



**cejfe**

Area of Criminal Enforcement

# Prison recidivism rate 2020

## Executive report

*Own research*

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**Authors**

Criminal Enforcement Research and Training Area

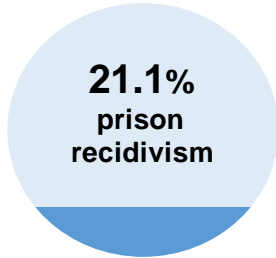
Year 2023



Generalitat de Catalunya  
**Centre d'Estudis Jurídics  
i Formació Especialitzada**

# 1. Recidivism rate

Figure 1. Recidivism rate

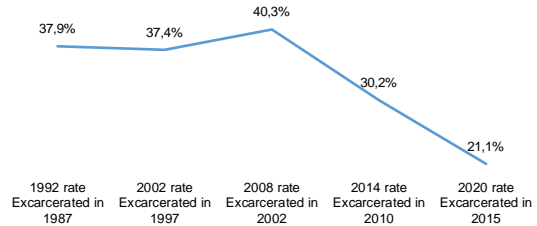


That is, **8 out of 10** subjects who were released from prison in 2015 have not re-entered for any offence committed after the release date, during the five-year follow-up period (2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> December 2019).



This recidivism rate is the **lowest in the 33 years** of CEJFE's monitoring of released prisoners.

Graph 1. Evolution of the prison recidivism rate



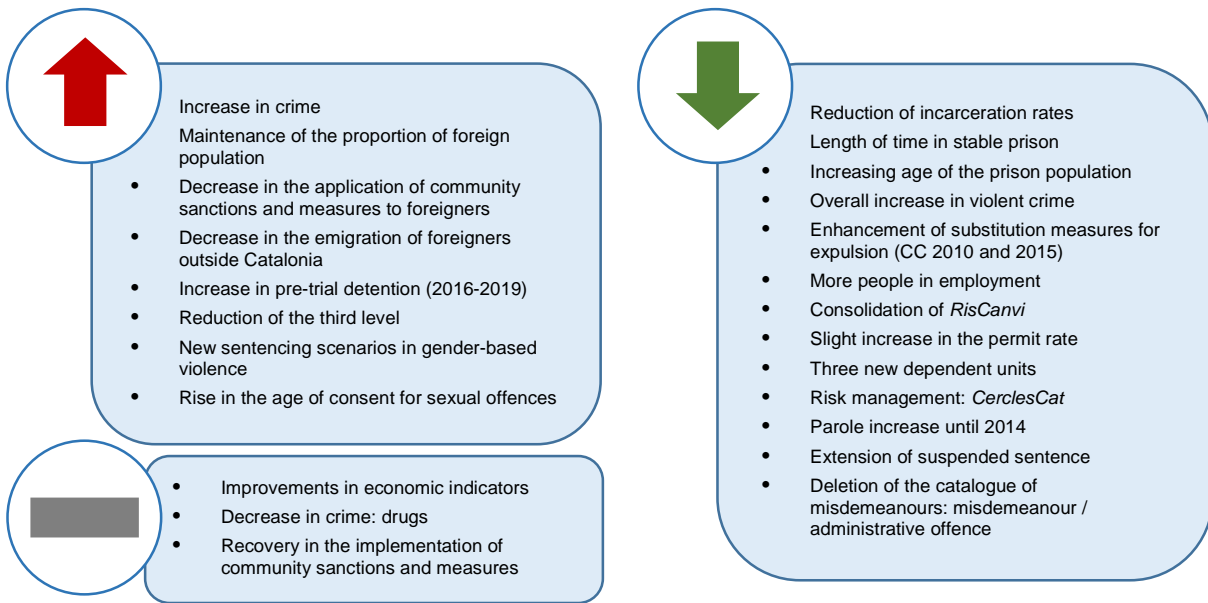
This represents a **decrease of 9.1 points** from the previous measure and a **decrease of 19.2 points** over the last 12 years of monitoring.

Research technical sheet	
<b>Territorial scope</b>	Catalonia
<b>Target population</b>	Persons sentenced and released from prison in 2015 (N=3,814 subjects), divided into 4 groups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ultimate freedom → N=2,499</li> <li>• Parole → N=1,124</li> <li>• Expulsion from Spanish territory → N=120 (not included in the recidivism study)</li> <li>• Suspension → N=71</li> </ul> Once the database has been cleaned → N=3,651 cases.
<b>Follow-up</b>	Until 31/12/2019 → 4.5 years on average, with a minimum of 4 years and a maximum of 5 years
<b>Data source</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SIPC (prison information system of Catalonia)</li> <li>• SIJJ (alternative punishment database)</li> <li>• TEMIS (criminal court database)</li> </ul> Variables of use: 387
<b>Statistical analysis</b>	Statistical package IBM SPSS Statistics 28.0

## What could explain this decline?

Multiple factors have been studied (see chapter 1 of the entire report): some may explain factors that would justify the decrease, others would have an influence on the increase in the rate, and even more would present counteracting influences or which cannot yet be assessed because there are no cases (such as the Criminal Code measures for very serious crimes).

Figure 2. Study of factors influencing the decline in the recidivism rate in 2020



**Note:** the block on the top left (red arrow) indicates factors that have influenced the increase in the recidivism rate; the block on the right (green arrow) indicates factors that have influenced the decrease in the rate; and the block on the bottom left indicates factors that have counteracting influences. It has not yet been possible to assess the impact of the factors *extension of suspended sentences* and *new sentencing scenarios in gender-based violence* or *parole as suspension measures*.

Many of these causal questions cannot be answered by the usual statistics. It is therefore very difficult, with a study carried out every five years and with macro-factorial indicators, to isolate the variables that can attribute causality to the intervention of justice in one direction or another.

## 2. Recidivism rate by data source

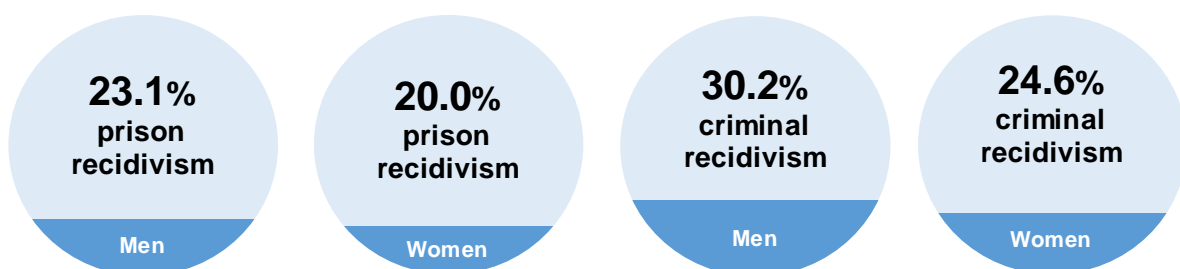
Table 1. Comparison of prison, enforcement and court recidivism rates in 2020

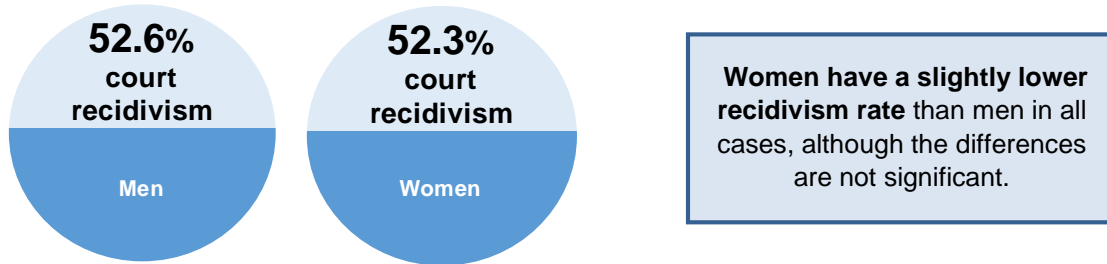
Recidivism in prison	Recidivism in criminal enforcement	Judicial recidivism
21.1%	28.7%	53.1%

For the first time, we can establish that the difference between the prison fee and the court fee is 32 points. Thus, we can conclude that 5 out of 10 persons released from prison in 2015 have come back into contact with the judicial system during the monitoring period (2015- 2019).

