

Pulpit for Sale: Minorities and the privatization of prison chaplaincy in Canada

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Abstract

Federal prison chaplaincy experienced a major shift in 2013 when the provision of these services was outsourced to a single for-profit company. The present study examines how privatization has impacted minority faith chaplains serving in federal institutions in Canada. The study also explores the theoretical concept of performativity and its impact on prison chaplaincy as a caring profession. Based on 10 in-depth semi-structured interviews with minority chaplains the results show that privatization led to: 1) increased levels of bureaucratization that have compromised the quality of spiritual care available to prisoners, 2) reduced resources for chaplains and 3) increased emotional exhaustion and frustration among chaplains.

Keywords: prison chaplaincy; privatization; religion; prison; minorities

Dedication

This project is dedicated to minority faith chaplains serving in correctional institutions in Canada, the ones who generously shared their time and stories with me and the ones whose stories have not yet been told.

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

Federal prison chaplaincy services in Canada experienced a major shift in 2013 when the Conservative federal government announced that a single private company would be contracted to recruit and oversee chaplains serving in federal institutions (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). This was a departure from the previous model in which the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) provided a number of contracts to various faith communities who were then responsible for hiring, training and overseeing the work of their respective chaplains (Beckford & Cairns, 2015).

Since the adoption of the penitentiary system in Canada in the 19th century, Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains, the two largest sects of Christianity, have served federal prisoners¹ (James, 1990). It was not until 1982, in response to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (hereafter the Charter), that official measures were taken to accommodate people of different religious orientations within the CSC. Since the entrenchment of the Charter, minority faiths like Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism and Hinduism have been able to provide official chaplaincy services within federal correctional institutions (Beckford & Cairns, 2015).

In an effort to reduce costs, in 2013 then Public Safety Minister Vic Toews announced that the CSC would no longer provide contracts to part-time prison chaplains. The overwhelming majority of part-time prison chaplains represented minority religions, with only two of the 71 chaplains employed full-time by CSC being non-Christian chaplains (CBC News, October 2012, pp 24). Many minority faith chaplains and prisoners argued against what they saw as a discriminatory decision to cut part-time chaplains. Toews announced soon after that the Conservative government would outsource chaplaincy services to a single private company as of March 2013 (Moore, March, 2013; Cobb, October, 2014). Kairos Pneuma Chaplaincy (KPC), a for-profit company created by former Canadian Anglican prison chaplains, was awarded the initial

¹ The term prisoner is employed throughout this work as it refers to individuals who are held against their will. The term inmate will not be used as it suggests to some a more voluntary arrangement.

chaplains contract from 2013 to 2015 (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). Bridges of Canada, a subsidiary of the American company Bridges International, outbid KPC and officially took over the provision of federal chaplaincy services in April of 2016 (Rodriguez, 2016, pp 29).

A common criticism of the new private model of federal prison chaplaincy services is that non-Christian federal prisoners are now having a higher level of difficulty accessing relevant spiritual services (Burke, December, 2017). Concerns have also been raised by a prominent minority faith chaplain about whether private companies are in the best position to hire and oversee chaplains belonging to faith traditions that the organization may not be closely familiar with (CBC News, January 2014, p. 9).

Through in-depth interviews with 10 minority faith chaplains who have worked or currently work in federal institutions, this study examines how the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services has impacted the chaplaincy services of minority faith groups in Canada. This study is important for three key reasons. First, research on the impact of privatization on prison services is limited in Canada. While there is a wealth of literature surrounding the privatization of prisons and prison services in the United States (Price & Morris, 2012; Lundahl, Kunz & Brownell, 2009; Selman & Leighton, 1967), there is a paucity of research in the Canadian context. Although the literature from the United States and other countries can inform our understanding of the nature and impact of privatization on prison services, research is needed to establish the extent to which these findings are relevant in Canada.

Second, the majority of publications related to the privatization of prison chaplaincy services in Canada come from news media sources and are often anecdotal. This study provides an empirical basis for discussing the costs and benefits of privatizing prison chaplaincy services for minority groups and has the potential to inform correctional policy surrounding the provision of religious and spiritual services in Canadian federal corrections.

Third, research on the experiences and challenges faced by minority faith chaplains in federal prisons is limited in Canada. Understanding their experiences can inform the broader literature on chaplaincy services, as well as our understanding of the

unique experiences of minority chaplains. This study identifies the ways the privatization of chaplaincy services has impacted minority faith chaplains.

While Chapter 1 of this study provides an introduction to the topic, Chapter 2 presents academic literature relevant to the privatization of prison chaplaincy services in Canada. Privatization as a concept, the politics surrounding it and the benefits and drawbacks of prison privatization are examined. The literature review also explores prison chaplaincy in Canada and the challenges inherent in managing a religiously diverse population. Finally, the chapter describes the theoretical concepts of performativity, affective labour and professional burnout syndrome. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology employed in this study.

The results of this study are outlined and examined in Chapter 4. Privatization resulted in increased bureaucratization in the provision of prison chaplaincy services, reduced resources and increased emotional exhaustion and frustration in minority faith chaplains. The section describes how the bureaucratized systems resultant of privatization are characteristic of performative organizational cultures and how these changes have created a professional environment conducive to professional burnout. Chapter 5 discusses the implications of the findings of this study and Chapter 6 outlines the study's limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

This literature review presents the key concepts related to the privatization of prison chaplaincy in Canada. First, this review outlines the concept of privatization, the politics surrounding this concept, and how privatization applies specifically to prisons. Second, this review examines chaplaincy in Canada, the reality of religious diversity in prisons and how religious minorities are served within correctional services. Lastly, three key theoretical concepts are defined that provide a framework for this study.

2.1. Privatization: The Concept, Politics, and the Case for Prisons

The term 'privatization' has been used in a variety of contexts, however, in general it refers to an "increased governmental reliance on the private sector rather than on government agencies to satisfy the needs of society" (Savas, 1987). Savas (1989) outlines three main methods by which governments privatize goods and services. The first form is divestment, when the good or service is entirely sold, donated or liquidated. The second form is delegation whereby the private sector takes on the production of the good or service while the government maintains responsibility and ownership. The third form of privatization, displacement, occurs when a function originally performed by a government agency is rendered somewhat obsolete when a better or more popular service is provided by the private sector.

Contracting, the most popular means of privatization in Canada, occurs when a contractual agreement is formed between government agencies and private organizations whereby specific rules and responsibilities for the government, the company, and the public are outlined (McDowell & Morris, 2012). Despite the contracted company's ability to render specific services, the government maintains overall responsibility and ownership of the product or service (Seidenstat, 1999).

2.1.1. Privatization: More political than economic

Privatization of government services is a contentious subject and these debates are largely fuelled by political ideologies and personal ideals (Nieman, 1989). Support for privatization often relates back to one's values, principles and political standing. According to Nieman (1987) privatization is "more a political than an economic act" (p. 233). Privatizing goods and services often reduces the role of government and increases the role of the marketplace, which can be viewed as a point of concern or as beneficial depending on one's political and ideological standing (Savas, 1987, p. 889).

In the United States, much of the literature credits the Reagan era for a major societal shift towards the privatization of government services (McDowell & Morris, 2012). This point is exemplified by the fact that the term 'privatization' was not included in the dictionary until the 1980s (Seidenstat, 1999). By the mid-1980s there was a major increase in the privatization of government services, this was a result of a fiscal deficit in the United States as well as a government that valued privatization (Seidenstat, 1999). Areas of public concern, such as the costs associated with the prison industry, became matters where private corporations could offer solutions that could potentially save the government money and where these businesses could generate profits (Conlan, 1988).

In Canada, there was a similar trend in the preference for privatization. The privatization of Canadian prison chaplaincy services in 2013 did not take place in a vacuum, it occurred in a very particular political and economic context. Doern and Stoney's (2012) *How Ottawa Spends 2012-2013* outlines the political climate that led to a major push towards public-private partnerships in Canada. In 2011, Stephen Harper was elected as Prime Minister with a Conservative majority government (Doern & Stoney, 2012). In order to move out of an economic deficit, various governmental agencies experienced financial cuts and it was in the interest of reduced governmental spending that federal prison chaplaincy services were privatized (Doern & Stoney, 2012; Cobb, October, 2014).

2.1.2. Privatization: Understanding the benefits and drawbacks

Savas (1987) has written extensively on issues related to privatization, and advocates for the privatization of various government services. In a critique of his book

Privatization: The Key to Better Government, Nieman (1989) suggests that Savas overstates the benefits of privatization because of his ideological stance on the issue. Nieman suggests that because Savas supports an expansion of the free market and reducing the role of government he often over states the benefits of privatization without acknowledging the drawbacks.

Privatized services are often said to be more efficient than services provided directly by government agencies. Given that government agencies are often subject to excessive bureaucratic practices, Savas (1987) suggests that private companies likely have less cumbersome bureaucratic systems in comparison to their governmental counterparts. While there are arguments for greater efficiency, other scholars have critiqued these arguments by discussing the potential costs of increased efficiency. With more flexibility and less bureaucracy, opponents argue that this can lead to abusive practices with less accountability and regulatory measures in place to ensure that the integrity of the service is maintained (Robbins, 1987, p. 815). Overall, the potential benefits of efficiency need to be considered with the risks of compromising the integrity of the good or service.

A benefit of privatization is that private companies can often perform governmental services at a fraction of the cost (Hubbart & Paquet, 2014; Savas, 1987; Robbins, 1987). The assumption that privatization is inherently a means of saving the government money is interrogated in the literature because the administrative costs of evaluating and monitoring privatized programs are often overlooked (Hubbart & Paquet, 2014). The labour and overall costs involved in auditing and evaluating goods and services may be comparable to government agencies (Kuttner, 1989; Bailey, 1987). To save money and maximize profitability, opponents to privatization argue that companies will compromise quality in the interests of cost-savings (Robbins, 1987). Savas (1987) argues it is not logical to assume that an opportunity for personal profit will result in services of a lesser quality; these incentives may or may not result in compromises in the quality of the services.

Kuttner (1989) argues that the possibility of financial gain reduces the likelihood that the interests of the public will be prioritized by private companies over their own financial interests (p. 23). This is not a critique of privatization as a whole, as it does not necessarily apply where services are outsourced to community-based, not-for-profit

organizations (Bailey, 1987). In these instances, it may be that the primary aim of the organization is to provide socially beneficial services. Opponents of privatization present the private sector as not maintaining or standing for the interests of the public.

Seidenstat (1999) proposes that a specific benefit to contracting out is that the government has the ability to replace the contractor if their services do not meet certain standards. However, switching between contractors is rarely a fluid process. Bailey (1987) discusses the transition costs involved in disrupting and changing a service, a potential cost being that the new contractor fails to perform their service. Bailey (1987) poses that transition costs can be weighty, they often cannot be predicted and that while this is taken into consideration by the public manager, those debating and discussing issues around privatization often overlook such concerns. Overall, privatization can allow the government to have flexibility in contracting out to a competitive private sector in order to find the most appropriate contractors, however, the transition costs of finding new contractors or replacing existing contractors that are unsatisfactory remain unclear.

The literature on the privatization of government services presents both benefits and drawbacks of this model. The benefits outlined include: (a) increased efficiency, in terms of services provided, overall cost, and management practices; and (b) more flexibility due to the lack of bureaucracy. The most common drawbacks cited are: (a) reduced accountability; (b) risks associated with balancing the financial gains of corporations and upholding the public's interest; (c) the limited understanding of the true costs of privatization include transition costs, and costs associated with program evaluation, auditing, and maintenance; (d) research comparing the costs and efficiency benefits of public and private sector services are limited and inconclusive.

2.1.3. Privatization: The case for prisons

Opponents of privatizing prisons and prison services question the ethics of privatizing human welfare programs, where the priority of the contractor may be less about the public's well-being than their own private gain (Kuttner, 1989). Kuttner (1989) poses that "the logic of service and the logic of profit are largely at odds" (p. 23). This concern is common in the literature and one that is often based as a principled stance. Kuttner (1989) speaks of the government's responsibility to maintain an "ethic of public service" (p. 23) which he proposes is essential in democratic systems. Savas (1987)

adopts a different principled stance on the issue stating that “some argue that it is immoral to profit from the imprisonment of others. The fact that an activity is vital to human welfare is no reason to isolate it from competition and profit” (Savas, 1987, p. 898).

