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Violent behaviour, treatment and recidivism: evaluation of the RNR model at Quatre Camins Prison

Executive report

Own research

Authors

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Violent behaviour, treatment and recidivism: evaluation of the RNR model at the CPCQ

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1. Presentation of the research

In 2016, the Quatre Camins Prison (CPQC from now on) launched the *Violent Behaviour Assessment Programme* for the improvement of work with people convicted for violent crimes based on the RNR model. The implementation of this programme has involved moving from a rehabilitation model **focused on crime** to a model **focused on criminogenic risks and needs** of the inmates.

Andrews and Bonta's RNR model (2007) is based on three principles: *Risk*, *Need* and *Responsiveness*. The first of these, the *risk*, refers to the importance of grading the type of intervention according to the level of risk presented by each offender, so the intensity of treatment and supervision must be increased in parallel with the level of risk of each individual: the more the risk the more the intervention in a closed environment, the less the risk the less the intervention. Secondly, the *need* involves working with each person on those factors that in their case are directly related to the probability of recidivism. Thirdly, the *responsiveness* indicates that the format of the treatment must be adapted to the characteristics and learning styles of the individual: these adaptations must take into account the gender perspective, the cultural differences of foreigners, the language difficulties and the intellectual and learning abilities of each person. Finally, the authors present clear evidence that effectiveness increases when the intervention is ongoing in an open regime.

In 2018, the first part of this research was presented with the title "*Assessment of violent behaviour in the CPQC*", which gathered the first conclusions after this change in the way of working at the CPQC. Readers can consult it at <http://cejfe.gencat.cat/en/recerca/cataleg/crono/2018/conducta-violenta-QC/>

This update presents the results after several years of implementation that have allowed the model to be consolidated and, at the same time, a time of follow-up in freedom that shows the impact on recidivism.

2. Most relevant aspects of the change in intervention model and paradigm

A) Intervention based on structured professional evidence-based judgement (4th generation)

Table 1. Models of professional judgement

Evaluation method	Base	Application	Prediction and accuracy rate
Unstructured clinical trial (1st generation)	Judgement based only on the professional's experience and perception.	Social world Criminal execution Judiciary	25 – 50%
Actuarial judgement (2nd generation)	Judgement based solely on mathematical algorithms, scales, and cut-off points that focuses on static factors primarily (which no longer change), and that is not sensitive to the capacity for improvement and change and therefore cannot be linked to intervention.	Insurance policies Criminal execution Judiciary Forensic science	50 – 70%
Structured clinical trial (3rd generation)	Judgement based on professional expertise + algorithms and inclusion of dynamic factors (which may change over time and therefore, if they are worked on as needs to be covered and re-evaluated, it is possible to know whether the monitoring programmes and strategies used are effective).	Health world Criminal execution	60 – 80%
Systematic and comprehensive structured professional judgement (4th generation)	Systematic integration of risk assessment and treatment planning. This combination of evaluation and individualised pathway accompanied by professional mentoring must evolve alongside the evidence (changes in behaviour, changes in habits, changes in values and the assumption of a crime-free identity).	Health world Criminal execution	70 – 80%

Source: Bonta, J., & Andrews, D.A. (2007). *Risk-need-responsiveness model for offender assessment and rehabilitation* (Corrections Research User Report No. 2007-06). Ottawa, Ontario: Public Safety Canada

B) Changes in the model of intervention with the inmates related to the therapeutic route

Table 2. Differences between the *classic prison* model (control group) and the *RNR* model (programme group)

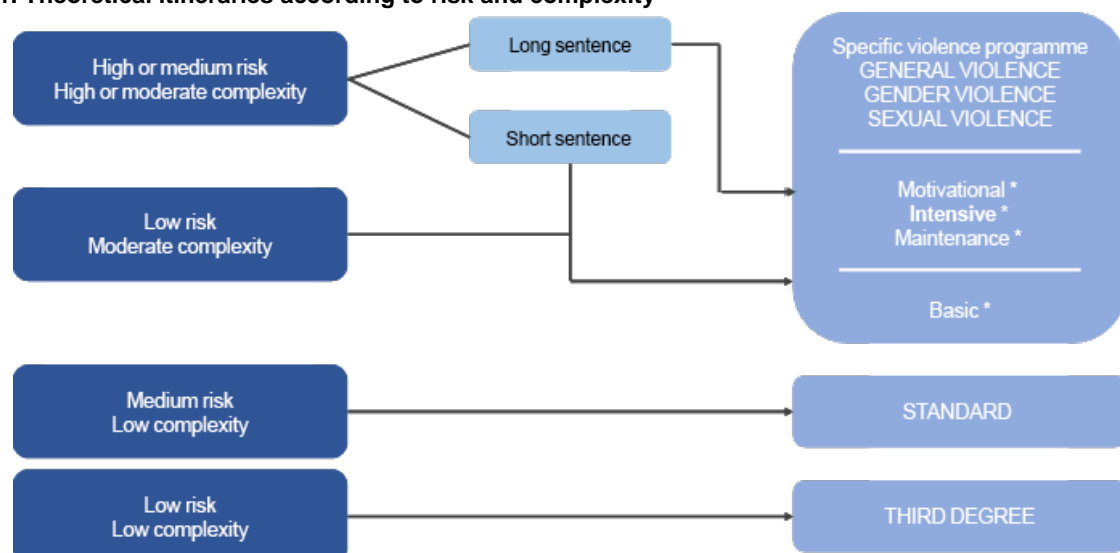
<i>Classic prison</i> model (control group)	<i>RNR</i> model (adopted by CPQC) (programme group)
Initial evaluation (<i>RisCanvi</i>) which guides some actions	Initial evaluation (<i>RisCanvi</i>) that regulates and conditions the whole process and determines distinct itineraries (according to the level of risk and the dynamic factors of each person)
All those convicted of violent crimes do the violence-specific route	Of those convicted of violent crimes, only those with a prognosis of high or medium risk of recidivism do the violence-specific itinerary. Those convicted with a low risk of recidivism do the 3rd grade pathway directly. Those convicted with a medium or low risk prognosis and other factors extracted from the level of <i>complexity</i> do the standard route.

<i>Classic prison model (control group)</i>	<i>RNR model (adopted by CPQC) (programme group)</i>
The <i>violence-specific</i> intervention programme starts when the sentence is already considerably served (close to 3/4 of compliance)	The intervention programme begins immediately after the initial evaluation and in the case of the <i>violence-specific</i> route, the closest to 1/4 of the sentence
The use and passing of specific programmes is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the start of the circle of releases (leave and others)	The harnessing and passing of specific programmes must have an impact on the proposal to start the circle of temporary releases
Intervention overload by treatment teams because they have to intervene with all inmates regardless of the risk	Specialisation of treatment professionals in cases with greater risk and needs. At the same time, in cases that require less intervention due to low risk and few needs, diversification of monitoring and mentoring with other professionals at the prison
Difficulty obtaining ordinary permission and access to open regime (3rd grade or conditional freedom) before the end of the sentence, despite fulfilling criteria.	Access to ordinary permission close to 1/4 of the sentence, which in turn encourages the use of other prison benefits.

C) Other specificities introduced by the CPQC team (see previous report)

The CPQC has introduced some singularities in this model of intervention and paradigm shift that we have just discussed, which must be emphasised to the reader because they are specific only to their prison and their way of working, and which are now subject to evaluation in this second report: the **complexity** of the case (as an added factor to the *RisCanvi*), the **initial evaluation** of the risk of violence by a specialised team (Violence Assessment Team) and the creation of some **theoretical itineraries** according to the combination of the crossing of the *risk* and *complexity* variables (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Theoretical itineraries according to risk and complexity



*Since 2019 the programmes have changed and now the intensive programme is always done, which is complemented with other psycho educational programmes according to the need of each subject. At the start of the study, they did not exist yet.

Data collection was performed at three different times: just before the treatment programme (M1), six months after completion (M2), and one year after completion (M3). From these three moments, we wanted to assess the evolution of the variables in the short term (between M1 and M2 = M4) and in the long term (between M1 and M3 = M5). However, there are a number of variables updated 31 May 2021, as they are indicators of the penitentiary and post-penitentiary trajectory and they are therefore important for analysing the effectiveness of

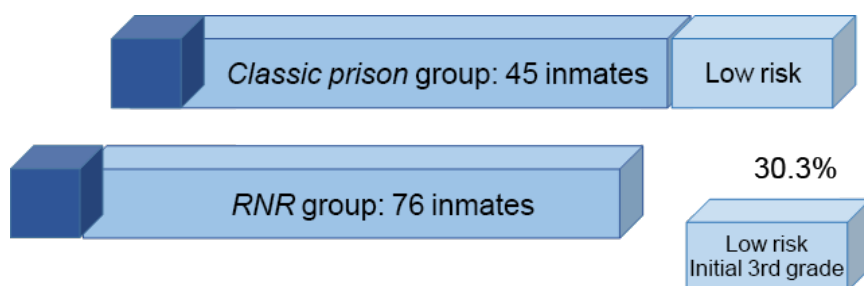
the new model: prison grade evolution during the execution of the sentence, incidents, disciplinary proceedings, enjoyment of ordinary permission, current situation of the inmate and recidivism.

3. Differences between groups

In the previous study, the differences in the variables between the 2 groups were already analysed (*RNR* group and *classic prison* group). It was seen that the two groups were similar **before** starting the intervention, though **after the initial assessment and open-ended referral of low-risk cases** in the *RNR* group, these presented a harder profile in terms of risk and, at the same time, more homogeneous.

