

Metadata of the chapter that will be visualized online

Chapter Title	Do CoSA Work? A Review of the Literature	
Copyright Year	2018	
Copyright Holder	The Author(s)	
Corresponding Author	Family Name	Kitson-Boyce
	Particle	
	Given Name	Rosie
	Suffix	
	Division	
	Organization/University	Nottingham Trent University
	Address	Nottingham, UK
	Email	rosie.kitsonboyce@ntu.ac.uk
Abstract	<p>Circles of Support and Accountability (CoSA) are growing in popularity on an international scale. To ensure that CoSA projects continue to grow in both success and public confidence, a solid research base is essential. The body of literature on the effectiveness of CoSA, particularly from Canada, US, UK and the Netherlands, is in fact growing. However, it has been argued that there is still not yet enough evidence to determine whether CoSA significantly reduces sexual recidivism by the Core Member (Elliott, Zajac, & Meyer, <i>Evaluability assessments of the circles of support and accountability (COSA) model: Cross site report</i>. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, Office Justice Programs, US Department of Justice, 2013). The following chapter includes an overview of this debate along with the key CoSA efficacy studies carried out to date. In addition, more qualitative explorations of the psychosocial implications of being involved are considered.</p>	
Keywords (separated by “ - ”)	CoSA - Recidivism - Reoffending - Sex offenders	

3

Do CoSA Work? A Review of the Literature

Rosie Kitson-Boyce

To ensure that CoSA projects continue to grow in both success and public confidence on an international scale, a solid research base is essential. In addition, to inform best practice the factors involved in the success of CoSA need to be identified (Wilson, Bates, & Völlm, 2010). The following chapter focuses upon the growing body of efficacy research surrounding CoSA projects. This will include the key statistical evaluations of the effect of CoSA on recidivism, along with more qualitative explorations of the psychosocial implications of being involved.

Do CoSA Reduce Recidivism?

In 2005, Wilson, Picheca and Prinzo carried out the first evaluation of the CoSA pilot project in South-Central Ontario, Canada. The evaluation was split into two parts, with the second part (Wilson et al., 2005; Wilson, Picheca, & Prinzo, 2007b) assessing specifically the rates of

R. Kitson-Boyce (✉)
Nottingham Trent University, Nottingham, UK

18 reoffending of those involved in CoSA compared to a matched sample of
19 those who were not.

20 The reoffending comparison study consisted of two groups of offend-
21 ers and an average follow up time of 4.5 years. The CoSA group consisted
22 of 60 individuals previously convicted of a sexual crime, who had become
23 involved in the CoSA project at the end of their sentence. The compari-
24 son sample involved 60 individuals also convicted of a sexual crime, who
25 were released following completion of their prison sentence, but who did
26 not participate in CoSA. In order to eliminate potential confounding
27 variables influencing the findings, Wilson et al. (2005, 2007b) endeav-
28 oured to match the groups on release date, risk category (e.g. low, moder-
29 ate, moderate-high, high) and prior involvement in sex offender treatment
30 programmes. However, the CoSA group had a significantly higher risk of
31 sexual recidivism than the comparison group (assessed using the
32 RRASOR; Rapid Risk Assessment for Sexual Offence Recidivism,
33 Hanson, 1997), and a significantly higher average of number of victims.
34 This resulted in a comparison group who would presumably therefore
35 reoffend at a lower rate than the CoSA group. As the authors acknowl-
36 edged, in order for the matching process to be exact, the two groups
37 should not have differed in this way, with regard to risk. The deficiencies
38 in the matching protocol of the two groups were argued to be a conse-
39 quence of the resource difficulties the CoSA project faced. The limited
40 services resulted in a selection bias whereby CoSA were allocated to those
41 individuals most need, that is at the highest risk of reoffending.

42 Despite the higher risk profile of the CoSA group, however, the compar-
43 ison group reoffended at a faster and higher rate than the CoSA group.
44 It was reported that being a Core Member of CoSA resulted in a reduc-
45 tion in sexual recidivism when compared to individuals who were not in
46 CoSA (5% sexual recidivism in the CoSA group vs. 16.7% sexual recidi-
47 vism in comparison group), demonstrating that the comparison group
48 reoffended at three times the rate of the CoSA group. There was also a
49 57% reduction in all types of violent recidivism; 15% violent (and sex-
50 ual) recidivism in the CoSA group vs. 35% violent (and sexual) recidi-
51 vism in the comparison group. Overall there was a reduction of 35% in
52 all types of recidivism; 28.3% in the CoSA group vs. 43.4% in the compar-
53 ison group. Alongside this, the three instances of sexual reoffending in

the CoSA group were described by Wilson et al. (2007b, p. 332) to be 54
'qualitatively less severe or invasive than the offence for which they had 55
most recently served sentence'. Details were only given however, for one 56
out of the three instances, whereby a Core Member, whose previous con- 57
viction was for rape, reoffended by making an obscene phone call. This 58
shift from perpetration of a contact offence, to a non-contact offence is 59
described within the literature as a harm reduction function of CoSA and 60
therefore still viewed as a positive and encouraging finding (Wilson et al., 61
2005, 2007b, 2010). However, it is unknown as to whether this reduc- 62
tion in harm occurred for all three reoffences. 63

As CoSA projects spread throughout Canada, Wilson, Cortoni, and 64
McWhinnie (2009) sought to replicate the findings of the pilot study 65
evaluation (Wilson et al., 2005, 2007b), by examining whether CoSA 66
continued to demonstrate efficacy in reducing recidivism. Using a similar 67
methodology, 44 offenders, previously convicted for a sexual crime and 68
who were involved in CoSA were matched, on general risk, time of and 69
geographical location of release and prior participation in sex offender 70
treatment programmes, to a comparison sample of 44 offenders who 71
were not involved in CoSA. It is important to note here that in all cases 72
of CoSA research, the voluntary nature of participating in CoSA may 73
result in a self-selection bias. For example, CoSA may be found to be suc- 74
cessful in reducing recidivism due to the Core Members already having 75
made the decision to leave their life of crime behind. This cannot be 76
proven however, due to authors such as Farrall (2002) arguing that early 77
aspirations and motivations to change do not guarantee that desistance 78
from crime will take place. 79

The risk between the CoSA and comparison group was determined, 80
using the risk assessment tool STATIC-99 (Hanson & Thornton, 2000) 81
and like the previous study a statistically significant difference was 82
reported. In the case of these two samples however, it was the comparison 83
group who produced the higher average risk scores. Similar to the previ- 84
ous study though, the results demonstrated that the reoffending rates for 85
those in the CoSA group were significantly lower than for those in the 86
comparison group. Specifically, when comparing the CoSA group to the 87
matched comparison group, there was an 83% reduction in sexual recidi- 88
vism (2.3% CoSA vs. 13.7% Comparison), a 73% reduction in all types 89

