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EVALUABILITY ASSESSMENTS OF THE CIRCLES OF SUPPORT AND ACCOUNTABILITY (COSA) MODEL

SITE REPORT: COSA LANCASTER

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ABSTRACT

According to the U.S. National Reentry Resource Center (NRRC) at least 95% of state prisoners are released back to their communities after a period of incarceration. Both criminal justice agencies and the general public are often particularly conscious of the issue of sex offenders returning to the community because of the potentially negative biological and psychiatric outcomes for victims (e.g., Andersen, Tomada, Vincow, Valente, Polcari, & Teicher, 2008 ; Chen et al., 2010). Circles of Support and Accountability (COSA) is a restorative justice-based community reentry program for high-risk sex offenders with little or no pro-social community support, originating from Ontario, Canada. There have been no rigorous large-scale outcome evaluations of COSA conducted to date. An evaluability assessment was conducted of COSA across five sites with the goal of assessing the readiness of COSA provision in the U.S. for rigorous evaluation. This report is a for COSA provision at one of those sites: COSA Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The assessment aimed to clarify program intent, explore program reality, examine program data capacity, analyze program fidelity, and propose potential evaluation designs for future evaluation. A summarized 'intended model' is presented that sought to illustrate the espoused theory of COSA.

COSA in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is operated by the Center for Community Peacemaking (CCP). According to the Pennsylvania State Police, there are approximately 785 registered sex offenders residing in the community in Pennsylvania. COSA Lancaster uses an adapted version of the CSC model (CSC 2002; 2003). Three months into this second iteration of the program, COSA Lancaster currently has three Circles in operation. COSA Lancaster was awarded a fidelity score of 52%. COSA Lancaster deviates from the intended

model in a number of ways. Firstly, selected Core Members have not completed the whole of their sentence and are returning to the community under a combination of COSA and formal parole and probation supervision. Secondly, there appears to be flexibility in the criteria for Core Member selection. Thirdly, at present the establishment of the project team has not yet been fully achieved. The state of data collection, management and storage is a serious concern, but should be balanced with the short time in which the site has been in operation. The key obstacle to evaluation is that the site is currently at very low capacity. Nonetheless, COSA Lancaster has been successful in forging their first Circles and appears to have been successful in maintaining these. It is concluded, however, that at this time COSA Lancaster cannot be considered to be operating at a sufficient capacity that would allow it to positively contribute to rigorous evaluation.

INTRODUCTION

According to the U.S. National Reentry Resource Center (NRRC), during 2010 a total of 708,677 prisoners were released back from state and federal prisons into their communities. Both criminal justice agencies and the general public are often particularly conscious of the complex issue of sex offenders returning to their communities because of the potentially negative biological and psychiatric outcomes for victims (e.g., Andersen, Tomada, Vincow, Valente, Polcari, & Teicher, 2008 ; Chen et al., 2010).

Due to these negative outcomes, criminal justice responses to sex offender reentry have typically involved tightening supervision for sex offenders and the introduction of stringent legislation on registration, notification, and residency. Recent recidivism data from 73 studies and 35,522 offenders, however, demonstrate an observed overall sexual recidivism rate of 12.4%, with a 10-year rate of 16.6% (Helmus, Hanson, Thornton, Babchishin, & Harris, 2012). Despite low re-offense rates, many jurisdictions have adopted containment models for sex offender community management (English, 1998; 2004) - victim-focused, multi-agency approaches that combine case evaluation, risk assessment, sex offender treatment, and intense community surveillance.

Yet, amid the increases in criminal justice system's surveillance of sex offenders, there is a growing interest among both criminal justice practitioners and academics in developing restorative justice approaches. Restorative justice is a philosophy that aims to redirect society's punitive response to crime and increase public safety through reconciliatory action between offenders, victims, and the community (Sullivan & Tifft, 2005). It has been noted that interventions offered by non-correctional enterprises may be better positioned to respond to individual characteristics and circumstances when

providing offender treatment and management than correctional organizations (Wilson & Yates, 2009).

