A prison-model of CoSA: The potential to offer 'through the gate' support and accountability

Abstract

Circles of Support and Accountability (CoSA) are an intervention used to support and enable those who have been convicted of a sexual offence (core member), to reintegrate back into society, whilst still holding them accountable for their behaviour (Cesaroni, 2001). The purpose of this study was to introduce a new prison-model of CoSA and to explore the core members' perceptions of their release from prison, and subsequent future in the community, prior to it starting.

Interviews and repertory grids were carried out with those who had accepted a core member place on this initiative (n=9). The findings derived from the data highlight the core members' concerns regarding their pending release from prison, along with a potential turning point towards a more pro-social self. A prison-based model of CoSA may provide support and accountability during this transitional stage, thus helping to counter any isolation experienced and capitalise on any cognitive change.

Introduction

The relationship between a detachment from society and continued engagement with crime has been explored within the desistance literature. Desistance is generally defined as a slowing down or stopping of criminal behaviour (Harris, 2014) with social relations, characterised by a sense of belonging and solidarity, reported as the most influential in supporting this process (Weaver & McNeill, 2015). Desistance from crime, it is reported, is much easier for those who are able to embed themselves within social networks, which support their new pro-social identities, thus creating a sense of belonging (Farmer, Beech, & Ward, 2011; Paternoster & Bushway, 2009).

Successful reintegration and the establishment of a pro-social network on release from prison, however is difficult for any type of offender (Berg & Huebner, 2011). In addition, the negative issues faced during re-entry in to the community are thought to be considerably worse for those who have been convicted of sexual offences (Robbers, 2009). Some of the major and most prominent issues faced by such offenders are a persistent sense of vulnerability, increased levels of stress, difficulties in finding employment and housing, and problems maintaining social and familial relationships (Graffam, Shinkfield, Lavelle, & McPherson, 2004; Tewksbury & Connor, 2012; Tewksbury & Copes, 2013). All of which, leads to social isolation and works against successful reintegration back in to the community (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2009). As LeBel, Burnett, Maruna, and Bushway (2008) reported, social problems experienced after release from prison, such as employment, housing and relationship issues, have a large and significant impact on the probability of both re-conviction and re-imprisonment. This highlights the importance of supporting those who are released from prison to overcome these social problems, to help reduce potential recidivism.

A step towards achieving this is provided through Circles of Support and Accountability (CoSA). CoSA are an intervention used with medium to very-high risk individuals, who have been convicted of a sexual offence, to support and enable their reintegration back into society, whilst still holding them accountable for their behaviour (Cesaroni, 2001). A CoSA consists of three to six members of the local community who volunteer to meet weekly with the core member (individual who has offended sexually). Supervised by a project coordinator, a CoSA, aims to establish a pro-social network around the individual, providing practical and emotional support. In addition, the volunteers encourage the core member to recognise potentially risky thoughts and behaviours, thus enabling offender accountability and subsequent community safety (Höing, Bogaerts, & Vogelvang, 2013).

With its focus on support, CoSA aims to provide 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, Cortoni, & McWhinnie, 2009). For example, research in Canada has demonstrated significantly lower reoffending rates in Core Members when compared to similar individuals who were suitable but did not receive a CoSA (Wilson, Picheca, & Prinzo, 2005, 2007; Wilson et al., 2009). In the UK most recently, a comparison study similarly reported that Core Members reoffended sexually or violently at a lower rate than those who were suitable but did not receive a CoSA (Bates, Williams, Wilson, & Wilson, 2014). Although the quantitative research of CoSA has been criticised generally (see Elliott & Zajac, 2015, for more detail on this), results such as these do demonstrate promising and encouraging evidence of the effectiveness of the providing pro-social support through CoSA.

Until 2014, however, CoSA in the UK only began once a potential core member had been released from prison and was living in the community, sometimes for a period of up to several weeks (Höing, Vogelvang, & Bogaerts, 2015). This is concerning due to the early stages of release being a particularly sensitive period in terms of achieving this desistance (Aresti, Eatough, & Brooks-Gordon, 2010). Furthermore, when considering the well-being of offenders recently released from prison, Fox (2015) acknowledges how individuals can quickly become overwhelmed, particularly if they have served a long sentence in prison. This, coupled with the barriers to reintegration those convicted of sexual offences face outlined above, may lead to individuals withdrawing from the society they have only just re-joined. For example, Mingus and Burchfield (2012), reported that nearly all of their participants perceived themselves as being susceptible to devaluation and discrimination due to their status as a 'sex offender'. Further to this a statistically significant effect was found between a person's belief that they will be devalued or discriminated against and their tendency to withdraw from society.

Similarly, Tewksbury (2012) highlighted a sense of resignation involving feelings of depression and hopelessness, as a result of the labelling and stigmatisation from the public towards individuals convicted of previous sexual crimes. Some of the participants described being viewed by others as 'the lowest of the low' and the 'worst of the worst' (Tewksbury, 2012, p. 614) and resulted in a withdrawal from social opportunities and isolation from society even further.

This is concerning, due to social isolation and loneliness being highlighted within the literature as risk factors for sexual recidivism (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Marshall, 2010). A prison-based model of CoSA was therefore introduced in the UK to support those convicted of sexual offences during the transition from prison to community, thus aiming to encourage desistance during the immediate reintegration period.

A UK prison-based model of CoSA

It is argued that for offenders to re-settle effectively on release, 'through care' is needed involving the establishment of a close relationship with the ex-offender while they are still in prison, which is then continued on release (Maguire & Raynor, 2006). A CoSA project that has successfully implemented a continuum of support from prison to the community, for individuals convicted of sexual offences, is MnCoSA in the US (Duwe, 2012). Offered though the Minnesota Department of Corrections, MnCoSA focuses upon the successful transition from prison to community for individuals convicted for sexual offences (MnCoSA, 2017). The volunteers meet with the Core Member approximately 3 times whilst in prison before the sessions move in to the community as the Core Member re-enters society (MnCoSA, 2017). When considering offenders who are still residing in prison, Rocque, Biere, and MacKenzie (2011) have highlighted how increasing the attachment and improving social bonds to pro-social individuals results in a positive outcome. Similarly, poor quality preparation for social

support on release from prison, along with preparation for housing and employment, has been linked in the literature with sexually re-offending (Willis & Grace, 2009). Indeed, a Randomised Controlled Trial, often considered the 'gold standard for evaluation research, demonstrated a significant reduction in both sexual and general recidivism for those who took part in MnCoSA, when compared to those that did not, with the risk of re-arrest for a sexual offence reduced by 88% (Duwe, 2018). This involved a 6 year follow up and highlights the potential benefit of providing 'through the gate', pro-social support to individuals previously convicted of a sexual offence.

