminder email. Included in this email were instructions addressing the potential for the survey to

freeze and encouraging participants to periodically save their responses or that they forward the survey to their home computers which may be more reliable. Unfortunately, the student researcher received further feedback from a facility director that participants were continuing to report difficulty accessing the survey despite following these additional instructions. Consequently, a copy of the electronic survey was exported to Microsoft Word and modified so that the survey could be emailed to participants, completed offline, saved and emailed directly to the student researcher, as an alternative to the online version. Thus, another email was sent to the directors on October 31, 2014 requesting they send out another reminder email, this time containing an attachment with the survey in Microsoft Word as well as the link to the online survey and instructions on how to complete either version.

Approximately weekly reminders were sent to the facility directors by the student researcher requesting that they send a reminder to the CW staff members. Only some of the facility Directors carbon copied the student researcher to their reminder emails so the total number of reminders that the CW staff at each facility received is not known. The survey was closed to participants on December 12, 2014.

4.1.4 Data preparation.

4.1.4.1 Missing data: Total surveys.

The unreliability of the internet access at the institutions meant for difficulties accessing the electronic survey and also led to problems with the survey "crashing" unexpectedly, and participants' losing their responses. This led to a large number of incomplete surveys. Unfortunately, there was no way to distinguish surveys which were abandoned due to technical difficulties from those where the participant chose not to proceed and terminated. Further, as the technical problems were reported to occur when moving from one page to the next in the survey, surveys were generally terminated at the beginning of a new scale. Likewise, as all surveys were anonymous, there was no way to tell if complete responses were the same participants as previous incomplete responses, such that a single participant's responses could be in the database more than once; as both complete and incomplete. Thus, upon closure of the survey, there were N=329 total surveys; n=293 through the online version of the survey and n=37 offline (Microsoft Word, emailed to the student researcher). Of the n=293 online cases, n=56 cases were immediately deleted from the database as they contained only the demographic and/or work-related variables and none of the scales were completed. Also, one participant entered the

'neutral' option for all of the scale items and did not complete the FP knowledge scale so his/her data was also deleted. Finally, two of the offline submissions were from participants who had already completed the survey online; they were identified as they provided their email address in both to be entered into the incentive draw. In this case, the offline version of the survey was discarded and the online version was kept, without examination of any differences between the responses. This left a total of N=272. Of these, n=226 were complete with all scales, n=32 were missing the FP knowledge scale only, and n=13 were missing both the FP knowledge and the CCP scale. It was decided that due to the inability to detect replica responses, the conservative choice would be to run all further analyses on the complete surveys only, leading to a final sample of 226 participants.

4.1.4.2 Missing Data: Coding and entering offline version of the survey.

The offline versions of the survey were received via email. As such they were hand-coded and entered into the database. The Microsoft Word version presented with some additional problems that the online version accounted for. For example, in this version, the participant could accidentally double mark an item by changing their answer and failing to deselect their previous answer. They could also leave True/False items on the FP knowledge scale blank, whereas they could not do so on the online version. It was decided that the conservative option would be to code double marked scale items as the "neutral" response and double-marked or unmarked True/False items would be coded as "incorrect" as they reflected indecision or uncertainty.

4.1.4.3 Missing Data: "Courage to Change" questions.

A total of 59 participants responded "yes" to the question asking whether they had completed training for C2C. However, of these cases, four indicated they did not currently facilitate the C2C program (zero sessions per month) and therefore did not complete the second administration of the SR, SP or engagement in CCPs scales. Two participants indicated that they do regularly facilitate the program and reported their frequency of sessions but failed to fully complete the "prior" items. Finally, one participant failed to complete the prior engagement in CCPs scale. Thus, a total of seven participants indicated "yes" but did not fully complete the remaining scales. These seven participants were retained for the first set of analyses comparing the C2C trained CWs to non-trained CWs (n=59) but were removed from the second set of analyses comparing the prior/current scale scores (n=52).

4.1.4.4 Data screening.

A number of pre-analytic statistical procedures were carried out to prepare, describe and summarize the overall data in preparation for the main statistical analyses (described in the Data Analytic Plan below). Of the complete cases, some individual item responses were missing on each scale. Missing Values Analysis indicated that no items were missing more than 5% of their responses. Examination of frequencies on all scales indicated that a maximum of three responses were missing on any one item. Missing scale items were substituted with the neutral "Neither Agree nor Disagree" value "3", as this would have the least influence on the total score. Following these substitutions, sums for each scale were calculated.

Second, scale data were screened according to the procedures described by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007).This included utilizing SPSS EXPLORE to examine the descriptive characteristics (means, variances, standard deviations, ranges, maximum and minimum scores and frequencies), missing data, outliers, normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. Some of the variables (tenure, SR, FP knowledge) were non-normally distributed and the dataset contained a small number of univariate and multivariate outliers. The manner by which each of these violations was addressed varied by the type of statistical analysis and therefore is reported in the results section.

Third, analyses of the descriptive measures were used to make decisions about how to recode some of the categorical variables.

- Ethnicity was collapsed into two variables: Caucasian (n= 185, 81.9%) and all others; consisting of Aboriginal (n=36), Black (n=1), Hispanic (n=1) and Unknown/Canadian (n=3).
- Education was coded into thirteen categories: 1= High school, 2=College/Polytechnic complete in non-related field, 3= College/Polytech in complete in related field, 3.5= College/Polytech in related field, incomplete, 4=Bachelors complete in non-related field, 5=Bachelors complete in related field, 5.5= Bachelors in related field, incomplete, 6= Honours in non-related field, 7= Honours in related field, 8=Master's in non-related field, 9= Master's in related field, 10 = PhD in non-related field, 11= Unknown. It was then collapsed into two separate education variables with three levels each:
  - Relevant education: 0 = No field relevant education (ie. no selection of classes or major for any of the listed areas); 1= Classes in relevant field; and 2 = Majored in relevant field.

o Level of education: 0 = High school; 1 = Some or complete College/Polytechnic; 2= Some or complete University (including any classes up to Master's degree).

A 3x3 chi square was calculated to examine the cell frequencies and determine if it would be appropriate to collapse each variable further (see Table 4.3). Frequencies supported further collapsing each variable further into dichotomous variables with relatively equal sample size consisting of:

o Relevant education: 0 = No field relevant education + classes in a relevant field (n=94); 1 = Majored in a relevant field (n=131).

o Level of education: 0 = High school + some or complete college (n=119); 1=some or complete University (n=106).

Table 4.3

Frequencies from 3 x 3 Chi Square on Education Variable

	High School	Some or complete College	Some or complete University	Total
No field relevant education	9	13	10	32
Classes in relevant field	3	42	17	62
Majored in a relevant field	0	52	79	131
Total	12	107	106	225

4.1.5 Data analytic plan.

Numerous different analyses were planned to examine the various hypotheses proposed in each of the sections. First in order to examine the profile of the CW sample on the four main variables of interest, descriptive statistics were calculated. Due to the specific focus on the relationships between SR, SP and FP knowledge, the SR and SP scales were dichotomized at the median value allowing formation of groups and calculation of frequencies. This was followed by the calculation of a one-way ANOVA with the four groups on the combined high/low SR and high/low SP, as the independent variables, and FP knowledge as the dependent variable.

For Section 2, the relationships between FP knowledge, SR and SP were examined continuously. First the correlations between FP knowledge and SR and SP were examined. Second, two hierarchical (sequential) multiple regressions were calculated; one on the dependent variable of SR, and one on the dependent variable of SP. Demographic and work-related variables of age, gender, ethnicity, level of education, relevant education and tenure were entered into the model on the first step and FP knowledge was entered on the second step to determine if

FP knowledge was related to SR and SP after controlling for the preceding demographic variables. Additionally, in order to examine the relationships between the demographic variables of level of education and tenure, FP knowledge and SR and SP, partial correlations were calculated between the demographic variables and SR and SP controlling for FP knowledge.

In order to examine the hypothesized relationships between FP knowledge, SR, SP and engagement in CCPs proposed in Section 3, another hierarchical multiple regression was calculated with engagement in CCPs as the dependent variable. In line with the overarching research model cited in the literature review, and consistent with the previous multiple regressions, demographic and work-related variables of age, gender, ethnicity, level of education and tenure were entered into the model first to be controlled as covariates. FP knowledge was entered in the second step to determine if it added significantly to the model. SR and SP were entered in the third step. Following this, two additional multiple regressions where conducted to examine the hypothesized interactions.

Finally, Sections 4 and 5 explored the effects of the training for facilitating the C2C program on CWs. Four independent samples t-tests were run comparing CWs trained on C2C to non-C2C trained CWs on each of the dependent variables of SR, SP, FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs. C2C trained participants' reports of change in SR, SP and engagement in CCPs were examined in section 5. Three paired samples t-tests were run to determine whether there was a statistically significant mean difference between prior and current SR scores, prior and current SP scores and prior and current engagement in CCPs. Since there were not enough participants who indicated they had been trained in C2C, but did not regularly facilitate programs, to compare them to those that had been trained and did regularly facilitate programs, partial correlations were calculated between number of C2C sessions given per month and change scores in SR, SP and engagement in CCPs.

4.2 Results

As new measures were developed for this survey, detailed psychometric analyses were conducted and are presented here. (See Appendices F, G and H for the mean scores for each individual scale item on the correctional orientation, CCPs and FP knowledge measures.) Table 4.4 provides the descriptive statistics for the overall CW sample on each of the variables of interest. A score of 39 on the SR and SP scales would be obtained if the participant answered, "Neither Agree nor Disagree" on every scale item, and therefore indicates a neutral attitude

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towards the variable. As can be seen by the mean value which is 1.22 *SD* above the neutral point, the majority of the sample endorsed support for rehabilitation. Likewise, the majority of the sample scored below the neutral value on SP, with the mean value 0.79 *SD* below the neutral value, indicating lower support for punishment. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 display the overall frequency distributions of the CWs scores on the SR and SP scales.

Table 4.4

Descriptive Statistics of the Sample on each of the Variables of Interest

	Support for rehabilitation	Support for punishment	FP knowledge	CCPs
Mean	49.37	33.19	25.62	118.02
Median	49	33	27	117
Std. Deviation	8.44	7.312	4.21	12.57
Minimum	16	17	6	81
Maximum	65	54	32	149
Theoretical range	13-65	13-65	0-32	30-150
Neutral Value	39	39	24[a]	90

Note: N=226. [a]A raw score of 24 out of 32 constituted a score of 75% on the FP knowledge test.

Figure 4.1. Frequency Distribution of Support for Rehabilitation Scale

Total support for rehabilitation score. Higher score indicates higher support for rehabilitation.

Mean = 49.37
Std. Dev. = 8.441
N = 226

Total support for rehabilitation score. Higher score indicates higher support for rehabilitation.
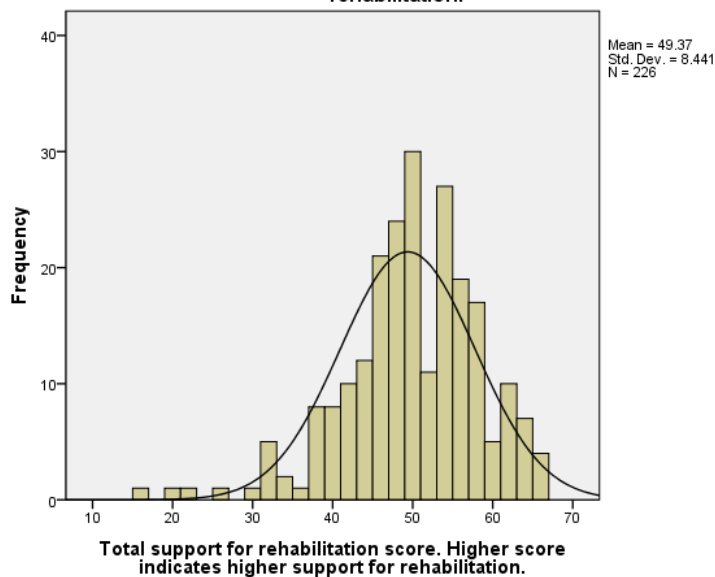
Figure 4.2. Frequency Distribution of Support for Punishment Scale

Total support for punishment score. Higher score is higher support for punishment

Mean = 33.19
Std. Dev. = 7.318
N = 226

Total support for punishment score. Higher score is higher support for punishment
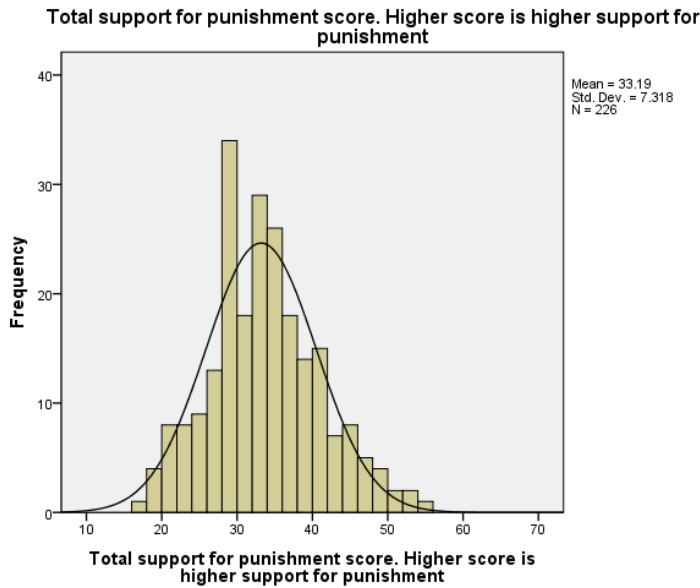
Figure 4.3 displays the distribution of scores on the engagement in CCPs scale. A raw score of 90 would be obtained if the participant answered "Neither Agree nor Disagree" on every scale item and thus would represent a participant who reports not actively engaging in CCPs, or who engages in both CCP consistent and inconsistent behaviours. Again, the mean and median scores indicate that the majority of the sample reported engaging in CCPs at a fairly high rate. Specifically, the mean score is 2.23 *SD* above the neutral value.

Figure 4.3. Frequency Distribution of Core Correctional Practices Scale

Total score on behaviour scale. Higher the score is higher engagement in CCPs

Mean = 118.02
Std. Dev. = 12.567
N = 226

Total score on behaviour scale. Higher the score is higher engagement in CCPs
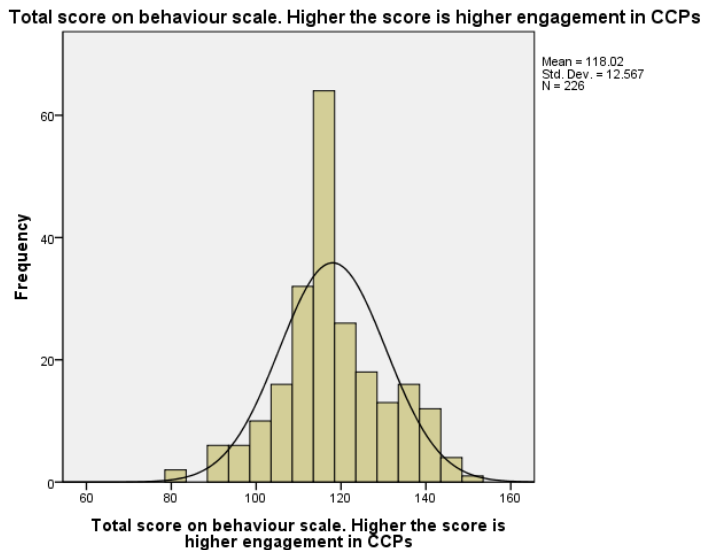
4.2.1 Section 1: Saskatchewan Provincial Corrections Workers' Forensic Practice Knowledge

It was hypothesized that participants would have low FP knowledge scores as determined by the mean score of the sample being 75% or less on the FP knowledge measure. A raw score of 24 out of 32 constituted a score of 75% on the test. Figure 4.4 displays the distribution of scores on the FP knowledge measure. The mean FP knowledge score for the sample was 25.62 (*SD* = 4.21) out of 32 which is a score of 80%. The median and mode scores were both 27 out of 32. As such, this hypothesis was not met, though the distribution was negatively skewed (Skewness = 17.73/-1.533 = 11.566).

Figure 4.4. Frequency Distribution of Forensic Practice Knowledge Scale
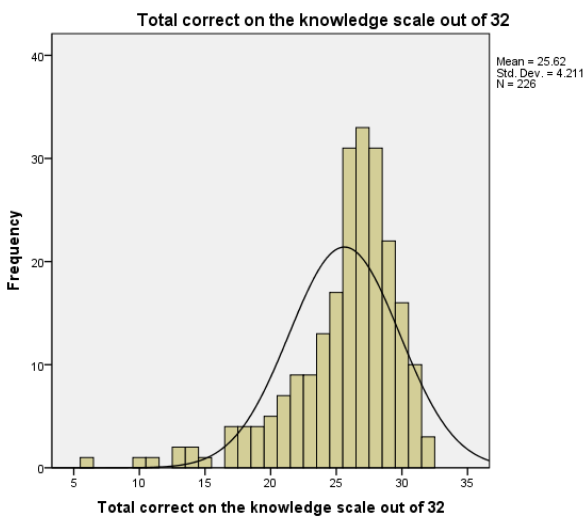
The second hypothesis in this section was that participants with the attitude combination of low SR/high SP would obtain the lowest FP knowledge scores. In order to address this hypothesis the SR and SP measures were dichotomized at the median value in order to create four groups as seen in Table 4.5. A one-way ANOVA was then calculated with FP knowledge as the dependent variable. A two-way factorial ANOVA was also calculated with SR (low and high) and SP (low or high) and as the independent variables and FP knowledge as the dependent variable. The results of this analysis can be found in Appendix I.

As shown in Table 4.5, the groups had unequal cell sizes. Thus, Tukey's post hoc test was run, as it is a conservative tests and used when sample sizes are unequal (Field, 2009). Games-Howell was also calculated as it is considered an appropriate test when groups are

unequal and there is inequality of variances. Analysis was performed using SPSS GLM and SPSS EXPLORE for evaluation of assumptions.

Table 4.5

Groups Created by Median Split of Support for Rehabilitation and Support for Punishment Scales. Number of Participants in each Group and Mean Forensic Practice Knowledge Score

	Low SR		High SR		Total
	n	Mean	n	Mean	n
Low SP	16	26.38	90	27.94	106
High SP	80	22.54	40	26.25	120
Total:	96		130		226

Note. N=226

Examination of the boxplots for each of the groups revealed no extreme outliers. However, there were three cases with studentized deleted residuals greater than 3.0. The tests were therefore run removing these three cases. No differences were found between the outcomes so the outliers were retained. Shapiro-Wilk test of normality indicated that only the low SR/low SP group was normally distributed (p = .596) and that the normality assumption was violated for the other three levels, though examination of the normal Q-Q plots suggested the distributions were less problematic. The assumption of homogeneity of variances was also violated, as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $p < .001$. Examination of the box-plots indicated it was the low SR/high SP group that had a much larger variance than the other three groups. It was decided to proceed with the analysis despite these violations, not to transform the variables and to report the results of the Games-Howell test, though it was identical to the results of the Tukey HSD test.

First, there was a significant effect of SR and SP on FP knowledge, $F(3,222) = 34.62$, $p<.001$. ω = .56, indicating that there was a significant difference in FP knowledge between the four groups depending on their level of SR and SP (Field, 2009). Figure 4.5 shows the means plot for the four groups. Games-Howell post hoc analysis revealed that the low SR/high SP group's mean FP knowledge score was statistically significantly lower than the other three groups, consistent with the hypothesis. Specifically, the low SR/high SP group had the lowest FP knowledge (M = 22.54, SD = 4.85). The next lowest FP knowledge score was obtained by the high SR/high SP group (M = 26.25, SD = 2.88), which was a mean 3.71 higher, 95% CI [5.56 to 1.87], $p<.001$, than the low SR/high SP group. The next highest group was the low SR/low SP group (M = 26.38, SD = 2.85) who had a mean 3.84 higher FP knowledge score, 95% CI [6.25 to

1.42], *p*=.001, than the low SR/high SP group. Finally, the group with the highest FP knowledge was the high SR/low SP group (*M* = 27.94, *SD* = 2.16), who had a mean 5.41 point higher FP knowledge score than the low SR/high SP group, 95% CI [6.94 to 3.87], *p*<.001.

Figure 4.5. Means Plots of Forensic Practice Knowledge Scores for the four Combined Support for Rehabilitation/Support for Punishment Groups
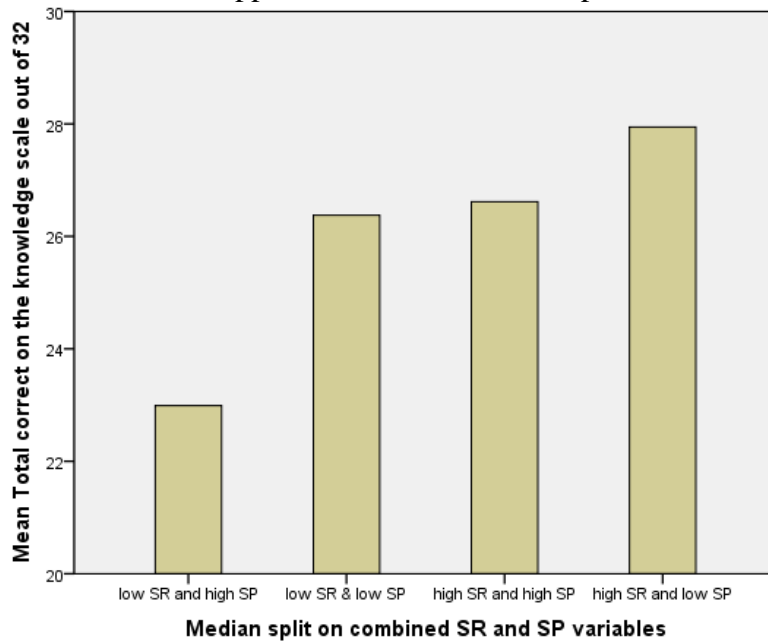
4.2.2 Section 2: Relationships between support for rehabilitation, support for punishment and forensic practice knowledge.

As hypothesized there was a significant positive correlation between SR and FP knowledge, *r* = 0.654, *p*< .001, and a significant negative correlation between SP and FP knowledge, *r* = - 0.648, *p*< .001. In order to determine if the correlation between FP knowledge and SR was significantly larger than the correlation between FP knowledge and SP as hypothesized, the magnitude of the correlations were compared using an online tool (Lee & Preacher, 2013). The tool calculates the difference between two dependent correlations by first converting each correlation to a Z-score and then using Steiger's (1980) equations to compute the asymptotic covariance of the estimates (as referenced by Lee & Preacher, 2013). In order to calculate the statistic consistent with the hypotheses, the negative sign was removed for the calculation. The two correlations were not significantly different from one another (Z score = 0.146, *p* = .88, two-tailed) and therefore this hypothesis was not met.

Two, two-step hierarchical multiple regressions were performed on the dependent variables of SR and SP. In both, demographic and work variables of sex, age, ethnicity, level of education, relevant education and tenure were entered in the first step to be controlled as covariates, and total score on the FP knowledge scale was entered in the second step to determine if FP knowledge improved prediction of SR and SP. There were seven cases with missing data on the age variable (substitutions were made on scale items as discussed above). In order to be conservative, these cases were removed listwise such that all of their scores were not included in the regression resulting in a total N=219. Analysis was performed using SPSS REGRESSION and SPSS EXPLORE for evaluation of assumptions.

Inspection of the correlation table revealed a moderate and significant correlation between 'level of education' and 'relevant education' ($r = 0.322$, $p<.001$). However 'relevant education' was completely unrelated to both dependent variables of SR ($r = .003$, $p=.481$) and SP ($r = .062$, $p=.181$). Therefore, it was removed from the analyses. Likewise, a large and significant correlation between tenure and age ($r = .715$, $p<.001$) was found. Partial correlations between tenure and SR and tenure and SP, controlling for age, were calculated. The simple bivariate correlation between tenure and SR was significant ($r = -.298$, $p<.001$) but became non-significant once age was added ($r = -.100$, $p=.141$) and likewise between tenure and SP ($r = .166$, $p=.014$; $r = .008$, $p =.910$). Tenure was also not contributing significantly to the model so it was also removed. This left the covariates of sex, age, ethnicity, and level of education.

4.2.2.1 Multiple regression on support for rehabilitation.

The assumption of normality was deemed met through examination of the histogram of standardized residuals and the normal PP-Plot. Examination of the partial regression plots indicated that the linearity assumption was also met. There was independence of residuals, as assessed by a Durbin-Watson statistic of 1.75. Examination of the casewise diagnostics demonstrated no considerable outliers as defined by a case with standardized residuals greater than 3.0 SD or studentized deleted residuals ±3.0 SD. However, using a $p<.001$ criterion for Mahalanobis distance (Tabachnick & Fiddel, 2007) one outlier exceeding the critical value of 20.515 was found (Mahal = 21.79). As there was no reason to believe that this case was not from the population of interest it was retained in the analysis. Leverage and Cooks distance values were also all within acceptable limits indicating no influential cases. No suppressor variables were found as described by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007). Bivariate correlations and collinearity

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diagnostics were also within acceptable limits indicating that multicollinearity assumption was met. Finally, examination of the plots of regression standardized residuals against regression standardized predicted value suggested that the assumption of homoscedasticity may have been violated as the values created a mild funnel shape. However, in order to facilitate interpretation it was decided not to transform any variables in order to correct this issue.

Table 4.6 displays the correlations between all of the variables in the multiple regression and Table 4.7 displays the results of the multiple regression analysis. All but ethnicity were significantly positively correlated with SR, such that females had higher SR scores as did older CWs and those with higher education. R was significantly different from zero at the end of both steps. The initial model with just the covariates of sex, age, ethnicity, and level of education was significant as hypothesized, with $R^2 = .14$, $F (4,214) = 8.40$, $p<.001$. The addition of FP knowledge (Model 2) led to a statistically significant increase in R^2 of .32 (adjusted $R^2=.44$), resulting in a statistically significant full model with the five IVs of sex, age, ethnicity, level of education and FP knowledge, $R^2 = .46$, $F(1, 213) = 35.79$, $p<.001$. Sex and age were the only demographic variables that made significant contributions to the model following the addition of FP knowledge. The change in R^2 of .32 indicated that 69% of the explained variance in Model 2 was accounted for by FP knowledge, with the full model accounting for a total of 46% of the variance in SR.

Table 4.6

Correlations Between Support for Rehabilitation and each Independent Variable

	Sex	Age	Ethnicity	Level of education	FP knowledge
Support for rehab	.22***	.21***	.04	.16**	.65***
Sex	-	-.06	.18*	-.01	.20**
Age	-	-	.04	-.11	.16**
Ethnicity	-	-	-	-.15**	.01
Level of education	-	-	-	-	.16*

Note. N=219. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

Table 4.7

Multiple Regression of Demographic Characteristics (Covariates; Model 1) and FP Knowledge (Model 2) on Support for Rehabilitation

	Model 1			Model 2		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*B*	*SE B*	β
Constant	34.44**	2.73	-	11.17***	3.00	-
Sex	3.93***	1.10	.23	1.77*	0.90	.10
Age	0.19***	0.05	.25	0.10**	0.04	.13
Ethnicity	0.42	1.45	.02	0.52	1.15	.02
Level of education	3.31**	1.10	.20	1.43	0.89	.08
FP knowledge				1.20***	0.11	.60
R		.37			.68	
R^2		.14			.46	
F		8.40***			35.79***	
ΔR^2		.14			.32	
ΔF		8.4***			125.74***	

Note. N=219. The unstandardized regression coefficients = *B*, the standard error of the unstandardized coefficients = *SE B*, the standardized regression coefficients = β, *R*, R^2, *F* statistic, R^2 change = ΔR^2, and *F* change = ΔF. All values rounded to 2 decimal places. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

4.2.2.2 Multiple regression on support for punishment.

The assumptions for the regression on SP were identical to those on SR reported above. The Durbin-Watson statistic was slightly different with a value of 2.09 but still indicating independence of residuals. Likewise, examination of the plots of regression standardized residuals against regression standardized predicted value again suggested that the assumption of homoscedasticity may have been violated as the values created a mild funnel shape. Again, in order to facilitate interpretation it was decided not to transform any variables in order to correct this issue.

Table 4.8 displays the correlations between the variables and Table 4.9 displays the results of the multiple regression analysis. In this case the demographic variables were negatively correlated with SP such that women had significantly lower SP, as did older CWs. Again, ethnicity was not significantly correlated with SP, and in contrast to SR, level of education was also not significantly correlated with SP. *R* was significantly different from zero at the end of both steps. As with the MR on SR, the initial model on SP, with just the covariates of sex, age, ethnicity, and level of education was significant with $R^2 = .142$, $F(4,214) = 8.880$, $p<.001$. The addition of FP knowledge (Model 2) again led to a statistically significant increase in R^2 of .34 (adjusted $R^2 = .47$), resulting in a statistically significant full model of sex, age, ethnicity, level of

education and FP knowledge, $R^2 = .48$, $F(1, 213) = 39.01$, $p<.001$. Of the demographic variables, only age remained a significant predicator after the addition of FP knowledge. Further, the beta value for age was larger in the regression on SP ($\beta = -.23$) than for SR ($\beta = .13$) indicating that age accounted for more of the variance in SP than in SR. As with the regression on SR, 69% of the explained variance in Model 2 was accounted for by FP knowledge, with the full model accounting for 49% of the variance in SP.

Table 4.8

Correlations between Support for Punishment and each Independent Variable

	Sex	Age	Ethnicity	Level of education	FP knowledge
Support for punish	-.14*	-.33***	-.08	-.05	-.65***
Sex	-	-.06	.18*	-.01	.20**
Age	-	-	.04	-.11	.16**
Ethnicity	-	-	-	-.15*	.01
Level of education	-	-	-	-	.16**

Note. N=219. All values rounded to 2 decimal places. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

Table 4.9

Multiple Regression of Demographic Characteristics (Covariates; Model 1) and FP Knowledge (Model 2) on Support for Punishment

	Model 1			Model 2		
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	*B*	*SE B*	β
Constant	46.08***	2.34	-	66.60***	2.54	-
Sex	-2.20*	0.95	-.15	-0.29	0.76	-.02
Age	-0.23***	0.04	-.35	0.15***	0.03	-.23
Ethnicity	-1.00	1.24	-.05	-1.09	0.97	-.06
Level of education	-1.33	0.94	-.09	0.33	0.75	.02
FP knowledge				1.06***	0.09	-.61
R		.38			.69	
R^2		.14			.48	
F		8.88***			39.01***	
ΔR^2		.14			.34	
ΔF		8.88***			136.96***	

Note. N=219. The unstandardized regression coefficients = *B*, the standard error of the unstandardized coefficients = *SE B*, the standardized regression coefficients = β, *R*, R^2, *F* statistic, R^2 change = ΔR^2, and *F* change = ΔF. All values rounded to 2 decimal places. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

It was hypothesized that FP knowledge would account for more of the variance in SR than SP. As can be seen from examination of the beta values for FP knowledge in both of the

regressions, they were nearly identical: β of FP on SR = .60 and β of FP on SP = .61. Likewise, the addition of FP knowledge to each model accounted for a similar amount of variance, with ΔR^2 being slightly larger for the regression on SP (ΔR^2 = .34) than for the regression on SR (ΔR^2 = .32). Thus, this hypothesis was not supported.

4.2.2.3 Section 2.1 Partial correlations

First, Table 4.10 contains the bi-variate correlations between each of the demographic variables of interest and SR and SP as well as the semi-partial correlations. As hypothesized the correlations between level of education and SR, r = .150, p = .025 and between level of education and FP knowledge, r = .151, p = .024, were both positive and significant. With regards to the first hypothesis, the semi-partial correlation between level of education and SR, controlling for FP knowledge, remained positive but became non-significant as hypothesized, r = .068, p = .310, indicating that the relationship between level of education and SR was fully accounted for by FP knowledge. However, there was not a significant correlation between level of education and SP, r = -.029, p = .667, therefore calculation of the semi-partial correlation between level of education and SP, controlling for FP knowledge, was dropped and this hypothesis was deemed unsupported.

Table 4.10

Correlations between Level of Education, Tenure, Support for Rehabilitation and Support for Punishment, and Semi-partial Corrections Controlling for Forensic Practice Knowledge

	1	2	3	4
IV	Level of education	Level of education	Tenure	Tenure
DV	SR	SP	SR	SP
r btw IV & FP Knowledge	.151*	.151*	.175**	.175**
r btw FP knowledge & DV	.657***	-.648***	.657***	-.648***
r btw IV & DV	.150*	-.029	.165*	-.294***
Partial *r*	.068	-	.068	-.241***

Note. N = 226. *p<.05, ** p<.01, ***p<.001. Partial r = The correlation between the independent and dependent variables controlling for FP knowledge. All values rounded to three decimal places.

With regards to hypotheses 3 and 4, the correlations between tenure and FP knowledge were in the opposite direction to hypothesized, as were the correlations between tenure and SR and tenure and SP, such that tenure was positively correlated with FP knowledge, r = .175, p = .009 and SR, r = .165, p = .013, and negatively correlated with SP, r = -.294, p < .001.

Consequently, the semi-partial correlation between tenure and SR, controlling for FP knowledge, was positive and non-significant, $r = .068$, $p = .314$, such that longer tenure was associated with more FP knowledge, and higher SR. However, the semi-partial correlation between tenure and SP, controlling for FP knowledge, while negative, remained significant, $r = -.241$, $p < .001$. In sum, FP knowledge increased with tenure, which led to an increase in SR and a (less sizeable) decrease in SP.

4.2.3 Section 3: Factors related to core correctional practices.

A three-step hierarchical multiple regression was carried out on the dependent variable of engagement in CCPs. Again, demographic and work variables of sex, age, ethnicity, level of education and tenure were entered in the first step as covariates, followed by total score on the FP knowledge scale in the second step, and SR and SP in the third and final step. Because of the large correlation between tenure and age, the relationship between tenure and engagement in CCPs was examined. The zero-order correlation between tenure and CCPs was $r = .238$, $p < .001$, but a partial correlation controlling for age reduced the correlation to $r = -.019$, $p = .778$, so again, tenure was removed from the analysis.

The assumption or normality was deemed met through examination of the histogram of standardized residuals and the normal PP-Plot. Examination of the partial regression plots indicated that the linearity assumption was also met. There was independence of residuals, as assessed by a Durbin-Watson statistic of 1.80. Examination of the casewise diagnostics revealed two cases with studentized deleted residuals ±3.0 *SD*. Likewise, using a $p < .001$ criterion for Mahalanobis distance (Tabachnick & Fiddel, 2007) two outliers exceeding the critical value (with seven IVs) of 22.458 were found. The regression was therefore run both with and without these four outlier variables. There were no significant changes in the outcomes or significance values of any of the tests, and as there was no reason to believe that these cases were not from the population of interest, they were retained and the outcomes reported as such. Leverage and Cooks distance values were also all within acceptable limits indicating no influential cases. No suppressor variables were found as described by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007). Examination of the plots of regression standardized residuals against regression standardized predicted value indicated that the assumption of homoscedasticity was also met.

Examination of the collinearity diagnostics however revealed a possible problem with multicollinearity. Firstly the correlation between SR and SP was $r = -.74$. Tabachnick and Fidell

(2007) suggest caution with regards to correlations greater than .70 but note that the issues caused by multicollinearity are generally only created when the correlation exceeds .90. Secondly, though the VIF and tolerance values were within acceptable limits, Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) indicate that no condition indices should be greater than 30 and that if one exceeds 30, the variance proportions should be examined for two or more variables with values of .50 or higher (p. 91). If this is the case, the assumption of collinearity is not met. In this case, the dimension in the last step of the regression had a condition index of 51.46 and the two variance proportions were greater than .50 (Constant = .99; SP = .86). Thus, in order to be cautious it was decided to combine the SR and SP variables into a single variable deemed Positive Correctional Orientation (PCO) by subtracting SP from SR. The multiple regression was then re-calculated with PCO in the third step of the analysis. This placed all condition indices within the acceptable range yet, it made little discernable difference to the overall model. Thus, it was decided to retain and report the original regression with SR and SP entered separately, consistent with the other analyses and allowing for observation of the unique contributions of SR and SP.

Table 4.11 displays the correlations between the variables and Table 4.12 displays the results of the multiple regression. As hypothesized, SR was significantly positively correlated with engagement in CCPs, $r = .657$, $p < .001$, as was FP knowledge, $r = .476$, $p < .001$. Likewise, SP was significantly negatively correlated with engagement in CCPs, $r = -.648$, $p < .001$ as hypothesized.

