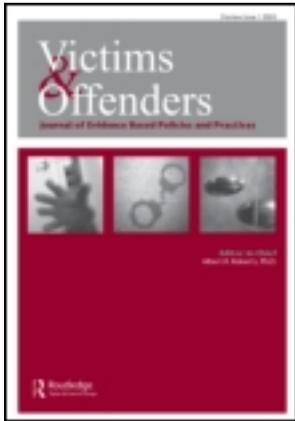


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### Crime and Justice Reinvestment in Europe: Possibilities and Challenges

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# Crime and Justice Reinvestment in Europe: Possibilities and Challenges

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**Abstract:** The current paper reviews some of the main features and figures of crime and criminal justice in Europe, including rehabilitation and cost–benefit analyses. Related to crime and justice, victimization rates in different European countries (which show the magnitude and evolution of crime) are offered, as well as some insights on the differential criminal policy and punitiveness of distinct countries. In terms of offender treatment and cost–benefit analyses, an overview of the European systematic reviews and meta-analyses on the topic is provided, highlighting the main treatment strategies and countries of application, the typologies of treated offenders, and the efficiency of treatment, prisons, and alternatives.

**Keywords:** crime and justice, rehabilitation, cost benefit, Europe

## INTRODUCTION

In the year 1764, during the age of Enlightenment, Cesare Beccaria proposed in his influential book *Dei delitti e delle pene* important challenges for the criminal justice of his time. One of his main approaches was the abolition of the death penalty as well as other corporal punishment, and their replacement with a more rational, humanitarian, and legal use of prison penalties. Now, over 250 years later, the death penalty has still not been completely abolished, and the use of prison has expanded and generalized throughout the world. Many rational debates and arguments have since arisen about their justification and application.

From the time of Beccaria to now, there has been an enormous advance of scientific knowledge about human beings and their social life and problems.

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In particular, our knowledge of criminal behavior has improved, and much of it shows that old solutions like police control and prison are probably neither the only nor the most adequate (and certainly not the cheapest and most efficient!) answer to the crime problem. Modern societies likely need new and innovative proposals that go beyond the traditional and massive use of punishment and incarceration to ensure more effective crime prevention and control.

Crime is now recognized as a complex phenomenon that needs to be understood via the influence of several different risk factors, including the following: (1) psycho-physiological, biochemical, and neurological characteristics of the individuals; (2) low intelligence and cognitive deficits in attention, abstract reasoning, anticipation, planning, self-monitoring, and self-control; (3) personality traits, such as hyperactivity, impulsivity, lability, and low frustration tolerance; (4) negative family influences (parental rejection, lack of parental supervision and discipline, etc.); (5) antisocial peer influences (delinquent peers, etc.) and school problems (lack of motivation, inadequate supervision by teachers, etc.); and (6) all other social influences regarding adolescent and adult life (Johnson & Menard, 2012; Lösel & Farrington, 2012).

Naturally, other more “basic” factors also play an important role in whether or not crime and delinquency take place, age and sex of the offender being two of the most relevant ones. Crime among people aged 16 to 22 is five to six times higher in comparison to older individuals. Likewise, there is a higher percentage of males than females who offend and get arrested for their crimes (Embry & Lyons, 2012; Loeber & Farrington, 2012).

In correspondence with these different levels of criminogenic influences, preventing crime requires keeping in mind personal factors as well as social systems (Redondo, 2008). These include the individual’s features and deficits, the basic mechanisms of familial and educational socialization, economic and work structures, and finally the intervention of law and justice. Said factors can contribute in varying degrees and combinations, and help understand, explain, and prevent criminal behavior. It is important to note that none of them should be understood as isolated causes, nor should they be seen as complete solutions to crime.

This special issue of *Victims and Offenders* on justice reinvestment (JR) is aimed at exploring alternative ways and more efficient possibilities of preventing crime apart from the recurrent and universal use of police control and prison punishment, as has been suggested by previous research (Byrne & Miofsky Tusinski, 2009). In this framework, the current paper addresses this issue in the European context, whose complex and diverse reality is generally poorly understood. Specifically, the main objectives of this paper are to describe the current situation of crime and justice in Europe, to review the applied rehabilitation programs and their effectiveness, to analyze the social and economic costs of crime and justice, and to suggest some ways of reinvesting in more effective prevention and justice policies.

## LITERATURE SEARCH AND METHOD

For the current descriptive and narrative review on crime and justice in European countries, a broad search of information has been carried out, mainly covering the time period from 2000 to 2013. For this, the following sources were used: (1) a systematic search of papers in online computerized databases, mainly PsycInfo, using topics such as *crime, criminal justice, Europe, treatment, rehabilitation, cost–benefit analysis, prison, and alternative measures*; (2) a review of books specializing in criminology, criminal justice, and related topics; and (3) a search and review of different institutional reports of European governments and organizations such as the European Union.

Two important obstacles for a revision of European information (on crime or other topics) are the number and variety of countries that make up Europe and, even more so, the diversity of languages of the different European countries. Apart from the scientific information on crime and justice, most of which is published in English, multiple institutional reports on these two concepts are published in the national language of each country. Due to this obstacle, it has been necessary to obtain and thoroughly review different reports in various languages—such as English, Spanish, German, French, Italian, Dutch, and Portuguese.

The intention of this review is to present comprehensive information on European countries. However, in some cases, information of a specific country, particularly Spain, will be used as a main example. Spain is a European country situated in an intermediate position in comparison to the rest of Europe regarding population, industrialization, income, social welfare, legal system, the current economic crisis, and so on. For this reason, it can be considered a reasonably good example that may illustrate the social reality, the problems, and the administered crime and justice solutions for all the different European countries.

## CRIME IN EUROPE

In this section, information on three main topics concerning crime in Europe will be discussed: victimization and fear of crime in different European cities and countries, the evolution of crime throughout the past decades, and a comparison of criminality between Europe and other continents.

The current comparative perspective will draw on information on crime generated by various sources and summarizes several international comparisons of crime. Difficulties and risks associated with these comparisons, especially because of the different statistical computation procedures used in the distinct countries, should be taken into account (Aebi, 2008).

## Victimization and Fear of Crime in Cities and Countries

Table 1 demonstrates the annual victimization rates of various European cities (capitals in general), which were obtained for the time period between 2002 and 2005 by means of the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, & Smit, 2007). Said crime rates, on the one hand, refer to the set of ten crimes combined; on the other hand, they refer to separate crimes of robbery, personal theft, and threat/assault.

**Table 1:** Rates/percentages of annual victimization in large cities/capital of European/non-European countries (2002–2005), for the set of ten crimes and for robbery, personal theft, and threats/assaults alone.

Cities from Europe/Other Continents	Ten Crimes	Robbery	Personal Theft	Threats/Assaults
<b>Phnom Penh (Cambodia) ASIA</b>	<b>41.3</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>12.8</b>	<b>6.8</b>
<b>Maputo (Mozambique) AFRICA</b>	<b>37.7</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>6.2</b>
London (UK)	32.0	2.6	10.2	8.6
<b>Buenos Aires (Argentina) SOUTH AMERICA</b>	<b>31.2</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>3.2</b>
Tallinn (Estonia)	29.3	2.8	9.6	3.7
Amsterdam (Netherlands)	27.0	1.1	4.4	5.9
Reykjavik (Iceland)	26.4	0.7	8.2	7.0
Belfast (North Ireland)	26.1	2.5	5.9	9.2
Dublin (Ireland)	25.7	1.8	6.8	3.9
<b>Johannesburg (South Africa) AFRICA</b>	<b>23.5</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>11.2</b>
<b>New York (US) NORTH AMERICA</b>	<b>23.3</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>5.1</b>
Copenhagen (Denmark)	22.9	1.2	4.6	3.6
Stockholm (Sweden)	22.6	0.7	4.0	3.2
Warsaw (Poland)	21.9	2.8	5.3	2.6
<b>Sao Paulo (Brazil) SOUTH AMERICA</b>	<b>21.7</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>2.6</b>
Oslo (Norway)	21.5	1.0	7.5	4.1
<b>WORLD AVERAGE</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>4.0</b>
Helsinki (Finland)	20.5	1.4	3.0	4.5
Brussels (Belgium)	20.2	2.5	6.0	2.6
Zurich (Switzerland)	20.1	1.7	7.7	3.5
Berlin (Germany)	19.3	1.2	5.2	4.1
Istanbul (Turkey)	17.9	0.9	3.2	0.6
Paris (France)	17.8	1.2	4.8	3.1
Vienna (Austria)	17.2	0.8	5.7	2.5
Edinburgh (Scotland)	16.6	1.2	4.6	4.6
Rome (Italia)	16.6	0.7	3.2	1.2
<b>Sydney (Australia) OCEANIA</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>2.8</b>
<b>Rio de Janeiro (Brasil) SOUTH AMERICA</b>	<b>15.0</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>
Madrid (Spain)	13.7	1.5	4.4	2.9
Athens (Greece)	13.5	0.7	3.5	2.4
Budapest (Hungary)	12.6	1.1	5.5	1.6
Lisbon (Portugal)	9.7	1.9	2.4	1.3
<b>Hong Kong (SAR China) ASIA</b>	<b>7.8</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>1.2</b>