Alongside the research highlighting the benefits of 'through the gate support' are the recent reviews of Sex Offender Treatment Programmes (SOTP) in prison. For example, Kim, Benekos, and Merlo (2015) have reported that community treatment for individuals convicted of sexual offences is more effective in reducing recidivism than treatment carried out in prisons. This therefore indicates that there could be individuals leaving prison who, as well as needing immediate social support, may benefit from extra guidance through initiatives like CoSA, to help continue any identify change or cognitive shifts made.

To provide this 'through the gate' support and accountability a new prison-based model of CoSA has been established by the Safer Living Foundation charity, in a treatment prison in the UK for those who have sexually offended (Saunders, Kitson-Boyce, & Elliott, 2014). It was important that the resources of the project were targeted at those individuals who were in most need of support during the transition from prison to community. In addition to the risk involved in a lack of social support on release from prison, individuals who have sexually offended and are also categorised as elderly or intellectually disabled (ID) are particularly vulnerable during this period (Crawley & Sparks, 2006; Cummins & Lau, 2003). For example, for elderly offenders the fear of isolation on release can be even greater, with many nursing homes and elderly care facilities reluctant to accept them due to the type of offences they have

committed (Hart, 2008). Individuals with ID are reported to have a lack of social networks and thus lack feelings of connectedness, both of which are believed to be required for successful community integration (Cummins & Lau, 2003). For these reasons, the UK prison-based model of CoSA currently focuses on individuals convicted of a sexual offence with determinate prison sentences (i.e. a fixed release date), who ideally are elderly (55+) or intellectually disabled (ID) and are deemed medium to very-high static risk using the RM2000 risk assessment tool (Thornton et al, 2003).

As with community CoSA, participation in the prison-model is voluntary and choosing not to has no detrimental effect on the individual. The prison-model CoSA start approximately 3 months prior to the Core Members release from prison and continue into the community on release, with the same volunteers for continuity of support. Following this the volunteers meet with the Core Member in the community, on a weekly or fortnightly basis, for up to 18 months. It is hoped in doing this the volunteers can support the Core Member through the entire transition from prisoner to pro-social member of the community, thus encouraging desistance from further offending (Saunders et al., 2014).

Mann (2014, personal communication) has previously stressed the importance of evaluating new prison initiatives thoroughly and from the very beginning to learn more about effective rehabilitation. The purpose of this study therefore was to begin this process and explore the Core Members' thoughts and feelings regarding their release from prison, and subsequent future in the community, prior to them starting the prison-model CoSA. In addition, how the participants construed themselves now, compared to the past and where they would like to be in future, was also considered.

Method

Participants

Participants were men from a treatment prison in the UK (n=9). Participants were sampled from the entire population of individuals who met the eligibility criteria to be offered a Core Member place on a prison-model CoSA. The participants in this study had all accepted a Core Member place and were waiting to meet their volunteers. As Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014) state, qualitative research focuses upon depth rather than breadth, often relying upon small sample sizes. Rather than making claims about generalisability to larger samples therefore, an in-depth exploration of the topic was conducted.

To be considered for a core member place in the prison-model, individuals needed to meet several criteria. First, the individual must have had previously committed a sexual offence and currently be residing in the prison where the prison-model CoSA were due to start, which only houses individuals convicted, or previously convicted of a sexual offence. Second, they must have been assessed as medium to very-high risk using the Risk Matrix 2000; the most widely used actuarial risk assessment tool in the English and Wales prison and probation services (Thornton et al, 2003). Thirdly, the individuals must be facing release from prison with little to no pro-social support in the community. The final criteria, specific to the prison-model only, was that they ideally had to be either elderly (55+) or diagnosed with intellectual disabilities (ID) (see table 1).

The identification of an intellectual disability involved both an assessment of both intellectual (IQ<80) and adaptive functioning (Craig & Hutchinson, 2005; Keeling, Rose, & Beech, 2008). Whilst there is no universal definition of 'elderly', 'older' is defined within the criminal justice literature as starting anywhere between 45 and 65 years old (Bows & Westmarland, 2016). Until recently, retirement age in the UK was 65 years old (Gov.uk, 2017). However, as Howse (2003) acknowledged in his report for the Prison Reform Trust, individuals

residing in a prison setting tend to have a biological age of 10 years older than individuals in the community, due to chronic health problems. Bows and Westmarland (2016) have more recently agreed, stating that the mental and physical health problems offenders in prison experience results in a more rapid onset of age related issues, compared to their counterparts outside prison. This provides an argument for a lower threshold for an 'elderly' category and indeed Age UK, the largest charity in the UK to work with older individuals including prisoners, have 55 as the starting age of their 'elderly' category. Based on these considerations the prison-based model of CoSA determined the age at which individuals could be considered for a Core Member place to be 55 years old. In one case, the participant was neither elderly nor had ID, however clinical judgement was used, by the lead forensic psychologist involved in the project, to offer him a Core Member place due to a very severe lack of social support and falling within a very-high risk category (see table 1).

[Insert table 1 here]

Nearly all the participants had been convicted of sexual offences against a child under 16 years of age, leaving only one participant who had been convicted of a sexual offence against an adult. All the participants had been convicted of contact sexual offences.

Procedure

The Core Members of the prison-model CoSA, who had previously consented to be contacted by the authors, were invited to take part in a consent interview. Here, the purpose of the research was explained and any questions answered. An interview and repertory grid were carried out with each consenting Core Member, prior to meeting the volunteers involved in their prison-model CoSA. The data collection took place in the purpose-built interview rooms at the prison

and were split over two sessions. Ethical clearance was obtained from both the university the authors are established at and HMPSS, prior to any data collection taking place. Participation in all aspects of the research was voluntary with no incentive offered for taking part.

