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Empirical study of recidivism of released prisoners in Greece and
prevention models

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ΣΧΟΛΗ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

Εμπειρική μελέτη της υποτροπής αποφυλακισμένων στην Ελλάδα και
μοντέλα πρόληψης

ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ

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List of abbreviations

AUC	Area Under the Curve
CCP	Core Correctional Practices
CCPSR	Core Correctional Practices Self-Report
CPAI	Correctional Program Assessment Inventory
CPC	Correctional Program Checklist
CPC-DC	Correctional Program Checklist-Drug Court
CPT	European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
EPICS	Effective Practices in Community Supervision
GLM	Good Lives Model
GPCSL	General Personality and Cognitive Social Learning
KETHEA	Therapy Center for Dependent Individuals [Κέντρο Θεραπείας Εξαρτημένων Ατόμων]
LS	Level of Service
LS/CMI	Level of Service/Case Management Inventory
LSI-R	Level of Service Inventory-Revised
OKANA	Organisation Against Drugs [Οργανισμός Κατά των Ναρκωτικών]
PCC	Psychology of Criminal Conduct
PCS	Proactive Community Supervision
RNR	Risk-Need-Responsivity
RNRM	Risk-Need-Responsivity-Motivation
ROC	Receiver Operating Characteristic
SEEDS	Skills for Effective Engagement, Development and Supervision
SRM	Self-Regulation Model
STARR	Staff Training Aimed at Reducing Re-arrest
STICS	Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision

Abstract

Background: The prevention of offending and, especially, reoffending constitutes a long-lasting pursuit of criminological research and, at the same time, an object of considerable controversy. The present dissertation focuses on the empirical investigation of the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece and the examination and comparative analysis of the two prominent models in offender rehabilitation and crime prevention, the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and Good Lives Models (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c).

Methods: For the purposes of the study a sample of 69 male offenders soon to be released from Greek custodial institutions were interviewed and followed in the community for approximately four years to examine recidivism. The Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2004) was used for the assessment of the RNR and the GLM assumptions were examined through the structured and theoretically informed assessment protocol developed by Yates, Kingston, and Ward (2009). The data on recidivism were retrieved from the electronic system of custodial institutions maintained by the General Secretariat for Crime Policy of the Ministry of Citizen Protection.

Results: According to the results, 42% of the study participants were reincarcerated within approximately three years of their release. Overall support for the validity of the RNR and the LS/CMI in predicting recidivism Greece was found, with criminal history, education or employment, and substance abuse constituting the main significant predictors. However, the findings provided limited support for the etiological assumptions of the GLM, as only the primary good of Inner Peace was a significant predictor of recidivism, while no association was found between recidivism and the GLM's assumption that offenders follow a direct and indirect route to offending. Finally, no indication for GLM's incremental value in predicting recidivism beyond RNR was observed in the present study.

Conclusions: The results of the present study offer significant indications for the potentially high prevalence of recidivism in Greece, highlighting the need for the systematic study of the phenomenon and for addressing factors associated with reoffending. Likewise, the preliminary evidence in support of RNR's applicability in the national context may offer important information with regard to the needs of incarcerated offenders in Greece, in support of the ongoing calls for intensification of

efforts facilitating the reintegration of offenders. The limited empirical support for the GLM's etiological assumptions and incremental validity may, at least to some extent, result from methodological aspects, such as the assessment protocol of the model, or theoretical considerations related to the operationalisation of the model, thus, pointing to a series of areas in need of further investigation.

Key words: Recidivism, reoffending, desistance, crime prevention, tertiary prevention, rehabilitation, social reintegration, RNR, GLM, predictive validity, incremental validity, risk, needs, strengths, custodial institutions.

Περίληψη

Θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο: Η πρόληψη της εγκληματικότητας, και πρωτίστως της υποτροπής, αποτελεί μακροχρόνια επιδίωξη και, ταυτόχρονα, αντικείμενο σημαντικής αντιπαράθεσης στους κόλπους της εγκληματολογικής έρευνας. Η παρούσα διατριβή επικεντρώνεται στην εμπειρική διερεύνηση του φαινομένου της υποτροπής στην Ελλάδα και την εξέταση και συγκριτική ανάλυση των δύο πιο διαδεδομένων μοντέλων στο πεδίο της πρόληψης, αποκατάστασης και κοινωνικής επανένταξης, του μοντέλου Κινδύνου-Ανάγκης-Απόκρισης (Risk-Need-Responsivity, RNR· Bonta & Andrews, 2017) και του μοντέλου «Εύ ζήν» (Good Lives Model, GLM· Ward, 2002· Ward & Stewart, 2003c).

Μέθοδος: Για τους σκοπούς της έρευνας, ένα δείγμα 69 ανδρών, κρατουμένων σε ελληνικά καταστήματα κράτησης, έλαβαν μέρος στη διεξαγωγή συνεντεύξεων σε σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα πριν την αποφυλάκισή τους και ακολουθήθηκαν στην κοινότητα για περίπου τέσσερα χρόνια προκειμένου να εξεταστεί η υποτροπή. Το εργαλείο Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2004) χρησιμοποιήθηκε για την αξιολόγηση του RNR και η εκτίμηση των αιτιολογικών παραδοχών του GLM διεξήχθη μέσω του δομημένου πρωτοκόλλου που αναπτύχθηκε από τους συγγραφείς του μοντέλου για τη διενέργεια σχετικών αξιολογήσεων (Yates, Kingston, & Ward, 2009). Τα στοιχεία αναφορικά με την υποτροπή ανακτήθηκαν μέσω του συστήματος ηλεκτρονικών υπηρεσιών καταστημάτων κράτησης της Γενικής Γραμματείας Αντεγκληματικής Πολιτικής, του Υπουργείου Προστασίας του Πολίτη.

Αποτελέσματα: Σύμφωνα με τα αποτελέσματα, το 42% των συμμετεχόντων φυλακίστηκαν ξανά κατόπιν νέας καταδίκης εντός τριών περίπου ετών από την αποφυλάκισή τους. Η έρευνα κατέδειξε επίσης την εγκυρότητα του RNR και του LS/CMI στην πρόβλεψη της υποτροπής στην Ελλάδα, με το ποινικό ιστορικό, την εκπαίδευση ή την απασχόληση και την κατάχρηση ουσιών να αποτελούν τους κύριους προγνωστικούς παράγοντες. Ωστόσο, τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας έρευνας παρείχαν περιορισμένη υποστήριξη για τις αιτιολογικές υποθέσεις του GLM. Μόνο το πρωταρχικό αγαθό της Εσωτερικής Γαλήνης αποτέλεσε σημαντικό προγνωστικό παράγοντα της υποτροπής, ενώ δεν βρέθηκε καμία συσχέτιση μεταξύ της υποτροπής και της υπόθεσης του GLM ότι οι παραβάτες ακολουθούν μια άμεση και έμμεση οδό προς τη διάπραξη αδικημάτων. Τέλος, στην παρούσα μελέτη δεν εντοπίστηκαν

στατιστικώς σημαντικές ενδείξεις αναφορικά με την επαυξητική εγκυρότητα του GLM στην πρόβλεψη υποτροπής πέραν του RNR.

Συμπεράσματα: Τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας μελέτης προσφέρουν σημαντικές ενδείξεις για τον δυνητικά υψηλό επιπολασμό της υποτροπής στην Ελλάδα, τονίζοντας την ανάγκη συστηματικής μελέτης του φαινομένου και αντιμετώπισης των παραγόντων που σχετίζονται με την υποτροπή. Ομοίως, προκαταρκτικά ευρήματα υποδεικνύουν τη δυνατότητα εφαρμογής του RNR στο εθνικό πλαίσιο, προσφέροντας σημαντικές πληροφορίες σχετικά με τις ανάγκες των φυλακισμένων Ελλάδας και υποστηρίζοντας τις συνεχιζόμενες εκκλήσεις για εντατικοποίηση των προσπάθειών στο πεδίο της υποστήριξης της επανένταξης των αποφυλακισμένων. Τα περιορισμένα ευρήματα αναφορικά με τις αιτιολογικές παραδοχές και την επαυξητική εγκυρότητα του GLM θα μπορούσαν, τουλάχιστον σε κάποιο βαθμό, να αποδοθούν σε μεθοδολογικούς παράγοντες, όπως το πρωτόκολλο αξιολόγησης του μοντέλου, ή θεωρητικές πτυχές του μοντέλου, καταδεικνύοντας έτσι μια σειρά από τομείς που χρήζουν περαιτέρω έρευνας.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: υποτροπή, αποχή, πρόληψη της εγκληματικότητας, τριτογενής πρόληψη, αποκατάσταση, κοινωνική επανένταξη, RNR, GLM, προβλεπτική εγκυρότητα, επαυξητική εγκυρότητα, κίνδυνος, δυνατότητες, ανάγκες, καταστήματα κράτησης.

Introduction

The world prison population was estimated at more than 10.77 million in 2021, progressively increasing over the past almost two decades (Fair & Walmsley, 2021). In 2019 more than two million persons were incarcerated in the United States, the country with the highest prison population rate globally (Fair & Walmsley, 2021). In Europe, excluding the Russian Federation, a 5% increase has been observed in the prison population since 2000 (Fair & Walmsley, 2021). In southern Europe, the rise reaches a figure of 19% (Fair & Walmsley, 2021). A slightly different trend was observed in Greece over the past few years (see also Koulouris, 2020), after emergency and temporary legislative measures were enacted between 2014 and 2019 to address prison overpopulation (Law 4274/2014; Law 4322/2015; Law 4411/2016; Law 4489/2017; Law 4571/2018). Following a stable increase in the previous years and with 11 to 12 thousand persons detained between the years 2008 and 2015, a total number of 9,611 persons were incarcerated in custodial institutions across Greece in January 2016 (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.a, n.d.b). The number of detainees increased to 10,891 by January 1st, 2020 (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.b), after the temporary measures expired in August of the previous year (Article 13, paragraph 2, Law 4571/2018), reaching again a number of 11,379 persons incarcerated on January 1st, 2021 (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.b).

The data also show that significant proportions of released offenders are often arrested, convicted, or incarcerated for the commission of new offences within two years of their release (Fazel & Wolf, 2015; Yukhnenko, Sridhar, & Fazel, 2019). The relevant rates vary between countries and methods of assessing or reporting recidivism with figures for reconviction ranging from approximately 20% in countries such as Austria, Norway, and Iceland, to 60% in Denmark, Sweden, and New Zealand (Yukhnenko et al., 2019). Reimprisonment rates within two years of release from prison are higher than 40% in Australia, Quebec, Canada, and New Zealand (Yukhnenko et al., 2019). Notably, in a study examining the re-arrest rates of 401,288 prisoners released from United States prisons in 2005, 68% were arrested again within 3 years, 79% within 6 years, and 83% within 9 years (Alper, Durose, & Markman, 2018). Although in recent years there has been a significant lack of systematic data in Greece, a study conducted by Courakis and colleagues (Courakis, Milioni, & Athens Law School Students' Research Group, 1995; Courakis & Stathoulopoulou, 2007) between

1993 and 2000 found that 80% of the 113 young offenders participating were reconvicted or reincarcerated within approximately 7 years of their release.

The prevention of offending and, especially, reoffending constitutes a long-lasting pursuit of criminological research and, at the same time, an object of considerable controversy. Sanctions – the formal imposition of punishment for law violations (Miethe & Lu, 2005) – aim at the general and specific prevention of new offences (Courakis, 2009). General prevention is intended to deter the public as a whole from violating the law, whereas specific prevention is addressed to individuals that have already violated the law (Farsedakis, 2016). Specific prevention is achieved, or at least is thought to be achieved, through “the imposition and execution of a sentence, in order for the offenders to improve or become neutralised and not reoffend” (Farsedakis, 2016, pp. 169-170). Programmes, interventions, or measures designed to prevent crime are classified as primary, secondary, and tertiary (Welsh, 2011). Tertiary crime prevention, which is also the topic of the present dissertation, involves measures focused on those already convicted of crimes and seeks to reduce repeat offending or recidivism (Welsh, 2011). However, tertiary measures often have minimal or reverse effect, “facilitating or causing reoffending”, especially in cases where the individual is imprisoned (Farsedakis, 2016, p. 173).

The rehabilitation model “takes the stance that crime is best prevented by addressing directly the factors – economic, social, or personal – believed to be the cause of crime” (Hollin, 2001, p. 242). The criminological literature (e.g., Allen, 1981; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; McGuire 2013; Palmer, 1992; Raynor & Robinson, 2005) often points to the mid-1970s’ and Martinson’s 1974 essay as the seminal moment when, at least in the United States, the “rehabilitative ideal” (Allen, 1981) started declining. Rehabilitation, which was the predominant paradigm since start of the 20th century (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000), was now challenged by the “‘nothing works’ doctrine” (Adams, 1976, p. 75) that resulted in a shift towards punishment in the policies implemented (Cullen & Gilbert, 2012; Raynor & Robinson, 2005). What became known as the “what works” movement, sought to re-establish rehabilitation through a growing body of research during the 1980s and 1990s that was followed by a second phase of policy and practical implications towards the end of the 20th century (Lösel, 2012b; Raynor & Robinson, 2005; Robinson & Crow, 2009).

Two of the most influential approaches in offender rehabilitation within contemporary literature are the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta &

Andrews, 2017) and, more recently, the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c). RNR emerged in the aftermath of the debate between the “nothing works” claims (Martinson, 1974) and the subsequent “what works” movement which marked the academic, research, and policy field half a century ago (Cullen, 2005; Cullen & Gilbert, 2012). First presented in 1990 (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990), RNR has since evolved into the dominant paradigm for the assessment and rehabilitation of offenders (e.g., Cullen, 2012, 2013; Newsome & Cullen, 2017). Nonetheless, as Lösel (2012b) insightfully observes, “[i]n physics one counts only seven new paradigms in 500 years, whereas social scientists seem to like more frequent discussions about paradigm shifts” (p. 198). Thus, within a few years the literature was moving again “towards a third phase of ‘what works’” with a renewed debate between different approaches to rehabilitation emerging (Lösel, 2012b, p. 198). The GLM, developed in the early 2000s (Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c), has sought to challenge the effectiveness of RNR, prompting a spirited debate in the literature (e.g., Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011; Bonta & Andrews, 2003; Ward & Stewart, 2003a, 2003b; Ward, Yates, & Willis, 2012; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). A debate that has extended over the past 20 years, generating considerable interest in terms of the nature and future offender rehabilitation and the prevention of reoffending.

The present dissertation focuses on the phenomenon of recidivism and the examination and comparative analysis of the two prominent models in offender rehabilitation and crime prevention, the RNR (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and GLM (Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) models. As a preliminary attempt to provide empirical context on the ongoing conceptual debate, this study will investigate the validity and complementarity of the two models. At the same time, it will also seek to explore the potential for the practical application of the two models on a national level. Employing a longitudinal research design, a sample of male offenders soon to be released from Greek custodial institutions were interviewed and followed for a period of approximately four years after their return to the community to examine recidivism. Thus, the current dissertation will also aim at exploring the prevalence of recidivism in Greece through the collection of official data on the reincarceration rate of released offenders.

The contents of the present dissertation are organised in three main parts and eleven chapters. The first part focuses on the theoretical aspects, with the first chapter aiming to briefly – albeit not exhaustively – set the framework in which the notions of

recidivism, prevention, and rehabilitation are approached in the context of the present dissertation. The second chapter discusses the concepts of recidivism and rehabilitation within the Greek correctional system, attempting to situate the present study and the models examined in the national setting. In chapter three, the two main models in the prevention of reoffending internationally, the RNR and GLM models, are detailed and critically examined. Starting from the background in which the models emerged, this chapter continues with theoretical, practical, and research aspects of the RNR and GLM. Subsequently, an overview of the ongoing debate between RNR and GLM is provided, in effort to identify potential aspects of convergence and divergence between them. This part of the dissertation concludes with the fourth chapter offering a brief synopsis of some of the key aspects explored in the first theoretical part of the dissertation and introducing the framework of the empirical research. The second part of the dissertation describes the present research, beginning with its objectives and hypotheses in chapter five. Chapter six outlines the research methodology, followed by the presentation of the results in chapter seven. The discussion of the research findings and the conclusions drawn are then presented in chapters eight and nine, respectively. The third and final part summarises the general conclusions of the dissertation in chapter 10 and offers suggestions for potential implications and future directions in chapter 11.

As a prologue to this analysis, it should be noted that gender specific issues, aspects related explicitly to the treatment of juvenile offenders, as well as the typology of offences are beyond the scope of the present dissertation. Official data show that inmates in Greek custodial institutions serve a wide range of sentences, while a rather restricted number of female and juvenile offenders, representing approximately 6% to 8% of the prison population, were incarcerated between the years 2015 and 2021 (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.b). Thus, the limitation of spectrum in male offenders irrespective of the crimes for which they were convicted was warranted in an effort to ensure the feasibility of the present study and to produce comparable results. Likewise, considering the limitations and the difficulty in acquiring self-reported data on reoffending, but also the lack of official systematic data on new arrests or convictions, the study of recidivism is focused specifically on the reincarceration of recently released offenders following new convictions.

PART I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER 1. RECIDIVISM, CRIME PREVENTION, AND OFFENDERS'

REHABILITATION: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Prologue

The notions of recidivism, crime prevention, and offender rehabilitation constitute both central and equally contested concepts with a long history within the criminological literature. The history and the definitional and conceptual aspects of these notions, as well as of the associated concepts of risk, dangerousness, and reintegration or reformation or resettlement, have been the subject of extensive study. Recent work has offered exhaustive reviews of the relevant literature, but also their critical appraisal, from the scope of different theoretical perspectives, examining both the national and international literature. For instance, Giannoulis (2017) thoroughly analysed the concepts of risk of reoffending, the relevant notion of dangerousness, and the applications of risk assessment throughout their history and from different perspectives of positivist, conflict and critical criminology and just deserts theory in order to identify the common ground for an integrative theoretical approach. Similarly, in her recent work, Gasparinatou (2020) explored the evolution of the concept and the implications of dangerousness during the course of the centuries, systemising not only the relevant literature but also the “dangers” and criticisms associated with this notion. Panagos (2020) comprehensively examined the historic and contemporary approaches to the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders, including conceptual and definitional issues, diverse and opposing theoretical perspectives, and current models.

Thus, rather than providing another extensive and critical review of the definitional, historical, and theoretical framework of these concepts, the present chapter will draw on this recent work in an effort to briefly – albeit not exhaustively – introduce some of the important points, theories and criticisms associated with the notions explored by the present study. The following section examines aspects related to recidivism, the concepts of risk and dangerousness, the use of risk assessment methods and some of the most pertinent points of critique raised against them, before introducing the other end of recidivism, that of desistance. The next section discusses rehabilitation as a form of crime prevention and the opposing utilitarian theories that have reshaped rehabilitation into its contemporary form. Subsequently some of the various forms of

rehabilitation in correctional practices and their associations with the concepts of reintegration or reformation are explored. The chapter concludes with a short overview presenting the context in which these terms could be understood for the purposes of the current dissertation.

Lastly, to prelude this analysis, it should be reiterated that epistemological issues and in-depth conceptual, definitional, or historical aspects which have been extensively analysed (e.g., see Bennett, 2008; Brown & Pratt, 2000; Cullen & Gilbert, 2012; Cullen & Jonson, 2016; Gasparinatou 2020; Giannoulis, 2017; Harrison, 2011; Hudson, 2003; Panagos, 2020; Pratt, 1995; 1997; Raynor & Robinson 2005; Robinson & Crow, 2009) would be beyond the scope of the present dissertation. Inherently interacting, co-dependent, and inextricably linked, these concepts and corresponding social processes and practices, ultimately ensuing to either reoffending or desistance from crime, have been attributed by some scholars to the individual failure or success of the offender, by others to the failure or success of the criminal justice system, and by others to intermediate positions. Their very ontological existence, scientific integrity, or theoretical foundations have often been questioned, while more often than not, it has been suggested that these concepts cannot be defined “objectively” or “definitively” but only “conventionally” by each researcher depending on the subject and needs of each particular study. Thus, this chapter will seek to present only an attempt to set the framework in which these concepts are approached within the current dissertation.

1.2. The notion of recidivism

The prevention of recidivism is often described as one of the purposes of sanctions and of rehabilitation, or, in any case, how effectiveness in the field of corrections has been assessed (Cullen & Jonson, 2016), despite the limited agreement on how it is defined or measured. Recidivism refers to reoffending – namely, the commission of a new offence – by a previously convicted individual within a specific follow up period (Zara & Farrington, 2016). In research studies the follow up period is usually defined as two or more years (e.g., see Balakrishnan & Milienos, 2020; Fazel & Wolf, 2015; Yukhnenko et al., 2019) and recidivism is measured either by self-reports or through official data regarding new arrests, reconvictions, or reincarcerations (Zara & Farrington, 2016). Among the main challenges that arise in the study of recidivism, evident also in the above description, are the different outcomes often

measured, such as rearrests or reconvictions, the extent of the time period selected to examine recidivism, and the types of data, self-reported or official, used.

More specifically, the definitional variability in the outcomes measured not only makes comparisons between different studies, jurisdictions, or countries difficult (e.g., see Fazel & Wolf, 2015; Yukhnenko et al., 2019), but also raises questions on what recidivism actually entails. For example, rearrests – an arrest for a new offence that follows a previous conviction or imprisonment (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022) – has been widely used to assess recidivism rates (e.g., see Alper et al., 2018). However, a rearrest may not necessarily result in reconviction as the charges may subsequently be dropped due to insufficient evidence or because the suspect simply did not commit the crime, with the wrongful arrests still appearing in recidivism rates (Maltz, 1984; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). The latter is especially pertinent to released prisoners, probationers, or parolees, that are more frequently apprehended by the police, even for reasons such as being present in an area associated with criminal activity or engaging with individuals perceived as suspicious, due to their previous involvement with the criminal justice system (Zara & Farrington, 2016).

Reconviction – a conviction for a new offence during a specific follow up period – is regarded as a more reliable parameter or definition of recidivism since it follows a relevant court decision establishing guilt and imposing a sentence and does not include unprosecuted arrests (Zara & Farrington, 2016). The use of reconvictions, however, also presents several limitations in estimating recidivism rates. For example, the different types of offences included in the definition of recidivism can vary from more serious crimes to traffic violations or even fines (Fazel & Wolf, 2015). And even if these definitional barriers are overcome, the estimation of recidivism can still depend on the duration of court proceedings for a decision to be formalised (Yukhnenko et al., 2019). For instance, different countries include in the definition of recidivism reconvictions for offences committed within the specified follow up period (e.g., two years), irrespective of when the court decision was finalised, while other countries include only offences for which a final court decision has been issued within the set timeframe (Yukhnenko et al., 2019).