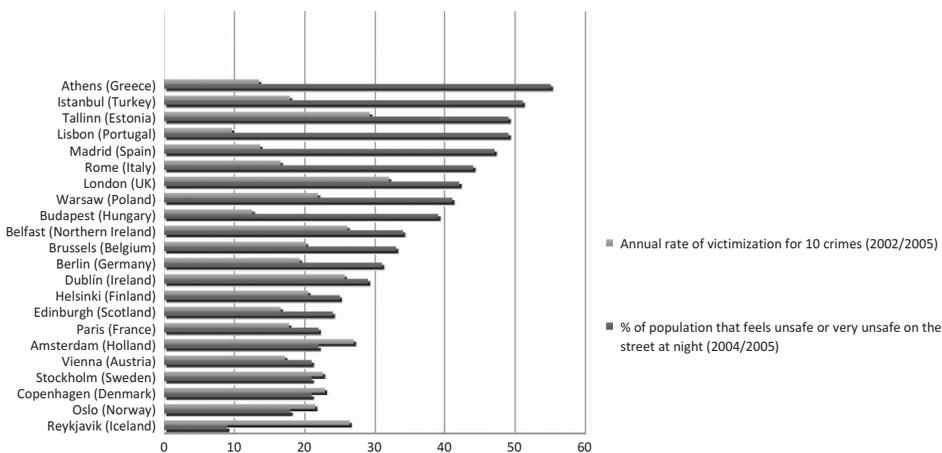
Source: (Van Dijk, Van Kesteren, & Smit, 2007; International Crime Victims Survey and 2005 EU ICS)

EU ICS=European Survey on Crime and Safety

The cities are listed in the table according to the corresponding crime rates for the ten offenses. This column also indicates the average ratio of victimization of the set of cities evaluated in this study, which allows easy estimation of which countries are above or below that average. As can be seen, the order of the countries would shift somewhat depending on the specific crime examined. Additionally, for the purpose of a comparative perspective, some cities from other continents and regions have been included in the table (in bold).

The first important statement Figure 1 allows is which cities in Europe and other continents show a victimization rate above or below the average rate. More than half of the European cities (13 out of 23) can be found below the average victimization ratio; less than half (10 out of 23) are situated above the average ratio. As can be seen, the victimization rates do not necessarily coincide with the most common stereotypes. For instance, a great level of insecurity could seemingly be attributed to cities belonging to developed countries (e.g., London, Amsterdam, or Reykjavik) since they show an above average crime rate. Other European cities—such as Istanbul, Rome, Madrid, or Athens—to which many people likely attribute high crime rates, in fact can be found below the victimization average.

In Figure 2, the actual rates of victimization reported by citizens of European cities and their respective levels of fear of crime are compared. By means of a bar chart, two sets of data are offered for each city: firstly, the percentage of annual victimization for ten important and frequent types of crime from 2002 to 2004 (see darker bar), and secondly the percentage of the population from 2004 to 2005 of each city that feels unsafe or very unsafe on the street at night (see lighter bar; Van Dijk et al., 2007). In the diagram, the cities have been arranged in descending order of fear of crime.



**Figure 1:** Different European capitals' annual rates of victimization for ten crimes (2002/2005) and % of population that feels unsafe or very unsafe on the street at night (2004/2005) (Van Dijk et al., 2007).

Although the (usually small) chance of being a crime victim exists anywhere, the fear of crime (or perception of insecurity) does not seem to have a direct and explicit relationship to the actual probability of a crime taking place (García España, Díez Ripollés, Pérez Jiménez, Benítez, & Cerezo, 2010). As can be seen, the majority of European cities show a strong inconsistency between the actual rates of crime that victims report experiencing (usually lower) and the proportion of citizens who feel unsafe in the streets at night (which tends to be higher). This is especially noticeable in Athens, Istanbul, Tallinn, Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, Warsaw, and Budapest. Only for some cities, located in the lower part of the diagram (Amsterdam, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo, and Reykjavik, all of them in northern Europe), is a greater correspondence between real crime and fear of crime found.

If there is no direct relationship between criminal victimization and fear of crime, which factors may be the cause of perceived insecurity among citizens? Several factors can be to blame (Boda & Szabó, 2011; Redondo & Garrido, 2013). For instance, some research conducted in the United States yielded a significant relationship between fear of crime and increased exposure to prime time television and a high drama content concerning violence. This relationship was especially high when citizens were more influenced by local or regional television (which discusses events of closer proximity). Furthermore, the interaction between television violence and fear of crime was identified regardless of the socio-demographic characteristics of the evaluated populations (age, sex, etc.) and the actual level of risk that existed in the neighborhoods of residence (Romer, Hall Jamieson, & Aday, 2003).

## Evolution of Crime

A very important aspect of crime has to do with its trends over time—whether the offenses are increasing or decreasing. To a large extent, the criminal policies that have been undertaken by different countries are often based on considerations concerning the alleged increase or decrease in crime in preceding periods (Baker, 2010). What is going on in European countries in this respect: has crime increased or decreased?

Table 2 presents victimization data corresponding to five applications from the ICVS (not all of them administered in all countries) between 1989 and 2004/2005. From all European countries that offer evolutionary data on victimization (arranged in decreasing order; see second column on the right), 4 show an increase in crime during the past two decades whereas 10 show a decrease. That is, over a period of almost two decades, crime has decreased in most of these European countries. This is consistent with the observed decline in crime over the same period in countries like Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand (Van Dijk et al., 2007).

**Table 2:** Rates/percentages of victimization in different European countries (1989–2005) for ten crimes (including damage and theft of vehicles, burglary, theft, robbery, threats and violence, and sexual offenses).

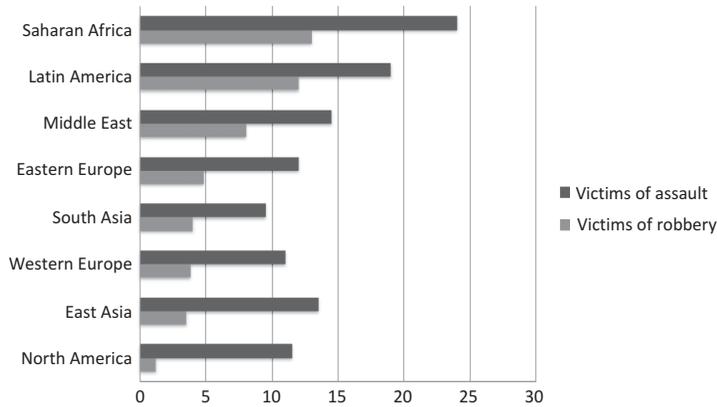
Europe	1989	1992	1996	2000	2004/2005	Evolution of crime 1989–2005
Ireland					21.9	
Iceland					21.2	
United Kingdom (2005: England/Wales: 21.8; Scotland: 13.3; North Ireland: 20.4)	15.0		24.5	21.6	21.0	Increases
Estonia		27.6 (1993)	28.3 (1995)	26.0	20.2	Decreases
Holland	21.9	25.7	26.0	20.2	19.7	Decreases
Denmark				20.6	18.8	Decreases
Switzerland	13.0		21.6	15.6	18.1	Increases
Belgium	13.4	15.2		17.5	17.7	Increases
Sweden		18.7	22.0	22.6	16.1	Decreases
Norway	13.4				15.8	Increases
Poland	24.6		20.5	19.1	15.0	Decreases
Bulgaria					14.1	
Germany	16.6				13.1/12.3	Decreases
Finland	13.0	17.2	16.2	16.6	12.7	Decreases
Luxemburg					12.7	
Italy	20.3				12.6	Decreases
Greece					12.3	
France	16.4		20.8	17.2	12.0	Decreases
Austria			13.9		11.6	Decreases
Portugal				11.3	10.4	Decreases
Hungary					10.0	
Spain	21.8				9.1	Decreases

Source: (Van Dijk et al., 2007)

## Europe and Other Continents

To conclude this brief overview of the extent of crime in Europe, two comparisons of overall victimization rates in Europe and other continents and regions are offered. The first comparison, in Figure 2, refers to victimization rates for theft and assault in different regions according to a study funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (Graham & Chaparro, 2011). As shown, victimization rates for assault as well as robbery, both of high prevalence and raising great public alarm, are substantially higher in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America than in the rest of the continents and regions. In eastern and western Europe, these two types of crime show a low to moderate rate.

Finally, Figure 3 offers an intercontinental comparison of homicide rates (separated by gender) per 100,000 inhabitants in 2008. In the center of the diagram, global rates are listed: 14 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants (male) and 2.7 homicides per 100,000 (female); on average, for every woman killed



**Figure 2:** Victimization rates of robbery and assault in different regions of the world (Source: Graham & Chaparro, 2011).

five men die violently. The left of the figure shows the continents that clearly surpass the homicide average, North and South America and Africa; on the right side are those continents that are under the average—Europe, Asia, and Oceania.