Circles of Support and Accountability

Circles of Support and Accountability (COSA) is a restorative justice-based community reentry program for sex offenders deemed to be at the highest risk of reoffending and with little or no pro-social community support. According to the Correctional Services of Canada model (Correctional Services Canada: CSC, 2002; 2003), the mission statement of COSA is: "[to] substantially reduce the risk of future sexual victimization of community members by assisting and supporting released individuals in their task of integrating with the community and leading responsible, productive, and accountable lives" (CSC, 2002: p. 12). An adaptation of the CSC model is described in further detail in a section below.

There have been no rigorous large-scale outcome evaluations of the COSA program conducted to date. Some small-scale outcome evaluations have been published (see Bates, Williams, Wilson, and Wilson, 2013; Duwe, 2013; Wilson, McWhinnie, Picheca, Prinzo, & Cortoni, 2007; Wilson, Cortoni, & McWhinnie, 2009) that suggest COSA may be responsible for a reduction of 77% in sexual recidivism in COSA Core Members versus controls after an average follow-up time of 4 years. Given the varying quality of these studies, however, in terms of retroactive matching of experimental and control samples, imperfect methods for matching, the integrity of statistical analysis, and the lack of statistically significant experimental results, it could be argued that this figure should be considered only an

estimate of effectiveness. Thus further, rigorous evaluation of COSA is needed before it can truly be considered to be evidence-based practice.

Evaluability assessment

This report is part of a series of reports outlining a National Institute of Justice-funded evaluability assessment of the provision of COSA at various sites in the U.S. This report is one of five, with an accompanying cross-site report, for the five COSA sites evaluated as part of the evaluability assessment. The report examines program operations, data capacity, and program fidelity at Vermont COSA, and proposes evaluation designs and challenges. The goal of this evaluability assessment is to examine the readiness of those five COSA programs for rigorous evaluation. This assessment has five specific evaluation goals (from Wholey, 2004): (1) clarifying program intent by developing an intended COSA program model; (2) exploring program reality and COSA program operations in action on site; (3) examining program data capacity; (4) analyzing program fidelity and the congruence between intended program logic and actual program operations; and (5) proposing potential evaluation designs and challenges based on site readiness for further evaluation activities.

COSA intended model

The accompanying cross-site report describes an intended COSA model¹ created for the purpose of this evaluability assessment, based predominantly on the Correctional

¹ Henceforth referred to as the 'intended COSA model' or the 'intended model'.

Services Canada model² (CSC, 2002; 2003). The intended model consists of two concentric interpersonal circles surrounding a Core Member (an offender): (1) an inner circle of four to six professionally-facilitated community volunteers who act as a supportive community to whom the Core Member agrees to be accountable; and (2) an outer circle of professionals (e.g., therapists, probation, law enforcement) who provide expert guidance on areas including, but not limited to, offender behavior, offender management principles, the legal and criminal justice contexts.

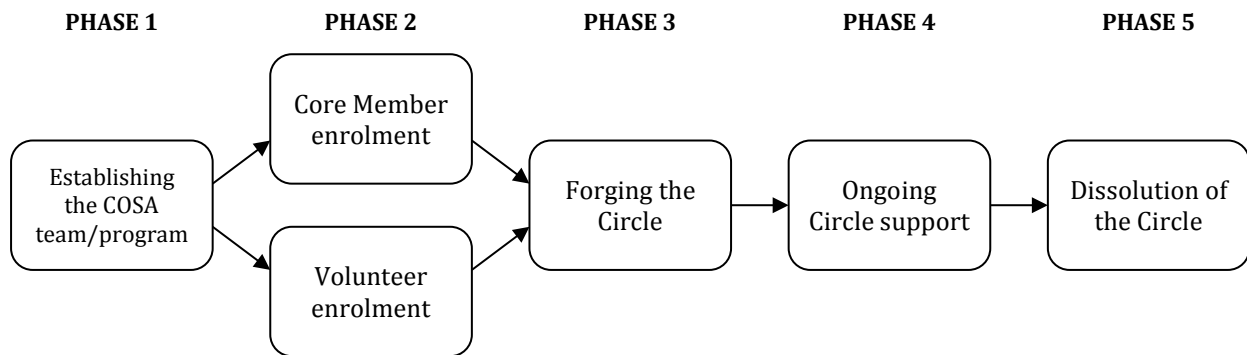
The intended model of COSA separates the elements of COSA into two components: (1) *people* - the various key players involved in the operation of COSA; and (2) *processes* - the operational procedures that take place from the conception of COSA to the dissolution of the first Circle. There are four groups of key players. The first group is the COSA project staff - the Advisory Group, the Program Director, and the Circle Coordinator. The second group is the service users - the Core Member and the volunteers. The third group is the specific criminal justice staff or organizations (the referrers) - the Department of Corrections (DOC), parole and probation, and local police forces. The fourth group is the community service providers, including survivor advocacy groups, lawyers, treatment providers/psychologists, social workers, healthcare professionals, educational professionals, and faith-based organizations.