Semi-structured interviews

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were carried out with participants to facilitate in-depth discussion and explore their personal experience. Open-ended, neutral questions were constructed for each of the separate issues to be discussed, which enabled the researcher to be an engaged, flexible and an attentive listener, using prompts where necessary (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Due to the participants potentially having intellectual disabilities (ID), the interview schedule was written in suitable language with a Flesch readability score of 2.9. This meant the questions posed were suitable to be used with those who had borderline to mild ID. Each interview lasted on average 1-1.5 hours and explored areas such as their expectations and aspirations for the future. For example, 'What do you think it will be like when you leave prison?', 'Who will be there to help you when you leave prison?'

The interview data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The aim of IPA is to gain an in-depth understanding of the way in which people make sense of their personal and social worlds (Aresti et al., 2010). The analysis process begins from a phenomenological perspective, as the participants tell their story, then moves to a more interpretative position. Here the researcher uses hermeneutics to make sense of the participants' experiences and concerns (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005). Smith and Osborn (2003) offer a flexible set of guidelines for conducting IPA, which were adopted for this study. This involves the researcher attempting to understand the content and complexity of the meanings of the participants by immersing themselves in the text (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Emerging themes are then captured and noted down, before being listed in a more analytical ordering as

connections begin to emerge between themes. Finally, subordinate themes are clustered in to superordinate themes by taking in to account not just prevalence but also relevance to the accounts and importance to the participants.

Repertory grids

Derived from Kelly's (1955) Role Construct Repertory Test, the repertory grids used in this study were essentially a complex sorting task, which helps the researcher to develop an understanding of the way a participant makes sense of their world and interprets their experience (Neimeyer, Bowman, & Saferstein, 2005; Mason, 2003). Repertory grids are idiographic by nature and can allow a unique insight in to the way individuals construe aspects of their world (Houston, 1998). Each repertory grid is conducted in relation to a topic and involves elements and constructs. Elements of the grid are examples of this topic and usually take the form of people. For this study, the elements were 'self in the past', 'self now'; 'self in the future'; 'mum'; 'dad'; 'partner'; 'ex-partner'; 'friend'; 'non-offending person'; 'sex offender'; 'prison officer' and 'someone you don't like'.

The purpose of a repertory grid is to elicit constructs from the participant, which make sense to them and have meaning to a particular experience (Jankowicz, 2004). The constructs within a grid can be both supplied to or elicited from the participant. The elicitation process involved two elements being presented to the participant, who were asked to describe a way in which they were similar. For example, 'how are you now similar to your Father?' (the emergent pole). Participants were asked to then think of the opposite of the construct stated, thus forming the second pole (the implicit pole). This process was continued using a variety of element combinations until around 7-10 constructs had been elicited; the ideal amount to ensure the overall sense of the participant is understood (Jankowicz, 2004), or alternatively until saturation had been reached i.e. the same constructs were being repeated.

As recommended by Easterby-Smith (1980) the supplied constructs were given after the rest of the constructs had been elicited so as not to influence the participants' choice of constructs. The supplied constructs were 'socially supported'/'socially isolated'; 'trusts others easily'/'untrusting'; 'intimate and meaningful relationship'/ 'opposite was elicited from participant'. This ensured the topic of the participants' social networks was included.

Finally, a seven-point Likert scale was used to rate the elements and constructs, providing a meaningful rating scale for statistical analysis (Tan & Hunter, 2002). To ensure all the participants, including those with intellectual disabilities, understood the rating process, visual aids were used. Once completed, the analysis of the repertory grids was on the content and the structure of the participants' grids and conducted using Idiogrid (see Grice 2002), a statistical programme designed for this purpose.

Analysis process

Underlying the repertory grid technique is a belief that people are active construers of their own experience, focusing on how people make sense of their lives and how they construct social reality (Horley, 2008). This has similarities to phenomenology. whereby individuals are believed to be continually trying to make sense of their existence and daily life (Schutz, 1962). Such sense-making, however, rarely straight forward and seldom free from contradiction. The triangulation of these two methods, therefore, increases the understanding of the phenomenon explored in this paper, providing a deeper analysis than one method alone could provide (Howitt, 2010). Indeed, the triangulation of IPA with the repertory grid technique is growing in popularity as a method of rigorous exploration of participants' meaning making (Blagden, Mann, Webster, Lee, & Williams, 2017; Turpin, Dallos, Owen, & Thomas, 2009; Yorke & Dallos, 2015). In addition, Blagden, Winder, Gregson, and Thorne (2014) have demonstrated

the successful synthesis of these methods, when used in a forensic setting, with those who have been convicted of sexual offences as participants.

The following analysis therefore incorporates both interview and repertory grid data, presented together, to illuminate and explore the themes derived.

Results

An analysis of the interview and repertory grid data, identified three superordinate themes, as presented in Table 2. The first two superordinate themes appeared the most meaningful to the participants at this stage in their journey. Therefore, given the scope of the paper, only these, along with their corresponding subordinate themes, will be discussed. This process of unpacking select themes is common within qualitative studies i.e. Aresti et al. (2010) and in this case, aims to provide a rich understanding of the participants' most important thoughts and feelings, prior to beginning a prison-model CoSA.

[Insert table 2 here]

Superordinate Theme: The shadow of release

For all participants, their pending release from prison was approaching. Although they were looking forward to re-joining society they also had several fears, which will be discussed below.

A daunting process

Many of the participants interviewed were daunted by the process of release, for example where they would go to live and how they would navigate around a new area.

Extract 1

'I'm gonna be wary as things change don't they over the years especially if you're making a new move somewhere a fresh start somewhere, you're bound to be wary' **Participant 3**

Extract 2

'I am absolutely terrified of getting out cause as I said I don't know the area either. I mean as ***** (CoSA coordinator) said there's a ***** apparently that goes straight down to the city centre but where do I get it from, how much is it, how long does it take, where do I get off, where's probation in ***** you know' **Participant 5**

These two extracts highlight how being released from prison, in to a new area, will be an unsettling time for the participants and is already creating feelings of anxiety. Participant 5 is struggling to construe future events involving the area he will be released to, which is anxiety provoking. This resonates with research which demonstrates that for those who commit sexual offences specifically, release back in to the community can be a very stressful time with many hurdles for them to overcome, such as finding stable living accommodation (Tewksbury & Copes, 2013). The concerns surrounding release were heightened further for the some of the elderly participants who had severe health problems.