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE

While the previous part described crime in Europe, the current section puts forward some critical aspects of the reality of criminal justice in European countries. Specifically, some insight is offered on the application of prison and alternative sanctions, the differential punitiveness or harshness of the penal system in distinct countries, and the rates of imprisonment of foreigners.

### The Use of Prison and Alternatives

In recent decades, there has been a tremendous growth in the number of prisoners worldwide. This increase has been well above, and largely outside, of the evolution of crime figures—which often have declined rather than increased (Garland, 2001). This paradoxical phenomenon has also been present in many European countries: stabilization or decline in the overall crime figures and, on the other hand, an accelerated increase in the number of prisoners and of reentry criminal policies (Byrne & Miosky Tusinski, 2009; Lappi-Seppälä, 2011).

However, from a criminal risk perspective, not all individuals who are admitted to prison have committed equally serious crimes, or with such public attention that the only possible solution is incarceration (Byrne & Miosky, 2009). Consequently, many of the current prisoners could perhaps be punished,

without any special risk, with community sentences (fines, probation, and community service), leaving prison sentences to violent and dangerous offenders. Perhaps it would be better to opt for a more diverse use of alternative sanctions, which would reduce the prison population, lower the costs of the criminal justice system, and have a more rehabilitative effect than prison (Clear, 2012).

Most European countries' laws provide different types of alternative measures, which in some cases are being applied broadly (for example, probation, community service, mediation, and conciliation) by such organizations as the European Organization for Probation (see <http://www.cep-probation.org/>). One conceptual and practical difficulty of the current alternative measures is the constant reference of these alternatives to prison sentences. The concept *alternative measure* was historically defined in reference to, and as an alternative to, prison punishment. From this perspective, prison and alternative measures are still presented as interchangeable; an individual is sentenced to a term of imprisonment, which is then replaced by an alternative measure—which, if breached, can again lead to incarceration.

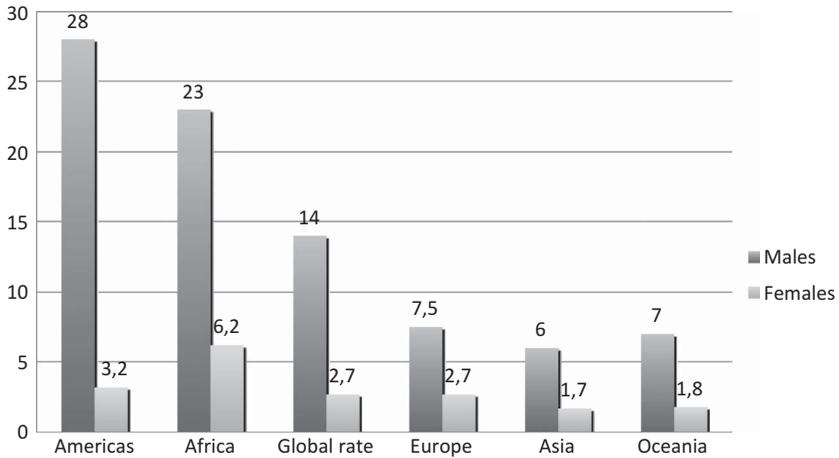
However, an innovative challenge for the future could be to consider community sanctions as penalties in themselves, and not as mere proportional adjustments or changes to incarceration. Accordingly, “[criminal] principles to guide the implementation of alternatives to jail [i.e., community sanctions] in terms of their severity should be developed, without having to adapt them in comparison to jail” (Cid & Larrauri, 1997, p. 21).

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the applied penalties in several European countries, including fines, alternative measures, and imprisonment. As can be seen in Figure 4, while the use of fines and alternative measures for the prison sentence (especially suspension) excelled during 1999 in Germany, England/Wales, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands, Italy and—to a much greater extent—Spain predominantly opted for the use of incarceration. In the case of Spain, this situation has shifted to using proportionally more alternative measures than prison sentences over the past years. However, the increase in alternatives has not resulted in a parallel reduction in the number of prisoners (General Secretary of Prisons, 2011).

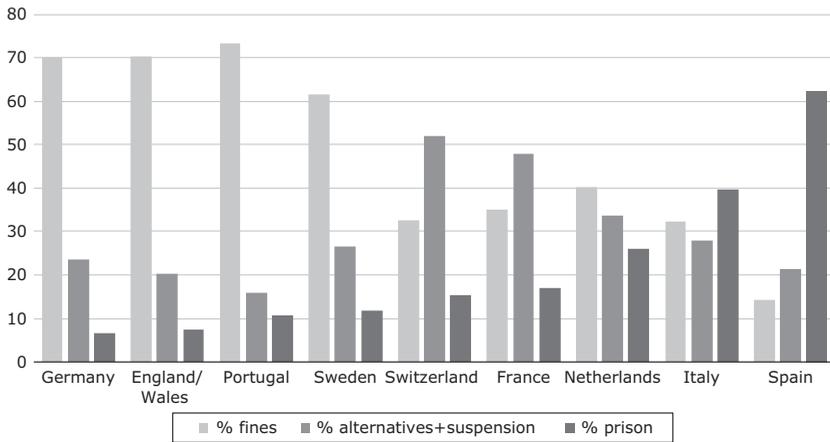
## Differential Punitiveness in Europe

Additionally, an analysis of the differential rates of imprisonment between the Mediterranean countries, central Europe, Scandinavia and eastern Europe has been carried out. According to European detainee figures in May 2013, the Nordic countries had an average number of 63 prisoners per 100,000 inhabitants, the central European countries had 98, the Mediterranean countries 133, and the eastern European states 260 (see details on different European countries in Figure 5).

Do these large differences in rates really indicate such a great disparity in crime figures across these countries? Most likely, and in line with the figures



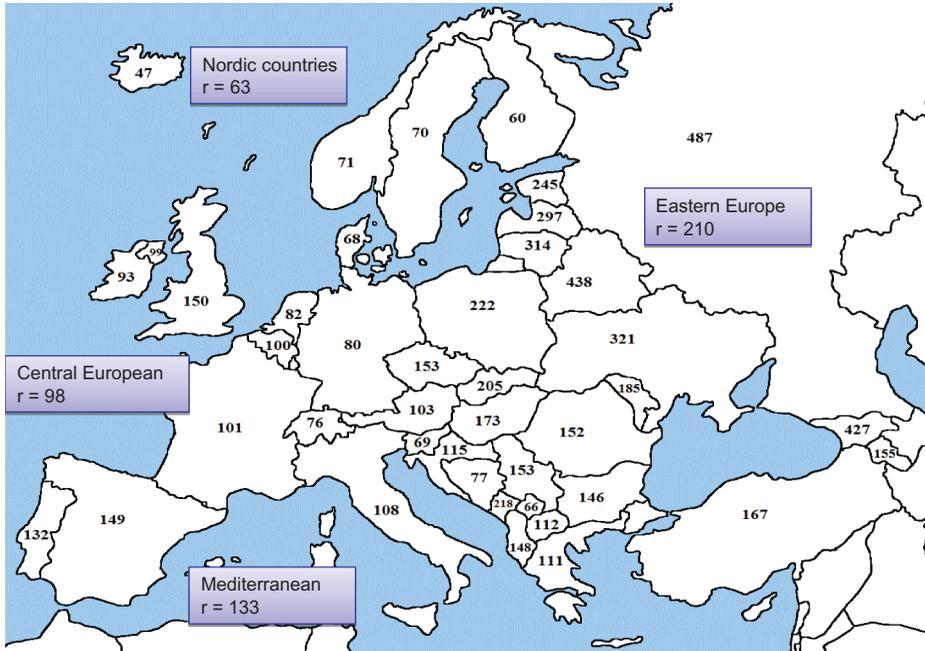
**Figure 3:** Homicide rates among women and men, for 100,000 i., in different regions of the world (2008: Source: UNODC, 2011).



**Figure 4:** Distribution of penalties applied in various European countries (1999 data): fines, alternatives (plus suspension of sentences), and imprisonment (Source: Redondo et al., 2006).

discussed earlier, the answer would be no. This difference is rather based on the distinct approaches and mechanisms of the different states in controlling crime (Baker, 2010; Hamilton, 2013; Lappi-Seppälä, 2011), some with less and others with more use of incarceration. That is, these rates reflect different ways of addressing the crime problem rather than large differences in their respective criminal magnitudes (Cruells & Maestres, 2009; Giménez-Salinas, 1998).