The Program Director oversees the five phases of the COSA program development process (see Figure 1): (1) establishing the COSA team and program; (2a) Core Member enrolment and (2b) volunteer enrolment; (3) forging the Circle; (4) ongoing Circle support;

² Henceforth referred to as the 'CSC model'.

and (5) dissolution of the Circle. The following sections outline each of the phases of the model in turn.

Figure 1. The five phases of the COSA program development process.



Having summarized the intended model, the following sections of this report will:

(a) describe the history and context of COSA provision at the site, outline it's aims, and report current capacity; (b) apply the five phases of COSA model development process model to implementation at the site; and (c) draw conclusions on the fidelity of the COSA program and make recommendations about capacity for evaluation at the site.

SITE INFORMATION

History and context

COSA in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is operated by the Center for Community Peacemaking (CCP), a regional hub for restorative justice practice. Established in 1995, the Center was formed as the Lancaster Area Victim Offender Reconciliation Program (LAVORP) in 1994 by the Mennonite community. The CCP aims to bring victims and offenders together for reconciliation and healing in order to reduce recidivism and victimization. The CCP offers a series of restorative justice programs, such as victim-offender conferencing programs for Juvenile Probation, Youth Aid Panels, and Peacemaking Circles that aim to mediate conflict and heal relationships.

In Pennsylvania, sex offender reentry is managed by the Pennsylvania Board of Probation and Parole, along with the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, Pennsylvania State Police, and the state Sex Offender Assessment Board. These organizations form the basis of the containment team for the supervision of registered sex offenders in communities in across the state. In 2008, the founder of the local community sex offender re-entry program called Community Renewal for Sex Offenders (CR-SO), John Rush, began discussions with the CCP about the need for a COSA program in Lancaster, PA. He had visited a COSA program in Wales (UK) and met with the Correctional Services Canada model developers, Drs. Robin Wilson and Andrew McWhinnie. In April 2009, the CCP and the CR-SO presented a proposal for COSA at a CCP Board meeting. Although initially received with skepticism, in December 2009 the CCP Board decided to adopt COSA, agreeing that Lancaster County was well-equipped to run such a program.

In 2010, the project was able to secure a \$5,000 grant from a Friends Meeting of the Quaker community and a Project Manager, working on a small part-time salary, was given the task of developing the program. A small number of Circles were forged, but were ultimately unsuccessful. At the same time, relationships between the program and criminal justice agencies were deteriorating and were in need of repair. In late 2011, COSA Lancaster was able to secure \$15,000 in funding from the John Frederick Steinman and The James Hale Steinman Foundations for advancement in the fields of psychiatry, psychology or social work, \$20,000 from the United Service Foundation, and \$12,000 from the Lancaster County Community Foundation. These funds allowed COSA Lancaster to employ a Program Director.

Aims, goals, and mission

COSA Lancaster uses an adapted version of the CSC model (CSC 2002; 2003). COSA Lancaster adopts their mission statement from the CSC model: 'no more victims' and 'no human is disposable'. The guiding principles of COSA Lancaster are: (1) the community has responsibility for restoring victims and reintegrating offenders; (2) victims have experienced deep pain and continue to need caring, supporting relationships in their journey towards healing; (3) the offender is welcomed into a community of accountability and care that functions in responsible, safe, healthy, and life-giving ways; and (4) the Circle seeks to be an agent of healing within our communities and to offer radical hospitality.