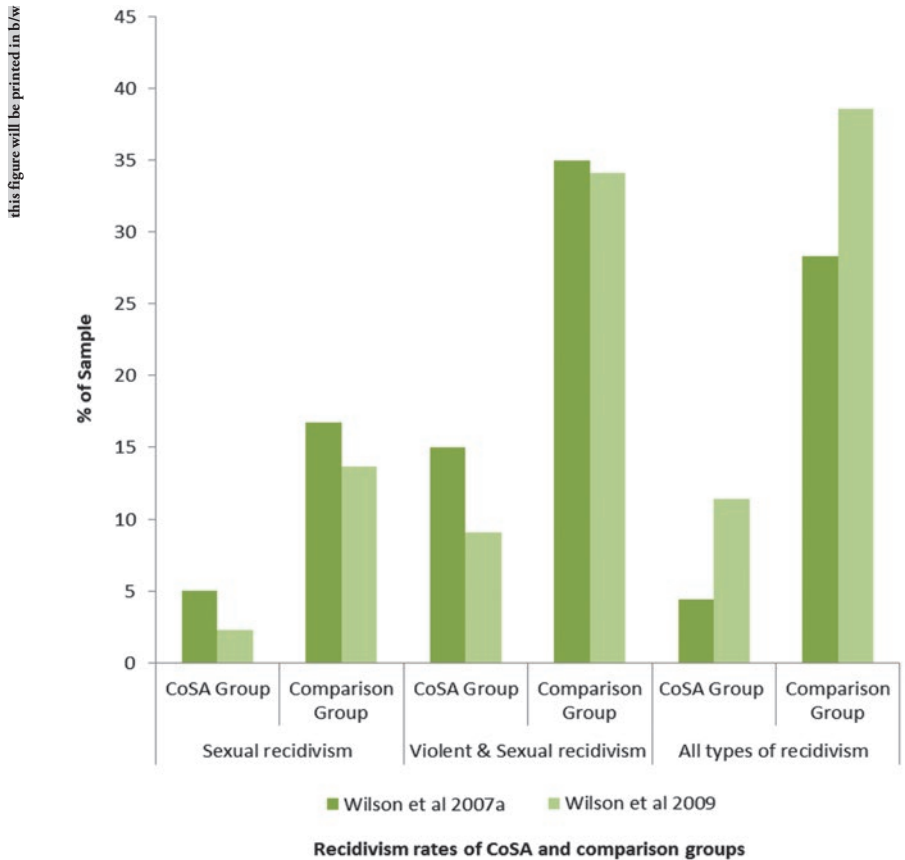


Fig. 3.1 Recidivism rates taken from Wilson et al. (2007a, 2009)

90 of violent recidivism (9.1% CoSA vs. 34.1% Comparison) and a 70%
 91 overall reduction in all types of recidivism (11.4% CoSA vs. 38.6%
 92 Comparison). The differences in recidivism rates are comparable to the
 93 previous study outlined as can be seen in the figure below (Fig. 3.1).

94 Despite using a shorter follow up period (3 years) than the 2005 study,
 95 Wilson et al. (2010) argue that the latter research supports the findings
 96 that CoSA are an effective rehabilitative and restorative initiative for high
 97 risk offenders who commit sexual offences. It is acknowledged however,
 98 that the lesser risk profile in the CoSA group, compared to the matched

offenders weakens the robustness of the findings (Wilson et al., 2009). In addition to this, Elliott, Zajac, and Meyer (2013) argued that if a Fisher's Exact Test had been used to analyse the results instead of the chi-square distribution test, as would be recommended due to the small number of recidivists, then a non-significant result would have been reported.

Alongside the above, Canadian research into CoSA has been criticised for providing limited information about the methods that were used to identify a suitable comparison group, and for basing their studies on small sample sizes (McCartan, Kemshall, Westwood, MacKenzie, & Pollard, 2014). Elliot and Zajac (2015) also make this argument, stating that in both studies, details of the methods used to match the groups for prior treatment was not described nor do the researchers explain why the control sample did not participate in CoSA. If the reason was that they were not suitable to participate, they may not have represented an adequate control sample due to confounding differences with the experimental group.

UK CoSA

Following the establishment of the CoSA pilot projects in the UK (for a detailed history of CoSA in the UK see Chap. 1), an evaluation of the first four years of the Thames Valley CoSA project was carried out by Bates, Saunders, and Wilson (2007). Different to the efficacy studies carried out in Canada, case files of the Core Members registered with CoSA between November 2002 and May 2006 ($n = 16$) were reviewed in the study. Although, as the authors acknowledged, the follow-up period (less than 4 years) was inadequate for a formal reconviction study, none of the Core Members involved in the CoSA reviewed were reconvicted of a sexual offence. This suggested that, as in the studies from other countries, involvement in CoSA may have reduced the likelihood of reoffending.

A detailed analysis found that one Core Member (6.3%) was convicted of a breach of a Sex Offence Prevention Order, four (25%) were recalled for breaching the conditions of their parole licence and five (31.3%) were reported to exhibit some form of recidivist behaviour. These outcomes, however, were still deemed as a success due to the fact

132 that early intervention was possible and no further victims were created
133 (Wilson, McWhinnie, & Wilson, 2008). The authors went on to argue
134 that breaches of parole and return to prison should not necessarily be
135 regarded as a 'failure' due to the role that CoSA, and the volunteers
136 involved, had played in gathering intelligence and passing on informa-
137 tion to the relevant agencies, resulting in the prevention of further sexual
138 abuse. Further to this, of the four recalled to prison, three retained con-
139 tact with CoSA and returned as a Core Member for ongoing support on
140 release. As Wilson et al. (2010) acknowledge, this provides clear evidence
141 of the ability for the support and accountability elements of CoSA to co-
142 exist alongside one another.

143 Another explanation for the results is that additional contact with ex-
144 offenders through CoSA may inflate the detection of new offences (Elliott
145 & Beech, 2012), meaning offence-related behaviour is being reported
146 that would otherwise go undetected. Although CoSA in the UK has risk
147 management alongside successful offender reintegration as its joint focus,
148 it is argued that its ability to address recidivism is the sole attraction for
149 support and funding of the initiative (Hannem & Petrunik, 2007). Some
150 even go as far as to argue that initiatives such as CoSA are actually just a
151 widening of the net of formal social control, under a disguise of reintegration
152 or restoration (Hannem, 2011), a view that is contested by CoSA
153 providers in the UK.

154 In 2012, Bates, Macrae, Williams and Webb were able to expand upon
155 the above findings, focusing on the first 8 years of CoSA within the
156 UK. Case files for the sample ($n = 60$) included information about each
157 Core Member, since the beginning of their involvement with CoSA and
158 during the follow-up period since. This included descriptive demographic
159 information and outcome data (e.g. recall, reconviction, successful rein-
160 tegration), which was examined and evaluated. These methods have been
161 criticised however, due to a lack of objective measurement and an over-
162 reliance on the researcher's judgement of the file information, making it
163 difficult to ascertain whether the improvements reported were in fact due
164 to taking part in CoSA (Elliott et al., 2013).