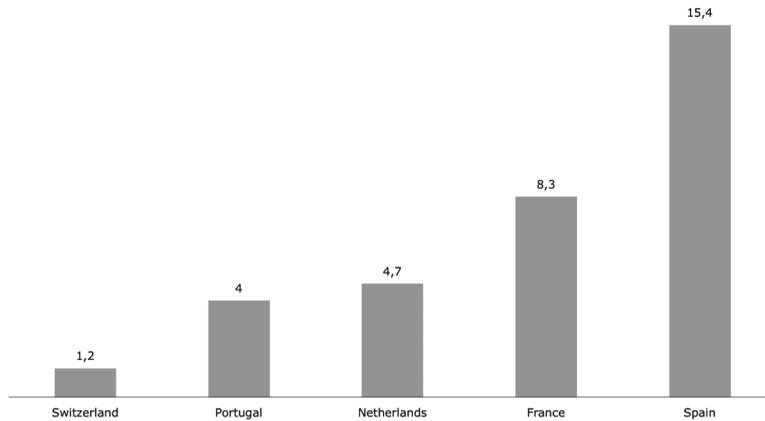
Aebi and Kuhn (2000) confirmed that, indeed, there is no direct link between national crime rates and their respective imprisonment rates. They analyzed, in conjunction with various European countries, the relationship between each “incarceration rate” and its corresponding “crime rate,” “number



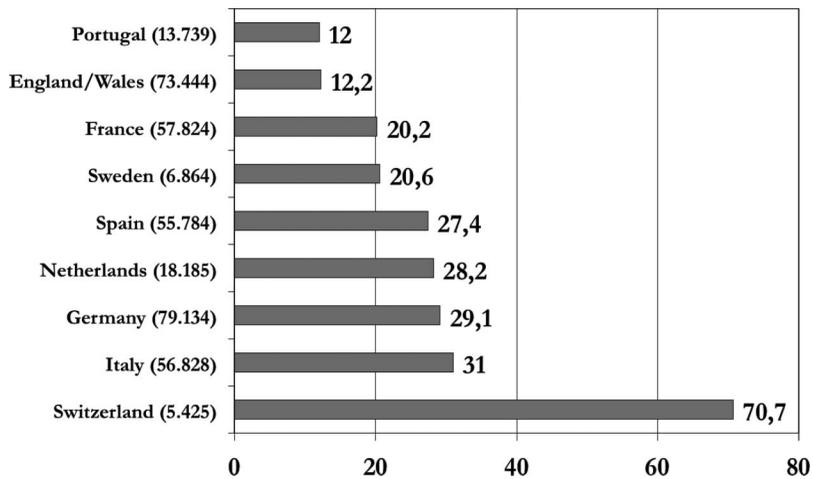
**Figure 5:** Prison population rates in Europe (2013) The rate of each country reflects the number of prisoners per hundred thousand inhabitants. The countries have been divided into four territorial and sociocultural regions (Nordic countries, Central Europe, Mediterranean, and Eastern Europe). The average rate of incarceration ( $r$ ) is presented for each region. (Source: compiled from information published by the International Centre for Prison Studies, University of Essex: <http://www.prisonstudies.org>).

of prison sentences imposed,” and “duration thereof.” In the case of a negative correlation, this, paradoxically, means that the lower the crime rate, the greater the proportion of prison rates was. This means, paradoxically, that the lower the crime rate, the greater the proportion of prison was. However, a high correlation between incarceration rates and “frequency prison sentences” ( $r = .63$ ) and “length of sentences imposed” ( $r = .94$ ) was found. Parallel results have been obtained by Lappi-Seppälä (2011).

The same conclusion can be drawn from the analysis presented in Figure 6, where the average duration of imprisonment of five European countries is displayed for the period from 2002 to 2004 (including any penalties imposed, which can range from a few months to decades of incarceration). It can easily be seen that the average duration of incarceration time in Spain almost doubles the average of France, triples that of the Netherlands and Portugal, and is ten times the average length of prison in Switzerland. In recent years, no substantial changes have been made in criminal penalties in the different countries analyzed here, so the same conclusions remain perfectly valid for the present.



**Figure 6:** Average length (in months) of prison sentences in different European countries (2002-2004 data) (Source: Redondo et al., 2006).



**Figure 7:** Percentage of foreign prisoners in different European countries (2013). Next to each country the respective overall prison population is included (in brackets) its overall prison population. (Source: compiled from information published by the International Centre for Prison Studies, University of Essex: <http://www.prisonstudies.org>).

### Foreigners in Prison

Finally, another reliable proof for the great gap between crime rates and incarceration is provided by the *ratios* of foreign prisoners in different European countries (see Figure 7). The rate of foreign prisoners in European countries generally tends to be disproportionately higher than the percentage of foreign citizens residing in the respective countries [Bircan & Hooghe, 2011; Centre d’Estudis Jurídics i Formació Especialitzada (CEJFE), 2011; García España, 2007].

There are European countries (Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands) whose incarceration rates of foreign prisoners

are very high, far exceeding 20% of the entire prison population. Other countries' percentages (England/Wales, Ireland, Finland, France, and Portugal) have more moderate numbers and range between 12.6% and 18.8%.

Do these elevated rates of foreign offenders in prison mean that foreigners offend to a greater extent than native citizens? According to various investigations, the most likely answer is no—foreigners do not seem to contribute to increased crime in the various countries (Arbach-Lucioni, Redondo, Singh, & Andrés-Pueyo, 2013; Capdevila & Ferrer, 2012; García España, 2007; Martínez, Stowell, & Lee, 2010).

A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that these immigrants could be exposed to adverse personal and social circumstances to a greater extent than native citizens: their frequent illegal status, which automatically attracts more police attention, greater economic difficulties, a higher proportion of young men among migrant populations (as is well known, young men offend more often than young women), and so on. All of the circumstances mentioned above may increase the likelihood that more immigrants than natives can end up being arrested and imprisoned, thereby amplifying the ratio of foreigners in prison well above the proportion of foreigners living in each country (Martinez, Stowell, & Lee, 2010; Sampson, 2008).

## REHABILITATION

After having presented some highlights and features of the reality of crime and criminal justice in Europe, this section specifically analyzes existing research on offender rehabilitation.

### Treatment Strategies

In the very beginnings of European scientific criminology, the first positivists Cesare Lombroso and Enrico Ferri discussed the implementation of treatment techniques, emphasizing how offenders could be rehabilitated if and when specific circumstances were present—such as a good and healthy environment, moral sentiments, and so on (Brandt & Zlotnick, 1988).

Since then, a lot more knowledge on offender rehabilitation has been obtained. The present review goes into more detail on which treatment options are being implemented in different countries and which work best for different kinds of offender typology. Currently there is a whole range of studies stressing the necessity of offender treatment, to the extent that it can critically contribute to modifying certain personal dynamic risk factors such as cognitions, emotions, and behavior—significantly reducing an offender's motivation for crime (Ho & Ross, 2012).

As a rationale for offender treatment, distinct main theoretical models have been used in Europe (Redondo & Frerich, 2013; Redondo, Sánchez-Meca,

& Garrido 2002). These models emphasize different personal aspects as critical factors for offenders' criminal behavior and therefore intervention. Some underline the importance of emotional stress an offender may experience and target underlying psychological issues, others focus more on the lack of education and learning mechanisms to diminish criminal conduct and enhance positive and socially more acceptable behavior; some create a healthier and more participatory environment in custodial institutions to help generate a greater psychological balance within prisoners and thus lead to reduced anti-social behavior, and yet others make use of penal sanctions in order to reduce or even remove future criminal tendencies.

Available literature on offender treatment shows that European countries, some more so than others, contribute to the topic. By way of example, the United Kingdom appears to be the leading European country in offender treatment research, whereas finding information on offender treatment from other countries (e.g., Russia) is rather difficult. This may be explained in several ways—the distinct implementation of law enforcement in said countries, the traditional relevance attributed to the empirical research on crime, as well as the many different European languages.

#### *The United Kingdom*

The United Kingdom can be seen as the pioneer in designing offender treatment programs in Europe for specific offender groups (Hollin, 2012; McGuire, 2006). These offenders struggle with problems like anger management, and the programs' focus lies on the development and enhancement of social and cognitive skills (<http://www.justice.gov.uk/>). Various courses are offered to further facilitate the reintegration process into society for prisoners (as well as offenders with community measures) so as to provide them with more insight into everyday life situations such as household routines, work, health, drugs, and so on (Brown, 2005).

#### *Central Europe and the Mediterranean: Spain, France, Italy, and Portugal*

Spain implements specific treatment programs for various types of offenders, particularly in prison—violent offenders, sex offenders, partner abusers. There are programs for foreigner integration, as well as for mentally ill offenders. For these programs, standard strategies are used such as skills training, cognitive restructuring, emotional control, and others. Different adaptations of the “Reasoning and Rehabilitation” program have been administered for different categories of offenders.

France's policy underlines the necessity of education for minors. Penitentiary sentences are replaced by alternative measures as much as possible, and juvenile offenders have access to rehabilitation (<http://monusco.unmissions.org/>).

Portugal and Italy mainly contribute to the great body of research on offender rehabilitation by concentrating on legal and ideological theoretical debates and controversies, more than practical measures.