In terms of gender differences:

Figure 3. 2020 recidivism rates by gender

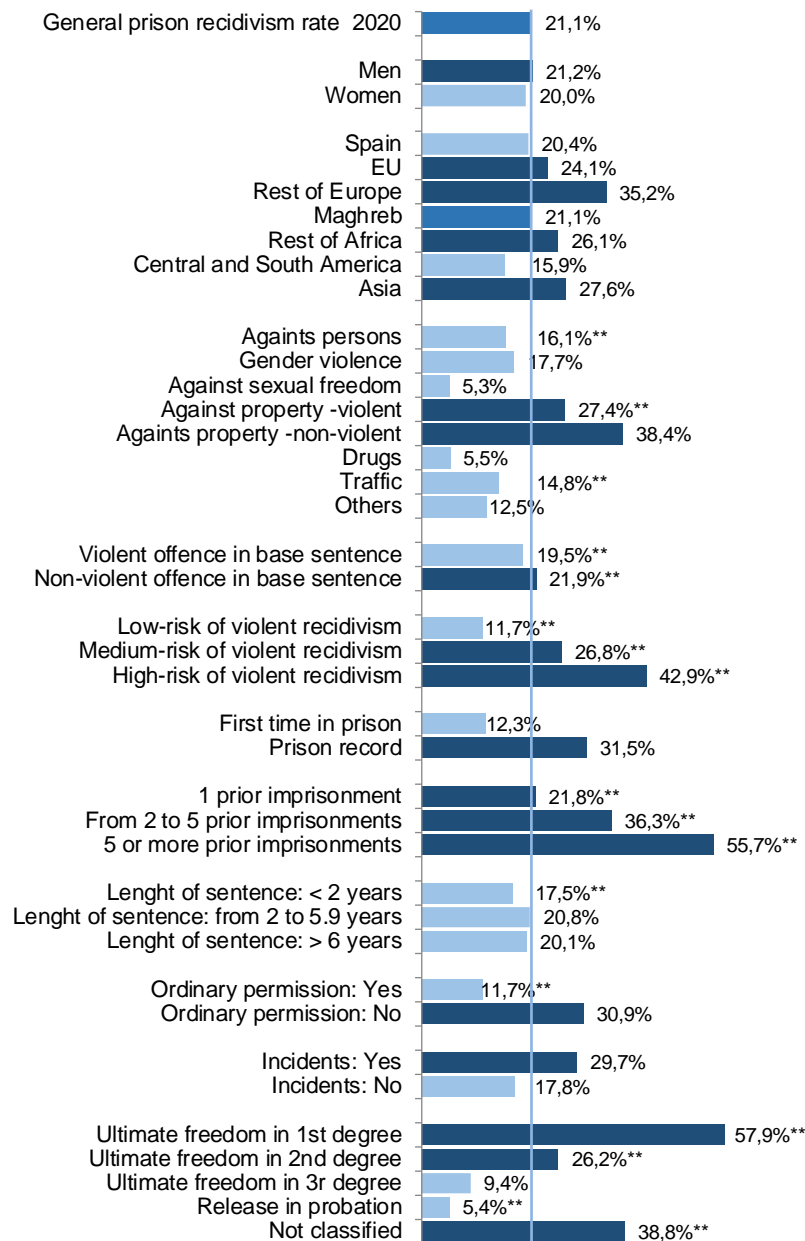




Note: in the comparison with women, a sample of men has been taken.

### 3. Recidivism rate

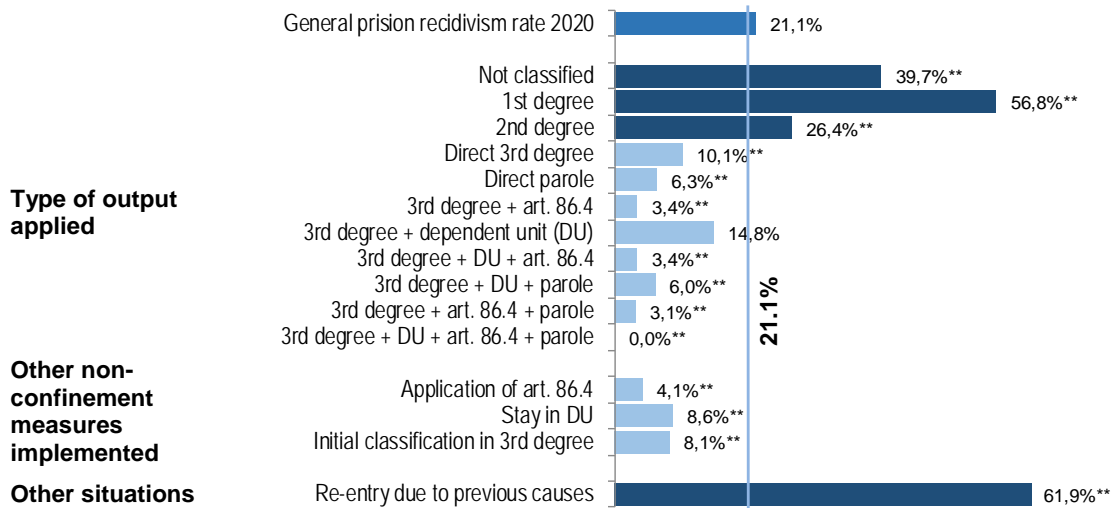
Graph 2. Specific recidivism rates



The *way of release from prison* becomes the most significant variable in subsequent recidivism.

\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .

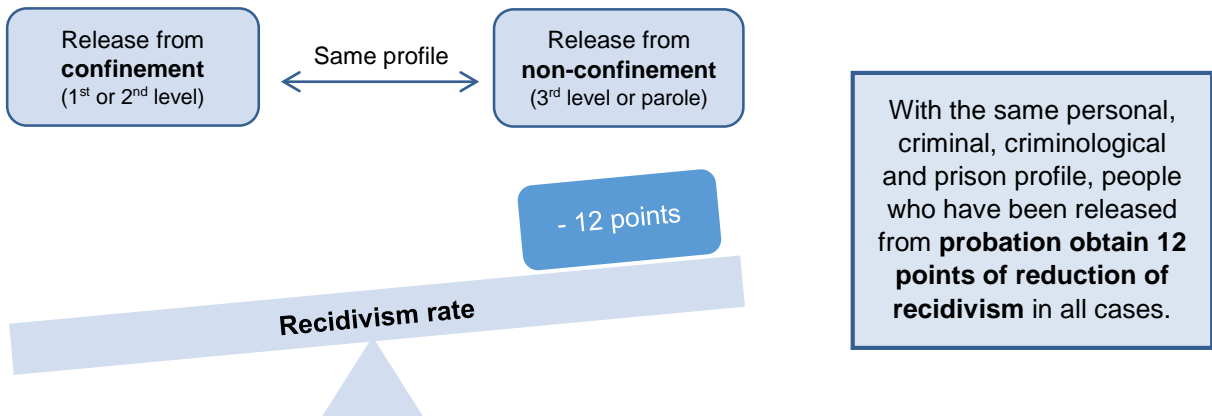
**Graph 3. Recidivism rates according to type of release from prison**



\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .

The **staggered releases from prison** and the **progressive reduction of control** on sentenced persons, based on evidence of improved behaviour, are the **best guarantee of success in achieving desistance from crime**.

**Figure 4. Study of recidivism according to the type of release from prison**

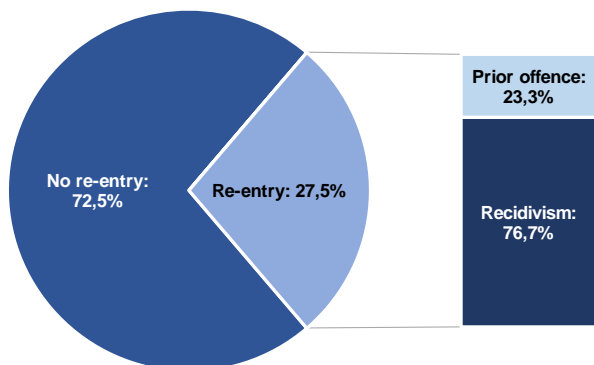


## 4. Characteristics of recidivism

### Reason for re-imprisonment

**Graph 4. Proportion of inmates re-entering prison and reason for re-entry**

Of all persons released from prison in 2015 (N=3.814), 27.5% re-entered: 1 in 5 for serving a sentence for a previous offence without subsequent recidivism; 2 in 5 for a previous case first and a new offence afterwards (recidivism) and 2 in 5 for a new case (recidivism).



Time taken to re-offend

Table 2. Comparison with previous studies of the time taken to re-offend in prison (cumulative %)

	Rate 2002	Rate 2008	Rate 2014	Rate 2020
Up to 1 year	54.3%	67.0%	64.9%	<b>60.6%</b>
1 to 2 years	76.6%	81.0%	87.0%	<b>80.3%</b>
From 2 to 3 years	87.9%	89.7%	97.0%	<b>91.7%</b>
3 to 4 years old	95.0%	94.7%	100.0%	<b>97.0%</b>
From 4 to 5 years old	99.0%	98.8%	-	<b>100%</b>
From 5 to 5.5 years	100%	100%	-	-

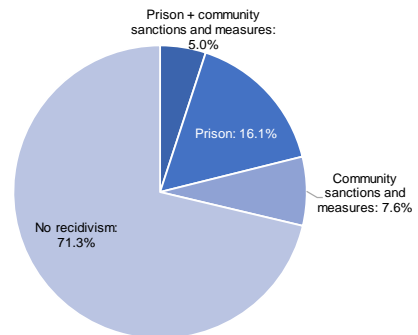
**400.2 days** Average time to re-offend in prison in the 2020 rate survey

A **60% of repeat offenders** will have already done so **within 1 year of release**. A further 20% will do so in the second year of follow-up. And after **3 years**, more than **90% of the total** will have re-offended.

Measure to be imposed on repeat offenders

Graph 5. Type of measures

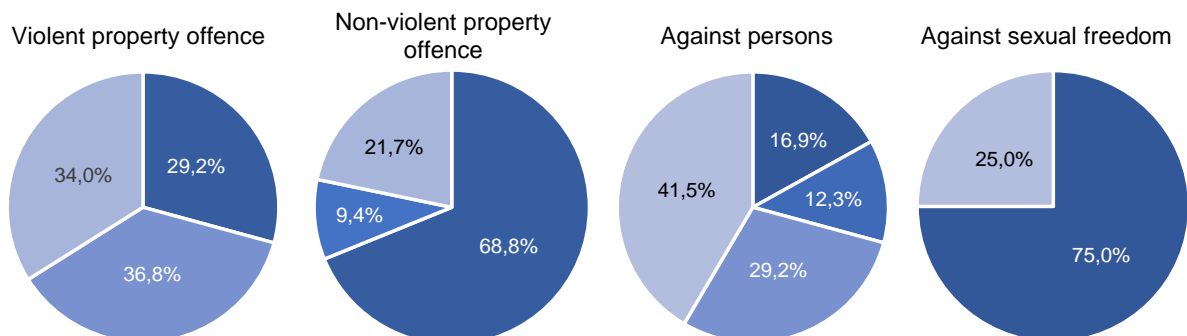
**Re-offenders are** mainly sentenced to **imprisonment**: in 2 out of 4 cases, only imprisonment; in 1 out of 4 cases, only alternative measures; and in 1 out of 4 cases, both imprisonment and alternative measures.