165 Nevertheless, 75% of the CoSA analysed were categorised as having a
166 positive outcome, with any problematic behaviours demonstrated by the
167 Core Members managed within the CoSA itself. Of the 25% deemed to

have not completed successfully, two Core Members had demonstrated 168
behaviour that paralleled previous offending behaviour, resulting in Sex 169
Offence Prevention Orders being made. Alongside this, one Core 170
Member (1.6%) was reconvicted of a sexual offence and sentenced to 15 171
months imprisonment for downloading images of sexual abuse. Since the 172
sexual reconviction was for an internet offence, as opposed to contact 173
offending, the CoSA was still reported as making positive progress by the 174
authors, through reducing the Core Member's risk of harm and the sever- 175
ity of his offending behaviour. 176

Although the studies discussed here go some way to demonstrating the 177
efficacy of CoSA, the studies on this initiative have been criticised for the 178
use of small sample sizes (Wilson & McWhinnie, 2013). Armstrong and 179
Wills (2014b) explain how the lack of any large-scale research of reoff- 180
ending post CoSA is attributable to the low base rate for sexual offending 181
in the first place. For example, Hanson and Morton-Bourgon (2009) 182
recently reported a sexual recidivism rate of 11.5%, which is compara- 183
tively low when comparing to recidivism rates for any new offence 184
(33.2%). In addition, projects within the UK specifically face criticism 185
due to the absence of a comparison group (Duwe, 2012). Bates et al. 186
(2012) acknowledged this limitation to their research, which Hanvey, 187
Philpot, and Wilson (2011) agreed with by stating that a comparison 188
group matched to Core Members on as many variables as possible, in 189
relation to the prediction of reoffending, is an ideal method to be used in 190
CoSA efficacy studies. 191

In an attempt to overcome these criticisms Bates, Williams, Wilson, 192
and Wilson (2014) carried out a larger comparison study on 71 of the 193
100 CoSA established in the South East of the UK since its commence- 194
ment. Unlike previous efficacy studies of CoSA, this research involved a 195
ten-year follow up period, which is considered by some to be a credible 196
length from which to derive conclusions of effectiveness (Hanvey et al., 197
2011). The average time a Core Member was involved in CoSA was 15.9 198
months with the average follow up period being four years and four 199
months. Behavioural outcomes of the Core Members, along with formal 200
reconviction data were reviewed and compared to a group of 71 offend- 201
ers, convicted of sexual offences who were referred to, but did not receive 202
CoSA. Reasons for not receiving CoSA were lack of availability, lack of 203

204 motivation to engage or withdrawal after being assessed as suitable.
205 Although both groups were matched as having broadly similar risk scores
206 using the RM2000 risk assessment tool (Thornton et al., 2003) and
207 therefore held similar projection rates of reoffending, the Core Members
208 actually reoffended sexually or violently at a lower rate than those who
209 were not involved with CoSA.

210 Out of the 71 Core Members involved in CoSA, 54 had not engaged
211 in any criminal behaviour involving a legal sanction, since formally start-
212 ing their CoSA. Of the 17 Core Members that did, three were identified
213 as having nonsexual reconvictions, four obtained convictions for failing
214 to comply with the Sex Offender's Register requirements and another
215 four returned to prison due to violating the terms of their conditional
216 release. In addition, two Core Members were convicted for violating the
217 terms of their Sex Offence Prevention Order (SOPO). In one of these
218 cases, this was following the CoSA reporting the violation to the police.
219 Similarly, one Core Member was subject to a SOPO during his time on
220 CoSA due to concerns about his behaviour. This arguably still demon-
221 strates CoSA effectiveness, due to action being taken before any future
222 victims were created. Finally, four sexual reconvictions were identified
223 within the Core Members, one for a historical sexual offence and three
224 for non-contact sexual offences. For two of the non-contact offences, pre-
225 vious offences had been for a contact sexual offence, therefore, similar to
226 previous efficacy studies, a harm reduction effect was documented by the
227 authors when compared to their original conviction.

228 Despite the above, in terms of actual versus expected re-offences (using
229 the risk levels of the RM2000 tool), neither group reoffended sexually at
230 a rate significantly different to that which was predicted (Elliott, 2014;
231 Elliott & Zajac, 2015). In addition, Bates et al. (2014) included a '90 day
232 rule' to the sample in their study, in order to ensure Core Members had
233 sufficient time to have benefited from the CoSA process. The rule stipu-
234 lated that only Core Members who had been with CoSA for a minimum
235 of 90 days would be included in the study. This was based on the assump-
236 tion that those who had spent less than 90 days in their CoSA would not
237 have not have had sufficient time to have significantly benefited from
238 their involvement.

Their rationale for the inclusion of this was stated as being due to the use of such a rule in prior Canadian studies. However, as Elliott and Zajac (2015) highlight, no reference of this is made in either of the Canadian studies that have been outlined earlier in this chapter. If such an exclusion criteria was used then one could question the extent to which the true effectiveness of CoSA are reported. This is due to the early stages of release from prison, being a particularly sensitive period in terms of desistance (Aresti, Eatough, & Brooks-Gordon, 2010), with reoffending expected to occur within the first few weeks (Elliott & Zajac, 2015). Indeed, the authors themselves reported how, during this 90 day period, five Core Members had been recalled to prison for breach of licence conditions and four withdrew from their CoSA; all of which were excluded under the 90 day rule. The use of a 90 day rule in CoSA efficacy research, such as Bates et al. (2014), therefore excludes data from a period during which there is a higher likelihood of CoSA failures and Core Member dropouts (Elliott & Zajac, 2015).

In conclusion Bates et al. (2014) highlight how a Core Member's lack of ability to refrain from reoffending may not relate entirely to the quality (or lack thereof) of support and accountability (Bates et al., 2014). Instead an individual's motivation to desist from offending or the opportunities available to them to access a balanced, self-determined lifestyle consistent with the theories outlined in Chap. 2 also need to be considered. In addition, although the length of follow-up and the use of a reasonable comparison group were comparable to the CoSA efficacy studies carried out in Canada, Bates et al. (2014) acknowledge that using a randomised clinical trial, or matched participants, would have been preferable.

The RCT Debate

The only study to date that has randomly assigned participants to either an experimental group (CoSA) or a control group (non-CoSA), was carried out by Duwe (2012) in the US. Duwe (2012) utilised a Randomised Control Trial (RCT) design by randomly assigning 62 men, previously convicted of sexual offences, to either an experimental group, whereby

272 they took part in CoSA, or a control group, where they did not. All of the
273 participants involved in the study had previously been deemed suitable
274 for the Minnesota CoSA programme and expressed interest in becoming
275 involved, therefore controlling for offender motivation. As Elliott, Zajac,
276 and Meyer (2013) point out, using this randomised procedure goes some
277 way to resolving the issue of potential differences between CoSA and
278 control group. The findings of the study were not however as positive as
279 the previous mentioned results. There were no significant reductions in
280 the reconviction or re-incarceration rates. However, a statistically signifi-
281 cant reduction in re-arrest for any offence (38.7% CMs vs 64.5% con-
282 trols) was reported, as well as a non-significant reduction in sexual
283 recidivism over a 2 year follow up (0% CMs vs 3.2% control). The short
284 follow up period of the study was held responsible for the lack of a statisti-
285 cally significant results (Wilson & McWhinnie, 2013).

286 The use of short follow up periods is a limitation consistent across
287 CoSA research internationally (McCartan et al., 2014; Thomas,
288 Thompson, & Karstedt, 2014; Wilson & McWhinnie, 2013). Cann,
289 Falshaw, and Friendship (2004) reported from a reconviction study
290 involving a 21 year follow up period, that individuals, convicted previ-
291 ously for sexual offences, were actually at risk of reoffending for many
292 years after being released from prison. The sample consisted of 413 par-
293 ticipants previously convicted of a sexual crime, 103 of whom reoffended
294 sexually during the 21 years they were followed. Thus, using a 5-year
295 follow up period, with the same individuals, may have missed over one
296 third (36%) of new sexual re-offences, with one fifth of those who reoff-
297 ended living offence-free lives for at least ten years before committing
298 their first sexual re-offence. Although there are many limitations of using
299 such a long follow up period, that is the research can become out-dated
300 by the time of publication, it does provide evidence of individuals who
301 have remained offence free for many years (see Cann et al., 2014 for more
302 detail). This demonstrates that using a short follow up period similar to
303 that of the CoSA research will not always provide an accurate picture of
304 the true impact of CoSA on reconviction rates.