#### *German-Speaking Countries: Germany, Switzerland, and Austria*

In Germany, the necessity of psychotherapeutic and/or social measures for each individual is evaluated. Sex offenders have access to integrative social therapy to encourage the promotion of mind-sets, skills, and self-control. So-called socio-therapeutic prisons, where job training and therapeutic groups take place, are common (<http://www.bmj.de/>).

Additionally, Austria and Switzerland offer therapy for offenders with mental disorders, treatment for substance abuse, and so on (<http://www.ejpd.admin.ch>; <http://strafvollzug.justiz.gv.at/>).

#### *The Netherlands and Belgium*

In terms of offender rehabilitation, The Netherlands and Belgium can be seen as quite similar: The Dutch make use of the TBS system (*terbeschikkingstelling*, “at the disposal of the government”), which is described as a combination verdict for offenders (prison sentence plus penal hospital order) who suffer from a developmental or psychiatric disorder (De Broer & Gerrits, 2007). Other offenders also have access to treatment programs, which is ensured by the Dutch institute for forensic psychiatry and psychology in the form of psycho-education, treatment motivation, and so on (<https://www.nifpnet.nl/>; <http://justitie.belgium.be>).

#### *The Nordic Countries: Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland*

These countries generally have the lowest imprisonment rates (Lappi-Seppälä, 2012) and offer well developed programs for offenders, both in the community and in prison. Community programs are supervised by public services, whereas inside prison standard treatment programs are administered by, for example, the Swedish Correctional Services (<http://www.government.se>).

Norway includes comparable programs, providing consensual psychological treatment appointed by the court in prison (<http://www.krus.no/en/>).

Work-related activities, educational skills, information on drug misuse, and so on are especially valued in Finland, as these skills are viewed as of great help when reentering society ([www.vankeinhoito.fi/14994.htm](http://www.vankeinhoito.fi/14994.htm)).

#### *Russia*

When searching for data on correctional services in Russia, the official website provides information on general and psychological education and support, social work, and activities that help enhance work adjustment and education status (<http://www.fsin.su>).

## What Works?

When looking for meta-analyses and systematic reviews on offender treatment effectiveness in Europe, it is rather difficult to find “pure” European reviews. This means that, although some of the investigations discussed below will exclusively refer to rehabilitation programs in European countries, others will inevitably include non-European countries, such as Canada and North America.

### *Different Typologies of Offenders*

The first European meta-analysis regarding the subject of offender rehabilitation was published in 1987 and consisted of studies conducted in Germany from 1977 to 1985 (Lösel & Köferl, 1989). Socio-therapeutic programs in 16 prisons were assessed, targeting different elements in the prisoners’ lives (such as training in everyday skills). All administered analyses except one yielded moderate yet positive effects on recidivism (ranging from  $r = 0.309$  to  $r = 0.000$ ). Nonrecidivism could be anticipated for 10% more inmates in socio-therapeutic prisons than for those incarcerated in normal prisons.

In four different meta-analyses carried out by Redondo, Garrido, and Sánchez-Meca from 1997 to 2002, the effectiveness of multiple offender rehabilitation programs (from 17 to 57) on variables such as psychological improvement and recidivism was assessed for about 7,728 different offenders (Redondo, Sánchez-Meca, & Garrido, 1999, 2002; Sánchez-Meca & Redondo, n.d.). A reduction in recidivism between 12% and 21% could be found in all analyses, with mainly behavioral and cognitive-behavioral programs being the most effective.

In a review by Grietens and Hellinckx (2003) of five meta-analyses, including some on rehabilitation in Europe, the effects of residential treatment for juvenile offenders were evaluated by means of effect sizes on the reduction in recidivism. Results showed positive mean effect sizes for all five meta-analyses, with  $d$  statistics ranging from 0.09 to 0.31.

The “Reasoning and Rehabilitation” program was assessed by Tong and Farrington (2006) by including 16 evaluations with 26 separate comparisons of treatment and control groups within the evaluation. These programs led to a significant decrease in recidivism for the treatment group compared with the control group in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, in both community and institutional settings and with low- and high-risk offenders. In general, the cognitive-behavioral treatments have proved to be effective for different types of offenders, such as violent and sexual offenders (Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006; Hollin & Palmer, 2006; Koehler, Lösel, Akoensi, & Humphreys, 2012; Lipsey & Cullen 2007; Lösel, 2012; McGuire, 2002).

Other well-received treatment options are therapeutic communities and multimodel systems-oriented programs. Punishment, on the other hand, has

either a rather negative or no effect on treatment outcomes; the necessity for better access to treatment is thereby underlined. Killias and Villettaz (2008) reviewed 23 studies comparing noncustodial to custodial sanctions. They found a decline in reoffending, which was significantly more frequent in 11 out of 27 possible comparisons after custodial sanctions than after non-custodial sanctions—making alternative sanctions a preferable choice over incarceration.

### *Juvenile Delinquents*

Lösel and Beelmann (2003) intended to discover more information on whether social skills training was an adequate measure for preventing antisocial behavior in children and adolescents. The authors consulted and meta-analyzed 84 primary reports with 135 comparisons related to a sample of 16,723 juvenile offenders, treated as well as untreated. Treatment showed a significant effect, even though this was more the case for related social and cognitive measures than for antisocial behavior itself. Better treatment effects were obtained when at-risk groups were directly targeted, with cognitive-behavioral programs showing the strongest impact on antisocial behavior.

Reviewing the outcome of the evaluation of 30 experimental and quasi-experimental studies on the effectiveness of juvenile offender rehabilitation, Garrido, Morales, and Sánchez-Meca (2006) found mainly positive outcomes for the implementation of treatment groups in correctional facilities, with 5,833 seriously violent and chronic-offender youngsters between the age of 12 to 21 as subjects.

The effectiveness of treatment programs for 7,940 juvenile offenders in Europe was tested by means of evaluating 25 controlled studies that implemented treatment and control groups to test outcomes on reoffending (Koehler et al., 2012). Behavioral and cognitive-behavioral treatment appeared to have the only significant effect on reducing recidivism, whereas deterrence and supervision alone had a slightly negative outcome.

### *Mentally Ill Offenders*

In a meta-analysis that evaluated 20 predominantly British studies on mentally disordered offenders who participated in structured group interventions, a decrease in recidivism was found, especially with offenders living in the following “themed” conditions: problem-solving, anger/aggression management, and prevention of self-harm (Duncan, Nicol, Ager, & Dalgleish, 2006).

### *Substance Abusing Offenders*

In order to determine in which way drug treatment programs reduce criminal behavior and recidivism, Holloway, Bennett, and Farrington (2006) reviewed 28 evaluations that included methadone treatment, therapeutic

communities, and so on. Drug treatment participants showed lower mean odds of recidivism than the control group did, even though results varied with the type of evaluation, participant characteristics, and program used.

### *Sex Offenders*

Finally, concerning sex offenders, Schmucker and Lösel (2008) conducted a meta-analysis based on 69 primary evaluations on the effectiveness of treatment with 22,818 sex offenders. A 37% decrease in recidivism was found in the treated versus the nontreated group. Hormonal medication and cognitive-behavioral approaches, as well as one surgical castration intervention, had greater impact on recidivism. All meta-analyses discussed above can be found in Table 3.

## **THE PRICE OF CRIME AND JUSTICE**

Crime and its control bring about great personal, social, and economic costs, all of which are the focus of this section.

### **Social and Monetary Costs**

The personal and social costs of crime especially concern the damage and suffering experienced by the victims of crimes, whether directly (primary victims) or indirectly (secondary victims) such as family members, friends, and—ultimately—the entire social community, which is impaired by crime in many ways (Piquero, Jennings, & Farrington, 2011). The more thefts and robberies there are, the greater fear of leaving the house; the more sexual assaults, the more women feel oppressed and less free; the greater the problems of corruption, the more control measures are implemented and the greater rigidity and slowness in public administration grows, and so on.

On the other hand, the economic cost of crime include material losses, as well as economic investments required to improve safety (Cohen, Piquero, & Jennings, 2010; Welsh & Farrington, 2011). That is, the immediate economic cost of crime can be seen as the value of stolen or damaged property. The cost of static prevention of crime needs to be taken into consideration as well—investments in locks, alarms, and gates; and staff dedicated to control such as guards and watchmen, policemen, judges, and prison officials.

From this perspective, Piquero et al. (2011), drawing from data from the Cambridge Study in Delinquency Development, estimated that a chronic male offender entailed an annual cost of about 21 Euros per British citizen—in more global terms, this would lead to a total cost of 865 Euros per taxpayer. Cohen and Piquero (2009) estimated that a criminal career, as well as the costs of drug abuse and other social problems associated with crime, cost Americans between \$2.6–4.4 million (2007 figures).