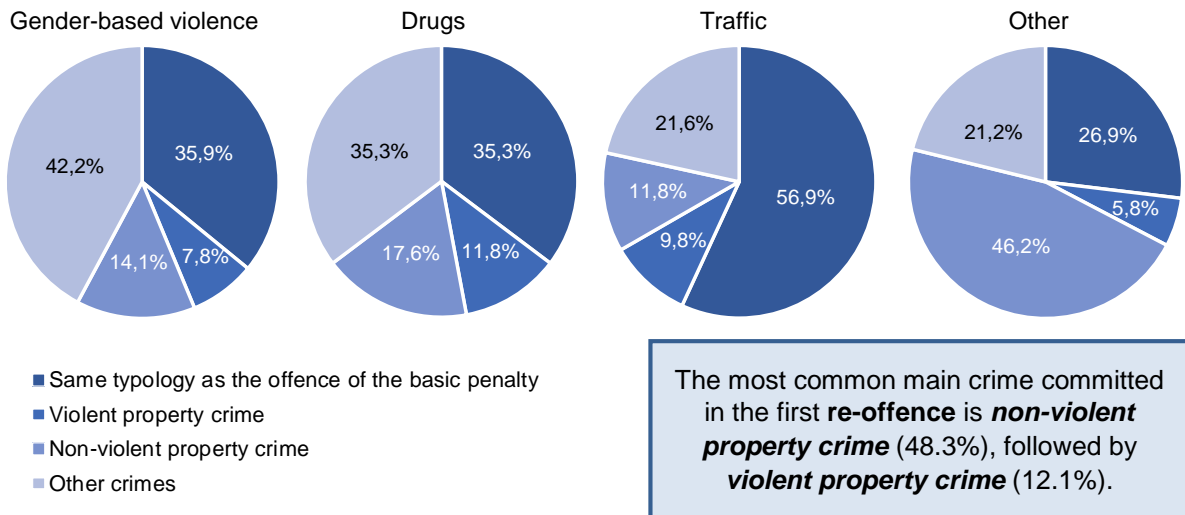


Typology of recidivism according to the offence committed in the basic sentence

The type of offence committed in **recidivism is closely related to that committed in the basic sentence**. Normally, we will find some "specialisation", in the sense of repeating the offence. The alternative indicates a tendency to commit *property crimes*.

Graph 6. Type of offence of recidivism according to that committed in the basic sentence

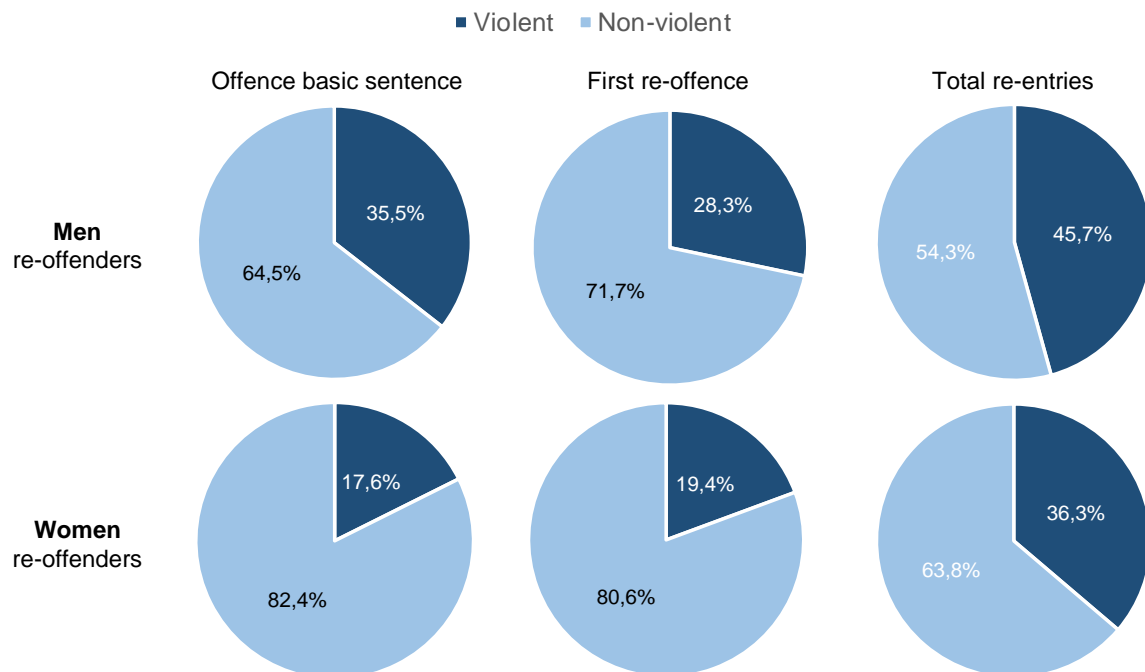




### Increase in violence in offences committed by male and female repeat offenders

In the repetition of criminal behaviour after the basic sentence (recidivism), differences are observed according to gender: men are, as a whole, more violent in the type of offence committed, although female re-offenders double the percentage of violence with respect to the basic sentence.

Graph 7. Increase in the violence of offences committed by repeat offenders according to gender

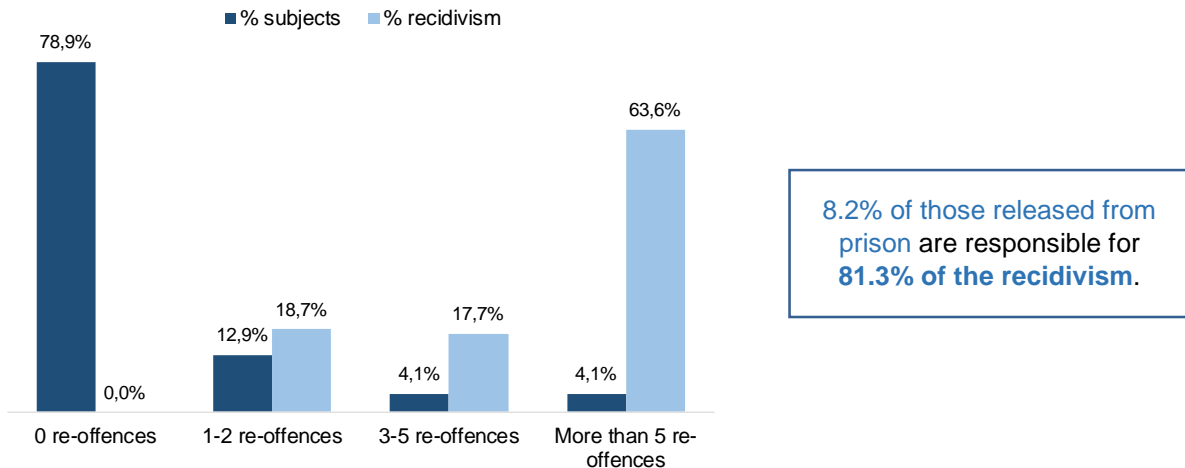


**Note:** violent crime includes the following categories: against persons, against sexual freedom, and, within property crime, robbery with violence and robbery with intimidation or violence.

### Number of re-offences in prison

The group of multi-recidivists has slightly decreased in terms of the percentage of cases (8.2% compared to 10.5% in the previous study), but has risen significantly in the number of repeat offences they commit: if in the previous study it was 2.2 admissions, now it is 4.2 new admissions.

Graph 8. Proportion of repeat offenders and repeat offences



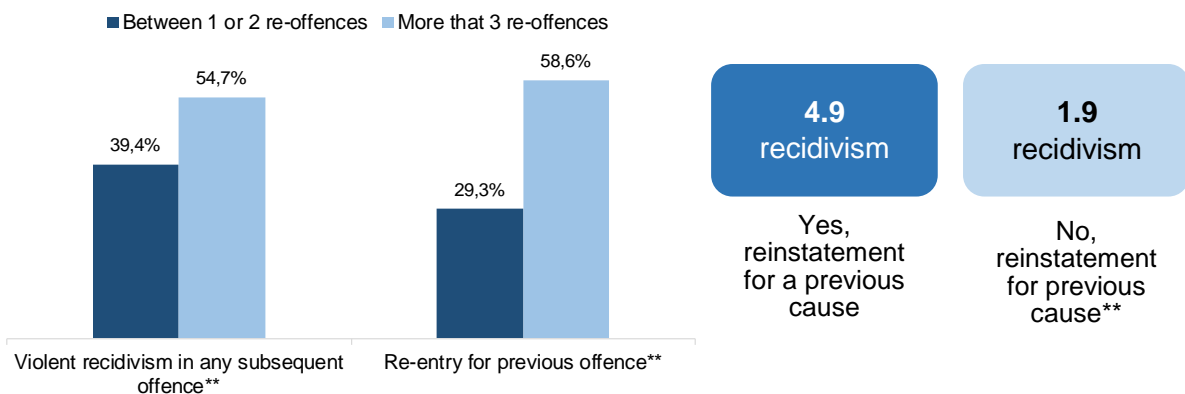
## 5. Characteristics of multi-recidivists

- ✓ They commit *non-violent property crime* in a much higher proportion (59.6% compared to 38.4% of one- or two-time repeat offenders), mainly *thefts*.
- ✓ They have re-entered prison to serve a short sentence after 2015 for an *offence prior to the minimum sentence*; those who meet this premise, then re-offend in a very significant way: they have a **61.9% re-offending rate in prison** (developed in chapter 5.1.).
- ✓ Many of the multi-recidivists serve *such short prison sentences* that they are *not classified* (9.5% of those convicted → **prison recidivism rate of 65.3%** and court recidivism rate of 83.8%) or serve subsidiary personal liability (SPL), that is, imprisonment for non-payment of fines, and are *not classified either* (13.1% of those convicted → **prison recidivism rate of 19.5%** and court recidivism rate of 66.0%).