305 With regard to study design, the use of RCTs is often considered the
306 'gold standard' in evaluation research. However, it is not always a straight-
307 forward process when applying this design to those who commit sexual

offences. With regard to sex offender treatment Marques, Wiederanders, 308
Day, Nelson, and van Ommeren (2005) conducted an RCT which 309
uncovered some significant design issues, one in particular which is rele- 310
vant to the use of an RCT in CoSA research. Participants in the treat- 311
ment group all received exactly the same number of treatment sessions 312
over the same length of time, in line with the requirements of an RCT 313
design. No treatment effect was found within the study, possibly due to 314
the fact that the treatment had been developed to be tailored to each 315
individual and their needs, in order to be effective (Marshall & Marshall, 316
2007). Indeed, desistance is both an individualised and subjective process 317
(McNeill, 2009) meaning that one-size-fits-all interventions will not 318
always work. CoSA therefore, works with the Core Member on an indi- 319
vidual basis and offers support that is specific to their needs. A strict RCT 320
design may change the length and content of the CoSA sessions, reduc- 321
ing the individualised nature and therefore undermining the potential 322
effectiveness. 323

AU2 In addition to design issues, Marshall and Marshall (2007) argue that 324
RCTs are unethical, when used with individuals who have committed 325
sexual offences, due to the control group being denied access to a pro- 326
gramme or treatment. In the case of CoSA, whereby those participating 327
are at a high risk of reoffending sexually and are due for release in to the 328
community, the use of RCTs becomes an ethically questionable concept 329
(Lussier & Gress, 2014). Hanvey et al. (2011) highlight the ethical issues 330
surrounding the use of RCTs to demonstrate CoSA effectiveness, stating 331
that the use of a control group denies individuals at risk of committing 332
further sexual crime a place on a supportive initiative that has already 333
been shown to reduce risk of reoffending. Duwe (2012) countered this 334
criticism of his study however, by explaining that the use of an RCT 335
design did not result in any individual being denied involvement in 336
CoSA purely for the benefit of the research. Instead, he stated, that the 337
number of individuals, willing and able to take part in CoSA, exceeded 338
the number of volunteers and therefore CoSA available. One could still 339
question however, whether it is ethical to engage in discussions with indi- 340
viduals regarding motivation and willingness to engage in CoSA, in the 341
knowledge that places will not be available for everyone. 342

343 In summary, despite a growing body of literature regarding CoSA effi-
344 cacy, critics have argued that there is not yet enough evidence to suggest
345 whether or not CoSA significantly reduces sexual recidivism by the Core
346 Member, with existing research varying in quality and involving a lack of
347 statistically significant results (Elliott et al., 2013). In part, due to some
348 of these limitations of the quantitative data, calls have been made for
349 further qualitative evaluations in order to explore the factors contributing
350 to the success of CoSA at a deeper level (McWhinnie, 2015). These will
351 now be discussed in the following sections.

352 **How Effective Are CoSA in Preventing Social** 353 **Isolation**

354 In addition to considering the impact on recidivism rates, Wilson et al.
355 (2007a), explored Core Members' experiences of being involved in CoSA
356 and their motivations for participating. In line with the criteria for being
357 selected as a Core Member, 83% of the participants reported that having
358 no other form of social support was the main reason for deciding to take
359 part in CoSA. Using a different sample to the recidivism study, over half
360 of the twenty-four male offenders who had been convicted of a sexual
361 offence and were current or past Core Members, stated that negative
362 community reaction to their release was also a motivating factor for
363 becoming involved in CoSA. Worryingly, the study demonstrated the
364 difficulties the Core Members would have had in adjusting to the com-
365 munity without being involved in CoSA, with the majority stating they
366 would have felt lonely, isolated and powerless. This is particularly con-
367 cerning given that isolation and emotional loneliness are significant risk
368 factors in sexual recidivist behaviours (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon,
369 2005; Marshall, 2010) and indeed approximately two-thirds of the par-
370 ticipants reported they thought they would have returned to crime with-
371 out CoSA.

372 Being involved with the CoSA however, helped to combat this social
373 isolation and loneliness with 92% of the Core Members stating they
374 experienced a sense of support and acceptance when they first joined,
375 that they would have tried anything to help them reintegrate back in

society, and expressing relief and gratitude for having a Core Member place made available to them. These psychosocial outcomes are important to consider due to a recognition within the literature that isolation and emotional loneliness can be factors significant in sexual recidivist behaviours (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Marshall, 2010). With its focus on support, however, CoSA provides a meaningful sense of belonging and inclusion helping to counteract the social isolation and feelings of loneliness and rejection that are argued to be associated with sexual reoffending (Wilson et al., 2009).

Developing this body of research Fox (2015a) conducted the first qualitative study in the US in order to explore the relationships formed between the Core Members and volunteers. Fox collected interview data from a sample that included both Core Members ($n = 20$) and volunteers ($n = 57$) from the CoSA project in Vermont, US. No established qualitative method was reported as being used to analyse the data, however details were given to suggest a form of thematic analysis was undertaken (Elliott & Zajac, 2015). It is also important to note that Vermont provides CoSA for individuals with a wider criminal history than just sexual offences, for example, high risk offenders, who have committed homicide (Fox, 2015b). All offence types were included in the research making it problematic when generalising the results to other CoSA projects who only include individuals convicted of at least one sexual offence.

From the results, Fox (2015a) reported how involvement in CoSA could help mitigate the isolation felt by many of the Core Members on their release from prison. In addition, they stated that CoSA created a space for the Core Members to practice and rehearse ordinary, pro-social relationships with members of the community and help support them in their ability to sustain pro-social healthy relationships. Although the Core Members reported motivation to desist from reoffending, they also explained how they felt excluded and labelled by the community due to their crimes. This is an issue that is very current in the literature, due to the barriers this ostracisation causes to successful reintegration (Mingus & Burchfield, 2012; Tewksbury, 2012). This is discussed at length within Chap. 6 of this book where the media and societal views are explored. Fox (2015a) reported that the volunteers were combatting these feelings of exclusion through the inclusion of the Core Members. This created a

412 sense of belonging for the Core Members, which Weaver and McNeill
413 (2015) highlighted as being necessary for successful desistance from
414 crime to take place. They reported from their research that social relations
415 characterised this solidarity, supported the individual to realise their aspirations,
416 in the case of CoSA achieving a crime-free life, without feeling
417 dependant. Following this, further research is now required to explore
418 further the context of the social bonds formed through CoSA, in relation
419 specifically to the role they play in supporting the Core Member reach
420 desistance from sexual offending (Fox, 2015a).

421 In summary, the qualitative nature of this research, particularly given
422 the previous criticisms of the quantitative studies of CoSA, helps to
423 inform best practice of CoSA by identifying the factors involved in their
424 success, something that Wilson et al. (2015) argue is critical. It is not
425 without its criticisms, however, with the research outlined above involving
426 small, unrepresentative samples. As Fox (2015a) argues however,
427 rather than determining the effect on recidivism, qualitative studies such
428 as these provide an in-depth exploration in to a given topic that is the
429 impact CoSA has on reduction social isolation in those who commit sexual
430 offences.