**Table 3:** Rehabilitation programs in European countries (1987–2012): An overview.

Authors and Type of Review	Offender Typology and Treatment Strategies (or the Most Frequent Strategies)	Average Effect Size
<b>DIFFERENT TYPOLOGIES OF OFFENDERS</b>		
Lösel, Köferl, & Weber (1987)	Socio-therapeutic prisons	Moderate effects, between $r = .000$ and $r = .309$ , meaning that some socio-therapeutic interventions did not yield any effect ( $r = .000$ ), others managed to have moderate to high effects (up to 30.9%)
Meta-analysis: 16 programs Redondo, Garrido, & Sánchez-Meca (1997)	Different offender typologies and treatment strategies	Moderate to high effects, from $r = .119$ to $r = .419$ , yielding the main reduction in recidivism in juvenile centers and prisons
Meta-analysis: 57 programs (4,284 treated offenders and 3,444 controls) Redondo, Sánchez-Meca, & Garrido (1999)	Different typologies of behavioral and cognitive-behavioral (most effective)	Overall $r = .120$ (12% reduction in recidivism in treatment groups)
Meta-analysis: 32 programs Griterens & Heilincx (2003) Review: 5 meta-analyses	Different typologies of behavioral and cognitive-behavioral (most effective)	Overall positive effect sizes, with $d$ from 0.09 to 0.31; average reduction of recidivism = 9%
Lösel & Schmucker (2005)	Different typologies of cognitive-behavioral (most effective)	37% less sexual recidivism in treated offenders compared to untreated offenders
Meta-analysis: 69 studies (80 independent comparisons), 22,181 treated and untreated offenders Tong & Farrington (2006)	Different typologies	Overall significant 14% decrease in recidivism for treatment group compared with control group

(Continued)

Table 3: (Continued)

Authors and Type of Review	Offender Typology and Treatment Strategies (or the Most Frequent Strategies)	Average Effect Size
Meta-analysis: 16 studies (26 independent comparisons) Killias & Villetaz (2008)	"Reasoning and rehabilitation" program Custodial versus noncustodial sanctions	Reoffending was significantly more frequent after custodial than after noncustodial sanction
Systematic review: 23 studies JUVENILE DELINQUENTS Redondo, Sánchez-Meca, & Garrido (2002)	Different typologies (mostly male adolescent offenders)	Overall $r = .21$ (21% reduction in general recidivism in treatment groups)
Meta-analysis: 23 studies Sánchez-Meca & Redondo (n.d.)	Different treatment programs	Overall $r = .18$ (18% reduction in recidivism)
Meta-analysis: 17 programs Lösel & Beelmann (2003)	Juvenile delinquents Different treatment programs Preventing youth antisocial behavior	Bigger effects on social and cognitive measures, smaller effects on antisocial behavior; better effects with specific risk programs than with universal programs
Meta-analysis: 84 studies (135 comparisons), 16,723 treated and untreated youth (aged 4–18 yrs.) Garrido, Morales, & Sánchez-Meca (2006)	Social skills training	$r = .07$ (7% reduction in recidivism)
Meta-analysis: 30 experimental and quasi-experimental studies, 2,831 juveniles in treatment group and 3,002 youths in control group Koehler, Lösel, Akoensi, & Humphreys (2012)	Violent and chronic juvenile offenders (12–21 yrs.) Cognitive-behavioral (most effective)	OR = 1.37 (treatment programs effective)
Meta-analysis: 25 studies, 7,940 offenders	Adjudicated young offenders (mean age: 17.9) Behavioral and cognitive-behavioral (most effective)	OR = 1.90 (programs in line with risk-need-responsivity principles lead to reduction of 16% in reoffending)

**MENTALLY ILL OFFENDERS**

Duncan, Nicol, Ager, & Dalgleish (2006)	Mentally disordered offenders	d = .93 (problem-solving skills training); d = .78 (deliberate self-harm)
Systematic review: 20 studies	Problem-solving skills training, anger and aggression management, deliberate self-harm interventions, other	Moderate/high effect of interventions
<b>DRUG-ADDICT OFFENDERS</b>		
Holloway, Bennett, & Farrington (2006)	Methadone treatment, therapeutic communities, postrelease supervision, drug courts	OR = 1.41 (drug treatment was effective in reducing reoffending)
Meta-analysis: 28 evaluations		
<b>SEX OFFENDERS</b>		
Schmucker & Lösel (2008) Systematic review: 80 studies, 22,181 sexual offenders	Surgical castration, hormonal medication, cognitive-behavioral and behavioral approaches (most effective)	OR = 1.70 (sexual recidivism) OR = 1.90 (violent recidivism) OR = 1.67 (any recidivism) Positive effect on recidivism

Source: (Redondo & Frerich, 2013)

It was estimated that in the mid-1980s in Spain, 50 Euros per inhabitant were spent yearly on security, based on data from insurance companies and investment in prevention by individuals (Serrano Gómez, 1986). When the cost of state services is added to the prevention and the fight against crime, the sum amounts to about 80 Euros per inhabitant per year. Today, 30 years later, the direct costs of crime have already reached an estimated 350 Euros per inhabitant per year.

During the last decades, Spain, like other European countries, has invested heavily in the construction of prisons, and the number of prisoners has increased fourfold. In addition, private security is one of the economy's growing sectors, adding guards and private security personnel. As Serrano Gómez sarcastically commented (1986, p. 250), crime "creates jobs."

The above data on the cost of crime repression and prevention may be surprising at first. However, it is necessary to take the time to review the sequence of public spending that can involve the investigation and prosecution of every crime and every offender (especially the most serious crimes and dangerous criminals), its prosecution and court trial (which may take some time, even years), and finally the application of penalties imposed on the offender (imprisonment often lasts many years).

Governments usually allocate large budgets to police forces, the machinery of the administration of justice and, of course, penitentiary systems as well as probation (Baker, 2010). Between all the judicial measures imposed on criminals, the most expensive ones are undoubtedly prison sentences. For example, in Spain not less than 100 million Euros a year are spent on prison management alone (General Secretary of Prisons, 2011). Meanwhile, the construction of a new 1,000-bed prison comes with a cost between 80–100 million Euros.

One important social cost of crime that needs to be mentioned has to do with all the losses and inconveniences for the public resulting from an exaggerated fear of crime, and the excess of security measures and control with which governments often react to hypothetical criminal risks. That is, the disadvantages of taking strict precautions against crime—which in many cases equal impaired freedom, reduced quality of life, and reduced dignity of all citizens—need to be added to the damage directly caused by crime.

In this regard, the rigidity and indiscrimination of security measures deserves to be named, as they are progressively spreading into multiple contexts. Security controls at airports are a great example of said personal inconvenience (surely the reader can easily recall their own experiences, as well as the dreadful scene and rituals all citizens have to undergo).

## Effects of Imprisonment

Thomas More (1516) wrote in his impressive novel *Utopia* that a great part of human beings, when correcting their likes, seem to imitate those

bad masters who, instead of teaching their students, prefer to flog them and attribute horrible tortures to those who steal—when it would be better to offer better life conditions to each person so that no one would feel the need to rob, and consequently perish.

More's critical warning about the morally inadequate and ineffective punitive practices of the society of his time, used to correct offending behavior, continues in full force today since punitive approaches, particularly prison, remain the basis of criminal justice in our time. From More to today, various thinkers in Europe and America, especially during the Age of Enlightenment, highlighted the evils entailed by imprisonment and isolation, and recommended its humanization and minimization.

More modernly, the negative effects of imprisonment on prisoners and on their behavior and future life has been collected under the term “prisonization” process. Clemmer (1940) perceived prisonization as prisoner assimilation of the habits, customs, and culture of prison, which would result in an overall decrease in behavioral social repertoires (see also Goffman, 1987). This led to negative implications, both during the period of incarceration itself and in life thereafter (Cullen, Jonson, & Nagin, 2011; Killias, 2010).

Imprisonment can produce serious damage in incarcerated subjects (Irwin & Owen, 2005; Liebling & Maruna, 2005; Redondo, 2008), such as the following:

1. loss of liberty itself—setting apart a citizen from family and friends and leading to loss of good citizenship status in many ways—and rejection by society;
2. deprivation of different goods and services, such as all material possessions in general, use of leisure time and activities of one's own choosing, and involuntary sexual deprivation (which may result in sexual deviation and violence within prisons);
3. decrease in personal safety, since naturally prisoners are forced to live with dangerous strangers, causing serious fear and insecurity;
4. physical health risks (e.g., hepatitis B and C, AIDS) due to routines and conditions of confinement, and psychological health risks (loss of initiative and privacy, frustrations, possible economic exploitation, separation from children, imprisonment of pregnant women during pregnancy); and
5. compliance with long sentences can lead to post-traumatic stress disorder and the hardening of a prisoner's personality, cognitive rigidity, and a decrease of empathy (Grounds, 2004).

In addition, many studies on the effects of prison suggests a slight increase in recidivism rates after incarceration, even more so when taking into account

the fact that prison is an especially tough environment (Cullen et al., 2011; Nagin, Cullen, & Jonson, 2009; Sánchez-Meca, Marín, & Redondo, 1996).