Table 4.11

Correlations between Core Correctional Practices and each Independent Variable

	Sex	Age	Ethnicity	Level of education	FP know	SR	SP
CCPs	.23***	.35***	.06	.06	.47***	.65***	-.64***
Sex	-	-.06	.18**	-.01	.20**	.22**	-.14*
Age	-	-	.04	-.11	.16**	.21**	-.33**
Ethnicity	-	-	-	-.15*	.01	.04	-.08
Level of education	-	-	-	-	.16**	.16**	-.05
FP know	-	-	-	-	-	.65**	-.65**
SR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.74***

Note. N=219. All values rounded to two decimal places. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

R was significantly different from zero at the end of each step. The first model with sex, age, ethnicity and level of education in the equation was statistically significant, $R^2 =.19$, ΔF

(4,214) = 12.89, $p<.001$. As hypothesized, the addition of FP knowledge (Model 2) led to a significant 13.2% increase in the variability of engagement in CCPs accounted for by the model over and above the demographic variables, $R^2 = .33$, ΔF (1,213) = 41.60, $p<.001$. However this contribution became non-significant once SR and SP were included. The total model, with all independent variables in the equation, accounted for 51.8% of the variance in engagement in CCPs, $R^2 = .512$, (adjusted $R^2 = .50$) ΔF (2,211) = 42.08, $p<.001$, $F(2,211) = 32.40$, $p<.001$. The R^2 change value of .13 from Models 1 to 2 indicated that the addition of FP knowledge accounted for 36% of the explained variance from Model 1 to 2, while the R^2 change value of .19 from Model 2 to Model 3 indicated that the addition of SR and SP to the model accounted for an additional 36% of the explained variance in the final model.

Table 4.12

Multiple Regression of Covariates (Model 1), Forensic Practice Knowledge (Model 2), and Support for Rehabilitation and Punishment (Model 3) on Core Correctional Practices

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	*SE B*	β	*B*	*SE B*	β	*B*	*SE B*	β
Constant	90.86***	3.90		68.80***	4.95		96.72***	10.57	
Sex	6.24***	1.57	.25	4.19**	1.48	.17	3.04*	1.27	.12
Age	0.42***	0.07	.38	0.34***	0.07	.30	0.21***	0.06	.18
Ethnicity	0.41	2.07	.01	0.51	1.90	.02	-0.35	1.62	-.01
Level of Education	2.67	1.57	.11	0.89	1.46	.04	0.25	1.26	.01
FP Know				1.14***	0.18	.38	-.09	0.20	-.03
SR							0.57***	0.11	.38
SP							-0.51***	0.13	-.30
R		.44			.57			.72	
R^2		.19			.33			.52	
F		12.89***			20.59***			32.40***	
ΔR^2		.19			.13			.19	
ΔF		12.89***			41.60***			42.08***	

Note. The unstandardized regression coefficients = *B*, the standard error of the unstandardized coefficients = *SE B*, the standardized regression coefficients = β, R^2, *F* statistic, R^2 change = ΔR^2, and *F* change = ΔF. N=219. All values rounded to 2 decimal places. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

4.2.3.1 Section 3.1: An examination of interactions on core correctional practice

Two additional separate hierarchical regressions were calculated on engagement in CCPs as the dependent variable to examine the hypotheses that the relationship between FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs would differ with variations on SR, but not with variations on SP. First, SR, SP and FP knowledge were centred by subtracting the mean of each scale from the

individual participant score. The centred variables were used to address possible issues with multicollinearity. Interactions variables were then computed: SPxFP and SRxFP consisting of the centred variables multiplied. The first regression was calculated with CCPs as the dependent variable, age, sex, ethnicity, and level of education entered in the first step and the centred FP variable, centred SR variable and FPxSR variable in the second step. The second regression was calculated with CCPs as the dependent variable, age, sex, ethnicity, and level of education entered in the first step and the centred FP variable, centred SP variable and FPxSP variable in the second step.

Table 4.13 displays the results of the regressions and Figures 4.6 and 4.7 visually display the interactions. Examination of the significance tests for each interaction term revealed that the interaction between FP knowledge and SR on CCPs was significant at $p<.05$ while the interaction term for FP knowledge and SP on CCPs was not significant. Thus, as hypothesized, the relationship between FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs was influenced by level of SR but not by SP. In order to examine the nature of the interactions, the regression equations were plotted on a figure using an online tool (Jose, 2013).

Table 4.13

Multiple Regressions Examining the Interaction between Forensic Practice Knowledge and Support for Rehabilitation on Core Correctional Practices and between Forensic Practice Knowledge and Support for Punishment on Core Correctional Practices

	FP knowledge by SR on CCPs			FP knowledge by SP on CCPs		
	B	*SE B*	β	*B*	*SE B*	β
Constant	104.66***	3.32		103.55***	3.45	
Sex	2.46	1.29	.10	3.88**	1.33	.15
Age	0.24***	0.06	.21	0.21**	0.06	.18
Ethnicity	-0.08	1.64	-.00	-0.47	1.71	-.01
Level of Education	-0.62	1.28	-.03	1.13	1.32	.05
Cen FP	0.43*	0.22	.15	0.26	0.24	.09
Cen SR	0.84**	0.10	.57	-	-	-
Cen SP	-	-	-	-0.88***	0.12	-.51
FP x SR	0.03**	0.01	.16	-	-	-
FP x SP	-	-	-	-0.01	0.02	-.03

Note. Table represents Model 2 with all variables included.
The unstandardized regression coefficients = *B*, the standard error of the unstandardized coefficients = *SE B*, the standardized regression coefficients = β.
N=219. All values rounded to 2 decimal places. *$p<.05$, ** $p<.01$, ***$p<.001$.

Figure 4.6. Core Correctional Practices Presented as a Function of Forensic Practice Knowledge and Support for Rehabilitation
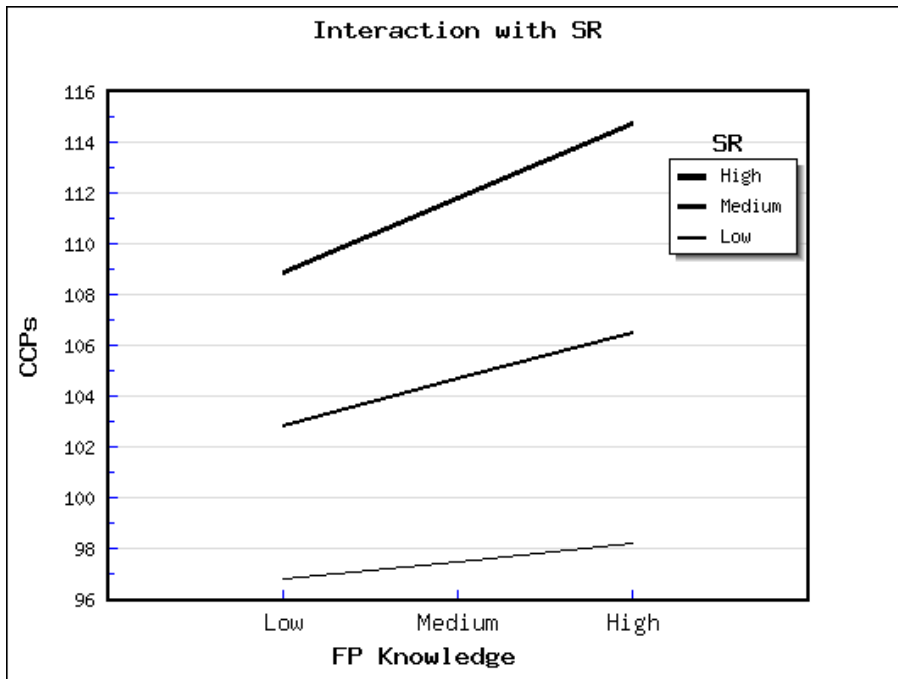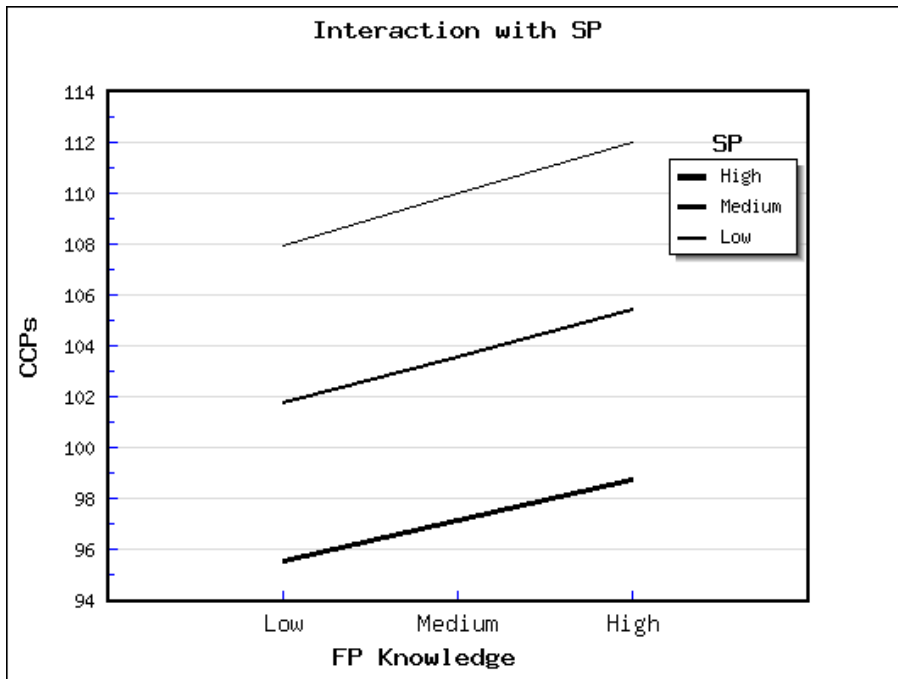

Figure 4.7. Core Correctional Practices Presented as a Function of Forensic Practice Knowledge and Support for Punishment

Note. In this graph, high SP is the bottom line and low SP is the top line.

4.2.4 Section 4: Courage to Change (C2C) trained corrections workers compared to non-trained corrections workers.

There were 59 C2C trained participants and 167 non-trained participants. It was hypothesized that the C2C trained CWs would endorse significantly higher SR, and engagement in CCPs, have significantly higher FP knowledge and significantly lower SP than the non-trained CWs. Four independent samples t-tests were run to determine if the groups differed on these four variables.

Using SPSS EXPLORE examination of the boxplots for each of the dependent variables revealed one extreme outlier for the non-trained CWs on the FP knowledge scale and no other extreme outliers on the other scales, though there were a number of cases which were separate from the main distribution. The Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated that the distribution of scores for the non-trained CWs on the FP knowledge, engagement in CCPs and SR scales were all significantly non-normal ($p<.05$), which was also evident by examination of the Q-Q plots and histograms, though less so for the engagement in CCPs scale. As with previous analyses it was decided to retain outliers and not transform the data as the t-test is robust to violations of this assumption (Howell, 2010). The assumption of homogeneity of variances was met (as assessed by Levene's test) for engagement in CCPs ($p = .590$), SR ($p = .771$) and SP ($p = .698$), though it was violated for FP knowledge ($p = .004$).

A series of independent t-tests revealed that there was not a significant difference in SR between C2C trained ($M = 50.83$, $SD = 7.74$) and non-trained CWs ($M = 49.85$, $SD = 8.64$), $M = 1.98$, 99% CI [-1.33 to 5.29], $t(224) = 1.55$, $p = .122$. There was also not a significant difference in SP between C2C trained ($M = 31.95$, $SD = 7.46$) and non-trained CWs ($M = 33.62$, $SD = 7.24$), $M = -1.67$, 99% CI [-4.55 to 1.20], $t(224) = -1.51$, $p = .131$, or a significant difference in self-reported engagement in CCPs between trained ($M = 120.39$, $SD = 12.96$) and non-trained CWs ($M = 117.19$, $SD = 12.56$), $M = 3.20$, 99% CI [-1.72 to 8.13], $t(224) = 1.59$, $p =.092$. However, FP knowledge scores were higher for trained CWs ($M = 27.05$, $SD = 2.85$) than for non-trained ($M = 25.11$, $SD = 4.50$), a statistically significant difference, $M = 1.94$, 99%CI [0.61 to 3.26], $t(161) = 3.81$, $p<.001$, $d = .47$[7], rendering this the only hypothesis in this set of analyses that was supported.

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[7] The effect size is reported though the assumption of equality of variances was not met.

In addition to the four t-tests a logistic regression was conducted to determine if any of the variables of interest were significantly related to C2C training. Thus, C2C trained versus untrained CWs was the dependent variable. The variables of age, FP knowledge, SR, SP and engagement in CCPs were entered in that order using the forced entry method. The overall model was significant, Model χ^2 (1) = 14.36, p = .013. Consistent with the findings of the t-tests, age (B = .032, $S.E.$ = .016, p=.038) and FP knowledge (B = .170. $S.E.$ = .064, p = .008) were the only two variables that were significantly related to C2C training in the model.

4.2.5 Section 5: Courage to Change trained corrections workers reports of change.

Three paired-sample t-tests were used to examine the hypotheses that C2C trained CWs would report significantly higher support for rehabilitation, lower support for punishment and higher engagement in CCPs scores following completing the training for the C2C program. First, change scores from prior to engaging the C2C training (rated retrospectively) to the time of data collection were calculated on SR, SP and CCPs by subtracting the current scale score from the prior scale such, such that a positive value indicated an increase in SR, SP and CCPs.

Beginning with support for rehabilitation, examination of the box-plots revealed two extreme outliers. The Z-scores for both were less than 3.29 (Z = 3.12). However, as both were flagged as extreme outliers due to their distance from the main distribution, it was decided to run the analysis both with and without them. However, there was no notable difference between the analyses with or without the cases so they were retained for the main analysis. The assumption of normality was violated, as assessed by Shapiro-Wilk's test (p = .000) though examination of the normal Q-Q plot was less problematic. Skewness was 0.66 (SE =.33) and was within the limits, though it was kurtotic (2.76, SE = 0.65).

Participants reported that their mean support for rehabilitation was currently (at the time of data collection) higher (M = 51.04, SD = 7.89) than prior to training for the C2C program (M = 42.83, SD = 7.80). This resulted in a statistically significant mean increase of 8.21 in support for rehabilitation following participating in the training for the C2C program, 99% CI [6.30 to 10.13], t (51) = 11.43, p<.001. Thus, the first hypothesis was supported.

Moving on to support for punishment, examination of the box-plots revealed two outliers. The Z-scores for one was greater than 3.29 (Z = 3.34) while the other was within these limits (Z= -2.62). Neither score was flagged as extreme outliers. It was decided to retain these cases for the main analysis. The assumption of normality was met as assessed by Shapiro-Wilk's test (p =

.165) and examination of the normal Q-Q plot. Skewness was 0.30 ($SE = .33$), and therefore acceptable though it was mildly kurtotic, 1.94 ($SE = .65$).

Participants reported almost identical levels of support for punishment currently ($M = 31.67$, $SD = 7.67$) and prior to ($M = 31.52$, $SD = 8.75$), training for the C2C program. This resulted in a 0.15 point, 99% CI, [-1.53 to 1.83] increase in support for punishment following training for C2C, which was not significant, t (51) = 0.25, $p = .808$. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported.

Finally, examining engagement in CCPs, box-plots again revealed two outliers, one of which was an extreme outlier. The Z-score for this outlier was greater than 3.29 ($Z = 4.39$) while the other was within these limits ($Z = 3.30$). The extreme outlier was deemed most problematic and it was decided to run the tests both with and without this case. However, this case ultimately had no impact on the results of the test. Nevertheless, the following is reported with this case excluded (N=51). The assumption of normality was violated, as assessed by Shapiro-Wilk's test ($p=.006$) and examination of the normal Q-Q plot. However skewness was 1.038 ($SE = 0.333$) which was acceptable, though it was significantly kurtotic, 3.936 ($SE = 0.656$).

Participants reported almost identical levels of engagement in CCPs prior to training for the C2C program ($M = 120.02$, SD = 14.20), as compared to their current score ($M = 120.67$, $SD = 13.245$). This resulted in a 0.65 point, 99% CI, [-1.32 to 2.61] increase in self-reported engagement in CCPs following training for C2C, which was not significant, $t(50) = 0.88$, $p = .383$. This hypothesis was therefore not supported.

The final hypothesis in this section was that C2C trained CW's who do not regularly facilitate C2C sessions would not have significant change scores. Only 14 participants indicated that they were trained for C2C but did not regularly conduct sessions, thus not providing enough participants to compare change scores within this subsample. Instead, partial bivariate correlations were calculated between 'number of C2C session per month' and the change scores for each of the scales (SR, SP and CCPs) using a total sample of 42.

Table 4.14 shows the zero-order correlations between the difference scores for each of the variables and number of C2C sessions per month. None of the correlations between number of sessions per month and change in SR, SP or engagement in CCPs were statistically significant at $p = .05$. However, the correlation between number of C2C sessions per month and support for

rehabilitation difference score was close to significant at $r = 0.292$, $p = .054$, such that as the number of C2C sessions per month increased, so did participant's SR score.

Table 4.14

Zero-order Correlations between Prior and Current Difference Scores of Courage to Change Trained Corrections Workers

	C2C sessions/month	SR	SP	CCPs
SR	.292	-	.190	.367*
SP	-.123	-.190	-	.082
CCPs	-.028	.367*	.082	-

Note. N=42. *p<.05

4.2.6 Additional unplanned analyses.

An advantage of mixed-methods research is the opportunity to pursue additional, unanticipated hypotheses in the quantitative data following the analysis of qualitative data. As will be seen in the next chapter the characteristics of the high SR participants suggested that perhaps the relevant education variable should be examined differently as it was too inclusive. Instead of the premise that any relevant education that could theoretically increase FP knowledge would lead to higher SR, FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs and lower SP, it was hypothesized that those CWs who majored specifically in helping professions may have these characteristics. Consequently the relevant education variable was recalculated into two separate variables:

- Helping majors: those that majored at any level (excluding high school) in a helping profession, ie., psychology, counselling, social work, psychiatric nursing and addictions

- Criminal Justice (CJ) majors: those who majored at any level (excluding high school) in criminology/criminal justice, sociology and correctional studies. Correctional studies is a 2-year diploma offered at the college/polytechnic level and is intended for those pursing jobs in corrections, especially CWs (Saskatchewan Polytechnic, 2015).

First, a 2 x 2 chi square was calculated on both groups to establish whether they overlapped. Table 4.15 displays the results. The majority of the sample did not major in either, though substantially more majored in a CJ field than a helping profession, with a small number of CWs trained in both (n=13). The correlation between the two groups was $r = -.197$, $p = .003$.

Table 4.15

Frequencies from 2 x 2 Chi Square on Education Variable

	Did not major in helping field	Majored in helping field	Total
Did not major in CJ field	92	42	134
Majored in CJ field	79	13	92
Total	171	55	226

Two sets of four t-tests were calculated on each of the dependent variables of interest: SR, SP, FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs. The first set compared helping majors (n=55) to all others (n=171), the second set compared CJ majors (n=92) to all others (n=134). A 99% confidence interval was set.

First, the assumption of equality of variances was met on all tests as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances. The first set of t-tests showed that the helping majors had significantly higher SR (M = 51.93, SD = 7.92) than all others (M = 48.54, SD = 8.46), t (224) = -2.62, p = .009, 99% CI, [-6.74 to -0.03] (Mean difference = -3.38). They also had significantly higher FP knowledge scores (M = 26.65, SD = 3.57), than all others (M = 25.29, SD = 4.35), t (224) = -2.12, p = .036, 99% CI, [-3.05 to 0.315] (Mean difference = -1.37), and significantly higher engagement in CCPs (M = 120.96, SD = 13.34) than all others (M = 117.08, SD = 12.20), t (224) = -2.01, p = .046, 99% CI, [-8.912 to 1.14] (Mean difference = -3.89). There was however not a significant difference between the helping majors (M = 31.98, SD = .99) and all others (M = 33.57, SD = .56) on SP, t (224) = 1.406, p = .161, 99% CI, [-1.35 to 4.53] (Mean difference = 1.59).

The second set of t-tests showed that the CJ majors had significantly lower SR (M = 47.75, SD = 8.57) than all others (M = 50.48, SD = 8.20), t (224) = 2.41, p = .017, 99% CI, [-0.21 to 5.67] (Mean difference = 2.73). They also had significantly higher SP scores (M = 35.07, SD = 7.34) than all others (M = 31.90, SD = 7.04), t (224) = -3.27, p = .001, 99% CI, [-5.69 to -0.65] (Mean difference = -3.17), and significantly lower engagement in CCPs (M = 115.83, SD = 12.51) than all others (M = 119.53, SD = 12.43), t (224) = -2.20, p = .029, 99% CI, [-0.68 to 8.09] (Mean difference = 3.70). There was however not a significant difference between the CJ majors (M = 25.22, SD = 3.99) and all others (M = 25.90, SD = 4.35) on FP knowledge, t (224) =

1.19, $p = .235$, 99% CI, [-0.80 to 2.16] (Mean difference = 0.68). Table 4.16 contains the mean scores of each group on the four outcome variables.

Table 4.16

Mean Scores of each Relevant Education Group on Support for Rehabilitation, Support for Punishment, Core Correctional Practices and Forensic Practice Knowledge

	Helping major (n=55)	All non-helping (n=171)	CJ major (n=92)	All non CJ (n=134)
SR	51.93	48.54	47.75	50.48
SP	31.98	33.57	35.07	31.90
CCPs	120.96	117.08	115.83	119.53
FP Knowledge	26.65	25.29	25.22	25.90

A second additional unplanned analysis followed the interpretation of the quantitative and qualitative results. Examination of the regression on CCPs and the interactions, as well as the qualitative findings on the reasons CWs provided for non-engagement in CCPs raised the question of how the high SR/high SP group compared to the low SR/high SP group on engagement in CCPs. It was hypothesized that this group would have significantly higher engagement in CCPs despite their high SP. Also of interest was whether this group would have significantly lower CCPs than the high SR/ low SP group.

Using the groups from the one-way ANOVA comparing the groups on FP knowledge a second ANOVA was calculated with engagement in CCPs as the dependent variable. Tukey's post hoc test was again run, due to the unequal sample size and Games-Howell in case there was inequality of variances. Analysis was performed using SPSS GLM and SPSS EXPLORE for evaluation of assumptions. Table 4.17 shows the mean CCPs score for each of the four groups and Figure 4.8 displays the means plots.

Table 4.17

Groups Created by Median Split of Support for Rehabilitation and Support for Punishment. Number of Participants in each Group and Mean Core Correctional Practices Score

	Low SR		High SR		Total
	n	Mean	n	Mean	n
Low SP	16	115.44	90	126.46	106
High SP	80	108.96	40	118.20	120
Total:	96		130		226

Note. N=226

Examination of the boxplots for each group revealed no extreme outliers. Shapiro-Wilk test of normality indicated that only the high SR/ high SP and the high SR/low SP groups were not normally distributed (p = .002 and p = .008 respectively). The assumption of homogeneity of variances was also violated, as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, p =.003. Identical to the ANOVA on FP knowledge examination of the box-plots indicated it was the low SR/high SP group that had a much larger variance than the other three groups. It was decided to proceed with the analysis despite these violations, not to transform the variables and to report the results of the Games-Howell test, though it was identical to the results of the Tukey HSD test.

First, there was a significant effect of SR and SP on CCPs, $F(3,222)$ = 43.06, p<.001. ω = .60, indicating that there was a significant difference in engagement in CCPs between the four groups depending on their level of SR and SP. Games-Howell post hoc analysis revealed that the high SR/high SP group's mean CCPs score was statistically significantly higher (M = 118.20, SD = 9.33) than the low SR/ high SP group (M = 108.96, SD = 10.26), mean difference = 9.24, p < .001, 95% CI [4.34 to 14.14], consistent with the hypothesis. However, the high SR/high SP group also had statistically significantly lower CCPs score than the high SR/low SP group (M = 126.46, SD = 10.80), mean difference = -8.26, p<.001, 95% CI [-13.14 to -3.37]. The high SR/ high SP group however did not differ significantly on CCPs compared to the low SR/low SP group.

Figure 4.8. Means Plots of Core Correctional Practices Scores, for four Combined Support for Rehabilitation/Support for Punishment Groups
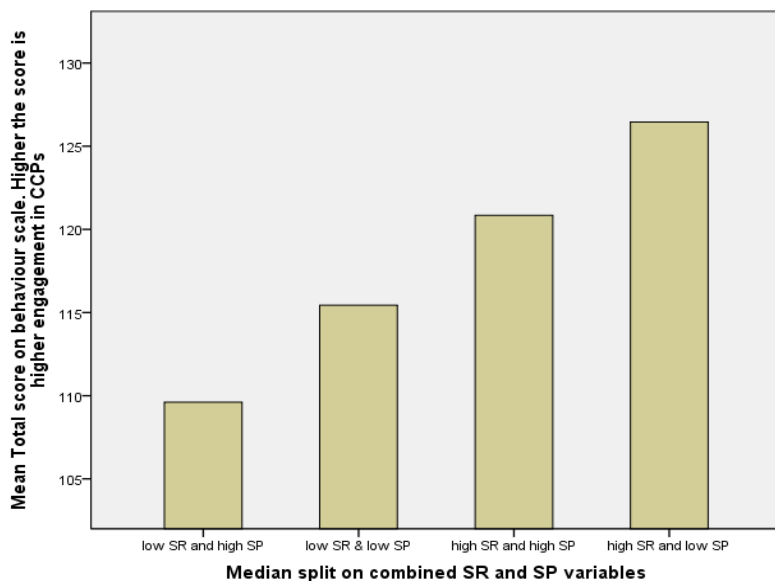
Chapter 5.

Study 3: Qualitative Interviews with Saskatchewan Provincial Corrections Workers

5.1 Methods

    5.1.1 Participants.

Eight CWs were chosen to participate in interviews. A brief description of each can be found in Table 5.1. Three participants worked at Saskatoon Correctional Centre, two at Prince Albert Correctional Centre, one at Pine Grove Women's and two at Regina Correctional Centre. I assigned each a pseudonym to allow for ease of identification in the results. In addition to these eight participants, I contacted six other potential participants who ultimately did not participate in an interview. In some cases they did not respond to the initial contact, while others initially indicated their willingness to participate but later reported that they had changed their mind, usually stating that they did not have the time. Two of these volunteers completely stopped responding to my calls and emails. Thus, some of the participants whose responses made them of particular interest as outlined in the criteria which follows were unavailable for interview.

Table 5.1

Profile of Interview Participants on Variables used for Selection

Pseudonym	Sex	SR score	SP score	CCP score	FP Know score	Why chosen
George	Male	49	37	116	26	Neutral
Christine	Female	39	41	108[a]	24	Most punitive female
Wendy	Female	49	31	114	25	Neutral + facility
Tom	Male	31	42	124	22	Punitive but high CCPs
Doug	Male	56	20	138	30	Pro rehab, long tenure
Craig	Male	32	47	101	15	Punitive, low FP
David	Male	62	20	142	29	Pro-rehab + facility
Dylan	Male	38	49	91	19	Punitive + facility

Note. [a]Participant skipped one item on this scale, so value underestimated.

In addition to these interviews, I received three unsolicited emails from CWs during the survey phase of the research. Two of these CWs expressed concerns about the content of the survey questions, the potential biases against CWs, and the focus of the research being on offender treatment as opposed to CW wellbeing. The third email offered some context for the participant's survey results. All three emails were from male CWs at Regina Correctional Centre, though no other data about them was available. All provided consent for their emails to be

included anonymously. However, the content of their emails was ultimately reflected in the interviews, and therefore only the interviews are quoted.

5.1.2 Measures: Interview Questions.

The general interview protocol can be found in Appendix J. I wrote the interview protocols with the research questions in mind, such that my primary goal was to understand the reasons participants endorsed the survey questions as they did, and therefore to gain insight into the sources of information CWs draw upon to justify their support for rehabilitation, punishment and engagement in CCPs. I began each interview with general questions about the participants' perspective on their role as a CW and the training they received. In the remainder of the interview, I provided the participant feedback about their individual survey responses, the attitudes they reflected, and asked questions to explore and discuss why they endorsed the statements as they did. Most of the questions in the protocol were asked of all participants. However I wrote special questions for some participants, based on their unique survey responses.

5.1.3 Procedure.

5.1.3.1. Recruitment of volunteers for interviews.

At the end of the electronic survey there was a page which described the interview phase of the study. Participants were offered the opportunity to provide their first name and contact details (email or phone number) if they were interested in participating. The initial proposal for the research involved completing the survey phase of the research including the data analysis prior to commencing the interviews, but the problems with the survey slowed this process. Yet, while the survey response rate was slow, a high number of survey participants volunteered to participate in the interviews, such that of the 140 complete responses in late October 2014, 63 survey participants had volunteered for the interview. Likewise, the total statistical analyses were not required for the selection criteria. Thus, in consultation with the research committee it was agreed to proceed with the surveys. Upon closure of the survey, there were 87 volunteers.

5.1.3.2. Selection of interview participants.

In order to strategically select interview participants I amalgamated the survey responses of all of the volunteers into a password protected Excel spreadsheet that contained names and contact details, so they could be examined and compared. I continually updated the spreadsheet as new volunteers emerged, to allow for a fair selection process. The final participants were selected and contacted following closure of the survey.

In order to categorize interviewee's attitudes, I calculated scale scores for each measure by recoding reverse worded scale items so that high raw scores on each measure indicated: high FP knowledge, high support for rehabilitation (SR), high support for punishment (SP) and behaviors consistent with CCPs. A score of 39 on the SR and SP scales was the middle/neutral point; the equivalent of choosing "3, Neither Agree nor Disagree" on all thirteen items. Thus, I deemed participants with a raw score of 52 or higher as SR; the equivalent of having chosen "4, Agree" for all items, and 26 or lower as not-SR (the equivalent of having chosen "2, Disagree" for all items. As there were also thirteen SP items, I used the same numerical cut-offs. The engagement in CCPs scale contained 30 items, making the neutral cut-off score 90. I designated those with a score of 120 and above as having high engagement in CCPs and 60 and below as having low engagement.

I grouped participants' scores into combinations of high or low FP knowledge, behaviours consistent or inconsistent with CCPs, high or low SR and high or low SP so that different attitude profiles could be easily seen and chosen. Ultimately, I tried to choose a male and female participant that represented each of three categories, (1) high SR, low SP, high FP knowledge, (2) neutral attitudes (moderate SR and SP), and (3) high SP, low SR, low FP knowledge, (six participants) plus two interesting or critical cases which are people with attitudes, knowledge and behaviour combinations which contradicted my hypotheses. So, I looked for any volunteers with the combination of: high FP knowledge but low engagement in CCPs, and/or low SR and/or high SP (or close to these criteria), as well as those endorsing high engagement in CCPs but low FP knowledge, low SR, and high SP. Only one case came close to this first critical case combination and he ultimately declined an interview. The second critical combination was represented by Tom.

The vast majority of the volunteers fit in category 1, consistent with the overall attitudinal distribution of the sample. Likewise, it makes sense that CWs who are more supportive of rehabilitation and less punitive would be more willing to participate in research focussed on offender outcomes. Therefore, in order to select participants from this much larger pool of volunteers I looked to other variables of interest. For example, Doug had a long tenure but very high SR, which contradicted some hypotheses about age and tenure. Likewise, David had high SR despite the Regina facility having a reputation for having staff with very high SP. Thus, interviewing these participants allowed for additional questions about how they maintained their

high SR attitudes despite the environment. Finally, I tried to get a sample of participants from each of the four correctional facilities.

Unfortunately, as interviewees declined, and time passed, I had less volunteers representing category three at each of the facilities and I was unable to get an equal sample of male and female participants. Also of the female volunteers, Christine had the second highest SP score (the highest declined citing lack of time) though it was still not very high. Thus, because my research questions focussed on how people with low FP knowledge support their attitudes I chose another male high SP, low FP knowledge interviewee for my last interview. Ultimately, I was limited by the types of people who were willing to follow through with an interview.

5.1.3.3 Participant contact.

Depending on the mode of contact provided, I contacted volunteers either by phone or email. The script for contact can be found in Appendix K and was approved by the research ethics board. It was either emailed to the participant or read to them over the phone. In the case of out of town participants, I sometimes made multiple contacts in order to finalize a time and location that allowed me to meet multiple participants on the same day.

5.1.3.4 Interview procedure.

Interviews in Saskatoon (n= 3) were held at the University of Saskatchewan campus in the Psychology Services Centre, a space used for research and training purposes. Interviews in Prince Albert (n=3) were held in a classroom at the Saskatchewan Polytechnic and interviews in Regina (n=2) were held at the Saskatchewan Polytechnic Wascana campus.

I welcomed participants and provided them with the informed consent document to read and sign (see Appendix L), and an additional copy for their own records. I followed this with a verbal review of the limits to confidentiality provided by the Ministry of Justice (see Appendix M). Following these formalities I began the audio recording and conducted the interview. At the beginning of each interview I provided the participants with a brief description of my correctional experience so that they would know that I understood some of the language and norms of correctional work generally and in the province, as well as the motivation for my interest in the topic.

With regards to the interview, part of my goal was to explore the participants' reactions to the FP knowledge scale. This was particularly so for participants who had obtained a low SP knowledge score. In each case, I provided the participants with their FP knowledge measure with

their answers and the correct answers marked. I asked participants to reflect on their reactions to the items that they got correct and incorrect in order to explore their reaction to information that contradicted their answers. When interviewees expressed surprise or skepticism about the correct answer to specific scale items, I provided them with some additional information and context about the research methods or findings to further their understanding. However, I did not challenge their attitude and I made no further efforts to convince them of the veracity of the information, or inaccuracy of their responses to the information.

Following the interviews I provide participants with a transcript release form (see Appendix N) where they could decide whether to immediately release the transcript or if they wished to review the transcript before release. They were also given a debriefing form (see Appendix O) and finally a form to indicate the receipt of their reimbursement in the form of $25 cash and the opportunity to receive a copy of the research summary (see Appendix P).

5.1.3.5 Transcription.

Transcription services were provided by the Social Sciences Research Laboratory (SSRL), Qualitative Research Lab at the University of Saskatchewan. A specially trained senior undergraduate student was paid to transcribe all the interview data and was supervised by another senior undergraduate student who was the current Qualitative Research Coordinator and who formerly conducted transcription services. The transcription was paid for via a research grant from the Centre for Forensic Behavioural Sciences and Justice Studies. As the mode of analysis was thematic, I requested a "clean" version of the transcription, where utterances such as "um", "mhmm", and "yeah" are removed from the transcripts unless they are deemed meaningful to the data.

5.1.4 Method of analysis.

I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) framework for conducting thematic analysis in psychology as a guide to the analysis of the interviews. Thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). As I was attempting to answer specific research questions, I chose a theoretical thematic analysis. Likewise, in line with the realist/post-positivist epistemology, I analysed the interviews for semantic (content) versus latent themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This meant that participant's responses were assumed to reflect their experiences, attitudes and beliefs without need for

additional interpretation. Finally, I used the computer program called NVivo 10 to assist in the analysis of qualitative data.

As I conducted the interviews, I immediately noticed some answers which I had anticipated and which were consistent with my hypotheses. When this occurred, I tried to ask questions to clarify the meaning of the participant to assure that I was not making assumptions. Likewise, some statements were voiced by multiple participants, which likely influenced some of my initial coding. While I made a few initial notes, I refrained from engaging in any coding until I began reviewing the transcripts.

First I read each of the transcripts while listening to the audio-recordings and any inaccuracies in the transcripts were corrected. During this initial reading, I produced a first round of codes. Codes are "the most basic segment or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). In NVivo 10 these are referred to as "nodes". This first round of nodes primarily included content or topics that were referred to by multiple participants and related to the research questions and hypotheses and thus initially stood out. "Parent nodes" or overarching themes were created to group the data with "child nodes" which related in multiple ways to the parent node, grouped underneath. The initial parent nodes were kept simple and relevant to the interview and research questions and included the themes of: rehabilitation, punishment, interactions with inmates, interactions between staff, training, and being a CW, but also included general topics that came up across interviews such as gangs, safety and "management" (supervisory staff and decision makers).