431 **Can CoSA Improve Psychological Wellbeing**

432 Alongside research exploring the role of CoSA in the reduction of social
433 isolation and loneliness, other psychosocial benefits, such as the impact
434 of CoSA on the Core Member's psychological wellbeing, are also considered
435 within the literature. Bates, Macrae, Williams, and Webb (2012)
436 study sought to address the impact of CoSA on the life of a Core Member
437 and the benefits of being involved. From their findings, it was reported
438 that 70% resulted in an improvement in the Core Members' emotional
439 wellbeing, due to their involvement with volunteers with whom they
440 could relate and share issues with, thus reducing their emotional loneliness
441 and social isolation. Nearly 50% of Core Members had improved
442 links with their families, had increased their support networks, and were
443 encouraged to access employment and education. Alongside this, 61%
444 had displayed attitudes and behaviours that were pro-social and 50% had

increased their engagement in age-appropriate relationships. This is of particular significance due to the fact that the majority of Core Members had been convicted previously of sexual crimes involving child victims (48/60).

Similarly in 2012, the Ministry of Justice commissioned a small independent study of the NOMS-funded CoSA pilot studies in order to understand the added support and value CoSA provides. Although no face-to-face data collection took place, file reviews of 32 Core Members revealed that the CoSA pilots had provided both practical and emotional support to the Core Members. In addition, the Core Members were able to successfully identify, develop and take part in prosocial activities and networks, such as safe leisure activities, volunteering, education courses and going to church (McCartan et al., 2014). Alongside this, 21/32 Core Members had been recorded as reporting positive changes in their motivations and attitudes after being involved with CoSA. These included increased coping skills, a reduction in anger, greater insight into offending and the development of coping strategies. Unlike previous studies, negative or mixed reports of CoSA were also documented. These included the Core Member having a lack of engagement, openness and honesty along with a reluctance to engage with the relapse prevention plan and manage their risk. Whilst it is essential to include all aspects of a CoSA project in order to make future improvements, the study did not document what the result of these negative cases were, for example whether the Core Member was recalled to prison or dropped out of the CoSA early (see Chap. 5 for more detail on this issue).

In 2013, Höing, Bogaerts, and Vogelvang (2013) conducted interviews with Core Members on Dutch ($n = 10$) and UK ($n = 4$) CoSA. A temporal card-sorting task (see Höing et al., 2013 for details on the exact procedure) was also administered in the Dutch CoSA with six of the Core Members, to further explore the categories and concepts derived from the interviews. Core Member progress was represented by less rumination and stress, more active problem solving behaviour and improved social and relationship skills. Some of the Core Members developed a more positive outlook on the future and their ability to live a 'normal' life. This finding in particular is significant due to the links made between hope and desistance. For example, LeBel, Burnett, Maruna, and Bushway

481 (2008) reported from their research with repeat offenders that a belief in
482 one's ability to leave crime behind, along with a sense of hope, is a neces-
483 sary condition for an individual to be able to desist from crime. Höing
484 et al. (2013) also reported some of the difficulties faced by Core Members
485 during their Circle, something that has been arguably missing from the
486 early CoSA research generally (Elliott, 2014). Some of the Core Members
487 had difficulties with open communication, especially at the beginning of
488 their CoSA and the volunteer interviews in particular reported some
489 Core Members' behaviour as secretive, avoidant and even manipulative.

490 From their findings, Höing et al. (2013) argued that in order to be
491 effective in supporting the Core Member to successfully desist from sexual
492 crime, CoSA must be inclusive; defined by trust, openness, belong-
493 ing, equality and acceptance. These qualities support the internal
494 motivation to change within the Core Member and provide a safe place
495 for the new pro-social identity to be developed. Further evidence for this
496 can be taken from Weaver and McNeill's (2015) research involving repeat
497 offenders and the exploration of social relationships. They argued that it
498 was the sense of belonging, and social bonds, such as that Höing et al.
499 (2013) highlighted within the CoSA they examined, that can encourage
500 change within an individual and a shift towards desistance. In relation to
501 the potential impact of social bonds being formed within CoSA, further
502 research could consider how many of the Core Members displaying dif-
503 ficult communication behaviour or who withdraw from the process, are
504 part of an inclusive CoSA. This would explore further the relationship
505 between social bonds within the CoSA and its 'success'.

506 To explore further the contribution of CoSA in the desistance process
AU3 507 of the Core Members, Höing et al. (2015) collected both qualitative and
508 quantitative data. Contrary to the other countries discussed so far, Core
509 Members in this Netherlands CoSA project had to have completed, or
510 currently be engaging in, a sex offender treatment programme (SOTP)
511 before being accepted onto CoSA. Data collection took place at three dif-
512 ferent time points during the Core Members' CoSA journey and involved
513 both interviews and questionnaires being administered ($n = 17$). The qual-
514 itative analysis discussed the internal and external transitions deemed to
515 be necessary in order to reach successful desistance from crime (Paternoster
516 & Bushway, 2009). After six months of being involved with CoSA, Core
517 Members reported cognitive, internal transitions such as improvements in

openness, self-reflection and assertiveness, along with the development of self-regulation and social skills. With regard to external transitions, little change was reported at the six month point, although two Core Members had begun to develop more appropriate leisure activities. In addition, some Core Members reported feelings of stress which they attributed to volunteers being too demanding or demonstrating excluding behaviour.

By the 12-month time point Höing et al. (2015) reported a continuation of the positive changes in interpersonal skills, which they state coincided with increased self-confidence or a more positive self-image. Increased problem-solving skills were identified as the most prominent positive change from the Core Member interviews. External changes had also taken place by this point for some Core Members, with reports of improvements in existing relationships or the extension of social networks outside CoSA. Interestingly the quantitative data highlighted no improvement in the Core Members with regard to participation in society and the size of their own network. This leads to the question therefore, of how successful the CoSA had been, in terms of reintegrating the Core Member back in to the community and becoming a fully functioning member of society. In order to explore the impact of the low rate of external transitions reported by the Core Members, further research would be required over longer periods, which the authors highlight in their conclusions. Overall, the study demonstrates the positive impact being part of CoSA has for the Core Member with regard to making steps towards successful desistance.

In summary, the research appears to identify CoSA as having a positive impact on the psychological wellbeing of Core Members, resulting in substantial internal transitions towards a crime-free life. Although Core Members appear, through the support of the CoSA, to be progressing towards desistance, further research after the CoSA journey has ended, would help to determine whether this was in fact reached.

How Do CoSA Impact on the Volunteers?

Whilst efficacy research has mostly focused on the Core Members involved in CoSA, such projects would not exist or survive without members of the community volunteering their time to work with them (Bates

552 et al., 2007; Wilson et al., 2010). It has been argued that gaining a deeper
553 understanding of how volunteers engage the Core Members so effectively
554 is essential (Bates et al., 2014).

555 The use of volunteers has also been described as the strength of CoSA,
556 allowing Core Members to feel part of the community by having contact
557 with 'real people' other than just professionals (Armstrong & Wills,
558 2014a). Indeed, the importance of using volunteers has been highlighted
559 many times by Core Members too who believe the success of CoSA is
560 down to involving members of the community who want to spend time
561 with them and support them and are not being paid to do so (Hanvey
562 et al., 2011). Despite this, until recently, very little research has focused
563 upon the direct impact participating in CoSA has on the volunteers.