Reincarceration constitutes another dimension of recidivism that focuses specifically on an offender's return to prison or some other form of custody, such as jails, halfway houses, or community correctional facilities in some jurisdictions

(National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). An obvious limitation of using reincarceration as the sole measure of recidivism is that not all reconvictions will result in a prison sentence, thus excluding from recidivism rates individuals receiving community or alternative sentences (Langan & Levin, 2002; see also Ministry of Justice, 2011). Moreover, both rearrests and reincarcerations may not necessarily reflect recidivism in the sense of committing a new offence, as these can also occur due to technical violations of probation or parole conditions resulting in revocation (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; Zara & Farrington, 2016). Relatedly, irrespective of the outcome assessed, an important consideration in examining recidivism rates is potential biases associated with the length of the follow up period, which often ranges from a few months to several years (e.g., see Fazel & Wolf, 2015). As expected, the likelihood of recidivism is inversely proportional to the time that has passed since the previous conviction or imprisonment, with shorter follow up periods associated with lower risk of recidivism (Zara & Farrington, 2016).

It is indicative that the Greek Penal Code (Law 283/1985) that was in force until July 2019 defined recidivism in the context of sentencing as the commission of a new offence punishable with a sentence of more than three months (a) within five years from the issuance of the irrevocable conviction, if the individual had been convicted of a misdemeanour involving a sentence of imprisonment exceeding six months, and (b) within ten years if the individual had been convicted of a felony (Article 88, paragraph 1). However, the relevant articles referring to recidivism (Articles 88-93, Law 283/1985) were removed from the new Code (Law 4619/2019) that entered into force in July 2019. Yet, as following chapters of the present dissertation will also discuss, the risk of committing a new offence remains a consideration in various aspects related to the treatment of incarcerated offenders, including decisions regarding home leaves and conditional release (Gasparinatou, 2020, pp. 163-164; see also Giannoulis, 2017, pp. 73-79).

An important aspect in this regard is that when recidivism is assessed on the basis of official data it represents only the interactions of known offenders with the criminal justice system, neglecting the hidden dimensions of crime and offences that may remain unreported or undetected (Gomes, Maia, & Farrington, 2018; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; Zara & Farrington, 2016). It also fails to account for wrongful arrests and convictions, as well as the individual

differences that may lead to the increased likelihood of a person being arrested or convicted due to characteristics such as their identity or community context (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). In what has been described as a “successive funneling process”, of all the crimes committed only a fraction is reported to the police; only a portion of these crimes is officially recorded by the police; while only some offenders are convicted and among them only few receive a custodial sentence (Farrington & Jolliffe, 2004, p. 1; see also Gomes et al., 2018).

In other words, it has been suggested that official recidivism rates essentially represent the “decisions by legal authorities and not necessarily an individual’s return to criminal activity” (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022, p. 195; see also Maltz, 1984). In this context, a distinction is often made in the literature between criminal recidivism and criminal persistence. Recidivism represents the continuous offending evidenced by official criminal records, while criminal persistence refers to offending that can remain undetected by authorities, with a person continuing to commit crimes without ever being officially detected, arrested, or convicted (Zara & Farrington, 2016). Thus, triangulating information from different sources, including both official and self-reported data, has been often suggested in order to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon (Blumstein, 2016; Farrington, 1973; National Research Council, 1986; Sullivan & McGloin, 2014; Zara & Farrington, 2016). Researchers have also sought to examine the reliability of these methods by contrasting official and self-reported data (e.g., see Farrington, Ttofi, Crago, & Coid, 2014; Gomes, Farrington, Maia, & Krohn, 2019; Payne, & Piquero, 2016; Piquero, Schubert, & Brame, 2014; Pollock, Menard, Elliott, & Huizinga, 2015; Woessner & Hefner, 2020), with some studies finding comparable results and other studies indicating a moderate consistency between the two sources of information, often depending on the different types of offences examined.

Nevertheless, each of these methods still presents a series of advantages and limitations that have long been a central topic of discourse in the relevant literature (e.g., see Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis, 1979, for a review of earlier studies comparing self-reported and official data). For instance, official data derived from records maintained by judicial or law enforcement agencies offer access to very large sets of comprehensive information collected in a systematic and standardised way (Blumstein, 2016; Maltz, 1984; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022) that can potentially increase their reliability and consistency. It could also be suggested

that official data may be considered as more objective and legally valid when compared to self-reported arrests or crimes, as the relevant cases have been tried in court, thus respecting the presumption of innocence until proven otherwise (Blumstein, 2016; Maltz, 1984). In contrast, the limitations associated with the use of official data have also been documented at length (e.g., see Dunford & Elliott, 1984 and Hindelang, 1974 for earlier studies). In addition to the core issue of excluding undetected, unreported, or non-prosecuted offences (Gomes et al., 2018), a review of the relevant literature will offer an array of different limitations, some of which – even though not the only ones – could be briefly summarised as follows.

The first relates to the level of accuracy and potential discrepancies in the recording of data, such as missing information or nonrecording of incidents; misclassification of the same crime as different offences, especially across different jurisdictions and due to the inconsistency in legal definitions; but also, failure to distinguish between probation or parole revocations resulting from technical violations or new offences (Maltz, 1984; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; National Research Council, 1986; Piquero et al. 2014). Secondly, distinct systems or databases are often used by different judicial and law enforcement agencies to record different types of information, such as arrests, convictions, or incarcerations, which can hinder the cross-referencing of information even for the same individual (Langan & Levin, 2002; Zara & Farrington, 2016). Finally, the documentation of information remains subjected to police, prosecutorial, and judicial discretion, which can also be influenced by different attitudes and practices towards pursuing and recording arrests or convictions for specific population subgroups or types of offences (e.g., young offenders versus sex offenders; Maltz, 1984; National Research Council, 1986; Payne & Piquero, 2016; Piquero et al., 2014)

Alternatively, self-reported data, often gathered through surveys or interviews, can offer extensive information on both detected and undetected offences, but also other aspects of an individual's life potentially associated with reoffending, such as their employment, educational, or relational and social background (Blumstein, 2016). Although mitigating the aforementioned issues of reliance solely on outcomes that can be influenced by legal processing disparities, the most obvious and often cited limitation of self-reported data is that their accuracy depends on the ability and willingness of each individual (Payne & Piquero, 2016), as well as factors associated with the method of assessment used each time (e.g., see Gomes et al., 2019 for a

systematic review). More specifically, the first major point of criticism pertains to the ability of an individual to accurately recall and describe all the relevant incidents, including details such as which interactions with the police were actually arrests; if an offence was classified as, for example, a robbery or a theft; and the chronological sequence of the different events, especially in cases of multiple contacts with the criminal justice system over the period examined (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; National Research Council, 1986; Payne & Piquero, 2016).

Secondly, biases related to social desirability and the potential reluctance of an individual to self-report negative information, even in a context of anonymous surveys or confidential interviews, have been often highlighted (Babinski, Hartsough, & Lambert, 2001; Woessner & Hefner, 2020). To that end, purposefully under- or over-reporting of events and misrepresenting the seriousness of an offence are among the relevant considerations in self-reported criminal behaviour (National Research Council, 1986; Payne & Piquero, 2016). Thirdly, methodological aspects associated with the assessment method, such as the wording of the questions used, the format or the length of a survey questionnaire, the type of the available responses, the characteristics of the interviewer, and methods of administration (e.g., anonymous surveys or confidential interviews), are also among the influencing factors (Gomes et al., 2018, 2019; National Research Council, 1986; Payne & Piquero, 2016). Finally, other relevant aspects include the small samples of such studies, particularly in comparison to the availability of vast official data, the costly and lengthy process to obtain the information (Blumstein, 2016; Maltz, 1984), difficulties in identifying and engaging participants, as well as potential sample attrition, non-responses, or missing information (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; Piquero et al., 2014).

In sum, each method of assessment used, outcome examined, or definition of recidivism adopted presents strengths and limitations. Some of these limitations and methodological concerns, although have been long identified, are often not fully understood by academics, researchers, and policy makers (Gomes et al., 2018). However, as Maltz (1984) astutely notes, “problems of this nature are common to the measurement of virtually all social phenomena” (p. 25). Likewise, relevant recommendations on how to assess recidivism more effectively (e.g., see Maltz, 1984; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022) seem to point to Zara and Farrington’s (2016) conclusion that any scientific analysis of recidivism is still

inherently dependent on the dataset it relies upon. An important aspect in this regard is the need to carefully specify the purposes and address the limitations of any recidivism measure employed in order to prevent misuse in both policy and practice due to lack of awareness regarding the data recording methods used (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). Nonetheless, it remains true that regardless of the definition or method of assessment used a “precise figure for the rate of recidivism [...] cannot be ascertained” and any method utilised will be “biased or, at best, partial” due to unreported, undetected, or non-convicted offences (Zara & Farrington, 2016, p. 6).

At the same time, the above constitute only few of the challenges associated with this notion, as the debate surrounding recidivism is multifaceted with key points of critique extending beyond its measurement or definition. A significant aspect relates to the binary nature of the construct simply distinguishing between those who failed – and were arrested, reconvicted, or reincarcerated – and those who succeeded in abstaining from crime (or in being detected), at least up to the time when the data were collected (Maltz, 1984; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). This two-fold measurement of success or failure is thought to neglect the multiple dimensions of post-release or post-conviction outcomes and especially aspects that could be associated with the cessation of criminal behaviour, or desistance, such as the life domains of employment or social support (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). Thus, rather than focusing on measuring failure or success in the terms of recidivism, as the official involvement with the criminal justice system, or desistance, as the absence of criminal behaviour in general, the need to focus on factors associated with social reintegration has been highlighted (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). Perceived as a “success marker in its own right”, the focus on aspects that can support social reintegration should be maintained regardless of their effect on (re)offending (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022, p. 81).

In line with the above, reviewing the relevant literature across various fields, a recent comprehensive report on recidivism proposes a series of alternative indicators related to successful reintegration (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). These indicators could be then used to develop measures of success in various life domains associated with ex-offenders achieving personal well-being, becoming productive citizens, and avoiding interactions with the legal system (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). In brief, these domains would

include: (a) educational attainment, (b) employment and job retention, (c) family and social support, (d) physical and mental health, (e) stable housing, (f) civic and community engagement, (g) personal well-being, and (h) legal involvement (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). However, as next sections of this dissertation will further explore, many of the abovementioned factors already constitute part of the commonly termed risk and needs assessments that have been widely employed to examine both the risk of reoffending and the reintegrative needs of offenders (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

In sum, as Weisberg (2014) highlights, the very use of the term recidivism is capable of provoking debates about societal and cultural factors associated with crime. The discussion about the need to move beyond recidivism to explain post-offending behaviour or assess the outcome of interventions has long preoccupied the relevant literature (e.g., see Maltz, 1984). Undoubtedly, a substantial proportion of the existing literature on offending and reoffending has been centred around the so-called “risk paradigm” (e.g., see Farrington, 2000), which also encompasses the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) examined in the present dissertation. This theoretical and methodological approach focuses on the assessment and management of risk or need factors associated with criminal behaviour to prevent future offending (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The very notion of risk has been extensively scrutinised by diverse theoretical approaches, as have the risk assessment methods employed to examine the probability of recidivism (e.g., see Gasparinatou, 2020; Giannoulis, 2017). On the other end is the “desistance paradigm” (e.g., see Maruna & LeBel, 2010; McNeill, 2006), a theoretical approach that focuses on examining factors and mechanisms that can contribute to the cessation of criminal behaviour. The Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) examined in the current dissertation is also closely affiliated with the desistance paradigm (e.g., see Laws & Ward, 2011). The next sections present some of the most critical points associated with risk and risk assessment, before briefly exploring the opposite side of desistance from crime and its associations with recidivism.

1.2.1. Risk and/or dangerousness

A notion closely related to recidivism or reoffending is that of “risk”, which in recent years has been proposed (e.g., see Castel, 1991; Giannoulis, 2017; Harrison, 2011; Pratt, 1995) to replace the controversial term of “dangerousness” often used in the Greek literature and which has preoccupied the criminological thought for centuries

(e.g., see Gasparinatos, 2018, 2020; Nikolopoulos, 2003). Tracing the concept of dangerousness through various theoretical perspectives across the history of criminology, Giannoulis (2017) notes the differences between the translation of the terms dangerousness (“επικινδυνότητα”) and risk (“κίνδυνος”) in Greek. The terms “jeopardy” or “endangerment” (“διακινδύνευση” in Greek) have also been used in the national literature with similar connotations (e.g., see Nikolopoulos, 2003). Thus, Giannoulis (2017) suggests the use of the term risk to describe the probability of reoffending or recidivism (“κίνδυνος υποτροπής”), rather than the dangerous of the offender themselves (“επικινδυνότητα του δράστη”).

Regardless of the term – dangerousness or risk – employed, this subject has been approached by various and diverse perspectives with limited consensus regarding its definition or use within the criminological field. The notion of dangerousness has been described as a “false” concept or a “forged” element (Alexiadis, 1986), a notion with “ideological load and no scientific weight” (Gasparinatos, 2020, p. 205; see also Skandamis, 2018), as well as a relative concept that cannot be (fully) defined (Giannoulis, 2017, p. 123). As Harrison (2011) also observes, “what and who the dangerous offenders is” represents a “changing notion and construction” that evolves with “time, place and popular belief” (p. 7). Therefore, the author suggests that when trying to assess or establish “who the dangerous offender is, a definition of dangerousness [...] may be impossible”, since any definition would require a specific social context (Harrison, 2011, p. 12). The historical traces of dangerousness can be found in the 19th century, and it has been the epicentre of positivist criminological approaches that focus on the personality of the offender to describe and address the causality of crime (Chouliaras, 2018). Traditionally, it could be understood as an individual’s criminal capacity that stems from their biopsychological disposition and represents a source of danger for the society (Gasparinatos, 2018, p. 212).

The history of dangerousness and its evolution over the centuries have been documented at length (e.g., see Bennett, 2008; Brown & Pratt, 2000; Brown, 2010; Chouliaras, 2018; Gasparinatos, 2018, 2020; Giannoulis, 2017; Harrison, 2011; Nikolopoulos, 2003; Pratt, 1995; 1997; Skandamis, 2018). The various distinct or interrelated conceptual approaches and different characteristics that have been attributed to this concept since its inception also have been extensively analysed (e.g., see Giannoulis, 2017). The common denominator among many of them is the predictive nature of dangerousness which, at the same time, constitutes the focus of the majority

of the points of critique addressed to this notion (Giannoulis, 2017). It is indicative that the increased focus on predicting risk and dangerousness and the associated selective incapacitation policies implemented over the previous century, with sentence lengths or decisions for granting of parole based on the risk of reoffending (Hudson, 2003), are often linked with the phenomenon of mass imprisonment in countries such as the United States (e.g., see Garland, 2001b). Likewise, in addition to the objections regarding the use of predictive judgements that will be described in the next sections of this chapter, the criticisms addressed to dangerousness from various theoretical approaches have been the subject of extensive review (see Gasparinatos, 2020; Giannoulis, 2017). To that end, Gasparinatos (2020) offers a comprehensive overview of the various theoretical approaches that have scrutinised the notion of dangerousness, with three of the more distinctive ones being associated to labelling theory, approaches encompassed by critical criminology, and just deserts theory briefly summarised below (see also Giannoulis, 2017).

Labelling theory (see Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1967) highlights that once an individual has been labelled as “deviant”, the stigma can result in increased criminal involvement due to both internalised stereotypes and external reactions associated with this label (Bernburg, 2019). Thus, in the framework of this approach, among others, increased emphasis is placed on three aspects related to the attribution of the characterisation of “dangerous” to an individual (Bernburg, 2019; Gasparinatos, 2020). The first relates to the reactions of official agencies toward an individual labelled as “deviant” or dangerous (Gasparinatos, 2020), such as increased arrests or more severe sentences imposed to specific groups of individuals experiencing criminal labelling (Bernburg, 2019). The second aspect stresses the response of the society in general and the associated social exclusion and marginalisation of individuals due to the stigma (Bernburg, 2019). The third aspect relates to the “deviant self-concept”, according to which the negative stereotypes associated with the label are internalised with the individual viewing themselves and acting as a deviant person in the form of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Bernburg, 2019; Gasparinatos, 2020; see also Chapman, 1968).

Similarly, conceptual approaches related to the broader paradigm of critical criminology have challenged positivist theories focusing on the individual to identify the aetiology of crime (Spinellis, 2014; see also Lazos, 2007; Vidali, 2013). Instead, they have drawn the attention away from the individual towards aspects related to “the processes of construction of the criminal law” and “the way it is applied by the

institutions of formal social control” (Gasparinatou, 2016a, footnote p. 2045). In that sense, crime and dangerousness are perceived as characteristics attributed to specific individuals and groups that, in some form, jeopardise the status quo of the predominant social group and are, thus, associated with social inequality (Gasparinatou, 2020). Therefore, the attribution of “dangerousness” to certain persons or groups is viewed as a means to justify the transferring of “structural problems of the economic system” to the individual, while excluding from the public discourse state and white-collar crimes which could be equally or even more dangerous for society (Gasparinatou, 2020, p. 139; see also Vasilantonopoulou, 2018; Vidali, 2013).

The just deserts theory or model emerged in the 1970s (see von Hirsch, 1976) in response to issues such as indeterminate sentences that arose – as next sections will also explore – from the then prevailing rehabilitative ideal that aimed at the prevention of crime by affecting changes in the personality of the offenders (Giannoulis, 2017). The just deserts theory brought in the forefront the principle of proportionality, where the sentence is analogous to the offence committed and other aims, such as prevention of reoffending, do not affect its determination, thus, placing limitations on state power over offenders (Ashworth, 2005; see also Tzannetaki, 2018). In this framework, aspects related to the personality and the perceived dangerousness of the offender have no effect on the determination of the sentence (Giannoulis, 2017; see also von Hirsch, 1971), are viewed as incompatible to the rule of law and leading to the discriminatory treatment of offenders (Gasparinatou, 2020).

1.2.2. Risk assessment

Important aspects of criticism regarding dangerousness or risk are also associated with the methods of assessment that have been employed over the years to examine – assess and predict – the risk of reoffending, often referred to in the literature as different generations of risk assessment tools or instruments (see Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The first generation of assessment methods relied on professional judgement, unstructured interviews, and file review, resulting in a clinician’s subjective assessment regarding an offender’s risk to the community and their treatment needs (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). These methods offered poor results in terms of their accuracy but, most importantly, presented obvious problems of using unstructured criteria for decision making, while also focusing on characteristics that might not be empirically associated with recidivism (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Second-generation tools, often referred to as actuarial, were based on empirical data but had limited theoretical standing and

encompassed predominantly aspects associated with stable and unchangeable characteristics (e.g., social class; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The third generation of tools introduced the assessment of the needs of offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). In that sense, the so-called risk and needs assessments do not focus on static and unchangeable factors but on factors that are viewed as the needs of the offender, such as employment or education needs and issues with substance abuse (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Thus, when addressed, these factors reduce the probability of reoffending, while their opposite ends, such as stable employment, are considered as strengths or protective factors (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). In addition to the examination of needs, fourth-generation tools encompass case management aspects aiming to guide the delivery of services to offenders in line with their needs (Andrews & Bonta, 2010).

Risk assessments have been extensively used in the criminal justice and corrections fields to examine, among other, risk of violence (Singh et al., 2014) or recidivism, institutional misconduct or breach of supervision (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Their main applications span from informing decisions about pre-trial detention, sentencing, and eligibility for alternative programmes (Hoge, Vincent, & Guy, 2012), to parole decisions and referrals for treatment (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). However, irrespective of their extensive adoption and their diverse level of acceptance across the scientific community, a series of challenges and dilemmas are associated with the use of risk assessments (e.g., see Grove & Meehl, 1996; Rogers, 2000; Skeem, Scurich, & Monahan, 2020). Indicatively, Zara and Farrington (2016) bring forward several critical issues and questions that need to be taken into consideration when risk assessments are employed. The first aspect relates to the underlying construct of the risk assessment, with the authors discriminating between risk prediction and risk assessment, noting that the notion of risk is often confused with that of prediction (Zara & Farrington, 2016). In that context, assessment describes the process of identifying factors – both risk or protective factors, as well as factors specific to each individual and situation – in order to estimate the probability or likelihood that a specific behaviour (e.g., violence or offending) will occur (Rogers, 2000; Zara & Farrington, 2016). Prediction takes a step further by seeking to forecast the likelihood of a specific behaviour occurring within a specific timeframe (Zara & Farrington, 2016).

The second and third aspects raised by the authors concern the most appropriate methodology – clinical, actuarial, or integrated – and the most suitable type of instrument to be selected depending on the purpose, timing, setting, and target group of

the assessment (Zara & Farrington, 2016). For example, different types of information, and thus tools, might be needed for informing decisions related to pre-trial detention in comparison to those for case or treatment planning (Hoge et al., 2012). The fourth issue relates to the purpose of the assessment and the use of the subsequent judgement simply for research purposes or for reasons associated with the judicial treatment of offenders (Zara & Farrington, 2016). The latter then generates ethical dilemmas regarding the use of scientific evidence for the future risk of criminal behaviour to influence court judgements (Zara & Farrington, 2016; see also Grisso & Appelbaum, 1992). In line with that, Zara and Farrington (2016) also highlight potential conflicts of interests for criminal justice professionals serving simultaneously the rights and interests of the criminal justice system, the society, and the offender.

Likewise, through the critical appraisal of the methods of risk assessment, Gasparinatos (2020), insightfully summarises eight points of critique, or “danger”, regarding the use of prediction methods and their association with risk factors. The first relates to their automatic, mechanistic, and computational manner of assessing the personality of an individual, neglecting the individuality of each person and the fact that behaviour can be affected by internal and external interactions (p. 122). The second aspect that the author highlights is the inevitable statistical errors in the laws of probabilities that when applied to the lives of individuals can violate the principle of human dignity in the name of, for instance, the protection of the wider society (p. 122). The third point highlights the fact that the risk factors selected and applied for the prediction of recidivism can never be fully neutral, but represent subjective aspects associated with the specific natural, social, and cultural environment in which they were constructed and are, therefore, applicable only within their specific context (pp. 122-123). Relatedly, the fourth aspect of critique refers to the prediction models and relevant risk factors not as based on objective empirical data, but as social constructs of the same world they are trying to describe (p. 123). A fifth point concerns judicial procedures and the rights of the defendant in cases where the examination of the validity of a risk assessment instrument cannot be performed due to the intellectual property rights or other relevant limitations (p. 124). The sixth point stresses that the unilateral focus on methods of prediction and associated risk factors could result in the gradual abandonment of social prevention policies, reinforcing social control, and increasing the stigmatisation and social exclusion of already marginalised groups (p. 125).