Current capacity

Three months into this second iteration of the program, COSA Lancaster currently has three Circles in operation. According to their estimates, given current staffing levels COSA Lancaster estimate an operational capacity of approximately 8-10 Circles per year.

IMPLEMENTATION

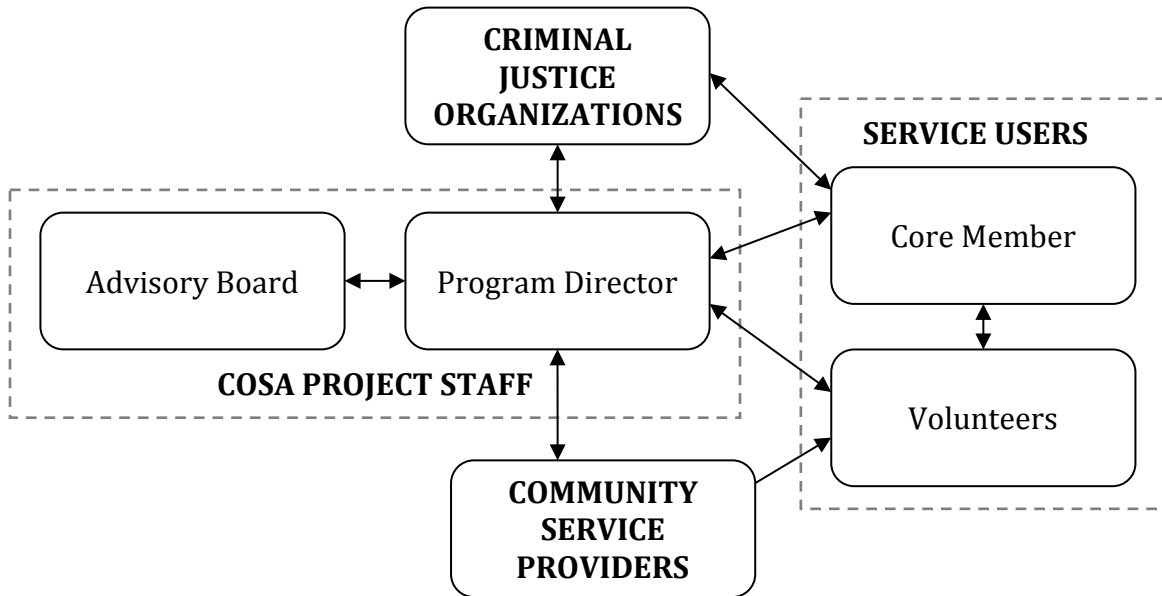
Phase 1: Establishing the COSA team and program

The COSA Lancaster program is directed by the CCP through a COSA Program Director (see Figure 2 for a schematic illustration of the management structure). The Program Director is overseen by the Executive Director of the CCP. The Program Director role is employed part-time at 20 hours per week to implement the COSA program. The Program Director's responsibilities include receiving referrals, Core Member intake, the creation of an operations manual, outreach with criminal justice and other organizations, volunteer recruitment and training. The Program Director also assumes the role of Circle Coordinator. Other staff assigned to COSA activity includes both the CCP Executive Director and Development and Funding Officer

COSA Lancaster has an informal Advisory Board that consists of the Executive Director of the CCP, representatives from Adult Parole and Probation and the Sex Offender Assessment Board, sex offender treatment providers and councilors, representatives for housing, and representative of other community restorative justice organizations (CR-SO and the New Persons Ministry). Once the program has 5 Circles running (they are currently

running 3), they plan to reconvene this Advisory Board, formalize their role, and expand membership if and where necessary. These individuals also form the 'outer circle' of professionals who advise each of the Circles.

Figure 1. The COSA Lancaster management structure.



COSA Lancaster has professional links with the Office for Vocational Rehabilitation and the Lancaster County Prison Warden. At present, the current Program Director is in the process of re-establishing positive relationships with State agencies (e.g., Parole and Probation, the Sex Offender Assessment Board). The Program Director is building relationships with the regional treatment centers. Links have also been established with other regional community justice groups such as the Victim Advocacy Group, educational groups, the Reentry Management Organization (a coalition of regional service providers run under County auspices), and local faith groups.