The transcripts were then read and re-read; each time coding more of the interview content and expanding the number of nodes in order to thoroughly describe each of the interviews. Additionally, NVivo allows for word queries or searches which identify all uses of specified terms in the document. In order to assure the documents were thoroughly coded across interviews, I carried out searches for keywords so that all instances of the reference were accounted for. My searches therefore included the terms: ERT (emergency response team), training, casework and case management, psychologist, hiring, and safety. These first few rounds of reading and coding produced 87 nodes.

Braun and Clarke (2006) noted the importance of continually moving "back and forward between the entire data set, the coded extracts of data that you are analysing and the analysis of

the data that you are producing" (p. 86) which I carried out throughout the analytic process. For example in order to create discrete nodes I went through a weaning process. I began by simultaneously examining multiple nodes which seemed conceptually similar; for example "punishment fits the crime" and "justice". Starting with one node, I read each coded reference for that node and wrote a sentence with the gist of the content in my own words. I then reviewed these sentences to determine if all examples fit within the node. In some cases references were moved to a different or new node, some nodes were renamed, some references were all merged into another node, and other nodes were placed in a hierarchy. I also made notes to myself explaining my coding, describing the node, suggesting other possible sub-nodes, and reminding myself to explore the interviews further or look for other examples of the node in specific interviews.

Following this comprehensive coding process, I re-examined the nodes to determine which directly addressed the research questions, which focussed on the reasons CWs provided for their support for rehabilitation, support for punishment, engagement or non-engagement in CCPs and their beliefs about forensic practice research. In order to maintain the focus of the analysis, I made a table with the hypothesized themes based on the literature in one column, and the existing nodes which corresponded with the hypothesized themes in the second column. Using this table as a guide, I again re-examined the nodes to begin the organization process and determine which content answered which research question.

Consistent with the hypotheses, a number of themes reflected existing criminal justice concepts and terminology. Where this was the case, themes were renamed to be consistent with these existing terms in order to assist with later integration of findings with research. For example, the *(Not a) deterrent* theme was originally coded as *"punishment doesn't teach them anything".* However, I decided that in the results section I would focus as much as possible on describing the content of the interviews and limiting my analysis and interpretation. Instead I decided to engage more deeply in this process in the discussion section where the qualitative themes were integrated with the quantitative findings and additional research which was only explored as a consequence of the findings.

In order to further facilitate analysis I created a number of visual models in NVivo; the models allowed for the visual examination and reworking of possible relationships between each of nodes, with a focus on answering the research questions. The creation, examination and

reconfiguration of the visual models ultimately determined the final structuring of the themes. As the research questions focussed on the reasons that CWs provided for their attitudes and behaviours, ultimately I decided that the nodes grouped most cohesively under the following overarching models: 1) Reasons CWs may support rehabilitation, not support punishment and engage in CCPs, 2) Reasons CWs may support punishment and not support rehabilitation, 3) Reasons CWs may not engage in CCPs, 4) Support for both sides, 5) Responses to FP research questions, 6) Limitations, and 7) Additional themes of interest which do not directly relate to the research questions.

5.1.5 Reflexivity.

In accordance with the qualitative tradition of reflexivity, it is appropriate to comment on my interpretive role. Mathner and Doucet (2003) described the simultaneous importance of reflexivity in qualitative data analysis and the complexity of actually being reflexive. Particularly they noted that self-awareness is perhaps among the most important goals for reflexivity, though they question whether such a level of self-awareness in actually achievable. Thus, biases in the data may be best perceived by the readers (Mathner & Doucet, 2003). In order to allow the readers of this document to determine how my assumptions may have biased my findings, I offer a summary of my overall position on this research.

In particular, I have come to see the CO role as I do any other professional role, where the failure to act in accordance with established knowledge has the potential to cause harm to offenders, COs themselves, and ultimately the community. I generally draw on comparisons to the medical profession, where a nurse must follow medical procedures despite his or her potential non-belief in their efficacy. Yet, my close relationships with a number of CWs has meant that on one hand I empathize with and respect how the job requirements may facilitate strong negative feelings towards offenders, and thus how one interacts with them. I therefore did my best to represent these experiences in my analysis. On the other hand, I still believe that regardless of the reasonableness of these attitudes, COs have an ethical obligation to operate within certain boundaries. Thus, all interpretive decisions I made were attempts to understand participants' attitudes and behaviours such that my findings might be used in the development of interventions to assure COs meet these job requirements.

5.2 Results

   Three main models were created to thoroughly describe the qualitative data and address the research questions. The first model (Figure 5.1) shows the reasons CWs may support rehabilitation, not support punishment and engage in CCPs. In other words, this model focussed on the underlying motivations for positive or job-consistent attitudes and behaviours of CWs. The second model (Figure 5.2) shows the reasons CWs may support punishment and not support rehabilitation. In this case, attitudes are separated from behaviours for simplification purposes, due to the large number of themes in both. Therefore, the final model (Figure 5.3) shows the reasons CWs may not engage in CCPs.

   The models should not be considered discrete entities as some themes overlap and reoccur from one model to the next as a function of the continuous nature of the concepts of interest and the correlations between them. They could therefore theoretically be combined to form one large model. They are made distinct only for the purpose of maintaining some simplicity as they pertain to a unified research question.

   During the interviews, participants were asked why they endorsed the level of SR and SP that they did, how they had come to hold this perspective on SR or SP, and how these attitudes changed over time. They were also asked why they interacted with offenders as they did. As participants differed in their individual SR, SP and engagement in CCPs, so did their reasons. As such, some themes (reasons) are included even if only one of the interviewees cited them. This is because there were only two or three participants for each attitudinal configuration, and the purpose of this study was to gain insight into the many different ways CWs supported their attitudes and behaviours. Ultimately, the goal was for breadth of reasons as opposed to an estimate of how prevalent each is among the CW population.

   In the section that follows, each model is presented first, with a brief explanation. In all models, the outcomes of interest are represented as rectangles. Each circle/oval in the figure is a discrete reason, some connecting to only one outcome and others connecting to all three. Octagons are used in some cases to indicate overarching or broad themes with multiple sub-themes. In some cases the reasons/themes are connected with a line to other reasons, as they are either conceptually similar, or causally related to another reason/theme. Some connections are consequently labelled and can be considered an additional theme that explains the relationships between the reasons.

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The narratives that follow describe the overall models and the themes that compose them. In order to facilitate later reference to the themes in the discussion, the name (or approximate name) of each is italicized. The name of each of the themes/reasons was chosen by me, based on the content. In some cases the name reflects the exact words of a participant, in which case the name is in quotation marks.

5.2.1 Model 1: Reasons corrections workers may support rehabilitation, not support punishment and engage in core correctional practices (Figure 5.1).

This first model outlines the reasons interviewees provided for why they and other CWs may support offender rehabilitation or not support offender punishment. Additionally, because of the interconnections between them, the reasons why CWs may choose to engage in CCPs are also included in this model. The broad themes include: Intrinsic reasons (including an *interest in working with people, religious beliefs and perspective taking*); Beliefs about offender change (including *rehabilitation works* and punishment *not a deterrent*); Pragmatic or practical reasons (including *effective use of prison time, dynamic security, better for me, and purpose of jail*) and finally, features of the individual *inmate*, particularly their *institutional behaviour*.

Figure 5.1. Model 1: Reasons Corrections Workers may Support Rehabilitation, not Support Punishment and Engage in Core Correctional Practices
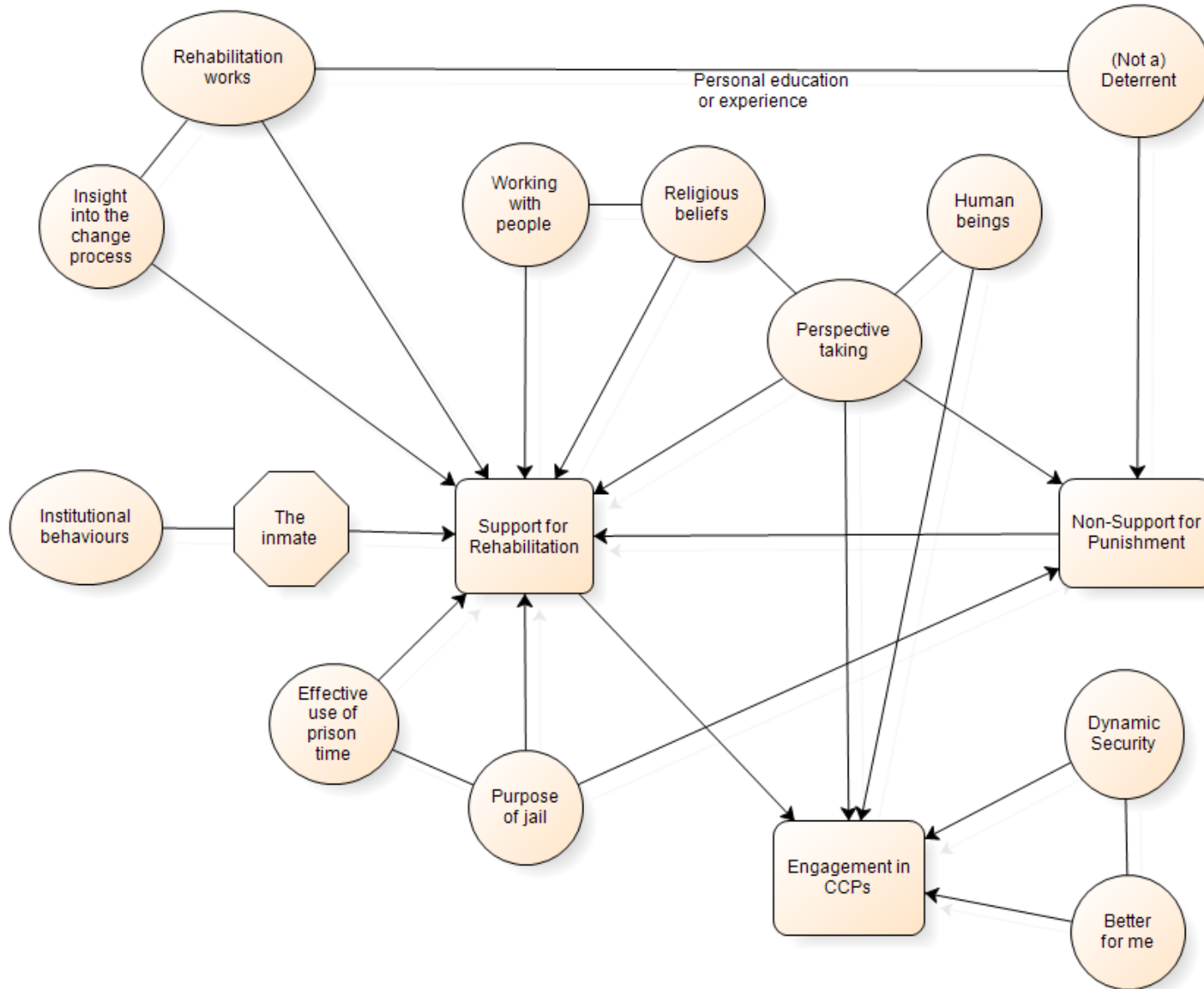
The first type of reasons participants provided for their SR could be conceptualized as intrinsic reasons, and they were given primarily by participants with high SR with a few exceptions. These reasons included a general interest in *working with and helping people*, their *religious beliefs* and *perspective taking* or empathy for offenders. Doug, David and George, who all had high SR, all cited their interest in working with people or 'service work' as aspects of their SR. They described valuing and enjoying the facets of their employment that allowed them to support, guide and care for people. George also said that part of his interest in working with people stemmed from his religious beliefs. Further, the values of his religion taught him that all people are capable of change, which also guided his behaviour towards inmates such that he treated them with respect and endorsed engaging in CCPs. George was the only participant who directly cited his religion as the source of his SR.

For some interviewees, their interest in working with people also related to their ability to engage in *perspective taking*. In many different ways most interviewees made statements where they put themselves in the shoes of the inmates. They described the difficult lives that some offenders have had and how they could understand how they came to commit their crimes. In some cases, interviewees stated that, had a few things been different for them, they could have also ended up in jail. Wendy stated,

> Like there's a lot of staff who maybe- especially because we have a lot of young ones-
> that haven't been through some life experiences and cannot identify with anything that
> some of the women who are incarcerated have. I have had some experiences in my life
> where I can. I know where they've been.

This perspective taking also prompted some interviewees to consider why inmates act how they do in prison, as well as what it must be like to be incarcerated. This led them to engage in CCPs at a higher rate by being more patient, friendly, helpful and compassionate. For example, George said,

> I took this one guy on a funeral escort. His mom died. He came back. He was bawling
> and suicidal and they wanted to throw him back in the dorm and I said, 'I don't think
> that's a good idea. I think this guy needs a night alone. If you could find a little cell for
> him just to deal with it and talk to somebody tomorrow.' And somebody made a
> comment, 'He's just a fucking inmate.' Something like that. And I said, 'Really? This

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guy's mom just died. How would you feel?' I said, 'This guy needs a break.' And then there was sort of a switch and pull back when I did that. They're like "Oh I guess so," and then they shut up. And then the boss was sitting there and he's like, "Well what should we do?" I said, "Well put him in a cell in the main unit and just have somebody watch him so he's not slashing up." You don't want to lose your humanity in that whole situation and that's the thing.

Conceptually similar to perspective taking was reminding oneself that offenders are still *human beings*. Five interviewees endorsed this reason for engaging in CCPs, which was succinctly stated by Christine: "They're still human beings so I try to treat them as such." These interviewees emphasized the importance of treating offenders the same as they would any other person, with respect and care. Of particular interest with this theme was that for Tom, who reported low SR and high SP (and advocated for corporal punishment) he still reported engaging in CCPs at a high rate, citing this as his reason:

> Tom: It's kind of a paradox. Like I'm on both sides. They're just people.
> Interviewer: So even though you don't necessarily feel like it'll make a difference in the long-term out of your own sense of respect for humanity-
> Tom: They're people. People need to be treated like people. I fought for their rights at the center. Lots of times they were giving them direction on how to go about getting their rights met appropriately. If I know that there's something wrong because they're entitled to their rights. I'm not there to punish them. I'm not there to make their lives hell. I'm there right now get a paycheck and go home and try not to think about the place.

The second overarching group of reasons participants' provided for their SR, non-SP and engagement in CCPs were their beliefs about the effectiveness of rehabilitation and punishment for changing offender behaviour. David and Doug directly endorsed empirical research as the source of their belief that *rehabilitation works*, thereby referencing their FP knowledge. For example, when speaking of offender treatment David stated concisely, "Is it 100% effective? No, nothing is. But it is effective. It's been proven and punishment doesn't work. Fact." Likewise, Doug, the most pro-rehabilitation of the interviewees indicated that he followed some of the research to stay abreast of what was shown to be effective, and tried to implement this knowledge in his role as a staff supervisor:

I know I read some place that like when you have a lot of staff that think "well I'm going to charge this guy". I've heard they aren't very effective. And they probably aren't so I try to discourage people from doing that. I say, "No let's find out why he's doing what he's doing first and see if we can change that behaviour". Because nine times out of ten if you sit down and talk to them and get the rationale behind it they'll tell you. We're motivated by different things and it's our thinking. At least that's my premise.

George, Wendy and David also indicated they believed that rehabilitation was effective, but they cited their own observations of offender change as evidence for the veracity of their beliefs, as opposed to empirical research. In these examples, participants made statements reflecting *insight into the offender change process.* These examples showed a depth of understanding of why and how rehabilitation programs are effective. George stated, "So I shouldn't be probably too disillusioned by it because it probably is helping at some level. It just takes one thing one day to stick all of a sudden oh and now they have that aha moment." For Wendy who held more neutral views, getting involved in casework and observing offender change, increased her SR:

I was 'lock them up and keep them there for as long as they… But then you get to interact with some of these women and you know sometimes it was just a bad choice. So you know that if you help them then they're not going to be coming back.

Similarly, though Doug was versed in the empirical research on offender rehabilitation, he indicated that his personal experiences with treatment further solidified his beliefs about its efficacy. He stated:

Well part of the experience I was involved in programming there and in some of the rehabilitation programs sometimes it's an education for these guys and they can't see why they keep getting into the same problem. And if you get the right program and they may not click in the first time around but some the second time. As they mature then you'll see, "Oh now that's why I keep getting into trouble!" And eventually they'll see that. We had a feelings program there with [program facilitator] and we had a fairly good success rate with that. I remember we used to get calls from guys on the street that'd been out. They would call back and say that that's the longest they've been out.

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Finally, this personal insight also included accurate and realistic expectations of the slow desistance process as evidenced by Christine's statement, "I've been told C2C is getting some positive results. They're still coming back but at least they're staying out longer."

Not only did participants refer to their belief in the efficacy of offender treatment as a reason for their SR and engagement in CCPs, some also stated their belief that punishment does not change behaviour as a reason for their low SP (which is the premise of the specific deterrence principle; McGuire, 2002) again consistent with the FP research. Essentially these interviewees stated punishment did not teach offenders anything that would stop them from committing a crime and thus was *not a deterrent*. Tom reflected,

> And knowing how much power I do have…lots of people don't realize how much power we have. I don't have to give them toilet paper if I don't want to. I can make them wipe their ass with a sock if I felt like it. But what am I doing there? What am I teaching?

However, Christine indicated that while she believed punishment was ineffective, she still supported punishment for justice reasons (discussed further in Model 2):

> I don't think the harsher thing is going to change their behaviour. I think a lot of people look at when sentences are given, is this the same sentence that so and so will be getting. And that's kind of how I look at it too.

David made this apt distinction, "Punishment doesn't work. That's why they got rid of flogging. They have to be held accountable certainly but punishment is a bad word for it."

When exploring how these interviewees came to believe that rehabilitation was effective or punishment ineffective Doug cited his educational background prior to becoming a CW, including a social work degree and other therapy training. He also described his personal experience with spanking as evidence that punishment did not work and described the conditions required to make punishment effective from the behavioural psychology literature. David similarly cited his experience with punishment stating,

> I'll go back to the army. Punishing people didn't work. You can make them do a thousand push-ups but unless you explain why they're being corrected or retrained or whatever what's the point? You're not teaching them anything, you're just making them hate you.

In sum, interviewees reported drawing on their *personal educational and experiences* prior to becoming a CW to account for their beliefs about the efficacy of punishment and rehabilitation.

The more punitive participants endorsed quite different reasons for SR than those with high SR. For example, Christine, Craig, Dylan and Tom, all made rather pragmatic arguments for offender treatment, such as treatment as an *effective use of prison time.* Instead of being a firm position, this reason seemed to best be characterized by this response by Craig: "They're going to be there. If we can try to fix it so to speak might as well."

Likewise, the mandate for CWs in the province to engage in *dynamic security* was the primary reason high SP participants provided for their engagement in CCPs. Dynamic security is formally defined on the Correctional Service of Canada website (2013) as "regular and consistent interaction with offenders and timely analysis of information and sharing through observations and communication (e.g. rapport building, training, networking, intelligence gathering and strategic analysis"; Definition section, last paragraph). In this way, dynamic security involves engaging in CCP behaviours such as spending time on the unit with the offenders, and talking with inmates. The goal is to use these more informal means to maintain the security of the institution, including gathering intelligence about possible security breaches via quality relationships with offenders (Government of Saskatchewan, 2015). For participants, this purpose for engaging in CCPs was therefore motivated less by a focus on rehabilitating offenders for their eventual release, and more on protecting the current safety of the facility. For example, Tom reported that engaging in dynamic security was his most important role as a CW, and that utilizing dynamic security measures improved the quality of his interactions with offenders and made his job easier. He described dynamic security as "You're not their friend but you're their role model." For Dylan, who had quite high SP, dynamic security was a good reason for engaging in CCPs:

> But yeah like I think it's good for security, it's good for personal safety, it's good for grabbing intel or information. If you can somehow expose the inmate in thinking that you two are friends or you two have a relationship they'll more than likely give you information of what's happening on the unit.

Conceptually similar to engaging in CCPs for dynamic security was the argument that doing so made the job easier or safer, and thus was *better for me*. This reason was cited in some

form by all but one interviewee. Like the 'rehabilitation works' theme, this reason is also supported by the FP research which indicates that consistent engagement in CCPs improves institutional safety. This reason however was used to justify both engagement and non-engagement in CCPs (discussed in Model 3). In this instance, interviewees recognized that being polite and respectful to inmates generally elicited compliance and made future interactions with offenders go more smoothly. There was a consensus among interviewees that being aggressive towards offenders put the CW at risk of being assaulted, either in the institution or should they see these offenders again in the community (which was quite probable given the small communities in which many lived). As Tom stated, "Because case in point they all get out too so if you're going to be an ass…it's going to come back to haunt you." For Dylan, this was really the only reason to engage in CCPs:

> I'm motivated by myself to have a good day or I'm motivated by myself to have an easy day or a safe day or whatever. So like basically I don't do it for the offenders' sake. I do it for my sake.

Lastly, interviewees' perspectives on the *purpose of jail* also influenced their SR, SP and CCPs profile, though their position was stated in different ways. Tom said it was not his job to punish offenders, while David indicated that the purpose of jail is for rehabilitation and CWs are expected to engage in CCPs, and George that "jail is the punishment" and thus CWs do not need to further punish offenders.

The final theme in this model related to individual differences between *inmates*. When discussing both reasons for and against rehabilitation, punishment and engagement in CCPs, participants indicated that their level of support differed from one inmate to another based on a number of factors. When it came to determining one's support for rehabilitation of a particular offender, and engaging in CCPs, the individual inmate's *institutional behaviour* was the primary influencing factor. For example, Christine stated. "But usually ones that are good, quiet, don't try to hurt anybody, just try to do their own time if they ask me for something like an extra pen or can you help me find the address of whatever 'm perfectly happy to do that." While no other interviewees stated this in the same form, others stated it in the reverse (less likely to help those with poor behaviour). This leads to the next model, on the reasons CWs may support punishment and not support rehabilitation.

5.2.2 Model 2: Reasons corrections workers may support punishment and not support rehabilitation (Figure 5.2).

Model 2 presents the reasons interviewees provided for their and other CWs support for punishment and non-support for rehabilitation. The reasons for not engaging in CCPs were left out of the model due to the number of themes, and are instead in their own model which follows (Model 3). As will be seen the square in the model (*The Missing CW*) is not a reason but serves as a link to other hypothesized reasons. As a continuation of the previous model, the first broad group of themes relate to the features of the inmate, which were used to justify the conclusion that *treatment won't work for some offenders*. The second broad theme involved judgements about the efficacy of the treatment programs. The third group involved traditional arguments for punishment (including just desserts and deterrence). The *purpose of jail* theme reoccurred in this model but is also expanded to include judgements about the job requirements. Finally, this model includes some speculating by participants about the reasons why their CW colleagues may support punishment.

Figure 5.2. Model 2: Reasons Corrections Workers may Support Punishment and not Support Rehabilitation
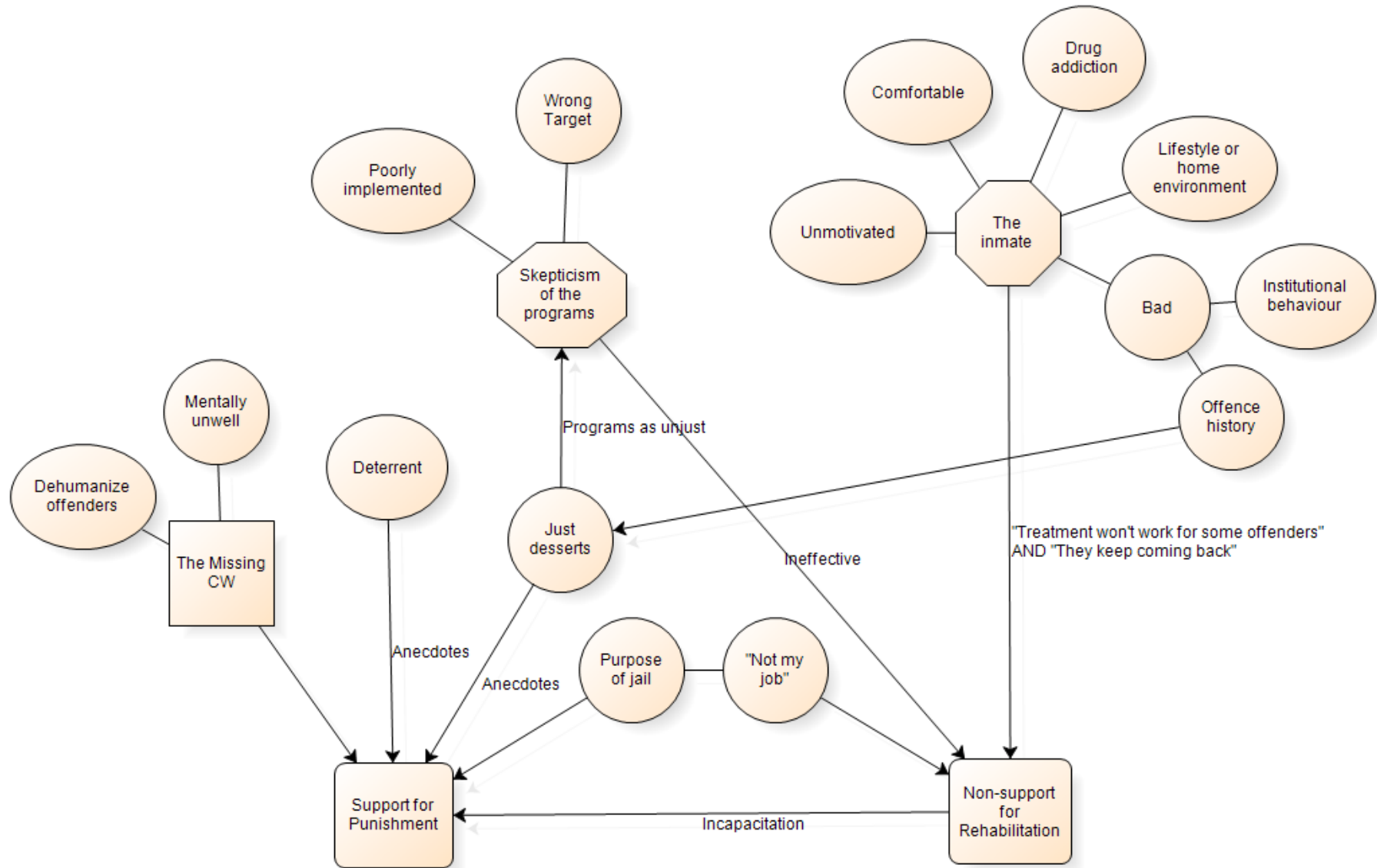
As with the previous model, where Christine indicated that she engaged in CCPs at a higher rate depending upon the inmate's behaviour, one of the primary reasons participants provided for their non-support for rehabilitation was their belief that *treatment won't work for some offenders*. This theme and its subthemes were cited in some form by all of the interviewees and in the emails, and contained the most references of all of the themes in this model. It was stated most succinctly as follows: "Some offenders will not change and others will." A number of inmate characteristics were used to explain why the participant had formed the conclusion that some inmates were un-helpable or unfixable, and that even the very best quality interventions would not be effective. The characteristics they described could be considered interconnected in that an individual inmate could be deemed to hold any and all of them at one time.

Specifically, some offenders were concluded simply to be *bad* and like being that way. As Tom stated, "Some people are just dicks." (laughs) The conclusion that some offenders are just bad was generally made based on an inmate's *institutional behaviour* and/or their *offending history*. George stated,

> It's the guys in Charlie and Remand and Secure [specific units] who are just angry and they would take any opportunity to steal everything you had, stick a knife in your back, whatever- throw food on you, throw urine in your face. So for those kind of guys they're just not in a place where they even would be open to it [treatment]. So how do you make them? You can't.

Similarly, Christine described her punitive feelings towards a particular offender based on his crime:

> Probably the one inmate that I had to deal with. Quite entitled guy. Really annoying actually. [Describes offence]. He got only 5 years. At that point I was like, "Hmm no. You probably should be away for longer."

In other cases interviewees concluded that some offenders came from a toxic *home environment* and any progress they might make in treatment would be undone when they returned to their previous *lifestyle*. Doug stated, "As far as the recidivism in there a lot of that has to do with lifestyle and that's the lifestyle of the inmates on the street. And that's a bigger issue." Tom noted, "As far as outside they still got to go back to the cesspool that they came out of."

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Motivation to change was also seen as a necessary trait for treatment efficacy. Interviewees believed that only people with a genuine, intrinsic desire to be helped would be affected by rehabilitation programs. George stated, "These are not good people a lot of them. You can only rehabilitate the ones who want to be and a lot of them don't want to be." Wendy cited the old adage:

> Wendy: The problem is like they always say. You can bring a horse to the thing but you can't…
> Interviewer: Make it drink.
> Wendy: Yeah.

Similarly, jail was concluded to be a *comfortable* place for some offenders; it is better than being homeless in the cold. They do not have to work. They can watch TV all day. Their friends are there. They therefore do not want to stop offending: "But some of these guys get probably better fed than they would when they're out. You know, TV. A lot of them get to hang out with their buddies" (Craig). Wendy stated,

> This is how they've chosen their lives and whatnot. Just like some of the gang members. This is how they've chosen. Nothing you're going to do is going to change them. We have some [offenders] coming in who are very much like that. This is their life. They like their life because they're getting this and this and this. They're getting payoffs… That's why they keep doing what they're doing.

Lastly, for other offenders, some interviewees thought motivation would not matter because their *drug addiction* was more powerful than treatment. George said,

> So as far as the reoffending these guys are going to keep doing it because mostly drug addictions for a lot of them. They got to continue. They can't hold jobs so what are they going to do? They're going to break in and steal stuff.

Finally, according to interviewees, as these chronic reoffenders were not interested in changing, *incapacitation* via lengthier sentences was the only option that would prevent them from returning to the community and victimizing others: "Because everybody's individual. In

some instances some of the women we have- I'm sorry. Turn the key, lock them because they're no benefit to society and they're causing more harm." Similarly, Tom stated:

> So it's like if we're not doing anything for you. If you got no motivation to better yourself then maybe you should stick here for a little while because why should somebody else be victimized because you want to be an asshole?

The evidence interviewees cited for their conclusion that *treatment won't work for some offenders* was that the offenders "*keep coming back*" to jail. There was therefore an intimate relationship between these two reasons. CWs in the provincial system repeatedly witness the same offenders get released from and return to prison, sometimes on increasingly serious charges. Wendy stated, "But from past experiences they keep coming back, coming back, coming back. And it's for the same thing." In fact, Christine also said, "And he was actually put through a lot of rehabilitation programs and they just keep coming back, keep coming back, keep coming back." In these statements interviewees expressed a sense of frustration, hopelessness, and resentment of the system and the offender. Notable also was that instead of concluding that the system may be broken, they concluded that the problem lied within the characteristics of the offender.

While participants described the features of inmates which would render interventions ineffective, interviewees who endorsed low SR on their surveys tended to clarify that they supported the rehabilitation of offenders in general, and thought that efforts should be made to rehabilitate willing offenders, however they clarified that they were s*keptical of the efficacy of the rehabilitation programs* offered in their facilities. Craig, a more punitive interviewee quite succinctly stated, "Well looking from more of that angle I'd say we definitely need better programming. I think our programs are junk." This theme had quite a number of references and therefore reflected rather widespread cynicism of the province's efforts at offender treatment.

The two primary criticisms of the programs were that they had the *wrong target* and that they were *poorly implemented*. Interviewees differed on what they thought programs should instead focus on. For example, George felt interventions needed to focus on the offender's deeper issues, or the sources of their problems:

> Because I don't necessarily think that programs are going to change things. I don't think that. What I think is there needs to be healing. Most of these guys have had such severe

sexual abuse, physical abuse, neglect, lack of fathers, all that kind of stuff. What would be best is some kind of mentoring or counselling- intense counselling.

Others thought work and educational programming would be a more worthy pursuit. For example Tom stated,

I think if they focused more on basic education and vocational education. Construction - we used to have an auto shop. We used to have a metal work shop. But those have shut down. So instead we're going to give them the same three programs or four programs that we've had: Addictions, anger management, spousal abuse…

Interviewees also identified problems with inmates being unable to understand the materials or complete them properly because they could not read or write, or that the programs were of insufficient depth. Further, they felt that CWs were the wrong people to facilitate these programs, as many did not have the requisite skills or motivation:

They want a lot for what they give us. I'm not a psychologist. I'm not a doctor. I'm not a social worker. And then they want us to be all those things. We're going to work through your troubled childhood and if I can't fix it I'll send you to the nurses. They're in the same boat we are (Tom).

Upon discussion of one of the items on the FP knowledge measure which addressed the responsivity principle, Craig, a punitive interviewee noted his observation that the programs lacked adherence to the responsivity principle:

Well 26 I think is one "Failure to modify treatment programs…" That's a big one for us I think….Like I said I'm pretty sure most of these classes haven't changed in years. I have done casework in the past. They come and you look at their criminogenic needs. Substance abuse is a high one. You got to go into addictions education. Well every time they've come in they've needed to go through addictions education. They've done this all before. They know the class.

In this way, Craig described the rote assignment of offenders to programs which change little to accommodate the individual needs of the offender, thus rendering the program less effective.

Ultimately, these participants had concluded that the programs on offer were ineffective and were consequently unsupportive of them: "Some of the rehabilitation I don't really think actually do much. But the ones that actually have shown to help I'm usually all for." (Christine). This quote therefore illustrates that one key reason CWs may support rehabilitation is their belief in the efficacy of the interventions.

As hypothesized, participants also cited some of the traditional, justice related reasons for their SP. Notably, only Tom firmly advocated for the *deterrence* principle as a reason for supporting punishment, thought it was mentioned in some form by four others, all of whom indicated that punishments needed to take a more severe form to be effective. For example, Doug stated, "It doesn't matter what kind of deterrent unless it's really bad. And punishment, yeah it might work for some people." While Dylan stated more subtly, "Some of the things - like I said - trying to put the inmate on the pedestal and use a client-based relationship or a customer-based relationship, it's no! They're not my customers. I do not want them to come back."

As the most firm advocate for the deterrence principle, Tom endorsed the use of corporal punishments which he thought would serve as a more effective deterrent than incarceration, which he deemed not severe enough to be effective. In order to justify his belief that corporal punishments were an effective deterrent Tom employed *anecdotes* from his military experiences, and similar stories he had heard from respected others.

All but the high SR interviewees invoked the principle of *just deserts* (Andrews & Bonta, 2010a) to explain their SP. These examples focused on a sense of unfairness or lack of justice. Generally, interviewees described particularly upsetting or offensive crimes of inmates and their accompanying sentences which were perceived as too short considering the nature of the offence and the harm done to the victims. Further, jail was perceived as a place that was comfortable and undemanding, which contributed to the perception of unfairness. Tom stated,

> Jail shouldn't be a pleasant place. We get some pretty vile people in there. And for me it's tough to see them just kind of walk in fancy free. I don't know how much consequence there really is for them coming sometimes when they get out. They get food and I'm not saying starve them. But some of these guys get probably better fed than they would when they're out. You know, TV. A lot of them get to hang out with their buddies.

Like the 'deterrence' theme, the 'just deserts' theme was also characterized by a number of salient emotional *anecdotes*. Throughout the interviews, some participants recanted descriptions of particularly horrific or offensive crimes or institutional behaviours. While these anecdotes were used to amplify a number of different points, one such point seemed to be that some offenders do awful things that elicit a sense of disgust and a strong punitive reaction to the loathsomeness of the behaviour.

Not only did the comfort of jail appear to invoke a sense of injustice by some participants, but the way in which treatment programs were offered also appeared to elicit this feeling. The attitude that the *programs were unjust* was also widely cited and involved the belief that many inmates had disingenuous intentions towards their rehabilitative programming and engaged in it to get privileges such as time in a more comfortable unit, better treatment from staff, or to get the $20 incentive for completing the workbooks. Based on their descriptions it seemed interviewees felt it was unfair or unjust to provide a reward or incentive to people who remained antisocial and were taking advantage of the system:

> I just found the people that wanted to do it and stuff like that they were doing it either for the money and they were more concerned about the money, less concerned about the books. Or they were more concerned about getting into a safe haven or an easygoing unit with a couple more privileges (Dylan).