It could be hypothesised that the two remaining critical aspects raised by Gasparinatos (2020) appear to resonate primarily with older generations of risk assessment tools, the actuarial instruments described earlier, rather than with newest generations of tools primarily used in recent years (see also Bonta & Andrews, 2017). To that end, according to the seventh point stressed by Gasparinatos (2020), many of the risk factors assessed refer to inherent characteristics, such as age, gender, ethnicity, previous victimisation, or intelligence which cannot be changed and, thus, result in punishing an individual for something they are and not something they did (p.123). Even though aspects such as age, gender, or intelligence are undoubtedly associated with various aspects of an individual's life, it could be proposed that these do not constitute part of the third- or fourth-generation instruments (see Bonta & Andrews, 2017). On the contrary, as next chapters of this dissertation will detail, some of the more recently developed instruments – such as the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2004) employed also in the framework of the present dissertation – have managed to offer accumulated evidence for their validity when used with individuals across the aforementioned groups (e.g., see Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2014). Likewise, the eighth and final point raised by Gasparinatos (2020), suggests that risk factors which could be addressed or improved through relevant interventions, such as drug misuse, receive less attention in comparison to the importance of classifying an offender on a scale of high or low risk. This aspect, however, appears to be in contrast with the focus of the more recent assessment methods and treatment models where such factors constitute some of the main focal points (e.g., see Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

Similarly, Giannoulis (2017) proposes a series of recommendations that could be applied in order to mitigate issues related to the precariousness of predictive judgements (pp. 111-112; see also Giannoulis, 2019). Among others, the author suggests the assessment of protective factors in addition to risk factors in order to minimise false judgments, the use of assessment tools with increased specificity, and the performance of reassessments on a regular basis to increase predictive accuracy (p. 111). Simultaneously, Giannoulis (2017) also recommends the combination of actuarial methods with clinical judgements to address the gap between impersonal statistics and individual aspects. Regarding the use of predictive assessments in relation to judicial proceedings, the author recommends the formulation of interdisciplinary groups for the identification of the minimum requirements for the performance of predictive

assessment and the preparation of the relevant reports; the training of judicial and legal staff on aspects related to the use of predictive judgments; and the provision of information to judges regarding the possibilities and limitations of the assessments tools employed (pp. 111-112). Last but not least, for the use of predictive judgements in relation to judicial decisions to be in line with the requirements of the rule of law, the author maintains that sanctions based on predictive judgements must not violate the principle of proportionality between the crime committed and the sanctions imposed, nor the higher limits of sanctions prescribed by the principle of proportionality (p. 129).

In sum, it could be suggested that the various points of critique regarding risk of reoffending and its prediction will and should continue to be a matter of discourse within the relevant literature and among the diverse theoretical approaches (e.g., see Chouliaras, 2018; Gasparinatos, 2018, 2020; Giannoulis, 2017; Nikolopoulos, 2003; Skandamis, 2018; Vasilantonopoulou, 2018). Undoubtedly, the predictive nature of risk assessment remains rooted in positivist criminological approaches, as do the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) examined in the current dissertation (Giannoulis, 2017). However, through the exhaustive analysis of the topic, Giannoulis (2017) identifies several aspects in which the distinct theoretical approaches converge. In this regard, the author highlights the recent developments in the fields of risk assessment and of rehabilitation that sought to incorporate the criticisms addressed to them, but also the importance of these criticisms in avoiding a unilateral approach to the dangerousness or risk of recidivism of the offender (Giannoulis, 2017). The examination of the needs of the offenders, of their strengths and protective factors that could support their reintegration; the more recent developments in assessment instruments; and the establishment of strict prerequisites for their use are a few of the aspects underlined (Giannoulis, 2017; see also Giannoulis, 2019). Recognising the focus of newer assessment methods on the examination of risk and of the needs of the offenders, Giannoulis (2017, 2019) also employs the term “reintegrative risk assessment and risk reduction models” (“επανεντακτικά πρότυπα εκτίμησης και μείωσης κινδύνων”) in reference to the RNR (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and GLM (Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) models discussed in the present dissertation.

To that end, Giannoulis (2017) concludes by proposing that the terms “dangerous offender” (“επικίνδυνος δράστης”) or “high risk offender” (“δράστης υψηλού κινδύνου”) could be replaced with the expression “offender (particularly)

vulnerable to the risk of reoffending” (“δράστης (ιδιαίτερα) ευάλωτος στον κίνδυνο της υποτροπής”; p. 134). The use of the term vulnerability would not only mitigate the stigmatisation of the offender, but it would also serve as a reminder that offenders themselves are not dangerous but vulnerable to various risk factors for which the state should support them in addressing, if the offenders so wish (Giannoulis, 2017, p. 239; see also Daskalakis, 1985). Thus, risk assessment is understood as “a method and not an end”, as “a proactive process” to identify and assess “modifiable factors” that could guide sustainable changes, rather than a practice that confines individuals within the boundaries of their identified “*zone of risk*” ([italics original] Zara & Farrington, 2016, p. 151). In other words, the objective of risk assessment is not only to assess the level of risk but also to comprehend how an individual, being at a specific “level of risk of recidivism”, can be supported according to their personal needs and resources (Zara & Farrington, 2016). Consequently, risk assessment could be perceived as a way to guide prevention and inform interventions by identifying rewarding alternatives for living, while communicating risk effectively could also encourage governmental investment in research and interventions towards that end (Zara & Farrington, 2016).

Nevertheless, regardless of the terminology or the conceptual approach adopted, some of the dangers associated with the notion and assessment of risk of reoffending cannot be ignored (see Gasparinatos, 2018, 2020). Especially when these assessments are not used only for research purposes or for defining the reintegrative needs of an offender, but also for aspects related to their judicial treatment (e.g., see Skeem et al., 2020). Relatedly, the increased focus on risk and risk management to reduce the harm being done to the community has also been the subject of critique by scholars advocating for a shift towards approaches that focus on the offenders’ strengths and the desistance paradigm (e.g., see Maruna & LeBel, 2003; McNeill, 2006, 2012; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward & Stewart, 2003c).

1.2.3. Desistance from crime

It could be suggested that on the other end of recidivism – and perhaps of risk or dangerousness – is the concept of desistance. Desistance has been described as “the long-term abstinence from crime among individuals who had previously engaged in persistent patterns of criminal offending” (Maruna, 2001, p. 26). As such, it is usually defined as “the end of a period of involvement in offending” in the sense that the individual has ceased offending permanently rather than for a short period of time before committing new offences (Farrall & Calverley, 2006, p. 2). The expression

“abstinence from crime” (“αποχή από το έγκλημα”), has also been used in the Greek literature (e.g., see Giannoulis, 2019; Koulouris, 2019) to describe desistance as refraining from crime without being subjected to any form of rehabilitative treatment (Koulouris, 2019). Nevertheless, there is no common definition of desistance (Laws & Ward, 2011), nor a single desistance theory (Maruna & LeBel, 2010; see also Farrall & Calverley, 2006). It is frequently presented in the literature as the “desistance paradigm” (e.g., see Maruna & LeBel, 2010; McNeill, 2006) or “desistance perspectives” (McNeill, 2012). An important point of discourse in this regard relates to whether desistance is perceived as the permanent abstinence from crime with an offender ceasing to commit crimes, or a temporary situation that can last from a few to several years before the individual “relapses” again into criminal behaviour (e.g., see Maruna, Immarigeon, & LeBel, 2011; Piquero, 2011).

Therefore, a distinction is often made between the process and the outcome of desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2001). The outcome refers to the actual termination of offending, and thus represents the end of the process of desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2001). Desistance per se represents the causal process towards that end, the underlying dynamics that support the termination of offending and the maintenance of a “continued state of nonoffending” (Laub & Sampson, 2001, p. 11). Therefore, it is often argued that desistance is a gradual process extending over a longer period of time that involves reductions in the frequency or seriousness of offending, as well as intermittent periods of success followed by relapses into offending, before eventually leading to the termination of all offending behaviour (Maruna et al., 2011; Piquero, 2011). Likewise, Maruna and colleagues (Maruna & Farrall, 2004; Maruna et al., 2011) also propose a distinction between two phases of primary and secondary desistance. Primary desistance refers to a “break” or a “pause” from offending, a gap of time without the commission of offences over the course of an individual’s life (Maruna et al., 2011). In turn, secondary or absolute desistance describes the process of moving towards an individual assuming the role or identity of a “changed person”, that of a “non-offender” (Farrall & Calverley, 2006, p.2; Maruna et al., 2011, p. 14). Consequently, considering that an individual could experience a series of crime-free intervals over the course of their lives, the interest both from a theoretical and a research perspective lies with secondary desistance (Farrall & Calverley, 2006; Maruna et al., 2011).

Various factors have been associated with desistance from offending, with the majority of them pointing to a change in an individual’s personal relationships or

professional life that have generated a reappraisal or reconceptualization of oneself away from crime and towards a more positive identity (Farrall & Calverley, 2006; McNeill & Graham, 2019). Often referred to as “turning points”, these changes in a person’s life are usually associated with life events such as marriage to a prosocial partner, the birth of a child, or stable employment, which make the prospect of jeopardising these gains through offending intolerable or even impossible (Kazemian & Farrington, 2015; Lösel, 2012a, 2012c; Laub & Sampson, 2001; Sampson & Laub, 1990, 2016). Maturation enabled by a person’s associates and environments, the effect of the criminal justice system, especially on individuals that have been repeatedly incarcerated, are also among the factors that have been brought forward in relation to desistance (Farrall & Calverley, 2006; McNeill & Graham, 2019). In this context, McNeill and Graham (2019) posit that the evidence suggests that desistance occurs predominantly without the involvement of rehabilitative interventions. That is not to say, however, that desistance necessarily occurs without any form of assistance (Graham & McNeill, 2017). But rather than being generated by state actors or penal agents, it is supported by social actors, contexts, and relationships that can also easily undermine its success (McNeill & Graham, 2019).

In other words, desistance is perceived as a natural or organic process during one’s daily routine and life course and not a model of a planned intervention, such as rehabilitation models entail (Graham & McNeill, 2017). Thus, desistance theories could be perceived as accounts of natural or spontaneous rehabilitation (McNeill & Graham, 2019). Consequently, they “do not and cannot in and of themselves offer empirically validated rehabilitation models”, but rather they can and should inform their development (McNeill, 2012, p. 13). Considering that spontaneous desistance can be a lengthy process, desistance and official rehabilitation interventions could be viewed as complementary rather than competing perspectives, if factors associated with desistance are used to design interventions that can support or enhance this spontaneous process (Maruna et al., 2011). Nonetheless, an important consideration regarding research efforts on this topic remains that a view of relevant interventions or programmes in terms of success or failure towards desistance or recidivism may offer a rather constrictive perspective of the desistance process (Maruna et al., 2011). Therefore, an important distinction between recidivism and desistance is their different focus on negative and positive outcomes, respectively (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). Recidivism focuses on the negative

outcome of committing a new crime at a certain point in time, while desistance aims to explore the various positive outcomes that lead to decreased offending over time and eventually to the end of all criminal behaviour (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022).

In this regard, the notions of recidivism and desistance, evidently both theoretically and empirically related, were regarded as complementary measures in previous years (Bushway, Brame, & Paternoster, 2011). Individuals that reoffended after a period of time were considered recidivists and those who did not reoffend were classified as non-recidivists or desisters (Bushway et al., 2011). However, following the more recent approaches in the conceptualisation of desistance as a gradual process that involves relapses into offending before absolute desistance is achieved, for some scholars at least, a person that reoffends cannot be considered to have desisted from crime (e.g., see Bushway et al., 2011). Therefore, an aspect that further perplexes the exploration of these two concepts is that desistance is often presented as both an empirical variable and a theoretical construct, with each having a different connotation (Zara & Farrington, 2016). Desistance as an empirical variable is thought to signify the termination of offending, while the theoretical construct of desistance most often describes the process of desistance involving declines in frequency, variety, or seriousness of offending (Zara & Farrington, 2016). For that purpose, empirical research in desistance seeks to explore the causes of desistance over an extended period of time, while recidivism research is more policy oriented and examines the effects of a certain criminal justice intervention on a specific group of offenders over a somewhat shorter period of time (Bushway et al., 2011).

Thus, in terms of research, the main difference between desistance and recidivism is that the latter is typically measured prospectively and within a specific period (Zara & Farrington, 2016). In contrast, as noted also earlier, desistance refers to the suspension or termination of offending in general, but an individual that desists from offending for a specific period of time could potentially offend at a later time (Zara & Farrington, 2016). For instance, the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD), which has been following a sample of 411 males from age 8 to 61, has found offenders among the sample still being convicted for new offences at ages 50 to 61 (Farrington, 2019). On the other end, 29.2% of the offenders committed only one offence until the age of 61 years (Farrington, 2019). Similarly, a 9-year follow up study found that apparent desistance declines significantly within the longer follow up

period (Alper et al., 2018). Therefore, a question often generated in the relevant literature is how extensive the follow up period needs to be in order to establish true desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2001). Traditionally, the follow up period in previous studies of desistance varied anywhere from one to ten years of an ex-offender not having committed another crime (e.g., see Farrington & Hawkins, 1991; Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, Van Kammen, & Farrington, 1991; Piquero, 2011). The extent to which this empirical operationalisation of desistance does represent the essence of the notion has also been questioned (Piquero, 2011). Since, similar to the study of recidivism, the potential error of misclassification is also pertinent in the study of desistance, as a person that has not genuinely ceased to offend can be still classified as a desister solely based the absence of observed criminal activities (Bushway et al., 2011). Consequently, scholars often highlight that very extensive follow-up periods are required to examine true desistance (Zara & Farrington, 2016), arguing that the only way to determine the true termination of offending is by following a person throughout their entire life (Farrington, 2007).

An additional methodological consideration in the study of desistance versus that of recidivism is that many accounts of desistance are often retrospective, with the relevant explanations having “a "post hoc" feel” according to Laub and Sampson (2001, p. 30). Similar to the discussion regarding the follow up period required to study desistance, it has also been suggested that whether an individual has truly desisted can only be determined in retrospect, generating again the question of how to study desistance prospectively (Laub & Sampson, 2001). Even when the focus is not on the complete termination of offending, but rather on the process of desistance, the significant changes or life events that could have contributed or predicted desistance are most often identified in retrospect (Bushway et al., 2011). Likewise, desistance research, primarily based on interviews and narratives, faces the challenge of unconscious bias in understanding and explaining the causes, motives, and reasons that a person self-reports regarding the commission of offences, or lack thereof (Sampson & Laub, 2016). Consequently, it has been suggested that desistance constitutes an unconventional research variable that does not represent the occurrence of an event but the absence of one, that of criminal activity (Maruna, 2001). In other words, it is not a specific outcome that can be engineered (Graham & McNeill, 2017) and, by extension, be empirically measured. Therefore, desistance and recidivism are not necessarily the

opposite ends of the same continuum, nor are their predictive and correlative factors (Zara & Farrington, 2016; see also Laub & Sampson, 2001).

1.3. A “stance” on crime prevention

The rehabilitation model “takes the stance” that crime prevention is most effective when addressing directly economic, social, or personal factors, considered to be the main causes of crime (Hollin, 2001, p. 242). As the next chapters of the present dissertation will also detail, the controversy surrounding rehabilitation expands beyond its effectiveness or approach to what rehabilitation actually is, since there has been limited consensus on what this concept represents or entails (Robinson & Crow, 2009). Through its long history, traces of which can be found back to the eighteenth century (Hudson, 2003), rehabilitation within the criminal justice process has been understood as a type of punishment, an alternative to punishment, or something that follows punishment (Robinson & Crow, 2009). In previous years, Allen (1981) has described the “rehabilitative ideal” as the concept that “a primary purpose of penal treatment is to effect changes in the characters, attitudes, and behavior of convicted offenders, so as to strengthen the social defense against unwanted behavior, but also to contribute to the welfare and satisfaction of offenders” (p. 2). Various definitions of rehabilitation can (Cullen & Jonson, 2016) and have been used since, often depending on the “theoretical stance(s)” one adopts (Robinson & Crow, 2009, p. 14). Efforts to define rehabilitation are often perplexed by the fact that the term can be used to describe both a “general objective or goal” and “a process or set of practices” (Robinson and Crow, 2009, p. 2), but also the outcome of achieving rehabilitation (McNeill & Graham, 2019).

In this framework, Cullen (2013), one of its proponents, identifies three interrelated ways in which the concept of rehabilitation has been often used. The first refers to the aim or purpose of corrections in the context of the other philosophies of punishment for which Cullen (2013) adopts the aforementioned definition of the rehabilitative ideal by Allen (1981). The second describes rehabilitation as a correctional theory “that articulates an overarching blueprint for the correctional system” (Cullen, 2013, p. 307). As such, it identifies the practices that should be implemented to change offenders, as well as the “organizational forms and policies for achieving the goal of offender reform”, such as indeterminate sentencing, probation, or release on parole based on treatment progress (Cullen, 2013, p. 307). The third way in which the concept of rehabilitation has been used according to Cullen (2013) is to

describe a specific type of intervention. This is defined as “a planned correctional intervention that targets for change internal and / or social criminogenic factors with the goal of reducing recidivism and, where possible, of improving other aspects of an offender’s life” (Cullen & Jonson, 2011, p. 295). In which case, rehabilitation can be performed in combination with the imposition of sanctions, such as imprisonment, and in various contexts, such as custodial or community settings (Cullen & Jonson, 2011). Hence, the correctional goal of rehabilitation results in a particular plan or blueprint on how to attain the goal, and in turn the blueprint contains specific interventions or programmes that aim to achieve change through treatment strategies (Cullen, 2013).

Traditionally, the rehabilitative ideal has been associated with utilitarian forms of positivist criminology which identify the aetiology of criminal behaviour in individual psychiatric, psychological, or social factors and view offenders “as being in need of help and support” rather than being “rational and calculating” (Ashworth, 2005, p. 82). As such, compulsory measures, in the form of treatment aimed at the modification of the offender’s attitudes or behaviours, or the development of educational or other skills become part of the “rehabilitative rationale for sentencing” as “means of achieving the prevention of crime” (Ashworth, 2005, p. 82). Founded on the infamous “Criminal Man” of Lombroso (2006), followed by other typologies such as that of Ferri (1917), positivist criminology has gone through various approaches to the aetiology of crime (see Gasparinatos, 2020). Each generation, as Hudson (2003) notes, has produced “a new form of biological criminal determinism” to describe the idea of the born criminal (p. 28). According to the same author, this conceptualization of the causes of crime rooted in individual psychological, physiological, and social factors is what has led to the formulation of rehabilitation as it is known today, but it has also been the basis for its criticism as a penal aim (Hudson, 2003).

To that end, Ashworth (2005) highlights at least two key points of critique by the just deserts theory against rehabilitation in relation to sentencing, which, nonetheless, do not constitute the only objections against rehabilitative policies (see also von Hirsch, 2007; von Hirsch, Ashworth, & Roberts, 2009). The first relates to the fact that sentencing is determined on the basis of an expert’s report about the needs of the offender, often leading to indeterminate sentences and the release of the offender once, according to the experts’ opinion, “a cure had been effected” (Ashworth, 2005, p. 82). The second concerns the increased power afforded to the “so-called experts” and the violation of the individual’s right not to be subjected to disproportionate compulsory

state intervention and state control (Ashworth, 2005, p. 82). Cases where (a) sentences were not determined by the judge upon completion of the trial but were decided by prison administrators and (b) offenders convicted of the same crime were serving different sentences due to parole being granted based on their progress on rehabilitative programmes have been observed during the 1960s (Hudson, 2003).

As next chapters will also discuss, even if rehabilitation interventions do not affect the determination of sentencing, the execution of a sentence that aims at the (compulsory) rehabilitation of offenders can be still viewed as an intrusion to their personality, a violation of their rights, and an additional form of punishment (Alexiadis, 2001). This would be particularly true for some of the cruel and inhumane involuntary methods employed in the “name of rehabilitation” in the previous century, such as aversion therapy and other behavioural and medical interventions (Hudson, 2003, p. 29; see also Robinson & Crow, 2009). In this context, the justice model of corrections (see Fogel, 1975; see also American Friends Service Committee, 1971) rejected the utilitarian aim and rehabilitative approach in the imposition of sanctions, which are meant to only restrict the liberty of movement of the offender for a specific period of time in proportion to the crime committed (Panagos, 2020; see also Alexiadis, 2001; Cheliotis, 2006; Dimopoulos, 2004). Instead, this model draws attention to safeguarding the rights of the offenders and the respect of human dignity through appropriate detention conditions, rejecting paternalistic interventions into the personality of the offender (Panagos, 2020; see also Archimandritou, 2012; Dimopoulos, 2009). The offenders’ participation in rehabilitative initiatives should be genuinely voluntary and, based on principle of the fairness of treatment, such initiatives that should be made available by the state despite their perceived or evidenced effectiveness (Panagos, 2020; see also Alexiadis, 2001; Archimandritou, 2012; Courakis, 2009; Pitsela, 2006).

The aforementioned are few of the aspects which, in conjunction with its perceived ineffectiveness in reducing recidivism – as following chapters will further explore – led to the decline of the rehabilitative ideal and the “nothing works” claims (Martinson, 1974) in the 1970s. A swift towards stricter punishments was observed (Cullen & Gilbert, 2012), eventually giving rise to the “what works” movement that sought to reestablish the effectiveness of rehabilitative interventions in reducing recidivism through accumulated research evidence (Cullen, 2005; Cullen & Gilbert, 2012; Raynor & Robinson, 2005). As Giannoulis (2017) observes, rehabilitation did

manage to adjust to the criticism addressed to it and to come back to the forefront in a strengthened form (p. 174; see also Koulouris, 2009a, pp. 197-198). Conceding to the critics regarding the oppressive aspects of the rehabilitation model in the past, indeterminate sentences are viewed as opposing to rehabilitation, which can only be effective if the rights of the offender are respected (Cullen & Gilbert 2012; Hudson, 2003; Rotman 1990). Thus, the rehabilitation model did not abandon its position that offenders “can change and adopt a different way of life”, but the prevention of recidivism could be now viewed as being in line with the respect of human rights and the dignity of the offenders (Panagos, 2020, p. 460).