This is due to the fact that in the *classic group* there are inmates with a low risk of recidivism who will not leave until the sentence is considerably served. On the contrary, in the *RNR group*, as long as the intervention is adjusted to the level of risk presented by the inmates and those that show low risk of recidivism have started the third grade, they are no longer included and will not participate in programmes to treat violence in prison. Consequently, the criminological profile of the *RNR group* is harder because it concentrates people with high and medium risk of recidivism, while *the classic prison group* is more heterogeneous.

Figure 2. Differences in the sample of the 2 groups



How have the differences between the two groups evolved by the end of the follow-up? Table 3 lists them.

Table 3. Significant differences between the *classic prison group* and the *RNR group*

Classic prison group	Prison variables	RNR group
4.4%	Initial classification in third grade	30.3%
2.3%	Incidents M1	44.7%
95.6%	Second grade in M3	53.9%
2.2%	Third grade in M3	28.9%
93.3%	No progressions in M3	75.0%
26.7%	Current situation: parole	3.9%
48.9%	Current situation: release	77.6%
46.7%	Current situation: progression to 3rd grade	27.0%
0.0%	Current situation: maintenance in 3rd grade	17.6%

The main conclusion is that the *RNR* group has progressed faster and has remained more stable in this progression than the *classic prison* group, which ends up progressing less and later.

4. Evolution profiles of the RNR group according to the treatment itineraries

Are there significant differences in the evolutionary variables according to the treatment itineraries followed by the people in the *RNR* group?

Yes. As can be seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Significant differences between pathways



People that follow ***the violence – intensive itinerary*** present higher percentages of complex personality traits and more fluctuating prison evolution. It is the group with the most regressions and incidents. Most of them finish the sentence in the 2nd grade and it is the group where there are also more inmates still serving the sentence (they have not been taken into account in the follow-up on recidivism). They are the group with long sentences (from 3 to 6 years) or very long (over 6 years). Rate of recidivism: 22.2%.

People with ***the violence – basic pathway*** present many variables of personal, criminal and prison risk and little positive evolution or very slow evolution in the centre. They have had some grade regression and at most cases they have ended up having ordinary permission, coming out mostly in 2nd grade. As in the previous group, there are also people who are currently serving their sentences and have not been taken into account in the follow-up of the recidivism or have re-entered for a new crime. Long or very long sentences are also over-represented in this group. Rate of recidivism: 13.6%.

People with ***the standard itinerary*** presented few variables of personal and penal risk, although in some cases they had an irregular penitentiary evolution, with case and regression when their sentence was already quite served, which meant that in many cases they completed the sentence in 2nd grade. Rate of recidivism: 17.6%.

The people of ***the 3rd grade route*** present few personal, penal and penitentiary risk variables that have remained without incident throughout the serving of the sentence. This is the group with most short sentences, of less than 3 years. Rate of recidivism: 5.0%.

However, the percentage differences in recidivism rates are not significant.

RESULTS

PART 1: differences between *RNR* group and *classic prison* group

5. Conviction time and time it takes to do the treatment

The average prison served time of the sample is **2,269.0 days** (6.2 years). We thus see that the *classic prison* group presents a remarkably higher average sentence while the *RNR* group is below; the differences between the two groups are statistically significant.

In addition, the *RNR* group's compliance average was calculated excluding subjects from the route of *third grade* since, when analysing certain variables (e.g., the time it takes for inmates to get ordinary permission) it does not make sense to include this group that has been classified directly into 3rd grade.

Figure 4. Average sentence time

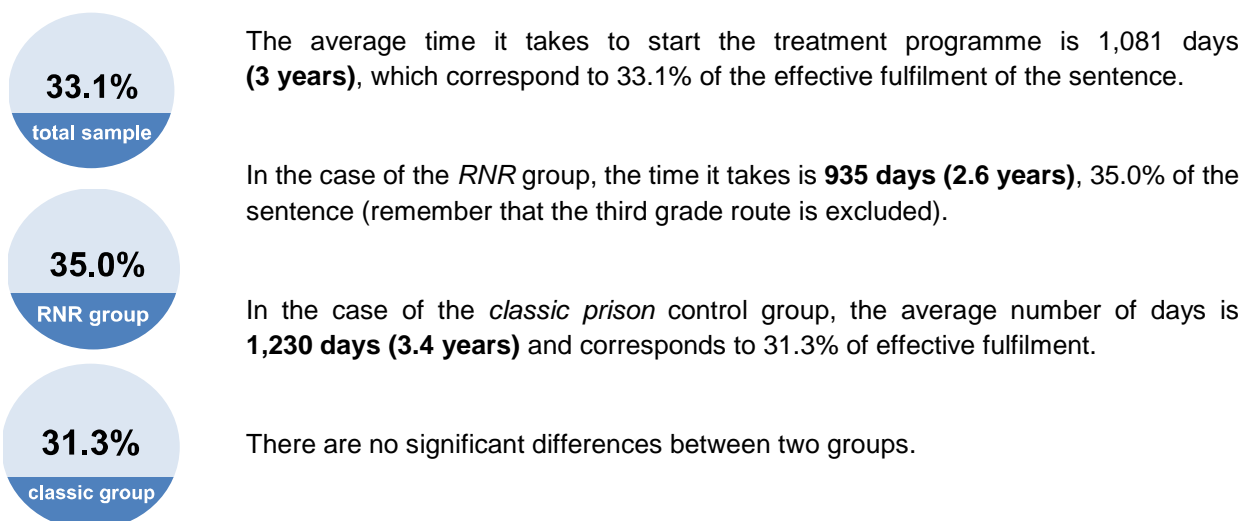


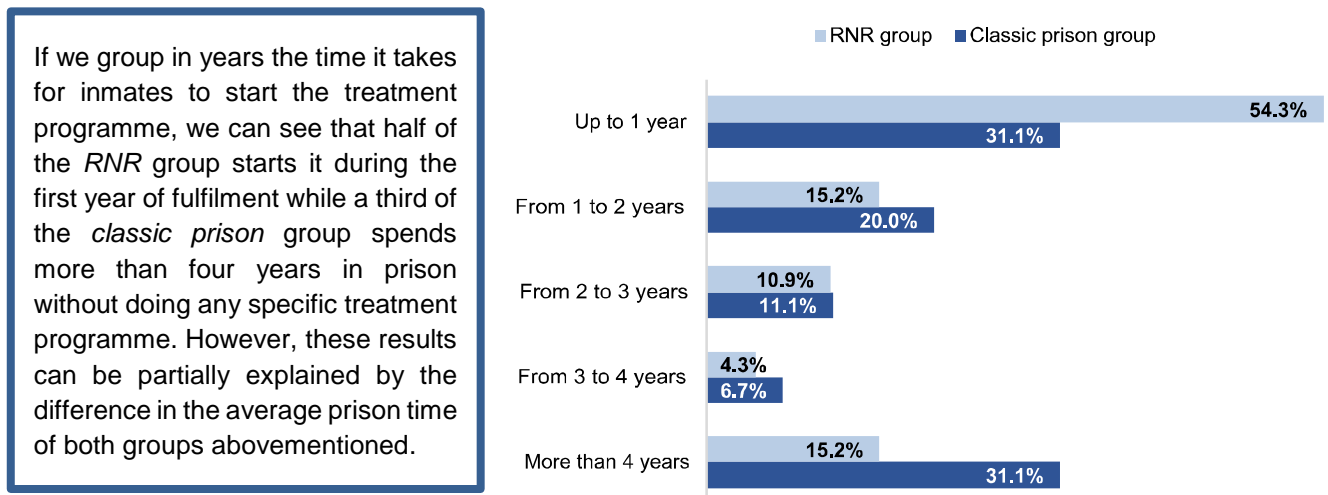
The length of the sentence is the only significant variable that differentiates the two groups *a priori*. Following the modifications to the Criminal Code, especially in 2015, many cases that were not previously included in prison do now receive prison sentences of less than three years, mainly cases of gender violence, which before the reform of the Criminal code received other types of alternative penal measures.

At what point in the sentence do they do the treatment programme?

We have calculated the average number of days it takes for inmates to do the program since their entry and we have also transformed it into the percentage of actual time of fulfilment, in order to be able to compare both groups avoiding biases produced by the difference in the fulfilment mean.

Figure 5. Percentage of effective fulfilment time at the start of the treatment programme



Graph 1. Time taken to start the group treatment programme

Conclusion: with the new model, although the number of cases undergoing treatment during the first year of sentencing (half of the inmates) is greatly increased, in the remaining cases it still takes longer than the *RNR* model would recommend: it is done after a third of the sentence, when it should start in the first quarter of the sentence time.

Proposal: it is advisable to start the treatment programme before the fourth part of the sentence to propose, whenever possible and regulatory, the start of the chain of leave.

6. Start of circle of temporary releases

At time 1 (M1), which we remember is just before the start of the programme, **one** out of each **ten** inmates of the *RNR group* had already obtained their first ordinary permission, while **no** subject of the *classic prison* group had begun the circle of temporary releases. A possible short-term direct effect of the model change is that in M2, six months after the end of the programme, 17.6% of the *RNR group* had started temporary releases. The difference of approximately 10 points with respect to the *classic prison* group will also remain in M3, a year after the programme. Therefore, it can be concluded that the proposal of the new model not only accelerates leaves, but is also reflected in an increase in the number of inmates who start releases after the end of the programme.