Unclassified (9.5%)	SPL (13.1%)
Prison recidivism: <b>65.3%</b>	Prison recidivism: <b>19.5%</b>
Court recidivism: <b>83.8%</b>	Court recidivism: <b>66.0%</b>

### Multi-recidivists in criminal enforcement with new admissions for previous cases

Graph 9. Number of repeat offences by multi-recidivists

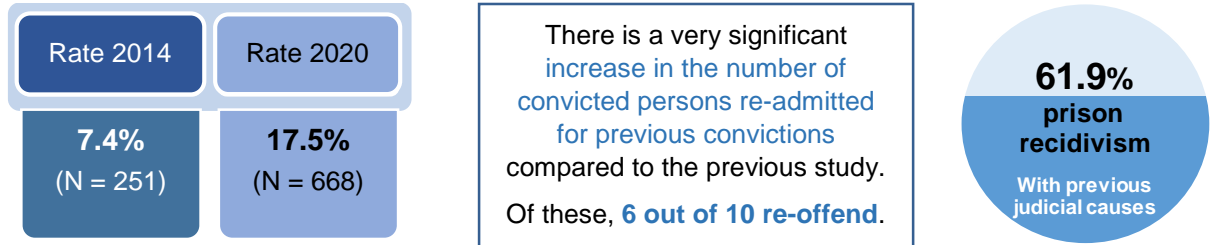




Thus, the main characteristics of multi-recidivists in criminal sentence (alternative measures + prison) are:

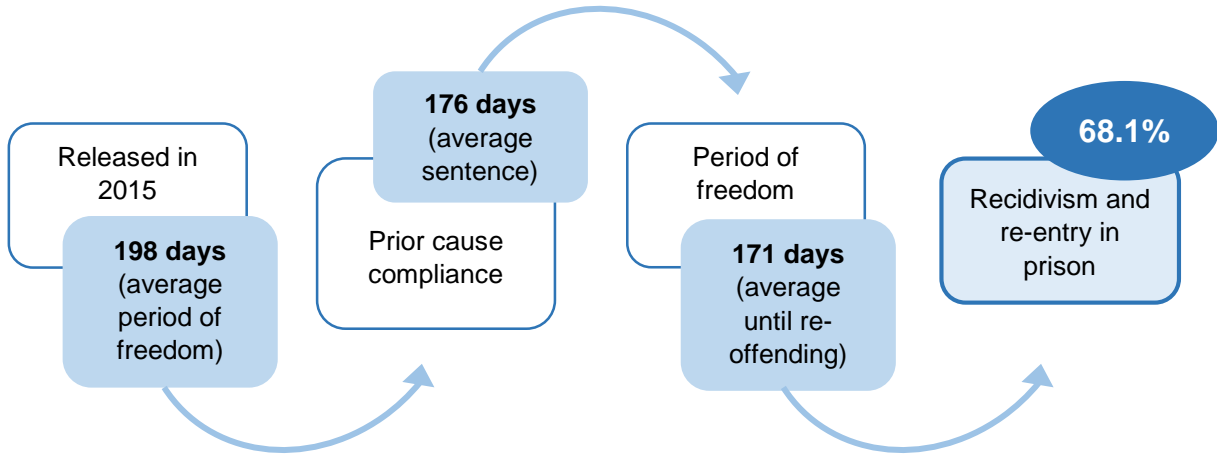
- ✓ Violent recidivism in any subsequent offence.
- ✓ Re-imprisonment for a prior offence to the basic sentence (BS).
- ✓ High average of subsequent recidivism.

**Convicted persons re-entering for previous convictions: main risk factor**

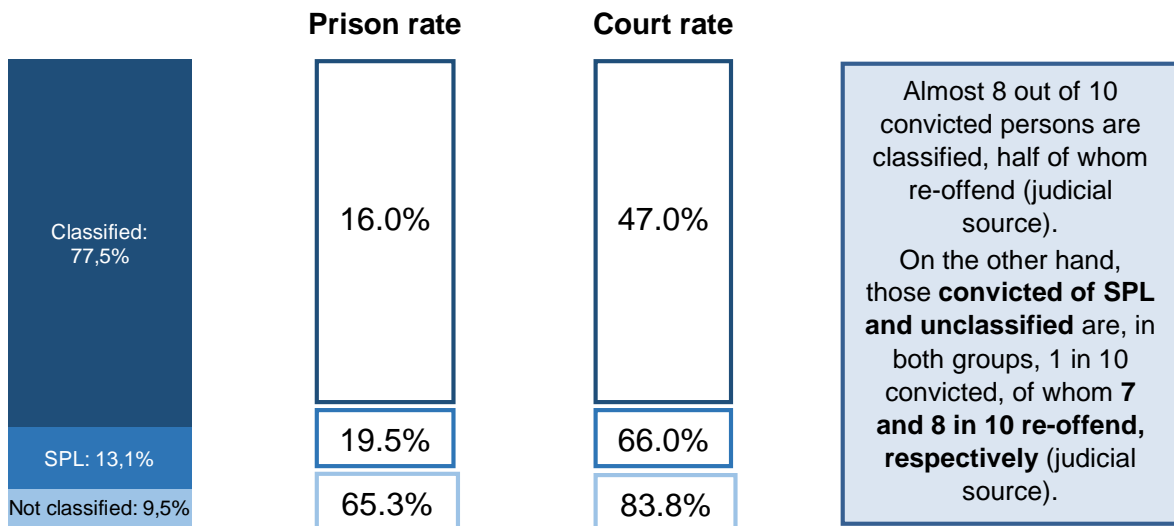


What is the most common dynamics in these cases?

**Figure 5. Traceability of the compliance of persons re-entering for prior cause**



**Convicted under subsidiary personal liability and unclassified**



## Characteristics of unclassified and SPL offenders

Figure 6. Comparison between unclassified and SPL persons

Common to both groups	
<p>Increased proportion of <b>foreigners</b></p> <p>Increased proportion of <b>non-violent property crime</b></p> <p>Very short <b>sentences</b></p> <p>No information on <b>RisCanvi</b> variables: 59.7%</p>	
Unclassified	Subsidiary personal liability
<p>Higher proportion of foreign nationals <b>from the Maghreb</b>: 17.1%</p> <p><b>Conviction</b>: 209 days</p> <p><b>Non-violent property crime</b>: 64.8%</p>	<p>Higher proportion of <b>women</b>: 16.8%</p> <p>More <b>foreign nationals</b> from the <b>EU</b>: 26.0%</p> <p>More <b>foreign nationals</b> from the <b>rest of Europe</b>: 7.5%</p> <p><b>Conviction</b>: 87 days</p> <p><b>Non-violent property crime</b>: 56.9%</p> <p><b>Trafficking</b> offences : 10.3%</p> <p><b>Others</b>: 14.3%</p>

## 6. Characteristics of repeat offenders

Table 3. Characteristics of repeat offenders in relation to non-repeat offenders

Re-offenders		Non-re-offenders
<b>56.6%</b>	Principal offence <i>against property</i>	<b>38.3%</b>
<b>65.0%</b>	Prison records	<b>17.5%</b>
<b>63.7%</b>	No ordinary leave	<b>43.1%</b>
<b>79.7%</b>	Definitive release from confinement	<b>49.1%</b>
<b>20.5%</b>	Staggered exit from non-confinement	<b>51.6%</b>

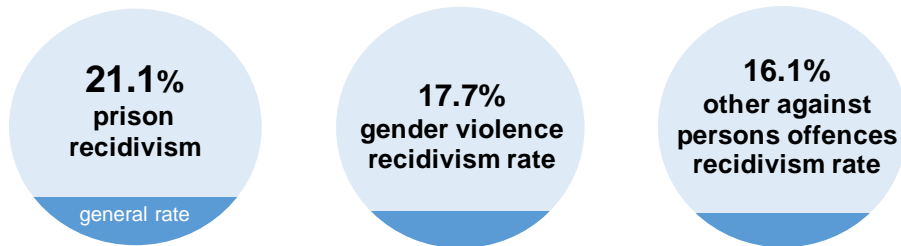
- ✓ Persons who re-offend have committed more *property offences*, they have a longer *prison record* and have *less ordinary leaves*.
- ✓ In addition, within the prison centre, they are characterised by having *more incidents*, *more disciplinary files*, *more grade regressions* and *greater presence in special supervision modules*.
- ✓ At the same time, a higher percentage of these *repeat offenders are released permanently from confinement*, and accordingly, a smaller percentage are released in stages from non-confinement.