Often referred to “new rehabilitationism” (see Panousis, 2012), this new model brought forth rehabilitation as a right of the offender on primarily humanitarian grounds (Rotman, 1990). The recognition of this right constitutes the main point of intersection between rehabilitation and the justice model (Giovanoglou, 2006; Panagos, 2020), more firmly incorporating values of just-deserts theories (Hudson, 2003). Two approaches often referred to as “rights-based rehabilitation” (Rotman, 1990) and “state-obligated rehabilitation” (Cullen & Gilbert, 2012) were rather influential in this regard. Within the framework of rights-based rehabilitation, Rotman (1990) advocated for the right of the offender to have the opportunity to return to society with increased chances of being a useful, law-abiding citizen and remaining out of prison. The author (Rotman, 1990) argued that as the state has the right to punish the offender for the crime committed, the offender also maintains the right to be supported in minimising the adverse effects of imprisonment (e.g., loss of employment, impairment of social ties etc.) – which constitute an additional punishment to their imprisonment – in order not to find themselves in a harsher (economic, social etc.) position upon their release (see also Raynor & Robinson, 2005; Robinson & Crow, 2009). Relatedly, Cullen and Gilbert (2012), noting the often limited and poorly implemented rehabilitation programmes offered to offenders by the state, argued for a state-obligated rehabilitation in order to increase its effectiveness. The authors highlighted that although offenders were obligated to take part in rehabilitative programmes, the state was not obligated to offer meaningful treatment programmes to them (Cullen & Gilbert, 2012). Thus, they advocated for a state-obligated rehabilitation which “takes seriously the betterment of inmates but legitimates neither coercion in the name of treatment nor neglect in the name of justice” (Cullen & Gilbert, 2012, p. 149).

Based on the recent work of Giannoulis (2017) and Panagos (2020), it could be suggested that this new rehabilitationism is founded on the following general premises: (a) indeterminate or semi-determinate sentences are no longer imposed; (b) no form of rehabilitative or other treatment can be enforced on an offender, but their participation should be entirely voluntary; (c) the state is, nevertheless, obliged to offer services that could support offenders' rehabilitation or reintegration, while offenders retain the right to choose if they will make use of such services; (d) the obligation of the state to offer such services is maintained in spite of their perceived effectiveness in reducing reoffending or other factors (e.g., lack of resources); (e) certain methods, such as the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017), examined also in the framework of the present dissertation, have managed to demonstrate their effectiveness in reducing recidivism; (f) thus, relevant (work, educational or other) programmes are still regarded as an integral part of correctional policies; and (g) criminologists are called to capitalize upon them in order to address the phenomenon of criminal behaviour (Giannoulis, 2017, pp. 173-178; Panagos, 2020, pp. 208-209).

Therefore, it could be suggested that it now constitutes a common supposition that rehabilitation "relies on the voluntary participation of the individual", while programmes that manage to enhance the voluntary participation of offenders "are characterised by added value" (Giannoulis, 2019, p. 110). However, the extent to which an offender's voluntary participation and engagement in rehabilitative or other treatment programmes is the result of purely personal motives related to the desire to change, constitutes another aspect that requires attention (Panagos, 2020). Even though voluntary participation and personal motivation are considered as prerequisites for a relevant programme to be effective (e.g., see Parhar, Wormith, Derkzen, & Beauregard, 2008), this could also be the result of external factors, such as the potential for earlier release or beneficial judicial treatment (Panagos, 2020; see also Glaser, 2011). Thus, rehabilitative interventions in community settings, for example, are still not always viewed in terms of their effectiveness, but as "forms of control and repression in the context of managing risk" (Koulouris, 2019, p. 80; see also Feeley & Simon, 1992).

In this regard, from the viewpoint of critical criminology, rehabilitative approaches with positivistic connotations are often discharged as "controlling" and "correctional" in their attempts to support offenders towards refraining from criminal behaviour, regardless of their collaborative or voluntary nature on which their success depends or the evidence regarding their effectiveness (Raynor & Robinson, 2005, p.

134). Relatedly, Giannoulis (2019) also draws the attention to Garland's (2001a) observation that the reality of rehabilitation could still remain focused to the "efficient enhancement of social control" in order to "protect the public, reduce the risk of further victimisation and to do so with a minimum of resources" (Garland, 2001a, p. 176). Nonetheless, in the words of Ashworth (2005), "[e]ven if all these questions are answered in the negative, there may be sound humanitarian reasons for continuing to experiment with rehabilitative programmes for offenders" (p. 84).

1.4. The concepts of rehabilitation

In addition to its controversial past and present, a factor that further complicates attempts to define rehabilitation is the existence of several related terms, such as the earlier terms "reform" and "redemption", and the more recent concepts of "reintegration", "resettlement", and "re-entry" (Robinshon and Crow, 2009). For instance, as following chapters will also explore, in the Greek criminological literature, the term most often used is that of "social reintegration" ("κοινωνική επανένταξη"; e.g. see Panagos, 2020; Zarafonitou, Milioni, & Kollia, 2018; Zarafonitou, Milioni, & Anitsi, 2019a), which is defined as "assisting convicts in their efforts, both during and after serving their sentence, to achieve a smooth transition in society, refraining from committing new crimes (Giovanoglou, 2018b, p. 729). The term "reintegration", without the "social" prefix, has also been described as "rehabilitation" in the Greek literature (Giovanoglou, 2018b, p. 730).

However, in the Greek literature rehabilitation and the rehabilitative ideal are most often referred to as "reform" or "reformation" ("αναμόρφωση"; see Giovanoglou, 2018b; Zagoura, 2018). To that end, Hudson (2003) suggests a distinction between reform and rehabilitation with the former describing primarily the techniques employed in the nineteenth century and the latter being used "to signify the more individualistic treatment programmes" of the twentieth century (p. 27). In particular, the author suggests that the nineteenth-century reform efforts were unsophisticated and undifferentiated, as all prisoners were subjected to the same regime of "educative and contemplative techniques", or "work" and "penance", while reformation was thought to operate through the will of the individual (Hudson, 2003, p. 27). Following the advancements in social sciences and the development of the discipline of criminology, the classification of offenders into various types and the use of diagnoses and treatments began supplementing the "work and penance" regime (Hudson, 2003, p. 28). The

causality of crime started encompassing psychological and social factors – drawing the picture of an offender responding to external or internal forces rather than acting from free will (see also von Hirsch, 1976) – paving the way for rehabilitation as it can be understood today, combining psychotherapeutic techniques and support in areas such as addictions, financial issues, and unemployment (Hudson, 2003, p. 28).

The term “restoration” (“αποκατάσταση”) has also been used to describe the concept of rehabilitation in the Greek literature (e.g., see Panagos, 2020), often causing, as Giannoulis (2019) notes, further perplexities with the field of restorative justice and how this term has been transposed into Greek (i.e., “αποκαταστατική δικαιοσύνη”; see also Artinopoulou, 2010). Thus, tracing in detail the use of the aforementioned terms throughout the Greek criminological literature, Giannoulis employs the dual term of restoration / reintegration (“αποκατάσταση / επανένταξη”) to better reflect the concept of rehabilitation (see Giannoulis, 2019, footnote 1, pp. 1-2), when also referring to the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives models (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) examined in the present dissertation.

Raynor and Robinson (2005) describe “correctional rehabilitation” as the notion most often regarded to be the “orthodox” model of rehabilitation (p. 5). The term is used to illustrate the view of rehabilitation “as a process of effecting positive change in individuals” and is more closely associated with the concept of treatment within the context of offending (p. 5). However, the authors also note that correctional rehabilitation is still a quite broad notion that encompasses several theories and approaches. The distinctive factors between approaches often relate to the theories regarding the causes of offending, as well as the methods and interventions that each approach adopts, which Raynor and Robinson (2005) describe as a “variety of ‘criminologies’” (p. 5). A critical aspect with this definition of rehabilitation is that it is predominantly related with theories that focus on causes of offending within the individual, rather than external factors (Raynor & Robinson, 2005). In this regard, McNeill and colleagues refer to the above definition of correctional rehabilitation as “personal” rehabilitation (McNeill, 2014; McNeill & Graham, 2019). The authors note that rehabilitation has also legal or judicial, moral, and social perspectives (McNeill, 2012, 2014; McNeill & Graham, 2019). These refer to restoring the individual’s rights as an equal citizen, offering moral redress to victims and communities, and ultimately achieving the social recognition and acceptance of the former offender (McNeill, 2012, 2014; McNeill & Graham, 2019).

Relatedly, cognitive behavioural interventions, such as those often implemented in custodial settings and which constitute an integral part of the RNR and GLM models examined in this dissertation, have also been criticised for their focus on individual factors while neglecting socio-economic factors associated with offending (Panagos, 2020). As such, it could be argued that these interventions draw again the attention towards the “differences” of offenders in relation to the other non-offending citizens, assigning the responsibility of not reoffending exclusively to offenders while transposing societal problems to personal deficiencies (Panagos, 2020; see also Crewe, 2011b; Rex, 2001). In that sense, cognitive behavioural interventions are often viewed, or at least assumed, to be preoccupied only with equipping offenders with skills on how to better manage their thoughts and feelings for their behaviour to conform with the relevant norms (Panagos, 2020; see also Raynor & Robinson, 2005).

Indeed, it remains true that correctional rehabilitation can also be referred to as “a training or learning-centred model” in which the acquisition of skills that would affect changes in the individual – rather than in their social, economic, or physical situation – remains central (Raynor & Robinson, 2005, p. 5). Socio-economic changes (Raynor & Robinson, 2005), such as education and employment aspects may still be desirable and are often crucial aspects of relevant programmes – as is the case, for example, in the RNR model (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Equally often these changes are rather difficult to attain or would require extensive societal actions “beyond the scope of ‘correctional’ agencies” (Raynor & Robinson, 2005, p. 6). As such, Panagos (2020), highlights that rehabilitative interventions within custodial settings should also offer services that directly or indirectly support the social reintegration of offenders, such as access to education, and initiatives to address unemployment and social exclusion. According to the author, this critique is further intensified in cases where an offender does not manage to fully meet the demands of a relevant rehabilitation programme (Panagos, 2020). Such cases could then affect an offender’s potential release on parole, re-cast doubt on the premise of offenders’ voluntary participation in rehabilitative initiatives, but also the role of social scientists as therapists or decision makers regarding an offender’s course within the criminal justice system (Panagos, 2020).

In practice, as Wilson (2016) observes, rehabilitative programmes do tend to address the causes of crime on the individual level, or at the very least assume that by affecting change within an individual they will be less likely to persist committing crimes. Notwithstanding the definitional issues and the controversy surrounding the

rehabilitative ideal throughout its history, “providing offenders with opportunities for personal improvement in some form has been a cornerstone of modern correctional practice” (p. 193). Numerous rehabilitative programmes have been developed and implemented, the majority of which, at least within custodial settings, can be categorised according to Wilson as: (a) educational, vocational, and work related, (b) substance abuse, (c) religious, (d) psychosocial or behavioural, such as cognitive-behavioural programmes, and specialised programmes for (e) sex offenders and (f) individuals with mental illness (p. 194).

Another important consideration, however, regarding Wilson’s (2016) classification of rehabilitation programmes and Raynor and Robinson’s (2005) term of “correctional rehabilitation” is that, in the first instance at least, the focus appears to be on interventions or treatment programmes within custodial settings. Nonetheless, these concepts do not necessarily reflect opposing stances with those of reintegration or resettlement (Raynor & Robinson, 2005). For instance, Crow (2001) uses the term rehabilitation to describe “a wide variety of interventions directed towards the **social re-integration** of offenders”, including programmes “that aim to provide offenders with accommodation, education, training and employment” ([emphasis original] p. 8). These programmes might not be directly related with the traditional notion of rehabilitation as treatment but reflect, according to the author, the interconnections between rehabilitation, treatment, and resettlement (Crow, 2001). To that end, McNeill (2014) proposes that rehabilitation is the journey and reintegration, resettlement, or re-entry, is the destination, the implied objective of rehabilitation.

The descriptions of Crow (2001) and McNeill (2014) appear to resonate both with the above-described use of “social reintegration” (Giovanoglou, 2018b) in the Greek criminological literature but also the two-fold term of restoration / reintegration (“*αποκατάσταση / επανένταξη*”) that Giannoulis (2019) adopts. These descriptions also seem to echo the recent work of Panagos (2020), thoroughly examining the development of changing conceptual and definitional aspects of (social) reintegration and rehabilitation within both the national and international literature. The author suggests that the distinction among the two concepts lies in the fact that rehabilitation constitutes a “basic premise”, a “key prerequisite”, for the social reintegration of the offender (Panagos, 2020, p. 103). Thus, reintegration is perceived as a multilevel process that (should) begin from the very beginning of the offender's incarceration or conviction and (should) continue until it is fully achieved (Panagos, 2020, p. 103).

In this regard, Chaidou (2018) also marks a distinction among three levels in which social reintegration can be understood and take place in practice. The first refers to the “reconstruction” of the offender’s personality through an in-depth treatment programme based on psychoanalytic principles or the modification of their system of values in line with that of the conventional society (p. 70). The second relates to the desistance from crime without increased interventions into the personality or values of the individual and by treatment that simply aims at the adjustment of the offender’s externalised behaviour in order to avoid law violations (p. 70). And the third level focuses on the establishment of a “network of social relations” through vocational training, vocational rehabilitation, and the offender’s reintegration into social relationships which would operate as protective structures preventing them from reoffending (Chaidou, 2018, p. 70).

Within that framework, Panagos (2020) also suggests that offender rehabilitation may take three forms which, if satisfactorily achieved, could then result in the social reintegration of the offender. The first relates to the voluntary personal rehabilitation of the offender focused on individual factors directly or indirectly associated with offending, such as drug misuse, antisocial attitudes, or anger management (pp. 103-104). The second form concerns the “legal restoration” of the offender, not only through their release but also through aspects such as the clearing of their criminal record, in an effort to support the reorganisation of their lives and the elimination of the stigma of the “offender” (p. 104). The third and final form refers to the social restoration of the offender, through both their reintegration into the labour market and their (re-)integration into social circles (p. 104). Lastly, given the contentious history of rehabilitation and in order to safeguard the protection of human dignity from the conditional intervention of the criminal justice system, the author recommends three basic criteria for the evaluation of the social reintegration process: the prevention of reoffending, (b) the achievement of the former without violating the human rights of the offender, and (c) more general aspects of a person's integration into society, such as access to the labour market (p. 105).

1.5. Interconnections and conclusions

This chapter attempted to briefly – and certainly not exhaustively – situate the context in which some key terms are approached in the current dissertation. Drawing on recent work in the field (e.g., see Gasparinatou, 2020; Giannoulis, 2017; National

Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; Panagos, 2020; Zara & Farrington, 2016), the chapter began by discussing the notion of recidivism, subsequently exploring some of the aspects associated with concepts of risk, the controversial term of dangerousness, and the use of risk assessment methods, before briefly exploring the other end of recidivism, that of desistance from crime. The next section traced the history of the rehabilitative ideal through its contentious past (e.g., see Ashworth, 2005; Hudson, 2003) and towards the most recent approach of “new rehabilitationism” (see Panousis, 2012). Lastly, the diverse features of rehabilitation and its interrelation with (social) reintegration were also presented.

Overall, it could be suggested that the different and diverse perspectives observed appear to be related to distinct theoretical stances, but also changes and progressions in theory, research, and legal frameworks over the years (e.g., see Giannoulis, 2017; Panagos, 2020), often revealing what could be perceived as differences in emphasis rather than strictly contrasting perspectives. Given the evident lack of consensus observed in the above description, it could be proposed that each approach or definition alone may experience limitations in describing the relevant concepts, thus, highlighting their interconnections, their strengths and weaknesses, but also the importance of discourse among diverse perspectives in moving both theory and practice forward. At the same time, this ongoing discourse among different approaches is also fundamental in understanding the complexities of criminal (re)offending, rehabilitation, and social reintegration, underlining that such notions can only be operationally defined for the purposes of each study. To that end, rather than attempting to offer definitive definitions, the following aspects could be summarised with regard to how these terms could be understood for the purposes of the current dissertation.

Adopting the definition of Zara and Farrington (2016), recidivism is used to refer to the commission of a new offence – most often within a specific time period – by an individual that was previously convicted, with the new offence resulting in a new conviction. This operational definition resonates primarily with recidivism measured on the basis of reconvictions, as a more reliable parameter in comparison to rearrests and in line with the principle of innocence until proven otherwise given that an arrest may not necessarily result in a conviction (Blumstein, 2016; Maltz, 1984; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; Zara & Farrington, 2016). Likewise, reincarceration may constitute another dimension of recidivism as approached in the framework of the present study, provided that the relevant recidivism

rates focus on new offences and do not encompass reimprisonment due to technical violations of conditions of supervision (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; Zara & Farrington, 2016). Furthermore, a tentative distinction could be made between the notions of reoffending and recidivism, with the former referring in general to the commission of a new offence by an individual that had been previously convicted, and the latter to the commission of a new offence for which a conviction has occurred (see also Zara & Farrington, 2016). Nonetheless, the terms may be used interchangeably, with the distinction serving only to define recidivism within the context of prospective or follow up research studies.

A similar division may also be suggested between desistance as an organic process (Graham & McNeill, 2017) describing the abstinence from crime (Maruna, 2001), rather than an empirically measured outcome. Given their distinct conceptualisation, but also the differences in empirical operationalisation and measurement (e.g., see Bushway et al., 2011; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022; Zara & Farrington, 2016), it could be hypothesised that desistance and recidivism do not necessarily represent the opposite ends of the same continuum, neither do factors associated with each construct (Zara & Farrington, 2016; Laub & Sampson, 2001). However, regardless of the outcome measured – recidivism as the official criminal involvement or desistance as the absence of criminal behaviour – social reintegration as a “success marker in its own right” may still be viewed as the ultimate pursuit (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022, p. 81). Moreover, two aspects inherit in the above description of recidivism – and perhaps that of desistance – is that any scientific analysis of such outcomes “cannot be addressed independently of the data set it relies upon” and that “a precise figure [...] cannot be ascertained” (Zara & Farrington, 2016, p. 6). Thus, acknowledging the definitional and measurement limitations described throughout this chapter, detailed information on the objectives, methods of assessment, and associated limitations in relevant studies is warranted to avoid misinterpretations of the findings (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022).

Relatedly, the concept of risk of reoffending or recidivism could be viewed as a way to identify potential need areas that when tackled through rehabilitative or other interventions can decrease the probability of reoffending (see also Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Not, however, in the sense of the “dangerousness” of the offender but rather, in line with the suggestions of Giannoulis (2017), it may be perceived as a way to support

the reintegration of the offender. Therefore, risk assessment is approached as a method that does not seek to limit an offender in a “*zone of risk*”, but as a process that can guide prevention and inform interventions that seek to support individuals in line with their personal needs and resources ([italics original] Zara & Farrington, 2016, p. 151). This approach, however, does not aim to draw the attention away from some of the risks associated with risk assessment (e.g., see Gasparinatou, 2018, 2020), especially when such assessments are not simply employed for scientific purposes but also affect the judicial treatment of offenders (e.g., see Skeem et al., 2020). Consequently, given the lack of a clear legal definition of recidivism in the national context and the maintenance of the concept of risk in other relevant legislative documents, the definition of recidivism specifically for research purposes and the reintegrative or need approach of risk appears to be critical.

Finally, rehabilitation may be approached with a broader perception where it is not viewed as a type, alternative, or aftereffect of punishment (Robinson & Crow, 2009). But instead, it could be perceived as an approach to crime prevention (Hollin, 2001) that recognises the interdependence between the notions of rehabilitation, treatment, and (social) reintegration or resettlement (Crow, 2001; see also Panagos, 2020). Thus, following the description of Crow (2001), rehabilitation may encompass a wide range of interventions focusing on aspects such as accommodation, education, training, or employment that aim at the social reintegration of offenders, with the latter representing the ultimate objective of rehabilitation (McNeill, 2014). Conceding to the criticism addressed to the notion of rehabilitation and its past oppressive methods, the basic premise that rehabilitation relies on the voluntary participation of the individual and can only be effective if the rights of the offender are respected, constitutes a common presupposition (Cullen & Gilbert 2012; Giannoulis, 2019; Hudson, 2003; Rotman 1990). As such, the terms “prevention model” and “rehabilitation model” may be viewed correspondingly in the framework of the present study only in terms of describing efforts to support offenders – if they so wish – towards their reintegration and desistance from crime (see also Giovanoglou, 2018b). A distinction may occasionally be made between rehabilitation and reintegration as interventions undertaken primarily within custodial or supervision settings and those focused on aspects following the release of the offenders, respectively.

CHAPTER 2. RECIDIVISM AND REHABILITATION IN GREECE

2.1. The concept of rehabilitation within the Greek correctional system

Martinson's "nothing works" claim in 1974 coincided with the collapse of the military regime, junta, that ruled Greece since 1967. Following the restoration of democracy, prisons "regained their function as a criminal justice institution" after being used in previous years for detaining prisoners predominantly on political grounds (Karydis & Koulouris, 2013, p. 263). The collapse of the rehabilitative ideal did not leave the Greek correctional system and criminological literature unaffected. However, it followed a different path, which is perhaps best reflected in Lambropoulou's (1999) following description: "The rehabilitative ideal, which prevailed for some time, was rejected because it was not compatible with the operation code of the corrections system. The rehabilitative ideal did not fail, but the corrections system was not able to absorb it" (p. 249; see also Lambropoulou, 1995). In other words, when the concept of rehabilitation, as this is defined and studied in the context of the current dissertation, is explored within the Greek correctional system several differences and unique circumstances arise. In particular, if the national correctional system is viewed through the perspective of the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) examined in the present study, three major – albeit not the only – aspects appear to be inapplicable.

Firstly, psychological rehabilitative interventions and programmes, such as the RNR and GLM models, do not constitute a formal part of the current correctional practices in Greece (Anagnostaki, 2019). It is indicative that the notion of psychological counselling is absent from the Greek Correctional Code (Law 2776/1999; see also Arvanitidis, 2008; Galanou, 2011). The existing rehabilitative or reintegration initiatives within custodial settings include only educational and vocational training activities, rehabilitation programmes for substance abuse, and work within the prison settings (Anagnostaki, 2019; Lambropoulou, 2014). Secondly, formalised risk and needs assessments – such as those encompassed in RNR and utilised in the present research – do not constitute part of the standardised correctional practice in Greece despite relevant calls for their adoption in developing structured programmes of activities during custody and towards release preparation, as well as in allocating detainees to specific prison wings (CPT, 2020a, 2022a; see also Palma, Snacken, Theis, & Carbutaru, 2019).