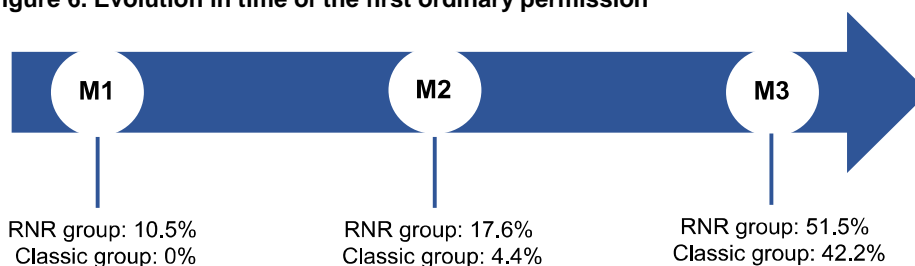
Figure 6. Evolution in time of the first ordinary permission

Table 4. Average number of days and percentage of sentence when obtaining the first ordinary permission

<i>Classic prison group</i>	<i>RNR Group</i>
2,135.0 days (5.8 years)	1,044.7 days (2.9 years)
54.4% of the sentence	54.6% of the sentence

The *classic prison* group takes twice the time to get the first leave in absolute terms than the *RNR group*.

The differences are significant, but we have already explained that they are conditioned by the differences in sentence time.

In contrast, the percentage of effective fulfilment when receiving the first leave is the same, around half of the sentence.

Both groups experiment the first temporary release in the middle of the sentence (although they may do it so much earlier). The concession to the fourth part of the sentence is residual: in the case of the *classic prison* control group is 4.9%, in the case of the *RNR* programme group, 5.1%

Table 5. Number of cases starting ordinary permission at each time of the sentence

Group	Time of the sentence when the circle of temporary releases begins		
	1/4	1/2	3/4
<i>Classic prison control</i>	4.9%	46.3%	9.8%
<i>RNR Programme</i>	5.1%	50.8%	22.0%

Unfortunately, this shows us that the attempts of the CPQC team to bring forward temporary releases clash with the resistance of the Public Prosecutor's Office, fundamentally, and the Prison Surveillance Court (JVP). We cannot see from the low number of cases of analysis whether the timing of the granting of prison permits has repercussions on recidivism. But we can see it as a whole: does enjoying prison releases have any subsequent effect on the recidivism rate?

No. As seen in Table 6, there was no significant difference. Therefore, moving forward and giving more leave has not meant an increase in recidivism. Nor has it reduced it.

Table 6. Relationship between ordinary permission and subsequent recidivism

Group	Leave	Recidivism						significance
		Yes		No		Total		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
<i>Classic prison</i>	No	3	15.8	16	84.2	19	100	0.881
	Yes	3	17.6	14	82.4	17	100	
<i>RNR</i>	No	3	18.8	13	81.3	16	100	0.964
	Yes	4	18.2	18	81.8	22	100	

Conclusion: the new management model based on the *RNR* is not yet effective enough to reduce the time when the circle of temporary releases begins regarding to the previous situation, and maintains half the sentence as the most common time to grant the first leave. The results show that by applying the *RNR* in granting leave, bringing it forward and increasing t does NOT increase recidivism.

Proposal: work with all legal operators (Board of Treatment, Classification Service, Prosecutor's Office, Prison Surveillance Court) to achieve real advancing at the start of the circle of temporary releases in the fourth part of the sentence in cases where the standard route is made and as long as the regulations allow it. In cases where the inmates follow the violence treatment, its fulfilment should be a condition for the releases.

How long does it take to get the first leave from the end of the specific violence programme or the standard route in the *RNR* programme group? (Remember that in the *classic prison* group everyone had to do the programme, whether they needed it or not).

Table 7. The time it takes to obtain the first ordinary permission after the end of the treatment programme

<i>Classic prison group</i>	<i>RNR Group</i>
-57.8 days (-2 months)	103.1 days (3 months)

In general, the *classic prison group* obtains the first ordinary permission before the end of the treatment programme, while the *RNR group* takes an average of three months to get the first leave after the end of the programme.

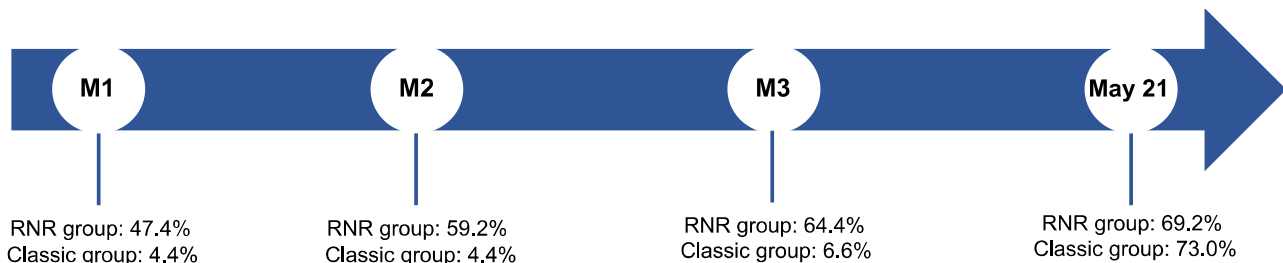
One possible explanation is that the *classic prison group* takes much longer than the *RNR group* (almost a year) in doing the treatment programme and during this wait it already started the circle of releases, getting its first ordinary permission, without linking it to passing the treatment programme. Bringing forward the implementation of the treatment programme and linking the results of its passing to the beginning of the circle of temporary releases is a good practice that has been shown to be effective.

7. Progression to 3rd grade

The *classic prison group* takes much longer to progress to the open scheme. In fact, six months after the end of the specific treatment programme only 6.6% of them were in the third grade, while at that time 64.4% of the *RNR group* were already there.

However, when the fieldwork ended (30/05/2021), seven out of ten inmates of the two groups had progressed and were leaving prison from 3rd grade. Therefore, the conclusion to which the data in Figure 7 lead us is that the new model allows third grade earlier and as we will see below, without increasing recidivism at all. Therefore, the new RNR model is more efficient, although with the work done at the CPQC, it is equally effective (similar recidivism rate).

Figure 7. Percentage of progress to 3rd grade accumulated at each control time



These 3rd grade leaving data from the CPQC need to be contextualised in the data set of all prisons, because they are very prominent and make a difference.

As shown in Table 8, the set of prisons in the *penitentiary recidivism rate 2014* (the last study we published with general data), the percentage of classified people who leave in 3rd grade at the end of the sentence is 52.0%. CPQC in the new RNR model 17 points more. And if we look at Table 9, this has no impact on having recidivism in 3rd grade, on the contrary: the renunciation rate is lower and significant with respect to the overall rate and is not internally between the *classic* and *RNR*.

Table 8. Comparison between CPQC and the rest of the prisons in the promotion of leaving in 3rd grade

CPQC	Rest of prisons
69.2% (RNR)	52.0%

Table 9. Comparison between the renunciation rate (non-recidivism) of those who have left in 3rd grade at CPQC and the general prison rate of 2014

CPQC	General rate 3rd grade
93.3% (RNR)	81.9%

Returning to the comparison between the two groups of CPCQ, those who have reached 3rd grade, how long have they taken to get there from the beginning of the fulfilment of the base sentence?

Table 10. Time taken to reach 3rd grade from the start of the base sentence

Classic prison group	RNR Group
2,219.2 days (6.1 years)	1,024.0 days (2.8 years)
60.8% of the sentence	55.0% of the sentence

The *classic prison group* took more than twice as long to reach 3rd grade, in absolute terms, than the *RNR group*. The differences are again significant but mediated by the length of the sentence.

There is a small improvement in the percentage access of the fulfilment of the sentence in the *RNR group*.

Does reaching 3rd grade have any subsequent effect on the recidivism rate? Tables 11 and 12 explain this.

Table 11. Relationship between leaving in 2nd or 3rd grade and subsequent recidivism, by group

Group	At what grade did they leave?	Recidivism						significance
		Yes		No		Total		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Classic Control	2nd grade	4	44.4**	5	55.6	9	100	0.000
	3rd grade	0	0.0	27	100.0**	28	100	
RNR programme	2nd grade	5	25.0*	15	75.0	20	100	0.038
	3rd grade	3	6.7	42	93.3*	45	100	

Yes, in both groups. People who reach 3rd grade will reoffend in a much smaller proportion than those who leave in 2nd grade. In the *classic model*, the CPCQ was more prudent in granting 3rd grade and took longer to grant it. This guaranteed prudence meant that the 3rd grade was given to those who had a great certainty that they would not reoffend, but in return it was not proposed to people who went out in the 2nd grade and would not reoffend. The new RNR model has improved these margins, although without significant differences as shown in Table 12, most likely by the same argument we maintained at the beginning of the circle of temporary releases: the CPQC wager still needs the complicity of the other legal operators.

Table 12. Relationship between belonging to the RNR or Classic group and subsequent recidivism, depending on the grade of leaving

Group	At what grade did they leave?	Recidivism						significance
		Yes		No		Total		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
2nd grade	RNR group	5	25.0	15	75.0	20	100	0.295
	Classic group	4	44.4	5	55.6	9	100	
3rd grade	RNR group	3	6.7	42	93.3	45	100	0.171
	Classic group	0	0.0	27	100.0	28	100	

The conclusion brings us to the same point that we have already discussed above: despite having increased the number of people who access the 3rd grade earlier in the *RNR group* this posed no risk for subsequent recidivism. Although it has not diminished it either.

What can explain that in the group *RNR* the intervention has not reduced the recidivism?