Extract 3

'I don't think I'm going to be able to cope on my own outside, cause the wheelchair if you can't propel it you can't do anything so I've just got to wait and see. Here…the system they have for getting around prison is excellent

and healthcare is wonderful but I, obviously I realise how difficult it will be

for me (on release)' **Participant 6**

Participant 6 explains how being confined to a wheelchair will make coping on his own in the community very difficult. In contrast, he is looked after very well in the prison, with allocated prisoners who push his wheelchair for him, making release seem even more daunting. Clinks (2013) reported that over 80% of male prisoners aged 60 and over suffered from a chronic illness or disability. This, combined with the fact that elderly offenders, who have previously committed sexual crimes, often foster friendships with other elderly offenders whilst in prison (Mann, 2012), means the transition in to the community can be even more difficult.

The anxieties the participants appear to be experiencing are evidenced further in how they construe both themselves and those around them. A Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of the repertory grids provides a graphical output of the participants' construal system, showing in spatial terms how the individuals' psychological space is structured at that time (Blagden, Winder, Gregson, & Thorne, 2012).

[Insert figure 1 here]

The PCA output for participant 7, as shown in figure 1, includes two tight groupings of constructs falling in only two quadrants of the graph, which is indicative of tight construing. In addition, the eigenvalues for the varimax rotated components show that Principal Components 1 and 2 account for 93.72% of the variability in the repertory grid, which again indicates very black and white type thinking. This is important to recognise as it suggests the person is in a state of anxiety, which Kelly (1955) defines as the awareness that the events a person is confronted with lie mostly outside the range of convenience of their construct system. He believes that as humans one of the responses to this anxiety is to withdraw from the area altogether, which involves constriction, or a narrowing of the perceptual field as is the case in

many of the participants in this study. This is concerning as this tightness in construing represents a mechanism whereby invalidating events may be ignored with stereotypical interpretations made, further minimizing the importance of this invalidating information. (Catina, Gitzinger, & Hoeckh, 1992). Evidence, therefore that serves to undermine the apprehension they are feeling regarding release, such as the potential support of the CoSA volunteers, may be minimised or ignored.

What is positive to note on the PCA output, however, is that the element 'Self in the past' is diametrically opposed to the other elements (apart from someone you don't like 1 & 2) and located within the quadrant with the negative constructs. This demonstrates how much participant 7 construes himself to have changed from how he was in the past, as his self now is defined by the positive poles of the two components. This indicates that the process towards change has already begun; something which will be discussed in more detail later.

Having no one

Alongside their anxiety about their pending release, every participant who took part in the study stated that they would have minimal, if any, pro social support on release and from this came a sense of loneliness. What was particularly interesting was the acknowledgment by nearly all the participants that they had problems forming and maintaining healthy relationships with family and friends.

Extract 4

'I seem to keep myself to myself really. I've always been like a loner person,

I don't know why. Maybe when I was younger but as I got older I didn't

make friends' **Participant 3**

Extract 5

'I know a lot of people but friends no, I don't trust men but at the minute,

since I've been here I have done but I want genuine friends, not just friends

for wrong things' **Participant 7**

The participants admit that making friends is a problem area for them, particularly, as participant 7 acknowledges, with pro-social people. Whilst this theme of having no one is not surprising given the criteria to be selected for a CoSA, it is still important to note due to isolation and emotional loneliness having been reported to be factors significant in sexual recidivist behaviours (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Marshall, 2010). In addition, exploring the correlations between the constructs elicited in the participants' repertory grids highlighted further how social isolation and loneliness were construed as central to their 'self now'.

[Insert table 3 here]

Kelly (1955) theorised that certain constructs might be central to an individuals' system of constructs and therefore their self-definition. Here participant 5 construes himself as someone who lacks confidence, is socially isolated and lonely. The construct 'hides in the shadows' is particularly illuminating as it suggests he construes himself as almost unworthy to mix with the rest of society.

The literature on sexual offending contains much research associating social loneliness to recidivism (Levenson & Hern, 2007; Tewksbury & Lees; 2006). Alienation and 'not fitting in' has indeed been reported to be the biggest difference between offenders who have gone on to desist from crime when compared with offenders still active in crime (Farmer et al., 2011). It is argued that positive, stable social relationships are needed to successfully assist those who

have offended sexually, both while in prison awaiting release and upon re-entering society (Berg and Huebner, 2011; Tewksbury & Connor, 2012; Willis & Grace, 2008). It is possible, therefore, that the prison sessions of this new CoSA model may allow relationships to be built between the Core Member and volunteers prior to release taking place. Having pro-social support established and present during this 'daunting' transitional period may consequentially help to counter any social loneliness.

'I'll always be a sex offender'

Alongside being unsure of the process of release and having little to no support network, the participants were aware of the stigmatisation by society, towards those who commit sexual offences.

Extract 6

'I'm concerned about going to a hostel where people might find out you're a vulnerable prisoner…that's a worry erm because you don't know what people know or can find out and you know erm so yeah I'm just generally scared to be honest.' **Participant 5**

Adding to the feelings of anxiety and apprehension already discussed, the participants were worried about how they will be judged on release with many feeling as if they would never be truly free of the label 'sex offender'. Participant 5 is 'scared' that people within the community will find out he has committed sexual offences, which may encourage further social isolation. His description of himself as a 'vulnerable prisoner' is particularly illuminating, giving a clear insight in to how he construes his 'self in the future' on release from prison. This resonates with research whereby 94% of the participants (n=164 individuals convicted of sexual offences) scored themselves as above average on a stigma scale, thus indicating they believed

they would be devalued or discriminated against due to their status as a sex offender (Mingus & Birchfield, 2012). In addition, when those who have gone on to desist from crime have been compared to offenders who are still active, stigma has been highlighted as a significant predictor of reconviction (Lebel et al., 2008).