Simultaneously, although the concept of risk of reoffending is an integral part of pertinent legislative documents across several aspects of the criminal justice and correctional systems (Gasparinatos, 2020, pp. 163-164; see also Giannoulis, 2017, pp. 73-79), the mere definition of recidivism was recently removed from the Greek Penal Code (Law 4619/2019) on the basis of its justice and fairness in sentencing orientation (see also Tzannetaki, 2020). Even more recently with the revision of the Greek Correctional Code in 2022, detainees that have committed certain crimes or disciplinary offences or are perceived as “particularly dangerous” may be placed into custodial institutions of increased level of institutional security (Article 11, paragraphs 5 and 6, Law 4985/2022), without any further specifications regarding the criteria on which the relevant judgements will be based or the regime to which the prisoners will be subjected to. Thirdly, with a few exceptions (e.g., Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007), there has been rather limited research on recidivism and a lack of systematic official data over the past almost 25 years (Lambropoulou, 2014). To that end, the complexities in the overall statistical representation of crime in Greece have been repeatedly highlighted (Tsigkanou, 2016a, 2016b).

Recent work has sought to theoretically examine aspects of the RNR and GLM models and the concept of rehabilitation in Greek and international literature from various perspectives. Giannoulis (2017) extensively examined the concepts of risk of reoffending and risk assessment from a criminological, correctional, legal, and methodological standpoint. Adopting a multifaceted approach, the author traced and comprehensively analysed on multiple levels the history and essence of these concepts from positivist to critical criminology and beyond. In addition, the author explored specifically the applicability in the national context of RNR and GLM as models of reintegrative risk assessment and risk reduction. Aiming at an integrative theoretical approach, Giannoulis proposed – under certain preconditions – the incorporation of the justice model and of RNR and GLM. In particular, the author suggested that the models could be applied in sentencing decisions, the tailoring of the therapeutic process to the individual needs of offenders participating in rehabilitation programmes, and, at least partially, to decisions regarding home leaves and conditional release of incarcerated offenders.

Similarly, in her master thesis Kagkli (2018) has performed an extensive literature and historical review of the rehabilitative ideal and the RNR and GLM models, exploring the potential for their practical application on a national level.

Likewise, Florou (2020) examined in her master thesis the normative bases for the application of the two abovementioned models in the Greek Penal and Correctional systems. Finally, Zarafonitou and colleagues (Zarafonitou, Kontopoulou, Lempesi, Panagos, 2017) recently performed a review of the existing literature in the study of recidivism, including conceptual, definitional, and methodological aspects, as well as the previous research studies conducted in Greece. Subsequently, the authors retrospectively examined risk and protective factors associated with reoffending in a sample of 22 recidivists, including factors in line with the RNR and GLM, which were also taken into account during the design of the study (Zarafonitou, Anitsi, Kontopoulou, Lempesi, Panagos, 2019b).

Thus, expanding on this previous work and in order to situate the current research and the models examined within the national context, this chapter of the dissertation will attempt to approach the subject inversely. It will seek to view the Greek context through the lenses of the RNR and GLM models in effort to explore plausible explanations behind the absence of these or similar models as part of the existing correctional practices. It could be hypothesised that several factors may be potentially associated with the current situation in Greece. The first section examines aspects inherent in the legislative history and criminological tradition of Greece. The second section discusses the conditions in Greek prisons, which inevitably have had a significant effect on the services, programmes, and activities available for detainees. The next sections provide a brief overview of the current practices aiming at the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders during custody and upon their release. The chapter concludes with an extensive review of the existing statistical data and research on recidivism in Greece, before drawing relevant conclusions.

2.2. Legislative history and criminological tradition

The first Correctional Code (Law 125/1967) in Greece's recent history was adopted in 1967 (Alexiadis, 2001), the year that the military regime seized power. Among other provisions, the 1967 law (Law 125/1967) foresaw that the execution of sentences aimed primarily at the "social readjustment of prisoners through their education and improvement" (Article 1, Law 125/1967; Alexiadis, 2001). Although not implemented, the law was associated with the dictatorship, leading to multiple attempts for its revision in subsequent years (Courakis, 1985, 2009; see also Alexiadis, 2001). A new law (Law 1851/1989) was eventually adopted in 1989 which, paraphrasing the

aims of the 1967 law, provisioned social reintegration as the purpose of sentencing (Article 1, Law 1851/1989; Alexiadis, 2001). The utilitarian aim and rehabilitative approach of the law stimulated a spirited debate in the literature (e.g., see Alexiadis, 2001; Lambropoulou, 1991; Spinellis & Courakis, 1990). Concerns were raised on several grounds, but the primary point of critique was that the aims of rehabilitation and reintegration of inmates constitute an intrusion to their personality and personal life (Alexiadis, 2001). The latter was viewed as an additional punishment and irrelevant to the imposition of sanctions, which restricts only the liberty of movement of the individual punished (Alexiadis 2001). Most importantly, it was regarded as a violation of their constitutional right of respect and protection of the value of the human being (Article 2, paragraph 1 of the Constitution of Greece; Alexiadis, 2001). In contrast, it was maintained that programmes and services should be still made available and offered to inmates, but their participation should be voluntary and depend solely on their free will (Alexiadis 2001). Nevertheless, it soon became apparent that several elements of the law could not be enforced due to limited resources (Courakis, 2009; Karydis & Koulouris, 2013).

Multiple efforts for the revision of the 1989 law (Law 1851/1989) started almost immediately after its publication and, following a decade of deliberations and draft laws (Alexiadis, 2001) a new Correctional Code (Law 2776/1999) was eventually adopted in 1999. The revised law, which remains in force until today, is based on the principles of legality (Article 2) and equal treatment (Article 3) and does not stipulate a particular aim for the treatment of inmates (Courakis, 2009). Social reintegration is no longer part of its aims and, prioritising the respect of human rights, the law stipulates that the only right restricted during the execution of the sentence is that of personal liberty (Article 4, paragraph 1, Law 2776/1999; Courakis, 2009; Karydis & Koulouris, 2013). The ideal of social reintegration is thought to be maintained by aspects such as the possibilities offered for the participation of inmates in educational, vocational, work, and other programmes within the prison setting (Courakis, 2009; see also Panagos 2020). As Karydis and Koulouris (2013) note, subsequent Ministerial Decrees regulating the internal operation of prisons (Ministerial Decrees 58819/2003 for adult, and 47503/2005 for juvenile prisons), sought – primarily in response to international guidelines – to reinstate reintegration as part of the correctional practices on an explicitly voluntary basis. The regulations stipulate that, “in preparation for their release, inmates shall cooperate, if they so wish, with the specialist scientific staff for

the planning of constructive treatment programme (education, work, vocational training, special therapeutic groups, etc.) to limit further degradation of their actual and legal status and the aggravation of the position of their dependants” (Article 35, Ministerial Decree 58819/2003; see also Karydis & Koulouris, 2013).

However, the removal of all utilitarian aims and the adoption of neutrality in the Correctional Code, as well as the resultant attitudes of both inmates and correctional staff, formulated one of the main characteristics of the Greek correctional system which Koulouris (2018) describes as “distancing” (pp. 590-591; see also Koulouris, 2017, pp. 1808-1813). Inmates are cognizant that their only obligation is to wait unseen for the time to pass and correctional staff are aware that their duty is to observe the inmates from a distance (Koulouris, 2018). As a result, relevant initiatives for organised activities, services, and interventions have been minimised, and so has the motivation of inmates to participate in the available activities (Koulouris, 2018). Indicatively, in a study conducted between 2001 and 2002 with a sample of 454 correctional officers showed that 82,2% of them believed that treatment programmes aiming at the improvement of inmates should continue (Arfaras, 2007). At the same time, 54.6% of the correctional officers considered that they had none or little contribution to the reintegration of prisoners (Arfaras, 2007).

Likewise, Nikolaou (2009), a Prison Officer in UK that was seconded for six months in a Greek prison, traced the numerous differences observed between the two systems, and the relevant alarming consequences for the Greek system, to the very philosophy of the legal framework. Specifically, the author’s objections regarding the non-interventionist nature of the legal framework focused on three main arguments. Firstly, with a few exceptions, those individuals that are intrinsically motivated to constructively spend their time in prison, are less likely to commit an offence and be imprisoned in the first place. Secondly, those most in need of assistance and support, such as offenders with behavioural, drug abuse, mental health, or family issues, are more often those least motivated to seek opportunities for self-improvement. Finally, the voluntary nature of participation in services and activities results in a lack of investment by the state on such activities. In turn, this lack of investment in activities leads to limited availability and discouragement of those that wish to participate but cannot do so due to the lack of spaces.

Another aspect that highlights the limited support and assistance offered to offenders and the fact that the “Greek justice system is based on the self-deterrent

potential of the threat of imprisonment” (Mavris, Koulouris, & Anagnostaki, 2015, p. 6) is the operation of the parole and probation systems. Conditional release from prison without supervision has a long history of implementation in Greece as the main measure aiming at both specific prevention and the promotion of social reintegration, but also at the reduction of prison sentences (Massouri, 2006). The measure has been often also used as means to address prison overcrowding by expanding the relevant limits and enacting automatic release (e.g., Law 4322/2015; Law 4411/2016; Law 4489/2017; Law 4571/2018), which has been met with resistance and criticism (Massouri, 2006; Tzannetaki, 2016, 2020). Based on the 2019 Penal Code (Law 4619/2019) prisoners are entitled to conditional release upon completion of the two fifths for sentences of up to five years, three fifths for sentences between five and 20 years, and 20 years for life sentences (Article 105B, paragraph 1). Provisions for earlier release or beneficial calculation of time served are also in place for prisoners participating in substance abuse, education, vocational, and work programmes in prison, as well as in cases of prisoners above 70 and those with health issues (Article 105B, paragraphs 4 & 5, Law 4619/2019; Article 15, Law 2776/1999; Pavlou & Kosmatos, 2020).

Conditional release is granted by the judicial council on the date of entitlement and can be denied only if the behaviour of the individual during imprisonment deems the continuation of the sentence absolutely necessary to prevent the commission of new criminal offences (Article 106, paragraph 1, Law 4619/2019; Anagnostaki, 2018, 2019; Koulouris, Aloskofis, Vidali, Koros, & Spyrea, 2015). The latter is verified by the prison director and a relevant report by the prison social services (Article 110, paragraph 2, Law 4619/2019; Anagnostaki, 2018, 2019; Koulouris et al., 2015; Koros, 2020). Even though the measure is granted as a general rule, the fact that the assessment is simply based on custodial behaviour and not on systematic criteria for risk assessment has been criticised as means in exchange of compliance and discipline (Cheliotis, 2010; see also Massouri, 2006). Similar concerns for potentially discriminatory practices have been raised regarding home leaves, another important measure aimed at facilitating the reintegration of prisoners (Cheliotis, 2006). In this case, risk is determined based on the “personality and overall behaviour” of the individual following the commission of the offence and during custody, in association with any potential previous misconducts (Article 55, Law 2776/1999; see also Gasparinatou, 2018, 2020; Nikolopoulos, 2003, 2005 on the concepts of risk and personality).

Relatedly, potential concerns could also arise from the recent changes in the Greek Correctional Code (see Article 11, Law 4985/2022), introducing the placement of individuals that have committed specific crimes or disciplinary offences or are considered “particularly dangerous” into increased security custodial institutions. Given the rather recent change, there is so far no information on how this provision will be applied in practice, however, the law does not specify the criteria on which the relevant decisions will be made. As next sections will also explore, calls for the adoption of formalised risk and needs assessments to guide the allocation of detainees to specific wings within the Greek prisons have been repeatedly made (CPT, 2020a, 2022a). Moreover, the relevant recommendations issued by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe regarding the treatment of dangerous (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, 2014, Recommendation CM/Rec(2014)3) offenders (i.e., persons convicted of a very serious sexual or very serious violent crime against persons and who present a high likelihood of committing again a crime of the same nature) and of persons accused or convicted of sexual offences (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, 2021, Recommendation CM/Rec(2021)6) suggest that relevant decisions and actions should be guided by clear criteria and be informed by formalised processes of risk – and needs – assessments using evidence based and validated tools (see also Skandamis, 2018). Importantly, and as different countries across Europe have developed different systems for the treatment of so called “dangerous” offenders (e.g., see Jehle et al., 2021 for a comparative review across five countries), the revised Correctional Code does not specify the exact treatment or security regime under which these offenders will be placed (see Article 11, Law 4985/2022).

Nonetheless, even the existing measures of conditional release and home leave are considered “control, not assistance, oriented” (Koulouris et al., 2015, p. 27). These measures are principally implemented on the condition not to re-offend and to report regularly to the police authorities, without any measures of further assistance, support, or supervision (Anagnostaki, 2018, 2019; Koulouris et al., 2015). The prison social services and other specialists, such as social workers, psychologists, and sociologists, are tasked with providing social assistance and preparation for release to inmates (Mavris et al., 2015). But there is no systematic practice for release preparation within the prisons (Anagnostaki, 2019) and the aftercare offered to released offenders is usually limited (Courakis, 2008; Kasapoglou, Koros, & Koulouris, 2021b). Moreover, although the law (Law no. 1941/1991 and Presidential Decree 195/2006) envisages that

probation officers supervise offenders on conditional release and, more recently, offenders on home leave in certain cases (e.g., foreign nationals or homeless individuals; Article 54, paragraph 4, Law 2776/1999, as amended by Article 3, paragraph 1, Law 4205/2013), these measures have been so far applied in a very limited number of cases (Anagnostaki, 2016, 2018, 2019).

In fact, conditional release and suspension of sentences under probationary supervision were established in 1991 (Law 1941/1991). But the relevant “social assistance” services did not become operational until 2007 (Lambropoulou, 2008), when the first probational officers were appointed (Mavris et al., 2015). A study conducted in 2014 showed that probation officers encounter a number of practical difficulties in the performance of their duties, including lack of staff and resources, need for further training and supervision, as well as need for more explicit organisational guidelines (Anagnostaki, 2016; see also Aloskofis et al., 2017). In practice, they are predominantly occupied with the supervision of offenders sentenced to community service, often at the expense of supervising those on conditional release or home leave (Anagnostaki, 2016). Moreover, the relatively recent introduction of the institution, the intense “legal tradition of the Greek penal system and the absence of social work or welfare culture that underpin it”, have intensified the demanding task of performing both the supervision and support of offenders (Mavris et al., 2015, p. 11).

The conceptual “intolerance” (Giovanoglou, 2006, p. 39) towards social reintegration appears to be subsiding in recent years, with many scholars promoting reintegration as the right of the prisoners and systematically advocating for increased efforts toward that end (e.g., Anagnostaki, 2019; Courakis, 2008; Giovanoglou, 2006, 2018a; Nikolopoulos, 2018; Panagos, 2020; Panousis, 2012). Scepticism towards rehabilitation remains (e.g., see Chaidou, 2018, pp.70-71 & p. 170; Zagoura, 2018) and aspects such as risk assessment or recent developments in neuroscience and forensic psychiatry are often, reasonably so, regarded critically (e.g., see Artinopoulou, 2015; Gasparinatou, 2018, 2020; Gkotsi, 2017; Kouroutzas, 2018; Nikolopoulos, 2003). It is indicative that the term “social reintegration” has prevailed in the Greek criminological literature (see Giovanoglou, 2018b), while rehabilitation is referred to as “reformation” (“αναμόρφωση”; Zagoura, 2018) with mostly negative connotations and in association with the positivist criminology. Thus, as previously noted, Giannoulis (2019) employs the two-fold term restoration/reintegration (“αποκατάσταση/επανένταξη”) to offer a more accurate representation of the concept of rehabilitation in Greek.

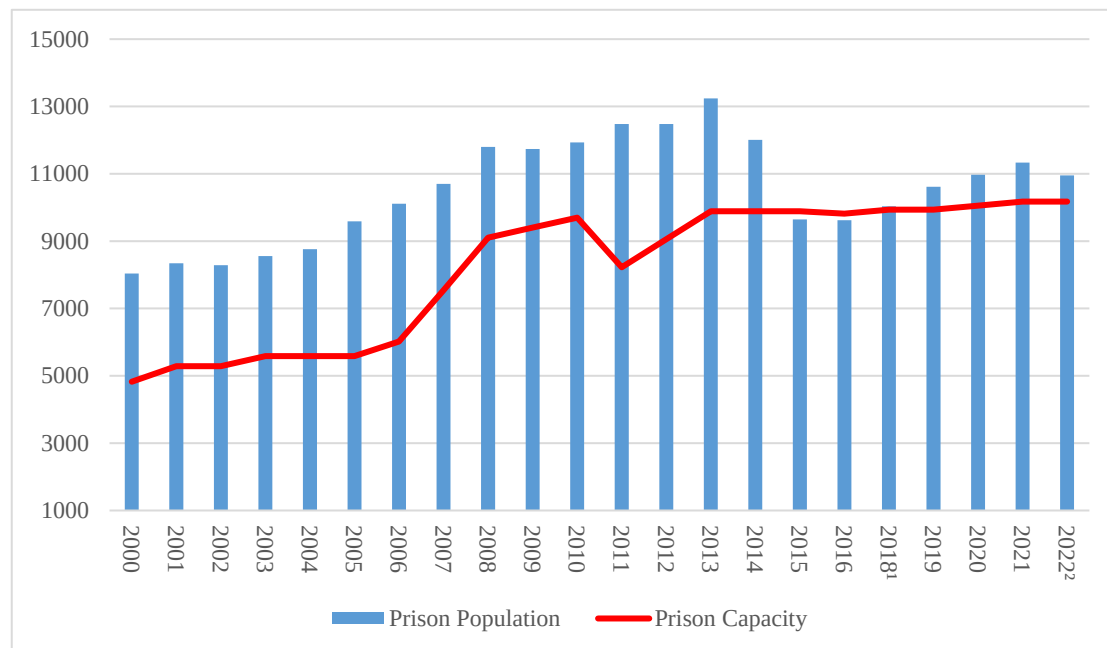
A related aspect is that although Greece has a long legal tradition (Artinopoulou & Petousi-Douli, 2011), empirical criminological research has developed to a lesser extent and mostly within the sociological discipline (Lambropoulou, 2005; 2014; see also Panagos, 2020; Vidali, 2007). Criminological psychology – the field associated with the models examined in the current dissertation (see Hollin, 2012) – and forensic psychology or psychiatry, have an even shorter and often ambiguous history (e.g., see Avdela, 2018; Ioannidou, 2018). For instance, relevant publications or applications are usually rather limited in the Greek criminological literature and collective publications (e.g., see Artinopoulou et al., 2018; Gasparinatos, 2016b) and in academic and research institutions (e.g., see Lambropoulou, 2014; Zafonitou, 2010). Most importantly, though, research within correctional settings in particular has been historically a daunting, quite lengthy, and bureaucratic task (Aloskofis, 2010; Daskalaki, Papadopoulou, Tsabarli, & Fronimou, 1999; Lambropoulou, 2005; Panagos, 2020), typically restricted to the distribution of questionnaires without any personal contact between the researchers and prisoners (Pitsela, 2012). Relatedly, the lack of consideration to criminological research evident in official justice or correctional statistics (Tsigkanou, 2018) and the restrictions in the statistical depiction of crime in Greece have been extensively documented (Tsigkanou, 2016a, 2016b). Official statistical data and research on recidivism especially, as it will be discussed in next sections of this chapter, has been even more limited.

2.3. Prison conditions

The most critical factor when examining the concept of rehabilitation in the field of corrections in Greece possibly relates to prison conditions and overcrowding. These chronic issues have had a detrimental effect on the living conditions, as well as the services and activities available for detainees. The conditions in Greek prisons have historically been a significant concern (see Courakis, 1985, 2009). Academics and researchers (e.g., Chatzitheodorou, 2016; Cheliotis, 2012; Kasapoglou, et al., 2021b; Koulouris, 2009c; Papachristou, 2012), national independent authorities (Karydis & Fitrikis, 2011; National Preventive Mechanism Against Torture and Ill-treatment, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2022) and European project reports (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019; Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013) have repeatedly captured the issue over the years. The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (hereafter referred to as CPT) has continuously

highlighted prison overcrowding and shortage of staff as substantial problems since the Committee's first visit to Greece in 1993 (CPT, 1994) until the latest visits in 2019 (CPT, 2020a) and 2021 (CPT, 2022a). To illustrate that, Figure 1 below contrasts the prison population to the capacity of prisons over the past 22 years using data available from the Council of Europe's SPACE I reports and the Ministry of Citizen Protection.

Figure 1. Prison population and capacity between the years 2000 and 2022



Note: Retrieved and adapted from Aebi, 2003, 2004, 2005; Aebi & Delgrande, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; Aebi & Stadnic, 2007; Aebi & Tiago, 2018, 2020, 2021; Aebi, Berger-Kolopp, Burkhardt, & Tiago, 2019; Aebi, Cocco, Molnar, & Tiago, 2022; Aebi, Tiago, & Burkhardt, 2015, 2016; Aebi, Tiago, Berger-Kolopp, & Burkhardt, 2017; Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.e; Tournier, 2001, 2002.

¹ The data presented for the years between 2000 and 2016 refer to the 1st of September of each year. From the year 2018 and onwards the date of reference in the SPACE I annual reports changed to the 31st of January of each year. As a result of this change there is no reference for the year 2017.

² The data for the year 2022 were retrieved from the relevant dataset of the Ministry of Citizen Protection (n.d.e) and refer to the 1st of February in order to correspond to the latest SPACE I reports for the years from 2018 and onwards.

As the figure (Figure 1) shows, except for the period between 2015 and 2018, when emergency legislative measures were enacted for the earlier automatic release of prisoners (Law 4322/2015; Law 4411/2016; Law 4489/2017; Law 4571/2018), the correctional institutions have been continuously operating well above their maximum capacity. In 2019 an upward trend is again observed, especially after the expiration of

the relevant measures in August 2019 (Article 13, paragraph 2, Law 4571/2018). On January 1st, 2020, a total number of 10,972 individuals were incarcerated with the prison capacity being 9,935 persons (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.c). By July 1st, 2020, the number of detainees had reached 11,506 against a capacity of 10,175 persons (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.c). As the graph indicates, the number of custodial institutions and their total capacity has also been increasing over the past two decades, although not at a similar rate. Within the last 20 years the number of facilities increased from 26 to 34 (Lambropoulou, 2017) and in the first six months of 2020, 240 new places were added in two existing facilities (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.c). In addition, a new prison in Drama with a capacity of 600 persons that was expected to become operational in 2020 (CPT, 2020b) does not yet operate in 2022, pending the availability of staffing resources (CPT, 2022b). The process of developing a second prison in Crete is again underway (CPT, 2022b) after being suspended in 2020 (CPT, 2020b), while the process of relocating Korydallos prison, the largest Greek prison located in Athens (CPT, 2020b) continues to date, along with plans for the construction of new prisons in other areas (CPT, 2022b).