We are inclined to think from the rest of the results of the report that accompany these data, that the work on the model *RNR* it is not applied completely and homogeneously. The teamwork remains non-evidence-based restrictions on access to prison benefits. As we will see in the second part, *RisCanvi* does not have all the credibility it should have and some factors are assessed again, with a statistical overweight in their risk management: motivation; duration of the sentence; incidents, disciplinary files; history of violence; and increased criminal activity. Some of these factors, mainly static, acquire a disproportionate weight in the decision-making on pathways and access to measures of contact with the open regime.

Conclusion: the new *RNR* management model makes inmates reach third grade earlier, with more efficiency and the same grade of effectiveness. This has not increased recidivism. Traditionally in the classic model, CPQC was already committed to bringing inmates forward more clearly than other centres and this may explain why even now no major differences are seen at the end of the sentence.

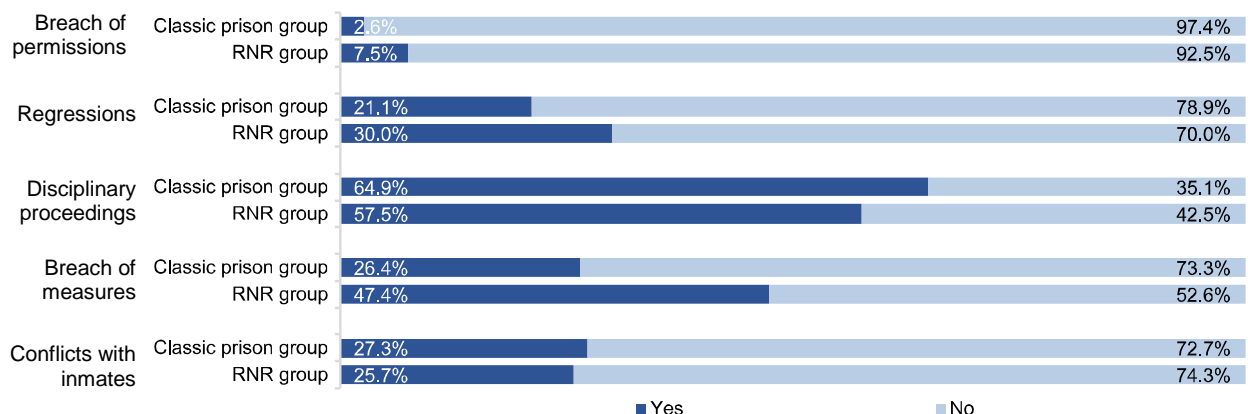
Proposal: to maintain more decisively the promotion and leaving in 3rd grade in all those cases where there is: a) successful passing of the programmes and routes of prison treatment and b) the risk assessments evaluated every six months accompany with a low risk assessment of recidivism.

The international scientific bibliography on this subject tells us that: 1) accompanying these people for as long as possible in their process of return to freedom (*re-entry*) facilitates mentoring and redirection of risky behaviours in times of crisis that are implicit in any time of change 2) crime withdrawal processes guarantee that better results are obtained in terms of recidivism if continuity is given in the intervention and accompaniment with measures to the community.

8. Incidents, breaches, disciplinary proceedings, grade regressions

What differences have occurred between the two groups with respect to behavioural assessment variables within the prison in the long-term (from M1 to M3)?

Graph 2. Percentage of incidents in the prison between M1 and M3



There are no differences in the results of the two groups in the variables related to disciplinary behaviour in the prison. The two groups have had similar percentages and no statistical significance.

Conclusion: the new *RNR* management model makes the intervention focus on people at higher risk (intervening less on those at lower risk), without this leading to an increase in conflicts between inmates, an increase in disciplinary proceedings or a breach of measures or of leave as a whole of the group.

Proposal: to generalise the implementation of the *RNR* model to other prisons as a useful tool for risk management and the pacification of prison life.

9. Recidivism

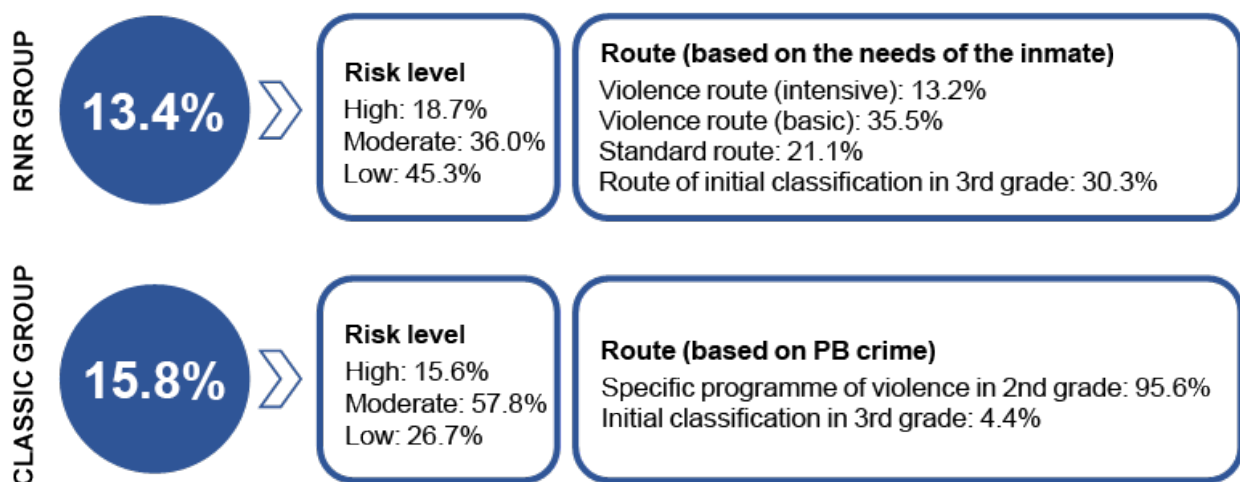
What is the general rate of penitentiary recidivism? And the rate of violent recidivism?

Table 13. General and violent recidivism rate according to the study group

	<i>Classic prison group</i>	<i>RNR Group</i>
general	15.8%	13.4%
violent	10.5%	7.5%
Average tracking time: 871 days (2.4 years)		Average tracking time: 1,029 days (2.8 years)
Time they take to reoffend: 906 days (2.5 years)		Time they take to reoffend: 616 days (1.7 years)
5-year general follow-up recidivism rate (Inference of what would happen)		
	18.1%	14.7%

There are no significant differences between the two groups or in any of the monitoring variables studied.

Figure 8. Recidivism rate by group and its proportion of level of risk and route followed



Conclusion: In applying the *RNR* principle, it is seen that a significant number of people with violent crimes but with a *low* prognosis of recidivism have not done the specific violence programme (51.4% if we add the standard route with the initial classification route in 3rd grade). However, a slightly lower recidivism rate is obtained with respect to the *classic prison group*, although the differences are not statistically significant.

The *RNR* model of Andrews and Bonta (2007) applied in the Quatre Camins prison, is more effective in reducing the prison stay in ordinary regime without increasing recidivism than the *classic* operation carried out so far in Catalan prisons.

Proposal: Implement it decisively and completely in all prisons.

PART 2: Other specificities introduced by the CPQC team

This research has collected other data that add value to the main results we have just presented. Let's remember that the Quatre Camins prison has introduced some modifications to the *RNR* model, whose impact on risk management we will now assess and especially its relationship with recidivism. This will be done in this second block of results data:

- The complexity of the case, described discretionally by the specific Violence Assessment Team as *high*, *moderate* or *low*. This qualification is made by professionals on the perception of a *lack of problem awareness*, a *lack of empathic capacity* and/or *pro criminal values* by the participating inmates. The motivation for change is also measured on the Prochaska and Diclemente scale (1982) and that we have grouped in two dichotomous categories (of the six that the scale had): *pre and contemplation* (people who are not in the process of making change actions) versus *preparation, action and maintenance* (people who have already taken concrete steps and actions to change).
- The length of the sentence
- The percentage of civil liability payment (henceforth CL)

10. The concept of *complexity* applied to the CPQC and the *motivation for change*

We have already commented in point 2c) and figure 1 the particularities of the concept "*complexity*" introduced by the EAQ team of the CPQC in the risk assessment and the selection of needs and routes. Let's remember that it is a concept built on the expertise of professionals, once the algorithmic risk has been assessed (*RisCarvi*) and reviewing the prediction made by the tool. Until now, this concept had not been subject to any evaluation with evidence.

What has the relationship been between this route stipulated for the inmate and their level of risk (*RisCarvi*) and the grade of *complexity* diagnosed by the Violence Assessment Team?

Table 14. Relationship between level of risk, grade of complexity diagnosed and route actually followed

route according to Risk and Complexity		High risk High complex		Medium risk High complex		Medium risk Mod Complex (long sentence)		Medium risk Mod Complex (short sentence)		Medium risk Low complexity		Low risk Moderate complex		Low risk Low complex		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
2nd grade	Violence - intensive	3	21.4	1	50.0	3	37.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	17.6	0	0.0	10	13.7
	Violence - basic	8	57.1	0	0.0	5	62.5	4	66.7	0	0.0	11	64.7	0	0.0	28	38.4
	Standard route	2	14.3	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	16.7	5	71.4	2	11.8	1	5.3	12	16.4
3rd grade initial		1	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	16.7	2	28.6	1	5.9	18	94.7	23	31.5
Total		14	100.0	2	100.0	8	100.0	6	100.0	7	100.0	17	100.0	19	100.0	73	100.0

Beyond the statistical meanings that with such small numbers provide us with little information, we wanted use shading to highlight to the reader the routes mostly followed by convicts depending on both variables: *risk* detected by *RisCarvi* i *complexity* assessed by the Violence Assessment Team.

Most inmates at *high and medium risk* follow routes of violence, unless the convict is assessed at *medium risk and low complexity*, who mostly follow the standard route (71.4%).