Extract 7

'if anything happens in the future cause I'm a sex offender….and (if) something happens in that area, the person they're gonna come to straight away is me 'where were you on such a date?' **Participant 3**

Here participant 3 is explaining how, he believes, if a sexual offence is carried out in the area he resides in, he will be one of the first the police approach and question. Despite having served their time in prison and participating on the required treatment programmes some of the participants felt they would have to keep proving themselves over and again, even after their parole or licence conditions were no longer in place. What emerges therefore within the data is a difference between what the participants would like to be in the future and what they believe society will 'allow' them to be. This is captured in the implicative dilemmas elicited from some of the participants' repertory grids and identified through the statistical programme Idiogrid. Implicative dilemmas arise due to an awareness of discrepancies between a person's actual self (self now) and ideal self (self in the future) (Dorough, Grice, & Parker, 2007). These cognitive conflicts, based on correlations between congruent and incongruent constructs (Feixas & Saul, 2004), can result in an 'unsatisfied state of self-discrepancy' (Dorough, Grice & Parker, 2007, p.83).

Self now is construed as "Intimate/ meaningful relationships"

...whereas Self in the future is construed as "Lonely"

The dilemma is a "Lonely" person tends to be a "no one likes them" person

Participant 2

Here you can see a conflict, which also links to the previous sub-theme also. Participant 2 would like to have intimate and meaningful relationships in the future, similar to the friendships he has made whilst being in prison. He believes, however, as is highlighted in the extract below, that the view society has of him as a 'sex offender' will actually mean he is lonely. The problem with this is that he believes lonely people are not liked, which will exacerbate his feelings of isolation even further.

> **Extract 8**
>
> 'this time I'm getting out and a bit wary 'sex offender' you know and now
> I'll have to disclose about my offence and things like that. It's a bit worrying
> on that side of it you know and to get in to a relationship I'm going to have
> to tell them before hand and will they still want to be friends' **Participant 2**

Participant 2 can envisage while he is in prison that he wants meaningful relationships in the future. However, the uncertainty of the future, combined with the perceived stigma, means in reality he construes his future as lonely whereby the 'real' him is unlikable. Again, this is concerning due to the links made previously between social isolation and re-offending (Marshall, 2010).

Overall, an analysis of all the data has illuminated the shadow of release the participants have looming over them as they lead up to their release from prison. One suggestion Göbbels, Ward, and Willis (2012) make to assist those convicted of sexual offences through the transition of re-entry is artificial mentoring. An artificial mentor they argue, is someone who can provide social modelling to the individual but also sustained and empathetic support to promote and encourage the motivation to maintain desistance. The volunteers who make up a

CoSA may be able to act as this type of mentor. Within the community model of CoSA, however, support for the Core Member commences once they have been released into the community, sometimes with delays of several weeks (Höing et al., 2015). A prison-based model of CoSA though, has the potential to provide these participants with 'through the gate' support and immediately on release from prison. This in turn may encourage them to maintain their new non-offender identity. The development of this pro-social identity will now be unpacked further.

Superordinate Theme: The turning point

Even before they had started the CoSA, most of the participants were, despite their fears, beginning to make steps towards desistance, in terms of what they would need to do to achieve an offence free, pro-social life in the future.

Understanding what's 'risky'

Many of the participants had developed an insight in to their offending behaviour, the consequences of it and potential risk factors in the future. They were beginning to understand where they had 'gone wrong' in the past and how their future needed to be different.

Extract 9

'Well it could be anything, it could getting involved with a family that's got children, you avoid that situation, before I probably didn't 'will you babysit for me ***' 'ay no problem' but now you think 'hang on', like say '****

will you babysit I wanna go out?' and I say 'no I can't I've got to...' (it's) your trigger you say 'excuse me I've got something else on tonight I can't do it' I wouldn't say you block it off, you put yourself in a different situation cause if you get in that situation, you're on your own, say the person was 8-

9 years old, that's gonna trigger your thoughts back, 'hang on, I could get away with this' even though they may not say something or they might but you don't get in that situation, you reverse and say 'excuse me I'm going out for a meal with a friend' you don't put yourself in that situation.' **Participant 3**

Extract 10

'Well I listen to em, I didn't before… Anger, there's three different ways, there's 1 I just told you (listen), 2 I'll go to the gym and take it out on the weights and 3 I'll talk to someone I can trust and they'll bring me back down to a level and then you've got to think about what you're gonna lose and everything else, is it worth it.' **Participant 4**

With an insight in to their risk factors comes a greater sense of agency. The participants are aware of the situations that may lead them back to re-offending meaning they have more control over their future. From their current position within prison the participants believe they will be able steer their lives away from situations where, previously, offending behaviour would occur. As participant 4 states one way of doing this is by reminding themselves of everything they have to lose. This is particularly significant since a higher internal locus of control has been reported in individuals that have gone on to successfully desist from sexually offending (Farmer et al. 2011). Desisters expressed more belief in their ability to control events in their lives, when compared to those still actively offending, and identified this responsibility-taking for their own behaviour and actions as a general turning point in their lives (Harris, 2014). With regard to the participants in this study, this suggests that they may be beginning the process of change. King (2013) argues that early desistance narratives such as these, which involve an understanding of past offending behaviour, require positive testimonies in return. These

positive reactions from pro-social others are particularly important, he believes during the early stages of the individuals' desistance journey. Participating in a prison-model of CoSA therefore could allow these early stages of change to be capitalised upon and reinforced by the volunteers.

Accepting help to change

Alongside gaining an insight into their risk factors and a growing sense of agency, the participants were beginning to realise, and accept, the support they had around them to help them achieve an offense free life.

The self-identity plots, derived from the repertory grid data, highlight the way the participants construe themselves in relation to those people (elements) they view as important and meaningful in their world. For example, in figure 2 nearly all the elements fall within the same quadrant with the 'self now' being close in proximity to the pro-social elements of 'prison officer' and 'non-offending person' in particular.