The literature on prison privatization is concerned with issues of accountability; can the public hold private contractors equally accountable in comparison to a government agency (Price, Price & Morris, 2012)? Because privatization increases the “institutional distance” between the public and those administering prison services many academics are skeptical of whether privatized prisons are held accountable for the quality of their facilities and services (Price, Price & Morris, 2012, p. 3).

2.2. Chaplaincy and Religious Diversity in Canada

Federal prison chaplains are responsible for: 1) establishing a visible presence within correctional institutions, 2) directing and coordinating religious practices and meditation, 3) offering religious educational services (CSC, 2012). In establishing a visible presence, chaplains are to be actively present within the facilities they are employed and be readily available for prisoners requesting their services. Chaplains provide individual and group counselling, present their religion’s interpretation of the meaning of life and practice, assist with issues of faith and provide crisis interventions for prisoners dealing with various forms of trauma and grief (CSC, 2012).

Prison chaplains direct and coordinate religious practices for their congregation. Chaplains lead ritual worship, plan events and activities related to various holy days, validate and ensure that specific religious needs of prisoners are met within the institution and create and maintain atmospheres of worship within the institution (CSC, 2012). Chaplains also create and deliver educational services to improve prisoners’ understanding of their religious traditions, train community volunteers and acquire and distribute religious literature and materials.

Chaplaincy in correctional institutions is a long-standing part of the penitentiary system. The penitentiary model itself was inspired by men who were religiously motivated in their work and while Canadian prisons were physically modelled after American institutions, an emphasis on religion was adopted from the British. In 1867

Kingston Penitentiary became the first official penitentiary in Canada which was shortly followed by the creation of two more federal institutions in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (James, 1990). Canadian prison chaplaincy was initiated by people of the Protestant and Roman Catholic traditions and as a result the prison chaplaincy profession is deeply rooted in Christian beliefs (Beckford & Cairns, 2015).

It was not until the entrenchment of the Charter in 1982, that official measures were taken to accommodate people of different religions. The Interfaith Committee (IFC) signed a Memorandum of Agreement with CSC in which the IFC agreed to assist CSC in recruiting, selecting and assessing the work of chaplains of varying faiths (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). The IFC is a voluntary organization that was initially comprised of individuals adhering to different Christian and Jewish denominations, however as Canada has become more culturally and religiously diverse so too has the prison population. Minority faiths like Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism and Hinduism began to gain representation in the IFC and have since been able to provide official chaplaincy services within Canadian federal correctional institutions (Beckford & Cairns, 2015).

The IFC managed CSC contracts whereby faith communities would recruit, hire and evaluate their own prison chaplains. The benefit of this approach was that chaplains were afforded more autonomy in their role; because chaplains were not CSC employees they were not subject to many of the policies and restrictions placed on correctional staff. This contracting model also engaged entire faith communities who became invested in the chaplains' work (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). In 2013 the newly appointed Public Safety Minister privatized the management of chaplaincy services to Kairos Pneuma Chaplaincy. This for-profit organization was founded by individuals who used to serve as Christian chaplains and as a result there are clear theological leanings in the services provided (Beckford & Cairns, 2015).

In an official document published by the CSC in 2006, religious and spiritual accommodation is defined as "providing access to an adequate level of resources (leadership, opportunities for worship, educational resources, religious articles, dietary requirements) to allow offenders to practice their religion or spirituality as fully as they desire" (CSC, 2006, p. 4). This however can be challenging in a securitized environment with a highly diverse prisoner population.

2.2.1. Managing religious diversity in prisons

The CSC is charged with the challenging responsibility of upholding prisoners' Section 2 Charter right to freedom of conscience and religion (Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982). This responsibility is further outlined in the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992) which states that "an inmate is entitled to reasonable opportunities to freely and openly participate in, and express, religion or spirituality, subject to such reasonable limits as are prescribed for protecting the security of the penitentiary or the safety of persons" (1992, c. 20, s. 75). Interests related to the facilitation of religious practices and maintaining the integrity of a securitized environment often conflict. Situated at the intersection of maintaining religious accommodations and ensuring the security of the institution is the literature on managing a religiously diverse prison population.

In response to Section 2a of the Charter which states that everyone has the fundamental "freedom of conscience and religion," the CSC took official measures to accommodate people of different religious orientations. Historically in Canada, efforts to manage religious diversity focused on religious differences between the French and the English with respect to Protestantism and Roman Catholicism (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). In the past few decades increased immigration from countries that practice religions outside of Judeo-Christian traditions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Rastafarianism and Sikhism, have diversified the spectrum of Canadian religions (Beyer, 2012). A rapid increase of religious diversity is mirrored in Canada's prison populations (Public Safety, 2016).

Maintaining equal religious facilitation and services for a diverse incarcerated population is challenging. There is a wealth of European literature on religious accommodations for diverse prison populations (Łapiński, Maciejewski & Markuszewski, 2014; Becci, 2011; Beckford & Gilliat, 2005) and while this topic has been addressed in the Canadian context, it is often in reference to a single religious group (Beckford & Cairns, 2015) or is less concerned with issues specific to prisons (Beaman, 2012).

Beaman (2012) argues that when discussing religious accommodation in prison it is essential to understand that there is a "Christian hegemony" in Canada (Beaman & Beyer, 2008, p. 2). They describe:

A key problem is that religious freedom seems to apply only in the easy cases – those religions that look like mainstream Christianity or that are most familiar to many Canadians. Those beliefs and practices that lie outside of that hegemony are often constructed as harmful, or as potentially resulting in harm, and thus their limitation is justifiable in a free and democratic society. (2008, p. 67)

Beaman (2008) poses that there is value in acknowledging the inherent bias and barriers within a Christian hegemony that exist within public institutions in order to better uphold religious freedoms. The language used when discussing religious diversity in Canada is ‘accommodation’ and ‘tolerance.’ This terminology suggests an inherent hierarchical structure where certain groups tolerate and accommodate others. Embedded in this frame are resentful tones towards religious minorities and the notion that accommodation can easily become excessive (Beaman, 2012). The CSC employs the term ‘accommodation’ when referring to the rights afforded to minorities within federal corrections (CSC, 2006). Beaman (2012) compares the term ‘accommodation’ with ‘equality.’ The term accommodation leaves room for questioning whether or not one is accommodating another party excessively. Beaman argues that the term equality cannot be used in the same way; one cannot say that too much ‘equality’ is taking place.

An essential part of a minority faith prison chaplain’s role is to advocate for necessary accommodations within the institution. Because many religious practices are foreign to the correctional administration, chaplains often find themselves negotiating at the intersection of maintaining the integrity of a securitized environment and upholding the integrity of their religious practice.

2.2.2. Challenges of minority faith chaplaincy

While the principles and policies related to religious accommodation provide the foundation for religious equality in Canadian correctional institutions, gaps often form between policy and practice. Minority faith prison chaplains face unique challenges in providing spiritual and religious care to prisoners who are often a product of the social and political climate and perceptions of these faith groups in Canada.

To understand religious accommodation in Canada it is important to be cognizant of centrality of Christianity and the power structures involved. This point is exceptionally relevant as prison chaplaincy has historically been a Christian profession (Gilliat-Ray et

al, 2013). Chaplains representing mainstream Christianity need not defend or validate their religious practices; rather these beliefs and practices form the status quo. However, minority faith chaplains consistently have to explain and justify religious obligations to fellow chaplains and correctional staff.

It is important that administrators responsible for deciding whether certain accommodations in correctional environments are reasonable be familiar with the religion at hand. When decision makers are acquainted with the religion they are better able to assess the potential impact of limiting certain practices (Beaman, 2012). Because minority faith traditions are relatively foreign to the Canadian correctional system it can be challenging to communicate the importance of particular religious practices to the administration. An important responsibility for chaplains involves introducing and validating religious practices to the correctional institution and as a result a significant amount of their time is spent on administrative tasks such as ensuring that religiously permissible foods are available to prisoners and coordinating religious services (Gilliat-Ray et al., 2013). These concerns are less prominent for Christian chaplains because their traditions are well-established in federal corrections, for example, annual Christmas celebrations are customary in federal corrections.

An additional challenge faced by minority faith prison chaplains is that most individuals providing religious care to federal minority prisoners do so on a part-time or voluntarily basis (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). Part-time chaplains have limited time with the prisoners they serve and enjoy fewer professional rights compared to their full-time counterparts (Ajouaou & Bernts, 2015). Federal minority faith prison chaplains must perform their regular professional responsibilities while introducing and validating their religious traditions to federal institutions and working on a part-time basis.

2.3. Performativity, Affective Labour & Burnout

Three theoretical concepts provide a framework for this study: Lyotard's (1984) principle of performativity, Michael Hardt's (1999) affective labour and Maslach & Leiter's (1997) professional burnout.

2.3.1. Principle of Performativity

In *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984) Jean-François Lyotard, a French philosopher and theorist, explores how knowledge is legitimized in post-modern societies. Lyotard uses the term post-modern to refer to the period that follows the end of the 18th century when there were major cultural shifts in the arts, sciences and literature in the Western World. While the text largely deals with epistemological issues, Lyotard also explores what he refers to as 'performative organizational cultures'.

Lyotard's 'Principle of Performativity' states that "quality is defined as the best equation achievable between inputs and outputs" (Elliott, 2001, p. 193). This means that performative organizations use cost-effectiveness as the primary measure of the quality of a program. It is therefore essential that inputs and outputs can be measured through the creation of indicators and productivity targets (Elliott, 2001; Ball, 2003).

Elliott (2001) and Ball (2003) look at how performativity has affected work in the public sector. Performative organizations rely on the use of indicators and targets to measure outputs, ideally these indicators pertain to "fixed and immutable standards against which to judge performance" (Elliott, 2001, p. 194). Elliott (2001) critiques performativity in the field of education. The performative culture adopted in this context uses standardized test scores and other rigid indicators that do not account for the nuanced work of public school teachers as a means of evaluating their effectiveness (Elliott, 2001; Ball, 2003). If the results of the work cannot be standardized in a clear measurable way, these results often are not detected or valued by the organization.

Shore & Wright (1999) posit that in order for organizations to survive in a performative culture they need to transform into what they refer to as an 'auditable commodity', a service that lends easily to program evaluations. This transformation occurs because within a performative culture, more resources and emphases are placed in areas that inform indicators and productivity targets; thus performativity has the potential to change not only how programs are evaluated but also where organizational emphasis is placed, where resources are allocated and can therefore change the nature of the work itself (Ball, 2003).

2.3.2. Affective Labour

Hardt (1999) defines affective labour as an intangible form of labour that predominately impacts one's affects; for example, an individual's well-being, contentment or connection to the community. Prison chaplaincy is a form of affective labour because the work of prison chaplains largely deals with the emotional and spiritual well-being of prisoners. CSC's website describes the work of prison chaplains:

Chaplains help people... to explore questions related to spirituality, religion and life purpose... [Chaplains] help offenders examine their behaviours and decisions and discover new ways of living. This can help offenders find greater wholeness and accept responsibility. (CSC, 2013)

The nature of affective labour is that the products of the work do not easily lend themselves to measurable performance targets and indicators that are characteristic of performative cultures. It is arguable that a performative organizational culture may undermine the work of prison chaplains because their effectiveness in helping prisoners examine their behaviours, explore questions of spirituality and find a greater wholeness is not easily made measurable. For example, if a counselling session with a prison chaplain resulted in greater happiness and contentment for the prisoner, but this contentment did not manifest in a way that can be captured by a particular indicator, it is likely that this impact would not be strongly valued by the organization.

2.3.3. Professional Burnout

Professional burnout has long been a concern for individuals in the human services. While there is no strict definition of burnout, Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter (2001) identify three stages of professional burnout: "1) overwhelming exhaustion, 2) feelings of cynicism and detachment from the job, and 3) a sense of ineffectiveness and lack of accomplishment" (p. 399). These stages are not discrete and can occur in parallel, for example, an individual may feel emotionally exhausted due to their sense of ineffectiveness or they may feel ineffective due to their emotional exhaustion.