Most *Low risk and low complexity* will follow the initial 3rd grade route (94.7%).

The main dissent lies with *low risk* and *moderate complexity*. It should be noted that above the algorithmic valuation of the *RisCanvi* (*low risk*) in decision-making regarding the type of initial grade applicable to the convict, the discretionary opinion of the professionals prevails and is very different (Table 15). This decision, as we see in Table 16, has no correspondence with penitentiary recidivism.

Table 15. Differences between *complexity* and type of initial classification when the risk is low

Initial classification	low risk moderate complex.		low risk low complex.	
	N	%	N	%
2nd grade	16	94.1**	2	10.0
3rd grade	1	5.9	18	90.0**

**Statistical significance $p=0.000$

Table 16. Recidivism depending on the *moderate* or *low complexity* in low risk cases (*RisCanvi*)

Recidivism	low risk moderate complex.		low risk low complex.		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	2	13.3	1	5.0	3	8.6
No	13	86.7	19	95.0	32	91.4
Total	15	100.0	20	100.0	35	100.0

There is no statistical significance $p=0.383$

Despite having the same risk assessment (*low*), the *complexity* is what determines the type of initial classification, well above the valuation of the *RisCanvi*: those of *moderate complexity* will be classified in 2nd grade (94.1%) as compared with those of *low complexity* which will be in 3rd grade (90.0%).

The complexity has so much value in the CPQC that as we see in table 14, it conditions the route that the inmates will subsequently follow: most of *moderate complexity* will make routes of *violence* and only 11.8% the *standard* route.

Quite the opposite of *low complexity*, of which 94.7% will make the 3rd grade route (see table 14).

This, as Table 16 shows, has no continuity with the final recidivism rate. The two forms of complexity have a similar recidivism rate, with no significant differences. 86.7% of those punished with *moderate complexity* have not reoffended. We will always be left in doubt as to whether it is thanks to having been classified in 2nd grade or whether, if having done the 3rd grade route, they would not have reoffended either. As we see, in the case of inmates with *low complexity*, the crime withdrawal rate is 95.0%.

What are the variables that can make the Violence Assessment Team think about the need for more intensive therapeutic intervention in the group of *moderate complexity* as opposed to the group of *low complexity*, despite sharing *low risk* according to *RisCanvi*?

Table 17 summarises only the differences we observed in the whole set of penitentiary variables studied.

Although factor 34 of *RisCanvi* (limited response to treatment) already considers motivation as a central element (the text that explains this factor says: “it is also important to know whether the individual has sought and accepted help, whether he or she has ruled it out without further ado, or whether he or she agreed to receive help just to give a good image before a court, review board or other authorities, but without a genuine motivation for change”), the **motivation for change** (either rated by an expert team such as the Violence Assessment Team, or rated by the scale of Prochaska and Diclemente, 1982) is perceived by expert professionals as of great treatment value and for labelling those of low complexity as *moderate complexity* and as *low complexity* those who show more predisposition to change. This labelling in the *complexity* as we have just seen in Table 14, conditions the route to be followed. However, it should be considered whether the lack of motivation for change should be a **precondition** to prevent access to the 3rd grade route or **the initial goal** of the intervention itself, especially in cases of *RisCanvi low risk* which we are talking about repeatedly.

Table 17. Variables with significant differences by *low risk*, depending on whether the *complexity* is *moderate* or *low*

Moderate complexity	More proportion of...	Low complexity
81.3%	Violence Assessment Team assessment of motivation for change (low or medium)*	35.0%
53.3%	Stage of pre contemplative/contemplative change*	15.0%
58.8%	Foreign	25.0%
23.5%	Short sentences (up to 3 years)*	80.0%
52.9%	Preventive	5.0%
64.7%	Incidents in the M1*	5.0%
31.3%	Incidents up to May 2021*	0.0%
35.3%	Disciplinary records in the M1*	5.0%
50.0%	Uninterrupted imprisonment of less than 1 year	100.0%
62.5%	History of violence*	30.0%
73.3%	Increase in criminal gravity*	31.6%
25.0%	Conflicts with inmates*	0.0%

Note: Variables marked with * had already been evaluated with the *RisCanvi* tool in the risk prediction. Therefore, the evaluators have overweighted these variables by considering them twice in the assessment.

We give two evidences related to the *motivation for change* (in these cases of *low risk* according to the *RisCanvi*) to argue that the *complexity* should not be part of the equation: the recidivism rate (Tables 18 and 19) and the initial labelling as a 2nd grade inmate and the difficulty of progressing (graph 6).

Table 18. Recidivism according to the motivation for change assessed by the Violence Assessment Team (only in cases of *low risk* and *moderate* or *low complexity*)

Recidivism	Low/medium motivation		High motivation		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	1	5.3	1	6.7	2	5.9
No	18	94.7	14	93.3	32	94.1
Total	19	100.0	15	100.0	34	100.0

There is no statistical significance $p=0.863$

Table 19. Recidivism according to the motivation to change assessed with Prochaska and Diclemente tool (only in cases of *low risk* and *moderate* or *low complexity*)

Recidivism	Pre contemplative /contemplative		Preparation/ action		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	2	20.0	1	4.3	3	9.1
No	8	80.0	22	95.7	30	90.9
Total	10	100.0	23	100.0	34	100.0

There is no statistical significance $p=0.151$

Neither the assessment made by the Violence Assessment Team (perception of specialised professionals) nor that of Prochaska and Diclemente's structured tool does the fact that people initially present a low motivation for change imply greater subsequent recidivism.

Conclusions: The *motivation for change* of violent behaviour is not a determining variable in subsequent convict recidivism in any of the groups studied, contrary to what many professionals think. It should not be a precondition for access to treatment programmes, nor should it be an element of discrimination in the route to be followed.

The motivation and awareness of the problem (closely related to the concept of *recognition of the crime*) are dynamic processes that need to be worked on **before** and **during** intervention; they cannot be a requirement for treatment or, when the risk is *low*, for accessing an open route.

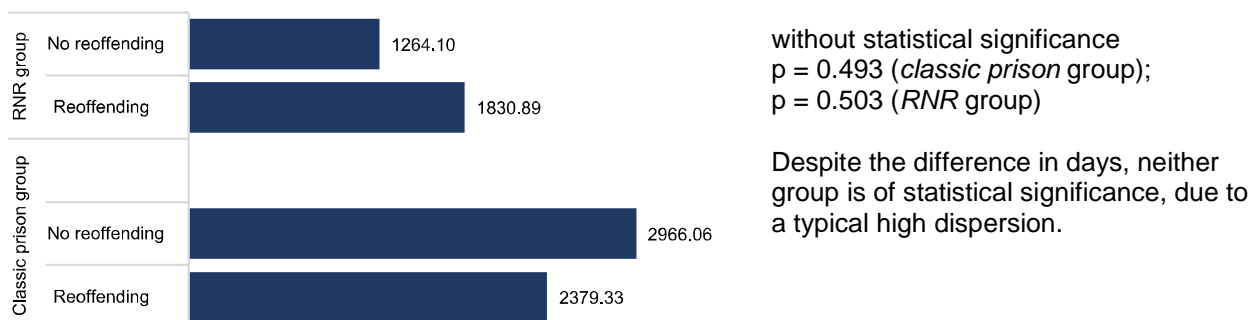
Proposal: The *motivation for change* must be the initial objective of work in the different routes: it is necessary to include the stage of motivation to the change in the initial individualised work of the subject as an internal element of the very important programme to work (it can lengthen or shorten it according to the grade of motivation detected).

11. The length of the sentence and its weight in the assessment of the CPQC

Even though *RisCanvi* already contemplates it (it is valued in factor 5 of the *RisCanvi*), the CPQC team has considered that the length of the sentence should have an added value in decision-making regarding the type of itinerary taken.

The first fact that we have already mentioned and that is replicated in all our studies is that **servicing more sentence time has no impact on recidivism**. A longer sentence does not reduce recidivism.

Graph 3. Duration of sentence (in days) and recidivism, by study group



Focusing only on the *RNR* group, the second interesting fact to note is that the duration of the sentence **does** have an impact on the type of risk assessment and complexity that is made and that this will have a direct impact on the selection of the route.

Table 20. Relationship between types of assessment of risk and *complexity*, sentence time and route

Assessment of risk and complexity	N	Average sentence (days)	D.T. (days)	Selected preferred route
High Risk high complexity	14	3434.5 (9.4 years)**	3158.9	Violence intensive/basic
Medium risk high complexity	2	407.0 (1.1 year)*	63.6	Violence - basic
Medium Risk Mod. complex long sentence	8	2263.6 (6.2 years)**	1491.3	Violence intensive/basic
Medium Risk Mod. complex short sentence	6	808.3 (2.2 years)*	430.3	Violence - basic
Medium Risk low complexity	7	1356.1 (3.7 years)	848.7	Standard
Low Risk moderate complexity	17	1636.4 (4.5 years)	971.2	Violence intensive/basic
Low Risk low complexity	20	666.9 (1.8 years)*	532.5	3rd grade
Total	74	1655.5 (4.5 years)	1835.3	

** above average * below average

Statistical significance $p = 0.000$

A short sentence (less than 3 years) and *low* risk facilitates the decision to apply a route in 3rd grade from the initial classification.