The record of the employment of specialist staff in prisons constitutes another illustrative example. In 1973, social workers became for the first time part of the prison personnel (Karydis & Koulouris, 2013). But it was not until 2000 that other specialists, such as sociologists, criminologists, psychiatrists, and psychologists, were appointed in the first detoxification prison unit established in Eleonas, Theves (Karydis & Koulouris, 2013). That same year, one sociologist and one criminologist were also employed in Korydallos prison in Athens (Karydis & Koulouris, 2013). At that time, social workers and other specialists represented 2%-4% and 0.4%–0.9%, respectively, of the total prison personnel (Lambropoulou, 2001). Then, in 2007 approximately 20 psychologists became part of the prison workforce (Karydis & Koulouris, 2013). Based on the latest detailed information from the Council of Europe's SPACE I reports, 36 psychologists and sociologists and 66 other specialists, including social workers, were employed across 34 prisons in 2020 (Aebi & Tiago, 2021, p. 83 & p. 89). In other words, there was on average one psychologist or sociologist and two social workers in each prison unit. In total, 4,163 individuals were employed in 2020, among them 1,813 were custodial staff working in detention wings, responsible for the daily operation and internal security of the facilities (Aebi & Tiago, 2021, p. 83 & p. 89). Moreover, 1,616 custodial staff members were responsible for the external security of prisons and

transportation of detainees, and, finally, 92 were medical and paramedical staff (Aebi & Tiago, 2021, p. 83 & p. 89). In 2021, the overall number of individuals employed across the Greek prisons dropped to 3,998 staff members, but detailed information on the responsibilities of the employees was not available in the relevant Council of Europe's SPACE I report (Aebi et al., 2022).

In 2011, CPT issued a Public Statement condemning the Greek authorities for failing to recognise that the current operation of the prison system is unable “to provide safe and secure custody for inmates” and criticising the Prison Administration in Athens for “a lack of appreciation [...] of the actual situation in the country's prison establishments” (p. 4). Citing the existing living conditions, health care, shortage of staff, limited activities for detainees, and violence among prisoners, the report concluded that “a regulated prison system, as aspired to in law, has given way to the practice of warehousing prisoners” (CPT, 2011, p. 4). The latest report published in 2022, following an ad hoc visit at the end of 2021, reiterates that the situation “has not significantly improved” since the 2011 statement and the issues raised after the previous visits of the Committee in 2015 and 2019 persist (CPT, 2022a, p. 6). The report highlights the lack of strategic planning and decisive actions required to address systematic deficiencies in order to “regain control of the prisons and to move beyond a warehousing of prisoners” (CPT, 2022a, p. 6). The overall observation is that the two main and persistent problems, “overcrowding in totally inappropriate material conditions and chronic shortage of staff”, continue to aggravate the several additional shortcomings observed in the prisons visited” (CPT, 2022a, p. 7). As such, the reports concludes that there has been limited, if any, progress in addressing the relevant concerns and improving the living conditions for prisoners in the years following the CPT's 2011 public statement and given the “little evidence to indicate that the situation will improve in the near future” the procedure for issuing a new statement was set in motion (CPT, 2022a, p. 7) in 2022.

In particular, both CPT reports issued after the more recent visits of the Committee in 2019 (CPT, 2020a) and 2021 (CPT, 2022a) note that high levels of inter-prisoner violence and intimidation exist, rendering prisons unsafe for both inmates and staff, while it is often prisoners and not staff that run the wings. Several factors such as lack of staff, overpopulation, poor living conditions, absence of purposeful activities, and high prevalence of substance abuse have been consistently found to significantly contribute to the current situation, also highlighting important deficiencies in health

care services (CPT, 2020a, 2022a). Another persistent point of critique relates to the lack of structured regime and limited purposeful activities, which leave many of the prisoners with little other to do than “fester on their wings” (CPT, 2020a, p. 13), watch television, and walk in the yards (CPT, 2022a). Thus, the need for more organised activities and for prisons to develop structured programmes and sentence plans based on the offenders’ individual needs are repeatedly highlighted (CPT, 2020a), along with the need for the development of offender management programmes and vocational training courses in preparation for the prisoners’ return to the community (CPT, 2022a). An aspect that CPT continuously stresses throughout both recent reports is that a formalised risk and needs assessment process “must” be adopted for every individual entering the prison system (CPT, 2020a, 2022a). The process should be used for allocation of prisoners to wings – which is now predominantly based on criteria such as ethnicity – in an effort to prevent inter-prisoner violence and intimidation (CPT, 2020a, 2022a). Similarly, the need for the development of a structured programme of activities and sentence planning, as well as allocation to work posts, on the basis of individual needs assessments has also been stressed (CPT, 2020a).

It is indicative that the existing organised activities within prisons include only educational, vocational, substance abuse, and work programmes. Participation is voluntary and results in a beneficial calculation of time served and earlier release with one day being calculated as 1.75 to 2.5 days served (Koulouris et al., 2015) and 3 days served farm (agricultural) prisons (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). Additional activities or initiatives are periodically organised in certain facilities with the cooperation of other state or non-state agencies and organisations (e.g., see Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019; Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013; CPT, 2020a, 2020b). Recreational activities are also limited as, for instance, only five of the 34 prisons have sports facilities and 24 of them have halls for performing various activities (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019).

Moreover, although the regulations on the internal operation of prisons (Ministerial Decrees 58819/2003 for adult and 47503/20052003 for juvenile prisons) prescribe the voluntary cooperation of inmates with prison specialists to design a constructive treatment program, there are no consistent or formal practices inside prisons for sentence planning (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). There are also no specific processes for release preparation (Anagnostaki, 2019) or standardised risk and needs assessments, as the latter are performed only on certain occasions when decisions

need to be made for the treatment of specific prisoners (Koulouris, 2009b). In practice, such processes are only available to inmates that participate in organised substance abuse programmes or potentially those that decide to participate in sessions with the prison psychologists on an individual basis (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). Finally, apart from substance abuse treatment programmes, psychological programmes and interventions do not constitute a formal part of the current correctional practices in Greece (Anagnostaki, 2019). The next sections of this chapter provide a brief overview of the current practices aiming at the rehabilitation and reintegration of inmates during custody – such as psychological support and counselling, work, educational, vocational, and substance abuse programmes – and upon their release.

2.4. Current rehabilitation and reintegration practices

2.4.1. Psychological support and counselling

The notion of psychological counselling is not provided for by the Greek Correctional Code (Law 2776/1999; Arvanitidis, 2008; Galanou, 2011). The formal duties of prison psychologists include the performance of psychometric assessments and the compilation of relevant reports, the provision of recommendations for the appropriate allocation of inmates to work posts (Article 108, Law 1851/1989 which remains in force pursuant to Article 87, paragraph 3, Law 2776/1999), as well as their participation in Prison Councils (Article 810, Law 2776/1999; Arvanitidis, 2008; Galanou, 2011). Other aspects of correctional counselling, such as crisis counselling in cases of acute stress or suicidal ideation, counselling with regard to the committed offence, and, especially, counselling that aims at the personal development of the individuals (Themeli, 2008, 2018b) are absent from the law.

Additional problematic areas with the existing legal framework include the fact that prison psychologists are not organisationally independent, but rather are included in the general category of specialists, together with sociologists, social workers, criminologists, and other specialties, that report to the prison director (Arvanitidis, 2008). Similarly, their participation in prison's decision making bodies can potentially compromise their therapeutic relationships with inmates, while conflicts of interest could also arise on confidentiality issues (Arvanitidis, 2008). Moreover, considering that psychologists have a relatively short history as part of the prison staff, there is a significant need for a clear legal framework in line with the international principles and guidelines of correctional counselling (Arvanitidis, 2008).

In practice, counselling and psychological support are available only to those inmates that decide to participate in individual sessions with prison psychologists or social workers and only in prisons where these specialists are actually part of the staff (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). Individuals in need of psychiatric admission are transferred to the Prison Psychiatric Hospital in Korydallos, Athens, or at general psychiatric hospitals (Alevizopoulos & Igoumenou, 2016). Additionally, there is no legal or practical framework for risk assessment for suicide ideation or self-injury, and inmates are referred to the prison psychiatrists who prescribe medication or recommend the transfer of the inmate to the Prison or other general Psychiatric Hospitals (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). To the present author's knowledge, within the Prison Psychiatric Hospital there are no specific programmes for offenders with mental health issues and they are typically observed on a systematic basis by the Hospital's psychiatrists (see also CPT, 2019). Finally, with the exception of small pilot programmes – for instance a programme implemented in 2010 with 9 offenders (Mpimpas, 2018) – there are no therapeutic interventions for sexual offenders, who are usually transferred to specific prison facilities to separate them from the rest of the inmate population (Kasapoglou, Koros, & Koulouris, 2021a).

At the same time, research in Greek prisons examining the inmates' mental health shows alarming results, stressing the need for increased mental health services. For instance, a 2006 study examining the mental health of 80 inmates in Komotini prison found that 78.7% ($n = 63$) of the participants were diagnosed with a mental health disorder (Fotiadou, Livaditis, Manou, Kaniotou, & Xenitidis, 2006). The most prevalent diagnosis was anxiety and antisocial personality disorders ($n = 30$; 37.5%), followed by depression ($n = 22$; 27.5%), and opiate dependence ($n = 22$; 27.5%; Fotiadou et al., 2006). Another study conducted in 2006 at Korydallos prison found that 223 (45.1%) of the 495 participants interviewed were diagnosed with psychiatric disorders, predominantly personality disorders ($n = 79$; 16%), substance misuse ($n = 72$; 15%), and depression ($n = 22$; 4%; Alevizopoulos & Igoumenou, 2016). Similarly, a study conducted between 2012 and 2013 in two Greek prisons showed that 88.3% of the 308 individuals interviewed had a history of alcohol, cannabis, or drug use (Apostolopoulos et al., 2018). Similar results of high rates of mental health disorders have been also found in samples of young detainees (Maniadaki & Kakouros, 2008), as well as in a study examining the self-reported mental health status of female offenders (Miloni & Geitona, 2017).

One study has also examined self-injurious behaviour in a sample of 173 male prisoners, with the results showing a relevant rate of 49.4% associated with risk factors such as the psychiatric condition of the participants, substance use, and aggression (Sakelliadis, Papadodima, Sergeantanis, Giotakos, & Spiliopoulou, 2010). Although research in suicide rates in Greek prisons presents several limitations due to missing data and unreliable statistics, Themeli (2006) found that 5.9% to 30.8% (average of 19.8%) of the deaths inside prisons in the years between 1980 to 2000 were suicides. Similarly, a study analysing the records of major custodial institutions between 1999 and 2010 found that 70 (27%) of the 259 deaths examined were suicides, occurring mostly inside the Prison Psychiatric Hospital or other Prison Hospitals (Sakelliadis et al., 2013). These results indicate that the suicide rate among prisoners appears to be higher in comparison to the general population (Sakelliadis et al., 2013), highlighting the necessity for the adoption of suicide prevention programmes within prisons (Themeli, 2016). Moreover, a recent study sought to examine the prevalence of sexual victimisation in a Greek prison (Papadakaki, Tsalkanis, Prokopiadou, Goutsou, & Chliaoutakis, 2019). Out of the 400 inmates invited to participate in the study, only 50 returned the completed questionnaire and 13 (26%) of them reported some form of sexual victimisation (Papadakaki et al., 2019).

2.4.2. Work programmes

Work inside prisons is offered on an explicitly voluntary basis, but also serves as motivation for earlier release due to the beneficial calculation of time served (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). The beneficial calculation applies to both convicted prisoners and detainees awaiting trial if they are eventually convicted (Koulouris, 2009b). It is also used as an incentive for good behaviour, since prisoners with a record of institutional misconduct cannot work for a certain time period, and, thus, are unable to benefit from the provisions for earlier release (Koulouris, 2009b, p. 118; Koros, 2020, pp. 291). The Correctional Code provides for various working positions inside and outside of the custodial institutions, as well as in the private and public sector, including paid work (Articles 40-43, Law 2776/1999). However, the latter is never applied (Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013). In practice, apart from those serving sentences in the four farm prisons and some specific work posts, the available work positions are rather rudimentary, involving, cleaning, maintenance, and other daily operational aspects of the facilities (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019; Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013).

Thus, those positions provide limited opportunity for purposeful engagement and meaningful development for post release employment (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019; Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013). Furthermore, in several prisons the number of available positions is far smaller than the number of prisoners. For instance, in 2013 there were 5,300 available posts for a total of 12,500 prisoners across all prison facilities (Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013). Likewise, in 2021 in a prison with a population of 719 individuals there were 365 workers, 220 of whom were on cleaning duties (CPT, 2022a). Thus, in many posts, such as cleaning, the actual work is carried out only for a couple of hours per day (CPT, 2020a, 2022a). Given the disproportionate offer and demand, an effort is made to create as many positions as possible and a rotation system is adopted where certain posts last only for three months and then an individual would have to wait several months before they can work again (CPT, 2020a, 2022a).

2.4.3. Educational and vocational activities

The constitutional right to education (Article 16, paragraph 4 of the Constitution of Greece) is regulated by Article 35 of the Correctional Code (Law 2776/1999), and includes all levels of education and vocational training, while primary school is mandatory for young detainees (see also Themeli, 2018a). According to information provided by the Greek Government (CPT, 2022b) in their response to the CPT 2022 report (2022a), during the school year 2021-2022 educational activities were available in 20 of 34 custodial institutions. Primary and secondary schools were operational in 9 detention facilities, including those for young and juvenile offenders (CPT, 2022b). Second Chance Schools for adults wishing to complete their 9-year mandatory education (i.e. primary and junior high school) were available in 13 detention facilities (CPT, 2022b). Formal vocational training was available only in three of the 34 detention facilities in 2022 (CPT, 2022b).

The Greek authorities also noted that beyond those enrolled in the existing educational units, a “a significant number” of prisoners are “privately taught” in prisons that do not offer upper secondary education or are enrolled to higher education institutions (CPT, 2022b, p. 42). Importantly, inmates are entitled to educational leaves (Article 58, Law 2776/1999) and electronic monitoring has also been implemented for prisoners enrolled in higher educational institutions to attend classes and exams (Common Ministerial Decision 29809/2015; Anagnostaki 2019). Lastly, although no specific figures were available in the most recent 2022 report (CPT, 2022b), according to the information previously offered by the Greek Government, a total number of 1,133

individuals – approximately 10% of the prison population – were engaged in the above educational activities in December 2019 (CPT, 2020b).

Two recent papers have sought to systemise existing research studies regarding the detainee's participation in Second Chance Schools in Greek prisons (Papaioannou & Anagnou, 2019; Papaioannou, Anagnou, & Vergidis, 2018). The first study examined the motivation behind the detainees' decision to enrol in educational programmes (Papaioannou et al., 2018). The findings showed that the primary reason was "relief from the prison's suffering", such as escaping the environment of prison, avoiding routine, and using the "lost" time creatively (Papaioannou et al., 2018, p.137). Another important reason was the possibility of earlier conditional release due to the beneficial calculation of time served, followed by motivations regarding educational or qualification purposes (Papaioannou et al., 2018). The second study sought to examine the benefits resulting from the detainees' participation in Second Chance Schools (Papaioannou & Anagnou, 2019). Several benefits were identified by the participants, such as opportunities for personal development and improvement, acquisition of knowledge and skills, social reintegration, and social interaction with individuals beyond other inmates (Papaioannou & Anagnou, 2019). In addition, respondents expected that their participation in training would have a positive effect in their professional lives after release, as well as give them the opportunity to continue their education further (Papaioannou & Anagnou, 2019).

Despite the rather positive elements of the ongoing educational and vocational activities, several aspects in need of further improvement have been often highlighted. The first relates to the fact that Second Chance Schools do not operate in all adult facilities, although an improvement is observed in contrast to previous years, as 7 schools were operating in 2013 (Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013) and 11 in early 2019 (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). The National Preventive Mechanism Against Torture and Ill-treatment (2018) has noted that complaints are often submitted from inmates transferred to prisons where no school is available, thus disrupting the continuation of their education. Moreover, Second Chance Schools are typically available only for the 9-year mandatory education and not the last three years of high school that would allow individuals to pursue higher education degrees or participate in the vocational training programmes offered within the prisons. Thus, the National Preventive Mechanism Against Torture and Ill-treatment (2017) has also urged for expanding the operation of the Second Chance Schools to include high school

programmes, as the only option available for those wishing to finish high school is to self-study and participate in the final exams which is often discouraging for the inmates. Finally, given the rather limited number of vocational training initiatives there is a clear need for the expansion of the current programmes to support the social reintegration of prisoners (CPT, 2020a), especially in connection to the labour market (see Lambropoulou, 2014). For instance, the vocational programmes available in the Korydallos prison include only graphic design and sketch arts (2nd KORYDALLOS DIEK, 2016)

2.4.4. Substance abuse programmes

Therapeutic programmes for substance abuse operate in several prisons by NGOs, such as the Therapy Center for Dependent Individuals (KETHEA [Κέντρο Θεραπείας Εξαρτημένων Ατόμων]), the Organisation Against Drugs (OKANA [Οργανισμός Κατά των Ναρκωτικών]), and the Drug Dependence Treatment Unit 18 ANO (18 ANO, n.d.; Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). Based on information provided by the Greek Government (CPT, 2020b) in response to the CPT (2020a) report, the programmes currently available are: (a) two opioid substitution programmes in Athens and Patras (see also OKANA, n.d.); (b) four abstinence therapeutic communities operating in the Korydallos male and female prisons in Athens, the female prison in Eleonas, Theves (see also KETHEA, n.d.a), and the Diavata prison in Thessaloniki (see also KETHEA, n.d.b); and (c) 27 counselling programmes available in 23 of the 34 detention facilities (CPT, 2020b). Importantly, the therapeutic community in Diavata prison started functioning in 2015 in an autonomous wing where the members follow the programme on a continuous basis, without returning to the main prison unit with the rest of the inmates (KETHEA, 2015). Likewise, a similar autonomous wing started operating in Korydallos prison for men in 2021 (KETHEA, 2021).

Moreover, one of the existing 34 prison facilities is a dedicated detoxification unit operating since 2002 in Eleonas, Theves (Krokou, Mpinioti, Plytas, & Spyrou, 2008). The programme lasts approximately two years and involves multiple phases, starting with a two-month preparatory phase, a four-month transitional phase, an at least six-month phase within the therapeutic community, and a final 18-month reintegration phase after the release of the offender (Spyrou & Plytas, 2016). Apart from drug treatment, the programme has included in recent years an “offending group” aiming at the identification and treatment of factors related to offending specifically (Spyrou &

Plytas, 2016). However, participation remains relatively low, with approximately 35 of the 96 available places being occupied during the first six months of 2021 (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.d).

2.4.5. Post release re-integration and support

Historically, assistance after release was provided by the “Societies for the Protection of ex-Prisoners”, which operated on a local level under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice and subsequently under the local authorities (Lambropoulou, 2005, 2008, 2014). In 2003 EPANODOS, which means “return” in Greek, was established as a legal entity of private law under the Ministry of Justice with the aim of “vocational training and (vocational) rehabilitation, financial support, and the gradual social reintegration of released prisoners” (Article 81, paragraph 2, Law 2776/1999; see also Lambropoulou, 2014). The organisation became operational in 2007 but has often encountered difficulties due to lack of resources (Lambropoulou, 2014). The activities of the organisation include, among others, the provision of information, vocational counselling and training, psychological support, legal counselling, and financial support to the extent possible (Miloni, 2018). In 2018 the organisation offered services to 299 new beneficiaries and a short-term guest house for released offenders became operational that year (Miloni, 2018), while in 2020 a total number of 227 individuals benefited from the organization’s services (Miloni, 2020).

The Correctional Code also provisions the establishment of a “Social Support Committee” under the competence of the local authorities in each prefecture for the assistance of released offenders (Article 81, paragraph 3, Law 2776/1999; see also Anagnostaki, 2019). But these committees have not been extensively used (Anagnostaki, 2019) and operate mainly for the provision of information (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). In addition, the Greek Public Employment Agency (OAED [Οργανισμός Απασχόλησης Εργατικού Δυναμικού]) provides financial aid to some categories of released prisoners (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019). Moreover, it offers vocational training programmes, grants for ex-prisoners to start small businesses, and subsidies for employers to incentivise the employment of ex-prisoners (Anagnostaki, 2019). Finally, individuals can also benefit from other programmes or support services for vulnerable individuals offered by state agencies, non-governmental organisations, or church organisations (see Anagnostaki, 2019; Courakis, 2008; Lambropoulou, 2014; Sannas, 2011). However, non-state funded initiatives are not continuous and often dependent on the availability of funds.

2.5. Research and statistics on recidivism

2.5.1. Official statistics on recidivism in Greece

Information on recidivism rates in Greece can be derived from two primary sources, namely, national authorities releasing official statistical information and individual research studies (see also Zarafonitou et al., 2017, 2019b for a review of the relevant literature). The National Statistical Service of Greece (ESYE [Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία της Ελλάδος]), which was dissolved and replaced by the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT [Ελληνική Στατιστική Αρχή]) in 2010 (Law 3832/2010), constitutes the primary source of official data. For the period between 1961 and 1996 the National Statistical Service of Greece produced comprehensive reports on “Justice Statistics” (entitled “Στατιστική της Δικαιοσύνης” in Greek). These reports included, among others, detailed information on the total number of convicted individuals per year, the number of recidivists, as well as the time between the first conviction and the commission of the last offence, discriminating between those convicted within five years or more. Remarkably, though, the reports were no longer produced after 1996 (see also Lambropoulou, 2014). Table 1 below presents the available information for the period examined in this chapter, namely between 1974 and 1996, the year of the last report. In order to present a general overview of the phenomenon of recidivism and offer consistency with subsequent data (see Tables 2 and 3), the table (Table 1) presents information on recidivism regardless of the type of offence committed and for the entire population, irrespective of age, gender or other parameters. As the table illustrates, on average 42% of the individuals convicted were recidivists, 43% of whom were reconvicted within five years of their first conviction and 57% within a period of more than five years.