In the post-modern age, organizations often adopt cultures of performativity (Ball, 2003). A professional environment in which employees are asked to give much more, while receiving much less is often conducive to professional burnout (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001). Maslach & Leiter (1997) suggest "Burnout arises from chronic

mismatches between people and their work setting in terms of some or all of these six areas: workload, control, reward, community, fairness, and values” (p. 414). A culture of performativity placed in the context of a caring profession often impacts these six factors related to people and their work because performativity is primarily concerned with increasing outputs and decreasing inputs as opposed to the well-being of employees (Ball, 2001; Elliott, 2003).

Summary

This chapter examined the academic literature surrounding prison privatization and prison chaplaincy in Canada. The literature review also outlined three concepts that are valuable theoretical frameworks for our understanding of the privatization of chaplaincy services: performativity, affective labour and professional burnout. This study examines whether the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services has created a culture of performativity and if that culture has impacted the profession and well-being of minority faith chaplains.

Chapter 3.

Methods

This study is concerned with how the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services in Canada has impacted minority faith chaplains. Upon receiving research approval from Simon Fraser University's Research Ethics Board, 10 qualitative, semi-structured, in-depth interviews with minority faith prison chaplains were conducted. This section explains how the sample was obtained and the methods employed in transcribing and analyzing the data.

3.1. Sample

The majority of Canadian offenders identify as Christian (Public Safety, 2016), thus the majority of employed prison chaplains serving in federal institutions are Christian (Rodriguez, 2016). Christian chaplains were excluded from this study in order to focus on the impact of privatization on minority faith groups. Non-Christian chaplains who were employed under either the public or private model of federal prison chaplaincy services were recruited for this study.

The sample consisted of 10 prison chaplains representing four different faith traditions across five Canadian provinces. Seven participants were male and three female. There is no data available on the gender make-up of prison chaplains in Canada, it is therefore unclear as to whether this number is representative of the profession. However, based on interviews with participants, female chaplains are underrepresented in the field of prison chaplaincy. Five participants were employed under both the public and private models of federal prison chaplaincy services and five were employed after privatization. As of July 2017, the month in which the last of the 10 interviews were conducted, six chaplains were still employed as federal prison chaplains. Of the four chaplains who no longer worked for the private contractor, three attributed their resignation to restrictive conditions placed on their work after privatization.

Participants were recruited through snowball sampling. As an active member of a minority faith community, I had access to three prison chaplains within my personal network. These participants referred me to prison chaplains of varying faiths as well as to organizations that were previously contracted for the provision of chaplaincy services. The first three participants acted as gatekeepers by promoting the study to their colleagues and referring me to various chaplains. Four participants participated in the study after being referred by these gatekeepers and three participants were recruited after cold contacting a faith-based organization previously contracted for providing chaplaincy services.

3.2. Procedures

Participants were contacted by phone or email and a consent form that provided the study's details was given to participants (Appendix A). This form promised the confidentiality of participants and assured that no identifiable participant information would be shared in the final research product.

Interviews were conducted in-person or by telephone and lasted between 40 and 120 minutes. In-person interviews were conducted in professional office spaces, cafes and restaurants. Verbal consent to participate in the study was obtained from participants as well as permission to audio record. The interviews were semi-structured to ensure pertinent issues related to the research questions were addressed while still allowing for themes to emerge from the data. An interview guide was employed that focussed on the chaplain's personal and professional experiences before and after the privatization of prison chaplaincy services as well as their general opinions on the subject (Appendix B).

Six of the 10 participants were employed as federal prison chaplains at the time of their interview. Because participants spoke openly and often critically of their current employer, it is critical that their identities be kept confidential to ensure that their employment was not compromised. It was in the interest of upholding participant confidentiality that specific faith groups and the provinces the chaplains represented were not specified. Participants were each assigned a number (C1, C2 and so on) and referred to as such throughout the notetaking and transcription process. Because the participants varied in their genders and ethno-cultural backgrounds, ascribing

pseudonyms to each participant was not ideal. Pseudonyms were not ideal because it would be inaccurate to apply Anglo names to the majority of participants, while assigning relevant names to their religious and cultural backgrounds could compromise their anonymity.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim except: 1) when sentence fillers such as 'um' were repetitive within the same sentence, 2) when specific geographic locations were mentioned, these were transcribed as [specific institution/city/province], 3) when specific names were mentioned, these were transcribed as [specific name]. The analyses was conducted using NVivo 11 software. I initially employed a deductive coding approach to identify whether chaplains perceived privatization as positive, negative or neutral. This was followed by a more open form of coding, after which codes were combined and reduced based on recurring concepts, three overarching themes were identified. While it is not feasible to completely remove one's biases from the analytic process, they can be effectively checked by engaging in reflexive exercises and ensuring that the themes communicated in the final product are solely a result of their prevalence in the initial transcripts (Palys & Atchison, 2014). Throughout the coding process I made use of the memo function in NVivo and practiced journaling after participant interviews. After identifying the major themes from the interviews, I began reading and coding academic literature on caring professions and performativity. Exploring relevant theoretical concepts after identifying major themes from the data served as a means of validating previously identified themes.

It is important to note that issues of race and racial identity are not explored in this work. Issues related to religious diversity are often more complex than simply being part of a majority or minority group. Beyer (2008) offers four categories: 1) cultural and religious native 2) cultural newcomer and religious native 3) cultural native and religious minority 4) cultural newcomer and religious minority. In this context the term native does not refer to Indigenous peoples, it is used to describe white Christians. Beyer's typology points to the intersectionality inherent in one's religious and cultural/ethnic identities. An Ethiopian Christian would then be considered a cultural newcomer and religious native, while a Caucasian Buddhist is considered a cultural native and religious minority. This study examines the impact of privatization on religious minorities, whether they be cultural natives or newcomers. The themes that arose from participant interviews were consistent across participant race: Caucasian chaplains and racialized chaplains

expressed very similar concerns about privatization and issues related to race were not often discussed. As such, critical race theory was not used as an analytic tool in this work.

In exploring how privatization has impacted minority faith chaplaincy I was unable to compare the cost of chaplaincy services under the public and private models. While the overall spending of CSC is publicly available, I was not able to locate each faith-based organization contracted under the public model warrants. While a cost comparison would have provided useful information, this study is concerned with how the privatization of prison chaplaincy services has impacted minority faith chaplaincy. This study is an important first step in determining whether the privatization of prison chaplaincy services is advantageous or harmful to minority faith groups in Canadian federal corrections.

The overall aim of my research is to discover whether the privatization of prison chaplaincy services has negatively impacted minority faith prisoners' right to religious freedom and religious practice. As an intersectional member of two communities overrepresented in the Canadian correctional system, Black Canadians and Muslims, I am deeply concerned about incarcerated minorities' access to relevant spiritual and cultural services. It is important to note my positionality in this research because try as one may, it is not possible to completely remove ones' biases in the research process (Titchen & Hobson, 2005). My positionality did contribute to the richness of the data because of my ability to relate and build rapport with the study's participants. Sharing a concern for the welfare of minority faith prisoners helped participants felt comfortable speaking openly about their experiences as chaplains. Participants were interviewed to discover how privatization has impacted minority faith prison chaplains in Canada. Overall, the chaplains were grateful for an opportunity to discuss their experiences and concerns with the privatized model. The following chapter outlines and examines the results of this inquiry.

Chapter 4.

Results

This research explores how the contracting of a single private company for the provision of federal prison chaplaincy services has impacted minority faith chaplains. After conducting and analyzing 10 semi-structured in-depth interviews with participants, general sentiments towards privatization are apparent; the majority of participants were in explicit opposition of privatization. Three major themes arose from the data are the increased bureaucratization of chaplaincy services; a general reduction in the resources afforded to chaplains; and increased emotional exhaustion experienced by chaplains.

The first theme is increased bureaucratization and this theme consists of three subthemes namely distribution of hours, communication, and hiring process. The second theme is reduced resources and this theme has three subthemes which are reduced pay and funding, reduced faith-specific support from employer, and reduced general support from employer. The third theme is emotional exhaustion and this theme consists of two subthemes referred to as increased feelings of anxiety and feelings of frustration and demoralized.

General Sentiments

Eight of the ten participants opposed privatization and often expressed this point with the use of strong language: "I think this has been a disaster, I think the big losers are the inmates, particularly the minority faith inmates" (C7); "it was a huge loss" (C3); "it's very harmful" (C1). One participant took a neutral stance on privatization, stating "I'm doing what I love to do and I'm reaching people and that's all that matters to me" (C6). One participant was explicitly in favour of the new model because he felt more supported in his role under the private manager: "I think the privatization is a positive thing" (C9).

Along with an overall opposition to the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services, three major themes emerged from the data: 1) increased bureaucratization; 2) reduced resources; and 3) increased emotional exhaustion.

4.1. Increased Bureaucratization

A tension between providing quality spiritual care and maintaining an efficient bureaucratic structure for the provision of prison chaplaincy services was evident in the data. This tension was embedded in three concepts discussed by participants: 1) the distribution of hours, 2) communications and 3) hiring practices.

4.1.1. Distribution of hours

Privatization affected the distribution of working hours for federal prison chaplains. Indeed, the word 'hours' was one of the most frequently used terms by participants. Participants explained that prior to privatization, they could use their contractual hours to provide direct services to prisoners, as well as to perform a variety of services both inside and outside of their institutions. The chaplains were afforded flexibility and autonomy in allocating their time. However, after privatization more rigid structures for the allocation of paid hours were put in place.

Impact of paid hours being limited to correctional institutions

The first major change to the allocation of payable hours for chaplains was that paid time was now limited to time spent within correctional institutions. Participants described how limiting their hours to time spent within institutions restricted their ability to perform services they saw as valuable for the populations they serve. Participants also described being explicitly prohibited from contacting former prisoners once they left the correctional facility, this meant they were no longer able to help prisoners reintegrate into the community upon release. Prior to privatization, chaplains were mandated to facilitate ties with their respective faith communities for the benefit of the prisoner's reintegration. Restricting chaplains' work to time spent within correctional facilities and prohibiting chaplains from engaging in re-integrative efforts is a clear point of departure from the previous model of federal prison chaplaincy services.

For me one of the most significant things that I lost... was going to the halfway houses. Halfway houses, community chaplaincy, reintegration, walking with the men and the women...looking for jobs for them and teaching them the scene... that is not seen as a necessary part of your job, there are no hours for that. So, we miss those days. (C3)

Chaplain 3 described a major shift in the purpose and function of a federal prison chaplain. Prohibiting chaplains from engaging with people who had been formerly incarcerated significantly impacts the former prisoner's ability to successfully reintegrate into society. Chaplain 8 elaborated on this issue:

Once the person is outside of your facility you no longer have any contact and before, part of chaplaincy was always, you support the guys when they're in prison, you support them when they're making the transition back to the community... I met with people before they came to prison, I met with people in prison, when they were on parole, you know? I was the continuity in trying to help them get connected in the community. To suddenly say 'oh I can't serve you because you're no longer at my institution' it goes against my code of ethics. (C8)

Chaplains 3 and 8 opposed this change, because they felt that an important part of their role was to assist with re-integrative efforts. This restriction was perceived as being potentially harmful to the prisoners and against their "code of ethics." The majority of participants expressed explicit opposition to the shift away from re-integrative efforts in federal prison chaplaincy services.

Beckford & Gilliat (2005) found that minority faith prison chaplains needed to spend a considerable amount of time working outside of prisons in order to collect supplies and fundraise for prisoners because relevant resources are not readily available in Canadian correctional institutions. Requiring chaplains to spend all of their paid time within correctional facilities proved burdensome for participants:

You're doing so many things throughout the day, right, you're going to the institution... helping people, going shopping... picking up materials, right.... Then [the private company] came along, they had this thing about "try to stick to eight hours in the institution" which freaked out so many people because how are you gonna do that? (C3)

Chaplains 3 and 4 explained that they were no longer paid to perform what they saw as essential aspects of their jobs: collecting funds and religious materials for the prisoners.