Phase 2a: Core Member enrolment

Referrals are received via telephone or email from the Pennsylvania Adult Parole and Probation Department. COSA Lancaster can also solicit referrals from the Head of the regional Sex Offender Unit, who contacts Parole Agents with sex offender caseloads to inquire about suitable candidates for COSA. COSA Lancaster is also seeking to solicit referrals from State Parole and Probation, the Pennsylvania Sex Offender Assessment Board, and the local Community Renewal for Sex Offenders (CR-SO) program. COSA Lancaster also accepts self-referrals but these applicants must apply through their Parole Agent. The Program Director maintains a waiting list of referrals.

Parole Agents request an information release form from the applicant before providing offender information to the Program Director. This information includes risk level, levels of need, and levels of support. The Program Director then meets with the Parole Agent to discuss the referral. If the referral appears suitable then the Program Director initiates the intake process. The Program Director arranges an interview with the applicant that explores the applicant's adherence to the selection criteria and gathers data about demographics, treatment, personal circumstances (e.g., living arrangements, employment, mental health, and education), offenses, social services assistance (e.g., food stamps, medical), parole and probation information, family links, their links to the Lancaster area, and their reasons for applying to COSA. During this interview the Program Director also completes a Needs Assessment form.

The Program Director subsequently reviews this information and makes a recommendation to the CCP Executive Director. The Executive Director then presents the recommendation to the Advisory Board, who make a final decision on acceptance to the

program. On final acceptance, COSA Lancaster requests faxed copies of the applicant's offense details and official and signed conditions of release documents from the Parole Agent.

Phase 2b: Volunteer enrolment

COSA Lancaster typically recruits volunteers from three sources: (1) faith organizations - utilizing their links with churches, pastors/priests, and faith committees; (2) advertisements in volunteering sections of the local media; (3) other social justice and CCP programs. Applicants are asked to submit an application form to the Program Director. The Program Manager maintains a waiting list of applicants. All applicants are subjected to a State Police criminal background check. Personal references are not checked. The applicant is then invited to an interview with the Program Director, either in person or via telephone, who inquires about their background experience, their experiences of victimization, their role in the community, their motivation for applying to COSA, and their expectations of the program.

COSA Lancaster outlines seven criteria for selection as a volunteer. Volunteers should: (1) be stable in the community; (2) demonstrate personal maturity; (3) maintain a balanced lifestyle (i.e., appropriate interests outside of the program); (4) demonstrate a balanced perspective (i.e., recognition of both victim and offender needs); (5) be able and willing to work with sex offenders; (6) be able to work with individuals who may have alternative sexual orientations to one's own; and (7) be able to commit to a 1-year Circle duration and attend training. COSA Lancaster also seeks volunteers of a variety of ages.

Training is provided to all volunteers. The Program Director is in the process manualizing the training program so that volunteers can receive a training pack. Training is conducted over two half-days and one full day, and is scheduled twice annually. The CCP Executive Director discusses the Center for Community Peacemaking, restorative justice, and COSA. The Volunteers are shown a COSA 'One of Us' DVD. The operations of a Circle are discussed, including the covenant, boundaries, consensus decision-making, commitments etc. Materials from the CSC model are used to outline COSA concepts. Other topics covered in training include the criminal justice system in Pennsylvania and Lancaster County, victim issues, offender issues, the Sex Offender Assessment Board³ and sex offender community management and treatment (particularly the 'Good Lives Model'). COSA Lancaster also aims to provide ongoing training related to specific Core Member issues, such as training on dealing with addiction.

Phase 3: Forging the Circle

The Program Manager schedules the first Circle meeting. Every member of the Circle receives a copy of the Core Member's offense details and conditions of release. This document is considered confidential, although no formal confidentiality agreements are signed by volunteers. The Program Director and the Circle Coordinator⁴ sit in on all Circles in these early stages of the program but gradually transition out as the Circle develops.