[Insert figure 2 here]

This shows that the participant is recognising the support he has around him currently and beginning to construe himself as similar to an individual who does not commit crime. The element 'friend' and his family members 'mum, 'dad' and 'sister' at first appear to have an interesting positioning. During the narrative, however, the participant explains how his friend is now deceased and that it has been decades since he had any communication with any of his family, clarifying why these elements fall in the zone of indifference and have been given little thought. What is concerning is that for participant 3, and others in the study, pro-social support appears to come from elements who will no longer be in their life on release i.e. prison officer.

It is vital therefore, that this support is replaced with support the participant can continue to access once in the community i.e. from the volunteers on a prison-model CoSA.

Extract 11

'**** (mental health worker in the prison) he's my saviour. He's fantastic **** he's worked with me for 6 and a half years and knowing that he's in ****, he's not that far away from me…you know the mental health team here have nurtured me for 6 and a half years, they know how I operate, they know how I tick and to come back (in to prison) and have that support again it was unbelievable' **Participant 5**

Here participant 5 explains how the support he has in prison is 'unbelievable' compared to when he was in the community previously. Again, with nothing to replace the support he has in prison once released, he could worryingly be left feeling like life is better on the inside. Consequently, this highlights the importance of the participants being given the opportunity to be on a CoSA that starts in the prison and the potential benefits this may offer. For example, it could enable them to have the 'through the gate' support from individuals who will continue to meet with them in the community.

Extract 12

'Because last time I went through all the recall an angry person, I wouldn't communicate with anybody and it wasn't so much about the offence it was I just felt unjustly done by and after this one, although there was no physical contact, I realised myself that I put myself back in here. Pressure was put on me and I shouldn't have took the first option that came in my head, I should have looked far deeper and possibly come up with a proper solution that

would have meant me not coming back into prison and I realise that I can't

do everything myself.' **Participant 9**

For participant 9, intertwined with his understanding of his past actions, is the acknowledgement that he needs the support of others to change. This is a big step towards desistance for the participants as many have previously thought they could do it alone only to have been re-called, or even re-convicted, resulting with another prison sentence. Weaver and McNeill (2015) believe, the development of new pro-social relationships along with a disillusionment with criminal lifestyles, as is described in the previous sub-theme, can provide a change-promoting influence on the individual's behaviour. They argue that a sense of belonging established through pro-social relations can encourage desistance to maintain the social bonds created. For the participants in this study, they are aware of the support the prison-model CoSA will offer and recognise how much they need this help to change. This will be lost however, if they do not maintain a pro-social, offence free life on release from prison, thus encouraging desistance from crime.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the participants' thoughts and feeling regarding their release from prison, and subsequent future in the community, prior to starting a prison-model CoSA. In addition, how the participants construed themselves now, compared to the past and where they would like to be in future, was also considered. Three superordinate themes were identified, of which, two were discussed in this paper; 'the shadow of release' and 'the turning point'.

The findings indicate that a main concern for the participants was the process of their upcoming release from prison, regarding where they would live and how they would settle in

to a new area. The realisation that they would have little to no pro-social support on release also appeared to weigh on their minds, along with the reality of living with the 'sex offender' label. These findings are significant due to the potential future isolation and loneliness they could indicate. Potential alienation from society on release from prison is concerning due to the link made within the literature with sexual re-offending (Marshall, 2010). Similar concerns are evident within the desistance literature. For example, Farmer et al. (2011) reported that the biggest difference between active offenders and those who had gone on to successfully desist from crime was an alienation from society. Desisters reported a greater feeling of belonging compared to the active offenders who presented a disconnectedness from social supports and feelings of estrangement. Similarly, Weaver and McNeill (2015) argued that the social relations most influential in supporting desistance are those categorised by a sense of 'we-ness', which in turn shaped a sense of belonging and reinforced the new pro-social identity.

Göbbels et al. (2012) believe artificial mentoring throughout the transitional period of re-entry is essential in assisting those convicted of sexual offences reach desistance. Participating in a CoSA, which starts in prison prior to release, however, may provide this to the individuals in this study, and other Core Members alike. The additional prison sessions in the prison-model of CoSA, may also help to provide core members with a meaningful sense of belonging and inclusion during the lead up to release and subsequent transition in to the community.

In addition to their concerns surrounding release, it appeared that the participants had reached a turning point regarding how they construed themselves, their previous offending behaviour and related risk factors. These findings are significant due to their prevalence in those who have successfully gone on to desist from sexual offending (Harris, 2014). Those who desist were believed to undergo a cognitive transformation, which began with a desire to

understand the nature of their offence and the harm they had caused, similar to the participants in this study.

As part of this turning point in the participants' lives, they appeared to be developing a growing sense of agency over their future as a pro-social member of the community. The importance of this is demonstrated by LeBel et al. (2008) who argue that a belief in self-efficacy is a necessary condition for desistance to be successful. Individuals with this belief, they argue, are more likely to select into and take advantage of positive pro-social opportunities. This may possibly, therefore, underlie the participants' acceptance of a Core Member place on a prison-model CoSA, as is the case in this study.

The turning point highlighted by the participants also suggested a realisation that they needed to accept the help around them to successfully desist from falling back in to old habits and consequential future re-offending. King (2013) stressed the importance of reinforcing early desistance narratives such as those highlighted in this study. Having a social network more conventional than one self, as is the case in prison-model CoSA, therefore, may encourage this self-change (Paternoster & Bushway, 2009). Weaver and McNeill (2015) develop this further arguing that personal change alone will struggle to secure desistance without being recognised by members of the community. In some cases, the participants had established pro-social support, which they would lose on release from prison i.e. from prison officers and mental health support workers. Involvement on a prison-model CoSA however, may provide 'through the gate' support from pro-social members of the community who could simultaneously reinforce new identities through inclusion, thus encouraging desistance.

Limitations

A limitation of this study is that it only provided an insight in to the participants' experiences at the beginning of their journey on a prison-model of CoSA. For this reason, the study may be

best framed as a pilot study, offering some initial practical, methodological and theoretical insights in to the new prison-based model of CoSA. Whilst it is important to consider early desistance narratives (King, 2013) and consider the potential benefits of this new CoSA model, further research is now required at different time points. This study has not set out to evaluate the prison-model of CoSA. To achieve this and to fully explore the impact of CoSA that start in the prison, the Core Members should be re-visited and more data collected once the individuals have returned to the community. This would also enable the differing experiences to be explored of those with ID or who are elderly when participating in a CoSA.