If you went into the community and you visited a [religious centre] and you tried to collect some funds and some materials... that would be paid time because it's part of your job... now... you can't do anything near that. I mean you can do it but at your own time. (C4)

The lack of paid community time is especially disadvantageous to minority faith chaplains. Because religious texts and artifacts cannot be supplied by correctional

institutions for all faith groups, minority faith chaplains rely on contributions from their faith communities to ensure that prisoners have access to relevant materials. While they were no longer paid to perform these duties, many were still collecting resources for prisoners voluntarily on their own time.

Things that I used to be able to do on company time I am now having to do as a volunteer... I'm still committed to doing the work as it should be done, rather than doing the work as much as they pay me to do... I just find myself doing a whole lot of unpaid hours. (C8)

Working additional unpaid hours was not unique to privatization; participants spoke of adding voluntary hours under the public manager as well (C10). The proportion of tasks performed by the chaplains on a volunteer basis did, however, increase as a result of the company's restrictions on the use of chaplaincy hours. An increase in unpaid labour was something the majority of participants discussed.

Task Assignments

Participants explained that under their respective public managers, they were assigned a set number of hours each month and given flexibility in how their time was divided between the institutions in their catchment. After privatization, a more rigid structure for the allocation of working hours for chaplains was introduced. Monthly hours were divided into what was referred to as 'task assignments' or 'task authorizations'. The task assignment system was a major point of concern for the participants. Task assignments mandated that a fixed number of hours be spent in each correctional institution in a chaplain's catchment area. For example, if a chaplain was contracted to serve three prisons for 30 hours a month the task assignment system would specify that they spend 10 hours in Prison A, 15 hours in Prison B and 5 hours in Prison C, based on the religious distribution of federal prisoners at the time.

The majority of participants opposed the task assignment structure because of its rigidity. They argued that task assignments did not take into account the nuances involved in working within complex correctional facilities:

[Prison 1] is a multi-level institution, so they have their max and their medium and their minimum all at the same site... there are 3 different populations that I need to see and they cannot combine... in order for me to give each person adequate hours, my hours need to be divided as if they were three different institutions. (C10)

Chaplains 10 and 8 described receiving task assignments that did not account for the logistical barriers in serving a population divided by varying security levels and unique needs.

At [Prison 2]... I had two hours a month... there is the hospital, there is the reception area for people new to the system, there is the long term care facility and there is the psychiatric unit... there are a whole lot of different places where I would go to meet with people... it can't be done in two hours a month. (C8)

The structural complexity of a correctional facility dictates the speed with which chaplains navigate that institution. For example, if a chaplain was given a task assignment to serve eight prisoners in Institution A and another to serve eight prisoners in Institution B, they would likely be afforded the same number of hours. However, the prisoners in Institution A may be in general population whereas Institution B may be divided between protective custody, a long-term care facility and a psychiatric unit. The physical and logistical barriers in Institution B necessitate that more time be spent navigating the facility in contrast to Institution A where the prisoners are more accessible. The task assignment system described by participants did not account for these complexities and was only concerned with the number of prisoners within an institution. As a result, participants described not having enough hours in certain institutions to visit prisoners requesting their services.

Task authorizations are based on snapshots of institutional statistics and were not quick to account for changes in federal prisoner populations. The rigidity of these assignments created obstacles for many participants as described below:

Right now we're constrained, we have X amount of hours per each institution we have to fill even though you might not have some work to do in that institution but there might be other work that needs to be done in another institution, you're stuck. You have to do 10 hours here and 8 hours there, there's no way around it. (C4)

Participants 4 and 8 described having to spend too much time in certain institutions and not enough time in others as a result of task authorizations that did not account for changes in correctional populations. These restrictions frustrated participants because they felt that their time was not being used efficiently and often limited their access to prisoners.

CSC is very, very slow changing so they would give me... two hours for [Prison 3] where I would have like 6-10 guys and 8 hours for [Prison 4] where I would have two or three guys... it's been a very confusing and difficult time for me under [the private company] because the task authorizations have gotten far stricter. Like we've been told that we can't just use our hours from one [prison] to work in another... it doesn't allow for any flexibility because once again I don't know when they are going to take a new snapshot and make changes. (C8)

While the chaplains used to borrow extra hours from one prison to serve another when necessary, that option is no longer available to them. Correctional environments are often unpredictable and because task authorizations are often slow to account for sudden influxes and outflows in prison populations, they restricted the chaplains' ability to provide timely services to prisoners.

Impact on federally incarcerated women

For a prison to be allotted chaplaincy hours, the task assignment system requires that there be at least three individuals of the same faith group in one institution. This requirement has severely impacted minority faith women prisoners' access to relevant spiritual services. Four participants in this study expressed concern over not having visited female prisoners in their catchment. One participant stated "[specific women's institution]... no Jewish chaplain had been there in two years... You may have a well-meaning Christian chaplain dealing with them, but they're still a Christian chaplain" (C7). Chaplain 3 mentioned that Muslim women in his catchment area "haven't had an imam go and visit them for a while" and Chaplain 8 expressed "I've never had a task authorization to go to the women's institution." Female prisoners requiring minority faith services are further marginalized as a result of the minimum requirement mandated by the task assignment system. As a result, participants explained that they had not visited female prisoners for up to two years. The task assignment system has obstructed minority faith female prisoners' right to receive relevant spiritual services.

The task assignment system's marginalization of minority faith women fits within the larger narrative of the systemic discrimination and neglect faced by incarcerated women in Canada. This neglect is often the result of policies created to serve male populations; these policies do not translate well to female prisoners because of their relatively small population and their unique needs (Shaw, 1992; Berzins & Cooper, 1982). Federally incarcerated women often lack access to relevant programming

compared to their male counter-parts. The task assignment system perpetuates the systemic discrimination of incarcerated women in Canada (Hannah-Moffit, 2004).

Summary

Limiting workable hours to time spent within the institution restricted chaplain's ability to help with reintegration, to fundraise and collect supplies for prisoners and often resulted in the chaplain performing unpaid hours to fulfill their duties. The rigidity of the task authorization system also created obstacles for participants as it did not always account for the complexities and nuances involved in working within correctional environments. The strict distribution of chaplaincy hours introduced after privatization has made chaplaincy services less available to federal minority faith prisoners. This point is supported by an increase in prisoner complaints to the Canadian Human Rights Commission over a lack of access to relevant religious services (Burke, December, 2017). Reduced access to spiritual services for minorities is the most notable impact of privatization.

4.1.2. Communications

This section discusses how an increasingly bureaucratic framework for the provision of chaplaincy services impacts reporting requirements for chaplains, pay systems and communications policies.

New reporting requirements

Previous reporting requirements under the public managers ranged from detailed monthly reports to an annual one-page summary. With privatization came a more consistent reporting structure that required chaplains to provide detailed statistics on a monthly basis. Participants shared the "Monthly Indicator Report" template assigned to federal prison chaplains for 2017-2018. The indicator report offers over 30 categories to record various statistical information. For example, chaplains are expected to report the number of counselling, religious, and educational services performed each week within a particular institution.

Prior to privatization there was no consistent means of evaluating the work of minority faith chaplains. Participants discussed benefits and drawbacks of the new

reporting requirements. Mandating in-depth and recurring reports was seen as a means of holding chaplains accountable for their time. Two interviewees mentioned that previously they were not required to submit any regular reports or statistics; many of the chaplains saw the value of recording this information for statistical purposes. However, many participants also agreed that these reporting requirements were very detailed and at times onerous:

The fact that we do go from institution to institution, so I've got 5 sets of paperwork I've got to do every month and that's been that way ever since they privatized, you know 5 different monthly indicator reports so it's kind of like they placed extra burdens on us without, I don't believe that they really understand how we function and the weight that they are expecting in terms of reporting. (C8)

Chaplain 8 mentioned that this was particularly difficult. The participant was responsible for providing five sets of monthly reports, each with very specific requirements. Because minority faith chaplains often serve multiple institutions within a region, participants described this reporting system as especially burdensome.

Increased reporting requirements resulted in participants spending more time on administrative tasks. Chaplains 3 and 4 discussed the time-consuming nature of these reports:

The reporting has become a lot more tedious, so like we have to report every single activity that we do, how many people we spoke to, how many people attended a certain event, how many were present in prayer or in a religious function, so there's so much more administrative processes that take our time that we didn't have to do previously. (C4)

While participants acknowledged the benefits of collecting statistical information, many participants, along with Chaplains 3 and 4, expressed concerns about what was perceived as excessive amounts of reporting and time spent on administrative tasks.

The new pay system

A new online pay system was also introduced under the private contractor. With this online punch-clock system, the chaplains were required to sign-in when starting their work at a particular institution and sign-out upon leaving. For some, the new pay system brought up issues of technological literacy. Chaplain 3 asserted “not every chaplain necessarily has access to a computer or is necessarily computer savvy.” Three

participants spoke of colleagues who struggled with the new system and one participant had consistent issues with internet connectivity when trying to access the online system. While four chaplains took issue with this change, the majority of participants were comfortable navigating the online system.

Changes to communication policies

Another change in communication occurred when federal prison chaplains were instructed under the private manager to cease direct communications with CSC employees. Participants were instructed to direct their queries and issues to the private manager who would then bring it forward to correctional staff. This directive is another point of departure from the previous model where chaplains were encouraged to “integrate Chaplaincy Services into the total life of the institution by regular involvement with all other staff” (Statement of Work, 2012, p. 2). Chaplain 2 expressed that before privatization “we were able to kind of integrate ourselves within the main rhythm of the institution” and Chaplain 5 discussed some of the benefits of working directly with CSC personnel:

I did feel more gradual acceptance of my role... if I got there early enough I could go to the warden's meeting, the guards would recognize... people would say hello so there wasn't this kind of schism and I think that's really valuable because you're working for the same ideal. (C5)

Chaplain 5 saw his previous involvement with correctional staff as beneficial because it contributed to a more holistic approach where correctional staff and chaplains worked in parallel for ‘the same ideal’- prisoner rehabilitation. Working directly with CSC staff also familiarized correctional staff with his role as a minority faith chaplain. By prohibiting chaplains from working directly with CSC employees, participants felt they were now working in isolation. The majority of participants noted that a schism had developed between chaplains and correctional staff. They felt that the directive to refrain from communicating with CSC staff created another obstacle for them in their day-to-day work, as Chaplain 7 explains:

If you wanted to speak to an assistant deputy manager you had to make sure that your [private] manager knew about it... like speaking to food services, you weren't supposed to speak directly to the food services manager on-site but you were supposed to go up through the ranks and have your Kairos manager speak to the Correctional

Services Canada [provincial] regional manager and go back down through the ranks. (C7)

The chaplains commonly had direct access to CSC employees, as described by Chaplain 3, and found this mandate to be counter-productive and overly bureaucratic.

It was very challenging sometimes because whereas before, I had a question I could call [CSC Regional Chaplain]... but now I was told I could no longer have direct contact with Correctional Services Canada personnel, even though we worked on sites and we had a Correctional Services Canada email we were told that we were not really CSC staff, we had to speak to our [private] manager and he would be the intermediary for anybody on site or through the national headquarters. (C7)

Participants were frustrated not only with the inability to speak with CSC employees but also with having to regularly involve what they referred to as “many more overheads” (C3) and “another layer of management” in their day to-day-work (C10).

Summary

Communication policies for chaplains were impacted by an increasingly bureaucratic framework for the provision of chaplaincy services. These efforts aimed at increasing and measuring the productivity of chaplains often proved burdensome for participants and at times, counterproductive.

4.1.3. Hiring Practices

Hiring practices after privatization were a point of concern for participants. Five participants discussed expedited hiring processes that lacked proper vetting mechanisms. Two participants provided first-hand accounts of rushed processes in their hiring.

Participants expressed concern about a perceived haste in filling vacant positions after privatization. One participant who worked under the first contractor was surprised by the expediency of his offer of employment with the second contractor in 2016: “you did not even give me an interview, how could you accept me? ... They were so desperate to just do things quick, quick, quick” (C1). Two participants who had never worked in a prison before experienced similar haste, Chaplain 6 provides an example:

They called me and said would you like to work in a federal prison, I said for what? He said as a chaplain and immediately I was appointed... immediately in fact I didn't have a clue, I said what is this? I ['ve] never worked in a federal prison as a chaplain... The thing is they didn't know much about my background, who I was... it was a good opportunity for me, so I said yes. (C6)

Rushed hiring processes were often discussed by participants in alarmed tones. Participants greatly valued the work of federal prison chaplains and the ability to influence the lives and well-being of prisoners. Rushed hiring processes were then seen as careless and participants often questioned the private contractor's ability to adequately vet new chaplains.