564 Höing et al. (2015) have considered this area in detail however, focus-
565 ing on a sample of 40 active volunteers on Dutch CoSA. Using a quanti-
566 tative research design, volunteers were asked to complete a web based
567 questionnaire, which explored the positive and negative aspects of being
568 involved with CoSA. Several measures were used to examine outcomes in
569 volunteers' satisfaction, mental wellbeing, social capital, job demands,
570 self-esteem, external job resources and volunteer connectedness. Similar
AU4 571 to Wilson et al. (2007) the findings demonstrated that volunteers' main
572 motivation for participating in CoSA was community improvement,
573 through the reintegration of the Core Member and prevention of further
574 sexual reoffending. This provides evidence in support of CoSA as a restor-
575 ative justice initiative, a concept which is debated within the literature
576 (see McAlinden, 2011 for more detail).

577 Restorative justice initiatives aim to engage offenders in order to help
578 them appreciate the consequences of their actions, seek reconciliation
579 between the victim and offender, where possible, and reintegrate them
580 back within the community (McAlinden, 2005). In CoSA, the victim is
581 not involved directly, as is usually the case in other restorative initiatives.
582 Despite this, it is argued that the volunteers, and therefore community's,
583 involvement, means CoSA can be understood as a restorative interven-
584 tion (see Chap. 2). This is through their disapproval of offending, encour-
585 agement of prosocial behaviour and ability to hold perpetrators of sexual
586 crime to account (McCartan et al., 2014). In addition, victim reparation
587 can be worked towards through the healing of fractured communities,
588 achieved by holding offenders accountable for their offending and reas-

serting shared community norm (Ward, Fox, & Garber, 2014). Volunteered initiatives, such as CoSA, empower the community to take responsibility for their own protection and participate in decisions about the reintegration of offenders (Bazemore & Erbe, 2004; McAlinden, 2005); behaviour, which Höing et al. (2015) reported to be satisfying with positive effects on the volunteers' mental wellbeing.

An increase in social awareness as a result of volunteering for CoSA, was also documented within the findings, with low levels of burnout or secondary traumatic stress. The finding of increased connectedness, however, was reported as both a benefit and a risk to volunteers. Höing et al. (2015) explained how an increase in connectedness can potentially blur the boundaries, between the volunteers and Core Member involved, resulting in observations of risk being biased in favour of the Core Members. Although acknowledging that the dual role of connectedness and vigilance is a complex issue, they believe that this issue can be overcome through expert supervision of the volunteers by an experienced coordinator. Supervision of this nature, they argue, can ensure observations of risk are still recognised alongside support being given. Although the authors acknowledge that further research is required, the findings highlight to CoSA providers, the benefits of volunteering on a project and the importance of the role of the coordinator with regard specifically to the supervision they offer.

CoSA through the Eyes of the Public

Despite the seemingly positive benefits of CoSA for both Core Members and volunteers, it has been argued within the literature that, rather than whether society can resettle offenders on release from prison, it is more a question of whether it really wants to (Maguire & Raynor, 2006). This is even more relevant for those convicted of sexual offences who despite consistent support from CoSA volunteers may still be faced with the stigmatization that is so prevalent society today (Tewksbury, 2012). Indeed, Northcutt Bohmert, Duwe, and Hipple (2016) reported, from their research focusing on the Minnesota CoSA programme in the US, that despite the support received some Core Members' were still unable to overcome the structural barriers to reintegration. Although only a small

623 sample was used ($n = 10$ Core members) making generalisations to other
624 CoSA projects difficult, the barriers to reintegration, which left them
625 feeling stigmatised, were too great for some and resulted in a violation of
626 their supervision.

627 To explore this area further Richards and McCartan (2017) have taken
628 a different approach to the evaluation of CoSA, through the consider-
629 ation of public perceptions of CoSA and their perceived effectiveness. As
630 they argue, this is an important area of research to consider, due to the
631 fact that CoSA projects rely upon volunteers from the local community,
632 therefore deeming at least some community support necessary. In addition,
633 they acknowledge that public policy on community safety is swayed
634 by public opinion, meaning that informing the government of the pub-
635 lics' views on CoSA may encourage more resources to be channelled
636 towards the initiative. Richards and McCartan's sample consisted of indi-
637 viduals ($n = 768$) who had posted on four online social media sources, in
638 response to the stories relating to the introduction of CoSA in Adelaide,
639 Australia. As Richards and McCartan (2017) acknowledge, data collected
640 from English language social media sources do not have the same repre-
641 sentativeness expected from random samples and can result in exclusion
642 of, for example, those who are illiterate in using online technologies or
643 who are non-English speaking.

644 The results demonstrated that the majority of the individuals who had
645 posted a comment online regarding the subject opposed the introduction
646 of CoSA in the community. The two main reasons given for this opposi-
647 tion were first, a belief that the perpetrators of sexual crime did not
648 deserve and therefore should not receive government funding. It was
649 believed, that the resources should be spent on the victims of sexual
650 offences instead. Second, there was a perception held, that those who
651 offend sexually against children could not be rehabilitated and thus pro-
652 grams or initiatives that support this would be ineffective and a waste of
653 resources. Some people stated that CoSA providers and supporters were
654 'idealistic', 'naïve' and 'do gooders' (Richards & McCartan, 2017, p. 8).

655 These negative views towards those who commit sexual offences are in
656 line with the wider literature. For example, Brown, Deakin and Spencer
657 (2008) conducted a large-scale study ($n = 979$) examining how individu-
658 als perceive those who commit sexual offences in the UK. From their
659 findings, they reported that although there was a general acceptance that

these individuals would return to the community, their risk of reoffending was significantly overestimated resulting in feelings of fear, anger and anxiousness. Similar to the Richards and McCartan (2017) study, a high level of pessimism was expressed in relation to the ability for those who commit sexual offences to be rehabilitated, with a particular concern regarding such individuals living within close proximity to them. Similar results were found in Northern Ireland (2007) with individuals, interestingly in relation to the potential for effective CoSA, unwilling to recognise the role of the community in helping those who have previously been convicted of sexual offences to reintegrate successfully.

Although few and far between, Richards and McCartan's (2017) study a small amount did resist the dominant view, expressing support for CoSA due to its potential to help prevent further sexual victimisation and therefore prevent future victims. The views were overall, however, heavily weighted towards the negative with the majority opposing the establishment of CoSA in their community. These negative perceptions held towards those who commit sexual offences can have a detrimental impact on their successful reintegration back in to the community in terms of, for example stigmatisation and the denial of suitable housing or employment opportunities (Tewksbury, 2012). It can be argued therefore, the effectiveness of CoSA may be restricted whilst public perceptions of CoSA projects, and those who commit sexual offences, remain as they are. Richards and McCartan (2017) acknowledge that due to these ingrained community attitudes, simply providing further information regarding the topic is unlikely to be effective in promoting positive change. They do suggest however, that community education may be more effective if delivered by the volunteers themselves who are involved in the CoSA projects; an area that is yet to be investigated. This is something that is further discussed in Chap. 6 of this book.

General Discussion; Do CoSA Work?

In conclusion, the literature to date demonstrates promising and encouraging evidence of the effectiveness of CoSA with clear psychosocial benefits for the Core Members. For the Core Members, a reduction in social isolation and loneliness along with an improvement in psychological

694 wellbeing have been reported, both of which have positive effects on the
695 likelihood of achieving a crime-free life as is discussed above. The volun-
696 teers also appear to benefit from their involvement in CoSA, although
697 more research is required to confirm this.