The next group of themes reflected differences in opinion between participants regarding what they believed was the primary purpose of jail, as well as their role as a CW. While in the previous model some participants indicated that the *purpose of jail* was for rehabilitation, Christine concluded the opposite. When asked if her SP score was reflective of her attitude, she responded, "Jail is supposed to be about punishment so that sounds about right." Likewise, while some interviewees said it was not their job to punish offenders, George, Christine, Craig and Dylan made statements indicating that they believed it was also *not their job* to rehabilitate offenders. Again, while these interviewees indicated general support for rehabilitation, they clarified that they did not necessarily believe it should be the role or responsibility of CWs to support rehabilitation:

> Yeah. I don't know how good I am as a rehabilitation guy just because of my lack of training, my lack of Mental Health Act. Just lack of discipline in the area of rehab. I do

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not have degrees in psychology or clinical or forensics work or anything like that. The skillset that I was hired for is turning keys and counting unfortunately. At the end of the day it really doesn't matter what therapy or what kind of rehab a guy gets, the count better be right. That's it. That means more than anything (Dylan).

Finally, while not a reason for supporting punishment, it seemed pertinent to reflect upon the missing information in the model. What I have labelled the *Missing CWs* are interviewees' references to their very punitive CW colleagues, whose behaviours are described further in the 'Non-engagement in CCPs' model, which follows. Their reasons for supporting punishment are largely absent from the analysis because they did not participate in the interviews and they likely also did not participate in the survey. However, their exceedingly punitive behaviours towards offenders and other staff were described throughout the interviews. Nevertheless everything about their attitudes (and therefore the reasons for their attitudes) is left to be inferred from their behaviours and how they spoke about offenders to their co-workers. In particular, based on the description by interviewees, these CWs tended to dehumanize offenders. Four of the interviewees made reference to inmates being referred to in dehumanizing terms such as "fucking criminals" or "scum" or "dirtbags". George, who worked on the Emergency Response team observed,

> …there's definitely people who don't treat inmates as human beings and it kind of becomes the Nazi-Jew thing where they dehumanize them. It's the only way they can kind of cope with it. But as well some of them don't get along with other staff. They're very confrontational.

Two interviewees also speculated that these CWs may be *mentally unwell* or had personal issues with "anger" which they were taking out at work on offenders. One participant did not put his thoughts very kindly: "Yeah and I think some are just mental. Got a few like that."

5.2.3 Model 3: Reasons why corrections workers may not engage in core correctional practices (Figure 5.3).

The last model describes the many reasons interviewees provided to explain why they and other CWs may not engage in CCPs. Unlike the previous models where the reasons provided for their SR and SP were sometimes discrete, this model contained overarching reasons with

many interconnections and subthemes. The three overarching themes are: (1) features of the *institutional setting*, (2) features of the *inmate* population and (3) features of *staff*, each containing multiple subthemes and connections between them. In summary, interviewees described how particular characteristics of the institutional setting and inmate population negatively impact on staff and their ultimate ability to engage in CCPs. These overarching themes ultimately converge onto the fourth main theme, *focus on safety and security*, followed by the final foci, *Non-engagement in CCPs,* with the addition of *Active engagement in behaviours inconsistent with CCPs* (explained further below).

Figure 5.3. Model 3: Reasons why Corrections Workers may not engage in Core Correctional Practices
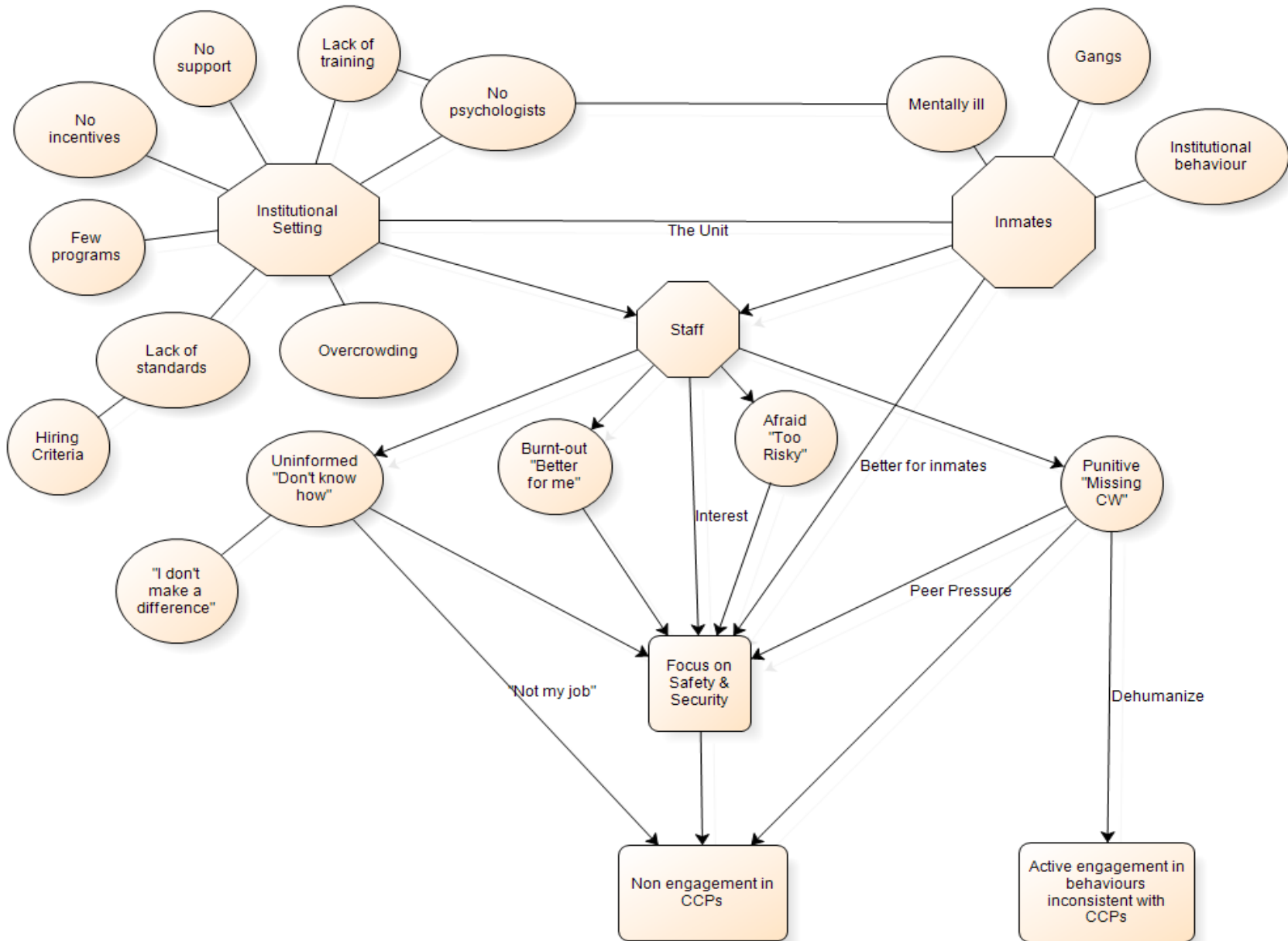
Interviewees described a myriad of factors related to the current physical, financial and bureaucratic environment in the provincial correctional system, which they believed accounted for why they and other CWs endorsed the attitudes towards rehabilitation they did, and influenced how they did their job. The *institutional setting* theme and its subthemes (*few programs, overcrowding, lack of training, no psychologists, no support, no incentives, lack of standards and hiring criteria*) contained the most references of the three overarching themes, and was cited by all eight participants, as well as being the primary focus of one of the unsolicited CW emails, suggesting that CWs feel these matters weight heavily on their ability to do their jobs.

Firstly, according to interviewees there used to be a number of work and education programs in the institutions which occupied the offenders and reduced reoffending but many have been cut:

> Well they're cutting back on programs all the time. We used to have a machine shop, a welding shop, woodwork, upholstery shop. They had a car shop where they did all the maintenance on government vehicles. All gone now. They've just pulled back on a lot of stuff. Our treatment unit only takes 20 guys at a time. They could easily double that. Easily (David).

In addition to budget cutbacks, another reason participants thought these programs had been cut was due to *overcrowding,* which resulted in inadequate space for programs as classrooms were converted to dormitories. Likewise, having a large number of inmates to supervise resulted in the prioritization of security and efficiency:

> Currently we're warehousing and when you're warehousing it's all crowd control now. There is no rehabilitation, reintegration, whatever. And you got to fall under that frame of mind or you're going to get eaten up by the whole thing (Tom).

Participants also indicated that (depending on the facility) there were either no or inadequate psychological staff offering individual treatment services to mentally ill offenders and therefore to assist CW staff:

We had a psychologist there but not anymore. It was great when he was there. We could say, "Hey I'm this far with this and can you talk to him?" And they say yeah they would but now we don't have that (Doug).

Interviewees also reported a number of ways that budget restraints had impacted CWs directly. Firstly, they endorsed a general *lack of training*. More specifically, they felt their training (including restraint training and first aid) was not refreshed often enough, and that the overall training regime lacked some of the more specific skills they might need, such as managing mentally ill offenders. David also noted that the training for C2C focussed too much on the research supporting the content of the program, and very little on how to actually facilitate the workbooks and teach offenders.

Secondly, interviewees described a *lack of support* from managerial staff, including not having adequate resources available to help them manage the stress and responsibilities of being a CW. Some mentioned the Employee Assistance Program but generally indicated that the resources provided were inadequate: "Once you've done your basic training there is not support other than what you get from your partner and your team leader" (David). In fact, this concern was the one of the primary complaints of one of the unsolicited CW emails. Thirdly, interviewees reported little to *no incentive or appreciation* (such as a move up in position or pay) for the work they do, whether it be engaging in CCPs or doing a generally good job. Tom stated, "Yeah like we can't do anything right. We don't get recognized for anything we do right. And if we do it's minimalist." Not only did interviewees feel that they were not recognized for doing good work, but they also noted that there was little consequence for doing bad work. They reported a *lack of standards* for CW behaviour, and indicated that those that existed were unclear and confusing. Some further described poor role modelling by management staff, non-enforcement of policy, and not holding staff accountable for poor behaviour unless it crossed an extreme line:

And I just think one of the tough pills to swallow is that you really can get away with being a substandard person or a substandard guard or a substandard caseworker. You can totally get away with it. You can get away with like copy and paste casework. You can get away with getting your details wrong. You're not really held or obligated to a higher standard (Dylan).

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Consequently, five of the eight interviewees noted that they did not think there were rigorous enough *hiring criteria*; be it screening out potentially problematic applicants, or screening in certain qualities. One concern was the hiring of people with mental health problems, or those who too easily follow the crowd, while it was also suggested that hiring should prioritize people with an interest in human behaviour and a relevant educational background. Doug, who had experience in hiring commented,

> My premise a long time ago was that the staff are one of the biggest assets there. So people are your assets especially for government. So if you pick good people, screen them properly, and get the right people in there and then you train them then you're going to be much better.

At another point in the interview he added,

> I remember in the training or the hiring they always ask are you a team player? Oh yes I'm a team player. But they didn't stipulate it's not us against them. And that's the attitude we get. Oh yeah we're a team. It's almost like a gang mentality. We always got your back.

The reason interviewees cited for having more rigorous hiring criteria was the belief that some problematic factors were unchangeable by training or intervention; these were aspects of people's personality and therefore stable.

Overall, interviewees described a situation whereby they were set up to fail in their mandate by the system; they felt they were not provided with the skills, training, support, role modelling or resources to succeed, but quickly punished when something went seriously wrong.

The changing features of the inmate population also impacted on participant's willingness to engage in CCPs. Some interviewees described their sense that there is an increasing number of *mentally ill* offenders in the institutions and that they pose a particular security risk, especially because CWs are not adequately trained to work with them. Craig noted,

> We always kind of preach least restrictive measures. So obviously if you can deescalate you try to but at the same time that can take forever and a day and sometimes it's easier to [say] "Talking's over." There's some that you just can't talk to. We've had actually a big influx it seems of people with major mental issues, and we're really not equipped to

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be dealing with that. I don't think with our amount of training - I guess you could say - or type of training – we're not really equipped to be counselling them. With these people sometimes physically handling is the only way we can end situations.

Similarly, interviewees observed an increase in *gang* members and activity which they felt had made the institutions less safe. This also meant that more CW time needed to be spent on security matters, leaving less time for CCPs:

> I noticed with us there's so much gang stuff that inside now where it wasn't a few years ago. I don't know if there's anything that we can really do as Corrections Workers really except through security and everything else (Wendy).

Finally, like the previous models, interviewees reported they were least likely to engage in CCPs with offenders who had poor institutional behaviour towards other inmates and staff, a tit-for-tat type scenario. For example, Craig noted, "Yeah because I think it really depends on the inmate and their behaviour. Again sometimes you got to fight fire with fire." Interviewees did not explicitly state that they actively engaged in behaviours which were inconsistent with CCPs, only that they were less patient or helpful, and focussed their energy on enforcing rules. In discussion with George on his attitudes towards offenders he reflected,

> I never even thought of it that way before but they're right. You're going to feel differently if somebody says, "Hey boss, come here," and then you put your face in the food slot and they throw some urine in your face. I'm probably not going to give you a blanket that day and a book (laughs).

That said, George and Dylan also indicated that some of the distance between CWs and offenders was for the *benefit of the inmates*, as too much staff attention and focus could be problematic. They described how if inmates are seen by other inmates as being too friendly with staff, this could cause problems for them: "I don't mind being friendly or having a couple quick laughs or quick jokes but the inmates are running a code as well and they can't be too friendly with me either. They're playing the same game" (Dylan).

The conceptual link between the institutional setting and the inmates which impacted upon CWs engagement in CCPs was the specific *unit* they were working on. Different physical units in the institutions house different types of offenders and are different security levels.

Remand units and those that segregate inmates (due to their institutional behaviour, the nature of their offences, or because they have mental health issues) are higher security. There is less inmate movement and fewer services are offered to inmates in the form or rehabilitative interventions. Participants reported that the staff culture of these units was more punitive because of the nature of the external expectations and personal feelings towards to inmates housed there. Likewise, they indicated there are few opportunities in these units to engage in CCPs as inmates spend long periods in their cells. One of the other CW emails noted the importance of considering the unit in interpreting the results of the survey.

The combined features of the institutional setting and the inmate population impacted negatively on the attitudes of CW staff, which differed from person to person and day to day, depending on what unit they were working on, who their co-workers were, and their individual interactions with offenders. Specifically, CWs reported feeling *uniformed, burnt-out, afraid, and punitive,* all of which inevitably resulted in an increased focus on safety and security matters and not on engaging in CCPs. Not every CW was left with all or any of each of these characteristics, for example, Dylan and Craig indicated that their focus on security was more out of personal *interest* than anything else:

> For me I tend to lean more towards the security side of it. I know technically we're supposed to be obviously workers and working the rehabilitation side but I'm more interested in the security aspect of it, be it static or dynamic or whatever. That's more the role that I see myself in…. I think it just more suits my personality. I'm with the ERT team so you kind of got a bit more of that mindset I think (Craig).

Firstly, it appeared that a primary consequence of the lack of training for CWs was that they were left feeling *uninformed* about how to best accomplish some of their job requirements. Interviewees described skills they felt they (or other CWs) needed, or were expected to have, but did not have. This included knowledge about mentally ill offenders, how to properly complete casework and even what CCPs were and how to do them: "We have people that spent 20 years working in remand. They wouldn't know what to do with a file, they don't talk to inmates" (David). Further, like the 'poorly implemented' criticism of the treatment programs (Model 2), some interviewees felt that because of the lack of psychological staff, they were also expected to

serve as counsellors, which was another skillset they were not trained for. As a result, interviewees reported that CW staff relied on security based measures to maintain safety:

> Because the amount of times I've gone down to holding cells or med cells and they're staring at the wall, talking to themselves or saying something like the devil's in the toilet is been numerous and all we can do is put them in baby dolls and make sure they don't harm themselves (Christine).

Possibly as a function of feeling as though they were lacking in skills, five of the interviewees (those with neutral attitudes and high SP) expressed the belief that they *don't make a difference to offenders*, especially in the long-term. George stated,

> But I think there's also a frustration of seeing that I'm really not going to have much effect on these guys' lives and that's part of the reason why I want to get out of there because I'm really not having an effect in life.

This feeling left little motivation to make an effort. In this way, these CWs appeared partly uninformed about the importance of CCPs for reducing reoffending and maintaining institutional security.

Further, as an extension of the belief that it was *not the job* of CWs to rehabilitate offenders (Model 2), some participants also indicated they did not believe it was (or should be) part of their job role to engage in some of the behaviours defined within CCPs. For example, they did not necessarily think that mentoring or guiding offenders, facilitating C2C programming, or thinking long term about inmate reoffending outcomes, was their responsibility. This sentiment was additionally linked to the belief that CW behaviour would not make a difference anyway. When reviewing the FP knowledge scale Dylan added:

> Alright. So rehabilitation programs have been found to be less effective when they include working relationships between staff and inmates that are characterized by mutual respect. [False] A lot of these things it's like I get it and I get this. I get how it could in like an awesome utopia world could be considered like a success and stuff like that. But you're spitting in the face of like a hundred years of jail guard tradition of being mean to people. I don't know. I guess the programs could work if they werent done by guards.

Because there's only one purpose of being there if you're a guard and it doesn't involve being nice to people.

While some participants indicated that some CWs were uninformed about what to do, others indicated they knew what to do, they just did not have the motivation to do it. *Burnout* can negatively impact on engagement in CCPs in a few ways. According to Morgan and colleagues (2002) burnout is characterized by a depletion of an individual's physical and mental resources, which leads to general health and family problems and "psychological withdrawal from work" (Cherniss, 1980 as cited by Morgan et al., 2002, p. 145). Interviewees described losing their motivation to deal with the everyday grind of being with offenders. Because of the unit in which they worked or the general focus on security this included feeling like a "babysitter" (George) whose primary role is to supply goods and complete regular offender counts. George and Christine both described a process of beginning their job with high SR. George had experience in a helping profession and Christine had wanted to work in probation. Yet, they both described becoming more punitive and less motivated to engage in CCPs over the course of their correctional career. For Christine, it appeared she was experiencing a lot of burnout:

> Well I never really liked it [being a CW] but I still went in and tried to give my all. And I still find myself going in, giving whatever I can but it seems to be more and more there are the days I'm just like, "I'm done. I'm enough. Just don't bother me for the rest of the shift." It might be only an hour that's left in my shift but just go away.

Tom also described how CWs sometimes take on the gravity of the inmate's offence (connection to justice in Model 2), leaving them feeling unmotivated to assist people who have done such horrible things:

> Tom: That's the biggest part. Because we are burned out very fast. I work with medium remands, re-integrations so they're coming out of secure, working their way back in the units. Higher rated remands that are in for anything from sexual assault to murder. The more heinous. Seven days on, three days on. Seven days off, four days on or off. It's the same stuff every day. "I need this. I want that. Where are my kids?"(whiny voice) "When was the last time you saw your son? Oh four years ago. So you sobered up and now you want to see your family." But then we got to help them out anyways because.

Interviewer: So you're kind of - I get the sense of - being stuck on a wheel with them?

Tom: Yeah. And then when you watch the courts- we've got three individuals that should have been at least second degree murder. But because they went on the clause of which machete chop killed him it was manslaughter so they're out in two years.

While in Model 1 CWs reported engaging in CCPs because it was 'better for me', for burnt-out CWs, this reason was used to explain their focus on safety and security and non-engagement in CCPs. They described being tired and wanting their shift to go easily or smoothly or safely and felt they would do whatever necessary to achieve this. In some cases this meant engaging in CCPs, and in other cases it meant not (e.g. ignoring or avoiding offenders, yelling and locking them up instead of reasoning with them), thus reflecting the apathy and lack of motivation that characterized burnout.

Another factor which interviewees suggested may contribute to lack of engagement in CCPs was that as a consequence of the inmate environment, some CWs are left feeling *afraid*. David commented, "Are you afraid of them? We have staff working there that shouldn't because they're afraid of them." This anxiety included concern for their physical safety in the institution (getting assaulted by inmates), concern over being "compromised", manipulated, conned or taken advantage of by inmates if they get too familiar with them, and afraid they would be perceived negatively by their CW colleagues. What connected this nervousness to an increased focus on safety and security was the belief that there are certain CCP consistent behaviours that some CWs may perceive as being *too risky* for them to engage in. This seemed to vary from person to person, sometimes depending on their own personal experiences with inmates. Some interviewees also seemed to be more concerned than others about the prospect of being manipulated by offenders. Dylan stated, "There's a point of diminishing returns. And then after the point of diminishing returns you're just asking for trouble if you're too nice that way." For Christine, who worked in a male facility, there was nervousness around being suspected of having a sexual relationship with an offender if she spent too much time or was too friendly with them. She emphasized the importance of balancing the quality of her interactions with inmates:

I would hate to be seen as that because as a female in the correctional center it's bad that a few of them before have slept with inmates and you never want that even suspected of

you. So having a professional tone at all times is really key. And for me, neither, I don't want to be seen as a social worker or a punitive (sic).

Finally, as with the 'Missing CWs' mentioned in Model 2, interviewees also described CWs who endorsed *punitive* and dehumanizing attitudes towards offenders. These CWs were portrayed as holding this attitude prior to their employment as a CW and having sought out the work because of their punitive attitudes. Interviewees made a qualitative distinction between themselves and these very punitive CWs. For example, they described scenarios whereby they personally failed to engage in CCPs due to circumstances where they lost their patience or motivation and consequently swore, insulted, avoided, or yelled at offenders. However, according to interviewees, these punitive CWs not only did not engage in CCPs, they *actively engaged in CCP inconsistent behaviours* such as escalating situations by threatening, antagonizing, taunting, and using excessive force with offenders. Interviewees implied that some of these CWs must be unwell or foolish or short-sighted because this behaviour threatened the safety of the institution, put the CWs at risk for being assaulting in the prison or in the community, and made the job more difficult for other staff. One interviewee shared the following anecdote:

> Tom: With every little group that comes in if you got that one bad apple that spoils everything that you're working towards. Because we've got one individual that comes in on our crew. We had one guy who was a schizophrenic. She thought it was fun to whisper into the room mic, "[his name]". And then she'd sit there and giggle. And then there were other guys that she'd spin out but when it came time to dealing with them, "I'm not touching that."
>
> Interviewer: So she'd rack them up and then leave the other staff to-
>
> Tom: Yeah. So I'm sitting there and we're supposed to support other correctional staff so he's calling her the C word and other things and you want to sit there and agree like yes I totally agree with you. So yeah they screw things up a lot. And some people feed off them. Because some people get into the job thinking it's a status when really like I said we're at the low rung of the professional scale. It's like being a tanner back in turn of the century. You know, oh you work with dead animal skins? You're scum. We're scum because we work with dirt bags.

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According to interviewees these punitive colleagues and the institutional culture manifests in a *peer pressure* maintained "us versus them" mentality. When Tom was asked what he thought got in the way of CWs engaging in CCPs, he stated readily, "other correctional workers." Some description of peer pressure to maintain ridged, punitive boundaries between inmates and staff was described by all of the interviewees and covered between four and seven percent of each of their transcripts. Tom stated,

> …Anything extra or above. Like we used to play cards with them. Used to play Ping-Pong. Now anybody who goes out and does anything extra unless you've been there for 25 years because then you're still considered under the old regime and old school it's really frowned upon. We got a bunch of ladder climbers that don't want to admit they're ladder climbers because they continuously write people up without letting anybody know, "[Name] was out playing cards for a whole hour."

Interviewees reported that on certain units when less punitive CWs try to engage in CCPs with offenders (e.g. talk with them), other staff will scold, tease or criticize them. Dylan, a high SP interviewee admitted to some of this behaviour:

> Dylan: When I'm on secure I enforce the no talking rule. I don't talk.
> Interviewer: You don't talk to them?
> Dylan: I don't talk to them. I purposely don't talk to them. It's part of that punishment. If you can keep that up for a while it's like yeah that works. I just don't like talking to people in secure because of some of the things that they did in the institution.
> Interviewer: So you see the kind of withdrawing from them as part of the punishment that comes from being in that environment?
> Dylan: Yeah and its unit enforced by all the staff depending on what shift of course. But typically I'm not there to chum or make friends with somebody who may have done something against the institution or against another guard or against whatever. I'm there to make sure they're breathing and the count's right.

Further, CWs who engage in CCPs or casework (C2C) with offenders may be derided by more punitive staff. They are called "social workers" in an insulting fashion, or "bed wetters" or "inmate lovers". They refer to C2C as "hug a thug". David noted, "# shift is called the bed

wetters because we're too soft on inmates." Likewise, CWs who may want to interact with offenders in a different way may also feel more subtle pressure to conform:

> …and with other staff setting the example because I guess for me when you're working with another person that's about the same as you it works out perfectly. But if you go with someone really punitive then you kind of have to back up your partner and even though you kind of don't agree with it you still have to make sure that they're covered as well. So it does depend which personality you are working with (Christine).

George talked about how the attitudes of others sink in over time:

> Being on the ERT team I think I've been affected by staffs' views as well, because it's very negative. They treat them as inhuman and it's always inmates, inmates, inmates. It's never people. I shouldn't say never, but it's that kind of slant. So it's hard to not be affected by that over time.

Finally, when discussing what might change his attitude towards offender rehabilitation and punishment, Dylan stated frankly: "Unfortunately it's not me, it's the culture I belong to."

On one additional note about peer pressure; although it is not included in the model as it does not directly answer the research question, one last theme is mentioned here as it speaks to the extremity of the peer pressure some CWs experience. Two interviewees who worked at different institutions recounted stories where they were bullied by their colleagues and accused and being "*rats*" (informants to administration), and having toy rats hung in their personal space. One had his tires slashed. They stated they were blamed by other CWs for incidents that happened in the institution. One said he was blamed for a historical offender escape.

All of the above factors converge into a prioritization or *focus on security and safety* concerns and protection of staff interests. This is of course the most basic requirement of the job. Failing to do this puts the CW at risk of being disciplined, while not engaging in CCPs is of no consequence. According to interviewees for some CWs, engaging in CCPs is considered putting offenders' interests and outcomes above staff interests and outcomes, which are prioritized above all else. Showing kindness to offenders can be perceived as breaking ranks with staff. For some of the interviewees maintaining safety and protecting their colleagues was their primary role

above all others. Dylan stated: "Protecting my coworkers. That's it. That's my job. That's my only allegiance right now".

5.2.4 Additional relevant themes independent of models.

5.2.4.1 Responding to forensic practice research questions.

As indicated in the method section, each interviewee was asked to reflect on the FP knowledge items that they answered incorrectly. The purpose of this portion of the interviews was to gain insight into interviewees' responses to research based sources of information. I created five themes to represent the differences in reactions: *Believe it, thinking it through, I'm not quite convinced, misinformation/misunderstanding,* and *difficulty articulating self*.

Two interviewees made statements which were coded into the '*believe it*' theme. Christine stated, "Well really can't argue with scientific studies." Doug who was in in 60s and scored very high on the FP measure, relied on his "gut" to validate the information that he had learned during this University education:

> I think most of that it's a belief. It's my gut feeling. As you get older you think your memory goes but I go by just my long term. I think it was my gut feeling for most of that. [completing the scale]

George, who had relatively neutral attitudes towards rehabilitation and punishment, but who also had a background in the helping professions, appeared to thoughtfully reflect on new information to establish how it fit with his experience:

> I think I'm fairly confident that they're accurate. I just wasn't sure whether some of them would be or not as far as the reoffending and harsh pun- that kind of thing. You talk with the guys and it's like, 'I'm so sick of being in secure, locked up all the time. I can't wait to get out of here.' And then they go I don't want to go to the SHU or wherever it is. They don't want to go there. So I feel like there is some deterrent but it never stops them in the moment, and I wouldn't either. If somebody punches me I'm going to go.

For other interviewees, research based information was less convincing. Four of the interviewees indicated they were *not quite convinced* of the veracity of at least one of the FP knowledge items that they had answered incorrectly, and described how this information did not fit with their

knowledge or experiences. Tom who supported the use of corporal punishment said the following:

> Interviewer: So when I tell you that according to the research that harsh punishments not only don't change behaviour but they can in some cases increase risk of reoffending.
>
> Tom: Tell that to China.
>
> Interviewer: So it's not really something that you would say that you believe?
>
> Tom: No.
>
> Interviewer: Okay. So you don't really believe it. Is there anything that you think would change your mind or make you more likely to believe in that information?
>
> Tom: Not particularly. Like we don't spank our kids but they're also a lot more rational than a lot of the individuals that we deal with. Because our inmates come in and they don't have a lot of the social models of society. They've got a predator/prey; either I'm the victim or I'm the perpetrator. And I'd rather be the guy that hurts you than the one who gets hurt. So their mindset's coming from a completely different aspect. And some of them may not be rational enough to even punish.

In the case of those who were skeptical of the information, their explanations of why they did not believe the information reflected *misinformation* (information that they had thought to be factual, but was not), *misunderstanding* or lack of insight into empirical research findings, or skepticism towards forensic research methodology. For example, Tom was skeptical of the research because he believed reoffending was not tracked reliably. An account that is ultimately not accurate:

> How do you put it? The ministry and even the federal corrections, reoffending isn't considered committing another crime. It's committing the same crime. Today I break into your house, tomorrow I murder somebody. I didn't really reoffend. So it's like come on! So they don't look at their record as a reoffending record.

Craig did not appreciate that few interventions completely eliminate the target behaviour: "Now that I know what the answer is. The 'rehabilitation programs can reduce prison incidences'- like we got programs running all the time and we still have stuff going on."

Finally, Craig, a more punitive CW with lower FP knowledge had *difficulty articulating* his thoughts about why he continued to hold his belief about some items despite evidence to the contrary:

Interviewer: With regards to your stance on that kind of harsh punishments would anything change your mind about that?

Craig: I think it all goes back to depending on the person. But yeah I don't know. It's really tough to say. I can't say for sure.

Interviewer: That's alright. We can leave it there.

Craig: I can't quite get it out.

5.2.4.2 Support for both sides.

As can be seen upon review of the themes for each of the models, five of the reasons participants provided to support their attitudes were used to justify opposing attitudes, depending on the interviewee. Firstly, as seen in the 'they keep coming back' theme the revolving door of the provincial correctional environment was used to justify both the conclusion that imprisonment was ineffective in reducing reoffending and that rehabilitation was ineffective in reducing reoffending. Second, making the job easier for the CW, as described with the 'better for me' theme was provided as both a reason to engage in CCPs and to not engage in CCPs. For some participants CCPs were good in-as-much as they made their interactions with offenders run more smoothly, but if they required them to go over-and-above their obligatory job duties (such as taking the time to explain something or reason with someone) then the interviewee lost motivation. Thirdly, some interviewees stated it was not their job to rehabilitate offenders and also that it was not their job to punish offenders. Similarly, depending on the CW, some saw the purpose of jail to be for punishment and others for rehabilitation. Lastly, anecdotal evidence from the experience of the interviewee was used to support a number of conclusions, some which were factually accurate based on empirical research and some which were not. For example this anecdote stood out for Christine:

I've been there two and a half years and the amount of guys I've seen released and then come back is absolutely ridiculous. I remember one guy. I was working the afternoon shift. He was being released the next day at like eight o'clock in the morning and by the time I got back to work he was in the afternoon court load. He had been out for maybe 4

hours and the cops picked him up casing cars down some street. And he was actually put

through a lot of rehabilitation programs and they just keep coming back, keep coming

back, keep coming back.

Another example was mentioned previously:

We had a feelings program there with [program facilitator] and we had a fairly good

success rate with that. I remember we used to get calls from guys on the street that'd been

out. They would call back and say that that's the longest they've been out (Doug).

5.2.4.3 Limitations.

The process of coding the interviews revealed a few limitations with the interviews and
the survey which I decided to also code into themes. To begin with, four of the eight
interviewees had some difficulty understanding the survey questions and upon reviewing their
responses indicated that they had originally misunderstood the questions due to the nature of the
reverse wording (sometimes a double negative). They were allowed to revise their answers but
this suggested that other survey participants may also have struggled with the wording of the
survey questions, raising some possible reliability concerns.

Similarly, during the process of discussing the FP knowledge measure participants were
provided the measure with their responses and the incorrect items marked with a highlighter and
the correct responses added (in the same way as if you received a marked test in a class).
However, when discussing some of the items, some interviewees seemed confused about what
the correct answer was, again, particularly in cases where items were reverse worded. Thus, the
discussion about their reaction to the item was sometimes confused. Where this was the case, the
content was usually left out of the overall analysis.

Additionally, three of the interviewees indicated that they were surprised upon re-reading
their survey responses and suggested that their answers may have been different on a different
day. Dylan indicated that he may have been in a bad mood when he completed the survey,
contributing to his more punitive responses. Christine and Craig reflected on the FP knowledge
scale and suggested that they were more familiar with the content than their score reflected.
Christine stated, "I knew that one too. I'm beginning to think this was a nightshift." This also
raises questions about the reliability of the results, though such limitations to attitudinal research

are well-documented and anticipated (Albarracin, et al., 2005). Craig who received quite a low score on the FP knowledge measure made the following remark:

> Okay. I know that one's false. I don't know why I picked true… Yeah. Like I said I'm surprised I got so many wrong because I know. I think I was thinking more of what I believe almost than what is true or false.

This comment was particularly insightful to this line of research which explores the complexity of the relationship between knowledge and beliefs. FP knowledge scale items were worded specifically to draw on the knowledge of the participant, hence the scale items beginning with "According to research…" Yet, it is possible that some participants responded based on their beliefs despite cognitively knowing the research contradicted their belief.

5.2.4.4 Additional themes which do not directly relate to the research questions

As indicated previously, I was diligent to thoroughly code the interviews to answer the research questions, but to also represent the reoccurring patterns across the interviews. Consequently, I coded three additional themes which were unrelated to the research questions: *job satisfaction, attitude change* and *personal efforts.* For example, while not a primary focus of the interviews, participants expressed differing perspectives on their job. Some expressed satisfaction, others stated it was adequate and they mostly continued due to lack of other options that provided equal benefits (pension, health care) while others stated they were actively pursuing other options. Similarly, all interviewee were asked to reflect on if and how their attitudes changed during their employment. I included some of these responses throughout the other themes where they pertained to reasons for holding one attitude or another.

Lastly, six of the eight interviewees described steps they had taken of their own volition to either improve the job for themselves or to manage offenders, which is labelled *personal efforts*. These steps were either not a job expectation, or not a prescribed way of managing offenders. For example, Wendy noted how important she believed consistency in rule following was for offenders stating, "There's rules to follow. If you can't follow them here you're not going to follow them out there." Tom advocated for the use of group sanctions to manage and teach offenders, and David described his solution:

> My partner and I if we want to just have somebody tune in for a while because we have a lot of young guys that are just full of energy, we'll bring a chair, we'll sit it outside the

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office and say, "Sit there." It's like sitting outside the principal's office. There's nothing on record, nothing permanent, they know they're accountable and the boys get a bit of a laugh out of it and they go behave.

What these examples reflect are efforts by participants to teach (rehabilitate) offenders in ways they understand and believe to be effective.

5.2.5 Summary.

Even though a small targeted sample of CWs was interviewed, the differences between the participants led to the generation of the wide array of themes. Consistent with the purpose of the theoretical thematic analysis, the themes represented the many diverse and inter-related reasons, justifications, and/or sources of information CWs may employ to understand why they hold the attitudes they do, towards the treatment and punishment of offenders. Notably, all of these themes were hypothesized based on the literature review.

A further asset of this section of the research was the opportunity to gain insight into the daily experiences of CWs working in the province. An unanticipated finding was the extent to which participants felt the features of the current correctional environment got in the way of their engagement in CCPs, and how the setting eventually influenced and even changed their attitudes. Ultimately I utilized this additional information to direct my attention to research I may not otherwise have pursued during my interpretation of the quantitative results. The unification of the quantitative and qualitative finding to answer the research questions is addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6.

Discussion: Combining the Studies

6.1 An Integration of the Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

The foremost goal of this investigation was to explore the nature of the relationships between the work-related knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of CWs in the context of their correctional role. The foundation of this examination was the relationship between two attitudes: support for rehabilitation and support for punishment of offenders, known as Correctional Orientation. Methods of quantitative and qualitative inquiry were employed to determine how these attitudinal constructs related to each other beginning with statistical analyses. Correlations and factor analyses were employed in the development of an improved measure of Correctional Orientation utilizing a moderate sample of university undergraduates and then re-examined using a second, larger sample of CWs. The inquiry was expanded to include exploration of how SR and SP uniquely related to demographic variables, using full and partial correlations, group comparisons, , and multiple regression models. Finally the conceptual and causal relationships between them were examined by qualitatively analysing the reasons interviewees provided for their SR and SP. This phase of the research therefore also addressed the second research question which asked, what are the sources of information CWs draw upon to justify their SR and SP, and how do they differ? Before forming any conclusions about the relationship between the two variables, the following section will review the totality of the results, drawing on the previous research for support.