Subsequently, Table 2 presents the available information retrieved from the Hellenic Statistical Authority for the period between 1998 and 2010. The table collates data derived from two different sources, a dataset on the number of crimes committed and the number of persons convicted each year (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2010b), and a separate dataset with the number of recidivists per year (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2010c). For either dataset no further information is available, such as how recidivism was defined, or how the number of convicted persons was calculated. There is also no information on gender, age, or other demographic characteristics, nor any indication on the number of missing cases per year.

Table 1. Number of convicted individuals and recidivists and reconviction time for the years between 1974 and 1996

Year	Total	Recidivists			Number of missing cases
	number of convicted individuals	Number and percentage of recidivists	Time between first and latest conviction		
			5 years or less	More than 5 years	
1974	107,010	36,255 (34%)	12,605 (35%)	23,650 (65%)	5538
1975	114,063	35,344 (31%)	12,419 (35%)	22,925 (65%)	656
1976	112,510	36,020 (32%)	13,180 (37%)	22,840 (63%)	374
1977	116,736	41,025 (35%)	15,771 (38%)	25,254 (62%)	443
1978	115,734	42,199 (36%)	16,626 (39%)	25,573 (61%)	159
1979	120,281	45,631 (38%)	20,551 (45%)	25,080 (55%)	562
1980	122,828	47,901 (39%)	18,538 (39%)	29,363 (61%)	1
1981*	137,577	53,019 (39%)	19,272 (36%)	33,748 (64%)	0
1982	139,433	60,686 (44%)	22,707 (37%)	37,979 (63%)	0
1983	120,991	52,708 (44%)	21,494 (41%)	31,214 (59%)	0
1984	113,988	46,839 (41%)	19,152 (41%)	27,687 (59%)	0
1985	108,011	47,344 (44%)	18,875 (40%)	28,469 (60%)	0
1986	123,958	59,350 (48%)	27,127 (46%)	32,223 (54%)	0
1987	140,403	70,255 (50%)	39,514 (56%)	30,741 (44%)	0
1988	132,925	64,411 (48%)	33,627 (52%)	30,784 (48%)	0
1989	108,983	51,029 (47%)	22,664 (44%)	28,365 (56%)	1
1990	109,190	50,925 (47%)	23,638 (46%)	27,287 (54%)	17
1991	112,203	53,871 (48%)	24,104 (45%)	29,767 (55%)	0
1992	107,564	50,937 (47%)	22,455 (44%)	28,482 (56%)	0
1993	92,427	43,075 (47%)	20,645 (48%)	22,430 (52%)	0
1994	83,818	39,090 (47%)	18,240 (47%)	20,850 (53%)	8
1995	91,966	39,337 (43%)	18,442 (47%)	20,895 (53%)	1
1996	86,892	33,733 (39%)	15,218 (45%)	18,515 (55%)	1
Average		47,869 (42%)	20,733 (43%)	27,136 (57%)	-

Note: Retrieved and adapted from National Statistical Service of Greece, 1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999.

*There is a discrepancy of one unit in the original report between the third column, where the grand total number of recidivists is 53,019, and the summation of columns four and five, where the total number recidivists reconvicted within, and more than five years equals to 53,020.

Thus, in an effort to depict the only available data for this time period, Table 2 contrasts the total number of convicted individuals each year from the first dataset with the corresponding number of recidivists from the second dataset to offer an approximation on how many of those convicted each year could potentially be recidivists. However, considering that the data were aggregated from two different sources, the information should be interpreted cautiously. The data should be considered as tentative, offering only indications on relevant trends rather than concrete information on recidivism rates. Limitations aside, the information shows an average of 15% recidivists across all years and a declining trend in the relevant percentage over the years, starting from 34% in 1998 to 15% in 2010.

Table 2. Number of convicted individuals and recidivists for the years between 1998 and 2010

Year	Total number of convicted individuals	Number and percentage of recidivists
1998	63,818	21,866 (34%)
1999	62,663	15,173 (24%)
2000	58,816	9,503 (16%)
2001	59,262	9,093 (15%)
2002	66,061	11,599 (18%)
2003	73,161	12,963 (18%)
2004	74,188	6,840 (9%)
2005	56,923	6,288 (11%)
2006	50,157	4,413 (9%)
2007	44,931	5,683 (13%)
2008	46,128	3,631 (8%)
2009	45,127	4,349 (10%)
2010	43,135	3,428 (8%)
Average	57,259	8,833 (15%)

Note: Retrieved and adapted from Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2010b, 2010c.

Lastly, Table 3 presents information on the previous convictions of incarcerated individuals between 2006 to 2015. The information was retrieved from annual datasets released by the Hellenic Statistical Authority that depict the type of sentence and the previous convictions of prisoners, presumably including only individuals convicted to

a custodial sentence and not those in pre-trial detention. The relevant data included only information on the number of prisoners with and without a previous conviction, differentiating also if the previous conviction was for the same or a similar offence, as well as the number of individuals for whom their previous criminal history was unknown. As the table indicates, data were available only for 52-68% of prisoners each year, with the average of available data being at 62% across the entire timespan. On average, 15% of individuals had previous convictions, 56% of them for the same or similar offence and 44% for a different offence. Importantly, an average of 85% of the prisoners did not have any previous convictions. However, the data should be again interpreted cautiously due to the rather high number of missing cases.

Table 3. Number of incarcerated individuals with previous convictions for the same or similar and for a different offence between the years 2006 and 2015

Year	Total number of incarcerated individuals	Number and percentage of incarcerated individuals with available information	Recidivists (with previous convictions)		
			Total number and percentage of recidivists	Reconvicted for	
				Same/similar offence	Different offence
2006	13,170	7,605 (58%)	1,396 (18%)	921 (66%)	475 (34%)
2007	13,964	10,869 (78%)	1,518 (14%)	1,010 (67%)	508 (33%)
2008	15,074	9,772 (65%)	1,427 (15%)	945 (66%)	482 (34%)
2009	14,719	10,127 (69%)	1,332 (13%)	754 (57%)	578 (43%)
2010	14,598	9,914 (68%)	1,258 (13%)	713 (57%)	545 (43%)
2011*	15,007	8,647 (58%)	1,229 (14%)	547 (45%)	682 (55%)
2012	15,128	7,927 (52%)	1,125 (14%)	498 (44%)	627 (56%)
2013	16,650	10,488 (63%)	1,727 (16%)	825 (48%)	902 (52%)
2014	15,883	8,166 (52%)	1,359 (17%)	778 (57%)	581 (43%)
2015	14,781	8,114 (55%)	1,299 (16%)	719 (55%)	580 (45%)
Average		9,163 (62%)	1,367 (15%)	771 (56%)	596 (44%)

Note: Retrieved and adapted from Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015.

*The original dataset indicates that a number of 304 prisoners are not included in the total N.

Finally, an example further illustrating the deficiencies in the official statistical data in Greece is the recent study of Giannoulis and Spyrou (2022). The authors

examined the history of incarceration of female offenders in Greece between the years 2016 and 2020. Rather than relying on the statistical data available from the Hellenic Statistical Authority, the researchers noted the evident deficiencies in the official data, confirmed also through their personal communication with the authority. Thus, Giannoulis and Spyrou (2022) extracted information from the prison files and electronic system in an effort to depict an accurate representation of the phenomenon.

2.5.2. National research studies on recidivism

A seminal research study employing a follow up design was conducted between 1993 and 2000 by the Laboratory of Criminological and Penal Research of the University of Athens (Courakis et al., 1995; Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007). The authors interviewed 156 male and female young offenders with a mean age of 20 years that were incarcerated in two prison facilities in 1993 (Courakis et al. 1995). Approximately 46.4% of the participants had a criminal history, with the majority having been previously incarcerated (23.7%) or confined (22.4%) in a correctional facility (Courakis et al., 1995). The participants' mean age during their first contact with the criminal justice system was 14.3 years and the mean age for their first admission in a correctional facility was 17.4 years (Courakis et al., 1995). During the follow up phase of the study, conducted between 1999 and 2000, data were available for 113 participants (Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007). Out of the total 113 participants, 50 were incarcerated at that time, 53 were in the community, and 10 were deceased, out of the country, hospitalised, or declined to participate (Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007). Notably, only 20.4% of the sample had not been reconvicted or reincarcerated at any time during the 6-7 years of the follow up period (Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007). Aspects such as drug use, difficulties in finding employment, the stigma and adverse effects of imprisonment were identified by the authors as factors contributing to recidivism (Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007).

Similar results were found in a pivotal earlier study of the National Centre for Social Research that was conducted in 1983 by Daskalakis and colleagues in six prisons across Greece (Andritsou et al., 1988). In a sample of 427 male adult offenders 191 (45%) participants had been incarcerated in the past, 38% of them had one previous incarceration, 35% two or three, and 27% had been previously incarcerated four times or more (Andritsou, et al., 1988). The authors concluded that recidivists were predominantly between the ages 25 and 34 and their first incarceration was at an early age, under the age of 17 (Andritsou, et al., 1988). Subsequent studies have also sought

to retrospectively examine the criminal histories of incarcerated offenders to determine recidivism rates. For instance, Kranidioti and Spirou (2010) examined in 2001 the criminal histories of 357 offenders convicted for drug related offenders using file review, and a second sample of 321 offenders during 2005 and 2008 through interviews (Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010). The findings were comparable between the two samples and methods of assessment. In the first sample ($N = 357$) the file review indicated that 42% ($n = 191$) had been previously incarcerated, and out of them 47.3% had been previously incarcerated one time, 42.7% two to three times, and 10% four or more times (Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010). The interviewees in the second sample ($N = 321$) indicated that 54% of them had been previously incarcerated, 49% once, 35% twice or three times, and 16% four or more times (Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010).

Similarly, a study conducted in 2009 by the Thessaloniki Law School examined, among other aspects, the criminal histories of 123 participants incarcerated in five prisons using self-reported questionnaires (see Giovanoglou, 2012; Koulouris, 2012; Papachristou, 2012; Pitsela, 2012; Tsilonis, 2012). The study followed an analogous operationalisation and classification of recidivism with the previous studies, grouping offenders that had been previously convicted or incarcerated once, two or three times, and four times or more (Giovanoglou, 2012). The findings indicated that 38 (30.89%) participants were classified as recidivists, and the respective percentages per category were 52.63%, 26.31%, and 21.05% (Giovanoglou, 2012). An important observation regarding the findings of this study is that its primary aim was not the examination of recidivism, but rather to assess the respect for the inmate's human rights during imprisonment (Pitsela, 2012). Thus, the inclusion criteria were formulated in line with the aims of the study to select inmates participating in vocational or educational programmes, those that have used the home leave scheme within the last three months, and so forth (Koulouris, 2012). Therefore, naturally, the sample selected would not be representative of the population in terms of recidivism assessment.

More recently, EPANODOS, the official organisation under the Ministry of Citizen Protection for the support of released offenders, initiated a project for the comprehensive assessment of recidivism (Zarafonitou et al., 2017, 2019b). During the first phase of the project a pilot study examined the criminal history of the organisation's beneficiaries during the years 2014 and 2016 using the available information on the EPANODOS' database (Zarafonitou et al., 2017). In both 2014 and 2016, 27% of the individuals examined had at least two convictions (Zarafonitou et al.,

2017). The second phase involved the performance of interviews with 40 participants, 22 of whom were deemed as recidivists based on the participants self-reports for rearrests, reconvictions, reincarcerations, or undetected by the police offences (Zarafonitou et al., 2019b). The authors, however, note that the self-reported recidivism was not confirmed using official data and, in some cases, the researchers were unable to trace the chronological sequence of the participants' account of events in order to confirm recidivism (Zarafonitou et al., 2019b). The interview data were analysed using thematic analysis to retrospectively examine risk and protective factors associated with recidivism (Zarafonitou et al., 2019b). Several factors were deemed as relevant by the authors, including risk factors during childhood and adolescence, such as family and peer relations, substance use, and difficulties at school (Zarafonitou et al., 2019b). The relevant risk and protective factors during adulthood involved, among others, associations with substance abuse, peer relationships, employment, education, covering of basic needs, and the offenders' attitudes (Zarafonitou et al., 2019b).

Taken together the statistical data and research findings presented above suggest that recidivism constitutes an important issue, especially in samples of incarcerated offenders. For instance, the findings of Courakis and colleagues (Courakis et al., 1995; Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007) indicated that approximately 80% of the participants were reincarcerated or reconvicted within the 6-7 years. Although the study examined rearrest and not reincarceration or reconviction rates, these findings are in line with a large-scale study conducted with 401,288 prisoners released from United States prisons in 2005, 79% of whom were rearrested within 6 years (Alper et al., 2018). Similarly, the data presented in Table 1 for the period 1974-1996 showing an average reconviction rate of 42% within five years compare, favourably to rates observed in countries that have reported data for the same follow up length, such as France where a 58% rate was reported in 2004 (Yukhnenko et al., 2019). Finally, the study conducted by EPANODOS (Zarafonitou et al., 2019b) identified several factors in line with the RNR (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and GLM (Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) models examined in the current dissertation, which were also taken into consideration during the development of the study design (Zarafonitou et al., 2017). However, as the authors note, the findings were not quantified to examined simple or causal associations between the factors assessed and recidivism, thus, significantly limiting the generalisability of the results (Zarafonitou et al., 2019b).

In conclusion, further systemisation of these findings to draw relevant conclusions regarding recidivism rates and the overall phenomenon in Greece presents several difficulties due to the different methods of assessment and operationalisation of recidivism (see also National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022 on limitations in measuring recidivism). Recidivism is defined as the commission of a new offence, within a specific follow up period, by a previously convicted individual (Zara & Farrington, 2016) and, thus, should be examined prospectively. For instance, the more recent statistical data by the Hellenic Statistical Authority in Table 3 and the relevant studies retrospectively examining recidivism (Giovanoglou, 2012; Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010), although provide quite valuable information, they do not in fact present concrete data on recidivism. But rather, they present information and data on the criminal histories of individuals. In other words, the data show how many of the prisoners examined in each case had been previously convicted or incarcerated. It does not show how many of the released prisoners or convicted individuals reoffend after the commission of their first or previous offence. To the author's knowledge, with the exception of the study conducted by Courakis and colleagues (Courakis et al., 1995; Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007) approximately 20 years ago, there has been no other prospective longitudinal study examining recidivism, and there has been no longitudinal study so far using of official recidivism data. Most importantly though, no prediction study aiming to prospectively identify factors associated with the occurrence of recidivism has been so far conducted. The existing studies focus only on descriptive and retrospective data (e.g., Zarafonitou et al., 2019b), thus, significantly limiting the conclusions that can be drawn regarding the phenomenon of recidivism.

2.6. Summary and conclusions

The present chapter presented an attempt to trace the concepts of rehabilitation and recidivism throughout the recent criminological literature and history of the Greek correctional system. Building and expanding on previous work, this chapter aimed at situating the topics of the current dissertation and the RNR and GLM models examined within the national setting in an effort to explore some – albeit not the only – unique circumstances inherent in the national framework. Through the review of the relevant literature, the following aspects may be summarised with regard to rehabilitation and the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece.

The recent history and the relevant debates (e.g., see Alexiadis, 2001; Lambropoulou, 1991; Spinellis & Courakis, 1990) surrounding the aims of rehabilitation and punishment that are reflected in the revisions of the Greek Correctional Code since 1967 have resulted into at least three characteristics that may be employed to describe the correctional system and criminological tradition in Greece. The first is the notion of “distancing” that has followed the removal of all utilitarian aims, including social reintegration, and the adoption of neutrality in the Correctional Code (Koulouris, 2018, pp. 590-591). Considering the voluntary nature of all activities, services, and interventions – rehabilitative or otherwise – the motivation of both inmates to participate and of the state to invest in such initiatives has been significantly minimised (Koulouris, 2018).

The second aspect may be reflected in the “self-deterrent potential of the threat of imprisonment” (Mavris et al., 2015, p. 6) and the “control, not assistance, oriented” (Koulouris et al., 2015, p. 27) nature of measures such as conditional release and home leave in Greece. Based on judgements regarding custodial behaviour and the personality of offender – rather than on systematic criteria for risk assessment – and without any measures of further support or supervision (Anagnostaki, 2018, 2019; Koulouris et al., 2015) these measures have often raised concerns about potential abuses and prejudice (Cheliotis, 2006, 2010). The third characteristic is the conceptual “intolerance” (Giovanoglou, 2006, p. 39) towards social reintegration and the remaining scepticism against rehabilitation (e.g., see Chaidou, 2018, pp.70-71 & p. 170; Zagoura, 2018) and aspects such as risk assessment that are still regarded critically (e.g., see Gasparinatou, 2018, 2020). Combined with the long legal tradition (Artinopoulou & Petousi-Douli, 2011) but limited empirical criminological research (Lambropoulou, 2005; 2014; see also Panagos, 2020; Tsigkanou, 2018; Vidali, 2007), even more in areas such as criminological or forensic psychology and psychiatry (e.g., see Avdela, 2018; Ioannidou, 2018), these aspects have resulted in an important gap in the literature.

However, when examining the concept of rehabilitation in Greece, in addition to the legislative history and criminological tradition, further influencing factors are the prison conditions and overcrowding that have “given way to the practice of warehousing prisoners” (CPT, 2011, p. 4). Historically an important issue (e.g., see Courakis, 1985, 2009), the conditions in Greek prisons have raised repeated calls for the need to offer more organised activities, including structured programmes and sentence plans that are based on formalised risk and needs assessment processes (CPT,

2020a, 2022a). The current practices aiming at the rehabilitation and reintegration of inmates during custody include only psychological support and counselling, work, educational, vocational, and substance abuse programmes. The lack of psychological rehabilitative programmes (Anagnostaki, 2019), of systematic processes for release preparation (Anagnostaki, 2019), and the limited post-release support available (Lambropoulou, 2005, 2008, 2014) are few of the aspects highlighting the restricted rehabilitative applications within the Greek correctional system.

An equally neglected area in the field of corrections in Greece is the systematic study, or lack thereof, of recidivism in recent years. Earlier pivotal studies (e.g., Andritsou et al., 1988; Courakis et al., 1995; Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007) have extensively documented the high prevalence of the phenomenon in Greece. Similarly, statistical information released by national authorities show that on average 42% of the individuals convicted between 1974 and 1996 were recidivists (National Statistical Service of Greece, 1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999; see also Table 1). However, most recent studies (e.g., Giovanoglou, 2012; Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010) and official data (e.g., Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; see also Table 3) over the past 20 years have focused on information regarding the criminal histories of incarcerated individuals rather than on presenting data on recidivism. In other words, they show the share of incarcerated individuals that have been previously convicted or incarcerated, rather than the number of convicted offenders that commit a new crime following their initial conviction. The most noticeable gap in the literature, however, is the lack of studies that seek to prospectively investigate factors associated with recidivism beyond descriptive and retrospective data (e.g., Zarafonitou et al., 2019b).

In conclusion, returning to the first section of this chapter and further to Giannoulis's (2019) question if recommending the use of models such as RNR and the GLM within the Greek correctional system constitutes a realistic possibility, the following aspects seem to be, in the first instance at least, inapplicable when the Greek framework is examined through the perspectives of these models:

- (a) The concept of psychological counselling is not envisaged by the Greek Correctional Code (Law 2776/1999; see also Arvanitidis, 2008; Galanou, 2011) and psychological interventions, such as the RNR and GLM models are not yet part of the formal correctional practices (Anagnostaki, 2019).

- (b) Despite risk of reoffending affecting various aspects of the treatment of offenders (Gasparinatos, 2020, pp. 163-164; see also Giannoulis, 2017, pp. 73-79) and continuous calls for the adoption of formalized risk and needs assessments, (CPT, 2020a, 2022a), such as those provisioned by RNR, even the definition of recidivism as part of the sentencing process was recently removed from the Greek Penal Code (Law 4619/2019). Even more recently, the revision of the Greek Correctional Code (see Article 11, Law 4985/2022) provisions, among others, the placement of “particularly dangerous” offenders into increased security custodial institutions, without any clear criteria or assessment process on which the relevant judgements will be based.
- (c) Even though the prevention of recidivism represents one of the worldwide known aims of sanctions (Farsedakis, 2016) as well as rehabilitation, or at least how their effectiveness has been traditionally measured (Cullen & Jonson, 2016), previous research work (e.g., Zarafonitou et al., 2019b) and official data (see also Lambropoulou, 2014) do not allow for an accurate description of the phenomenon in Greece over the past half a century.

CHAPTER 3. PROMINENT MODELS IN THE PREVENTION OF RECIDIVISM INTERNATIONALLY

3.1. The history and background of how the Risk-Need-Responsivity and the Good Lives models emerged

3.1.1. The “nothing works” claims

In 1974 Martinson published the, now infamous, article entitled “What works? Questions and answers about prison reform”. The essay summarised the results of a systematic review of 231 evaluation studies of custodial and community programmes conducted between 1945 and 1967. The study was initially commissioned in 1966 by the New York State Governor's Special Committee on Criminal Offenders and although completed by 1970, it was never published by the state and the researchers were refused permission to publish it themselves. As Martinson (1974) notes, the study was viewed “as a document whose disturbing conclusions posed a serious threat” to ongoing programmes (p. 23). It was eventually released to the public, and the authors, only after it was subpoenaed during a court case. Martinson presented in 1974 a summary of the study findings that was then published in full the following year (Lipton, Martinson, & Wilks, 1975). His conclusion was clear: “*With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism*” ([italics original] Martinson, 1974, p. 25). The article ended by suggesting that perhaps the only viable option left might be deterrence: “something that deters rather than cures, something that does not so much reform convicted offenders as prevent criminal behavior in the first place” (Martinson, 1974, p. 50). But the author also noted that further studies were needed in this regard. Although he did not use an affirmative statement, but rather posed it as the question “Does nothing work?” (Martinson, 1974, p. 48), the pronouncement “nothing works” prevailed.