Once offenders who have spent a lot of time in prison are released, they face an outside world with a perspective and modes of interaction that apply to existing inside prison. These guidelines may be unrealistic and not suitable for the ordinary demands of social life. Normal activities of daily living become different, for example using public transportation (which may involve physical proximity to other people or staring at others) or using public restrooms. Former prisoners can misinterpret behaviors as threatening actions, which may lead them to react inappropriately and maybe even violently. Prolonged life in prison can lead to erroneous and dysfunctional socialization; thereby a social system from prison, which is theoretically designed to prevent the repetition of crime, may end up actually promoting recidivism (Liebling & Maruna, 2005).

On the other hand, Murray and Farrington (2008) found out that imprisonment could have effects not only on prisoners themselves, but also on their partners (social isolation, economic hardship, more difficulties in the care of children, psychological trauma) and children. Matthews (1983) referred to the children of prisoners as “the forgotten victims of crime.” It was found that the process of parental incarceration functions as a marker of increased risk of mental disorders and behavioral problems for children.

In recent years, there has been a movement in criminology, which Ronel and Elisha (2011) have called *positive criminology*, that suggests that not only do we have to address the causes of crime and its control, but also explore and enhance the processes that facilitate the abandonment of crime and its prevention—to promote prosocial qualities in people and communities in order to make crime less likely.

From this perspective, the following useful concepts and analyses can be derived (Redondo & Garrido, 2013):

- the protective factors or processes that are related to prosocial development and the prevention of pathologies and crime in risky contexts (Farrington, Loeber, & Ttofi, 2012; Loeber & Farrington, 2012; Lösel & Bender, 2003);
- the desistence of crime, analyzing the factors that favor the abandonment of antisocial behavior above those that precipitate the onset and maintenance of crime (MacKenzie, 2012; Maruna, LeBel, Mitchell, & Naples, 2004);
- the so-called “criminology as peacemaking,” which brings together the perspectives of restorative justice and rehabilitation as alternatives to the traditional model of punishment and revenge, based on the zero tolerance, which covers punitive approaches and imprisonment (Pepinsky & Quinney, 1991) (restorative justice seeks to give answers to the social, emotional,

and material needs of the victim, but at the same time takes care of the reintegration of offenders once they have been held accountable for their crimes [using operational techniques such as mediation, compensation, and restitution] [Kuo, Longmire, & Cuvelier, 2010; Savage, 2007]);

- early prevention programs that include family and school interventions and aim to develop personal and protective factors for adolescents to deal with their respective environments, such as interpersonal relationships in the classroom, promoting enriched instruction, attention to individual differences, improvement of educational practices at home, development of bonds with mothers, and urgent parental problems (alcoholism, drugs, poverty; Welsh & Farrington, 2011).

Toward a positive criminology, the famous concept of *collective efficacy* developed by Sampson (2004) and others also requires mentioning. Collective efficacy refers to the fact that the static elements of a neighborhood or community (age, income, ethnicity) cannot conveniently explain the presence of criminality; instead, criminality can be better explained by the influence of the neighborhood on people mediated by two interrelated mechanisms: (1) the level of neighborhood cohesion and mutual support of people and (2) the degree of informal social control exercised over deviant behavior.

Thus a community is high in collective efficacy when residents share values like mutual trust, which lead them to engage in activities that seek the common good. Residents are concerned about the welfare of others, and are motivated to work together in solving common problems, including crime. Most notably, this includes the willingness of adults in general, and parents in particular, to control and correct the behavior of children that are not their own. And indeed, several studies have indicated that collective efficacy is associated with lower rates of delinquency (Pattavina, Byrne, & Garcia, 2006; Simons, Simons, Burt, Brody, & Cutrona, 2005).

Collective efficacy also appears to be related to *parental efficacy* (Wright & Cullen, 2001), which corresponds to the parental educational style defined by Baumrind (1996) as *authoritative parenting*—characterized by providing control and structure (i.e., monitoring and setting standards) with emotional support and attention to needs. Over three decades of research support this family model's superiority for the personal and social development of children—and effectiveness in preventing the diversion and antisocial behavior of children and preventing association with youthful offenders (Simons et al., 2005). By this process of supportive control, parents generate scenarios where children acquire prosocial norms and values.

Both collective and parental efficacy share two actions: support/care behaviors combined with control behaviors. Since both processes are related to better prevention of crime, one would expect to find neighborhoods with higher

collective efficacy—as well as higher parental efficacy—boosting their efforts in crime prevention, obtaining an amplified effect.

This hypothesis was tested by Simons et al. (2005) in longitudinal research conducted in Georgia and Iowa. The study assessed around 800 black children between the age of 10 and 12, along with their parents. Collective and parental efficacy had a lowering effect on independent crime, but it was also found that collective efficacy had an amplifying effect on the preventive work of parental efficacy.

### **Costs and Benefits of Prison and Alternative Treatments**

In the Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom, economic studies on criminal justice are performed on a regular basis. In terms of a cost–benefit analysis, this means comparing the efficiency of what is invested in relation to the results and efficiency that are obtained (Welsh & Farrington, 2011). However, such studies are not yet very common in European countries, which is especially astonishing considering the current time of economic crisis.

An exception to this general lack of economic studies is the investigation carried out in Spain several years ago by Redondo, García, Blanco, Anguera, and Losada (1997), who analyzed the costs of the prison system in Catalonia (Spain): expenses necessary for administration, budgets invested in security, financial aid meant for promoting the prisoners' health, and money spent on education and social reintegration. Of all these economic items, the ones concerning administration and security were by far the highest, claiming about 68% of the total budget, in contrast to only 13% that were invested in rehabilitation. A cost–benefit analysis drew the conclusion that better results were obtained for rehabilitation performance indicators (such as a greater proportion of subjects in education and rehabilitation programs, more furloughs, and a higher proportion of inmates in open penal institutions) in smaller prisons, even though they had a relatively higher cost per prisoner. By contrast, larger prisons, even though they had less economic savings, showed significant difficulties in tackling the objectives of rehabilitation and social reintegration.

In the following paragraphs, several international studies are presented that have performed comparative cost–benefit analyses of pure imprisonment, alternatives, and the application of treatments. One general notion of Welsh and Farrington (2011) was that only when prisons are reserved and used for serious violent offenders do benefits actually begin to exceed the costs.

In regards to prison in the United States, different studies have evaluated the effectiveness and cost/benefit of therapeutic communities. An example is a study administered by McCollister, French, Prendergast, Wexler, Sacks, & Hall, (2003) on the cost-effectiveness of the Amity in-prison therapeutic

community (TC) and the Vista aftercare programs for criminal offenders in California. TCs are generally used in prison contexts and can be described as a drug-free living situation in which the interaction with peers and the mentoring by supervisors plays a key role. TCs in prison and general prison environments differ due to several characteristics, such as the TC's prosocial values, the promotion of lifestyle change, staff insight, and the optimistic view of potential future change that is offered to inmates. All 715 participants were randomly assigned to either a treatment (TC) or a control group (no TC). Aftercare became available and inmates who had completed parole could choose to partake in aftercare or not, which led to four post-hoc participant groups (all participants, in-prison treatment only, in-prison treatment plus aftercare, and no in-prison treatment). The collection of data took place before treatment, during treatment, and after 12 months. The evaluation consisted of a background interview as well as a standard battery of psychological tests. Treatment effectiveness was established as the number of incarceration days over the 12-month follow-up period. Results indicated that the average participant from the treatment group had 36% fewer incarceration days than the averaged participant from the second group. This translates to a cost per avoided incarceration day of \$80. The sole implementation of in-prison treatment does not seem to be sufficient, and a combination with an aftercare program is advised.

Belenko and Peugh (2005) emphasized the importance of treating substance abuse in inmates, since regular users show higher recidivism rates than nonregular users. Zarkin, Cowell, Hicks, Mills, Belenko, Dunlap et al. (2012) stress that incarceration is a costly matter, which promotes criminal recidivism after release. Prison-based treatment, on the other hand, is relatively moderate in cost, which makes investment in such treatment measures all the more necessary. The authors implemented a cost-benefit analysis of policies that are directed toward state prison inmates with substance abuse problems, establishing the costs of crime and criminal justice that are related to policing, adjudication, and incarceration. For that, a group of incarcerated individuals was followed and various activities were monitored until the age of 61 or death. The overall results showed that in-prison substance abuse treatment, as well as community-based prison treatment aftercare, is beneficial to society and the criminal justice system.

Jess (2005) investigated the long-term socioeconomic outcome (including medical care, social service and insurance costs, correctional care costs, and costs for labor market measures) of a correctional program in Sweden named KrAmi, which was designed for juvenile offenders on probation to help support them in finding adequate work. A quasi-experimental study was administered to evaluate the benefits of KrAmi for offenders, as well as for the community, at three different times (6 months, 1 year, and 18 months later). In total, 113 convicted and relapsed juvenile offenders between the

ages of 18 and 35 were divided into either a treatment group ( $n = 62$ ) or a control group ( $n = 51$ ). Results showed significant improvement in the treatment group, whereas the control group stayed at baseline. It turned out that KrAmi lead to higher cost savings than the regular probation program did, taking into account that probation programs are generally more costly than KrAmi is. Costs were lowered by 60% for the KrAmi groups.