Beginning with the development of the Correctional Orientation scale, a strong and significant negative correlation between the SR and SP scale items ($r = .63$, $p < .001$) confirmed the hypothesis that these two attitudinal constructs are intricately related, consistent with previous research (Lambert et al., 2008). Yet, the best fit of the data in the factor analysis, although less than ideal with regards to sample size, was for two positively correlated ($r = .51$) factors which accounted for 38.5% of the variance. Consistent with the hypothesis, the first factor in the pattern matrix contained primarily scale items designed to measure SP, with the exception of two items. Their content nevertheless reflected the attitude that offenders should be treated harshly and made uncomfortable at worst, or not treated kindly or with respect, at minimum. The second factor contained only items designed to measure SR and therefore reflected the importance of offering rehabilitation initiatives to offenders and supporting them

within institutional settings. These results led to the tentative acceptance of the hypothesis that SR and SP are discrete but negatively related attitudes.

Moving on to the results of the CW survey, the substantial negative correlation between the SR and SP scales ($r = -.74$, $p<.001$) using the larger CW sample again confirmed the relationship between the two. But, further insight was provided through examination of the relationships between SR, SP and the other variables of interest. As demonstrated through the correlations and multiple regressions, some variables were more strongly associated with one variable or the other. Beginning with the demographic variables (or those following from the individual experiences/importation model; Blevins et al., 2007), females were found to have higher SR scores than males. This contribution held when FP knowledge was added into the model. In contrast, while females had significantly lower SP than males, being female no longer made a significant contribution following the addition of FP knowledge. Being female was therefore found to be a better predictor of higher SR than lower SP. Age also varied in its relationship with SR and SP. Older CWs were found to have higher SR and lower SP, and remained a significant predictor of both in the regression models. However age accounted for a larger proportion of the variance in SP than SR, suggesting that older age was a stronger and more robust predictor of lower SP than higher SR. In this sample, ethnicity was not a significant predictor of either SR or SP.

As indicated in the literature review, age, sex and ethnicity have all previously been unreliably associated with SR and SP. Older age was associated with less punitive/more rehabilitative attitudes in the meta-analysis by Maahs and Pratt (2001). Likewise, the majority of the research that found a relationship between ethnicity and SR and SP was in the USA, which, as previously noted, may not generalize to the Canadian context. However, the small and non-significant positive correlation between ethnicity and SR and negative correlation between ethnicity and SP indicates that non-white CWs have slightly higher SR and lower SP. One reason for the lack of statistical significance may be that only thirty-eight participants were not Caucasian. Thus, a larger sample may have produced a significant result. Finally, some of the inconsistency in the past research exploring demographic correlates of SR and SP could be the result of combining the two constructs in a single measure. Separate examinations of COs' SR and SP in relation to ethnicity may generate a more robust finding.

Turning to the work role/prisonization model, (Blevins et al., 2007) tenure has also had a precarious association with both SR and SP in past research. In the current research, while those with longer tenure were found to have significantly higher SR and lower SP, tenure was more strongly related to SP. Tenure was ultimately removed from the multiple regressions as a function of the correlation with age and its lack of independent contribution to SR and SP in the regression models. The partial correlations indicated that tenure increased FP knowledge, which increased SR, with FP knowledge accounting for the entire relationship between tenure and SR. In contrast, having higher FP knowledge only partially accounted for having lower SP, such that more years worked was independently related to lower SP without the inclusion of increased FP knowledge.

In the case of this research, it is proposed that the relationships between age, tenure, and SR and SP can be interpreted as a combination of a selection effect with the experience that comes from a long tenure in corrections. To expand, Lambert and colleagues (2008) found that SR was positively correlated with organizational commitment, whereas SP was negatively related. Likewise Dowden and Tellier (2004) found that in Canadian prisons, COs who held human service/rehabilitation orientation experienced significantly less stress as compared to those who did not hold such views, while Canadian COs who endorsed custodial/punitive statements experienced more stress than those who did not. Finally, Lieter and Maslach (1999) reported that one of the robust contributions to burnout is a mismatch between the values of the institution and the employees' expectations and values. They stated that employees experiencing this incongruity will either adjust their expectations to be consistent with the organization or leave in search of more fulfilling employment (Lieter & Maslach, 1999). Thus, previous research indicates that COs with low SR and high SP are most likely to be burnt-out and dissatisfied with their work, particularly if the institution sets rehabilitation as a goal. These CWs are thereby less committed to their role and are most likely to quit and look for employment in another field. In contrast, CWs with high SR and lower SP are more likely to be satisfied with their employment. Consequently they may seek out meaningful positions in the organization, such as choosing to work on 'living units' (those with sentenced offenders), which allow for greater interaction with offenders and the opportunity to engage in more casework (such as facilitating the C2C program). These positions allow them to nurture their interest in SR, and further increase their FP knowledge, thereby entrenching their high SR/low SP.

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This interpretation is corroborated by the interviews. The two high SR/low SP interviewees, Doug and David, both expressed high satisfaction with their role and worked in positions/units that allowed them to maintain these attitudes. Likewise, two more neutral respondents (George and Christine) both reported high SR and low SP at the start of their correctional careers but found that the punitive, high stress environment led to a self-reported increase in SP. As observed in the results, both made comments reflective of high burnout and indicated they were looking for other employment opportunities.

Notably also, Doug, the oldest interviewee with a long tenure in corrections observed that he did not receive as much collegial peer pressure regarding how he interacted with offenders, as did some of the other CWs. He surmised that because of his years of experience and past positions training and supervising staff, other CWs trusted his judgement and were less likely to question his motives, thus insulating his attitudes from the peer pressure of others. In sum, it should not be concluded that the relationships between age, tenure and SR and SP are because age or years of experience cause an increase in SR or decrease in SP. Rather, it is suggested that those CWs with existing strong high SR/low SP stay in corrections for longer and are most likely to improve with experience.

The dichotomization of each of the scales at the median value and examination of frequencies of participants in each group also illuminated the distinction between SR and SP and contradicted the continuum theory. The majority (75%, n=170) of the sample fell in either the high SR/low SP or low SR/high SP groups, consistent with the idea that SR and SP attitudes lie on opposite ends of a spectrum. Other CWs scored above (or below) the median value on both the SR and SP scales, indicating they simultaneously endorsed both (or neither) the rehabilitation and punishment of offenders. The qualitative themes allow for insight into the complexity of the cognitive processes which facilitate this finding.

Beginning with the either/or attitude, an overarching theme of the interviews involved participants' judgements and beliefs about the efficacy of offender treatment and punishment (as seen in the '(Not a) deterrent', 'rehabilitation works', and 'skepticism of their programs' themes). In fact one of the most salient findings across the interviews was that the extent to which a participant supported rehabilitation or punishment differed by offender, as captured in the 'inmate' theme and subthemes. Participants supported rehabilitation for those offenders whom they believed could be rehabilitated, and punishment for the others, with efficacy

determinations made based upon the nature and severity of the inmates 'offence', 'institutional behaviour', and history of reoffending ('they keep coming back' theme). Basically the conclusion was that attempts should be made to rehabilitate people who can be rehabilitated, and those who cannot, should be punished, or at the minimum, incapacitated via incarceration ('incapacitation' theme).

Individual differences in SR and SP thereby appeared to be a function of how many and what type of offenders the CW had rehabilitative hope for, such that if they judged that rehabilitation was effective for most offenders, they had higher SR, but if they believed it only worked for a select, highly motivated, sympathetic few, they had lower SR and consequently higher SP. In some cases this judgement further appeared to function as a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby the inmates' crime or institutional behaviour elicited a strong emotional and punitive reaction by the CW which facilitated the conclusion that rehabilitation would not work, thus justifying the desire to punish.

Previous research foreshadowed the above findings. McCorkle (1993) asked a sample of the public how "helpful" (p. 241) they thought rehabilitation would be for different offenders. He found that the SR of respondents varied by offence, with some types of offenders deemed more amenable and in need of certain types of rehabilitative interventions than others (though punitiveness did not vary as much). Similarly, Cullen et al. (1990) found that the public judged that violent offenders were least likely to be helped by rehabilitation programs while more participants judged that treatment would be more effective for juveniles. It seems, therefore, that SR and SP not only differ across persons, but they differ within persons based upon the offender target.

Taken together, the 'it works', 'deterrent', 'skepticism over their programs', 'inmate', and in some cases the 'insight into the change process' themes validate the second and most integral research question (and accompanying hypotheses) in this series of studies, which asked, to what extent do COs base their correctional orientation attitudes on beliefs informed by information derived from FP research?

One motivation for examining the role of FP knowledge in SR and SP was that previous research struggled to isolate variables which accounted for substantial proportions of the variance in SR and SP. As indicated in the literature review, two past studies, which included variables from both the individual experiences/importation and work-role/prisonization models,

were most successful in accounting for SR and SP. Robinson et al. (1993) found that their largest predictor of SR was positive attitudes towards corrections ($\beta = .33$, $p<.0001$) followed by human service orientation ($\beta = .23$, $p<.0001$). Their total model accounted for 31 percent of the variance in SR (for a CW sample). Lambert et al. (2009) accounted for 28 percent of the variance in SR with the largest contribution made by organizational commitment ($\beta= .39$, $p<.001$) followed by education ($\beta =.23$, $p<.001$). They accounted for 34 percent of the variance in SP with the same variables making the largest contribution (organizational commitment, $\beta = -.045$, $p<.001$; education $\beta = .17$, $p<001$).

In the current research, FP knowledge accounted for the vast majority of the variance in both SR and SP ($\beta = .60$ and $\beta = -.61$ respectively); more variance than any previous single variable examined. The contribution of FP knowledge alone meant that the full models (with demographics) for both SR and SP explained more variance in SR and SP than any previous research findings; 46% for SR and 49% for SP.

As reflected in the measures section, the FP knowledge scale contained many items regarding the research on efficacy of rehabilitation for reducing reoffending and increasing institutional safety, the components which are associated with effective treatment (RNR principles), as well as the research on the lack of efficacy of punishment based interventions. In this way, the combined quantitative and qualitative results indicated that a substantial contributor to SR and SP is knowledge of, and belief in (which will be discussed later), information derived from FP research

Yet two additional hypotheses regarding FP knowledge were made. Based on previous findings regarding the research knowledge base of COs it was hypothesized that the mean score on the FP knowledge scale would be below a score of 75% on the test. Contrary to this prediction the mean score obtained by the sample was 80%. As the questions in the scale were written to contain basic job-relevant information and be representative of CW training, this is a positive finding. Unfortunately however, because the sample cannot be deemed to represent the entirety of the CW population in the province, a selection effect may be operating whereby only those with higher FP knowledge chose to complete the survey, thereby biasing the result. Nonetheless, the next hypothesis was ultimately of more importance. Specifically, it was also hypothesized that FP knowledge would be a better predictor of SR than SP, thus accounting for some of the differences between the two attitudes. The comparisons of the correlations and the

beta weights between FP knowledge and SR and FP knowledge and SP showed this not to be the case, with the magnitude of the relationships being almost identical. It would be easy to conclude the matter is resolved. But other findings confuse the picture considerably.

The final demographic variable of interest was education. One of the informal hypotheses of this research was that level of education and correctional attitudes would be related in as much as the education increased the person's FP knowledge. Thus, participants were asked to indicate if their education (indicated by both classes and a major) had been in any of the relevant fields of interest which could theoretically increase their FP knowledge (e.g. psychology, correctional studies, social work, sociology, etc.). This variable was coded as 'relevant education'. However, relevant education did not significantly correlate with SR or SP and therefore was not included in the regression analyses. In contrast, level of education, which was level of education achieved regardless of field, was significantly positively correlated with SR and significantly predicted SR in the first step of the regression model. Further, the partial correlation was consistent with the hypothesis: Having achieved a higher level of education led to higher FP knowledge, which led to higher SR. The relationship between level of education was completely accounted for by FP knowledge. However, level of education was not significantly correlated with SP and thus the partial correlation was dropped. Taken together, these findings suggested that FP knowledge may have a special relationship with SR.

In addition to providing information regarding the relationship between SR and SP, the one-way ANOVA mentioned earlier was also intended to explore how each related to FP knowledge. As indicated, the dichotomization of the measures confirmed the assumption that there would be a group of CWs with both high SR and high SP. This highlighted the importance of also testing the hypothesis that the low SR/high SP group would have the lowest FP knowledge, which was confirmed. Interestingly however, the ANOVA also demonstrated that the high SR/high SP group had significantly higher FP knowledge ($M = 25.25/30$; 84%) than the low SR/high SP group ($M = 22.54/30$; 75%). Thus, some CWs still had high SP despite also having high FP knowledge.

But of course, the correlational nature of the majority of these analyses does not specify anything about the direction of the relationship between the variables. While it is easy to assume that FP knowledge causes an increase in SR and a decrease in SP, it is just as possible to conclude that SR causes an increase in FP knowledge or that SP causes a decrease in FP

knowledge. For this to be the case, those with existing high SR would seek out and retain FP knowledge information that confirmed and justified their SR attitudes, while people with existing high SP may ignore and disregard FP research findings which contradicts their attitudes, and place more weight on other sources of information which confirmed their SP beliefs.

The qualitative findings again provide unique insight to this process. First, examining what the qualitative results might indicate about SR or SP influencing FP knowledge, and then exploring how CWs may have simultaneous high SR and SP (and high FP knowledge). The 'responding to FP research questions' section of the interviews led to the creation of the 'believe it', 'thinking it through', 'I'm not quite convinced', 'misinformation/misunderstanding' and 'difficulty articulating self' themes. Beginning with the 'believe it' theme Christine and Doug readily accepted FP information; they supported rehabilitation and were confident that the findings of research were accurate. Likewise, George who supported rehabilitation (and had a background education in a helping profession), but was unsure about some of the FP questions, assimilated corrective information with what he already knew and adopted it, as demonstrated in the 'thinking it through' theme. However, when presented with information that directly contradicted their more firmly held beliefs the high SP participants expressed skepticism regarding the accuracy of the information. Notably, the FP knowledge scale items which they were most likely to reject related to the inefficacy of harsh punishment, the influence of CWs on offender outcomes and the role of treatment in improving institutional safety. Finally, in the 'not sure what I was thinking' theme, Craig, made the insightful statement, "I think I was thinking more of what I believe almost than what is true or false." To explain their rejection of this information, participants cited evidence from their personal experiences ('anecdotes' theme) or from sources they expressed more trust in, all of which was empirically inaccurate ('misinformation' theme). Finally, the 'difficulty articulating self' theme involved Craig, who made the above statement, struggling to articulate why he believed what he did after being provided with contradictory information. This difficulty reflected a common response to attitude incongruent information, cognitive dissonance, which is the feeling of discomfort when we encounter information which contradicts our beliefs (Festinger, 1957).

The themes generated in this section in particular, are consistent with the qualitative hypotheses, which predicted that CWs would justify their correctional orientation beliefs with information which demonstrated misunderstanding of research alongside "common sense"

sources of information, and the analytic errors which support them (as described by Gendreau et al., 2002). Additionally, there is an expanse of fascinating literature on responses to belief contradictory information, some of which was also discussed in the literature review, in anticipation of these findings. For example Fabrigar et al.'s (2005) observation that perception of new attitude-relevant information can be distorted by existing beliefs and attitudes, and even completely disregarded, is clearly reflected in the responding to FP research themes. Likewise, a robust finding in the field of social cognition research is that "previously held beliefs and attitudes carry a distinct advantage in information processing" (Ditto & Munro, 1997, p. 636). One example of this advantage is the phenomenon of biased assimilation, which is when new information which confirms existing attitudes is deemed more convincing than identical information which dis-confirms existing attitudes (Lord, Ross & Lepper, 2008). Further, not only does research indicate that existing attitudes carry an advantage in information processing (particularly if the attitude is strongly held), as demonstrated in the 'I'm not quite convinced' theme, some authors have noted a "backfire effect" (p. 303) whereby attempts by others to correct misperceptions leads to an increase in the misperception among those most likely to hold the misperception (Nyhan & Reifler, 2010). Therefore, for the most punitive CWs, providing research which contradicts their misinformation may only make them more punitive.

Yet more cognitive phenomena explain the 'responding to FP knowledge questions' themes. Expectancy bias is when a person's expectations about an object leads he or she to interact with the object in a way which elicits the expectation-confirming information from the object, or biases the way that information about the object is attended to, recalled and interpreted (Darley & Gross, 1983). As demonstrated within the 'support for both sides' section, the salient examples contained within the 'they keep coming back' theme reflected expectancy biases found in the qualitative results. Participants with existing SR used their observation that the same offenders repeatedly return to incarceration, as evidence that punishment was ineffective, while participants with existing SP used the identical observation to conclude that rehabilitation was ineffective. Thus, when a high SR CW observes an offender who had participated in treatment return to prison, he or she is likely to conclude that the available rehabilitation programs are inadequate for that offender ('skepticism of their programs' theme), and/or that the offender had been negatively impacted upon by the prison environment ('perspective taking' theme), or that he or she was one of the inmates for which treatment would not work. In contrast, a high SP CW

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observing the identical offender is more likely to take the offender's recidivism as evidence that all rehabilitation does not work and that he or she should instead receive a more stringent sanction. This example also illustrates the aforementioned availability bias, which is the over-reliance on single, vivid events to form judgements (Gendreau et al., 2002). The job-related anecdotes provided by participants to illustrate examples of chronic reoffending show how the availability bias can entrench existing attitudes.

That said, when existing attitudes are consistent with the ethic and job role of the CW, reliance on, or attention to anecdotal evidence is not problematic. As the 'insight into the change process' theme demonstrated some interviewees cited their personal observations of offender change via rehabilitation, as a reason for their belief that 'rehabilitation works' and consequently their SR. In contrast Dylan, indicated that when he was engaged in casework he found it frustrating to watch inmates manipulate the opportunity to receive advantages ('programs as unjust' theme). For him it seemed that his existing low SR/high SP led him to attend more to these negative examples than to consider that treatment opportunities may have positive long term outcomes. Thus, based on the strength of the person's existing attitudes, the job-related experiences of CWs can further nurture attitudes which are facilitative to their job-role or antipathetic to it. Yet, by nature of the job requirements, the anecdotal experiences of CWs are far more likely to challenge SR attitudes and nurture SP than the opposite. There are few job related experiences that test SP beliefs. Non-SP attitudes may therefore need to be particularly strong and resilient in order to resist this evidence.

In sum, the cognitive research therefore suggests that there is much to the proposal that existing SR and SP influence FP knowledge and in this way, is consistent with the individual experiences/importation model. Yet, this conclusion ultimately raises the question, then what creates the persons' initial SR and SP attitudes? Unnever and Cullen (2009) proposed a theory of individual differences in punitiveness. Although their theory focussed on the general public and therefore has a slightly different application for CWs, pertinent to this discussion was their proposition that individual differences in empathy account for differences in punitiveness. More specifically, Unnever and Cullen posited that the well established relationships between punitiveness and political, religious, race and racial beliefs, and beliefs about crime causation (or attributions), can all be accounted for by variability in empathy. In this way the authors proposed that some offenders are more or less empathy inducing, depending on their crimes and how much

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the individual relates to the offender's prototypical features as a function of how similar they are to themselves. So for example, African-American members of the public are more likely to empathize with African-American criminals and advocate for less severe punishments for these offenders (likewise for the white public and corporate criminals). The authors also added that features of the offender such as expressions of remorse, lead people to feel more forgiving (Unnever & Cullen, 2009).

A number of the themes found within this research are consistent with the hypothesis that individual differences in empathy contribute to SP as well as SR. The themes from the SR model of 'perspective taking', 'human beings' ('dehumanizing offenders'), and 'insight into the change process' all reflected expressions of empathy. Further, if we also accept Unnever and Cullen's inclusion of racism, and religious and political beliefs, the 'religious beliefs' theme would also be subsumed under empathy. Finally, as noted previously, SR and SP differed based on the offender target ('inmate' theme), partly as a function of the CW's judgement regarding whether rehabilitation would be effective for that individual ('treatment doesn't work for some offenders' theme). Yet, the level to which that offender induced empathy in the CW based on their institutional behaviour and inferred levels of remorse, may, based upon Unnever and Cullen's theory, also contribute to this judgement. This conclusion would therefore draw a conceptual link between the 'perspective taking' (empathy) and 'it works' themes.

A series of four studies by Gault and Sabini (2000) may add even more to the relationship between empathy and punitiveness. These authors explored the hypothesis that the relatively stable observation that females generally endorse less punitive political policies than men is due to gender differences in empathy. As predicted, they found that differences in emotion accounted for the gender gap in punitive political attitudes. Importantly they found that trait empathy accounted for gender differences in victim support. They concluded by proposing that an empathic disposition may influence attitudes towards political policies over time. In the current research, female CWs had higher SR and lower SP, consistent with Gault and Sabini's (2000) findings. If we accept their results, we could also conclude that the observed sex difference was (at least partly) a function of higher levels of empathy for offenders among female CWs.

In reviewing the findings of this study, one must also consider common beliefs about the causes of crime, or attributions (Unnever & Cullen, 2009). Any social psychologist reviewing the qualitative results would recognize the presence of the fundamental attribution error in the data

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(Ross, 1977). As noted in the literature review in the section on "common sense" sources of attitudes (Gendreau et al., 2002), this cognitive bias is the tendency to attribute internal causal motivations such as personality or disposition to the negative actions of others, and external causal motivations to our own negative behaviours: Others engage in poor behaviour because they have a character flaw, and we engage in poor behaviour because of circumstance (Ross, 1977). As we all do, and as foreshadowed by Gendreau et al. (2002), interviewees fell victim to the fundamental attribution error, both when describing the on-the-job behaviour of CWs (the 'institutional setting' and the 'missing CW' themes) and when describing offenders. As captured in the 'inmate' theme, some interviewees concluded that rehabilitation would be ineffective for some offenders because of individual offender traits ('unmotivated', 'comfortable', 'bad' themes) instead of the alternative conclusion that features of the setting in which rehabilitation is offered may account for rehabilitative failures. That said, the 'drug addiction' and 'lifestyle or home environment' themes indicated that some participants also considered some external reasons for offending (although whether or not the CW held the offender responsible for their addiction or lifestyle would have to be inferred).

The favoring of internal attributions for the behaviour of others is another variable that has been robustly argued as a source of punitive attitudes. Based on this theory, "…individuals with a dispositional attribution style see offenders as autonomous, rational, unfettered individuals who are responsible for their acts and therefore deserved to be punished for freely choosing to engage in criminal behaviour" (Unnever & Cullen, 2009, p. 296). In contrast, those who favor a situational disposition are more likely to perceive crime as being a function of societal factors such as inequality, poverty, minority status and lack of opportunity. These people are more likely to advocate for crime reduction strategies which work to reduce the influence of systemically unequal power structures. Unnever and Cullen (2009) further contended that empathy serves as a mediator between attributional style and punitiveness such that for example, an internal attributional style decreases the likelihood that the person would empathize with the offender, leading to increased punitiveness and vice versa.

The final construct to consider in understanding existing individual differences in SR is captured by the 'working with people' theme, cited by Doug and David, the two highest SR interviewees. This theme was also predicted in the qualitative hypotheses based upon Robinson and colleagues (1993) finding that 'human service orientation' which included scale items

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measuring a preference for work with people, was the second largest contributor to a regression on SR (they did not look at SP). This theme, in conjunction with interviewee's observations that high SR CWs are derogated by their colleagues and called "social workers" led to the suspicion that the field of education variable may need to be examined differently, adding further evidence to the possible bidirectional relationship between SR, SP and FP knowledge.

Those who are interested in working with people and already believe in the potential for human change, are probably more likely than others to pursue an education in a helping profession such as psychology, social work or counselling. According to the cognitive psychology research reviewed herein, because of their existing attitudes, exposure to research information about human change would be more readily accepted and easily increase their FP knowledge, with this information then serving to justify and reinforce their initial beliefs. Based on this theorizing it was decided to isolate those specializing in a helping profession from the relevant education variable and compare them to all others on the outcomes of interest. The results indicated that CWs who majored in a helping profession had significantly higher mean SR, engagement in CCPs and FP knowledge than the rest of the sample, although they did not differ in their SP.

Following this finding, it was decided to also isolate the remaining relevant education variables, combining those who majored in criminology/criminal justice, correctional studies and sociology. Like the interview participants that expressed more personal interest in safety and security than casework, these CWs may not have the same strong drive as those in the helping professions to help people change, and therefore have relatively lower existing SR. Likewise, compared to psychology and counselling which focus on understanding and facilitating behaviour change, criminology and correctional studies programs focus more heavily on crime statistics and security. Compared to the overall sample, these CWs had significantly lower mean SR, and lower engagement in CCPs, higher SP, and their FP knowledge did not differ significantly. These two findings revealed why the original relevant education variable failed to correlate with the outcomes of interest. They also further validated the relationship between a preference for working with people and SR as well as again hinting at different relationships between SP and FP knowledge and SR and FP knowledge.

Overall, if we accept Unnever and Cullen's theory and generalize it as well to SR, the variables that these authors attribute to empathy, plus those related to FP knowledge, and a

preference for working with people, all of themes that were generated to explain why participants supported rehabilitation or did not support punishment, are accounted for except 'purpose of jail'. There are also a few themes related particularly to SP and non-SR which may explain those CWs who endorse both high SR and SP which we will turn to next.

Returning to McCorkle's (1993) surveys of the public, he also found that some respondents indicated that some offenders, particularly drug abusers, should be both punished and provided with treatment. McCorkle (1993) ultimately concluded that the priorities of the public were "Incarcerate first, then rehabilitate if possible" (p. 251). Similarly, later research by Lambert and colleagues (2009) which examined SR and SP separately, observed that CWs may perceive a "dual role" (p. 177) whereby they believe offenders should be punished but also see treatment as reasonable, thus highlighting the importance of distinguishing between SR and SP in this investigation.

As hypothesized, the "punish then rehabilitate" sentiment was reflected in the qualitative results. Examination of the SP model indicated that as anticipated, the prioritization of matters of justice or, in this case, 'just deserts' as well as the 'effective use of prison time' themes explained why some CWs endorsed both high SR and high SP. For example, when Christine, who was more punitive but indicated a number of times that she believed rehabilitation programs should be offered to offenders, was asked about any contradictions she perceived in her attitudes she stated, "Well when I told you that sex offenders probably should get harsher punishments and it says in the research that harsh punishment for offenders can increase their future risk of offending. I still think they should be incarcerated for longer periods of time." In this statement, fairness and justice for victims in the form of retributive sanctions which are proportionate to the harm caused by the offence were prioritized in determinations of punishment (hence the level of SP varying based upon the inmate's offence). Likewise, the content of the 'effective use of prison time' theme demonstrated how some CWs believed that incarceration should come first, but that offering rehabilitative programming is a superior option to having offenders spend their prison time involved in leisure activities such as watching television or exercising.

The other explanation proposed to account for the concurrent endorsement of SR and SP is explained by the 'purpose of jail' and 'not my job' themes and also relates to themes regarding engagement in CCPs ('institutional setting') which will be discussed in detail later. Some interviewees endorsed general support for rehabilitation of offenders (the idea that rehabilitation

is an appropriate correctional goal) however, they concluded that it either was not or should not be the role of CWs (or at least them individually) to offer, facilitate or support rehabilitation programming, and in some cases, even to consider reoffending outcomes in their daily interactions with inmates. As a number of individual items in the SR scale regarded the role of CWs in supporting rehabilitation, CWs with this attitude would score lower on the scale.

The historical criminology literature on role conflict may best explain the 'purpose of jail' and 'not my job' themes. Hepburn and Albonetti (1980) were among the first to explore the impact of role conflict (which they defined as the confusion about the job expectations that results from the conflict between maintaining both custodial and treatment priorities within a prison) on punitiveness. In the introduction to their investigation they described how individual institutions vary in their balance of custodial or rehabilitative goals, but point out that all prisons must first prioritize custody. Further they noted that the rehabilitative goals of prisons are necessarily contradictory to custodial goals, and that the achievement of rehabilitative interactions with offenders is also inevitably harder to evaluate than custodial priorities, due to their ambiguous and flexible nature. As a result of the dual emphasis of the institution and vagueness about rehabilitative roles CWs may revert to their custodial obligations, as their achievement is more objectively evaluated. This leads to the formation of two "mutually antagonistic" (p. 447) staff groupings: treatment staff (for example CWs who take on casework or teaching positions within the institutions) and custodial staff. Further, because treatment oriented staff must coexist with custodial staff, they may ultimately need to choose between dissociating themselves from custodial staff in an effort to insulate their perspectives, or they may slowly assimilate with the attitudes of the custody oriented staff and organizational goals.

In their surveys of CWs, Hepburn and Albonetti (1980) found, as hypothesized, that role conflict was higher among treatment staff than custody staff, but that role conflict was highest at minimum security institutions (compared to medium or high institutions) for both treatment and custody staff. The authors theorized that the prioritization of custody at high security institutions led to less role ambiguity, and concluded that role conflict was a product of the multiple organizational goals of the prison, more than a function of the staff position. Further the authors also found that high role conflict was a robust predictor of punitiveness and was also associated with lower job satisfaction. In their 2001 meta-analysis, Maahs and Pratt confirmed the influence

of role conflict, finding it to be associated with holding less favorable attitudes towards rehabilitation.

A number of findings from the interviews are commensurate with Hepburn and Albonetti's (1980) observations and suggest that some interviewees perceived confused institutional priorities in the provincial facilities resulting in role confusion. First, the interviews of George and Christine, who both described the process of becoming more punitive (and burnt-out) reflected the effects of role-confusion. They both described how despite their initial rehabilitative intentions, the features of the institutional setting (they both worked at the same facility in similar units) made them more cynical and punitive. In contrast, high SR/low SP Doug and David described how they had sought out institutional positions where they could insulate themselves from the negative attitudes of their colleagues and consequently had maintained their high SR attitudes, consistent with Hepburn and Albertti's observations of the impact of role confusion on treatment staff. Wendy seemed to be the exception to the role confusion data as a CW who increased her SR through engagement in treatment, but Wendy worked in a women's facility which held a stronger treatment ethic and was also not as overburdened as the three male institutions. Finally, both Dylan and Craig, the more punitive of the interviewees both expressed their belief that their most important function was to enforce custodial standards as these were the standards upon which their performance would be measured and evaluated, as Dylan stated: "At the end of the day it really doesn't matter what therapy or what kind of rehab a guy gets, the count better be right. That's it."

Once we consider the distinct staff culture of each of the four institutions and multiple units within, which differ considerably in the prioritization of custodial and rehabilitative goals (both officially and unofficially), as well as the rotation of CWs between units, and the frequency of overtime, whereby CWs work in whichever unit they are needed despite knowledge of that unit, we can see how CWs may experience role confusion. It is then not surprising that CWs would choose to focus on the one goal that is consistent across all units and collegial interactions, safety and security. Role confusion would also explain why CWs gave opposing reasons for the purpose of jail as well as indicating that it was 'not my job' to rehabilitate offenders. Role conflict will be discussed further when we turn to the findings related to engagement in CCPs.

We now turn to the survey results regarding CWs trained to facilitate C2C rehabilitation programming. Using Hepburn and Alberetti's (1980) definition, C2C trained CWs would be labelled at 'treatment' staff. However, it is pertinent to appreciate that some of the C2C trained CWs were no longer engaged in this casework position and no information was available about why this was the case. For example, they may have been moved to a unit which does not offer C2C, or they may have requested to cease this work as they did not enjoy it or found it stressful.

Ultimately, the results of these analyses indicated that C2C trained CWs only differed in their FP knowledge, with trained CWs scoring a mean 1.94 points higher on the FP knowledge scale than non-trained CWs. As the training for the C2C program includes FP research, and facilitation of the program involves review of this literature, higher FP knowledge is expected and speaks to the retention of the information. However trained CWs did not differ in their SR, SP or engagement in CCPs, despite the strong relationships between FP knowledge and SR and SP. In sum, even though these specially trained CWs had more FP knowledge, they were not more supportive of rehabilitation or less supportive of punishment.

The analyses which compared C2C trained CWs current to pre-training SR, SP and CCPs however did indicate that trained CWs felt like their SR had improved since training (mean difference of 8.2 points pre-post) as indicated by their significant change scores on the SR scale. There are nevertheless obvious methodological limitations to this finding. Having participants retrospectively rate their surmised past endorsement of scale items is a less than ideal way of ascertaining attitude change. Obviously, it would have been methodologically superior to have participants rate their attitudes prior to and following the interventions, which unfortunately was not feasible for this study. Yet, at the very least the results indicated that trained CWs believed that their SR had improved. It was also interesting to find that trained CWs did not perceive that their SP or engagement in CCPs had changed, though the lack of significant change scores could be partially accounted for by the small sample size and the range restriction of change scores as function of the participant's original score. Finally, as the nearly significant positive correlation between number of C2C sessions facilitated per month and SR change scores indicated, those most involved in treatment may have experienced the largest increase in their SR.

The interview results portray a slightly different picture of C2C than the survey, as seen in the 'skepticism of the programs' theme and subthemes, though there are more programs running in the facilities than just C2C. Nevertheless, interviewees did not endorse particularly

positive attitudes towards the C2C programming, though there were individual differences. Summing their responses together, there was a belief that it was good that some interventions were being offered, however they questioned how effective the C2C programming actually was due to its brief nature. Further, they indicated they disagreed with offering inmates incentives to participate. They also questioned whether CWs were the appropriate persons to be offering these programs due to their lack of expertise in the area. One main concern was that for inmates with serious issues such as mental health problems or a history of abuse, the program could destabilize the inmate and then no helping professionals ('no psychologists' theme) were available to assist them to work through their issues, perhaps causing more harm to the inmate and also jeopardizing the safety of the institution.

A literature search on the use of CWs to facilitate rehabilitation programs was not very fruitful. Thus is seems that there is little research evidence to assist in making determinations regarding whether CWs taking on the additional role of engaging in casework via a program like C2C is good for staff attitudes. It is certainly possible that those CWs who facilitate this programming experience more role conflict, which was not measured in this research. But, it is also possible that for high SR CWs with an education in social work or counselling, the opportunity to engage in C2C casework is a welcome change to their job. Frequent facilitation of this programming also seems to be the only job-related experience that has the potential to increase SR, and for those who do this most often, it appears this could be the case. Yet, the findings of this research suggest that the training alone does not appear to lead to any tangible differences in SR, SP or engagement in CCPs despite their higher knowledge. At the very least, these findings can be used to further inform the conclusions regarding the relationships between FP knowledge, SR and SP.

It seems it may be fruitful to summarize the findings and draw some conclusions on the relationship between SR and SP and between these attitudes and FP knowledge, before turning to how each of the examined variables related to engagement in CCPs. Figure 6.1 presents a thematic model of the relationship between SR and SP based upon the combined analysis of the quantitative and qualitative findings in conjunction with the interpretive literature.

Summarizing the model, individual differences in the form of attributions, religious beliefs, preferences for working with people, gender and other sources not explicitly identified in this research, are manifestations of differences in empathy. Empathy can increase accumulation

and acceptance of FP research about behaviour change which is encountered in educational training and via personal observations of change. These individual differences then operate on the individual inmate. Based on the level to which the CW empathizes with the inmate as a function of his or her own background factors and the feature of the inmate's offence and behaviours, the CW makes a judgement about whether treatment would be effective for that inmate. If they believe it to be effective, they support rehabilitation. However, if they do not believe it would be effective they conclude (again based on their knowledge) that the person should be punished. In some cases they may still however conclude that while incapacitated it may be worthwhile to attempt to treat the offender (punish then rehabilitate). In other cases, the CW may strongly subscribe to the 'just deserts' principle. For those with strong punitive feelings towards the inmate they may prioritize 'just deserts' and support punishment. In some cases this may also include the additional justification that treatment would be ineffective anyhow, thereby further justifying their SP. Finally, based on their existing SR and SP and other factors such as their facility, CWs may differ in their determinations of their role and how much emphasis they place on SR or SP.