698 Despite these results, the initiative cannot yet be considered evidence-
699 based due to a lack of high-quality, experimental evaluations that clearly
700 illustrate a reduction in reoffending rates when compared to a control
701 group (Elliott & Zajac, 2015). More controversially, Elliott (2014) has
702 stated that the intense *wanting* of CoSA to be successful has resulted in
703 an evidence base vulnerable to many valid and grave criticisms, which in
704 turn may damage the initiatives credibility. Indeed, there is very little
705 independent evidence demonstrating the effectiveness of CoSA.

706 Despite the mixed views of CoSA both within the literature, and from
707 the public, there seems to be a general consensus that researchers and
708 practitioners should remain optimistic and continue to develop a research
709 base that involves a thorough and comprehensive evaluation of CoSA
710 projects (Elliott & Zajac, 2015). There have been arguments that efforts
711 to achieve this should now be focused towards qualitative evaluations,
712 due to the limitations to collecting ethically and statistically sound quan-
713 titative data from those who have offended sexually (McWhinnie, 2015).
714 The following chapters will report on some of the most recent attempts
715 at the qualitative evaluation of CoSA.

AUS716

References

- 717 Aresti, A., Eatough, V., & Brooks-Gordon, B. (2010). Doing time after time:
718 An interpretative phenomenological analysis of reformed ex-prisoners' expe-
719 riences of self-change, identity and career opportunities. *Psychology, Crime &*
720 *Law*, 16(3), 169–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10683160802516273>
- 721 Armstrong, S., Chistyakova, Y., Mackenzie, S., & Malloch, M. (2008). *Circles of*
722 *support and accountability: Consideration of the feasibility of pilots in Scotland*.
723 Commissioned report by the Scottish government. Glasgow: SCCJR. Retrieved
724 from www.sccjr.ac.uk
- 725 Armstrong, S., & Wills, S. (2014a). *A review of the Fife circles of support and*
726 *accountability project commissioned by SACRO—Final report*. Research report.
727 Edinburgh: Sacro. Retrieved from www.sccjr.ac.uk

- Armstrong, S., & Wills, D. (2014b). Circles of support and accountability (CoSA) in Scotland: Practice, progress and questions. *The Scottish Journal for Criminal Justice Studies*, 20, 2–13. 728
729
730
- Bates, A., Macrae, R., Williams, D., & Webb, C. (2012). Ever-increasing circles: A descriptive study of Hampshire and Thames Valley circles of support and accountability 2002–09. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 18(3), 355–373. 731
732
733
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13552600.2010.544415> 734
- Bates, A., Saunders, R., & Wilson, C. (2007). Doing something about it: A follow-up study of sex offenders participating in Thames Valley circles of support and accountability. *British Journal of Community Justice*, 5(1), 19–42. 735
736
737
- Bates, A., Williams, D., Wilson, C., & Wilson, R. J. (2014). Circles south east: The first 10 years 2002–2012. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 58(7), 861–885. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X13485362> 738
739
740
741
- Bazemore, G., & Erbe, C. (2004). Reintegration and restorative justice: Towards a theory and practice of informal social control and support. In S. Maruna & R. Immarigeon (Eds.), *After crime and punishment: Pathways to offender reintegration* (pp. 27–56). Devon: Willan Publishing. 742
743
744
745
- Cann, J., Falshaw, L., & Friendship, C. (2004). Sexual offenders discharged from prison in England and Wales: A 21 year reconviction study. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 9(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1348/135532504322776816> 746
747
748
749
- Duwe, G. (2012). Can circles of support and accountability (COSA) work in the United States? Preliminary results from a randomized experiment in Minnesota. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 25(2), 143–165. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063212453942> 750
751
752
753
- Elliott, I. (2014, June 6). CoSA: An inconvenient truth [blog post]. Retrieved from <http://nextgenforensic.wordpress.com/2014/06/06/cosa-an-inconvenient-truth/> 754
755
756
- Elliott, I. A., & Beech, A. R. (2012). A UK cost-benefit analysis of circles of support and accountability interventions. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 25(3), 211–229. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063212443385> 757
758
759
- Elliott, I. A., & Zajac, G. (2015). The implementation of circles of support and accountability in the United States. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 25, 113–123. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.07.014> 760
761
762
- Elliott, I. A., Zajac, G., & Meyer, C. A. (2013). *Evaluability assessments of the circles of support and accountability (COSA) model: Cross site report*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, Office Justice Programs, US Department of Justice. 763
764
765
766

- 767 Farrall, S. (2002). *Rethinking what works with offenders: Probation, social context*
768 *and desistance from crime*. Cullompton: Willan.
- 769 Fox, K. J. (2015a). Theorising community integration as desistance-promotion.
770 *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(1), 82–94. [https://doi.org/10.1177/](https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854814550028)
771 [0093854814550028](https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854814550028)
- 772 Fox, K. J. (2015b). Contextualizing the policy and pragmatics of reintegrating
773 sex offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 1–23. [https://](https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063215574711)
774 doi.org/10.1177/1079063215574711
- 775 Hannem, S. (2011). Experiences in reconciling risk management and restorative
776 justice how circles of support and accountability work restoratively in the risk
777 society. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*,
778 57(3), 269–288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624x11432538>
- 779 Hannem, S., & Petrunik, M. (2007). Circles of support and accountability: A
780 community justice initiative for the reintegration of high risk sex offenders.
781 *Contemporary Justice Review*, 10(2), 153–171. [https://doi.org/10.1080/](https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580701372046)
782 [10282580701372046](https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580701372046)
- 783 Hanson, R. K. (1997). *The development of a brief actuarial risk scale for sexual*
784 *offense recidivism*. User Report 97-04. Ottawa: Department of the Solicitor
785 General of Canada.
- 786 Hanson, R. K., & Morton-Bourgon, K. E. (2005). The characteristics of persis-
787 tent sexual offenders: A meta-analysis of recidivism studies. *Journal of*
788 *Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 73(6), 1154–1163. [https://doi.](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.73.6.1154)
789 [org/10.1037/0022-006X.73.6.1154](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.73.6.1154)
- 790 Hanson, R. K., & Morton-Bourgon, K. E. (2009). The accuracy of recidivism
791 risk assessments for sexual offenders: A meta-analysis of 118 prediction stud-
792 ies. *Psychological Assessment*, 21(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014421>
- 793 Hanson, R. K., & Thornton, D. (2000). Improving risk assessments for sex
794 offenders: A comparison of three actuarial scales. *Law and Human Behavior*,
795 24, 119–136. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1005482921333>
- 796 Hanvey, S., Philpot, T., & Wilson, C. (2011). *A community based approach to the*
797 *reduction of sexual offending: Circles of support and accountability*. London:
798 Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- 799 Höing, M., Bogaerts, S., & Vogelvang, B. (2013). Circles of support and
800 accountability: How and why they work for sex offenders. *Journal of Forensic*
801 *Psychology Practice*, 13(4), 267–295. [https://doi.org/10.1080/15228932.201](https://doi.org/10.1080/15228932.2013.808526)
802 [3.808526](https://doi.org/10.1080/15228932.2013.808526)
- 803 Höing, M., Bogaerts, S., & Vogelvang, B. (2015a). Volunteers in circles of sup-
804 port and accountability: Job demands, job resources and outcome. *Sexual*
805 *Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 1–22. [https://doi.org/10.1177/](https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063215612441)
806 [1079063215612441](https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063215612441)