In relation to the administered treatment strategies, Robertson, Grimes, and Rogers (2001) emphasize that cognitive skills training and behavioral therapy have a positive effect on juvenile offenders and put their conviction into practice by implementing a quasi-experimental study. The authors compared the effects of community-based intensive supervision and monitoring (ISM) and cognitive-behavioral intervention techniques in a sample of juvenile offenders on probation between the ages of 11 and 17, comparing them to a control group consisting of juvenile offenders on standard probation ( $n = 293$ ). The ISM group received intensive group supervision and had more personal counselor sessions per week than the control group did. The cognitive-behavioral intervention was based on “reasoning and rehabilitation.” Participants were assessed via a battery of questionnaires and urine samples to test for drug use. Results showed that participants undergoing cognitive-behavioral treatment imposed significantly fewer costs on the justice system than was the case for participants partaking in the ISM group and the regular probation group.

To the suggestion made by the authors above, Koehler et al. (2012) add that there is mainly one line of treatment to yield positive outcomes. They draw on several meta- analyses, which have shown positive effects especially for cognitive-behavioral treatments for different types of offenders, such as the violent and sexual (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Aos et al., 2006; Hollin & Palmer, 2006; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; Lösel, 2012; Lösel & Schmucker, 2005; Tong & Farrington, 2006).

In a study conducted by Aos, Phipps, Barnosky, and Lieb (2001), a comparison was made between the reduction in crime after the implementation of treatment measures for juvenile and adult offenders. Among other measures, they reviewed 16 in-prison TCs with adults, including 11 with an additional aftercare program. Generally speaking, these programs concluded in an economic return ranging from \$1.91 to \$2.69 per dollar invested.

In summary, the recent history of investigation in the field of offender treatment shows that offender rehabilitation needs to be taken seriously (Johnson & Menard, 2012; Lösel & Farrington, 2012). Where short and harsh custodial sentences used to be the norm for handling offenders, one now finds a much more positive approach to dealing with criminality by implementing effective preventive interventions and treatments (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Hollin & Palmer, 2006).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS: REINVESTMENT POSSIBILITIES

In line with the overall objective of this special issue, the current article has directed its attention to the reality of crime and criminal policy in Europe. In particular, the objectives were to present significant aspects of crime and its control in European countries, and to suggest some directions for future criminal policy.

In the first place, it has become clear how fear of crime and public perceptions of insecurity in different European cities and countries generally has little relation to the corresponding criminal reality. Some European cities, which tend to appear as unsafe (e.g., Athens, Rome, Madrid, and Istanbul) are actually safer than the average city. In contrast, other cities that appear rather safe (e.g., London, Amsterdam, Reykjavik, Copenhagen, or Stockholm) actually show criminal victimization figures that are above average (Redondo & Garrido, 2013; Van Dijk et al., 2007). Speaking of the future, it would be interesting to further explore the factors that influence an increased perception of insecurity in European cities and countries. This research could have important implications for attenuating these factors and negative social effects, so that criminal policies that are perceived as highly unsafe (when in reality they are not) do not become more extreme in terms of punitive populism and, to the contrary, move to direct criminal policies in a more preventive and rehabilitative way.

From the gathered information and results, certain conclusions can be drawn regarding the magnitude and evolution of crime, as well as the applied criminal policies in Europe over the recent decades. The first conclusion is that European countries have, in comparative terms, low to moderate crime rates. Additionally, such rates not only have not increased over past decades, but also have generally been reduced (something shared with other Western countries such as Canada, the United States, and Australia; Van Dijk et al., 2007).

Consulting the analysis of imprisonment in European countries, particularly the imprisonment of foreigners, the important social roots of crime and its control are once again evident. In European countries, immigrants are represented to a much higher proportion in prison than in the actual general population. However, multiple studies have shown that immigrants do not contribute to crime substantially more than native citizens (Arbach-Lucioni, Redondo, Singh, & Andrés-Pueyo, 2013; Capdevila & Ferrer, 2012; CEJFE, 2011; García España, 2007; Martínez et al., 2010).

Given the above, reasonable suggestions and implications for future research and practice emerge. Given that crime in Europe is low or moderate, the constant and exaggerated public alarm about crime is clearly disproportionate and often irrational. In this sense, public policies may educate citizens on the reality of crime in a more realistic, sensible, and prudent manner, which would surely reduce the alarm.

In accordance with the above, the results that have been presented about criminal justice in Europe need to be mentioned as well. It was shown how European countries, despite having overall low or moderate crime rates, widely differ in terms of harshness of their respective penal policies (Hamilton, 2013, Lappi-Seppälä, 2011). When considering the most extreme situations, some countries (like the Nordics) have moderate crime rates—and sometimes even high rates; however, this does not prevent them from maintaining rather mild penal policies.

By contrast, other European countries such as the Mediterranean ones—with generally low to moderate crime rates—apply harsher punitive policies, especially evident in regards to their higher rates of imprisonment. This highlights that punitive policies are often disconnected from the phenomenon that they seek to control—crime. That is, crime in one country can show an average magnitude (even lean toward a high magnitude) and yet be addressed in a mild way—with imprisonment not being very high, and with a wide array of alternative measures and community programs (education, health, social services). On the other hand, another country may actually have low criminal figures, but apply a high punitiveness—manifested in long prison sentences, as well as high prison rates.

If the use of prison has little to do with the country crime rate, as has been highlighted, what factors actually show a link with harsher prison sentences and greater numbers of prisoners? The answer may be that harsher punitive policies mainly relate to public alarm regarding crime (not the criminal reality itself) and the respective legal traditions different countries have (Garland, 2001; Hamilton, 2013; Lappi-Seppälä, 2011). Furthermore, these punitive policies have another negative consequence (especially in times of economic crisis)—excessive public spending on ineffective policies.

Close attention has been paid to describing rehabilitation programs and initiatives that are carried out in different European countries and to review the effectiveness of such programs. There is a solid supply of offender rehabilitation programs in countries like the United Kingdom, the Nordic countries, The Netherlands, Germany, and Spain, as well as many corresponding initiatives in other European countries (Redondo & Frerich, 2013).

Treatment techniques applied in Europe are naturally very similar to those used in countries like Canada or the United States, including social skills training, cognitive restructuring, emotional control programs, and relapse prevention techniques (Hollin, 2012; Koehler et al., 2012). Also, such rehabilitation programs apply to different types of offenders: juvenile, violent, sex, spouse abusers, drug-addicted delinquents, and offenders with mental disorders (Redondo et al., 2002).

Regarding the effectiveness of interventions, there is a remarkable range of systematic reviews and meta-analyses from almost three decades that have evaluated the overall effectiveness of all the mentioned interventions and

treatments (Hollin, 2012). Treatments on average are effective with an effect size of between .08–.12, which means that the treatment groups exceed the control groups by between 5 and 12 points. Put in a more straightforward and understandable way, the treatment groups reduce their recidivism between 5 and 12 points below the recidivism of the control groups. Even though this effectiveness varies according to the different categories and typologies of criminals (juveniles, violent, sexual), all of them reach, on average, significant statistical and social efficacy. Cognitive-behavioral techniques (intervening in cognitions, skills, and emotions) generally outperform the remaining effective treatment modalities, making them decidedly the most recommended treatments (Koehler et al., 2012; Redondo & Frerich, 2013).

Finally, several results on cost–benefit analyses of the various measures and interventions applied to offenders in Europe (and elsewhere) were provided, including prison sentences, alternatives to prison, and psychological treatments—both inside prison and in the community. From all these results, the main conclusion can be drawn that prison, apart from being less effective in terms of recidivism prevention, clearly results in increased costs for society in different ways (Piquero et al., 2011; Welsh & Farrington, 2011). Firstly, in a social sense, harsh and long prison sentences isolate, stigmatize, and desocialize prisoners—making their reintegration into society more difficult (Cullen et al., 2011; Liebling & Maruna, 2005). Even more so, in some cases, a greater risk of recidivism is encouraged. Secondly, in a strictly economic sense, the common abuse of prison in some European countries as a solution is clearly not only inefficient, but uneconomical. No criminal policy is more costly for a society than an expansive application of prison sentences.

In light of all the comments above, it should be clear that there are good, solid reasons for European countries to reorient their criminal policies toward more rational, imaginative, positive, effective, and profitable directions. This reorientation of criminal policy should take, from our point of view, two complimentary paths: the minimization of imprisonment measures (that are ineffective, costly, and antimodern), and reinvestment—with the constant aid of scientific knowledge in those alternative and rehabilitative measures already proven to be the most effective and efficient for criminality prevention.

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