Figure 6.1. A model to explain the correctional orientation of corrections workers
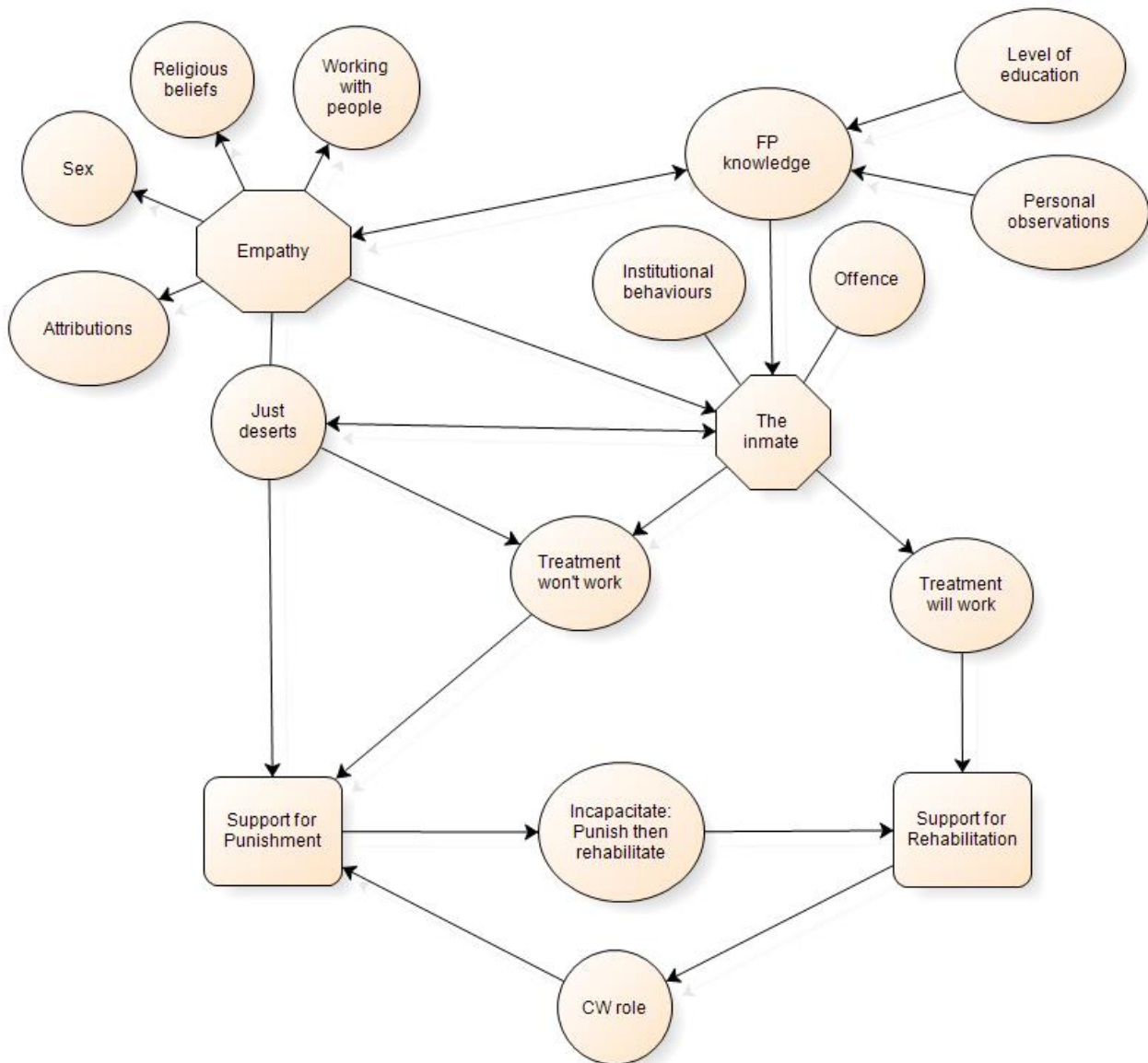
Moving on to the relationships between SR, SP and FP knowledge: Despite the nearly identical correlations between SR and FP knowledge and SP and FP knowledge a number of the additional findings suggest that SR is influenced more by FP knowledge than is SP, such that increases in FP knowledge lead to an increase in SR, but not an equivalent decrease in SP. Specifically, 1) Female CWs had higher SR and higher FP knowledge but their SP was the same; 2) Higher FP knowledge fully accounted for the relationship between longer tenure and higher SR. Higher FP knowledge only partially accounted for the relationship between longer tenure and lower SP indicating those with longer tenure had lower SP independent of their higher FP

knowledge; 3) Higher education was associated with higher FP knowledge and higher SR, but SP was not related to level of education; 4) CWs who were educated in a helping field had higher SR and FP knowledge but their SP was the same as others, and 5) C2C trained CWs had higher FP knowledge but not lower SP. Also although their SR was the same as non-trained CWs, they perceived that it had improved following the training.

Similarly, it seems that as speculated in the literature review, the day-to-day job-related experiences of CWs are more likely to trigger SP related attitudes and increase SP, but these experiences likewise may not have an equivalent effect on decreasing SR. Based on the qualitative findings, particularly the 'I'm not quite convinced' theme, the explanation for the difference in the relationship between SP and FP knowledge appears to be that SP attitudes are more strongly held, more emotional, less rationale and more resistant to change.

These observations appear to explain why some CWs may simultaneously support SR and SP. It seems that SR can increase when confronted with relevant FP information (or SR related experience) without having to abandon on modify one's SP, and likewise, SP can increase without having to completely abandon one's SR. Instead, the CW simply amalgamates the information and supports both, either prioritizing one above the other (punish first then rehabilitate if possible) or deciding that rehabilitation is only good for some offenders but not others.

Let us turn now to the relationships between SR, SP, FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs, beginning with the quantitative findings. First, the total model with the demographics, FP knowledge, SR and SP accounted for an impressive 51.8% of the variance in engagement in CCPs. As with the previous analyses, females and older CWs had higher CCPs scores, predicting engagement in CCPs independent of the other variables. However, though FP knowledge made a significant predictive contribution when added to the demographic variables, with the addition of SR and SP to the model, FP knowledge was no longer significant. Therefore all of the variability contributed by FP knowledge was accounted for by SR and SP, demonstrating high correspondence between SR and SP and (at the very least) intention to engage in CCPs. Notably SR was a better predictor of engagement in CCPs ($\beta = .38$) than SP ($\beta = -.30$), indicating that high SR is more important for CCPs than is low SP.

The addition of the interactions allowed for further insight into the role of FP knowledge. Specifically, compared to CWs with low SR, the rate of high SR CW's engagement in CCPs

increased more drastically with increased FP knowledge. The same however was not true for those with low SP. One interpretation of this finding is that high SR serves as motivation to more consistently apply what they know about offender change in their daily interactions with inmates.

Probably the most powerful finding of the interviews was participants' description of the features of the 'institutional setting' and how these elements impacted on the quality of CWs interactions with offenders. While no past research has looked specifically at the factors that facilitate or impede CW's engagement in CCPs the interview results pointed to a number of established correctional and penological literatures which can assist in understanding the results. First however, it may be pertinent to reflect on the multiple problematic features of the institutional setting which the interviewees reported.

The provincial correctional systems have been deemed by some to be in "crisis" (Public Service Foundation of Canada, 2015). Two recent comprehensive documents outlined the multiples stresses on the correctional system in Saskatchewan and validate the accounts of the interviewees. The Public Services Foundation of Canada (2014) reviewed the provincial correctional systems across Canada, reporting rates of overcrowding, the influx of inmates with serious mental health concerns, lack of rehabilitation programs and reintegration assistance, and increasing costs leading to limited financial resources. Consistent with interviewee accounts this report also described a growing gang population in the facilities as well as a disproportionate increase of inmates on remand. Because those on remand are not yet sentenced, they are not offered rehabilitation programming.

Demers (2014) reviewed the state of incarceration in Saskatchewan facilities from a public health perspective. His analysis included interviews with offenders. Demers highlighted a number of issues including the current "warehousing" of inmates in the form of double bunking and the conversion of gymnasiums, classrooms and visiting areas into dormitories, the overuse of segregation, lack of program availability, inadequate health care, strained food services and others. Notably, Demers' observations included inmates' accounts of how the setting negatively influenced their behaviour. For example one interviewee described how he and a friend "acted up" (p. 13) to get placed in segregation so they could have air conditioning and privacy. Others described conflicts between inmates over foodstuffs due to inadequate meal sizes, and uncleanliness because common areas do not have adequate bathroom facilities and require CW assistance to gain access (Demers, 2014). A review of the correctional research indicated that all

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of these features have been previously documented and named as organizational stressors prevalent in correctional environments, and their consequences on the job-related experiences of CWs have been widely studied.

Finn (1998) reviewed the literature on the sources and consequences of CW stress which had been examined at the time. Likewise, Morgan, Van Haveren and Pearson (2002) listed those associated with both stress and burnout. Together these two articles identified the following stressors: overtime, shift work, supervisor demands, role conflict, role ambiguity[8], work load, understaffing, overcrowding, lack of environmental control, lack of participation in decision making, inmate contact, anticipation of inmate contact, confrontations with inmates, inmate demands and attempts at manipulation, threats of inmate violence, job danger, personality styles, and problems with coworkers.

The consequences of these stressors on CWs were identified as multidimensional, inter-related and cyclical in nature. Finn (1998) noted that institutional stressors were associated with excessive use of sick time, impaired health, reduced institutional safety, early retirement, impaired family life, and burnout. Burnout contains three problematic elements, "depersonalization, reduced personal accomplishment, and emotional exhaustion" (Morgan et al., p. 145). Depersonalization is when job frustrations lead to reduced concerns for clients and negative work-related attitudes (for example punitiveness). Reduction in accomplishment includes job-related sense of inadequacy and feelings of failure. Finally, emotional exhaustion is when feelings of overextension lead to decreased job productivity (Morgan et al., 2002, p. 145-146). Burnout also leads to high staff turnover. Staff turnover further leads to compromised hiring practices as less qualified applicants are hired to manage over-time. The combination of inexperienced, untrained and burnt-out CWs increases the stress on other CWs who pick up the burden of the workload and listen to burnt-out CWs vent their frustrations, bringing down the morale, and contributing to concern that their colleagues are physically or mentally incapable of supporting them in a conflict situation (Finn, 1998). CWs may also worry their colleagues will engage in inappropriate behaviour towards inmates (unnecessary force at one extreme and starting a relationship at the other extreme) or will simply fail to do their work conscientiously (Finn, 1998).

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[8] Role ambiguity occurs "when there is a lack of clarity in information about what is to be done for a position or when a staff member is unclear how to handle a particular job duty" (Lambert, Hogan, Cheeseman & Barton-Belessa, 2013, p. 22)

Along with increasing punitiveness, role conflict mentioned earlier, has also been linked with increased job stress, burnout, decreased job satisfaction and lower organisational commitment (Lambert et al., 2013). Recently, Lambert, Hogan, Cheeseman and Barton-Belessa (2013) examined the impact of role conflict, role ambiguity, role overload and 'dangerousness of the job' on job involvement, which was defined as the cognitive bond between a person and their job (p.20). The authors found that all four stressors negatively correlated with job involvement. Higher role conflict and perceived dangerousness in particular had statistically significant relationships with lower job involvement.

Obviously variables like burnout, job stress, organizational commitment, role conflict and role ambiguity were not specifically examined in this line of research, thus conclusions cannot be made about their prevalence in each of the four institutions in the province. Yet all of the themes generated for the non-engagement in CCPs model are represented in these stressors, thus strongly indicating that they are at least present in the institutions. Furthermore, interviewees felt that these elements negatively impacted on their attitudes and the level to which they engaged in CCPs. It is not surprising then to note that Lambert, Hogan, Barton and Elechi (2009) found that correctional staff who reported lower job stress and higher organizational commitment had higher SR.[9]

In fact the 'better for me' theme which participants used to justify both engagement and non-engagement in CCPs demonstrated how stress and burnout influenced their motivation. In this theme interviewees described a fine balance in their interactions with inmates, intended to maximise the ease of their job. Those interviewees with high SP or who expressed feelings associated with stress and burnout described engaging in just enough CCPs to make their job easier. They did not go above and beyond what was required or would achieve quick compliance from the inmate. Consistently, examination the distribution of the CCPs scale showed that the mode score of 118 towered above the remainder of the distribution almost flagging the 'adequate' level of engagement in CCPs agreed upon by the sample. Further, the interaction analyses suggested that it was really only the highest SR, and possibly least stressed CWs who took the extra time to put themselves out there and risk criticism from their peers/colleagues, or to muster extra motivation or perhaps the belief that they could be helpful. This body of research

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[9] Job stress was defined as "an employee's feelings of job-related difficulty, tension, anxiety, frustration, worry, emotional exhaustion and distress" Organizational commitment was "the bond formed between the worker and the employing organization" (Lambert et al., 2013, p.113).

also suggested that the more accurate interpretation of the 'I don't make a difference' theme was not that these CWs did not know that research indicates CW behaviour matters, but that because they were burnt-out, they no longer believed it or cared.

There is even a darker side to stress and burnout than lack of motivation to engage in CCPs. Although it is beyond the scope of this research to delve too deeply into the factors that facilitate excessive use of force by CWs or even lesser forms of inappropriate and unethical behaviour towards inmates, one cannot ignore the "missing CW" and related themes ('mentally unwell' and 'dehumanize offenders'). It would be a gross oversimplification (and ethical misstep) for researchers to fall victim to the fundamental attribution error and implicate only mental health problems, personality disorders or strong punitive attitudes of the CW as the primary source of active non-engagement in CCPs, or more simply, job misconduct. A more empathetic, generous and accurate understanding involves the consideration of both inter- and intra-personal factors which facilitate inappropriate and unethical behaviour.

For example turning to the literature on excessive use of force among police, Gallo (2011) suggested that psychologists evaluating officers consider a number of factors including previous job-related trauma which can manifest in fear and stress reactions, impulsivity and low frustration tolerance, anxiety, low self-worth, personality disorders characterized by lack of empathy, and personal problems which increase stress, such as divorce. However Gallo and others, most notably Phillip Zimbardo of the Stanford Prison experiment (2007) warn against the ease of blaming individuals for their inappropriate behaviour and overlooking cultural and situational factors that facilitate them. For example, the "bad apple" explanation for inappropriate job-related behaviour of police and CWs (referred to by one interviewee) has been thoroughly challenged. In an article on police misconduct, Ivković (2009) noted that analyses of incidents of police misconduct have generally incorporated "problems with police departments ("rotten barrels") or their subunits ("rotten branches"; p. 780). Thus, to understand the misconduct of staff, Ivković recommends first the examination of official agency rules, recruitment and selection processes, ethics and integrity training, culture and socialization, supervisors, the internal control system, and the extent and nature of misconduct in the agency (p. 780).

In at least some of the units in the correctional institutions in Saskatchewan, it appears there is a culture and socialization problem that is facilitating inappropriate staff conduct, both

towards inmates and between staff. The 'peer pressure' theme contained many troubling examples which reflected not just a failure to engage in CCPs but active engagement in inappropriate and unethical behaviour by some CWs which needs to be addressed for individual level interventions to be maximally effective.

Zimbardo (2007) described the cognitive mechanisms that lead to moral disengagement: a term originally described by Bandura (1999) to describe how people who would otherwise follow a moral code "disengage their usual self-sanctions" which would otherwise stop them from engaging in certain behaviours (as cited by Zimbardo, 2007, p. 310). Zimbardo outlined the four steps to moral disengagement. The first is redefining the unethical behaviour as ethical by espousing moral imperatives for the behaviour; contrasting the others' immoral behaviour against your morally motivated behaviour and using sanitizing language that minimizes the behaviour. An example of this would be the prioritization of backing up one's CW colleagues as a righteous and moral goal, described by some interviewees. Second is diffusing personal responsibility by attributing the motivation for the behaviour to others. An example comes from the qualitative results: "Unfortunately it's not me, it's the culture I belong to". Third, is to distort, ignore and minimize the harm caused by the behaviour, for example as described in the 'I don't make a difference to offenders' theme. Last is to dehumanize the target, labelling them as deserving of the punishment ('dehumanizing' theme; Zimbardo, 2007). Clearly these cognitive mechanisms are functioning to some extent among some CWs in these institutions. Additionally, for those who perhaps are more resilient to these modes of thinking about inmates the pressure to conform ('rats' theme) in conjunction with high levels of stress and burnout, undermine the motivation to intervene against other CWs when they observe inappropriate conduct.

If it was not yet apparent that prison settings can have a detrimental impact on CWs, consider the following: Based on a review of the established correlates replicated in previous research, Leiter and Maslach (1999) developed a model describing the organizational contexts which generate burnout among employees. The six organizational areas they described were high workload, insufficient control over work-life, lack of reward and feelings of deprivation, limited community support, lack of fairness in decision making and recognition, and finally mismatch between the values of the organization and the employee. With respect to all, Leiter and Maslach noted that it is incongruence between the organization and employee expectation that ultimately leads to burnout.

It would be a lengthy process to describe the exact statements made by interviewees' which reflected the ways the Saskatchewan prisons aligned with the features Leiter and Maslach described. Instead it is adequate to conclude that based on the qualitative themes, the organizational context of the provincial correctional institutions are facilitating burnout among their employees.

What can hopefully be ascertained from these descriptions is why FP knowledge failed to independently predict engagement in CCPs. Clearly knowing better does not always mean doing better. Nonetheless, while the qualitative findings illustrate a number of serious problems at work in the institutions, it is probably necessary to take a moment to reflect again on the quantitative findings on engagement in CCPs. Primarily the overall distribution of the engagement in CCPs scale (over two SD above the neutral point) indicated that at least amongst those who completed the survey, CWs are reporting, with a few exceptions, a general strong understanding of the types of interactions they should be engaging in with inmates and making efforts to do so. Nevertheless, steps still need to be taken to maximize CWs ability to follow through with their behavioural intentions and well as to require that less engaged CWs achieve the behavioural standards required of their position.

Before forming any final conclusions and making recommendations there are some additional matters to consider. One concerns the complexity of intervening in staff attitudes. Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler (2000) posited that even for open-minded individuals who are motivated, attitude change is more difficult than previously conceptualized. They argued that while conscious attempts to change one's attitude can lead to change in a person's explicit attitudes (those called on by self-report measures), the person may continue to maintain his or her original attitude implicitly and below his or her level of awareness. By Wilson et al.'s account then, people are able to access and apply their new attitude when given ample time, energy and motivation to access it, however in high stress situations or situations where they do not have time, they will regress to their original attitude. Only after long periods of time practicing the new attitude might it change (Wilson et al., 2000). This means that even if an intervention was able to modify strong punitive and anti-CCP attitudes, during an emotionally volatile interpersonal exchange with an offender the original attitude would likely be activated to guide behaviour. Further, Wilson et al.'s (2000) theory applies to the ideal scenario whereby the person actually wants to change his or her attitude, as opposed to attempts to have his or her

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attitude changed by others. What the combined findings of Wilson et al.'s research, the cognitive psychology research reviewed above, and the findings that SP attitudes are less responsive to FP knowledge than SR suggests, is that efforts to change existing strongly held punitive views of CWs will likely be ineffective, and if approached incorrectly could possibly be counterproductive and strengthen them.

Based on this account, it is tempting to conclude then that the only thing that can be done to improve CW attitudes is to hire people with existing high SR/low SP. Yet, there are additional factors to consider here too. An article from 1986 (Jurik & Musheno, 1986) on the attempts by the state correctional system in the Western USA (referred to by the authors as the Western D.O.C. or Department of Corrections) to professionalize the corrections officers' role, provides a salient and stark warning of placing too much emphasis on the individual characteristics of the CW and overlooking structural impediments to change.

The parallels between the systemic pressures on the Western D.O.C. in the 1980s and provincial Corrections in the 2015 are startlingly similar. Unfortunately it is beyond the scope of this discussion to outline everything decision makers could learn from Jurik and Musheno's (1986) commentary. Instead, a recommendation to Ministry decision makers to review this article and a brief summary will have to suffice. Essentially, despite the efforts of the Western D.O.C. to improve the functioning of their facilities to be more ethical and safe for inmates and staff by raising the educational requirements for COs and recruiting a more diverse and hopefully more human service oriented workforce, much of their objectives failed to come to fruition. Instead, the authors noted that failures to institutionally adjust to this new work force by providing 1) additional in-service training to staff, 2) broader organizational support, 3) opportunities for this more educated staff to exercise autonomy in decision making, 4) modifications to the daily job expectations of the CWs, and 5) job advancement opportunities, instead resulted in a dissatisfied workforce that ultimately either quit or unionized. Like the findings of the current research, Jurik and Musheno also observed that the more human services oriented staff were often sanctioned by colleagues for emphasizing human services and were suspected of putting the safety of the institution at risk by older and more 'traditional' staff. Ultimately, Jurik and Musheno concluded that the "professionalization efforts increased the frustration of the very line staff they aimed to recruit" (p. 477)

So where does this leave us? It is certainly tempting to put attempts to modify and improve CW attitudes and behaviours in the "too hard" basket, especially as the findings suggests that the system in which CWs function has dominion over many of the problems. Further, the obstacles to changing the problematic institutional features described by participants are recognized as going well beyond the walls of the facilities, extending to provincial sentencing practices and provincial and federal politics and agendas. It also is not reasonable to think that hiring a new workforce would ameliorate these issues, even if it were feasible.

Nevertheless, very rich information has been gleaned from this research which indicates there is still hope for addressing the correctional orientation of CWs and nurturing higher engagement in CCPs. In particular, though SP may be particularly difficult to change, SR seems to be more responsive to intervention in the form of increased FP knowledge. Also, because SR and SP do not appear to be hinged on a continuum, SR can be increased without having to decrease SP. Furthermore, the analyses on group differences in CCPs indicated that CWs with high SR/high SP engaged in CCPs at a significantly higher rate than those with low SR/high SP and similarly, SR was a better predictor of engagement in CCPs in the regression. It can be concluded then that the goal of training interventions should not be to try to reduce CWs' SP, which may be too difficult, but to focus on increasing their SR and engagement in CCPs. In fact, it is very reasonable to believe that CWs can strongly disapprove of inmates' crime and believe they should be held accountable through incarceration, yet still humanize them and engage in high levels of CCPs, especially if they work in an environment which requires them to do so. This is typified in the "firm but fair" sentiment that is associated with effective intervention (Gendreau, 1996). Focussing on SR via FP knowledge could bring low SR/high SP CWs behaviour within a more acceptable/ethical range and possibly improve peer norms, as well as further increase the SR of those with existing high SR and motivating even greater engagement in CCPs.

Lastly, before turning to the specific recommendations regarding the encouragement of positive correctional attitudes and behaviours for the purpose of supporting offender outcomes, the question as to how the correction role impacts on CWs deserves attention. Very recently a news article was posted on CBC News website regarding the suicides of three CWs in Albert (Collins, May 22, 2015). Those interviewed for the article highlighted overcrowding and lack of training in the Alberta correctional system as factors that contributed to violent incidents faced

by these CWs, manifesting in unbearable stress which was ultimately implicated in their suicides. Incidents such as these highlight the gravity of the strain placed on CWs and the consequences for failing to adequately support them. An informal scan of the website for the Union of Canadian Correctional Officers and CorrectionsOne.com, (an online resource for COs internationally) shows how COs struggle to maintain a healthy perspective of their roles and responsibilities and the price many pay for their choice of employment. Bedore (2012) a federal CO in Canada who writes for the union webpage highlighted for his colleagues the statistics on the negative outcomes COs face, including the likelihood of being assaulted, earlier mortality and higher rates of divorce, substance abuse and suicide than the public. These are not acceptable outcomes for those tasked with protecting society from those the justice system has deemed too dangerous to our communities. Further, as has been demonstrated throughout, the avenue to meet the Ministry's mandate of increasing public safety by reducing reoffending, as well as to improve institutional safety, is to support the frontline CWs who are tasked with offender supervision and safety during their incarceration.

6.2 Implications and Recommendations

The results of this research can be used to inform three types of recommendations which can improve CW attitudes and increase engagement in CCPs: 1) Recommendations for improving the current institutional environment for existing staff with a particular focus on reducing stress and burnout; 2) Recommendations for educating and training targets for existing staff, and; 3) Recommendations for hiring criteria and nurturing the attitudes of new CW recruits.

It seems imperative to note that the evidence indicates that steps need to be taken to reduce the stress of CWs either prior to or concurrent with efforts to implement training and educational initiatives for CWs. CWs appear to be sensitized to being blamed, and front-line staff based interventions, unaccompanied by genuine management level efforts to improve staff wellbeing, will likely be met with cynicism, and defensiveness. As such, the recommendations for reducing staff stress are presented first.

6.2.1 Reducing stress and burnout.

By taking active steps to reduce stress and burnout existing CWs will be able to morally re-engage with their job and act in accordance with their attitudes and ethics. Using Leiter and

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Maslach (1999) and Morgan et al (2002) as a guide, there are a number of ways this could be achieved:

1. Employing frequent structured and direct solicitations for feedback and recommendations for assistance and improvement. While it is recognized that a system currently exists for staff recommendations, managers need to formally acknowledge and address all submissions of staff concerns including those that cannot be changed, and implement those that can, in a timely manner.

2. The burnout literature indicates that burnout is reduced when staff have the opportunity to engage in work that is consistent with their values (Leiter & Maslach, 1999). Therefore CWs who consistently demonstrate high SR attitudes and strong and consistent engagement in CCPs who are interested in supporting offenders should be selected to work in treatment or "living" units where there are many opportunities for pro-social role modelling. These CWs should be allowed to maintain these placements and not be rotated out of the positions as a matter of course, unless they request to be moved or are no longer upholding these principles.

3. Actively encourage staff to utilize the Employee Assistance Program. Repeatedly emphasize the confidentiality of the service. Strongly consider giving staff an hour and a half off of their shift to attend EAP sessions. Do not count this time against consideration of staff recognition for consistent attendance.

4. In order to facilitate a stronger sense of community, consider a staff wellness committee which organizes regular on-the-job opportunities to recognize and offer a break to frontline staff (if one does not already exist). Projects could include a contest requesting CW suggestions about what they do for self-care, in order to make recommendations to other staff.

5. Reinstate mental health professionals (e.g. registered psychologists) to regularly visit the facilities (weekly or biweekly). Their role should encompass individual meetings with mentally ill and behaviourally complex inmates but should also include formal consultation with senior frontline staff and nurses to provide information and guidance for managing specific mentally ill and challenging offenders. These meetings should result in memos or other efficient forms of communication to make sure recommendations and guideline for managing these inmates are accurately and promptly disseminated to all frontline staff and

should emphasize the importance of acting in accordance with the recommendations of the consultation team.

6.2.2 Education, training and maintenance.

The educational interventions section of the literature review provided evidence that educational interventions for correctional staff have been effective in improving staff attitudes. Likewise, all interviewees indicated that they felt the training they received was inadequate, suggesting that CWs would be responsive to receiving additional training.

With regards to the content of this training, interviewees described their sense that some CWs do not know how to interact appropriately with offenders, for example how to de-escalate an inmate who is becoming angry. Likewise, the 'personal efforts' theme demonstrated how because of lack of consistency, CWs take independent steps to manage inmates' behaviour, or focus on particular rules, which may or may not be appropriate. This leads to inconsistency across units and staff, likely resulting in confusion for both staff and offenders.

Additionally, some interviewees seemed confused about all of the elements of CCPs; seeing it primarily as engaging in casework such as the C2C program, or using CCPs to gather intelligence for maintaining institutional safety, as opposed to describing an interpersonal style which should permeate all interactions between CWs and inmates. A review of "The Road Ahead" document released by The Ministry in 2009 as a response to the recommendations which followed an inmate escape from custody revealed why this may be the case. One of the four points of the action plan was to "Improve Core Correctional Practices" (p. 3) and generally described CCPs as a direct supervision technique for improving institutional safety. While engaging in CCPs is an important avenue for improving institutional safety, this description overlooks the second benefit of CCPs, which is its moral and rehabilitative value. Subsequent to these observations, the following training and educational interventions are recommended:

1. Frequently and regularly refresh security related (restraint) training. Most CWs infrequently use these skills allowing for them to deteriorate. Consequently, CWs feel increasingly uncertain both about their own, and their colleagues abilities to protect them, leaving them feeling less safe and nurturing over-reliance on structural security measures.

   a. Include in this training information about modes of interaction that escalate and de-escalate situations without the use of force. Consider sourcing mental health professional to assist in facilitation of this training.

2. Refresh training on CCPs and dynamic security.

    a. Be very specific about behaviours that are consistent and inconsistent with CCPs.

    b. Focus heavily on explicitly describing how to be "firm but fair". Include how to appropriately and effectively manage challenging and manipulative inmate behaviour, how to respectfully reinforce boundaries, why and how to positively reinforce good behaviour, the importance of consistency, keeping your word, and the flexible application of certain rules.

    c. Differentiate between liking offenders or condoning their actions and treating them with respect.

    d. Emphasize how informal, CCP consistent interactions with offenders improves staff safety, and how positive interactions between inmates and CWs may also lead to decreased stress (Dignam , Barrera & West, 1986) so that CWs understand how this training helps them.

The mode with which this training is offered is also important. While some CWs may respond to statistics and research findings, these sources of information may be too abstract and threatening for some. Instead it is suggested that experienced high SR frontline staff work alongside forensically trained psychologists to create a training program which amalgamates salient anecdotes of successful negotiations and interactions with offenders, with explicit behavioural strategies for CWs. One useful and relatable way of illustrating desired behaviour may be via comparisons to the authoritative parenting style originally described by Baumrind, (1967) and contrasting it with permissive and authoritarian styles.

In order to maintain gains this training should be refreshed after one year of work on the job for new recruits and approximately every two to three years (possibly more for some CWs) for others, tapering off depending on the outcome of the CWs performance evaluation (described next).

3. Clarify, monitor and reinforce the job expectations including engagement in CCPs.

    a. Managerial and supervisory staff need to actively and consistently monitor and role model desired behaviour and staff/inmate interactions, as they expect CWs to role model appropriate behaviour to offenders.

    b. Specific behavioural expectations regarding interactions with inmates should be outlined in a written format and made clear across units.

c. Compliance with expectations should be reviewed in the form of regular (annual) staff evaluations and goals for improvement.

d. COs with higher levels of personal accomplishment have been found to have less stress (Morgan et al, 2002). Likewise, rewards for appropriate behaviour also reduce stress (Leiter & Maslach, 1999). Thus, positive evaluations should result in rewards, incentives and goals for future improvement and growth as opposed to methods for criticism or reprimand.

e. Introduce other regular formal and informal incentives for ideal behaviour. For example an award for not utilizing sick leave (but avoid reinforcing excessive taking of overtime shifts), for acting as a staff role-model or for safe and appropriate management of incidents. This could include institution wide recognition emails, awards ceremonies, gift certificates, etc. Incentives should be based on behaviour as opposed to seniority.

4. CW misconduct should be closely monitored and dealt with consistently and transparently.

a. A hard line should be taken regarding referring to inmates as "scum" and other derogatory terms. When this occurs CWs should be openly challenged and disciplined if it continues.

While the findings of the interviews indicated that some CWs engaged in offender perspective taking and humanizing of offenders in order to remain engaged in CCPs, one might hesitate to recommend encouraging high SP CWs to engage in perspective taking of offenders. It seems that this type of information may fall in the category of information which could lead to a backfire effect, with the initiator being discredited as "an inmate lover". While the ethics of keeping CWs with such attitudes employed in the institutions is a question worth considering, it is nevertheless recommended that intentions to address these staff attitudes focus on enforcing CCPs as a requirement of the job, as well as stressing why these behaviours are good for staff themselves.

6.2.3 Hiring and training new recruits.

The research findings also provide information that could be helpful in the selection and training of new CW recruits to facilitate high engagement in CCPs. The most important feature for engagement in CCPs appeared to be high empathy and high SR. Very strong SP attitudes also appeared to be problematic but some SP, as long as it was accompanied by high SR, did not

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seem to preclude CWs from engaging in a relatively high level of CCPs. As a function of the high correspondence between the correctional orientation and engagement in CCPs measures, it seems that correctional orientation measure used in this study could be employed as a screening tool for new recruits, using it to screen out those with low SR in particular.

Based on the interviews one could also speculate about possible scenarios which may be used to screen applicants. For example, hiring committees could consider creating scenarios describing particularly troubling crimes, and rude and entitled institutional behaviours of inmates (as opposed to just outright physical aggression) and seeking their emotional reaction. This could be followed up by questions such as how would they still work with this inmate, or how they would feel about still being polite or assisting them in the future. Other questions may include how the applicant feels about prison conditions, inmates accessing TV, having incentives for good behaviour or participation in treatment. Likewise, applicants could be presented with some of the FP knowledge information such as facts about the inefficacy of punishment, followed by questions about their reactions to this information. In fact, one question which was regrettably left out of the FP knowledge measure that appeared to be important to attitudes was the belief that internal motivation to change is required for treatment efficacy. While this is a widely cited belief, it is actually challenged by the empirical evidence on offender change which indicates that psychological interventions can be effective in enhancing motivation (McMurran, 2011). Perhaps another question that could assist in screening out inappropriate staff would be to ask simply what the applicant believes is necessary for offenders to change. If they indicate only internal drive, or punitive sanctions, this could highlight problematic attitudes.

Lastly, the additional findings on relevant education suggested that one avenue for recruiting CWs with high SR is to prioritize those whose educational background is in a helping profession. Therefore, those with completed social work, psychology, counselling and addictions work degrees most likely have high SR and high empathy. Noteworthy as well was the finding that those with Correctional Studies diplomas who are intended specifically for CW roles actually had lower SR, higher SP and lower engagement in CCPs than other CWs. Leiter and Maslach (1999) observed that "emotional work is especially draining when the job requires people to display emotions inconsistent with their feelings" (p. 476). Likewise, stress is increased when people are required by the job to engage in emotional interactions when they are unwilling

to do so (Leiter & Maslach, 1999). The findings of the current research therefore challenge the possible assumption that these recruits are the best candidates for the job.

Once hired it is suggested that high SR recruits be trained in FP research and CCPs in order to groom and guide their behaviour. While high SR CWs are more likely to engage in CCPs, some research suggests that as optimistic new recruits they may be more naïve to offender manipulation (Crewe, Liebling & Hulley, 2011). Thus, while new CWs need to be nurtured and supported to engage their high SR, they also need to be mentored by experienced CWs with high SR in how to balance the dual aspects of their role so as to maintain appropriate boundaries and personal and institutional safety. Further, peer support has also been associated with decreasing burnout (Morgan et al, 2002). It is therefore further recommended that the Ministry implement a mentoring system for new recruits. This would involve specially selecting senior or particularly skilled CWs who demonstrate the attitudes and interaction styles with inmates which the facility wants new recruits to emulate. Recruits would then participate in a shadowing period and this person would be allocated as the recruits' go-to contact for questions and concerns. Lastly, it is further suggested that the Ministry consider making mentoring one of the modes for recognizing staff and offer incentives for being a mentor.

Should the Ministry decide to pursue these recommendations with regards to hiring high SR recruits and attempting to improve the SR of their current frontline staff, they will however need to be cautious of the prevalence of organizational stressors (Leiter, & Maslach, 1999) and lessons learned by the state corrections system in the USA described above (Jurik & Musheno, 1986). If these recruits are placed in units with entrenched anti-offender attitudes and peer pressure as described by interviewees, they will quickly become disillusioned with the job and regress towards more punitive attitudes and burnout as was described by two of the interviewees.

With regards to hiring in correctional institutions in general, the most realistic application of these recommendations may be in the selection of staff for specialized treatment units and facilities (mental health facilities) or completely new institutions where helping norms have the opportunity to be freshly established.

There is one final recommendation. Those interviewed for the CBC news article observed that in Alberta no routine statistics are recorded on the number of violent incidents that occur between inmates and CWs, nor do they track use of stress leave by staff or staff with work-related stress diagnoses such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Consequently, they

recommended that these statistics be collected and monitored. Though there are obviously confidentiality issues regarding collection of data on the health of officers in the form of diagnosis, if information about incident rates and use of stress leave are not collected in Saskatchewan, it is strongly recommended that this practice be implemented. The preceding recommendations are intended to reduce the stress of CWs and improve interactions between CWs and inmates. The gauge of whether these interventions are effective will be reduced sick time, stress leave and staff turnover, and reduction of incidents between CWs and inmates. Thus, money spent upfront to implement these recommendations will reduce costs down the line. However, if this data is not collected, there will be no evidence to justify the continuation of these practices.

6.3 Limitations and Future Directions

As with all research, this project has some limitations. Beginning with the surveys the issues with the electronic administration meant that it was likely that some good data was lost from incomplete surveys as well as resulting in a much lower response rate from some facilities. As a result of this and the non-requirement to complete the survey the attitudinal profile of the sample cannot be considered an accurate representation of the overall FP knowledge, attitudes and behaviours of CWs in the provincial system in Saskatchewan. Nonetheless, the purpose of this research was not to establish a profile of the attitudes and behaviours of Saskatchewan's CWs but instead, to understand the nature of the relationships between theses variables.