Another limitation applicable to many other UK studies on CoSA, is the absence of a control group (Duwe, 2012). To conduct a full evaluation study of the prison-based CoSA potential core members who were offered, but declined, a place on a prison-model CoSA need to be considered. From the findings here, it is possible that these individuals were not at the same stage of the desistance process as the participants in this study and were therefore not ready to accept and utilise the help offered. This is only a tentative suggestion however, and further qualitative research is also needed to explore this possibility in detail.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the findings highlight the Core Members' concerns and fears regarding their pending release. Particularly concerning is the isolation and stigmatisation they believe they will face once in the community, due to its links with reoffending. A new prison-based model of CoSA, however, may enable pro-social relationships to be established between volunteers and Core Members prior to release from prison, thus providing 'through the gate' pro-social support. In addition, the findings indicate a turning point in the participants' journey possibly indicating the initial stages of desistance. Support and accountability provided by the

volunteers during the transitional stage of release may help to capitalise on the core members' cognitive change, thus encouraging their progression towards a more pro-social self. Further research is now required, however, to expand upon these initial findings and follow the core members on their journey through a prison-based model of CoSA.

References

Aresti, A., Eatough, V., & Brooks-Gordon, B. (2010). Doing time after time: An interpretative phenomenological analysis of reformed ex-prisoners' experiences of self-change, identity and career opportunities. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 16*(3), 169-190. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10683160802516273

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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0306624X13485362

Berg, M. T., & Huebner, B. M. (2011). Re-entry and the ties that bind: An examination of social ties, employment, and recidivism. *Justice Quarterly, 28*(2), 382-410. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2010.498383

Blagden, N., Mann, R., Webster, S., Lee, R., & Williams, F. (2017) "It's not something I chose you know" Making sense of paedophiles' sexual interest in children and the impact on their psychsexual identity. *Sexual Abuse: A journal of research and treatment.*

Blagden, N., Winder, B., Gregson, M., & Thorne, K. (2012). The practical utility of using repertory grids with sexual offenders maintaining their innocence: A case study. *The British Journal of Forensic Practice, 14*(4), 269-280. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/14636641211283075

Blagden, N., Winder, B., Gregson, M., & Thorne, K. (2014). Making sense of denial in sexual offenders: A qualitative phenomenological and repertory grid analysis. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 1-34. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260513511530

Bows, H., & Westmarland, N. (2016). Older sex offenders–managing risk in the community from a policing perspective. *Policing and Society*, 1-13. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2016.1138476

Catina, A., Gitzinger, I., & Hoeckh, H. (1992). Defense mechanisms: An approach from the perspective of personal construct psychology. *International Journal of Personal Construct Psychology, 5*(3), 249-257. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08936039208404315

Clinks (2013). *Working with older offenders: A resource for voluntary, community and social enterprise organisations.* London: Clinks.

Craig, L. A., & Hutchinson, R. B. (2005). Sexual offenders with learning disabilities: Risk, recidivism and treatment. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 11*(3), 289-304. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552600500273919

Crawley, E., & Sparks, R. (2006). Is there life after imprisonment? How elderly men talk about imprisonment and release. *Criminology and Criminal Justice, 6*(1), 63-82. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1748895806060667

Cummins, R. A., & Lau, A. L. (2003). Community integration or community exposure? A review and discussion in relation to people with an intellectual disability. *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities, 16*(2), 145-157. http://dx.doi.org/10.1046/j.1468-3148.2003.00157.x

Dorough, S., Grice, J., & Parker, J. (2007). Implicative dilemmas and general psychological well-being. *Personal Construct Theory and Practice, 4*, 83-101.

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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1079063212453942

Duwe, G. (2018). Can circles of support and accountability (CoSA) significantly reduce sexual recidivism? Results from a randomized controlled trial in Minnesota. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11292-018-9325-7.

Easterby-Smith, M. (1980). The design, analysis and interpretation of repertory grids. *International Journal of Man-Machine Studies, 13*(1), 3-24. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0020-7373(80)80032-0

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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2015.07.014

Farmer, M., Beech, A. R., & Ward, T. (2012). Assessing desistance in child molesters: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 27*(5), 930-950. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260511423255

Feixas, G., & Saúl, L. Á. (2004). The multi-center dilemma project: An investigation on the role of cognitive conflicts in health. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology, 7*(01), 69-78. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1138741600004765

Fox, K. J. (2015). Contextualizing the policy and pragmatics of reintegrating sex offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment,* 1-23. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1079063215574711

Göbbels, S., Ward, T., & Willis, G. M. (2012). An integrative theory of desistance from sex offending. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 17*(5), 453-462. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2012.06.003

Graffam, J., Shinkfield, A., Lavelle, B., & McPherson, W. (2004). Variables affecting successful reintegration as perceived by offenders and professionals. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 40*(1-2), 147-171. https://doi.org/10.1300/j076v40n01_08

Grice, J. W. (2002). Idiogrid: Software for the management and analysis of repertory grids. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers, 34*(3), 338-341. http://dx.doi.org/10.3758/BF03195461

Hanson, R. K., & Morton-Bourgon, K. E. (2005). The characteristics of persistent sexual offenders: A meta-analysis of recidivism studies. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 73*(6), 1154-1163. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.73.6.1154

Hart, M. (2008). The geriatric sex offender: Senile or paedophile. *Law & Psychology Review, 32*, 153-162.

Harris, D. A. (2014). Desistance from sexual offending: Findings from 21 life history narratives. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 29*(9), 1554-1578. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0886260513511532

Höing, M., Bogaerts, S., & Vogelvang, B. (2013). Circles of support and accountability: How and why they work for sex offenders. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice, 13*(4), 267-295. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15228932.2013.808526

Höing, M., Vogelvang, B., & Bogaerts, S. (2015). "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.