- Höing, M., Vogelvang, B., & Bogaerts, S. (2015b). "I am a different man now"- sex offenders in circles of support and accountability: A prospective study. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624x15612431>
- LeBel, T. P., Burnett, R., Maruna, S., & Bushway, S. (2008). The chicken and egg' of subjective and social factors in desistance from crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(2), 131–159. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370807087640>
- Lussier, P., & Gress, C. L. (2014). Community re-entry and the path toward desistance: A quasi-experimental longitudinal study of dynamic factors and community risk management of adult sex offenders. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42(2), 111–122. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2013.09.006>
- Maguire, M., & Raynor, P. (2006). How the resettlement of prisoners promotes desistance from crime or does it? *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 6(1), 19–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895806060665>
- Marques, J. K., Wiederanders, M., Day, D. M., Nelson, C., & Van Ommeren, A. (2005). Effects of a relapse prevention program on sexual recidivism: Final results from California's sex offender treatment and evaluation project (SOTEP). *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 17(1), 79–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107906320501700108>
- Marshall, W. L. (2010). The role of attachments, intimacy, and loneliness in the etiology and maintenance of sexual offending. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, 25(1), 73–85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681990903550191>
- Marshall, W. L., & Marshall, L. E. (2007). The utility of the random controlled trial for evaluating sexual offender treatment: The gold standard or an inappropriate strategy? *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 19(2), 175–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107906320701900207>
- McAlinden, A. (2005). The use of 'shame' with sexual offenders. *British Journal of Criminology*, 45(3), 373–394. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azh095>
- McAlinden, A. (2007). Public attitudes towards sex offenders in Northern Ireland. *Research and Statistical Bulletin 6/2007*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Office.
- McAlinden, A. (2011). 'Transforming justice': Challenges for restorative justice in an era of punishment-based corrections. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 14(4), 383–406. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2011.616369>
- McCartan, K., Kemshall, H., Westwood, S., Solle, J., MacKenzie, G., & Pollard, A. (2014). Circles of Support and Accountability (CoSA): A case file review

- 844 of two pilots. *Ministry of Justice Analytical Summary*. London: Ministry of
845 Justice.
- 846 McWhinnie, A. (2015). *Circles of support in Canada*. Paper presented at the
847 Association of the Treatment of Sexual Abusers 34th Annual Research and
848 Treatment Conference. Montreal, QC, Canada.
- 849 Mingus, W., & Burchfield, K. B. (2012). From prison to integration: Applying
850 modified labelling theory to sex offenders. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 25(1),
851 97–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1478601X.2012.657906>
- 852 Northcutt Bohmert, M. N., Duwe, G., & Hipple, N. K. (2016). Evaluating
853 restorative justice circles of support and accountability can social support
854 overcome structural barriers? *International Journal of Offender Therapy*
855 *and Comparative Criminology*, 1–20. [https://doi.org/10.1177/03066](https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X16652627)
856 [24X16652627](https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X16652627)
- 857 Paternoster, R., & Bushway, S. (2009). Desistance and the “feared self”: Toward
858 an identity theory of criminal desistance. *The Journal of Criminal Law and*
859 *Criminology*, 99(4), 1103–1156.
- 860 Richards, K., & McCartan, K. (2017). Public views about reintegrating child
861 sex offenders via circles of support and accountability (COSA): A qualitative
862 analysis. *Deviant Behavior*, 12(5), 1–17.
- 863 Tewksbury, R. (2012). Stigmatization of sex offenders. *Deviant Behavior*, 33(8),
864 606–623. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2011.636690>
- 865 Thomas, T., Thompson, D., & K. Karstedt. (2014). *Assessing the impact of circles*
866 *of support and accountability on the reintegration of adults convicted of sexual*
867 *offences in the community*. Centre for Criminal Justice Studies, University of
868 Leeds.
- 869 Thornton, D., Mann, R., Webster, S., Blud, L., Travers, R., Friendship, C., et al.
870 (2003). Distinguishing and combining risks for sexual and violent recidi-
871 vism. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 989(1), 225–235. [https://](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.2003.tb07308.x)
872 doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.2003.tb07308.x
- 873 Ward, T., Fox, K. J., & Garber, M. (2014). Restorative justice, offender rehabilita-
874 tion and desistance. *Restorative Justice*, 2(1), 24–42. [https://doi.](https://doi.org/10.5235/20504721.2.1.24)
875 [org/10.5235/20504721.2.1.24](https://doi.org/10.5235/20504721.2.1.24)
- 876 Weaver, B., & McNeill, F. (2015). Lifelines desistance, social relations, and reci-
877 procity. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(1), 95–107. [https://doi.](https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854814550031)
878 [org/10.1177/0093854814550031](https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854814550031)
- 879 Wilson, C., Bates, A., & Völlm, B. (2010). Circles of support and accountabil-
880 ity: An innovative approach to manage high-risk sex offenders in the com-
881 munity. *Open Criminology Journal*, 3, 48–57. [https://doi.org/](https://doi.org/10.2174/1874917801003010048)
882 [10.2174/1874917801003010048](https://doi.org/10.2174/1874917801003010048)

- Wilson, R. J., Cortoni, F., & McWhinnie, A. J. (2009). Circles of support & accountability: A Canadian national replication of outcome findings. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 21(4), 412–430. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1079063209347724>
- Wilson, R. J., & McWhinnie, A. J. (2013). Putting the “community” back in community risk management of persons who have sexually abused. *International Journal of Behavioral Consultation and Therapy*, 8(3-4), 72–79. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0100987>
- Wilson, R. J., McWhinnie, A. J., & Wilson, C. (2008). Circles of support and accountability: An international partnership in reducing sexual offender recidivism. *Prison Service Journal*, 138, 26–36.
- Wilson, R. J., Picheca, J. E., & Prinzo, M. (2005). *Circles of support and accountability: An evaluation of the pilot project in South-Central Ontario*. Ottawa, ON: Correctional Service of Canada.
- Wilson, R. J., Picheca, J. E., & Prinzo, M. (2007a). Evaluating the effectiveness of professionally facilitated volunteerism in the community based management of high risk sexual offenders: Part One—Effects on participants and stakeholders. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 46(3), 289–302. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2007.00475.x>
- Wilson, R. J., Picheca, J. E., & Prinzo, M. (2007b). Evaluating the effectiveness of professionally facilitated volunteerism in the community based management of high risk sexual offenders: Part Two—A comparison of the recidivism rates. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 46(4), 327–337. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2007.00480.x>

Author Queries

Chapter No.: 3 0003412423

Queries	Details Required	Author's Response
AU1	Please check whether the inserted citation for Fig. 3.1 is okay here.	
AU2	Refs. "McNeill (2009), Wilson et al. (2015), Cann et al. (2014) and Brown, Deakin, and Spencer (2008)" are cited in text but not provided in the reference list. Please provide details in the list or delete the citation from the text.	
AU3	Please specify whether the citation should be "Höing, Bogaerts, & Vogelvang (2015) or Höing, Vogelvang, & Bogaerts (2015)", globally.	
AU4	Please specify whether the citation for reference should be "Wilson et al. (2007a) or (2007b)" here.	
AU5	Refs. "Armstrong et al. (2008), Höing et al. (2015a, 2015b) and McAlinden (2007)" were not cited anywhere in the text. Please provide in text citation or delete the reference from the reference list.	