Secondly, the measures used across the study were all newly developed and therefore are limited in their comparisons to other measures. All efforts were however made to learn from the mistakes of past measures and develop quality tools. The reliability statistics reported suggest that the tools were performing appropriately and could be used again in future research. However, in the future some modifications could be made to remove scale items which are not performing as well as others. Likewise, the comments of interviewees suggested that the reverse wording of some items (double negatives such as "does not reduce reoffending"), could lead to some confusion and possible misrepresentation of their attitudes. This could be improved in future research.

With regards to the SR scale of the correctional orientation measure, it was observed that there may be two factors at work; general SR and the role of CWs in supporting rehabilitation. In the future, the items that measure these two sides of SR may be explored separately to further

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understand the nuance of this attitude. The other limitation of the measures used was the self-report nature of the engagement in CCPs variable. Methodological limitations meant that data could not be collected on the actual observed behaviour of CWs during the course of their work. Likewise, the wording in the items often asked whether the CW believed certain behaviours to be acceptable versus whether they personally engaged in them and with what frequency. The negative skew of the distribution on the CCPs scale suggests a potential reporting bias and is slightly inconsistent with some of the reports of the interviewees. It is possible that participants exaggerated the extent to which they engaged in these behaviours, or they were reporting more of what they believed should happen versus what they actually do, or that the self-selection to participate created a very positive sample. If allowed, future research could benefit from collecting actual behavioural data.

Thirdly, it is possible that very different results may have been found if the sample pursed had been of federally employed CWs as opposed to provincial. The impact of the current provincial setting on the attitudes and behaviours of CWs is apparent throughout and does not need repeating. Nevertheless, the SR, SP, FP knowledge and engagement in CCPs of CWs working in federal institutions which do not have inmates on remand, have offenders on longer sentences, and have psychological staff and regular rehabilitation programming, may differ considerably. Yet, again however, while CWs in a federal institution may have more opportunities to increase their SR and may therefore be different, the goal of understanding the sources of these attitudes was still achieved through this body of research.

The fourth and final limitation related to the use of interviews to understand the additional sources of CW attitudes. The obvious limitation is that this method relies on the participants' level of introspection and ability to understand their own attitudes. As such, some participants were better able to provide reasons why they think and believe and know what they do. Not only may participants have never before considered these questions and therefore could have produced different responses if they had more time, but some reasons may be unconscious and outside of their awareness. Other reasons may be too sensitive to report. For example, Unnever and Cullen (2009) suggested that racism is a primary source of punitiveness. As observed briefly in the literature review and reflected by the racial profile of the CW sample, in Saskatchewan the CW population is largely Caucasian and the offender population is largely Aboriginal (Demers, 2014). Further, relations between these two populations in the general

community continue to be immensely acrimonious. Based on a poll by the Canadian Institute for Identities and Migration, the popular news media reported in 2015 that Manitoba and Saskatchewan report the highest levels of racism in the country (Macdonald, 2015). And yet, although the survey was not designed to measure racist attitudes, the potential influence of racism also did not materialize in the interviews, even when given the opportunity to implicate their colleagues instead of just themselves. The only subtle hint towards the presence of potential racial tensions in the data was the small number of participants who chose to write "Canadian" in the "other" category for the ethnicity question on the survey. This absence of explicit mention should not however be taken to suggest that racism does not influence Caucasian CW/Aboriginal offender interactions. It would be foolish to conclude that the institutional walls have the power to filter out of the equation the well-established influence of racism on punitiveness (Unnever & Cullen, 2010). Nevertheless, the lack of findings specifically related to race, was foreseeable. It is unlikely that interview participants would implicate their own or other's racism, or other similarly sensitive stereotypes, judgements and biases, as a source of their attitudes, especially in Canada where there is a long standing history of denying racial tensions (Macdonald, 2015). Consequently, though the intention was to gain a comprehensive picture, there are undeniably more subtle influences on CWs attitudes and behaviours than those explicitly stated.

Finally, with regards to future research, the current research successfully accounted for more variance in CW SR and SP than any previous research. Likewise, the reasons CWs provided for their SR and SP have in some way been described across the previous research exploring these attitudes across populations. It is therefore concluded that further exploratory work of this nature is unlikely to be additionally fruitful. Should future researchers be interested in attempting to fully explain these attitudes it is suggested the successful past variables be measured in a comprehensive survey that includes: FP knowledge, positive attitudes towards corrections, human services orientation and/or education in helping professions, role conflict, burnout, dangerousness of the job, organizational commitment, empathy, racism, attributional style, job satisfaction, age, sex, and level of education. Though some of these variables likely overlap, it seems probable that together they would almost fully account for SR and SP. Should this project occur it is strongly recommended researchers employ the improved measures of SR and SP utilized in this study and perhaps refine them further.

6.4 Conclusion and Significance

The original goal of this research was to understand the treatment-related attitudes of CWs in order to harness the prominence of their position to improve the efficacy of rehabilitation programs for offenders. The crux of this goal was to better understand the nature and relationship between these attitudes with the focus on their determinants, chief among them being, the role of knowledge of relevant empirical research findings. The quantitative results proved the fruitfulness of this investigation, demonstrating the substantial association between FP knowledge and correctional orientation and between correctional orientation and engagement in CCPs. Further, as no previous research examined the predictors of CW engagement in CCPs, this research provided a meaningful starting point for future investigations.

Yet, the substantive contribution of this research came via the mixed-methods design. The qualitative findings provided invaluable interpretive insight which likely drastically modified the conclusions and recommendations that would have been produced had the quantitative findings stood alone. Of particular import was how the themes assisted in distinguishing between SR and SP as well as highlighting the importance of existing attitudes. Though the distinction between the two was subtle they prompted precise avenues for intervention and hiring criteria, as well as magnifying the simultaneous challenge and possible inconsequentiality of attempting to change SP.

A further noteworthy benefit of the qualitative methods was the opportunity to re-examine quantitative data in light of qualitative results. This lead to the unforeseen finding that those with education in a helping field differed in important ways from those trained in criminal justice and correctional fields. As many previous attempts have been made to professionalize the CW workforce via hiring more highly educated CWs, this finding qualifies and redirects hiring practices towards the favoring of higher education in fields which both increase FP knowledge but also reflect a commitment to rehabilitative values consistent with the guiding, supporting and mentoring role of correctional work.

Moreover, the themes generated in the non-engagement in CCPs model accentuated the vital importance of considering the situational, interpersonal and systemic influences on CWs job related attitudes and behaviours. Without these results, it would have been all too easy to focus solely on idiographic recommendations which ultimately would have replicated past failures to

change prison cultures. If the qualitative results have illuminated nothing more, it is that it does not matter how healthy or robust the tree, if you plant it in sand it is sure to wither and fade.

In sum, the use of mixed methods allowed for a balanced, comprehensive and nuanced perspective on the relationships between FP knowledge, SR, SP and engagement in CCPs, which allowed for multilevel recommendations. Though it is hoped that this document has persuaded readers regarding the need to professionalize the CW role, it is also hoped that the reader understands that the avenue to this outcome involves attitudinal and policy changes at the top level of the hierarchy. This includes a commitment to treat CWs as professionals, respecting their knowledge and skills, providing them the incentives and motivations to succeed, acknowledging their contributions and caring about their wellbeing. When this is done, offender outcomes will improve and the Ministry will be able to confidently claim that they are taking all necessary steps to meet their mandate to improve the safety of the province's correctional institutions and communities. The question now becomes, now that they know better, will they do it?

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Appendix A: Survey items from previous measures which measure beliefs

The following items were taken from scales used to measure CO attitudes for which the veracity of the statements can be, or has been examined within the empirical research. The list is not comprehensive in that some items were reused by other authors who are not specifically noted.

Cullen et al., 1989 also used by Blevins, Cullen & Sundt, 2007
Support for custodial orientation: p.35
- An inmate will go straight only when he finds that prison life is hard
- Many people don't realize it, but prisons are too soft on the inmates
- We would be successful even if all we taught inmates was a little respect for authority

Support for rehabilitation: p.38
- The only effective and humane cure to the crime problem in America is to make a strong effort to rehabilitate offenders. (Cullen & Sundt, 2007) / The most effective… (Blevins et al., 2007)
- The only way to reduce crime in our society is to punish criminals, not try to rehabilitate them.
- One of the reasons why rehabilitation programs often fail with prisoners is because they are under-funded; if enough money were available, these programs would work
- The rehabilitation of adult criminals just does not work
- The rehabilitation of prisoners has been proven to be a failure

Klofas &Toch, 1982. Also used by Farkas, 1999
Punitive Orientation
- There would be much less crime if prisons were more uncomfortable
- Improving prisons for inmates makes them worse for officers
- A military regime is the best way to run a prison
- Rehabilitation programs are a waste of time and money

Antonio et al., 2009
Staff responses about inmate rehabilitation and appropriate behaviour inside a prison (p. 370)
- Staff support of inmate rehabilitation can make a difference on treatment outcomes
- Staff behavior can impact the effectiveness of inmate rehabilitation and treatment
- I can make my correctional facility a more positive place through my actions
- I can make my correctional facility a more positive place through my interactions with others
- Reinforcing positive behavior is a requirement of my profession

Staff responses about inmate treatment and support for rehabilitative programs (p.374)
- My actions will not make a difference one way or the other
- If I supported DOC goals for rehabilitation, I would appear weak to inmates
- If I supported DOC goals for rehabilitation, I would appear weak to other staff

Staff responses about respect for inmates and how their behaviour affects the prison environment
(p.376)
- You can't treat inmates with respect because they won't respect you
- Treating inmates with respect will make a correctional facility more dangerous
- The way I act in a correctional facility will not impact inmate rehabilitation efforts
- The way I act in a correctional facility will have no impact on inmate behavior

Sundt et al., 2008 p.433
How helpful are rehabilitation programs for treating:
- Violent offenders?
- Non-violent offenders?
- Juvenile offenders?
- Adult offenders?
- Drug offenders?
- Sex offenders?

Options: very helpful, helpful, slightly helpful, and not helpful at all

Melvin et al., 1985
Attitudes toward prisoners:
- Prisoners never change
- Trying to rehabilitate prisoners is a waste of time and money
- Most prisoners can be rehabilitated
- Prisoners respect only brute force

Appendix B: Correctional Orientation measure used in the pilot study with coding and scale identifiers

Items are in different fonts to indicate which question measures which construct. The measure as presented to the undergraduate participants did not have this formatting.

Times New Roman items = Support for rehabilitation. High score indicates support for rehabilitation. Low score indicates not supportive of rehabilitation. Items in bold are reverse scored. (15 items)

Calibri items = Support for punishment. High score indicates support for punishment. Low score indicates not supportive of punishment. Items in bold are reverse scored. (15 items)

Strongly Disagree (1), Disagree (2), Neither Agree nor Disagree (3), Agree (4), Strongly Agree (5)
_____

1. I would support an increase in the number of rehabilitation programs in Canadian correctional institutions R1

2. Corrections Officers should <u>not</u> interact with offenders other than to carry out security roles P1

3. **By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are <u>not</u> being held accountable for their behaviour R2**

4. Prison life should be miserable for offenders P2

5. Correctional staff should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration R3

6. **Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily R4**

7. Offenders should <u>not</u> be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately P3

8. Corrections Officers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work R5

9. Offenders give up their basic rights when they choose to commit a crime P4

10. **Rehabilitating offenders is <u>not</u> important R6**

11. **Incarceration alone is sufficient punishment for prisoners P5**

12. I do <u>not</u> care if offenders have a hard time in prison; they are just getting what they deserve. P6

13. Offenders who will be released into society should participate in rehabilitation programs before their release R7

14. Corrections Officers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison R8

15. **It is <u>not</u> the job of Corrections Officers to make offenders pay for their crimes P7**

16. The purpose of prison is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve P8

17. **Offenders do <u>not</u> deserve treatment programs R9**

18. Correctional staff should not "go soft" on offenders P9

19. **Prison is <u>not</u> a place for payback P10**

20. Corrections Officers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming. R10

21. **Offenders should be treated with respect P11**

22. The most important function of the criminal justice system is to make offenders pay for their crimes P12

23. **I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated R11**

24. It is most important that offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison R12

25. **We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated and start paying more attention to the real victims of these criminals R13**

26. **Offenders do <u>not</u> deserve harsh punishment P13**

27. **As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do <u>not</u> care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are in prison R14**

28. Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitative services while incarcerated R15

29. Correctional staff should <u>not</u> be friendly or kind to offenders P14

30. **Corporal punishments should <u>not</u> be used in Canadian prisons P15**

CORRECTIONAL ORIENTATION SURVEY SCALE

UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN

Participant Consent Form

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING VERY CAREFULLY

You are invited to participate in the development of a brief survey measure which will be used to examine the attitudes of Corrections Officers towards the treatment of criminal offenders.

Researchers: This study is being conducted by Christina Jones (christina.jones@usask.ca), a doctoral student in clinical psychology at the University of Saskatchewan and under the supervision of Dr. J. Stephen Wormith (s.wormith@usask.ca; 306- 966-6818), department of psychology.

Purpose: One of the priorities of the Canadian Criminal Justice System is to improve public safety by reducing the rate at which criminal offenders reoffend upon release from correctional institutions. Consequently, correctional institutions in Saskatchewan provide rehabilitation programs to incarcerated offenders during their sentences. However, while much is known about the elements of effective treatment programs, it is unclear how Corrections Officers employed in the provincial institutions in Saskatchewan perceive these efforts. As such, the researcher is developing a survey scale which examines Corrections Officers' attitudes towards the treatment of offenders, known as "Correctional Orientation". These scales will be used to examine if and how these attitudes are related to Corrections Officers' knowledge of forensic research, and their on-the-job behaviours. Your participation will help the researcher develop the attitude component of this survey. The results will be used to, 1) determine which survey questions are most useful; 2) generate hypotheses about Corrections Officers' attitudes; and 3) assist in the planning of the statistical analyses that will be done on the Corrections Officers' survey responses.

Procedure: If you decide to participate you will be asked to complete an online survey that should take about 5-10 minutes to complete. You will be asked to indicate your agreement with a series of statements that measure your attitudes towards the treatment of criminal offenders. You must complete the entire survey in one sitting, as you are not allowed to resume at another time from where you left off. While you are participating, your responses will be stored in a temporary holding area as you move through the survey, but they will not be permanently saved until you complete all sections and you are given a chance to review your responses.

Potential Risk and Benefits: There are no known or anticipated risks for completing this survey. There is no penalty for choosing not to participate. By completing this survey you will

assist the researchers to develop a survey which will be used with Corrections Officers. The results of the survey will ultimately be used to inform training programs for Corrections Officers.

Compensation: Participants will be given one bonus mark credited towards their 100-level psychology course for participating in this study. You will receive credit immediately upon completion of the survey.

Confidentiality: Your information is anonymous. We will not ask you for any identifying information. You will be identified to researchers only by a unique numeric ID code. Your responses will only be used as part of a larger dataset. The results of this research will be used as part of a larger survey which the researcher is developing and will be using on a much larger sample of Corrections Officers. The results of this research will form the first phase of the student-researcher's dissertation and may be presented at conferences as well as submitted for journal publication.

Right to Withdraw: Your participation in this study in completely voluntary. You may contact Christina Jones or Dr. Stephen Wormith to receive more information about the study. You may skip any question you wish. If you wish to withdraw from the study, you may do so at any time, for any reason, without explanation or penalty. If you withdraw prior to submitting your survey response, your data will not be used and will be destroyed beyond recovery. However, once you have submitted your survey data it will be combined with the responses of other participants' responses without any identifying markers. Thus, **g*iven that your responses are anonymous, you cannot withdraw your responses once you have submitted your survey.***

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the research project, please contact the researcher, Christina Jones (telephone: (306) 716-5872; christina.jones@usask.ca) or her research supervisor Dr. Stephen Wormith (telephone: (306) 966-6818; s.wormith@usask.ca), at any point. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca, 306-966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free, 888-966-2975.

Results: At the end of the study (December 2015), a summary of the results will be produced. If you would like to receive a summary of the results an opportunity will be provided for you to submit your email address. You can choose not to submit your email. Alternatively, you can contact the researcher, Christina Jones (telephone: (306) 716-5872; christina.jones@usask.ca) or her research supervisor Dr. Stephen Wormith (telephone: (306) 966-6818; s.wormith@usask.ca), to receive a summary.

Consent to Participate: By completing and submitting the questionnaire, you agree that you have read and understood the research study described above. You have been provided with the information necessary to choose to participate in the study and that you have had the opportunity

to have your questions answered. You also agree that you understand that you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time.

Please print a copy of this page for your records.

By completing and submitting the questionnaire YOUR FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT IS IMPLIED and indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study. If you submit this survey, we will assume that you have given consent to participate in our study. Please note that submitted surveys cannot be withdrawn due to anonymity.

What is your sex?
Male   Female

What is your age? (Open response)

What is your ethnicity? (Open response)

Many of the statements which follow refer to "rehabilitation". There are many different types of treatment and rehabilitation programs for offenders. These include vocational and educational training, religious interventions, and many others. The statements which follow refer to interventions which target the factors which put people at risk for committing crimes.

Similarly, many of the statements below refer to "offenders" or "criminals". These are people who have committed a criminal offence. There are many different types of offenders. The statements below refer to all types of adult offenders.

We are interested in YOUR OPINIONS. Thus, please rate your PERSONAL AGREEMENT with the statements.

Please provide a response for every question. If you are given the option to decline to answer a question, then declining to answer is considered a response.

I would support an increase in the number of rehabilitation programs in Canadian correctional institutions

   Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Corrections Officers should <u>not</u> interact with offenders other than to carry out security roles

   Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are <u>not</u> being held accountable for their behaviour

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Prison life should be miserable for offenders

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Correctional staff should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Offenders should <u>not</u> be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Corrections Officers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Offenders give up their basic rights when they choose to commit a crime

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Rehabilitating offenders is <u>not</u> important

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Incarceration alone is sufficient punishment for prisoners

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

I do <u>not</u> care if offenders have a hard time in prison; they are just getting what they deserve

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Offenders who will be released into society should participate in rehabilitation programs before their release

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Corrections Officers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

It is <u>not </u>the job of Corrections Officers to make offenders pay for their crimes

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

The purpose of prison is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Offenders do <u>not</u> deserve treatment programs

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Correctional staff should <u>not</u> "go soft" on offenders

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Prison is <u>not</u> a place for payback

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Corrections Officers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming.

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Offenders should be treated with respect

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

The most important function of the criminal justice system is to make offenders pay for their crimes

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

It is most important that offenders turn their lives around while they are in prison

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated and start paying more attention to the real victims of these criminals

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree , Agree , Strongly Agree

Offenders do <u>not</u> deserve harsh punishment

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do <u>not</u> care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are in prison

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitative services while incarcerated

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Correctional staff should <u>not</u> be friendly or kind to offenders

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Corporal punishments should <u>not</u> be used in Canadian prisons

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Debriefing Form
Correctional Orientation Survey Scale

Thank you for your participation in this study!

Corrections Officers (COs) play an important role in facilitating pro-social offender change and institutional safety. Acknowledging this, the Saskatchewan Ministry of Justice, Corrections and Policing Division, has made a commitment to train COs at the outset of their correctional careers in some basic forensic practice knowledge including the ways that they can facilitate effective rehabilitation efforts. For example these include: enforcing rules and boundaries via respectful and straightforward communication practices and positive reinforcement; anticriminal modeling and reinforcement; teaching concrete problem solving skills; and importantly, interpersonal relationships between staff and offenders characterized by openness, warmth, and mutual respect and liking (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Both rehabilitative outcomes and institutional safety may be increased when these practices are appropriately implemented by COs (French & Gendreau, 2006), and are consistent with attitudes supportive of rehabilitation and against punishment.

However, there is a substantial body of research evidence which suggests that as compared to other correctional staff, COs disproportionately hold punitive and anti-rehabilitation attitudes (Robinson et al., 1993; Robinson et al., 1996; Higgins & Ireland, 2009; Young, Antonio, & Winegard, 2009). These attitudes can decrease the likelihood that COs will implement these practices in their everyday interactions with offenders. Thus, this research aims to examine the attitudes and self-reported job-related behaviours of COs employed in the provincial adult institutions in Saskatchewan. Specifically, we are interested in determining the relationship between COs' forensic practice knowledge which they are trained in, and their existing attitudes and behaviours.

There have been some problems with the previously employed measures of attitudes supportive of rehabilitation and punishment (known as correctional orientation). For example, support for punishment has often been measured by items which make reference to support for rehabilitation. Yet, a number of studies have found that the two attitudes are discrete and relate differently to other attitudes, and also that people can be simultaneously supportive of rehabilitation and punishment of offenders (Lambert et al., 1999; Sprott, 1999).

The results of the survey you have just completed will be used to assist in the development of an improved measure of correctional orientation. This includes: 1) determining the questions which will be used in the survey with the COs; 2) statistically analyzing the results to determine whether or not support for rehabilitation and support for punishment should be considered discrete yet related attitudes, or whether they in fact lie on opposite sides of a spectrum or continuum; 3) using the results to modify or support existing hypotheses about COs survey responses. This is because the researchers hypothesize that knowledge of effective rehabilitation practices relates differently to support for rehabilitation than it relates to support for punishment; and finally, 4) assisting in the determination of how the COs' survey responses will be statistically analyzed.

Thank you very much for you participation in this study. If you have any questions or would like a summary of the results, please contact the researchers, Christina Jones (christina.jones@usask.ca; 306-716-5872) or Dr. Stephen Wormith (s.wormith@usask.ca; 306-966-6818). A full summary of the results will be available in December 2015.

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Survey of Saskatchewan Corrections Workers

WELCOME!

<u>PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY</u>

You are invited to participate in a survey of Corrections Workers which is being carried out across the four Provincial Correctional Facilities in Saskatchewan.

Researchers: This study is being conducted by Christina Jones (christina.jones@usask.ca), a doctoral student in clinical psychology at the University of Saskatchewan and under the supervision of Dr. J. Stephen Wormith (s.wormith@usask.ca), Department of psychology.

Purpose: One of the priorities of the Canadian criminal justice system is to improve public safety by reducing the rate at which criminal offenders reoffend upon release from correctional institutions. One way the Saskatchewan Ministry of Justice, Custody, Supervision and Rehabilitation Division has attempted to achieve this goal is through the implementation of case management and institutional rehabilitation programs for offenders. In Saskatchewan, you have been trained in case management skills, as well as some of the basic principles of offender rehabilitation. Some of you may also have been trained to use tools like the Courage to Change as part of your case management. While there has been research conducted about Corrections Workers' experiences with offender rehabilitation programs nationally and internationally, there is very little known about the opinions and experiences of Corrections Workers here in Saskatchewan. This research is therefore intended to examine your thoughts and experiences about this aspect of your work with offenders.

Procedure: If you decide to participate in this survey you will be asked to answer a number of questions, which should take about 20-40 minutes to complete. Permission has been obtained from the Ministry of Justice for you to complete this survey during your regular work hours, as long as it does not interfere with your regular duties. However, you are not required to complete this survey and you will not be additionally compensated by your employer for your time if you do complete it.

After you have completed the survey, please save it and email it to the student researcher at:
Christina.jones@usask.ca

In order to keep your answers safe, we recommend you delete the saved survey after emailing it.

Survey contents: Firstly, you will be asked to complete some demographic questions, including questions about your educational and work history. You will then be asked to rate various statements about criminal justice and your work with offenders. You will also be asked some questions about your knowledge of effective correctional practice.

Potential Risk and Benefits: There are no known or anticipated risks for completing this survey. <u>Your individual responses will not be shared with your employer</u>. There is no penalty for choosing not to participate. By completing this survey you will contribute to the research on the job-related experiences of Corrections Workers. The results of the survey will be used to inform training programs for Corrections Workers designed to increase institutional safety and reduce job-related stress.

Compensation: If you complete the survey, you will be given the option to enter a draw to win 1 of 20, $20 gift cards for Tim Hortons or McDonalds. If you would like to enter the draw you will be offered an opportunity to provide your confidential contact information at the end of the survey.

Confidentiality/Anonymity: Your responses will be kept strictly confidential. If you email the completed survey to the researcher it cannot be considered "anonymous" as it will be initially associated with your email address. However, you <u>are not required</u> to provide any identifying information in order to participate and your email address will not be linked to your responses. Your survey responses will only be used as part of a larger dataset with all identifying information removed. However, at the end of the survey you will be offered the opportunity to volunteer to participate in some <u>optional</u> additional future research, in the form of an individual interview. If you would like to participate, space will be provided for you to provide your name and contact information. In this case, <u>your name will be kept strictly confidential </u>and will only be used to arrange for your participation. Likewise, you will also be offered the opportunity to put your name in the draw for a gift card and to receive an email with a summary of the results of this research. In both of these cases you can choose not to provide your email address. Should you provide your email address it will be kept strictly confidential.

The results of this research will form the basis of the student-researchers' dissertation and may be presented at conferences as well as submitted for journal publication. The results may also be used by The Saskatchewan Ministry of Justice, Custody, Supervision and Rehabilitation Division for the purposes of developing training programs and/or informing policy.

Right to Withdraw: Your participation in this study in completely voluntary. You may contact Christina Jones or Dr. Stephen Wormith to receive more information about the study. You may skip any question you wish. You can choose not to submit your survey. However, <u>because your data will be stored anonymously, once you have submitted your survey it cannot be removed.</u>

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the research project, please contact the researcher, Christina Jones (telephone: 306-716-5872; christina.jones@usask.ca) or her research supervisor Dr. Stephen Wormith (telephone: 306-966-6818; s.wormith@usask.ca), at any point. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office, ethics.office@usask.ca, 306-966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free, 888-966-2975.

Results: At the end of the study (December 2015), a summary of the results will be produced. If you would like to receive a summary of the results an opportunity will be provided for you to submit your email address. Alternatively, you can contact the researcher, Christina Jones (telephone: 306-716-5872;

christina.jones@usask.ca) or her research supervisor Dr. Stephen Wormith (telephone: 306-966-6818; s.wormith@usask.ca), to receive a summary.

Consent to Participate: By completing and submitting the questionnaire YOUR FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT IS IMPLIED and indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study. You have been provided with the information necessary to choose to participate in the study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered.

I have read and accept the conditions of participation outlined above.

I confirm that I am a Corrections Worker employed at one of the four Provincial correctional facilities in Saskatchewan.

 I confirm that I am completing this survey once, and only once.

 ☐ I AGREE

BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Before you start, we would like to know a little bit about you.

What is your sex?

☐   Male

☐   Female

How old are you?

Click here to enter text.

Please select the category that best describes your ethnicity.

☐   Caucasian

☐   Aboriginal (First Nations, Métis, Inuit)

☐   Black

☐   Asian

☐   Hispanic

☐   Other, please specify: Click here to enter text.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Please indicate your highest level of education.

☐ High School

☐ College, Polytechnic, or Trade School   Diploma/Certificate: Click here to enter text.

☐ Bachelors   Major: Click here to enter text.

☐ Honours   Major: Click here to enter text.

☐ Masters   Major: Click here to enter text.

☐ Ph.D   Major: Click here to enter text.

Please indicate if you took classes in any of the following and at what level(s). (eg. High School, Trade School, Bachelors, Honours, etc.)

☐ Psychology   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Correctional Studies   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Counselling   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Social Work   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Addictions   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Forensic Psychology   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Sociology   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Psychiatric Nursing   Level: Click here to enter text.

☐ Criminology/   Level: Click here to enter text.
   Criminal Justice

WORK HISTORY

Approximately how long have you been a Corrections Worker?

Please include time working at other correctional facilities including Federal and Youth institutions. Also, if you worked as a Corrections Worker and stopped for a period of time, but returned to your role, please include the length of your previous employment as a Corrections Worker in your answer.

Years: Click here to enter text.

Months: Click here to enter text.

Approximately how long ago did you complete the general orientation training?

Years: Click here to enter text.

Months: Click here to enter text.

☐ Did not complete

If you have completed this training more than once, how many times have you completed it?

Click here to enter text.

Please indicate whether you have been employed as any of the following, prior to, or during the course of your employment as a Corrections Worker.

Select all that apply.

☐   Probation Officer

☐   Youth Worker

☐   Parole Officer

☐   Social Worker

☐   Security Officer

☐   Police or RCMP Officer

☐   Other criminal justice related position. Please state: Click here to enter text.

☐   I have not held any of these other positions

Please indicate which Correctional Facility you currently work at:

☐   Pine Grove Correctional Centre

☐   Saskatoon Correctional Centre

☐   Regina Correctional Centre

☐   Prince Albert Correctional Centre

Please indicate which type(s) of offenders you primarily work with:

☐   Remand

☐   Sentenced

☐   Both Remand and Sentenced

Have you received training on the Courage to Change program?

☐   Yes

☐   No

If you did complete the training for the Courage to Change program, approximately how long ago did you complete it?

Years: Click here to enter text.

Months: Click here to enter text.

If you do Courage to Change with offenders, in a typical month, how many face-to-face Courage to Change meetings do you have with offenders?
(We realize this may vary from month to month, but please give your best estimate about the average number of meetings.)

Click here to enter text.

In the following section "rehabilitation programs" refers to all institutional programs designed to reduce reoffending. "Offenders" refers to all sentenced adult offenders.

Please indicate your level of personal agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

I think there should be more rehabilitation programs in Saskatchewan's Correctional institutions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are not being held accountable for their behaviour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Incarceration should be miserable for offenders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders should not be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders give up all rights when they choose to commit a crime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rehabilitating offenders is not important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do not care if offenders have a hard time while incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is not the job of Corrections Workers to seek retribution for offenders' crimes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The only real purpose of prison is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders do not deserve treatment programs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Correctional staff should not "go soft" on offenders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Prison is not a place for retribution	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders should be treated with respect	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The most important function of the criminal justice system is to punish offenders for their crimes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders do not deserve harsh punishment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do not care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitative services while incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Correctional staff should not be friendly or kind to offenders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders who have personal difficulties during their incarceration are just getting what they deserve	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The following section is designed to understand the nature of your day-to-day interactions with inmates.

Please indicate your level of personal agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

I routinely tell inmates when they have done a good job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes I ignore reasonable or warranted inmate complaints	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to make inmates' time in prison unpleasant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am usually patient with inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes make friendly small-talk with inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes try to make prison uncomfortable for inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to help inmates solve their problems when I can	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to insult an inmate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I never antagonize or provoke inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually speak calmly to inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I often explain to inmates the reasons why I am doing things or why certain things need to be done	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes I keep inmates waiting unnecessarily	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to set an example of appropriate and respectful behaviour for inmates to follow	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes ignore inmates' minor negative behaviours	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I often avoid inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to act how I want the inmates to act	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am rarely polite to inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I keep my word with inmates whenever I can	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Sometimes, I will share a laugh with an inmate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually thank inmates when they comply with my requests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes it is acceptable to yell at inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I encourage inmates to attend their rehabilitation programming and/or complete their homework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to mock inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to swear at inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to praise inmates for doing even the little things right	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I never apologize to an inmate if I have done something wrong	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually help inmates with their reasonable or warranted requests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I have helped inmates access treatment programs and/or psychiatrists or psychologists	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to be rude to inmates when it is necessary to get their attention	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to admit small mistakes or errors to inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

We are also interested in your outlook prior to completing the training for the Courage to Change program.

IF YOU COMPLETED TRAINING FOR THE COURAGE TO CHANGE PROGRAM please respond to the following statements a second time, this time, <u>as you believe you would have prior to participation in this training.</u>

IF YOU DID NOT COMPLETE THIS TRAINING YOU CAN SKIP THIS SECTION

Please indicate your <u>previous</u> level of personal agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I think there should be more rehabilitation programs in Saskatchewan's Correctional institutions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are not being held accountable for their behaviour	☐	☐	☐	☒	☐
Incarceration should be miserable for offenders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders should not be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders give up all rights when they choose to commit a crime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rehabilitating offenders is not important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do not care if offenders have a hard time while incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is not the job of Corrections Workers to seek retribution for offenders' crimes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The only real purpose of prison is for offenders to get the punishment they	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

deserve

Offenders do not deserve treatment programs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Correctional staff should not "go soft" on offenders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Prison is not a place for retribution	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corrections Workers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders should be treated with respect	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The most important function of the criminal justice system is to punish offenders for their crimes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders do not deserve harsh punishment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do not care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitative services while incarcerated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Correctional staff should not be friendly or kind to offenders	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Offenders who have personal difficulties during their incarceration are just getting what they deserve	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

IF YOU COMPLETED TRAINING FOR THE COURAGE TO CHANGE PROGRAM please respond to the following statements a second time, this time, <u>as you believe you would have prior to participation in this training.</u>

Please indicate your <u>previous</u> level of personal agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I routinely tell inmates when they have done a good job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes ignore reasonable or warranted inmate complaints	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to make inmates' time in prison unpleasant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am usually patient with inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes make friendly small-talk with inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes try to make prison uncomfortable for inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to help inmates solve their problems when I can	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to insult an inmate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I never antagonize or provoke inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually speak calmly to inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I often explain to inmates the reasons why I am doing things or why certain things need to be done	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes keep inmates waiting unnecessarily	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to set an example of appropriate and respectful behaviour for inmates to follow	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes ignore inmates' minor negative behaviours	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

I often avoid inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to act how I want the inmates to act	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am rarely polite to inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I keep my word with inmates whenever I can	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I sometimes will share a laugh with an inmate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually thank inmates when they comply with my requests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes it is acceptable to yell at inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I encourage inmates to attend their rehabilitation programming and/or complete their homework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to mock inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to swear at inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to praise inmates for doing even the little things right	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I never apologize to an inmate if I have done something wrong	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I usually help inmates with their reasonable or warranted requests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I have helped inmates access treatment programs and/or psychiatrists or psychologists	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think it is acceptable to be rude to inmates when it is necessary to get their attention	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am willing to admit small mistakes or errors to inmates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The following statements are either TRUE or FALSE according to the bulk of the empirical research on the topic.

Please try to answer the questions yourself, without assistance. We are as interested in your current understanding of these statements

In the section below the term "risk" is regularly used.

In this context risk is defined as: The likelihood that an offender will reoffend again in the future. Risk level is generally expressed in groups; low risk, medium risk, and high risk. For example, high risk could be defined as a 75% chance that the offender will commit another crime within one year of release from a correctional facility, while low risk could be defined as a 20% chance of committing a crime within one year of release.

Please indicate whether you think each statement is True or False:
If you are unsure, please guess at the better of the two responses.

	True	False
According to research, all offenders require the same treatment/interventions.	☐	☐
Interventions that scare or punish people have been found to reduce rates of reoffending.	☐	☐
Research indicates that the way Corrections Workers interact with offenders can impact the outcome of rehabilitation programs.	☐	☐
Research indicates that rehabilitation programs can reduce rates of reoffending.	☐	☐
Research indicates that efforts to rehabilitate offenders are never cost effective.	☐	☐
Research indicates that rehabilitation programs can reduce prison incidents.	☐	☐
Rehabilitation programs have been found to be less effective when they include working relationships between staff and inmates that are characterized by mutual respect, openness, warmth, and liking, than when they do not include these characteristics.	☐	☐
Research suggests that rehabilitation programs that primarily target substance misuse/addictions are the most effective in reducing reoffending.	☐	☐
Research indicates that more severe/harsh punishments are associated with lower rates of reoffending than less severe punishments.	☐	☐
Teaching offenders concrete problem solving skills has been found to increase the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs.	☐	☐
Research indicates that all efforts to provide rehabilitation programs to prisoners have proven to be ineffective in reducing reoffending.	☐	☐

According to research, Corrections Workers modelling anti-criminal behaviour has no effect on offender change. ☐ ☐

Research indicates that incarceration, by itself, does not decrease reoffending. ☐ ☐

According to research, if you give offenders positive reinforcement for good behaviour (ex. praise, reward), prison incidents and inmate rule breaking will increase. ☐ ☐

Some rehabilitation programs have been found to be more effective than others. ☐ ☐

Providing rehabilitation to offenders who have a low risk of reoffending can increase their risk of reoffending. ☐ ☐

The most effective rehabilitation programs for offenders target factors such as antisocial peers, antisocial attitudes/cognitions, and antisocial personality. ☐ ☐

Sex offenders' rates of reoffending are higher than all other types (e.g. property, homicide, etc.) of offenders. ☐ ☐

Punishment based interventions have been found to reduce rates of reoffending. ☐ ☐

Some of the factors that are used to determine an offender's risk to reoffend can be changed with intervention and some cannot. ☐ ☐

Failure to follow Core Correctional Practices can negatively impact the outcome of rehabilitation programs. ☐ ☐

Research indicates that harsh punishments for offenders can increase their future risk for offending. ☐ ☐

Research indicates that the manner by which Corrections Workers interact with inmates has no impact on future re-offending. ☐ ☐

Core Correctional Practices state that Corrections Workers should not be friendly to offenders. ☐ ☐

Research shows that training Corrections Workers about mental health issues has no impact on institutional safety. ☐ ☐

Failure to modify treatment programs to meet the needs of individual offenders can negatively impact the outcome of rehabilitation programs. ☐ ☐

According to research, all offenders require rehabilitation programs. ☐ ☐

Core Correctional Practices indicate that Corrections Workers should treat offenders with respect. ☐ ☐

Research indicates that there would be much less crime if prisons were more uncomfortable. ☐ ☐

Research indicates that the only way offenders will change is if they learn that they will be punished if they misbehave. ☐ ☐

Poor self-esteem is one of the major risk factors for offending (criminogenic needs). ☐ ☐

Research indicates that in some cases incarceration (without services) can increase reoffending rates. ☐ ☐

VOLUNTEER FORM

We are also looking for volunteers who would be willing to participate in an interview.