After stepping down from their chaplaincy positions, two participants recalled being quickly replaced by individuals who had not previously served as chaplains or worked in prisons. Both participants questioned whether their replacements had adequate backing from their respective faith communities:

It could be a congregation of ten people. You know, just have somebody make up some fancy looking letterhead on your printer and off you go with a letter of endorsement. There was nothing to ensure that anybody from any faith community really had faith group endorsements... we found that very problematic. (C7)

Employees must produce a letter of support from their respective faith communities in order to work as federal prison chaplains. Chaplain 7 was particularly critical of the private contractor's ability to legitimate claims of communal support because of their lack of familiarity with various faith communities. Chaplain 2 offered an explanation as to why the private contractor may not be equipped to assess potential minority faith chaplains:

They didn't know the Muslim community, they didn't know the Rasta community... they didn't have a system of vetting, they didn't have a system of determining who was qualified and who was not qualified - whereas the faith communities, they know who their faith leaders are. (C2)

Chaplain 2 argued that the private contractor's lack of familiarity with various faiths meant that they are not equipped to adequately vet potential minority faith chaplains. He contrasted this with the previous model of chaplaincy services, where respective faith communities were responsible for hiring and training their own chaplains. Participants explained that a faith-based organization's familiarity with their respective

faith tradition places them in a better position to assess the qualifications and community support of prospective chaplains.

Summary

An increasingly bureaucratized structure for the provision of federal prison chaplaincy services has impacted the distribution of working hours for chaplains, communication policies as well as hiring practices. In discussing these issues, chaplains eluded to an inherent tension that existed in providing good quality spiritual care for prisoners and maintaining a rigid bureaucratic structure for the delivery of chaplaincy services. Overall, participants opposed the rigidity of the new systems and found that increased bureaucratization negatively impacted the relevance and quality of minority faith chaplaincy.

Privatization and performativity

According to Lyotard's (1984) principle of performativity, the quality of a service is measured by its cost-efficiency within performative organizational cultures. The organization's primary goal is to "optimize performance by maximizing outputs and minimizing inputs" (Elliott, 2001, p. 194). This section outlines the ways in which the increased bureaucratization of prison chaplaincy services is indicative of a performative organizational culture.

Measurable performance indicators and productivity targets are used within performative organizational cultures to ensure cost-efficiency (Elliott, 2001; Ball, 2003). Ideally, these indicators are based on fixed criterion that lend well to measurement and statistical reporting. Performance indicators are evident in the use of Monthly Indicator Reports assigned to chaplains and productivity targets are evident in the task assignment and punch-clock systems. The private contractor's emphasis on chaplains' strictly adhering to these practices is characteristic of performative organizations.

Within Lyotard's (1984) theoretical frame, the quality of chaplaincy services is measured by the number of encounters documented in the monthly statistical reports (the output) and the number of hours worked within a particular institution (the input). A performative organization only values fixed, measurable standards (Elliott, 2001). However, the number of visits and hours spent within an institution do not adequately

capture the affective labour performed by prison chaplains and the quality of the service itself. If a chaplain inspired a prisoner to change their outlook on a particular issue or addressed an individual's philosophical concerns, these are not measurable outcomes though they are meaningful ones. Much of the work of chaplains is lost if fixed; measurable standards are the means by which the quality of their services are evaluated.

Another characteristic of a performative organization is low-trust employer-employee relationships (Elliott, 2001). Performative employees are afforded little autonomy and flexibility in their work and monitoring systems are often used to ensure that guidelines are adhered to (Ball, 2003). The online punch-clock system described by participants is a clear monitoring system used to ensure that chaplains use their paid hours in correctional facilities. The task assignment system does not offer any flexibility or autonomy for chaplains to manage their contractual hours. Both the task assignment and the punch-clock system are indicative of a low-trust employer-employee relationship. The private contractor's assertion that they handle all communications with CSC staff reduced the professional autonomy of chaplains. A lack of trust from employers can negatively impact the self-efficacy of employees and reduced self-efficacy is a contributing factor to professional burnout (Maslach, 2003).

Ball (2003) discusses how performativity has impacted the field of academia; "it is not that performativity gets in the way of 'real' academic work or proper learning, it is a vehicle for changing what academic work and learning are" (p. 226). Similarly, a culture of performativity is changing the nature of prison chaplaincy. The structural changes described by participants suggest that the provision of chaplaincy services are no longer centred on human welfare but rather on commercial interests. For example, limiting chaplains' paid hours to time spent within correctional institutions serves the commercial interest of minimizing input, however it is not conducive to the overall rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners. The structural changes to the provision of federal prison chaplaincy services may seem unimportant in isolation, but their collective impact may negatively impact prisoners' access to relevant spiritual services in the long-term (Beckford & Gilliat, 2005).

4.2. Reduced Resources

The second theme that emerged from the data was a marked reduction in the resources afforded to participants after privatization. This section discusses how reductions in pay, program funding and employer support affected the participants.

4.2.1. Reduced Pay and Funding

Reductions in income

Of the five participants who worked under both the public and private employment models, three experienced direct pay cuts after privatization. One participant whose pay “thankfully” (C8) remained consistent, described colleagues whose pay scale was significantly lowered after privatization. Another participant spoke of being paid 25% less than he was initially promised by the private contractor. In discussing the impact of privatization on chaplains’ salaries, Chaplain 2 stated “compared to when we worked for our own religious communities, our pay was drastically cut.” The following explanation was offered by Chaplain 3:

I can't remember the exact numbers now... but I remember clearly there was a drop in the pay scale and that has been across the board for chaplaincy. Given the fact that the amount of money that was given to chaplaincy... had to be redistributed among many more workers and many more employees and many more overheads. (C3)

Participants expressed frustration that under the private manager the funds afforded to federal prison chaplaincy were divided between chaplains and what they view as an “extra” (C4) and unnecessary layer of management.

Chaplain 4 spoke of colleagues whose pay was drastically reduced and expressed concern that many were at a point in their careers in which they did not have many alternative employment options:

It didn't affect me much, but I know chaplains who they're almost at half of what they used to get paid before, that is ridiculous. And they're nearing retirement... but the problem is they've just been in the jail for so long that that's what they know how to do... they can't go back to being a congregational leader somewhere in their faith community, there's no positions for that, so they're just stuck doing what they're doing and they do it because they love it. They don't do it because of the money, but it's not fair to them at all. (C4)

While Chaplain 4's salary was not reduced he was concerned for his coworkers who were negatively impacted by a reduced pay scale. It was common for participants to mention that they and their colleagues were not primarily motivated by financial gains. Chaplains were clear that even before privatization, federal prison chaplaincy was not an especially lucrative career. However, the pay cuts were viewed as too drastic and unfair to the chaplains whose salaries were negatively affected. In relation to the reduced pay scale, Chaplain 8 stated "I really feel they're taking advantage of the benevolent nature of chaplains".

Reductions in funding for books, materials, and mileage

After privatization chaplains' lost access to community funds raised by their previous managers and stipends provided by CSC. Participants used to receive small amounts of excess funding through CSC at the end of the fiscal year to buy books and other materials for programming. After privatization, these stipends were no longer available to chaplains. Participants also discussed losing community-based funding that was collected by previous employers:

Money, to pay for food for Eid celebrations... [Previous employer] always stepped up, said 'okay, its Ramadan, how many dates do we need? How much money is that going to cost? Okay... we're going to pass around a box saying prisoner Ramadan fund' and then we would collect a couple hundred dollars... with [private contractor], nothing. Everything came out of our pocket." (C2)

Chaplain 2 explained that his public manager collected resources from the community to fund religious celebrations for prisoners. Community contributions and stipends from CSC were described as small but useful by the participants. While funds raised in the community were still a potential source of program funding, chaplains are no longer compensated for time spent raising and collecting funds in the community. Reduced program funding and community hours for chaplains has made it more difficult for minority faith chaplains to collect resources for minority faith prisoners.

Another point of concern for participants was compensation for the mileage used to travel between correctional institutions. Multiple participants were no longer compensated for their mileage, Chaplain 2 spoke of losing this reimbursement immediately after privatization. Other participants were only reimbursed for mileage that exceeded 200 km:

They said when you've got over 200 km of mileage they would pay you for mileage... you're going to give them as a gift 200 km a month, and they still want you to spend 8 hours on site so I'm giving them 4 hours of my [travel] time and 200 km as a gift for the privilege of working on site, my decision at that point was this was not worth getting out of bed and going to, I declined their offer of employment. (C7)

Disgruntled with the minimum requirement placed on mileage reimbursement, Chaplain 7 found this to be the point in a series of changing employment conditions, at which she no longer wanted to continue working with the new contractor. Reduced compensation for mileage and travel time is particularly disadvantageous for minority faith chaplains because they often serve multiple institutions. Most participants did not mind that they were not paid for their travel time, but they felt that a lack of compensation for mileage was unfair.

4.2.2. Reduced faith specific support from employer

Six participants felt that after privatization the new employer lacked an understanding of their faith traditions. This section examines how the contractor's lack of familiarity with minority faith groups presented unique challenges for participants.

The two companies that held federal prison chaplaincy contracts with CSC after privatization had strong ties with Christian groups. The first organization was founded by Anglican chaplains and the second was a subsidiary of an American Evangelical organization in the United States. The majority of participants were overtly critical of working for organizations that had strong ties with Christian communities. For those who had worked under the public model, their previous employers understood the nuances of their respective faith traditions and religious practices and were able to navigate culturally specific issues as experts. In discussing the transition between working for his faith community and the private contractor, Chaplain 3 referred to this shift as a "huge loss" because the faith community "understood what we were about" (C3).

Two participants offered similar examples for why their employer's lack of familiarity with their specific faith traditions was particularly challenging for them in their work. Chaplains are responsible for recruiting volunteers from their communities to assist with programming and prisoner visits. Chaplains 1 and 3 found it challenging to recruit and train volunteers without having any paid time to work outside of the

institution. Their communities were not familiar with prison chaplaincy and in order to recruit volunteers they needed to raise community awareness about their chaplaincy programs.

[In] the Christian faith, that's already established, it's part of their ministry but we never had that. So, for the community to support that and to fund that... it's like trying to get people to vote when they're not accustomed to vote... you're working in a vacuum. (C3)

The faith community described by Chaplain 3 consisted of new immigrants and people who were not familiar with prison chaplaincy. Gathering volunteers required more time and effort in this case because he was working 'in a vacuum' where he needed to inform his community about the purpose of prison chaplaincy. Chaplain 3 compares this to an "already established" form of chaplaincy in Canadian society; he argued that recruiting volunteers may prove less cumbersome for Christian chaplains. Chaplain 1 shared this sentiment:

It's not the same reality... Christian chaplains they have churches... they are stronger... more firmly rooted. We are talking about two different realities... for example... the non-Muslim volunteers they get approved easily... its Tom, John etcetera. It's not Muhammad, Abu Bakr, Umar... our volunteers, it would take forever for them to be accepted... it's not the same. (C1)

Standardizing the work of prison chaplains does not account for the unique challenges faced by some minority faith communities and participants felt that their work was at times more challenging in comparison to Christian chaplaincy because their faith traditions were less 'firmly rooted' in Canadian society. Recruiting volunteers and advocating for security clearances was a more time-consuming process for Chaplains 1 and 3. Chaplain 1 continually repeated 'it's not the same reality' in discussing the different social landscapes chaplains navigate in their role. The example he offered was in relation to volunteer screening processes, individuals with overtly Muslim names experienced a higher level of scrutiny and as a result it took longer to gain clearance. Because of these unique challenges described by Chaplains 1 and 3, they argued that it was unfair to standardize the use of a federal prison chaplains' paid time to time spent within correctional facilities.