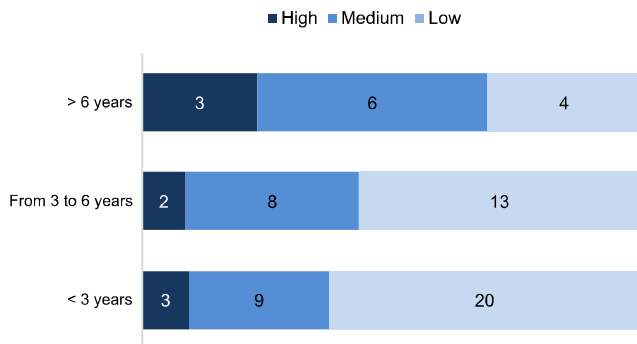
A short sentence associated with a *medium* risk is associated with a route of violence with a basic programme of violence (mainly in crimes of gender violence).

Long sentences (between 3 and 6 years) also involve a basic programme of violence, except in assessed cases of *low* complexity, when a *standard* route will be followed.

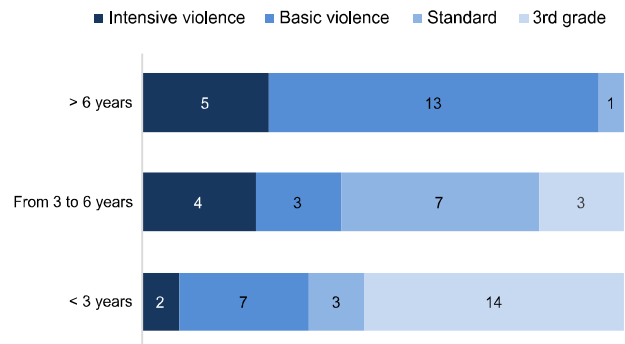
Very long sentences (> 6 years) facilitate a decision to apply a route of violence and make an *intensive* or *basic* programme.

Graphs 4 and 5 clearly show us how the duration of the sentence has a lot to do with the risk and also with the rehabilitation route.

Graph 4. Relationship between level of risk predicted by the *RisCanvi* and length of sentence (grouped in years)



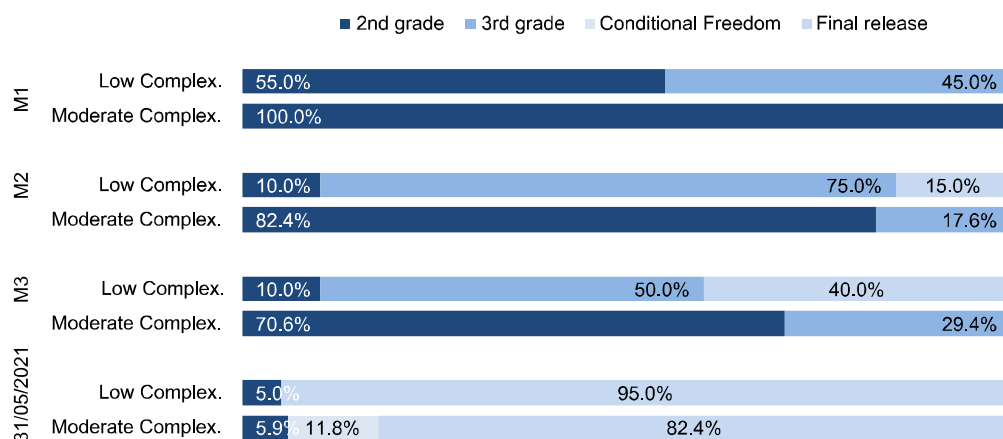
Graph 5. Relationship between route and length of sentence (grouped in years)



Conclusion: *RisCanvi* already takes into account **the duration of the sentence** in its assessment of the risk of recidivism and this assessment is then congruent with the application that is made of the itineraries and rehabilitation programmes done in the CPQC. Therefore, applying *complexity* as an evaluation criterion only adds complication to the process, inconclusive results in terms of efficiency and effectiveness and overestimation of the risk variables that already measure it.

On the other hand, Figure 6 shows us how convicts with *moderate complexity* have found greater difficulty in progressing to open (0% in M1, 17.6% in M2, 29.4% in M3). On the other hand, of the people with *low complexity*, 45% were already in 3rd grade in M1, 75% in M2 (plus 15% in final release) and in M3 50% of cases were already between 3rd grade and 40% in final release. And without this having an impact, as we have seen in the table 16, on an increase in recidivism.

Graph 6. Prison grade in cases of *low risk* and *moderate complexity* against those of *low risk* and *low complexity* at different times in the study



Conclusion: The concept of *complexity* is an intuitive proposal based on unstructured clinical judgement (1st generation) to rationalise the disagreement between the professionals' perception and the assessments obtained from the *RisCanvi*. We attribute this mistrust towards the outcome of the *RisCanvi* more to an inefficient use of its factors that are not properly assessed in its evidence, and it entails a parallel construction of indicators, especially in some cases of *low risk* where professionals do not believe inmates are prepared to follow the third-grade route and takes greater value in decision-making in the assessment of *complexity*.

In these cases, we did not find specific evidence for complementary substantiation of their hypotheses (HCR-20, SVR-20, STATIC 99, SARA, PCL-R...).

It has been repeated in the latest studies of the CEJFE that some of the risk factors of the *RisCanvi* assessed by professionals are not sufficiently fine-tuned and can lead to a lower algorithmic result than the convict actually has. And not because of a poor weighting of the tool, but because of an erratic assessment of the evidence.

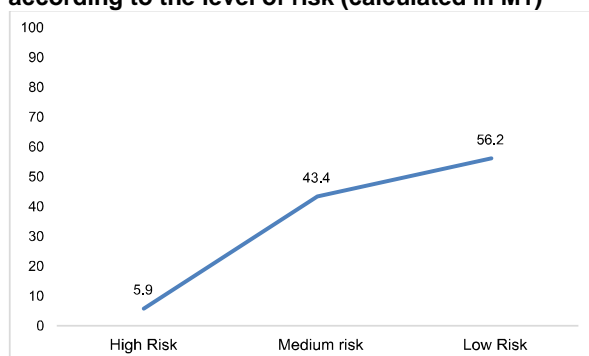
Proposal: To improve the clarification in the collection of evidence of the risk factors of the *RisCanvi* and translate it into more specific training for treatment professionals in the use of the *RisCanvi* tool and especially of the validators. Recidivism outcomes should guide the professional judgement model to reach the 4th generation of assessment.

12. Payment of civil liability

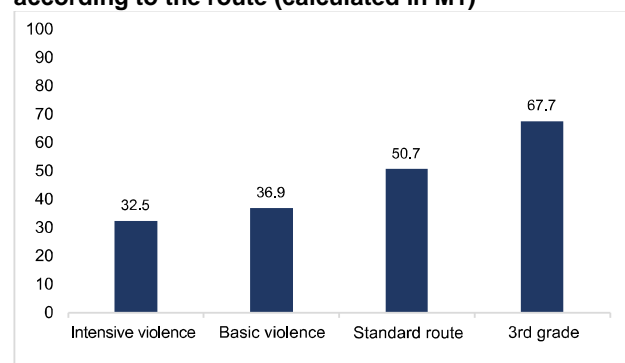
The repair effort is the percentage of money the convict has already paid out of the total they were assigned as civil liability (CL) in the M1, just before the programme began.

Clearly, as seen in Figures 7 and 8 there are significant differences in civil liability payment according to the level of risk of violent recidivism predicted by *RisCanvi* and depending on the route made.

Graph 7. Percentage of civil liability payment according to the level of risk (calculated in M1)



Graph 8. Percentage of civil liability payment according to the route (calculated in M1)



The percentage of payment in M1 increases as the risk decreases and as the route becomes more focused on open measures. The differences are significant between the *standard* route and 3rd grade against those of violence. Also between *medium/low* risk as opposed to *high* risk. There are no differences between the *standard* route and 3rd grade, nor between *medium* and *low* risk.

We do not rule out that there are intervening variables that bias the results, such as people at *low* risk doing 3rd grade route and having a greater opportunity to pay civil liability if they are working.

It is ruled out that the amount to be paid or the amount paid have anything to do with the risk of the subject as shown in Table 21. Despite the differences in amounts, these differences are not significant. Surely the low number of cases and the huge standard deviation help this drive of definition.

Table 21. Relationship between the amount of civil liability and the risk of recidivism (*RisCanvi*)

		N	Average €	Typical deviation	Significance
Total amount	High Risk	6	3,137.8	2,080.3	0.662
	Medium Risk	13	11,039.8	14,898.4	
	Low Risk	23	21,564.5	64,634.8	
	Total	42	15,674.5	48,543.1	
Amount paid	High Risk	4	350.0	530.0	0.696
	Medium Risk	10	1,769.2	2,370.3	
	Low Risk	22	5,712.7	18,907.8	
	Total	36	4,021.4	14,858.0	

Other variables that we think may affect the results of the payment of the civil liability have to do with the daily practice that the professionals of penitentiary services comment to us:

- When the inmate cannot pay the full amount, there is no scale nor is it clear who decides what is the correct % of monthly payment is to understand that he is making the necessary effort in reparation.
- There is a huge disparity of criteria between centres and courts. It seems that every case is a world.
- Although the progression to 3rd grade increases the chances of paying the civil liability and demanding this contribution, this is not understood by the Prosecutor's Office, mainly, which opposes many progressions because they have not paid the civil liability. In many cases, the payment of the civil liability falls on relatives, so that these are those penalised collaterally and paradoxically it goes against the purpose of the measure and of achieving reparative consciousness in the convict.

Conclusion: While the payment of civil liability may seem a necessary condition for access to prison benefits, practice shows us that, in the same sense as the motivation for change, it should be considered a work goal and not as a precondition of fulfilment to access any route.