The interviews are intended to: 1) assist the researcher to understand the results of the survey, and 2) to gain understanding about the attitudes of Corrections Workers toward the treatment of offenders, and how these are influenced by their knowledge and experiences.

THIS IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY TO TELL US WHAT YOU THINK WE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT WORKING WITH OFFENDERS!

Interviews will be approximately one hour in duration and will occur outside of the work hours of the volunteer. Participants will be compensated $25 for their time. Interviews will be carried out at a to-be-determined location which is not associated with the volunteer's Correctional institution of employment, or The Ministry of Justice - Corrections and Policing Division. They will also take place within the city of the volunteer to limit travel time and expense. Interviews will either be conducted by the primary researcher, Christina Jones, or a specially trained research assistant.

Interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed for later analysis. A pseudonym will be used in all documentation in order to protect confidentiality, and all information which could reasonably be used to identify the volunteer will be removed. All recordings will be deleted after they have been transcribed to a written text format.

Participants will be chosen from the pool of volunteers based on their survey responses, in order to gather a sample of people who differ in their responses. Thus, the contact details you provide here will be associated with your responses. If you have any further questions about volunteering to participate in the interview, please feel free to contact the primary researcher, Christina Jones (e-mail: Christina.jones@usask.ca; phone: 306 716 5872)

If you do not wish to volunteer, you do not have to provide any identifying information. If you would like to volunteer, please provide your contact information in the space provided below.

Please indicate if you would be willing to volunteer to participate in an interview:

☐ Yes, I would like to volunteer.

First Name: Click here to enter text.

Email address and/or phone number: Click here to enter text.

☐ No, thank you.

DRAW ENTRY

If you would like to have your name put into the draw for a chance to win <u>1</u> of 20 available, $20 Gift Cards for your choice of Tim Hortons or McDonalds, please provide your email address in the space provided below. Your email address will be kept confidential and will be deleted from the database that contains your responses. It will only be used to contact you should you be chosen in the draw.

☐ Yes, I would like to be entered in the draw.

E-mail address: Click here to enter text.

☐ No, thank you.

Thank you for your participation in this study!

If you have any further questions or would like a summary of the results, please contact the researchers, Christina Jones (christina.jones@usask.ca; 306-716-5872) or Dr. Stephen Wormith (s.wormith@usask.ca; 306-966-6818). Alternatively, you can provide you email address below and a summary of the results will be emailed to you when the research is complete. Again, your email address will be kept confidential and will be deleted from the databased that contains your responses. A full summary of the results will be available in December 2015.

Would you like to be e-mailed a summary of the results of this research?

☐ Yes

E-mail address: Click here to enter text.

☐ No, thank you.

Hello!

My name is Christina Jones, and I am a psychology graduate student at the University of Saskatchewan who is interested in psychology, law and corrections.

This email is to invite <u>you</u> to participate in a survey of Corrections Workers employed in the four Provincial Adult Correctional Facilities in Saskatchewan, which I am conducting as part of my dissertation research. To do this, I am seeking your viewpoint on various matters pertaining to correctional services.

One of the priorities of the Canadian criminal justice system is to improve public safety by reducing the rate at which criminal offenders reoffend upon release from correctional institutions. One way the Saskatchewan Ministry of Justice, Custody, Supervision and Rehabilitation Division has attempted to achieve this goal is through the implementation of case management and institutional rehabilitation programs for offenders. In Saskatchewan, you have been trained in case management skills, as well as some of the basic principles of offender rehabilitation. Some of you may also have been trained to use tools like the *Courage to Change* as part of your case management.

While there has been research conducted about Corrections Workers' experiences with offender rehabilitation programs nationally and internationally, there is very little known about the opinions and experiences of Corrections Workers here in Saskatchewan. This research is therefore intended to examine your thoughts and experiences about this aspect of your work with offenders.

If you would like to participate, your survey responses will be anonymous, and cannot be attributed to any individual. Participation is also completely voluntary – there is no consequence for choosing not to participate. However, if you do choose to participate, you will have the opportunity to enter into a draw to win one of 20, $20 Gift cards from your choice of Tim Horton's or McDonalds so that you can treat yourself! Those entered into the draw do not have their names associated with their survey responses.

Permission has been obtained from the Ministry for you to complete this survey during your regular work hours, as long as it does not interfere with your regular duties. However, you are not required to complete this survey and you will not be additionally compensated by your employer for your time if you do complete it.

If you do not wish to complete the survey while at work, you may complete it off-site. Simply forward this email with the link to the survey to your personal email address so that you can complete the survey on your own time.

If you would like to participate, please go to the following web address:

http://fluidsurveys.usask.ca/s/corrections-workers/

***If you are using **Internet Explorer** on a facility work computer, you will encounter a warning indicating that **"there is a problem with the website's security certificate."** Please disregard this warning and click:

"Continue to this website (not recommended)"

You will then be directed to the survey. Please be assured that this will not cause security issues with your computer and is simply a precaution of internet explorer. This has been approved by your facility.

Appendix F: Mean and standard deviation scores for each scale item on support for rehabilitation and support for punishment scales

SUPPORT FOR REHABILITATION	M	SD
I think there should be more rehabilitation programs in Saskatchewan's Correctional institutions	4.09	1.12
By participating in rehabilitation programs, offenders are not being held accountable for their behaviour	3.85	0.99
Corrections Workers should guide and mentor offenders throughout their incarceration	3.75	1.08
Rehabilitation programs allow criminals who deserve punishment to get off easily	3.69	1.02
Corrections Workers should support rehabilitation programs during the course of their work	4.04	0.88
Rehabilitating offenders is not important	4.23	0.83
Corrections Workers should help offenders turn their lives around while they are incarcerated	3.54	1.06
Offenders do not deserve treatment programs	4.18	0.79
Corrections Workers should assist offenders to gain access to educational, drug/alcohol, and other programming	4.01	0.96
I would never consider employing an offender, even if he or she had completed rehabilitative programming while incarcerated	3.08	1.18
We should stop viewing criminals as victims of society who deserve to be rehabilitated	3.05	1.11
As long as offenders stay quiet and do not cause any trouble, I really do not care if they are getting rehabilitated while they are incarcerated	3.68	1.04
Offenders should receive treatment and rehabilitative services while incarcerated	4.19	0.83
SUPPORT FOR PUNISHMENT		
Incarceration should be miserable for offenders	2.44	1.00
Offenders should not be given privileges even if they are behaving appropriately	2.30	1.00
Offenders give up all of their rights when they choose to commit a crime	2.70	1.15
I do not care if offenders have a hard time while incarcerated	2.70	1.11
It is not the job of Corrections Workers to seek retribution for offenders' crimes	2.20	1.07
The only real purpose of incarceration is for offenders to get the punishment they deserve	2.28	0.93

Correctional staff should not "go soft" on offenders	3.31	1.01
Prison is not a place for retribution	2.92	1.03
Offenders should be treated with respect	2.06	0.88
The most important function of the criminal justice system is to punish offenders for their crimes	2.53	1.03
Offenders do not deserve harsh punishment	3.39	1.00
Correctional staff should not be friendly or kind to offenders	2.04	0.84
Offenders who have personal difficulties during their incarceration are just getting what they deserve	2.32	0.92

Note. Each scale has a minimum score of 1 and a maximum score of 5. Bold items were reverse scored so that a higher score on SR scale indicates higher SR and a higher score on SP scale indicates higher SP.

Appendix G: Mean and standard deviations scores for each of the core correctional practices scale items

ENGAGMENT IN CORE CORRECTIONAL PRACTICES	*M*	*SD*
I routinely tell inmates when they have done a good job	3.83	0.84
Sometimes I ignore reasonable or warranted inmate complaints	3.85	0.85
I think it is acceptable to make inmates' time in prison unpleasant	3.89	0.92
I am usually patient with inmates	3.96	0.73
I sometimes make friendly small-talk with inmates	4.04	0.67
I sometimes try to make prison uncomfortable for inmates	3.94	0.88
I try to help inmates solve their problems when I can	4.02	0.67
I think it is acceptable to insult an inmate	4.12	0.85
I never antagonize or provoke inmates	3.77	1.07
I usually speak calmly to inmates	4.25	0.59
I often explain to inmates the reasons why I am doing things or why certain things need to be done	4.12	0.68
Sometimes I keep inmates waiting unnecessarily	3.83	0.90
I try to set an example of appropriate and respectful behaviour for inmates to follow	4.26	0.59
I sometimes ignore inmates' minor negative behaviours	3.17	0.94
I often avoid inmates	4.20	0.80
I try to act how I want the inmates to act	4.11	0.76
I am rarely polite to inmates	4.27	0.73
I keep my word with inmates whenever I can	4.34	0.59
Sometimes, I will share a laugh with an inmate	4.24	0.62
I usually thank inmates when they comply with my requests	4.13	0.71
Sometimes it is acceptable to yell at inmates	2.29	1.09
I encourage inmates to attend their rehabilitation programming and/or complete their homework	4.08	0.85
I think it is acceptable to mock inmates	4.05	0.82
I think it is acceptable to swear at inmates	3.46	1.17
I try to praise inmates for doing even the little things right	3.76	0.85
I never apologize to an inmate if I have done something wrong	4.13	0.71
I usually help inmates with their reasonable or warranted requests	4.25	0.57
I have helped inmates access treatment programs and/or psychiatrists or psychologists	3.97	0.84
I think it is acceptable to be rude to inmates when it is necessary to get their attention	3.67	0.99
I am willing to admit small mistakes or errors to inmates	4.03	0.69

Note. Minimum score is 1. Maximum score is 5. Bold items were reverse scored so that a higher score indicates higher engagement in CCPs.

Appendix H: Percentage of sample answering each FP knowledge scale item correct and incorrect

Question	Correct Answer	% Correct	% Incorrect
According to research, all offenders require the same treatment/interventions.	False	92.5	7.5
Interventions that scare or punish people have been found to reduce rates of reoffending.	False	80.1	19.9
Research indicates that the way Corrections Workers interact with offenders can impact the outcome of rehabilitation programs.	True	88.9	11.1
Research indicates that rehabilitation programs can reduce rates of reoffending.	True	93.8	6.2
Research indicates that efforts to rehabilitate offenders are never cost effective.	False	78.3	21.7
Research indicates that rehabilitation programs can reduce prison incidents.	True	90.3	9.7
Rehabilitation programs have been found to be less effective when they include working relationships between staff and inmates that are characterized by mutual respect, openness, warmth, and liking, than those that do not include these characteristics	False	86.3	13.7
Research suggests that rehabilitation programs that primarily target substance misuse/addictions are the most effective in reducing reoffending.	False	62.8	37.2
Research indicates that more severe/harsh punishments are associated with lower rates of reoffending than less severe punishments.	False	80.5	19.5
Teaching offenders concrete problem solving skills has been found to increase the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs.	True	95.6	4.4
Research indicates that all efforts to provide rehabilitation programs to prisoners have proven to be ineffective in reducing reoffending.	False	88.9	11.1
According to research, Corrections Workers modelling anti-criminal behaviour has <u>no</u> effect on offender change.	False	85	15
Research indicates that incarceration, by itself, does not decrease reoffending.	True	87.6	12.4
According to research, if you give offenders positive reinforcement for good behaviour (ex. praise, reward), prison incidents and inmate rule breaking will increase.	False	87.6	12.4

Some rehabilitation programs have been found to be more effective than others.	True	97.3	2.7
Providing rehabilitation to offenders who have a low risk of reoffending can increase their risk of reoffending.	True	56.2	43.8
The most effective rehabilitation programs for offenders target factors such as antisocial peers, antisocial attitudes/cognitions, and anti-social personality.	True	73.9	26.1
Sex offenders' rates of reoffending are higher than all other types (e.g. Property, homicide, etc) of offenders.	False	**46.9**	**53.1**
Punishment based interventions have been found to reduce rates of reoffending.	False	77.4	22.6
Some of the factors that are used to determine the risk level of an offender can be changed with intervention and some cannot.	True	91.6	8.4
Failure to follow Core Correctional Practices can negatively impact the outcome of rehabilitation programs.	True	76.9	20.4
Research indicates that harsh punishments for offenders can increase their future risk for offending.	True	65.5	34.5
Research indicates that the manner by which Corrections Workers interact with inmates has <u>no</u> impact on future re-offending.	False	83.6	16.4
Core Correctional Practices state that Corrections Workers should not be friendly to offenders.	False	94.7	5.3
Research shows that training Corrections Workers about mental health issues has no impact on institutional safety.	False	92	8
Failure to modify treatment programs to meet the needs of individual offenders can negatively impact the outcome of rehabilitation programs.	True	86.3	13.7
According to research, all offenders require rehabilitation programs.	False	60.6	39.4
Core Correctional Practices indicate that Corrections Workers should treat offenders with respect	True	95.1	4.9
Research indicates that there would be much less crime if prisons were more uncomfortable.	False	83.2	16.8
Research indicates that the only way offenders will change is if they learn that they will be punished if they misbehave.	False	87.2	12.8
Poor self-esteem is one of the major risk factors for offending (criminogenic needs).	False	**41.6**	**58.4**
Research indicates that in some cases incarceration (without services) can increase reoffending rates.	True	88.9	11.1

Note. Bold items are those where the majority of the sample got the item incorrect.

Appendix I: Results of the 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA testing Section 1, hypothesis 2

A two-way factorial ANOVA was calculated with SP (low or high) and SR (low and high) as the IVs and FP knowledge as the dependent variable. As shown in Table 4.5, the groups had unequal cell sizes. Analysis was performed using SPSS GLM and SPSS EXPLORE for evaluation of assumptions.

Examination of the boxplots for the two levels of each variable revealed no extreme outliers. However, there were three cases with studentized deleted residuals greater than 3.0. The tests were therefore run removing these three cases. No differences were found between the outcomes so the outliers were retained. Shapiro-Wilk test of normality indicated that only the low SR/low SP group was normally distributed (p=.596) and that the normality assumption was violated for the other three levels, though examination of the Normal Q-Q plots suggested the distributions were less problematic. The assumption of homogeneity of variances was also violated, as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $p <.001$. It was decided to proceed with the analysis despite these violations and not to transform the variables.

There was a significant main effect of SR on FP knowledge, $F(1,222) = 20.51$, $p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .085$, as well as a significant main effect of SP on FP knowledge, $F(1,222) = 22.50$, $p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .092$. The interaction between SR and SP on FP knowledge was not statistically significant, $F(1,222) = 3.376$, $p = .067$, partial $\eta^2 = .015$. Nevertheless, the simple effects for SR and SP were calculated so the relevant hypotheses could be examined. A simple effect is defined as the "effect of one factor at one level of the other factor", and is often referred to as being "conditional on the level of the other variable" (Howell, 2010, p. 416).

An analysis of simple effects for SP was performed first with statistical significance receiving a Bonferroni adjustment and being accepted at the $p<.025$ level. There was not a statistically significant difference in mean FP knowledge scores between low and high SR CWs with low SP, $F (1,222) = 2.733$, $p =.100$, partial $\eta^2 = .012$. There was however, a statistically significant difference in mean FP knowledge scores between low SR and high SR CWs with high SP, $F (1,222) = 30.021$, $p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .119$. All pairwise comparisons were run for each significant simple effect. The mean FP knowledge score for high SP CWs with low SR was $M = 22.54$ ($SD = 4.85$) while the mean FP knowledge score for high SP CWs with high SR was $M = 26.25$ ($SD = 2.88$). Thus, for high SP CWs, the mean FP knowledge score was 3.71 points higher for CWs who also had high SR than for those with low SR, 95% CI [-5.05 to -2.38].

An analysis of simple effects for SR was also performed with statistical significance again receiving a Bonferroni adjustment and being accepted at the $p<.025$ level. There was a statistically significant difference in mean FP knowledge scores between low SP and high SP CWs with low SR, $F(1,222) = 16.038$, $p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .067$. There was also a statistically significant difference in mean FP knowledge scores between low and high SP CWs, for high SR CWs, $F(1,222) = 6.494$, $p =.011$, partial $\eta^2 = .028$.

All pairwise comparisons were again calculated for both simple effects. The mean FP knowledge score for low SR CWs with low SP was $M = 26.38$ ($SD = 2.85$) while the mean FP knowledge score for low SR CWs with high SP was $M = 22.54$ ($SD = 4.85$). Thus, for low SR CWs, mean FP knowledge score was 3.84 points higher for low SP CWs than for high SP CWs, 95% CI [1.95 to 5.73]. The mean FP knowledge score for high SR CWs with low SP was $M = 27.94$ ($SD = 2.16$) while the mean FP knowledge score for high SR CWs with high SP was $M = 26.25$ ($SD = 2.88$). Thus, for high SR CWs, mean FP knowledge score was 1.65 points higher for low SP CWs than for high SP CWs, 95% CI [0.38 to 3.00]. Therefore, based upon the mean FP knowledge scores for each group, the hypothesis that high SP low SR CWs would have the lowest mean FP knowledge scores was supported.

INTRODUCTION

Before we begin the interview itself I need to go through a few matters with you.

- Informed consent
- Limits to confidentiality

Also, as I am going to be asking you about your experiences with your work in Corrections, I thought I would begin by telling you a bit about my experiences in the area of corrections, in order to give you a sense of what motivated my research and where my questions come from.

Started working for the New Zealand Department of Corrections after I finished my Bachelor's Degree in Psychology. I worked facilitating long term treatment programs for high risk violent offenders in a mixed security prison.

After I completed my Honours degree I moved back to Saskatchewan where I am from to complete my Ph.D in clinical psychology with a forensic focus with this project being my thesis. My husband then became employed himself as a Corrections Worker in Saskatoon and is currently working as a probation officer. I currently work casually at the Regional Psychiatric Centre (Federal Prison) where I do a number of different clinical tasks.

So, I like to think that I have the advantage of a number of different perspectives on the challenges of the different types of Correctional work which I hope can help me understand the results of my research.

Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

GENERAL QUESTIONS: ALL PARTICIPANTS

I would like to start by asking you some general questions about your job as a Corrections Worker.

- Why did you decide to become a Corrections Worker?
- What is your view about your job as a Corrections Worker currently?
- What do you see as your most important role or job as a Corrections Worker? Why?
- What do you think about the training you have received to do you job and the frequency you receive it? Do you think it is adequate?
- What kind of training or support do you think Corrections Workers need in order to better accomplish their job duties, including supporting offender rehabilitation?
- What do you know now, after X years of being a Corrections Worker, that you wished you had known earlier in your correctional career?
- Do you think the Ministry could better encourage Corrections Workers to take an interest in the reoffending outcomes of offenders? How do you think they could do this?

FEEDBACK QUESTIONS

Attitude Scales

Now, I would like to have a discussion about the survey that you completed and in particular your responses. So, if it's ok with you, I'm going to explain the survey a little and then give you some feedback about your responses.

So, the first scale measured what is called Correctional Orientation, which consists of statements which indicate support for rehabilitation, and support for punishment of offenders.

Let's start with support for rehabilitation:

- According to your responses you are endorsing attitudes that suggest you are (supportive of rehabilitation/not supportive of rehabilitation). Does this fit for you? Why or why not?
- How would you say you have come to hold this perspective?
- Why would you say you are supportive/unsupportive of offender rehabilitation? What information do you base this attitude upon?
- Have you always felt this way towards offender rehabilitation? If not, what information contributed to you changing your perspective?
- Likewise, your responses also indicate that you are (supportive of punishment/not supportive of punishment). Does this fit for you? Why or why not?
- How would you say you have come to hold this perspective?
- Why would you say you are supportive/unsupportive of punishment of offenders? What information do you base this view upon?
- Have you always felt this way? If not, what information contributed to you changing your perspective?
- Have you always held these perspectives or have they changed over your X years as a CW? Can you tell me about this change?

Behaviour Scale

This next scale measured your thoughts about how Corrections Workers should interact with offenders and your personal engagement in behaviours consistent with Core Correctional Practices.

Here is the scale with the items which are consistent with Core Correctional Practices and those that are inconsistent. [Give to them]

According to your responses you generally engage/you do not generally engage in behaviours which are consistent with Core Correctional Practices, for example…….

- Does this fit for you? Why or why not?
- What motivates you to interact with offenders in this way? Is this important to you? Why?

- What do you think gets in the way of Corrections Workers engaging in Core Correctional Practices?
- What do you think motivates Corrections Workers to follow Core Correctional Practices?
- What do you think Corrections Workers need to know that would encourage them to engage more consistently with Core Correctional Practices?
- Or, what kind of assistance or support do you think Corrections Workers might need to engage more consistently with Core Correctional Practices?
- Does knowing that engaging in Core Correctional Practices influences reoffending outcomes change or influence your willingness to engage in this behaviour? Why or why not?
- Do you see any inconsistencies between your responses on this scale? Why or why not?
- Have you always engaged with offenders in this way or has this changed over the X years you have worked as a Corrections Worker? What do you think contributed to this change?

Knowledge Scale

This is the research information scale that you completed with the True/False items. These are questions based upon a comprehensive review of the correctional research and only include findings that are fairly agreed upon by experts in the field.

I have marked the correct answers to the questions and added in the references and I have also marked your answers so that you know which questions you answered correctly. [Give to them]. I will give you a few minutes to read through the items again to refresh your memory and see how you did.

- When you were completing the knowledge scale, how confident would you say you were in your answers? Did you feel like you were guessing or like you knew the answers?
- What is your reaction to the items and those that you got correct and incorrect? Are you surprised about any of them? Please explain.
- To what extent does this information influence your perspectives on offender rehabilitation and punishment? Please explain.
- Does learning any of this information make you reconsider your support for rehabilitation? Or support for punishment? What about your engagement in Core Correctional Practices?
- How much do you believe (or how confident are you in) these facts? Please explain.
- (If they are expressing skepticism) Would anything change your mind or make you more likely to believe this information?
- Does any piece of information in particular influence your attitudes? What about your behaviour?
- Do you see any contradictions between any of these facts and the attitudes or behaviours you endorsed? How do you understand these contradictions?

Questions for specific participants

- If you believed that the way that Corrections Workers act towards offenders could positively or negatively impact on their likelihood to reoffend, would that influence your behaviour? In what way?
- If you believed that rehabilitation programs are effective, would you support them? What if this meant changing the way you interacted with offenders?
- If you believed that harsh punishments, uncomfortable prison conditions, and negative and aggressive interactions with staff increased reoffending, versus decreased it, would your attitudes towards these change?
- What would convince you of this?
- What might change your behaviour?
- Your responses suggested that you are unsupportive of rehabilitation and you indicate you don't believe that the way Corrections Workers interact with offenders influences future re-offending, but generally, the behaviours you endorsed are fairly consistent with core corrections practices. Adherence to CCPs have actually been found to positively influence institutional safety and reduced reoffending. How do you explain your adherence to CCPs despite your lack of belief in their necessity?
- What struck me about your survey responses was the following, and I appreciate your honesty: You got a lot of the knowledge questions correct, for example, about how CCPs indicate offenders should be treated with respect, and that failure to follow CCPs can negatively impact treatment outcomes, but at the same time, you agreed with many of the items which are inconsistent with CCPs such that it's sometimes ok to insult, mock, swear at, etc. offenders. If I told you that CWs role modelling prosocial behaviour and respect for offenders at all times can reduce reoffending would you be any more likely to engage in some of these positive behaviours and less likely to engage in some of these negative behaviours?

Closing Questions

- Has anything you learned through participation in the survey or interview changed your thoughts about offender rehabilitation or punishment?
- Do you think you might interact with offenders differently?
- Is there anything you would like me to know about this topic that I have not asked?

Thank you again for participating in this interview. I hope you have felt comfortable speaking with me and enjoyed our discussion.
This is for you to read and keep.

- Debriefing form
- Do you wish to be put on a list to receive a summary of this research once the project is completed?

Appendix K: E-mail/Phone call script used when contacting interview volunteers

Dear Mr/Ms. _____

This is Christina Jones, from the University of Saskatchewan. Recently you completed the survey of Corrections Workers that I have been conducting at the four adult Provincial Correctional facilities in Saskatchewan. In that survey you were offered the opportunity to volunteer to participate in an interview about your survey responses and more specifically, your experiences with offender treatment. At that time, you indicated that you would be interested in participating in this part of the study. We thank you greatly. I am contacting you today to see if you are still interested in participating and if so, to make arrangements for this to occur.

If you think you might still be interested I would like to explain the procedure for the interview to you so that you have a firm idea of what would be involved.

I expect that the interview will be approximately an hour long, but may vary up to no more than two hours. You can request to stop the interview at any time. I will be audio recording the interview for later transcription and analysis. You can also request to stop the recording at any time.

The interview will be "semi-structured" meaning that I have specific questions I will ask, while other spontaneous questions will be asked to clarify meaning. In order to facilitate these questions you will be provided feedback about your survey responses. Following this feedback you will be asked questions about how you came to hold each of these perspectives. In this way, you will be asked to think critically about why you adhere to these ideas.

Following the interview, you have the option of reviewing a transcript of your interview prior to its being examined by the research team. In this case, I would arrange with you a secure method of sending you the transcript. You would then be given the opportunity to change or withdraw any or all of your statements prior to signing a release form.

If you are still willing to participate in the interview I will work with you to choose a date, time, and location that suits us both.

Finally, if you choose to participate in the interview you will be compensated $25 for your time.

I am happy to answer any further questions that you may have about your potential participation in this interview or about my research project in general.

I look forward to hearing from you,

Christina Jones

UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN

Consent to Participate in Research Interview

Examining Corrections Workers Attitudes towards Offender Treatment

Purpose: The overall purpose of this research is to examine Saskatchewan Corrections Workers' thoughts and experiences with offender treatment, including their attitudes towards the rehabilitation and punishment of offenders and their knowledge of basic correctional research findings. The interview phase is the second of a two phase research project, the first being the survey of Corrections Workers employed at the four Provincial adult facilities, which you already completed.

The goal of the interviews is to gain insight into Corrections Workers' views and perspectives about offender treatment. Thus, volunteers from the original survey have been selected in order to understand a range of perspectives and experiences. The results of the interviews will be used to deepen the understanding of the survey results.

Procedure: The interview will be approximately an hour in duration, but may vary depending on the nature of the conversation. You can request to stop the interview at any time. The interview will be audio recorded for later confidential transcription by a qualified research assistant and analysis by the researcher. You can also request that the recording device be turned off at any time.

The interview will be "semi-structured" meaning that I have specific questions I will ask, while other spontaneous questions will be asked to clarify meaning. Some questions for example, about your experiences as a Corrections Worker will be asked of all participants, while other questions will be particular to you and the responses you gave to the survey items.

In order to facilitate these questions you will be provided feedback about your survey responses. Following this feedback you will be asked questions about how you came to hold each of these perspectives. In this way, you will be asked to think critically about why you adhere to these ideas.

We expect that interviews will be completed in a single session, but if not, I will contact you by email or phone to arrange a second meeting at your convenience.

Benefits: There is no direct benefit to you from taking part in this study. It is hoped that the research will contribute to knowledge about the job-related experiences of Corrections Workers. It is our hope that the results of this study will be used to inform training programs for Corrections Workers designed to increase the effectiveness of offender treatment initiatives, improve institutional safety and reduce job-related stress.

Compensation: To thank you for participating in this study you will be compensated for your time in the form of $25 cash.

Risks/Discomforts: Although it is not our intention, it is possible that some questions may make you uncomfortable or upset. You are free to decline to answer any questions you don't wish to, or to stop the interview at any time.

Confidentiality: Your interview data will be processed confidentially. To minimize any risk of a violation of confidentiality, all information about your identify and contact information will only be known to myself (the student researcher) and a research assistant who is assisting with transcription of the interviews. Audio recordings and transcriptions of the interview will be password protected and access will only be granted to those directly involved in the data analysis. A pseudonym will be used in all written transcription, analysis and results. Any information that could reasonably be used to identify you will be modified or removed. All audio recordings will be deleted upon completion of the research. However, there are some limits to confidentiality of research in Saskatchewan and with the Ministry of Justice, which will be addressed separately.

The overall results of this research will form the basis of the student-researchers' dissertation and may be presented at conferences as well as submitted for journal publication. The results may also be used by The Saskatchewan Ministry of Justice, for the purposes of developing training programs and informing policy.

Right to Withdraw: Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. You may refuse to answer any of the questions. You may also decide to withdraw from the interview at any time. If after the interview is over you decide you would like to withdraw your responses you are permitted to do so without penalty or loss of benefits. However, once the data is transcribed it will be aggregated with other interview participants and can no longer be withdrawn. Thus, once you sign the release of your transcript you will no longer be able to withdraw your responses. If you do not wish to review the transcript, the final date for withdrawal of your responses will be one month following our initial interview date.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the research project, please contact me, Christina Jones (telephone: (306) 716-5872; christina.jones@usask.ca) or my research supervisor Dr. Stephen Wormith (telephone: (306) 966-6818; s.wormith@usask.ca), at any point. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office, ethics.office@usask.ca, 306- 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free, 888-966-2975.

Results: At the end of the study (December 2015), a summary of the results will be produced. At the end of the interview, the interviewer will offer you an opportunity to receive a copy of this summary when it is completed.

By signing below you are indicating you have read and understood the above and are willing to participate in the interview.

_____   _____

Participant name (Printed)   Participant Signature

_____

Date

Ministry of Justice

Limits to Confidentiality

The Ministry of Justice has practices in place to keep personal information confidential. Safeguarding personal information collected during the execution of your research project is important. However, there are some situations where you must share information without consent. In other words, in certain circumstances you have a duty to report. This sharing of information would be to ensure your safety and best interests, or to ensure the safety of others, and is in accordance with Divisional Directives *Administration - 0007 – Release of Information* and *Security – 0024 – Sharing and Release of Offender Information and Documentation*. These policies govern a wide variety of information for case management, reintegration planning, etc., but there are some specific examples that you should be aware of.

Situations where you are required to report without consent include the following:

1. **If someone is in imminent danger.**

    In situations where there is credible information of an imminent risk of serious injury or death to **yourself** or any **other person**, I understand I must share this information in a timely manner in order to protect myself or another person or persons in danger.

2. **If there is an institutional security breach**.

    If you become aware of credible information that a breach of institutional security has occurred or is likely to occur, I understand I must share that information in order to protect the safety and security of myself, inmates and staff. Institutional security breaches include any action for which someone could be charged and disciplined (e.g., escape, assaults).

3. **If required by law.**

    Personal information can be shared in any situation where required by law. For example, situations of abuse as defined under the *Child and Family Services Act* require you to report (e.g., if you learn that a child is currently being abused or neglected), or if the person requesting the information has legislative authority to ask for the information.

    Another example is where the court may subpoena client files, staff or your research records.

I have read the Limits to Confidentiality as outlined above and will comply with these reporting responsibilities. I will also inform all participants involved in my research the Limits of Confidentiality as described above.

Appendix N: Interview transcript release form

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Research Ethics Boards (Behavioural and Biomedical)
TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM

Title: Examining Corrections Workers Attitudes towards Offender Treatment
Student Researcher: Christina Jones, Christina.jones@usask.ca

☐ I, _____, do not want to receive a copy of the transcript of my personal interview and I release it to the researcher for the purposes of this study. If I change my mind and want to review my interview transcript, or want to withdraw my interview from the study, I have one month from today's date to do so, after which time I release my responses for use by the researcher.

☐ I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with Christina Jones. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to Christina Jones to be used in the manner described in the Consent Form. I have received a copy of this Data/Transcript Release Form for my own records.

_____   _____
Name of Participant   Date

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Signature of researcher

UNIVERSITY OF
SASKATCHEWAN

Interview Volunteer Debriefing Form

Examining Corrections Workers Attitudes Towards Offender Treatment
_____

The primary purpose of this research is to gain insight into Saskatchewan Corrections Workers perspectives on the treatment of offenders, consisting of support for rehabilitation and support for punishment of offenders. Of particular interest is the extent to which these viewpoints are informed or supported by knowledge of key correctional practice research findings which many Corrections Workers are trained in at the commencement of their correctional careers, as well as during their prior academic studies. Further, this research aims to examine how these views and specific information relate to Corrections Workers engagement in Core Correctional Practices. Finally, the research is also interested in what other types or sources of information Corrections Workers draw upon to support their perspectives.

There are a number of reasons why this research is important. Research indicates that both rehabilitative outcomes and institutional safety may be increased when Core Correctional Practices are appropriately implemented by Corrections Workers, and these behaviours are consistent with support for rehabilitation and against punishment. However, there is a large body of research evidence which suggests that as compared to other correctional staff, Corrections Workers tend to disproportionately hold punitive and anti-rehabilitation perspectives. These views can decrease the likelihood that Corrections Workers will implement Core Correctional Practices in their everyday interactions with offenders. I hypothesize that the salient, adversarial, and stressful nature of the Corrections Worker role is partially responsible for these viewpoints. Consequently, it is my hope that my research will provide increased understanding of the multiple and complex influences on Corrections Workers views. It is of utmost importance to me to respect the priorities, knowledge and experiences of the correctional staff working in the institutions. My goal is that my research could be utilized to develop training initiatives intended to assist Corrections Workers to continue to confidently and safely implement their mandate.

There are a number of potential benefits of this research to Corrections Workers. Firstly, it may be helpful to reiterate that Corrections Workers not only play a role in increasing the efficacy of offender treatment programs for reducing reoffending, there is also strong evidence that the behaviour of Corrections Workers, and their perspectives about offender treatment influences the safety of the correctional institutions they work in by reducing the rates of violent/aggressive incidents (French & Gendreau, 2006). Additionally, within Canadian prisons it has been found that Corrections Workers with "favorable correctional attitudes" (which include positive treatment views) experienced significantly less stress as compared to those who did not. In

contrast, those who held "unfavorable correctional attitudes" (which includes support for punishment, focus on custodial matters, and support for social distance between Corrections Workers and offenders) experienced more stress than those who did not (Dowden & Tellier, 2004).

If you are interested in learning more about this area of research and in particular the research sources used to develop the correctional knowledge measure I would recommend the book "The Psychology of Criminal Conduct" by Don Andrews and James Bonta (2010).

Finally, as you well know, corrections work can involve a high amount of stress and trauma, all of which can contribute to "burnout", or a depletion of a person's physical and mental resources (Morgan, Haveren & Pearson, 2002). Burnout is associated with risk to both mental and physical health and familial problems. If you feel that you might be experiencing burnout or increased stress you are encouraged to contact the Employee and Family Assistance Program (EFAP). This program is completely confidential and they do no notify your employer. A limited amount of sessions are financially covered through your employment with the Ministry of Justice. For more information you can go to their website at: http://www.employeeservices.gov.sk.ca/efap or email them at: efap@gov.sk.ca

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my research. If you have any further thoughts or questions about the research or your participation please do not hesitate to contact me again at Christina.jones@usask.ca or on my personal cell at (306) 716-5872. Also, you can contact my research supervisor Dr. J. Stephen Wormith at s.wormith@usask.ca or (306) 966-6818.

Appendix P: Form for obtaining research summary and indicating receipt of reimbursement

I confirm that a received $25 cash from Christina Jones for participating in a research interview.

_____   _____

Name   Date

_____

Signature

☐ I would like to receive a summary of research findings available approximately December, 2015.

Email address: _____