One participant was hesitant to seek religious accommodations because of the private contractor's lack of familiarity with his religious traditions. Chaplain 3 offered an

anecdote where he was overwhelmed with various commitments during Ramadan, a month in which practicing Muslims do not consume food or water from sunrise to sunset:

You gotta get out [at] 8 o'clock in the morning to hit the road, so what happens to you when you come back in the afternoon, you're drained right? But then you have to go to the [mosque]... of course if there's an event you're speaking [at] you have to get there early because you're speaking before [sunset], so what I do is I sleep in the car at some gas station... but it's gruesome. (C3)

Chaplain 3 described sleeping in his car to keep up with various commitments throughout the month. He explained that previously he was allotted time off during Ramadan with an understanding that the time would be made up in the following months.

Because you're dealing with someone that understands the culture... you can say, you know what? It's okay, have a short day and go home... I know next month you're going to be back on the grind... so that's the kind of thing that you need. (C3)

It is not clear whether Chaplain 3 would have been afforded accommodations under the private model were he to have requested time off. What was clear was his perception that the private organization lacked an understanding of this Islamic tradition and that made him hesitant to seek accommodations at the risk of being viewed as less productive than his colleagues.

Lack of expertise to manage religious claims

Participants raised concerns about the private contractor's ability to validate minority faith prisoners' religious claims. Participants explained that, at times, religious accommodations offered prisoners advantages within correctional facilities. For example, the quality of some religiously permissible foods is seen as better than the food provided to mainstream populations. Because of this, prisoners are not always truthful in their requests for religious accommodations. It is the responsibility of prison chaplains to verify various religious claims.

Chaplain 7 discussed an occasion where a prisoner requested accommodations from CSC, claiming that his family was Jewish. Upon contacting his province's Jewish community and researching the family's burial records, Chaplain 7 negated the man's claim. Negating religious claims requires a high level of rigour to ensure that the denial

of accommodations does not infringe upon the prisoner's rights. It also requires a clear record of the decision-making process in the event that the prisoner appeals the decision. Chaplain 7's public manager supported him in the research process and this proved beneficial because of the organization's access to Jewish communities across Canada. Her faith-based employer was better situated to validate and negate religious claims because of their expertise in Jewish traditions. It is important to note that faith-specific support is no longer available from the private employer however chaplains can seek advice from community-based organizations.

Participants spoke critically of the new contractor's approach to dealing with religious claims. They described scenarios when the private contractor accommodated religious claims that were likely false in order to avoid potential human rights complaints. Participants were opposed to accommodating religious claims that lacked sincerity of belief. Participants also expressed frustration at what they understood to be a reluctance from the contractor to seek advice from faith-based organizations that were previously contracted by CSC. Many participants felt that faith communities' valuable expertise were being ignored:

[Private employer] is actually very full of themselves and thinks they can do everything, they can minister every religion... most chaplains do not want to have to make religious decisions about another faith group. They feel that that is just stepping on a landmine and that they're not knowledgeable about other religious denominations other than their own. (C7)

Legitimizing religious claims was likened to navigating a minefield because in order to do so successfully one needs to be very familiar with the landscape. Chaplain 7 found the private contractor's lack of engagement with faith communities to be unwise because without referring to religious experts they were more likely err in their decision making.

After resigning as prison chaplains, two participants offered to provide advice to the private contractor on a voluntary basis, to ensure that the needs of their populations were met. Both expressed frustration that their offers were not accepted and that their expertise was rarely used. The majority of participants expressed concerns that the private contractor lacked a meaningful understanding of their specific faith traditions. A lack of faith-specific support presented obstacles for participants in the form of overly

rigid policies that did not account for differences between faith communities and support in validating or negating religious claims from prisoners.

4.2.3. Reduced advocacy from employer

The third resource that participants felt was less available to them after privatization was general advocacy from their employer. Participants felt that the private contractor was primarily concerned with presenting a good fiscal image to CSC and that this focus compromised their ability to support chaplains and prisoners where their interests conflicted with correctional policies.

The competitive nature of CSC's contract for the provision of chaplaincy services has created an environment where the private contractor needs to gain CSC's favour in order to be awarded future contracts. Efforts to gain CSC's favour often came at the cost of advocating for chaplains and prisoners when it may conflict with CSC's interests. "I just have not had the sense that [the private company] ever said to CSC, 'you know that doesn't make any sense'. I think it's been more like 'oh, how high do you want us to jump'?" (C8). Chaplain 8 expressed concern that the private contractor was primarily interested in pleasing CSC as opposed to objectively critiquing policies that limit prisoners' access to relevant spiritual services. Chaplain 1 explains:

I won't say this is only due to the privatization, but the privatization contributed to it. Why? Because our experience is that... they were so scared to lose their contract... so they wouldn't have our back... the company was so worried, they were so panicky to lose the contract, so they really did whatever it took... to just keep the contract. (C1)

The majority of participants were critical of the private contractor for not having their "back." In advocating for prisoners' rights, chaplains often resisted correctional policies that infringed on prisoners' religious freedoms and challenged the administration when necessary. For example, one participant relayed an anecdote when he discovered that food deemed religiously permissible for a particular group was not authentic. The chaplain met with correctional staff and the food distribution company to remedy the issue. In working towards solving the problem, he felt a lack of support from his employer, "[the private company] did not do anything... 'oh, that's awful' and that's it" (C1). Chaplain 1 felt that the private company should have been more invested in ensuring that CSC upheld the prisoner's right to a religiously permissible diet.

After sharing similar anecdotes related to a lack of support from their employer, Chaplain 7 stated: “you had nobody then at the CSC level having your back and you had nobody at [the private company] who had my back.” Participants felt that after privatization they often worked in isolation, they were no longer permitted to work directly with CSC employees and they did not feel supported by the private contractor.

4.3. Emotional Exhaustion

Eight of the 10 participants described an emotional ‘struggle’ (C7) that chaplains experienced adjusting to the increased bureaucratization and reduced resources. This section examines participants’ increased feelings of anxiety, frustration and demoralization.

4.3.1. Increased Feelings of Anxiety

Immediately after privatization there was a certain level of professional uncertainty for federal prison chaplains. Participants felt unsure of whether they would be contracted to continue providing spiritual care to federal prisoners. This climate of professional uncertainty was described as a “trying time for chaplains” (C3). Chaplains were anxious that they would not be offered an employment contract or that they would be prematurely terminated:

You're fearful that your job will be cut... you're fearful that when you make a mistake on the computer... it has traumatized me for months that if I make a mistake in doing up my sheet, what will be the result?
(C3)

Feelings of uncertainty were not limited to the initial transition phases; some participants feared being fired well into their employment contracts. The unease experienced by Chaplain 3 was rooted in what he understood to be a lack of job security under the private manager. His use of the word traumatized shows the negative emotional impact that the perceived lack of job security had on him.

Two participants shared a similar anecdote where a colleague was terminated because his vehicle was seen outside of his second job while he was logged into the online punch-clock system. The chaplain was fired within 24 hours. It was not the termination, but the speed with which he was terminated that disturbed participants. In

describing the incident, Chaplain 8 stated: “they feel that they don't have to use due process that they can just fire us whenever they want.” According to the two participants, this firing lacked due process. There was no room for contestation and they found that troubling. Chaplain 2 contrasted this emotional climate with the professional security participants felt with their faith-based employers:

On an emotional level, things actually deteriorated because of the uncertainty. Because many people were let go without much notice whereas before it would not have happened because we had a different relationship with our faith communities. (C2)

Participants felt that their public managers were more invested in their well-being. They explained that when their public managers terminated chaplains, they were afforded ample notice.

4.3.2. Increased Feelings of Frustration and Demoralization

Feelings of frustration and demoralization were two of the most salient emotional responses expressed by participants throughout the interview process. Seven of the 10 participants expressed concerns that the structural changes to the provision of chaplaincy services compromised the accessibility and quality of spiritual care for federal minority faith prisoners. Participants were worried that the rigid structures introduced after privatization negatively impacted federal minority faith prisoners' access to spiritual services and felt helpless to address these changes, which led to strong feelings of frustration and demoralization.

Participants were concerned about the trajectory of federal prison chaplaincy services. Chaplain 10 illustrates these concerns:

We have been told quite straight up... chaplaincy's mandate is to meet the minimum requirements of the Charter of Rights. When we were chaplains directly under CSC our mandate was to fulfill the mandate of CSC which is to rehabilitate people, now we've been told that we are basically to cover CSC's ass... It's very frustrating. I'm second guessing myself more often and digging in my heels more often and I've had to make an active choice to continue doing my work... as a spiritual advisor, not as fulfilling the minimum requirements of the Charter of Rights, the minimum being minimal access or lip service... its crap. (C10)

Chaplain 10 described a shift in the purpose of federal prison chaplaincy services from the rehabilitation of prisoners to meeting the minimum requirements of the Charter to avoid human rights complaints. Providing minimal services conflicted with Chaplain 10's desire to provide meaningful services to the population she serves. She described "digging in her heels" in order to resist a cultural shift within the organization. Chaplain 8 shared a similar sentiment "I'm still committed to doing the work as it should be done, rather than doing the work as much as they pay me to do." Resisting organizational pressure to cut back was a frustrating endeavour for participants, Chaplain 10 expressed her frustration, stating "its crap" and "it's very frustrating."

Participants also expressed frustration that administrative tasks took away from their counselling services:

[Chaplaincy], it's an act of compassion that you share with someone who has been placed in a circumstance that requires compassion... That you have to always be thinking about 'your hours and did you make your hours... where are the hours going?' It's been - to me that [has] kind of been eating [at] my soul. I wish for that freedom again, that respectability, you know what you have to do and you do it. (C3)

Navigating conflicting priorities was described through strong language: "that [has] kind of been eating [at] my soul." Chaplain 3 knew that he was required to adhere to the task assignment system and felt frustrated that his organizational concerns at times clouded his emotional presence with prisoners.

Working to ensure the authenticity of federal prison chaplaincy services was maintained led to frustration for the majority of participation. Where frustration ended, emotional exhaustion was not far behind:

From what I can see [the private employer has] not stood up to CSC on behalf of chaplaincy, I just don't know where to go with this anymore... having a contractor that won't stick up for the prisoners or stick up for the chaplains, many of the chaplains I know are demoralized, I can be pretty demoralized. (C8)

Chaplain 8's statement exemplifies the point that a lack of support from supervisors is an important precursor to professional burnout (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001).

Throughout the interview process, participants described contributing personal funds and time in their work in order to resist organizational directives to cut back on services.

A perceived decline in the authenticity and overall quality of chaplaincy services in the interests of increased efficiency created internal struggles for chaplains.

Professional burnout

This section uses Maslach & Leiter's framework on burnout syndrome (1997) to discuss the ways in which the structural changes described in Theme 1 and the reduction of resources outlined in Theme 2 created an environment conducive to professional burnout. This section also explores how the negative emotional responses discussed in Theme 3 are characteristic of professional burnout syndrome.

Maslach (2003) describes occupational burnout as a syndrome caused by prolonged emotional strain in individuals doing "people-work," such as teachers, nurses, and counsellors. Maslach (2003) notes three stages of burnout syndrome: (1) overwhelming emotional exhaustion, (2) depersonalization, which involves emotionally distancing oneself from their work and (3) a lack of perceived self-accomplishment and efficacy. Three common precursors to burnout are insufficient resources, a lack of administrative support and "conflicting demands at the job" (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001 p. 407; Standish, 2014).

Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter (2001) suggest that not being adequately compensated contributes to professional burnout. Participants described a lower pay scale as a result of privatization and even those who were not impacted by this change strongly opposed it. Although it was common for participants to state they were not primarily motivated by financial gains in their work, they perceived a lack of reciprocity with their employer for their time and efforts and this contributes to professional burnout.

When an employee's hard work is not acknowledged or appreciated within an organization this is also a contributing factor to burnout. Participants described going out of their way to collect materials and facilitate religious practices for federal prisoners with very little feedback or support from their employer. As noted by Maslach et al. (2001), "a lack of social support is linked to burnout. Lack of support from supervisors is especially important" (p. 407). Not only did participants state that much of their efforts were not acknowledged by their supervisors, they also felt that the organization did not 'have their back'. The organization's support for certain policies, like the task assignment system,

made participants feel that their employer was more concerned with presenting a good fiscal image to CSC than in providing quality spiritual care to prisoners. It was evident that the majority of participants did not feel supported by their private employer and support from supervisors is an important resource in moderating the likelihood of professional burnout.