³ According to the Pennsylvania SOAB's website, "Under Pennsylvania's Adam Walsh Law, the SOAB is responsible for conducting assessments of certain convicted sex offenders in order to assist the court in determining whether they meet the legal criteria for classification as a Sexually Violent Predator (SVP). If a sex offender is classified by the court as an SVP, he or she is subject to lifetime registration with the Pennsylvania State Police (with in-person verification on a quarterly basis), lifetime sex offender counseling (with a provider approved by the SOAB), and community notification."

⁴ If and when appointed. The Program Director currently assumes the role of Circle Coordinator

Once the program has more Circles established the Program Director will sit on Circles only on an occasional basis. In early meetings the Core Member's conditions of release are discussed, providing volunteers with information of, for example, any geographical restrictions. The Core Member is encouraged to identify and document their future goals.

The first meetings are also used to finalize the covenant. The Program Director has three pro-forma covenants in development. The Circle makes a consensus decision on the final content of the covenant. The covenant sets out the commitments of Core Member and includes abiding by their conditions of release. In turn, the volunteers agree to not to knowingly or willfully put the Core Member in danger of contravening those conditions. A one-year commitment to the Circle by the Core Member and the volunteers is established. The covenant also includes expectations about appropriate and inappropriate behavior for all Circle members. The Circle also agrees that the Core Member and individual volunteers cannot establish personal friendships with each other nor have contact unknown to the group.

Phase 4: Ongoing Circle support

Ongoing Circle meetings are attended by the Core Member, the volunteers and the Program Director (acting as Circle Coordinator). Meetings take place on a weekly basis, unless otherwise specified and are typically scheduled to last for one hour. Locations are chosen in which the Circle can speak freely and openly. Meetings begin with a moment of silence and reflection. The volunteers discuss their prior week, followed by the Core Member. Volunteers are encouraged to identify and discuss any potential triggers or risky

behavior that may exist for their Core Member. The Circle will also assist the Core Member to identify and utilize community resources (e.g., food banks, meals, libraries, etc).

In some circumstances the Circle can meet without the Core Member, for example, when the Core Member is incapacitated or has recently been re-incarcerated. Attendance at meetings is taken seriously and if the Core Member does not inform the Program Director contacts their Parole Agent. Other individuals may be invited to attend Circle meetings, such as professional members of the outer circle (e.g., treatment provider), pastors, adult Probation and Parole. In the event that a Core Member was found to have reoffended or to have violated their conditions of release the Program Director reports back to the Executive Director and contacts the Parole Agent. The Circle would then be reconvened without the Core Member and a debriefing session would be conducted.

The Circle Coordinator takes notes during the meeting related to attendance, instances of contact between the volunteers and the Core Member, and the issues that are discussed. These notes are contained in a single notebook for each Core Member. The Program Director is seeking to centralize these notes in a single source or database in the future (e.g., use of Google Docs). If the Circle Coordinator is not there, the volunteers are expected to nominate one person to take notes and provide that data to the Program Director.

Ongoing support is also provided to volunteers. Volunteer personal safety guidelines are set out in the training manual. These include effective boundary setting, refusing to keep secrets, not lending items to the Core Member, and informing Circle or staff before inviting the Core Member to your home. Volunteers are also encouraged to support to each other. A 1-year anniversary event was also held that the Core Members and

volunteers were invited to attend and the CCP also holds an annual event to which volunteers are invited. Also, a regular newsletter is sent to volunteers.

Phase 5: Dissolution of the Circle

If an offender is re0ncarcerated the Circle makes a consensus decision as to whether they want to disband or keep going. All Circles are evaluated at the 1-year mark. This involves assessing the progress of the Core Member, their personal circumstances, and decisions documented in their Circle notebook. At this point the Circle can choose to either disband, change format (i.e., change the frequency or form of contact), or continue with the same operations. The result of the evaluation is related to the Executive Director who reports it to the Advisory Board and the CCP Board of Directors. Circle updates are reported informally back to Adult Parole and Probation.