## 7. Persons convicted of crimes of gender-based violence

### Characteristics and recidivism

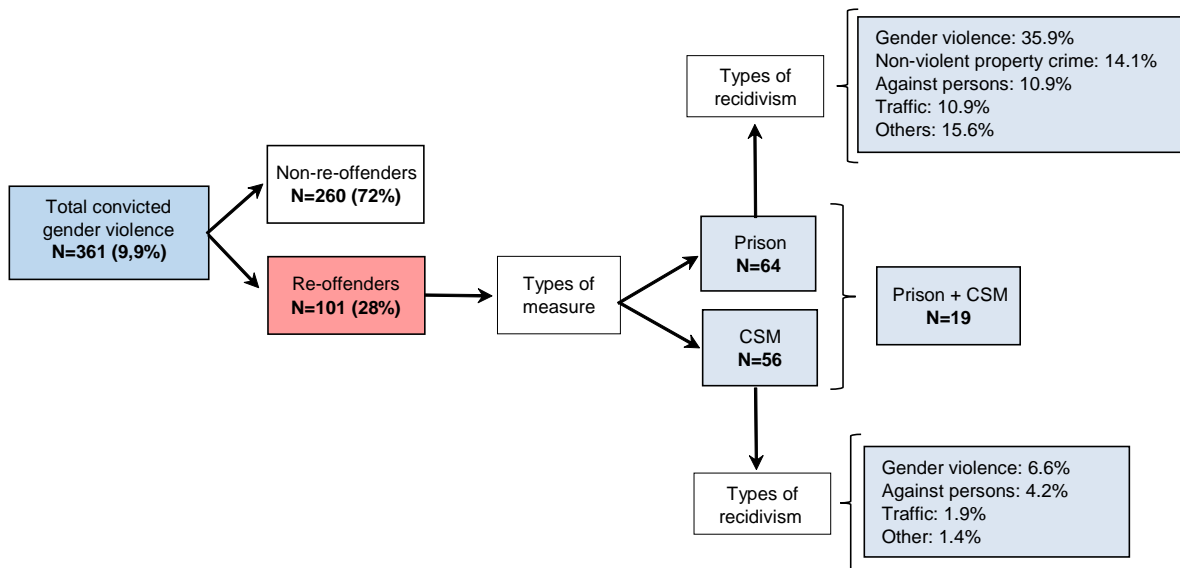
The profile of repeat offenders convicted of *gender-based violence* offences is analysed below. Recidivism rate in relation to the total released population.

Figure 7. Comparison of prison recidivism rates



### Prison records of gender-based violence offenders

Figure 8. The course of offenders with a *gender-based violence* offence



**Note:** the percentage of offences committed in the first recidivism exceeds 100.0% because there are 19 persons who have received double measures (imprisonment and alternative measures).

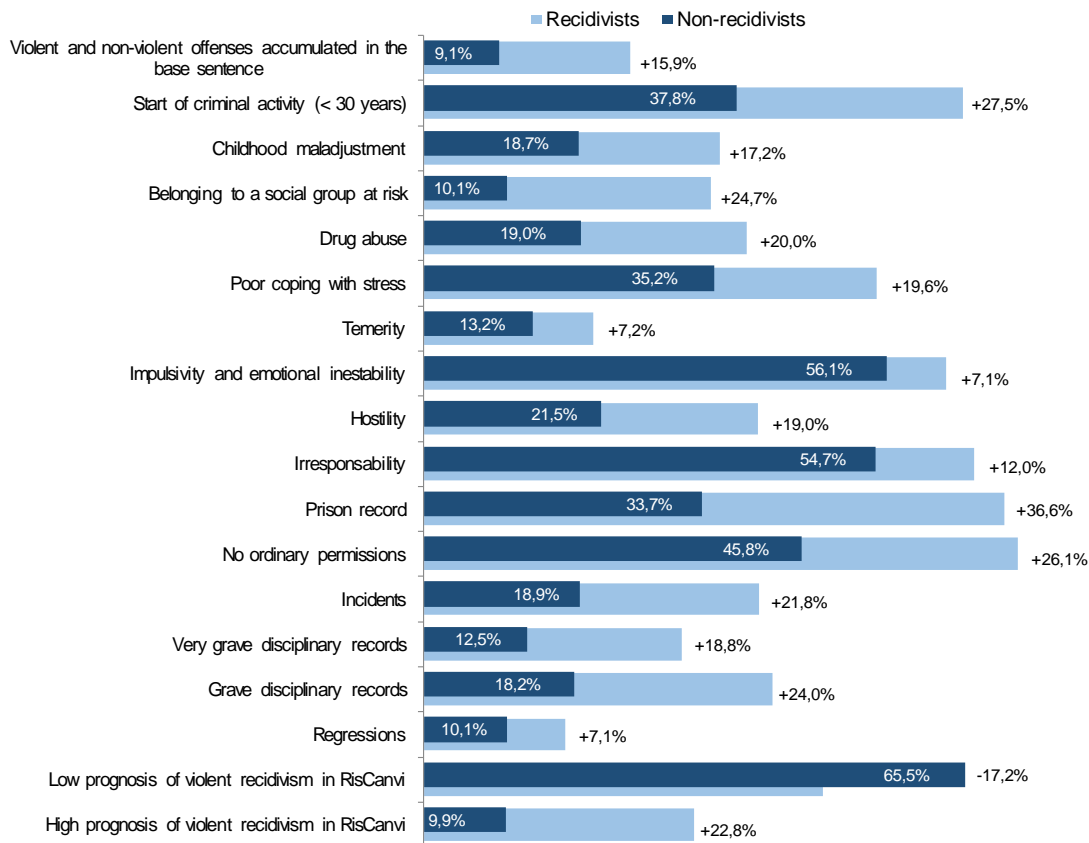
**42.5% of repeat offenders of gender-based violence will re-offend with the same offence.**

### Differences between repeat and non-repeat offenders of gender-based violence

- ✓ Repeat offenders of *gender-based violence* have more accumulated violent and non-violent offences in the basic sentence, have started their criminal career at a younger age and show a higher proportion of pro-criminal attitudes in their personal behaviour.

- ✓ Repeat offenders are **more likely** to show **personal deficits in psychological traits** such as control of impulsivity, irresponsibility, hostility and coping with stress.
- ✓ **The behaviour in prison of repeat offenders has been problematic**, with a higher proportion of incidents with inmates, disciplinary proceedings and regressions. They have had no ordinary leave during the sentence and the prognosis of risk, also in intra-institutional violence, has been mostly **high** from the beginning or has **worsened** during the sentence.

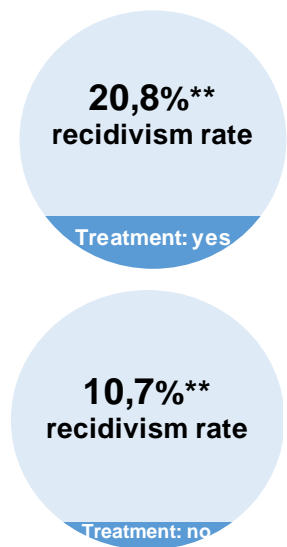
**Graph 10. Differences between repeat and non-repeat offenders of gender-based violence**



**Figure 9. Recidivism rate of low-risk individuals**

- ✓ People at **high risk**, according to the *RisCanvi* assessment, are **unlikely to accept the specialised gender-based violence programme**.
- ✓ **Medium or low risk** individuals are the group of repeat offenders with the latest recidivism (after the third year of follow-up). There is therefore a **need for more extensive monitoring in non-confinement environments**.
- ✓ People at **low risk** who do the specialised gender-based violence programme are affected by an **iatrogenic effect: they have the highest recidivism rate** of 20.8% compared to those who have not done the programme, who have a rate of 10.7%.

\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .



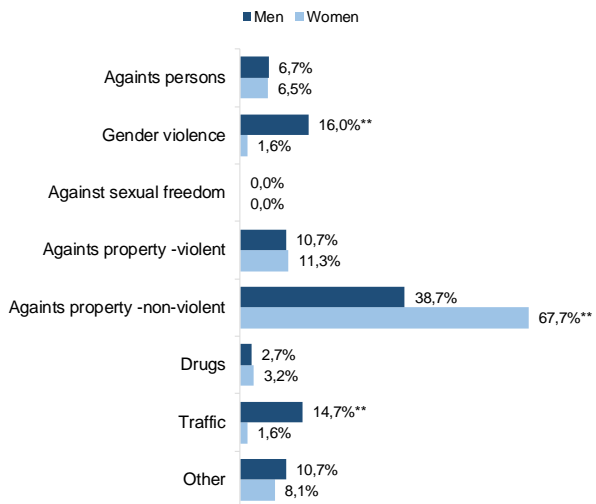
## 8. Women

The criminological profile of women is more preserved than that of men. For all *RisCanvi* risk factors, the proportion in women is always much lower.