The primary concern of a performative organization is cost-efficiency (Lyotard, 1984), human welfare is a secondary matter, if at all. The negative emotional impact of performativity on the participants is comparable to the experiences of public school teachers in the UK (Ball, 2003). Standardized test scores were the primary means of evaluating the success of a teacher and because of this, valuable aspects of the affective labour performed by public school teachers were not strongly valued. For example, if a teacher invested time to address behavioural issues a student exhibited in class, and this did not impact the individual's test scores, it was likely that this aspect of the teacher's role would not be strongly valued by the administration. Teachers felt conflicted about where to place their efforts and frustrated that a culture of performativity took away from meaningful aspects of their work.

In deciding how to perform their roles as caring professionals within a performative environment, the public school teachers referenced by Ball (2003) experienced "inner conflicts, inauthenticity and resistance" (p. 215) that often resulted in feelings of anxiety and self-doubt. The same was true for the majority of this study's participants. For example, Chaplain 10 said that she was second guessing herself more often in her role, a clear sign of self-doubt. Chaplain 3 expressed guilt that he was often more concerned with where his hours were going instead of being a compassionate presence for his population. Ball (2003) attributes this self-doubt to an uncertainty as to how to deliver meaningful services while satisfying professional requirements in a performative culture.

Ball (2003) also describes the internal conflicts of teachers navigating organizational performativity as "highly personal" (p. 216). The emotional responses of the participants were also intense in nature while describing feelings of demoralization and frustration, such as: "that [has] been kind of eating [at] my soul" (C3) and "I'm... digging in my heels more often" (C10). The strikingly similar emotional reactions shared by public school teachers and the chaplains are indicative of the negative impacts of

imposing a performative culture on a caring profession, one that is more concerned with human welfare than commercial success.

It is important to discuss not only how the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services has affected the profession, but also how it has personally impacted chaplains. The rigid structures surrounding the provision of chaplaincy services conflicted with participants' desires to provide authentic religious services to prisoners and led to the chaplains feeling anxious, frustrated and demoralized. Demoralization can be likened to emotional exhaustion, the first stage of professional burnout. The policy changes that occurred after the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services created a working environment conducive to professional burnout and as a result negatively affected the emotional well-being of the participants.

Summary

Through in-depth interviews with chaplains, three main themes were identified that summarize the impact of privatization; increased bureaucratization of prison chaplaincy services, a reduction in available resources for chaplains, and increased emotional exhaustion for chaplains. Overall, the results reveal mainly negative impacts of privatization as experienced by participants. No longer providing community hours to collect resources, reducing compensation as well as the task assignment system proved to be especially burdensome for participants. The following section discusses the implications of these results.

Chapter 5.

Discussion

This study explores how the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services has affected minority faith chaplains. This section will discuss the implications of the study's findings.

5.1. Particularly disadvantageous for minorities

The restrictive measures placed on the provision of prison chaplaincy services impacts minority religious groups in a very distinct way. Minority groups do not have religious texts and artefacts readily available within federal institutions. By restricting chaplain's paid hours to time spent within correctional facilities chaplains who wish to collect materials in the community do so on their own time. It is likely this has resulted in less relevant materials being made available to minority faith prisoners. This impact will likely not be felt by those belonging to majority religious groups because mainstream Christian texts are often accessible within federal corrections.

The task assignment system and its minimum population requirement also disproportionately affects minorities. Because minority faith chaplains serve across multiple institutions, strict mandates on the number of hours to be spent in each institution and requiring a minimum number of prisoners of a particular faith in order for hours to be allotted to an institution are particularly disadvantageous for minorities. Canadian federal prisons each have a full-time institutional chaplain, the vast majority of whom are Christian (CBC News, 2012, pp. 8). Institutional chaplains are not impacted by the task assignment system because they are responsible for serving one prison. It is important to note that there are a wide array of Christian denominations and religious practices and there may be instances where a Christian chaplain cannot adequately serve a Christian prisoner of a different denomination. A Christian prisoner however has consistent access to a chaplain with some familiarity with their religious traditions. The same cannot be said for Sikh prisoners, Buddhist prisoners, Wiccan, Muslim or Jewish prisoners, to name a few.

When institutional chaplains are unable to serve their prison populations, they rely on volunteers from various faith communities to serve minority faith prisoners (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). Institutions that do not meet the minimum requirement to be assigned a Hindu chaplain, for example, may have volunteers from the Hindu community visit these prisoners. The issue with this is the quality of religious and spiritual care provided by volunteers is not equal to that of professional chaplains. Volunteers often have full-time commitments outside of chaplaincy and are less available than professional chaplains. Also, there are no educational and professional requirements for religious volunteers, there are however educational and professional standards in order for one to be employed as a chaplain (Beckford & Cairns, 2015). The quality of religious and spiritual care is often better when chaplains provide religious services as opposed to laypeople volunteering in correctional institutions. It is important to highlight again that Christian prisoners have consistent access to a qualified chaplain within federal corrections and as a matter of religious freedom the same standard should be provided for minority faith prisoners.

Section 2 of the *Charter* states “Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms: (a) freedom of conscience and religion” and Section 15 of the *Charter* states:

15. (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982)

Participants complained that where they once were able to provide meaningful services to prisoners, they are now told that they only have to meet the minimum requirement of the *Charter*. The concept of meeting a minimum requirement in this context is paradoxical. Meeting the requirements of the *Charter* in this instance necessitates that federal prisoners requiring religious services experience equal protection and benefit of the law and not be discriminated against on the basis of their religion or sex. A practice or policy either meets *Charter* rights or it violates those rights. The task assignment system and the resultant limited access to relevant spiritual services for minority faith prisoners, in my view, violates Section 15(1) of the *Charter*, as federal prisoners’ access to relevant spiritual services is very much dependent on their religion and their gender.

The position that relevant spiritual services are less available to minority faith prisoners is supported by a CBC article published in December 2017 entitled *Inmate complaints on the rise over access to religious services*. The article states:

There are many problems inside Canada's correctional service... including inadequate services for religious minority inmates... There's been an increase in the number of prisoners filing complaints to the Canadian Human Rights Commission about religious accommodation (Burke, December 2017, p. 2 & 13).

While minority faith prisoners' lack of access is an unintended consequence of privatization, it is a real and present issue that is further marginalizing an already marginalized population. Hannah-Moffat (2004) calls on researchers and policy makers to identify and resist systems that discriminate against incarcerated minorities and women. The task assignment system introduced after privatization is a policy that discriminates against minority faith federally incarcerated prisoners and one that should be modified or abolished.

A proposed remedy for the task assignment system is as simple as allowing chaplains flexibility in dividing their labour between institutions. Lessening the rigidity of these fixed hours will allow chaplains to visit prisoners requiring their services regardless of how many other prisoners in that institution belong to the same faith. Similarly, allotting monthly community hours would allow for minority faith chaplains to be compensated for the time spent collecting materials and raising funds for prisoners. Lastly, actively engaging faith-based organizations as knowledgeable resources and a means of holding the private contractor accountable to various faith communities would likely provide much needed advocacy for chaplains and support for prisoners.

5.2. The logic of profit vs. the logic of service

In support of privatization of prison services, Savas (1987) argues that an activity should not be excluded from the marketplace simply because it is essential to people's welfare. He criticized those opposing the privatization of various human services, arguing that it is possible to have a private venture that still meets the needs of those it is intending to serve. Scholars who oppose privatization, however, do not argue against the possibility of an authentic private service, they argue against its likelihood. Kuttner's (1989) statement "the logic of service and the logic of profits are largely at odds" (p. 23)

does not negate the possibility of a privatized prison service that benefits those it intends to serve. Rather, the statement suggests that when the potential for financial gain is present, concerns for human welfare are likely compromised as a result. Much of the findings of this study support this point.

A number of examples illustrate how commercial interests often conflict with an ethic of service in the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services. Limiting chaplains' paid hours to time spent within correctional institutions serves the commercial interest of minimizing input; however, it does not serve the well-being, rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners. Before privatization, participants explained that their employment contracts explicitly stated that they were to assist prisoners with their reintegration into the community. The private contractor's prohibiting chaplains to engage in re-integrative efforts illustrates a clear shift in organizational interests from human welfare to cost-efficiency. Opponents to prison privatization suggest that when the potential for financial gains is present, human welfare becomes a secondary matter (Kuttner, 1989). The findings of this study show that the same compromise can result from not-for-profit ventures prioritizing cost-efficiency.

The statistics that chaplains are now required to report and the punch-clock system introduced after privatization are means of accountability for not only the prison chaplain but the private contractor. These systems are a way for the contractor to show CSC that their resources are being used efficiently. According to Andrew (2006) "Accountability involves giving or receiving the account of an event. Maintaining accountability often relies heavily on technical, measurable and procedural approaches – this can limit our expectation of what an enterprise should be accountable for" (p. 879). In other words, systems of accountability like the Monthly Indicator Report limit what the private contractor can be held accountable for in the provision of chaplaincy services. In what she refers to as an "administrative evil" Andrews (2006, p. 879) posits that when we use technical systems of accountability we are only concerned with specific measures and are not at all concerned with issues of morality. Andrew (2006) calls for moral and ethical discussions to be at the centre of debates around prisons and prison systems.

The state has a moral obligation to ensure that prisoners in their care have access to relevant spiritual services, regardless of their faith group. Even where there

are less than three prisoners of the same faith group in one institution, it is unethical to restrict their access to relevant spiritual services. When ethics and morality are the lens through which we discuss prison systems, the state has an obligation to prisoners and the general public to work to rehabilitate those who are incarcerated. It seems extreme to explicitly prohibit chaplains from contacting their former prisoners once they leave a correctional institution.

It is important to situate the federal prison chaplaincy's shift away from prisoner rehabilitation within a larger political context. Prison chaplaincy services were privatized under the 2012 Conservative government, a government that championed a tough on crime agenda. Policy reforms based on the ideological stance that the state should be tough on crime are problematic because they are based on personal beliefs about crime and people who break the law, as opposed to evidence. Empirical research indicates that Harper's tough on crime agenda was "expensive and counter-productive" (Mallea, 2012). This government created numerous mandatory minimum sentences which removed judicial discretion, did not effectively act as a deterrent and further marginalized Indigenous and minority offenders. The "Truth in Sentencing Act" restricted the amount of credit that could be given to people who had spent time in pre-trial detention (Mallea, 2012). The government also pushed for ending early release and mandating that prisoners serve their full custodial sentence before being released. These are a few examples of the various bills proposed and enacted by the Harper government, most of which were fuelled by inflammatory rhetoric as opposed to facts (Mallea, 2012). The acute shift in the prison chaplain's role from one of rehabilitation and reintegration to providing minimal services to prisoners fits within this larger political context. Much like the other tough on crime initiatives, chaplaincy's shift from prisoner rehabilitation is counter-productive and harmful for the formerly incarcerated and the wider community.

Another way in which the logic of profit and the logic of service conflict due to the privatization of prison chaplaincy is the private contractor's vested interest in pleasing CSC. Because CSC's chaplaincy contract is subject to competitive bidding, the private contractor may be financially motivated to appease, rather than oppose, CSC. This is deeply problematic because prison chaplains are often in positions where they need to advocate for prisoner rights and hold CSC accountable for the living conditions within correctional facilities. This calls for a certain level of neutrality and a willingness to openly oppose CSC policies and procedures. As the participants of this study frequently

stated, the private contractor did not have the prisoners' best interests in mind and rarely supported them in trying to address human rights complaints. Prisoners are marginalized in a multitude of ways and it is important that CSC remain accountable. Morally, the provider of chaplaincy services should prioritize the religious and spiritual needs of prisoners over their own financial gain, however in the context of privatization, financial gain and financial savings appear to be the primary concern of the private contractor.