Proposal: There is very little information and scientific literature in reference to how this economic responsibility has to do with the assumption of a new civic identity that leads the subject to criminal withdrawal and their assumption as a citizen with civic duties. Specific studies should be promoted in this regard.

This philosophy of intervention (payment of civil liability as an objective, not as a precondition) should be implemented in the therapeutic work of cases in all prisons. It would be advisable to transmit this philosophy of intervention in a didactic way to other *stakeholders*: classification service, executory judges, penitentiary surveillance judges, prosecutors, etc.

In the previous research, Quatre Camins Prison professionals and inmates were asked about the new way of classifying and intervening applied by their colleagues in the Violence Assessment Team, and sections 13 and 14 include the main conclusions drawn from the results.

13. Satisfaction of CPQC treatment professionals regarding the work of the Violence Assessment Team

- When asked by other professionals at the centre, their perception of the Violence Assessment Team is that it is in cases **high risk** when they feel most accompanied and believe the support has served them well.
- This assessment is not so good when the **complexity** is **moderate**. In these cases, it is more difficult for the Violence Assessment Team and the treatment team to agree on the route that this group should follow, especially with regard to whether or not they should follow a route of violence, or could access 3rd grade.
- Where they are less satisfied is in the fact of receiving enough information, especially in the return of these cases.
- If the inmate is sufficiently motivated by the change, professionals better value this coordination and feedback work they receive from the Violence Assessment Team.

Note: for more information and additional details, we recommend that the reader should consult the Justidata 70 statistical bulletin, referenced at the end of the report.

14. Satisfaction of CPQC inmates with the new work model

- The same trend is confirmed with inmates: whether they are high or low risk, both groups are satisfied.
- On the other hand, those of moderate complexity are those that show less satisfaction. Especially in 3 questions: 1) the content of the programme is what they expected; 2) they have received a response to their demands; 3) they have achieved the objectives of the programme.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the fact that the inmate agrees or disagrees with his Individual Treatment Programme has **no** impact or statistical significance on all assessment variables (prison grade, grade regressions and progressions, incidents and disciplinary proceedings, ordinary permission, current situation of the inmate, recidivism and the four risk indices of the *RisCanvi*).

Even if the inmate does not initially show full acceptance of their Individual Treatment Programme, this will not prevent their programme of treatment and proactive conduct from working on their programme of treatment and transition to freedom with social reintegration and withdrawal from crime as the ultimate purpose.

PART 3: Changes to the previous report

This last part of the results report includes the changes made with respect to the previous report with follow-up until May 2021, and which allows us to sum up some of the questions that were asked and opened in the previous report in 2017 and which the reader can consult at: <http://cejfe.gencat.cat/ca/recerca/cataleg/crono/2018/conducta-violenta-QC/>.

The information we present now has the following structure. The question to be answered, the result obtained (column 1) and the data supporting the argument (column 2) are exposed. We insist that the data come from the collection made from M3 up to May 2021 and whenever possible the *RNR* group is compared with the *classic prison* group.

1. Do more inmates reach 3rd grade? Do they remain there without incident?	
The <i>RNR</i> group reaches 3rd grade earlier	<p>Inmates in 3rd grade at the beginning of the sentence</p> <p><i>RNR</i>: 30.3% <i>Classic prison</i>: 4.4%</p>
At the end of the follow-up, the proportion of inmates in 3rd grade is the same between groups	<p>Inmates in 3rd grade at the end of the follow-up</p> <p><i>RNR</i>: 72.4% <i>Classic prison</i>: 75.6%</p>
The inmates remain without incident in the same proportion in both groups	<p>Incident-free inmates at the end of follow-up</p> <p><i>RNR</i>: 81.5% <i>Classic prison</i>: 77.1%</p>
Those who have not reached the open prison scheme (OP) have more incidents throughout the sentence, with a larger proportion in the <i>classic prison</i> group.	<p>Presence of incidents according to arrival at OP</p> <p><i>RNR</i>: Yes OP: 20.4% <i>Classic prison</i>: Yes OP: 23.5% No OP: 50.0% No OP: 63.6%</p>
2. Are there fewer disciplinary records in the <i>RNR</i> group?	
As with the incidents, the groups remain without records in the same proportion	<p>Inmates without records at the end of follow-up</p> <p><i>RNR</i>: 70.3% <i>Classic prison</i>: 77.1%</p>
Yes, those inmates who have not reached OP during the sentence (of both groups) have more cases, and those with a higher proportion of cases in the <i>classic prison</i> group.	<p>Presence of incidents according to arrival at OP</p> <p><i>RNR</i>: Yes OP: 24.1% <i>RNR</i>: Yes OP: 24.1% No OP: 50.0% No OP: 50.0%</p>
3. Has <i>motivation for change</i> influenced the route designated to the inmates? (only <i>RNR</i> group)	
Yes, it is very clear that the route is highly mediated by the stage of change (Prochaska & Diclemente) of the inmate.	<p>Inmates in the preparation/action phase by route</p> <p><i>Viol. – intensive</i>: 22.2% <i>Standard</i>: 56.3% <i>Violence – basic</i>: 40.7% <i>3rd grade</i>: 88.5%</p> <hr/> <p><i>RNR</i> group (consisting of 4 people) Yes OP access: 763 No OP access: 175 days</p>
4. Does the <i>motivation for change</i> impact personal variables? Does it influence their evolution?	
In the personal dynamic variables of the <i>RisCanvi</i> we see few improvements.	<p>Pre contemplation/contemplation phase (PC) <i>versus</i> preparation/action phase (PA)</p> <p>Feature of impulsiveness in M1 (V.41 of the <i>RisCanvi</i>)</p>

Depending on the stage of motivation, only differences in the traits of impulsiveness and hostility in M1 are seen.

In neither group has the improvement been significant.

PC: 61.5% PA: 33.3%
With statistical significance: $p = 0.035$

Feature of hostility in M1 (V.42 of the *RisCanvi*)

PC: 66.7% PA: 38.5%
With statistical significance: $p = 0.046$

Improving impulsiveness throughout the sentence

RNR: 12.5% Classic prison: 9.1
No statistical significance: $p = 0.306$

Improving hostility throughout the sentence

RNR: 18.5% Classic prison: 15%
No statistical significance: $p = 0.887$

5. Does the *motivation for change* have an impact on the evolution of behaviour within the prison? Does behaviour improve as motivation increases? (RNR group only)

In the penitentiary variables, we do not find differences between both groups in the *scheduled leave* or the *recidivism*.

Yes there are differences in the *ordinary permission*, the *incidents* and the *disciplinary proceedings*.

Ordinary permission in M1:

PC: 39.4% PA: 61.1%

Ordinary permission from M3:

PC: 24.2% PA: 33.3%

With statistical significance: $p = 0.006$

No incidents in M3

PC: 63.6% PA: 86.1%

With statistical significance: $p = 0.030$

No disciplinary proceedings in M3

PC: 57.6% PA: 80.6%

With statistical significance: $p = 0.038$

6. Which treatment model is most effective in improving the dynamic variables of the *RisCanvi* and behaviour within the prison?

No conclusive results could be obtained in the variables studied. The differences are not significant in most variables and the number of cases is very small in those percentages that point to some trend to draw any conclusions. Everything points to the fact that there are no significant changes detectable during the serving of the sentence.

7. Does the number of years of conviction affect subsequent recidivism? And behaviour in the prison?

The length of the sentence has no impact on recidivism.

There are no significant differences between the *RNR* group and the *classic prison* group.

Recidivism rate

> 6-year sentence: 10.8%

Between 3 and 6 years in prison: 18.5%

<3-year sentence: 14.6%

No statistical significance: $p = 0.682$

People with sentences of more than 6 years present a worsening in disciplinary records between M3 and the end of the follow-up with significant differences.

Worsening of disciplinary proceedings from M3 until 31/05/2021 (both groups)

> 6-year sentence: 31.3%*

Between 3 and 6 years in prison: 16.7%

<3-year sentence: 17.1%

With statistical significance: $p = 0.029$

This worsening occurs both in the *RNR* group and in the *classic prison* group.

Worsening in disciplinary proceedings from M3 until 31/05/2021 per group

> 6-year sentence

RNR: 27.8% Classic prison: 33.3%

Between 3 and 6 years in prison

RNR: 13% Classic prison: 28.6%

		<3-year sentence RNR: 15.2%	Classic prison: 25%
8. With the change of model, has the time taken to ... a) do the treatment programme, b) start the circle of temporary releases c) access the 3rd grade, and d) reoffend changed?			
Previously, the crime greatly marked the management of prison fulfilment. The absolute time taken to complete the specific treatment programme or route has fallen. And it is not linked to the time of conviction as before	➔	The time it takes to do the programme <i>RNR</i> group: Yes OP access: 2.4 years No OP access: 2.7 years <i>Classic prison</i> group: Yes OP access: 4.1 years No OP access: 3.1 years	
Those who successfully complete the programme or route now, access the start of the circle of temporary releases more quickly, something that did not happen before.	➔	Time to start the circle of temporary releases from the successful completion of the specific programme <i>RNR</i> group: Yes OP access: 0.5 years No OP access: 0.5 years <i>Classic prison</i> group: Yes OP access: 0.5 years No OP access: 1.7 years	
All in all, it shows that access to the OP was conditioned by years of conviction (the crime and its sentence in years marked the prison evolution). In the classic prison group, those who did not have access to open prison were those who on average had less sentence time than those who did have access. Which is not the case now in the RNR group, where it is the inmate's needs that mark the possibility of access to 3rd grade and therefore there are no differences in the time it takes to get there.			
And this, we have already shown, does not increase recidivism. In addition, among repeat offenders, those who have gone through an open regime take longer to do so than those who have not (<i>RNR</i> group). The numbers, however, are too small to draw conclusions.	➔	Time it takes to reoffend (those who do) <i>RNR</i> group (4 subjects) Yes OP access: 763 days NO OP access: 175 days	

Conclusion: the new *RNR* programme applied to CPQC has pacified life in prison, thanks to: a) advancing the start of the specialised treatment programme or the start of the standard or 3rd grade route; b) linking the successful completion of the programme or route with the start of the chain of leave and c) access to open prison for those who had not already evolved initially.