Table 4. Comparison by gender on personal, criminal and penitentiary variables

Gender comparison		
Women		Men
1/4 of the sentence	Women obtain <b>prison leave</b> earlier and in higher proportions.	1/3 of the sentence
35.1%	Women are granted <b>parole</b> earlier and at a higher rate.	30.1%
18.8%	Women come earlier and in greater proportion to the <b>application of article 86(4) (telematics control)</b>	7.8%
=	Women and men <b>behave in a similar way in prison:</b> the same proportion of incidents, disciplinary proceedings and leave breaks.	=
-	Women <b>are less likely to be admitted to special supervision and psychiatric wards</b>	+
+	Women have more <b>self-harming behaviours</b>	-
+	Women have more <b>family burdens</b>	-
Recidivism		
20.0%	The <b>recidivism rate</b> is very similar	21.2%
11.4%	Some women who re-enter prison serve <b>subsidiary criminal liability</b> sentences. No man re-enters for this reason	0.0%

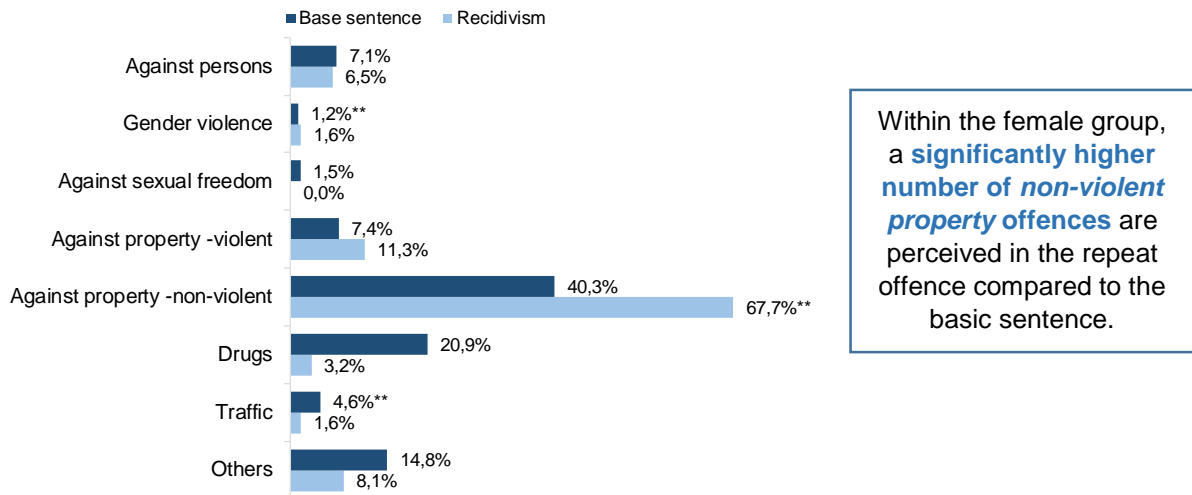
Graph 11. Comparison by gender in recidivism offending



**Women**, compared to men, commit more *non-violent property crimes*. **Men**, on the other hand, have a higher number of offences related to *gender-based violence and trafficking*.

\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$

Graph 12. Category of the principal offence of the basic sentence and on recidivism



\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate: p ≤ 0.01.

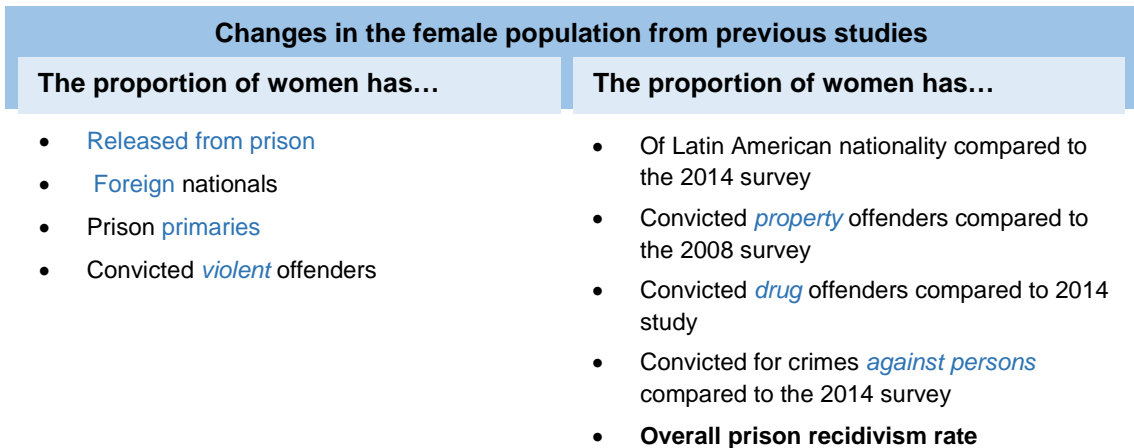
### Changes from previous studies

Below we can see what the trend has been in recent years with regard to the recidivism rate for women according to several variables. Broadly speaking, we can see that the overall rate of recidivism has tended to decrease, reaching a figure of 20.2%.

Table 5. Changes from previous studies in recidivism rates according to variables

	Rate 2008	Rate 2014	Rate 2020
Women released from prison	8.0%	8.3%	8.9%
Foreign nationals	17.0%	38.2%	36.6%
From Central and South America	13.6%	48.6%	13.5%
Prison primaries	42.3%	70.3%	59.4%
Property crime	61.6%	42.9%	49.1%
Drug offences	18.8%	30.1%	21.4%
Offences against persons	6.3%	11.7%	7.2%
Violent crime	8.9%	20.3%	17.6%
<b>Recidivism rate</b>	<b>34.8%</b>	<b>26.3%</b>	<b>20.2%</b>

Figure 10. Changes from previous studies in recidivism rates according to variables



## 9. Foreign nationals

### Changes over the years

Table 6. Changes in recidivism rate from previous studies by geographical area

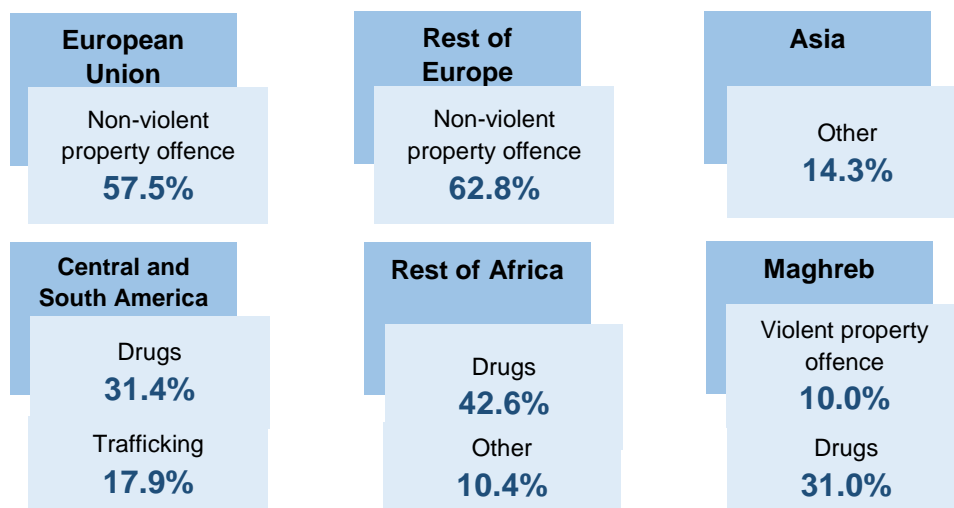
	Rate 2002	Rate 2008	Rate 2014	Rate 2020	Trend
	%	%	%	%	
<b>Overall recidivism rate</b>	<b>37.4</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>30.2</b>	<b>21.1</b>	
<b>Foreign population</b>	<b>18.3</b>	<b>31.4</b>	<b>43.2</b>	<b>40.9</b>	—
European Union	26.8	14.1	22.3	25.3	↑
Rest of Europe	0.5	10.5	8.1	5.9	↓
Maghreb	45.9	46.1	34.8	31.1	↓
Rest of Africa	12.0	9.3	7.1	7.7	—
Central and South America	10.9	13.6	22.1	24.8	↑
Asia	3.8	6.4	5.6	5.2	↓

The **proportion of the foreign population** has been on an upward trend, and has recently stabilised. This is in relation to the increase in the European and Central and South American repeat offender population. On the other hand, a decrease in the proportion of incarcerated non-EU, Maghreb and Asian Europeans was noticeable.

### Most committed crimes by geographical area

The types of offences committed by geographical area of origin are listed below. The data show crimes with a significantly higher rate.

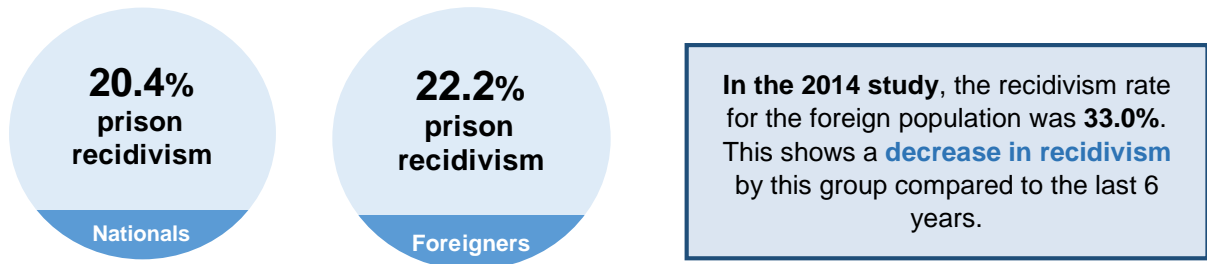
Figure 11. Type of offences committed according to geographical area of origin



The crime committed with the highest recidivism rate is *non-violent property* crime, where the majority of offenders are of **European nationality**.

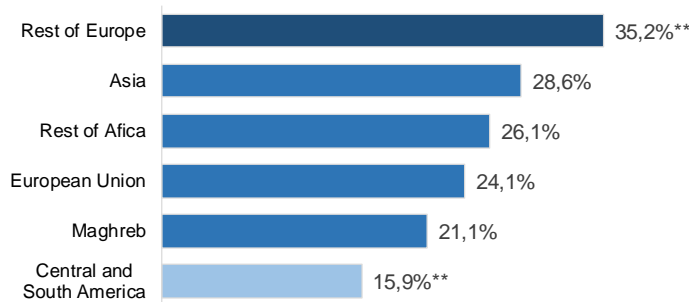
### Recidivism rate by nationality

Figure 12. Recidivism rate in prison for foreign nationals



If we focus on assessing specific recidivism rates, we observe that the geographical area from which the highest proportion of recidivists come from are countries outside the European Union. Central and Central and South America are pinpointed as the area of origin with the lowest concentration of repeat offenders.