Horley, J. (2008). *Sexual offenders: Personal construct theory and deviant sexual behaviour*. Oxford: Routledge.

Houston, J. (1998). *Making sense with offenders: Personal constructs, therapy and change*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Howitt, D. (2010). *Introduction to qualitative methods in psychology*. Essex, England; Pearson Education Ltd.

Howse, K. (2003). *Growing old in prison: A scoping study on older prisoners*. Prison Reform Trust: UK.

Jankowicz, D. (2004). *The easy guide to repertory grids.* West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Keeling, J. A., Rose, J. L., & Beech, A. R. (2008). What do we know about the efficacy of group work for sexual offenders with an intellectual disability? Where to from here? *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 14*(2), 135-144. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552600802267106

Kelly, G. A. (1955). *The psychology of personal constructs. Volume 1: A theory of personality.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Kim, B., Benekos, P. J., & Merlo, A. V. (2016). Sex offender recidivism revisited: Review of recent meta-analyses on the effects of sex offender treatment. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 17*(1), 105-117. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838014566719 https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838014566719

King, S. (2013). Early desistance narratives: A qualitative analysis of probationers' transitions towards desistance. *Punishment & Society, 15*(2), 147-165. https://doi.org/10.1177/1462474513477790

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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1477370807087640

Levenson, J. S., & Hern, A. L. (2007). Sex offender residence restrictions: Unintended consequences and community re-entry. *Justice Research and Policy, 9*(1), 59-74. http://dx.doi.org/10.3818/JRP.9.1.2007.59

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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1748895806060665

Mann, N. (2012). Ageing child sex offenders in prison: Denial, manipulation and community. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 51*(4), 345-358. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2012.00705.x

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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14681990903550191

Mason, J. (2003). The use of a repertory grid as an aid to assessment and formulation in a sex offender with a learning disability. *The British Journal of Forensic Practice, 5*(3), 13-20. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/14636646200300016

Mingus, W., & Burchfield, K. B. (2012). From prison to integration: Applying modified labelling theory to sex offenders. *Criminal Justice Studies, 25*(1), 97-109. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1478601X.2012.657906

MnCoSA, (2017). MnCoSA Circle Member. *Idealist.* Retrieved from https://www.idealist.org/en/volunter-opportunity/f0e705fe443b45d9a8411460d65e4107-mncosa-circle-member-mncosa-saint-paul

Neimeyer, G. J., Bowman, J. Z., & Saferstein, J. (2005). The effects of elicitation techniques on repertory grid outcomes: Difference, opposite, and contrast methods. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology, 18*(3), 237-252. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10720530590948791

Paternoster, R., & Bushway, S. (2009). Desistance and the" feared self": Toward an identity theory of criminal desistance. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 99*(4), 1103-1156.

Pietkiewicz, I., & Smith, J. A. (2014). A practical guide to using interpretative phenomenological analysis in qualitative research psychology. *Psychological Journal, 20*(1), 7-14.

Robbers, M. L. (2009). Lifers on the outside: Sex offenders and disintegrative shaming. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 53*(1), 5-28. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0306624X07312953

Rocque, M., Bierie, D. M., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2011). Social bonds and change during incarceration: Testing a missing link in the re-entry research. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 55*(5), 816-838. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624x10370457.

Reid, K., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2005). Exploring lived experience. *Psychologist, 18*(1), 20-23.

Saunders, L., Kitson-Boyce, R., J., & Elliott, H. (June 2014). *The Safer Living Foundation: Circles of Support and Accountability.* Paper presented at The Second Annual Whatton Conference. HMP Whatton, Nottingham.

Schutz, A. (1962). *Collected Papers I: The problem of social reality.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Smith, J. A. & Eatough, V. (2007). Interpretive phenomenological analysis. In E. Lyons & A. Coyle(Eds.), Analysing qualitative data in psychology (pp. 35–50). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Smith, J. A. & Osborn, M. (2003). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods,* (pp. 51-80). London: Sage.

Tan, F. B., & Hunter, M. G. (2002). The repertory grid technique: A method for the study of cognition in information systems. *MIS Quarterly, 26*(1), 39-57. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/4132340

Tewksbury, R., & Connor, D. P. (2012). Incarcerated sex offenders' perceptions of family relationships: Previous experiences and future expectations. *Western Criminology Review, 13*(2), 25-35.

Tewksbury, R., & Copes, H. (2013). Incarcerated sex offenders' expectations for re-entry. *The Prison Journal, 93*(1), 102-122. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032885512467318

Tewksbury, R., & Lees, M. (2006). Perceptions of sex offender registration: Collateral consequences and community experiences. *Sociological Spectrum, 26*(3), 309-334. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02732170500524246

Tewksbury, R., & Mustaine, E. E. (2009). Stress and collateral consequences for registered sex offenders. *Journal of Public Management & Social Policy, 15*(2), 215-239

Thornton, D., Mann, R., Webster, S., Blud, L., Travers, R., Friendship, C., & Erikson, M. (2003). Distinguishing and combining risks for sexual and violent recidivism. *Annals of*

the New York Academy of Sciences, 989(1), 225-235. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.2003.tb07308.x

Turpin, M., Dallos, R., Owen, R., & Thomas, M. (2009). The meaning and impact of head and neck cancer: An interpretative phenomenological and repertory grid analysis. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology, 22*(1), 24-54.

Weaver, B., & McNeill, F. (2015). Lifelines desistance, social relations, and reciprocity. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 42*(1), 95-107. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093854814550031

Willis, G. M., & Grace, R. C. (2009). Assessment of community reintegration planning for sex offenders: Poor planning predicts recidivism. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 36*(5), 494-512. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854809332874

Willis, G. M., & Ward, T. (2011). Striving for a good life: The good lives model applied to released child molesters. *Journal of Sexual Aggression, 17*(3), 290-303. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552600.2010.505349

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, Canada: Correctional Service of Canada.

Wilson, R. J., Picheca, J. E., & Prinzo, M. (2007). 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. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2007.00480.x

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

Yorke, L., & Dallos, R. (2015). An interpretative phenomenological analysis and repertory grid exploration of anger in young offenders. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology, 28*(2), 126-138. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10720537.2014.889585