FINDINGS

Fidelity Score

COSA Lancaster was awarded a fidelity score of 52%. Fidelity was assessed using a fidelity item measurement tool that examines 41 intended program elements across 10 fidelity categories, including management, model, operations, outcomes, staff, Core Members and volunteers. There were 100 items in total that could be endorsed. The fidelity score represents the percentage of these fidelity items that were observed in program reality.

There is no definitive consensus on what constitutes high program fidelity, but evidence suggests fidelity levels of 60% and greater (i.e., 60% match between program intent and program reality) are associated with strong outcomes (Durlak & DuPre, 2008; Latessa & Lowenkamp, 2006). Thus, for this evaluability assessment programs with an implementation score approaching or exceeding 60% are considered to be well-implemented.

Deviations from the intended model

COSA Lancaster deviates from the intended model in a number of ways. Firstly, selected Core Members have not completed the whole of their sentence and are returning to the community under a combination of COSA and formal parole and probation supervision. This could make it difficult for evaluators to isolate and differentiate the relative effects of COSA from the effect of 'supervision as usual'. Furthermore, this issue would have implications should a future evaluation include multiple-sites that operated Circles for both 'fully-completed' and 'under supervision' offenders, as it could represent a

systematic divergence in the combination of criminal justice and community support provided to each type of Core Member. This would, however, not hinder COSA Lancaster from being evaluated as a single site.

Secondly, there appears to be flexibility in the criteria for Core Member selection. COSA Lancaster has plans to provide Circles to sex offenders who are high-need, but not necessarily high-risk. This has implications for program integrity and would need to be addressed if the site were to be included in comprehensive evaluation. Thirdly, at present the establishment of the project team has not yet been fully achieved. The Program Director currently takes on responsibility for both operation of COSA as a program and also specific operation of each of the Circles. It may be possible for these responsibilities to be served by one individual under current capacity, but the workload this entails will need to be addressed as capacity increases. Also, there is currently no formally-established Advisory Board, although there are plans to address this when capacity reaches a pre-determined level.

Quality of data systems

The state of data collection, management and storage is a serious concern, but should be balanced with the short time in which the site has been in operation. At the point of the site visit, the little formal data collected was limited to the information collected at intake. Given that the site has only three Circles in operation, the collection of data is anticipated to develop as capacity increases, although there is no specific evidence that this will happen. Data is limited to information collected during Core Member referral and intake, volunteer application forms and interviews, and meeting notes (e.g., attendance,

contact, and issues discussed). Relationships with referring agencies are also not sufficiently secure that the availability and transfer of potentially crucial data and information could be confidently anticipated. Finally, operational data is unsystematically collected and stored in hard-copy form (e.g., notebook), not electronically. It would be recommended that COSA Lancaster use the opportunity to be proactive about data management and build them into their policies and procedures from the outset.

Obstacles to evaluation

The key obstacle to evaluation is that the site is currently at very low capacity. This means that the site would not be able to either: (a) generate the numbers of participants (or controls) required to contribute to an evaluation; or (b) demonstrate a level of operational fidelity that would allow for the adequate control of program variables.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, COSA Lancaster is currently operating at very low capacity and the state of data collection, management and storage is a serious concern. Nonetheless, COSA Lancaster has been successful in forging their first Circles and appears to have been successful in maintaining these. Much development work is planned, in terms of better administration, better documentation, more nuanced recruitment, and further fundraising. On a positive note, it is worth noting that the CCP has been able to develop a COSA program in a region that they describe as both politically and religiously conservative.

There are concerns that some deviations from the intended model, such as the issue of flexibility in the Core Member selection criteria, could threaten the integrity of the program being delivered. There is also an issue of staff workload, as the Program Director is currently required to take on a dual role as Circle Coordinator, even given their part-time status. COSA Lancaster is still in a relatively formative stage and further development of relationships with the criminal justice system is required. The site does, however, have a strong model in place and has potential for growth, so long as they are able to gain a level of financial and operational stability. They have learned lessons from the first incarnation of the project that will steer them well in developing the program.

It is concluded, however, that at this time COSA Lancaster cannot be considered to be operating at a sufficient capacity that would allow it to positively contribute to rigorous evaluation.

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