Graph 13. Recidivism rate according to geographical area of origin



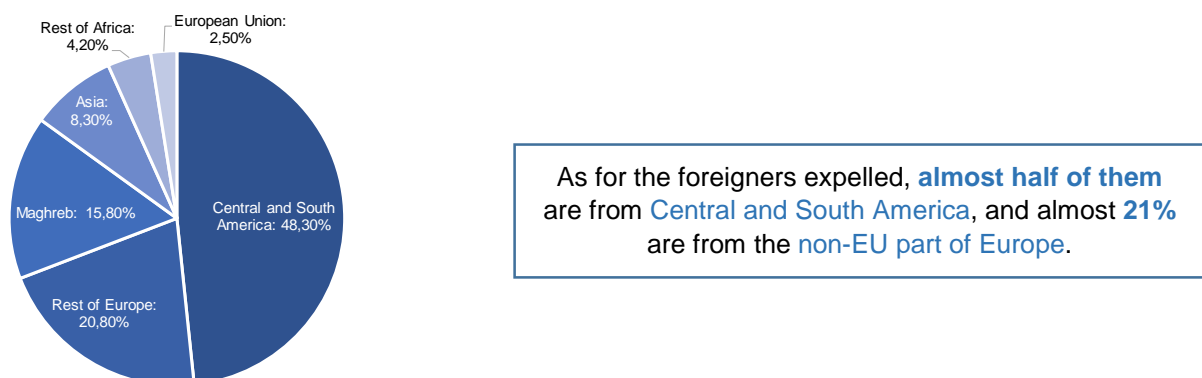
\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .

### Foreign nationals expelled

The recidivism rates for persons who were expelled from Spanish national territory in 2015 are shown below. The proportion of foreign national prison population released from prison in the same year was 40.9%.



Graph 14. Rate of foreign nationals expelled in 2020 by geographical area





### Uninterrupted sentence

Foreign nationals who are expelled have, on average, the longest sentences. We can see how they almost double the average number of days of uninterrupted sentence for non-removed foreign nationals and nationals.

Figure 13. Time of uninterrupted sentence according to expulsion from the national territory

Foreign nationals expelled 1,800 days (5 years)	Not expelled 790 days (2.2 years)	National 980 days (2.7 years)
----------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------------------

### New entrants and recidivism rates

Table 7. Recidivism rates according to type of recidivism and expulsion from the national territory

	Foreign national expelled	Foreign person not expelled	National
Reinstatement for a previous cause	9.2%**	25.0%	15.8%
Prison tax	0.0%	25.4%	16.8%
Court fee	10.0%**	59.2%	60.0%

\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .

- ✓ 9.2% of the persons expelled (theoretically) re-entered prison for serving a sentence for a previous offence. This means that either the expulsion has not been enforced, or they have returned to Catalonia, are re-arrested and re-imprisoned.
- ✓ None of them have entered for recidivism in prison or in criminal enforcement, but as there is a 10% recidivism rate, it may well be that the courts have issued their sentence and the enforcement order is still pending, or that the procedure has not been completed despite the fact that so many years have passed.
- ✓ We cannot confirm that the rest were actually expelled, given the limitations of the research itself, which focuses on the cases in Catalonia.

## 10. Young people

### Recidivism rate by age group and gender

Table 8. Recidivism rates by age group and gender

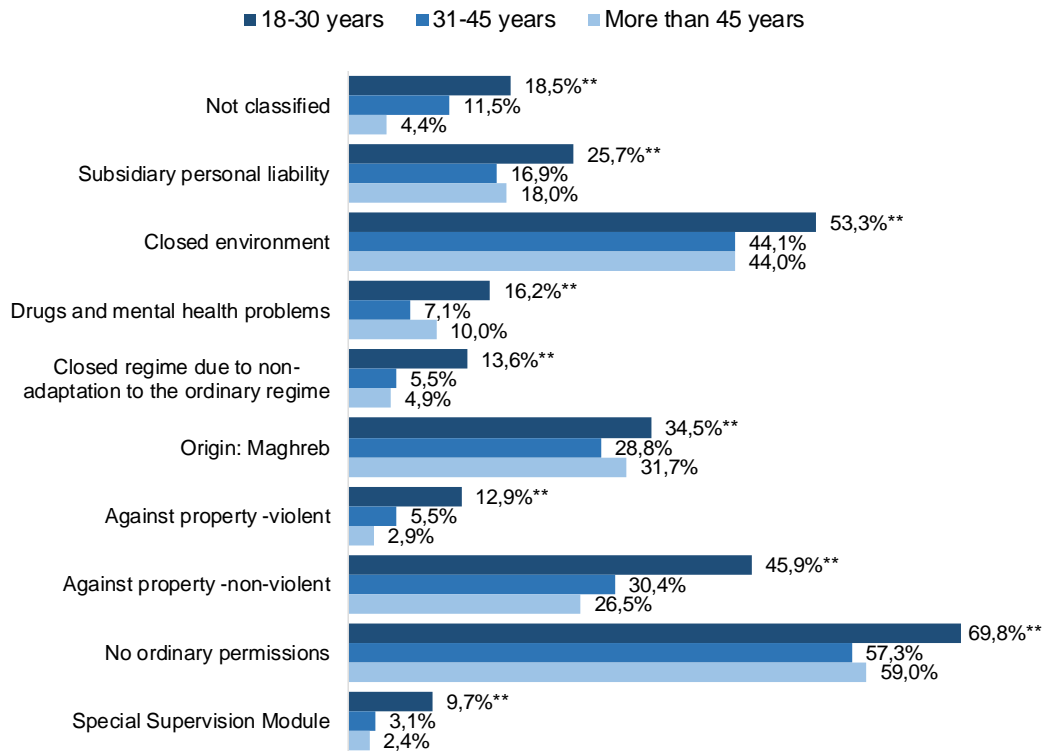
	18-30 years old	31-45 years old	Over 45 years old
Men	28.0%**	20.3%	11.6%**
Women	25.0%	18.8%	13.2%

\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .

Young men stand out as being more repeat offenders, both compared to those over 45 and to women.

### Variables with significant differences according to age groups

Graph 15. Variables with significant differences according to age groups



\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .

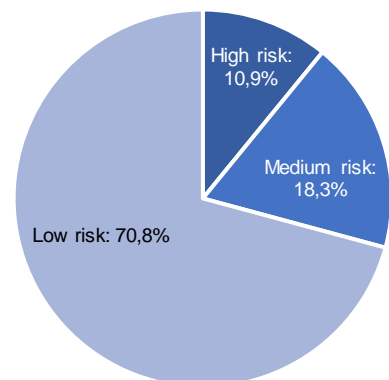
Young people between 18 and 30 years old have a **higher proportion** in all the variables analysed, especially in (and in this order, from highest to lowest): **not having ordinary leaves**, serving the sentence in **confinement** and having been imprisoned for a **non-violent property crime**.

## 11. RisCanvi and risk management

### RisCanvi's assessment of the risk of violent recidivism

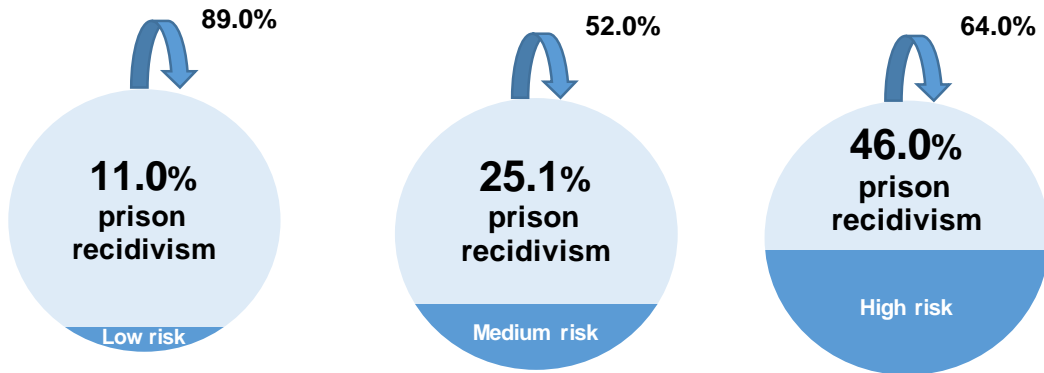
This study has confirmed that *RisCanvi* is a good tool to discriminate, on the basis of risk levels, the future prediction of recidivism, seriousness and repetition of offences. In particular, **high and medium levels** have statistically **higher proportions than low levels**.

Graph 16. Risk of violent recidivism according to the initial diagnosis



The **majority** of people (70.8%) are classified as **low risk** in the first *RisCanvi* assessment.