5.3. Quantifying a caring profession

Prison chaplains are tasked with helping prisoners explore questions of spirituality and purpose, their effectiveness in this right is not easily made measurable. The chaplain's efficacy is not captured by statistics reported in the Monthly Indicator Report nor in the hours recorded by the online punch-clock system. These measures have value; however, vital aspects of the chaplain's role are lost if their work is evaluated only by way of these measures. Lyotard (1984) explains that performative organizational cultures "exclude in principle adherence to a metaphysical discourse" (p. 62), which means there is no room for the immeasurable within a performative organizational culture. It seems ill-fitting to employ a culture of performativity, one that inherently rejects metaphysical discourse, on a profession that is very much concerned with the metaphysical.

Participants were deeply frustrated with the rigid structures imposed on them, such as the task assignment system, that took away from their ability to provide meaningful services to prisoners. Prison chaplaincy deals with weighty existential issues and chaplains felt that under the private contractor their service became more superficial. The private contractor was more concerned with the quantity than quality of service, which created a variety of internal struggles for the chaplains. It is difficult to work as a caring professional within an organization that is not very concerned for the welfare of prisoners. Participants described struggling to resist their employer's shift away from rehabilitation and reintegration but that often led to professional burnout.

Prison chaplaincy is a difficult and emotionally taxing profession even in the best of working conditions. It is in prisoner's and by extension the CSC's best interests to keep highly qualified chaplains as they are best positioned to serve the needs of the prison population. Reduced pay and strict working conditions disincentivize qualified prison

chaplains from working with federal corrections, especially where other chaplaincy positions in hospitals, universities and the military are available. When chaplains are treated as a commodity that must be made cost-effective, their ability to provide meaningful spiritual services to prisoners is limited. Of the four participants who no longer serve as prison chaplains, three explicitly stated that they quit because of the rigid structures imposed after privatization. They used evocative language like “I’m boycotting the new system” and “it’s not worth getting out of bed for”. These chaplains had extensive experience working within the correctional system and it is the prisoners’ loss that their expertise is no longer available to them.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

6.1. Limitations

The study's inclusion of four minority faith groups may not have adequately represented minority faith groups impacted by the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services in Canada. In the interest of maintaining strict confidentiality, participants' faith groups, specific positions and geographic regions were not described. This information may have provided deeper insight into how privatization has impacted specific minority faith groups included in this study.

This work is a valuable first step in examining the impact of privatization on federal prison chaplaincy services. This study points to several areas worth exploring in more detail: 1) a detailed cost-benefit analysis of the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services to determine whether privatized chaplaincy services are in fact more cost-effective than the previous model; 2) an exploration of how privatization has affected federal prison chaplaincy as a whole, including majority and minority faith groups, to determine the overall impact of privatization; and 3) a more in-depth exploration of the impact of privatization on federally incarcerated women to examine how accessible relevant spiritual services are under the new model.

6.2. Conclusion

In an article entitled *Islamic inmates need more religious support* published by Global News on August 6, 2016, former federal prison chaplain Imam Yasin Dwyer states, "Prison can be very alienating, very lonely, and there's obviously time ... to reflect on those really big questions, like the meaning of life. And when inmates ask those kinds of questions, they usually find themselves in the chapel" (pp. 9). Prison chaplaincy is a very meaningful service for arguably the most marginalized individuals in Canadian society. By privatizing federal prison chaplaincy services, the Canadian government has particularly disadvantaged minority faith prisoners by reducing their access to relevant spiritual services.

This study is concerned with how the privatization of prison chaplaincy services impacted minority faith chaplaincy in Canada. The findings capture 3 key themes that summarize the impact of privatization as experienced by minority faith chaplains: 1) increased bureaucratization of prison chaplaincy services reduced the quality and accessibility of spiritual care available to prisoners, 2) a reduction in available resources for chaplains created a professional environment conducive to burnout, and 3) increased emotional exhaustion and ultimately professional burnout.

The first theme of increased bureaucratization is indicative of a performative organizational culture, one that defines the quality of a service by its cost-efficiency (Lyotard, 1984). The second theme examined a general reduction in the resources available to chaplains as a result of privatization. Reduced pay, faith-based support and advocacy from the chaplains' employer created an environment conducive to professional burnout. These challenges naturally lent themselves to third finding of increased emotional exhaustion experienced by minority faith chaplains. As the themes imply, most of the participants strongly opposed privatization and the various accounting and regulating systems introduced as a result.

Performative cultures rely on the use of fixed indicators and productivity targets to measure input and output in order to ensure cost-efficiency (Ball, 2003). The problem with imposing a performative organizational culture on a caring profession is that the work of prison chaplains is not easily made measurable. Prison chaplaincy is predominately concerned with serving federal prisoners' spiritual and religious needs while addressing anti-social cognitions and behaviours (CSC, 2013). The primary indicators of a chaplain's effectiveness used by the private contractor is the number of hours worked and the number of prisoners served. These are very superficial ways of measuring the effectiveness of a prison chaplain.

The commercial interests of the private contractor directly impacted when, how, and for whom minority faith chaplains could provide services to. For example, the minimum requirements for task assignments denied basic and fundamental religious services to minority prisoners, more drastically women, for the sake of organizational efficiency. The emphasis on efficiency at the expense of equitable access to religious services is distinctive of the new privatized model.

Privatization is not evil in and of itself. Outsourcing garbage collection to the private sector can greatly improve the service and save the government money (Savas, 1989). There are, however, services too meaningful to render to the free market. Where human welfare is involved it is much too precarious to render the well-being of marginalized individuals in the custody of the state to a private enterprise. The Canadian government has an ethical responsibility to ensure that the rights of its most marginalized citizens are upheld. In the case of the provision of prison chaplaincy services, this study supports the point that interests of financial gain often conflict with an ethic of service (Kuttner, 1989).

As privatized chaplaincy services are a relatively new venture in Canada, many publications related to this issue come from news media sources and are often anecdotal. This study provides an empirical basis for a discussion of the implications of privatizing chaplaincy services by exploring how this shift has impacted minority faith chaplains. These findings also add to the scarcity of literature on impact of privatization on prison services in Canada. Furthermore, research on the experiences and challenges of minority faith chaplains within federal institutions is limited in Canada. Overall, this study adds to existing knowledge on the day-to-day impacts of privatization on chaplaincy services within prisons.

This work is an important first step in exploring the impact of privatization on federal prison chaplaincy services in Canada. CSC is responsible for the challenging task of upholding prisoner's right to freedom of religion. The findings of this study explicitly identify gaps in equitable access to religious services for prisoners of minority faiths, and more specifically women. Through a detailed examination of the day-to-day challenges faced by chaplains, this study exposed the gaps in religious accommodation and equity within Canadian federal institutions

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Appendix A. Study Information Sheet

The Private Chaplain: Exploring the Privatization of Federal Prison Chaplaincy Services in Canada

Study Purpose

We want to learn more about the impact of the privatization of federal prison chaplaincy services on minority faith chaplaincy in Canada. This study will explore how the contracting of a single private company in comparison to multiple faith communities has affected the work of non-Christian chaplains. You are being invited to take part in this research study because of your valuable experience working as a federal prison chaplain of a minority faith group under both the public and private model of federal prison chaplaincy services. The results of this study will be reported in a graduate thesis and may also be published in journal articles, books and presented at academic conferences.

Who is conducting the study?

Principal Investigator: Adar Abdulkadir, Masters of Arts student in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University (SFU).

Email: [...]

Tel: [...]

Faculty Supervisor: Nicole Myers, Assistant Professor in the School of Criminology at SFU.

Email: [...]

Tel: [...]

Who is funding this study?

The study is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

Your participation is voluntary

Your participation is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to participate, you may still choose to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences to the education, employment, or other services to which you are entitled or are presently receiving. If at any point during the research process you choose to withdraw from the study, all of the information you provided will be destroyed. You are free to decline answering any question in the interview process while still remaining a participant in the study.

Who can participate in the study?

Non-Christian prison chaplains who have worked under both the public and private model of employment of federal prison chaplaincy in Canada. Adults 19 years of age or older. Individuals cannot partake in the study if they are directly employed by the Correctional Service of Canada.

How is the study done?

If you agree to participate in this study you will be interviewed in-person at a location that is convenient to you or via telephone for those who are unable to meet in-person. Your experiences working as a federal prison chaplain of a minority faith group will be discussed as well as your opinions on the current and previous models of employment for prison chaplains serving in federal corrections. The interviews are expected to last approximately 40 – 90 minutes. If you consent to an audio recording, the interview will be recorded and the audio file will be deleted within 30 days of transcription. If you do not consent to an audio recording then detailed anonymized notes will be taken throughout the interview.

You will receive no form of compensation for your participation in this study.

Potential Risks

There are no foreseeable risks to you in participating in this study. If a question seems sensitive or personal, you do not have to answer the question if you do not want to. The anticipated discomforts that may result from this study are not greater than discomforts you would encounter on an ordinary day.

Potential Benefits

Your participation in this study will help to generate contemporary knowledge related to the privatization of prison services in Canada and multi-faith chaplaincy in prisons. This study provides the opportunity to confidentially discuss your views on the privatization of chaplaincy services. The sharing of your opinions and your valuable experiences in this unique professional position may be a means of informing future policies regarding multi-faith chaplaincy in Canadian corrections.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality will be respected. Information that discloses your identity will not be released without your consent and any identifiable information obtained through the interview process will be anonymized. A pseudonym will be assigned to you and this will be used throughout the transcription and notetaking process. Anonymized interview transcripts and anonymized interview notes will be kept in an encrypted folder on the researcher's password protected laptop indefinitely. Only, I, the principal researcher, will have access to the recordings, any interview notes and transcripts. Transcription of the recorded interview will take place within 3 days of the interview and the audio recordings will be destroyed within 30 days after the completion of said transcription. When the laptop is not in use, it will be stored in the home of the principal investigator.

Please note that strict confidentiality cannot be guaranteed for interviews conducted via telephone as this is not a secure means of communication.

Consent to participate:

Permission from your employer or other organizations/institutions will not be obtained in order to conduct this study. Consent will be obtained orally and documented through notetaking and/or will be recorded if you consent to the use of an audio recorder.

Who can you contact for information/complaints about the study?

If you have any concerns about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, you may contact Dr. Jeffrey Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics [...]

For any questions concerning this study please contact the Principal Investigator, Adar Abdulkadir. For a copy of the final project please contact the Principal Investigator via email requesting a final copy.

Adar Abdulkadir
[...]

Appendix B. Interview Guide

Introduction

- Introduce the participant to the purposes of the study, go over the study information sheet together
- Thank the participant for agreeing to partake in the research
- Discuss confidentiality and the interviewee's voluntary participation in the research
- Mention the participant's right to withdraw and/or not answer any question
- Ask for the participant's permission to audio-record the interview
- Begin recording
- Obtain verbal consent to participate in study

The following is a semi-structured guide for participant interviews. This guide is not exhaustive and questions may be asked out of order depending on participants' responses. Probes will be used to encourage in-depth responses.

- Do you represent a particular faith group in the institutions that you work in? If so, which faith group?
- In your experience, prior to the privatization, what did the previous model of federal prison chaplaincy look like?
 - Recruitment
 - Training
 - Autonomy – job description and expectations
 - Oversight
 - Your interaction with the inmates you serve
 - Relationship with superiors
- Does the privatization impact your work at all?

Yes

- In what ways?
 - Recruitment
 - Training
 - Autonomy – job description and expectations
 - Oversight
 - Your interaction with the inmates you serve
 - Relationship with superiors
- Have you been exposed to any benefits under the new system?
 - Benefits to who - inmates, employees, employers, CSC
 - Are there new things that you are able to do?

- Are you offered additional support as a result of this model?
- Have you experienced any costs to the privatization of chaplaincy services?
 - Costs to who – inmates, employees, employers, CSC
 - Are there things you can no longer do?
 - Is there less support offered?
- Have you been exposed to any benefits under the previous system?
 - Benefits to who - inmates, employees, employers, CSC
- Have you experienced any costs associated with the previous model of chaplaincy services?
 - Costs to who – inmates, employees, employers, CSC

No

- Probe in all of the aforementioned areas
- Subjectively speaking, what do you value about your role as a prison chaplain?
 - In this time of transition/in these changing times do you feel that this has changed at all?
- The predominant religions in Canadian corrections can be categorized as Christian. In your experience as a non-Christian chaplain, has the privatization impacted you in a distinct way?