In addition to pacifying the prison, the measures taken have not increased the recidivism.

Proposal: Implement the *RNR* model effectively in other prisons. Aside from the results of this study, assess whether it is necessary to maintain a specialised team for the initial assessment of violence or whether this initial assessment can be generalised to the other teams in the centre.

The evidence does lead us to categorically abandon the practice of applying specialised treatment programmes in violence to inmates when the *RisCanvi* tool does not specify it based on risk. It is counter-productive to the operation of the prison and increases subsequent recidivism in some cases.

Conclusion: the new *RNR* programme applied to CPQC still has some limitations such as:

1) Partial application: it is applied clearly at the beginning of the sentence and in new cases, but in a vague way in their continuity, taking into account how long it takes to progress. Unwritten rules that are unrelated to the evidence are maintained, such as: a) waiting for the convict to reach half of the sentence for the granting of the first ordinary leave, without this being related to the risk of recidivism, b) delay the grade progression in the review by the Treatment Board every 6 months without any incidents that justify it, c) consider variables clearly of therapeutic treatment as necessary preconditions that the inmate must already incorporate *modus propi* for access to programmes or routes and not as an initial goal of the programme (as would be the case of motivation to change, recognition of crime, or payment of civil liability).

2) A confusing application of a concept that the Violence Assessment Team calls the *complexity* of the case, since its use is not validated in the evidence related to recidivism and it overestimates some variables already valued by the *RisCanvi* or gives decisive value to increase the risk (especially when this risk is low in the *RisCanvi*) to some of these variables that we have just mentioned (motivation for the change or duration of the sentence)

Proposal: Together with the CPQC, evaluate the total and firm application of the *RNR* model throughout the prison and in all cases.

At the same time, eliminate the complexity concept from the diagnostic equation.

Evaluate, from new specific research in which CPQC professionals participate, those cases in which the treatment professionals maintain reasoned doubts about the low risk assessment obtained in the *RisCanvi* and find out whether there is a scientific basis for proposing intermediate corrective measures.

15. Conclusions (summary)

1. A team from the Quatre Camins Prison has gone from a crime-focused rehabilitation model to a model focused on the risks and criminogenic needs of inmates, with the implementation of the *RNR* model based on the principles of *risk*, *need* and *responsiveness*. Following these principles and based on the evaluation of the *RisCanvi*, the inmates are classified in one of the four possible itineraries: violence - intensive, violence - basic, standard and initial classification in 3rd grade.
2. Applying the *RNR* principles allows the intervention to be focused on people at higher risk and less intensive intervention on low-risk inmates, without this leading to an increase in incidences within the prison (conflicts between inmates, disciplinary proceedings, non-compliance with measures and breach of leave).
3. With the new model, the length of time spent in prison without specialised treatment has been reduced: currently, half of the *RNR* group begins the treatment programme during the first year; however, the average time to start treatment is 2.6 years, which corresponds to 35% of the sentence.
4. The new model accelerates the enjoyment of ordinary permission linked to the use of the treatment programme; similarly, the number of inmates receiving leave increases. This has no negative impact on either behaviour within the prison or subsequent recidivism.
5. Although in the long run both the *RNR* group and the *classic prison* group reach the 3rd grade in the same proportion; with the model *RNR* the inmates get there earlier (half the time) and more efficiently.
6. Applying the *RNR* model does not increase the recidivism rate - slightly lower in the *RNR* group with respect to the *classic prison* group-, although more than half of the inmates have not completed the specific programme of violence (as required in the *prison classic* model focused on crime), as in most

- cases they presented a *low* risk of recidivism assessed with the *RisCanvi* (as required by the *RNR* model focused on the criminogenic needs of the subject).
7. The Quatre Camins team created the concept of *complexity* to streamline the discrepancies of treatment professionals in prisons with the *RisCanvi* assessment tool. This construct overestimates certain variables, increases the intervention on the subject without the data proving it necessary, and delays their access to the open regime, without this improving the results.
 8. The Quatre Camins team created the figure of the Violence Assessment Team as a specific and specialised team for the initial assessment of routes and mentoring for the other teams. The advantages of this model: a) the Violence Assessment Team centralises the applicable criteria based on the RNR model and can guarantee its faithful application; b) the intervention groups of the centres are also planned according to these criteria and are given coherence in a group of many professional workers working for it; c) it encourages the follow-up and support of cases of violence that do not have a good evolution and allows us not to lose sight of these cases; d) practice has shown that the fact that the Violence Assessment Team makes the initial classification ensures greater efficiency in the application of these criteria and a tighter timing of the intervention or outsourcing of the case.
 9. The assessment of CPQC treatment professionals regarding support and coordination with the Violence Assessment Team is best in extreme cases (both very clear high-risk and low-risk). It is in doubtful cases categorised as of *moderate* complexity where there is less satisfaction in this assessment. The opinion of the inmates is similar: those of high and low risk are the most satisfied with the work of the Violence Assessment Team.
 10. Whether or not inmates agree with the Individualised Treatment Programme, it has no impact on the assessment variables (no recidivism, no leave, no incidents, no disciplinary records, no grade progressions or regressions).
 11. Despite the promising results, the implementation of the model still has limitations: a partial application, as it does apply at the beginning of the sentence, but in other times and cases the perpetuation of the previous model is observed; a confusing application, with the introduction of the concept of *complexity*; and maintaining inefficient unwritten rules and effective people in terms of recidivism, such as delaying the start of the circle of temporary releases in the middle of the convict's sentence, with no treatment grounds to do so, or delaying access to 3rd grade up to half of the sentence, or not increasing the proposals in other forms of more relaxed open regime like art. 86.4 or the access to dependent units nor to make more proposals of parole.

16. Proposals

Related to the research done at CPQC

1. As the *RNR* model reduces the number of cases to be treated within the prison and decreases the number of cases with incidents or disciplinary proceedings (compared to the *classic prison control group*), its implementation as a useful risk management and pacification tool needs to be generalised in the prison.
2. The results of recidivism confirm to us that it does not imply an increase in recidivism either, despite reducing the intervention with half of the inmates and, therefore, the proposal is confirmed as an effective management tool that should be implemented in all centres.
3. It is necessary to stop referring inmates to specialised treatment programmes in violence when the tool *RisCanvi* does not specify it, as it is counter-productive. Specifically, cases of *low* risk should follow the standard and 3rd grade routes, and the recommendation to end the sentence from an open regime as far as possible and in the most staggered way possible (gradually introducing less controlling follow-ups that encourage autonomy and stimulate decision-making of the change of identity proposed by theories of withdrawal).

4. Despite having brought forward the start of the treatment programme, it should be promoted before the fourth part of the sentence in all inmates. This will, in turn, allow the circle of temporary releases to start earlier, whenever possible.
5. Once the treatment programme has been successfully completed, access to third grade should be promoted to facilitate a gradual return to the community, in order to put into practice what has been learned and enjoy relevant support.
6. The concept of *complexity* should be abandoned and professional teams should be trained in scientific evidence in favour of the *RisCanvi* assessment tool. Similarly, the use of complementary assessment tests and access to the open regime should be encouraged.
7. The motivation for change and the payment of civil liability should be the work objectives of the Individualised Treatment Programme, and not variables that determine the type of route to follow.
8. Finally, it is necessary to extend the total and firm application of the *RNR* model throughout the prison and in all cases, definitively removing the concept of *complexity*.

Related to the general model of prison services in Catalonia

9. Make the maximum possible dissemination of these results among the different *stakeholders* with power and/or influence in the decision-making of the adoption of the RNR model (treatment boards, classification service, interior services, sentencing judges, prison surveillance, prosecution, lawyers, scholars of the criminal system, etc.). The model is efficient in the results, but with implementation difficulties due to the mistrust that still generates its innovation and little known proposals by those involved. The model could be more effective: significant reduction in recidivism if the implementation commitment were clear, defined, and widely assumed.
10. Encourage implementation studies on the RNR model that include contrast analysis of results with those variables that still raise doubts among treatment professionals.
11. The risk assessment in prisons should determine the route chosen at the time of the initial assessment. In low-risk cases, the open regime should be prioritised as a general rule, while high-risk cases should start specific programmes as soon as possible within the execution of the sentence and link its positive use at the beginning of the circle of temporary releases.
12. Specialised treatment can be done in ordinary or open regime. In high-risk cases, it should be started in an ordinary environment and continued in an open environment.
13. Promote specific training strongly tailored to the *RisCanvi* from the study of paradigmatic cases. This training should include overcoming the current dysfunction that occurs between the unstructured clinical assessment of some treatment professionals and the algorithmic results that result from the assessment of the *RisCanvi*. Our latest studies confirm that the tool *RisCanvi* is accurate enough to make a good prognosis and that the assessment of cases improves when the specific training of professionals is higher.

For more information and details of the synthetic information that we have presented in this executive summary we recommend the reader should complement it with the statistical bulletin Justidata 70, on the page web of the CEJFE, <http://cejfe.gencat.cat/ca/publicacions/destacats-recerca/justidata/>

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