Figure 14. Evolution of *RisCanvi*'s risk assessment of violent recidivism and relationship with the observed recidivism rate

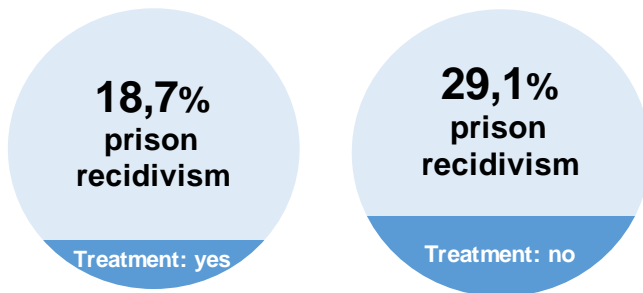


- ✓ Within the group of people with a **low risk** prediction according to the initial diagnosis (70.8%), **89.0% have remained** at the same level of risk throughout their sentence. Of these, 3.0 % have been classified as high risk in subsequent assessments, while 8.0% have become medium risk.
- ✓ Of persons classified as **medium risk** (18.3%), taking into account subsequent assessments, **52.0% have been maintained**, 31.0% have been classified as low risk and 17% have become high risk.
- ✓ Finally, with regard to persons classified as **high risk** (10.9%), **64.0% remained** at the same level of risk. 17% have been classified as low risk and 19% as medium risk.

There is a relationship between the diagnosed risk and the actual recidivism rate. **The higher the diagnosed risk, the higher the rate** (46.0%, 25.1% and 11.0%, respectively, for those who have remained at the same level throughout the sentence).

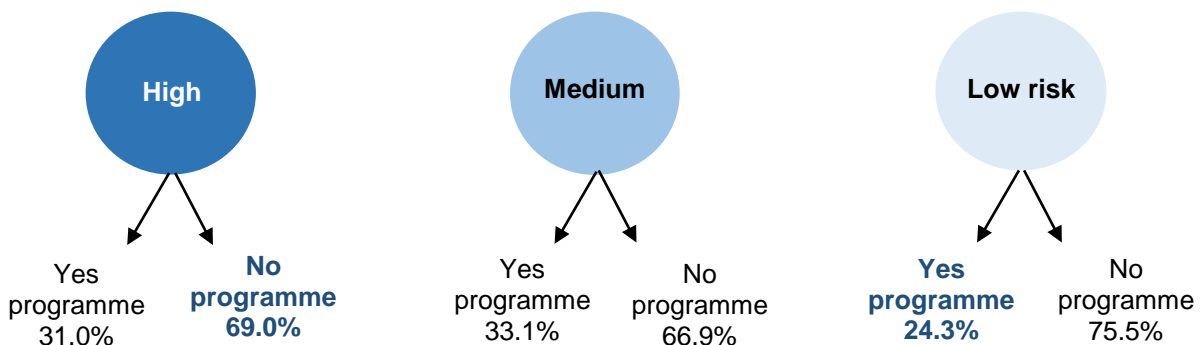
### Specialised violence treatment

Figure 15. Recidivism rate according to treatment



There are significant differences in recidivism between those who have done the specialised violence programme and those who have not.

Figure 16. Percentage of participation in specialised treatment programmes according to level of risk



- ✓ Only **a quarter** of those who have committed violent offences end up doing the **violence treatment programme**.
- ✓ There is a quarter of **low-risk** subjects who will do **specialised treatment (and it would not be necessary)**. On the other hand, there are **69.0%** at **high risk** who do not do the treatment programme, **but who would need it**.
- ✓ **Almost 70%** of the **high-risk** subjects will not go through the treatment programme during the sentence (78 persons). On the other hand, professionals' time (*a priori*, unnecessary) will be spent on a treatment programme for **24.3%** of low risks (65 people).

## Risk-Needs-Responsibility Management (RNR)

**Table 9. Recidivism rate according to diagnosed risk level and prison variables**

	High risk	Medium risk	Low risk	N
<b>No regular leave</b>	<b>60.1%</b>	<b>45.9%</b>	<b>36.0%</b>	<b>695</b>
No leave	<b>46.6%**</b>	<b>33.6%**</b>	<b>31.2%**</b>	
Leave	<b>26.3%**</b>	<b>17.0%**</b>	<b>10.3%**</b>	
<b>No access to the third level</b>	<b>70.9%</b>	<b>56.1%</b>	<b>40.8%</b>	<b>788</b>
No third grade	45.2%	33.2%	30.3%	
Third grade	22.1%	13.7%	9.2%	
<b>No access to parole</b>	<b>82.4%</b>	<b>73.7%</b>	<b>63.8%</b>	<b>1,232</b>
No parole	42.7%	<b>28.5%*</b>	<b>16.8%**</b>	
Parole	-	<b>12.5%*</b>	<b>5.8%**</b>	

\*\* Values with statistically significant differences with respect to the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.01$ .

\* Values with statistically significant differences from the overall rate:  $p \leq 0.05$ .

Those who have been released on parole have **significantly lower recidivism** rates, irrespective of the level of risk assessed.

## 12. Proposals for improvement



### Regarding prison management

1. **The best solution to reduce recidivism is the release from a non-confinement measure and as staggered a way as possible.** Thus, the Department of Justice's commitment should be to promote it in a decisive and explicit way from leadership, making every effort to provide it with more and better resources.
2. **According to the RisCanvi tool (70.8%), sentenced offenders who obtain a low risk of recidivism should initially be automatically classified in third grade,** unless there are arguments and evidence to the contrary provided by the treatment professionals.
3. **Open centres should be small modular units, territorialised, well communicated and more integrated in the community.** To think of macro-equipment would be to reproduce the prison subculture that all the scientific literature consulted tells us is empirically counterproductive in terms of reducing recidivism.

4. The **number of Dependent Units (DU) should be increased and the use of article 86.4** (with or without telematics control) **and parole should be promoted**, as more systemic and ecological ways of successfully bringing convicted persons closer to the community environment.



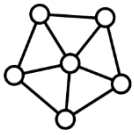
### Concerning intervention with offenders

5. The majority of **sexual offenders** are **at low risk of re-offending** and therefore no additional measures need to be taken than for other offences. In cases of **high risks** the need for intensive treatment in prison, with continuation in the community. **It is proposed to accompany this treatment with the subject's participation in the CerclesCat programme**, a resource that has obtained successful results in reducing recidivism in the evaluations carried out on the programme.
6. **In the case of persons convicted of gender-based violence**, the **whole way of intervening and managing cases** in the whole criminal sentence must be **thoroughly reviewed**, given that they show a later recidivism and, therefore, it is necessary to ensure a more extensive follow-up in non-confinement. In addition, a poorly targeted intervention has iatrogenic effects on low risks.
7. **With regard to multi-recidivists**, it has been found that **8%** of people are **responsible for 80% of recidivism**. The proposals would be, on the one hand, to introduce a security measure such as probation for cases of minor *crimes against property*, but with high repetition (which would include training/job training programmes) and, on the other hand, to apply the aggravating circumstance of recidivism provided for in article 235 of the Criminal Code for minor crimes (which the Supreme Court has refused to enforce).



### Respect for training and evaluation of results

8. There is a **need for computerised, automatic and reliable annual frequency data mining in terms of results**, as our current recidivism rate surveys **involve a high human and economic cost**, as they are completed by hand. Moreover, they have a clear explanatory weakness because they are so widely spaced over time (5/6 years). These improvements would make it easier for the SMPRAV (Secretariat of Penal Measures, Reinsertion and Attention to Victims) to adjust its penal and prison policies to the annual results and prison trends observed in recent years.
9. **A global review of the judgements underpinning the evidence criteria** of the **RisCanvi factors, centre by centre and in case supervision**, as the results obtained in this study confirm that the assessments are not homogeneous. The proposal would be to form a **team of people who are experts in risk assessment** and recognised within the system, with didactic and pedagogical capacity to guide the rest of the professionals in the centres.
10. **It is essential to have specialised training in the assessment of RisCanvi and applied risk management**, also given to all **new** professionals in prison centres.
11. **It is necessary to maintain and manage indicators of quality in the adoption of the RNR model** that assess the work of each prison and serve as a regulator for **continuous training and innovation**. It could also be useful for the **personalised improvement** of those weaknesses shown by each centre and for the **strengthening of potentials** that make it a benchmark.



### Regarding coordination between the administrations involved

12. **It is necessary to establish a standardised procedure for coordination between the courts and prisons that allows for real-time knowledge of the pending trials of convicted prisoners. It is necessary to ensure interoperability between the computer systems SIPC (Catalan prison information system) and Temis (procedural management system of the Administration of Justice).** The responsible legal operators (criminal enforcement courts and SMPRAV) should be aware of which sentences are pending for persons already sentenced, so that they can enforce them together before they are released from prison.
13. **There is a particular need for good risk management of people re-entering for previous offences,** as we have observed that this is the biggest driver of subsequent recidivism.



### Concerning the Criminal Code and the effectiveness of measures

14. **We propose to make use of studies** such as this and similar **evidence-based studies to substantiate the need for changes in criminal legislation**, taking into account the continuous reforms (a total of 35) that the Criminal Code has undergone since it has been in force (28 years). These changes without scientific evidence become iatrogenic for recidivism, such as, for example, the tightening of the conditions for access to parole made in the 2015 reform.
15. **The penalty of a fine should be modified as a measure for multiple offenders,** it is inefficient and ineffective, as has been demonstrated in this study and in the complementary annexed study which elaborates on legislative evaluation.
16. **The concept of multi-recidivism as it is legally interpreted should also be modified,** as it is obsolete and prioritises doctrinal discussions that are far removed from reality. The amount of the stolen property should not be important in determining the penalty, as it often depends on chance and not on the criminal intent of the offender.
17. **It would be necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of suspensions as a penal measure in these cases of multi-recidivism,** which generate an enormous slowdown and a procedural cost overrun for an already stressed and inefficient administration of justice due to the slowness of its application.

## The Task Force

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For more information and details of the summary information presented in this executive summary, we recommend readers to complement it with the statistical bulletins Justidata 71 to Justidata 77, which can be found on the CEJFE website:

<https://cejfe.gencat.cat/ca/publicacions/destacats-recerca/justidata/>

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