As scholars note (e.g., Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Cullen, 2005; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Cullen & Gilbert, 2012; Gendreau & Ross, 1979; McGuire, 2002; Raynor & Robinson, 2005), Martinson’s (1974) article was not the first (e.g., see Bailey, 1966; Berleman & Steinburn, 1969; Gold, 1974; Kirby, 1954; Logan, 1972; Robison & Smith, 1971), nor the last (e.g., see Brody, 1976; Conrad, 1975; von Hirsch, 1976; Wilks & Martinson, 1976), to make relevant claims regarding the ineffectiveness of rehabilitation. However, it was “pervasive and consequential” (Cullen, 2005, p. 6) due to a number of factors, such as the socio-political events of the time (e.g., see

Cullen, 2005; Cullen & Gilbert, 2012; Cullen & Gendreau, 2001; Raynor & Robinson, 2005; Robinson & Crow, 2009) and the fact that it was the most comprehensive review available at that time (Cullen, 2005; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Martinson's (1974) conclusions were challenged at the time (e.g., see Adams, 1976; Gottfredson, 1979; Gendreau & Ross, 1979; Palmer, 1975) and have been often criticised in subsequent years on various grounds (e.g., see Cullen & Gendreau, 2000, 2001; McGuire, 2002; Robinson & Crow, 2009).

For instance, Palmer (1975) in his rebuttal article entitled "Martinson Revisited", re-examined 82 of the studies cited in Martinson's 1974 essay and calculated that 39 (48%) of the studies had "positive or partly positive results" on reducing recidivism (p.142). Similarly, out of the 231 studies included in the full 1975 study (Lipton et al., 1975), only 138 measured recidivism as an effectiveness criterion, and out of these only 65 implemented "a design that met the minimum standards for scientific confidence" (Gottfredson, 1979, p. 46). More importantly, out of these 65 studies, 32 (49%) reported positive results (Gottfredson, 1979). Notably, Gendreau and Ross (1979) in their influential article, entitled "Effective Correctional Treatment: Bibliotherapy for Cynics", challenged the "nothing works" conclusion by reviewing 95 studies published after Martinson's (1974) study, between 1973 and 1978. The authors found that many of the programmes reviewed reported positive results in reducing recidivism (Gendreau & Ross, 1979). Most importantly, they concluded that treatment failure was often the result of factors associated with treatment integrity, such as limited time of treatment, the methods, and the types of treatment (Gendreau & Ross, 1979). Even Martinson (1979) himself later retracted his initial position based on the findings of a new survey he was conducting at the time, ascertaining that "some treatment programmes *do* have an appreciable effect on recidivism" ([italics original] p. 244).

However, these claims were largely ignored (Cullen, 2005, 2013; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Raynor & Robinson, 2005) and the "nothing works" statement "became synonymous with a way of characterising the treatment/rehabilitation approach for a generation" (Robinson & Crow, 2009, p. 28). In retrospect, Cullen (2005, 2013) observes, there was at least one positive long-term effect in the claims made by Martinson and others at that time. The positive effect was what the author described as the transformation of rehabilitation "into an evidence-based contest" (Cullen, 2013, p. 330). The conceptual debate over rehabilitation was now reframed into an empirical debate over programme effectiveness (Cullen, 2013; Cullen & Smith,

2011). Thus, advocates of rehabilitation, often described as the “what works” movement, needed only to empirically demonstrate that treatment was working in reducing recidivism to restore the legitimacy of rehabilitation (Cullen, 2013). As the next section discusses, the emergence of meta-analytic studies had an instrumental role in this task, paving the way for the establishment of the “what works” movement (Cullen & Gilbert, 2012; Raynor & Robinson, 2005).

3.1.2. The “what works” perspective

In the mid-1980s rehabilitation gradually began regaining its legitimacy through the accumulation of evidence supporting its effectiveness and, particularly, through the increasing appearance of meta-analytic studies (Palmer, 1991, 1992). The narrative reviews published in the previous years (e.g., Gendreau & Ross, 1979, 1987), albeit influential, were open to interpretation and biases and thus, could be easily disputed or rejected (Cullen, 2013). In contrast, meta-analyses implement statistical techniques to synthesise quantitative findings of large bodies of research instead of qualitative summaries or “vote counting” of statistically significant findings (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001, p. 6). Therefore, these types of studies could empirically demonstrate the effectiveness of intervention programmes to counter-refute the “nothing works” claims (Martinson, 1974). The first meta-analytic studies of juvenile offender rehabilitation programmes began appearing in the mid-1980s (e.g., Garrett, 1985). More than 30 studies on tertiary prevention were published by 2002 (McGuire, 2002), and over 100 studies by 2013 (McGuire, 2013), assessing various groups of offenders, types of offences, or types of interventions.

Even though not all meta-analytic studies presented positive results (e.g., Whitehead & Lab, 1989), a key finding evident in the accumulated studies was that correctional treatment did have an effect on recidivism (McGuire, 2001, 2002). For instance, when Lösel (1995) analysed the findings of 13 meta-analyses published between 1985 and 1995, the overall effect of the studies collectively was estimated at approximately .10. This finding indicated that the average recidivism rate across all studies for those participating in treatment was 10% lower compared to the control groups. Although modest, this finding was crucial at the time and, most importantly, it reflected the effect of all types of interventions, including the imposition of criminal sanctions, which had zero or negative effects and thus increased recidivism (McGuire, 2001, 2002). By the late 1990s the “what works” movement had gained significant

attention, becoming increasingly accepted in the criminological literature (Cullen & Gendreau, 2001; Cullen & Smith, 2011).

The “re-emergence of correctional intervention” (Palmer, 1992) was evident not only in the research literature but had also significant practical and policy implications (Raynor & Robinson, 2005). The end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st century was marked by a substantial growth of rehabilitation programmes and relevant policies implemented in North America and Northern Europe (Lösel, 2012b). However, the quick and wide implementation of rehabilitation programmes was not without challenges in transforming research into practice. Some programmes produced promising results, while others were often found to be of poor quality or largely unsuccessful in reducing recidivism (e.g., see Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Lösel, 2012a; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2006; Maguire, Grubin, Lösel, & Raynor, 2010). Overall, the data suggest that “the policy was not unsuccessful” (Lösel, 2012b, p. 197). Systematic reviews and meta-analyses over the years consistently show a modest but positive effect of treatment on reducing recidivism at approximately 10% rate (Lösel, 1995; Wilson, 2016) with cognitive behavioural programmes producing the most promising results (Wilson, 2016).

Another consistent and key finding across the different meta-analyses conducted over the years was that the treatment effects were heterogeneous, with different studies showing different effects in reducing recidivism (Cullen & Gendreau, 2001; Cullen & Gilbert, 2012; McGuire, 2013). Two main approaches were employed by researchers and scholars in their efforts to comprehensively explore this variation that was observed in recidivism effects (Lipsey, 2009). The first approach, that of Lipsey and colleagues, who examined the effectiveness of correctional rehabilitation for juvenile offenders (e.g., Lipsey, 1992, 2009; Lipsey & Wilson, 1998), was “largely atheoretical and descriptive” (Lipsey, 2009, p. 126). In other words, rather than drawing on a specific theoretical framework or approach, it focused on simply examining aspects such as the methodology of the studies (e.g., study design, utilisation of control groups), the characteristics of the juveniles receiving treatment (e.g., age, ethnicity), or the quality, quantity, and types of interventions implemented (e.g., individual or group counselling, vocational education) (Lipsey, 2009). Lipsey’s work proved to be rather influential in challenging the “nothing works” doctrine, especially due to the advanced techniques and rigorous methodology employed which were hard to dispute (Cullen,

2005). But, other than the selection of a treatment modality, it offered only limited and rather general guidance in terms of practical and policy implications (Cullen, 2013).

In contrast, the second approach, that of Andrews and colleagues (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990) offered a comprehensive framework, a paradigm, on how to increase the overall effectiveness of offender rehabilitation (Cullen, 2013). Reviewing the extant literature Andrews and colleagues (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990) observed that “some service programs are working with at least some offenders under some circumstances” (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990, p. 374). The authors proposed three main principles of “appropriate” treatment that could account for the heterogeneity in programme effectiveness (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). These were the principles of risk, need, and responsivity, which later would become known as the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR). Risk suggested that more intense services should be offered to higher risk offenders, while minimal services should be offered to lower risk cases (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). The need principle proposed that services should target characteristics, needs, that are associated with changes in recidivism rates (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). And responsivity recommended to match the style and modes of treatment to the learning style and abilities of the offenders (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990).

In their theoretically informed meta-analysis, the authors examined the applicability of the three principles in a sample of 80 juvenile and adult offender treatment studies conducted between 1950 and 1989 (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990). The results indicated that increased adherence to the three principles was associated with increased treatment effectiveness, with more appropriate treatment reducing recidivism rates at approximately 50% (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990). Overall, the work of Andrews and colleagues significantly contributed to restoring the legitimacy of rehabilitation by offering clear practical and policy implications (Cullen, 2005, 2013). The differentiating aspect in their approach was that it provided practitioners with guidance, the three principles, as well as the technology to implement them, such as tools for offender assessment and for measuring therapeutic integrity of treatment programmes and other services offered by correctional agencies (Cullen, 2013).

3.1.3. A new debate of “what works”

Since its conceptualisation in 1990 (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990) RNR has managed to accumulate a significant database of empirical support. The model has been extensively utilised in correctional practice across the world (Andrews & Bonta, 2010;

Bonta & Andrews, 2017), emerging as the dominant paradigm for the assessment and treatment of offenders (e.g., Cullen, 2012, 2013; Newsome & Cullen, 2017). However, despite the promising findings in support of the “what works” movement and RNR in particular, both have been “put under question” (Lösel, 2012b, p. 198). This time the debate did not centre around the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of rehabilitation, but rather the discussion revolved around the focus and the aims of rehabilitation itself. Scholars began advocating for a conceptual shift from “what works” to a “desistance paradigm” (McNeill, 2006), or from “risk-management” to “strength-based” approaches (Maruna & LeBel, 2003; Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 19; see also McNeill, 2012; Lösel, 2012b). However, in terms of concrete correctional practices, the main debate evolved between two rehabilitation models (see McNeill & Graham, 2019), the RNR model (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c).

Ward and colleagues (Ward & Stewart, 2003c) developed the GLM specifically aiming to enhance RNR, which the authors found that focused disproportionately on managing the risk of reoffending, while neglecting the offenders’ capabilities and strengths. In contrast, they proposed that rehabilitation should aim at improving offenders’ quality of life and well-being, which would then reduce the possibility of reoffending (Ward & Stewart, 2003c). The GLM has since challenged the effectiveness of RNR, stimulating a renewed and spirited debate in the literature (e.g., Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011; Bonta & Andrews, 2003; Ward & Stewart, 2003a, 2003b; Ward et al., 2012; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). However, as opposed to the “nothing works” versus “what works” debate that was marked by a growth of research, the dispute between the RNR and the GLM has persisted in largely theoretical terms over conceptual differences. As the next sections of this dissertation will detail, limited success has been achieved in shifting the debate towards research or practical implications over the past 20 years. To prelude that, the next sections of this chapter will outline the theoretical, research, and practical applications of the models, followed by their critical appraisal, before the chapter concludes with a narrative of the debate between them over the years.

3.2. The Risk-Need-Responsivity model in theory, research, and practice

3.2.1. RNR in theory

In the aftermath of the “nothing works” claims (Martinson, 1974) and the subsequent emerging of the “what works” literature, Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge in an influential 1990 article presented the initial formulation of what would then be shaped into the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) Model of Offender Assessment and Treatment (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The authors drew on the findings of narrative reviews of offender rehabilitation programmes in an effort to account for the heterogeneity in programme effectiveness and identify the characteristics that differentiated effective from ineffective treatment programmes (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). They suggested three principles of classification for effective rehabilitation – or for so-called “appropriate” treatment – which when applied could explain why some programmes appeared to be more successful than others (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990, p.46). These were the risk, need, and responsivity principles, along with a fourth principle, professional override (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). The classification was then empirically validated in a meta-analysis of 80 juvenile and adult offender treatment studies, which found that the application of the risk, need, and responsivity principles was associated with more effective treatment (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990).

The work of Andrews, Bonta, and their colleagues was further operationalised in the first edition of the book “Psychology of Criminal Conduct” (PCC) published in 1994 (Andrews & Bonta, 1994). In a field that was until then dominated mostly by sociological criminology and forensic mental health theoretical perspectives of criminal activity, a psychological perspective of criminal conduct was needed, according to the authors, to account for the variables, or the individual differences, that the traditional criminological and psychological theories could not explain (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011). The authors of the model believed that a single construct, such as social location, could not solely explain criminality, but rather focused on the study of the individual differences observed in criminal behaviour (Wormith, 2011). Drawing on several criminological and psychological theories – highly influenced by the differential association theory¹ (Sutherland, Cressey, &

¹ In brief, the differential association theory posits that criminal behaviour, including techniques for committing crimes, motives, rationalisations, attitudes, and beliefs, is learned through interactions with others (Sutherland et al., 1992). Thus, a person offends due to differentials in exposure, an excess of

Luckenbill, 1992) and psychodynamic thinking (see also Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Wormith, 2011) – and driven by their research at the time, Andrews and Bonta (1994) advocated for a psychological perspective of criminal behaviour. In particular, they proposed a general personality and cognitive social learning perspective of criminal conduct (Andrews & Bonta, 1994). In the years that followed the initial conceptualisation of the RNR model, the authors continued to elaborate and advance the theoretical framework and practical applications of the model based on a growing body of empirical research that led to the sixth edition of the PCC book been published in 2017 (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

According to Andrews and Bonta (2010), the main objective of PCC is to understand the differences, or the variation, observed in the criminal behaviour of individuals. Within the PCC exists what the authors refer to as “a psychological perspective of criminal conduct”, which is termed as the General Personality and Cognitive Social Learning (GPCSL) theory² (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 46). The GPCSL posits the existence of 8 prominent risk/need factors, labelled the “Central Eight”, that are associated with the occurrence and the maintenance of antisocial behaviour (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). These factors are (a) criminal history, (b) procriminal attitudes, (c) procriminal associates, (d) antisocial personality pattern, (e) family/marital, (f) school/work, (g) substance abuse, and (h) leisure/recreation (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 52). In turn, the RNR model represents the practical application of GPCSL in the effective treatment and assessment of offenders (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Drawing on the work of Andrews and Bonta (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017), the following sections outline the theoretical framework and the aforementioned core elements, followed by an overview of the existing literature on the applications and empirical support of the model.

3.2.1.1. The Psychology of Criminal Conduct

In brief, the overall objective of the Psychology of Criminal Conduct (PCC) is to “understand variation in the criminal behaviour of individuals” (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 23). In particular, it seeks to account for differences in the criminal behaviour observed between individuals, referred to as inter-individual differences, and the

definitions in favour of law violations instead of definitions that are unfavourable to law violations (Sutherland et al., 1992).

² The terms theory, perspective, and model have been used interchangeably by the authors when referring to GPCSL (see for example Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

differences occurring within individuals over time or various settings, described as intra-individual variation (p. 24). According to Bonta & Andrews (2017), the working definition of PCC underpins three interconnected aspects, namely, research, theory, and practice, and outlines PCC both as a science and a professional occupation. More specifically, the authors provide the following definition of PCC:

As a science, the psychology of criminal conduct is an approach to understanding the criminal behavior of individuals through: (a) the ethical and humane application of systematic empirical methods of investigation, and (b) the construction of rational explanatory systems. Professionally, a psychology of criminal conduct involves the ethical application of psychological knowledge and methods to the practical tasks of predicting and influencing the likelihood of criminal behavior and to the reduction of the human and social costs associated with crime and criminal justice processing. (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 21)

As PCC's focus is the understanding of the individual criminal behaviour, Bonta and Andrews (2017) note two key aspects in the above definition. Firstly, PCC does include the wider applications of psychology in the field of criminology, such forensic mental health, or the study of groups of criminal justice professionals (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 21). Secondly, a distinction is warranted between psychology and other disciplines, such as sociology or biology, that concentrate on different aspects of crime and criminal justice (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 21). At the same time, one of the core values of PCC is that it is "holistic and interdisciplinary at its core" (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 22) and constitutes "both a subfield of a truly interdisciplinary criminology and a subfield of human psychology" (Andrews & Bonta 2010, p. 34). Its formation has been and still is being informed by other disciplines and PCC aims to assist all professionals involved or interested in the criminal justice processes, as well as to all serve the public and societal well-being (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

Among other core values of PCC that Bonta and Andrews (2017) note are the respect for personal autonomy as an integral part of treatment efforts and the importance of criticism in both theoretical and research aspects of the model. Additionally, the authors highlight the respect for the complexity and diversity of both individuals and behaviour, noting the individual differences cannot be explained based on a sole attribute or variable, such gender, race, or social relationships. Rather, PCC adopts a General Personality and Cognitive Social Learning (GPCSL) theoretical perspective of criminal behaviour which, according to the authors, provides a general understanding

of criminal behaviour with theoretical, empirical, and practical applications within and across different societal, personal, and criminal justice contexts.

3.2.1.2. General Personality and Cognitive Social Learning perspective

Overall, the authors of RNR state that General Personality and Cognitive Social Learning (GPCSL)³ suggests that the individual differences or the variation in criminal behaviour is the “distribution of the Central Eight risk/need factors in interaction with the reward-cost contingencies” in each social context (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 54). Thus, Bonta and Andrews (2017) describe GPCSL as a concept founded on two basic premises. The first supports the prominence of the Central Eight risk/need factors (i.e., criminal history, procriminal attitudes, procriminal associates, antisocial personality pattern, family/marital, school/work, substance abuse, and leisure/recreation) as the predominant sources influencing the onset and maintenance of criminal behaviour. The second underlying assumption is that criminal behaviour, as all behaviour in general, is learned, sustained, and altered through social learning mechanisms, such as modelling, conditioning, self-regulation, and is under the control of the costs and rewards. According to the authors, GPCSL postulates that traditional criminological and psychopathological theories show limited empirical support and, thus, constructs such as social class, psychopathology or personal distress constitute only minor correlates of antisocial behaviour. Personality aspects, such as happiness, self-esteem, anxiety, or feelings of worry, are also considered weak non-criminogenic risk factors. Alternatively, while recognising the existence of various routes to antisocial behaviour, the authors posit that GPCSL prioritises the Central Eight risk/need factors, referred to also as criminogenic needs, as the strongest empirically validated factors associated with the occurrence and continuation of offending behaviour. In line with that, the likelihood of offending increases in conjunction with the number of factors.

Criminal attitudes and associates are hypothesised to have a particularly strong association with the decision to commit a crime, in which, according to the authors of the model, GPCSL acknowledges an “immediate causal significance” (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 54). The decision to offend is perceived within the GPCSL as the result of the Central Eight factors in combination with the immediate environment.

³ In the earlier work of the authors, Personal, Interpersonal, and Community-Reinforcement (PIC-R) perspective was described as an example of the GPCSL approach (Andrew & Bonta, 2010), however in the most recent publication (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) PIC-R was removed and the authors focus on GPCSL approach in general.

Whether an individual will decide to offend (e.g., stealing) or not, depends, on one end, on their assessment of the existing obstacles (e.g., police presence) or facilitators (e.g., empty house) in the immediate environmental circumstances (p. 54). On the other end are factors such as the – supportive or unsupportive of crime – attitudes of the individual and of their social environment, their criminal history (e.g., previous successful or unsuccessful attempts), their personality characteristics (e.g., poor self-control) and so on, which will also contribute to the likelihood of their decision (p. 54).

The above example illustrates what Andrews and Bonta (Andrews & Bonta, 2010) propose as the second underlying assumption of the GPCSL perspective. This assumption relates to how cost-reward contingencies influence criminal behaviour, as rewards are thought to increase, whereas costs to decrease the likelihood of a given behaviour (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). They can be both additive in nature, enhancing or adding something pleasant or unpleasant, as well as subtractive events, removing or minimising something pleasant or unpleasant. In addition, costs and rewards can either follow or precede a behaviour, referred to as consequent and antecedent controls, respectively (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; p. 145). Consequent controls follow a given behaviour and the consequences affect the possibility of repeating an act (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; p. 144). Antecedent stimuli can be perceived as queues signalling costs or rewards that would follow a certain action based, for instance, on an individual's previous experiences, and thus, they influence probability of the behaviour occurring or reoccurring (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; p. 144). Moreover, antecedent and consequent controls derive from three main sources: (a) the individual, which are referred to as personally mediated events, such as antisocial attitudes); (b) others or interpersonally mediated events, including for example antisocial associates and social support for crime; and (c) the act itself, which is described as non-mediated or automatic events (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 57). The latter includes examples such as history of reinforcement of antisocial behaviour, personal predispositions, pleasure resulting from intoxication, thrill associated with committing a crime (Andrews & Bonta 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). At the same time, social, economic, cultural, political, and historical factors inherent in each society are also thought to influence the perceived costs and rewards (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 58).

In the context of GPCSL the variation observed in criminal behaviour is perceived as a reflection of the density of signalled costs and rewards for antisocial behaviour but also for prosocial alternatives (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta &

Andrews, 2017). Density reflects when and how often the costs and rewards can occur, as well as the value and scale of the signalled costs and rewards and, par extension, the strength of a certain behaviour (Andrews and Bonta, 2010, p. 147). The likelihood of committing a criminal act increases with the signalled density of rewards and decreases with the signalled density of the costs for criminal behaviour (Andrews and Bonta, 2010, p. 147). Accordingly, increased rewards for prosocial behaviour can decrease the probability of criminal behaviour (Andrews and Bonta, 2010, p. 147). However, increased subtractive costs for crime are expected to have the greater impact on the probability of crime (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 57). As a result, among the main targets of GPCSL-based offender assessment and treatment are changes in the Central Eight risk factors and changes in the density of cost and rewards in familial, professional, educational, and recreational contexts towards prosocial alternatives (Bonta & Andrew, 2017).

In sum, according to the principles of social learning, GPCSL posits that the learning and continuation of all behaviours is a function of rewards and punishments and of observation learning (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Reinforced behaviours will continue, punished behaviours will be repressed, and individuals learn by observing others (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Rewards and costs are derived from the individual (e.g., antisocial attitudes), and the act itself (e.g., history of reinforcement of antisocial behaviour), as well as from sources in the social context of education/employment, family/marital, leisure/recreation, companions, and the social context of alcohol/drug use (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Given that the general principles of social learning theory are applicable to all behaviours and the Central Eight are the predominant empirically validated risk/need factors, GPCSL supports that assessment and rehabilitation practices derived from this perspective could be applied to different populations (e.g., men and women, minorities etc.) and different types of offending behaviours such as violent or sexual offending or white collar crimes (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The following section provides an overview of the Central Eight risk/need factors.

3.2.1.3. Central Eight risk/need factors

As previously noted, the GPCSL identifies eight domains as the major factors influencing and sustaining criminal behaviour, namely: (a) criminal history, (b) procriminal attitudes, (c) procriminal associates, (d) antisocial personality pattern, (e) family/marital, (f) school/work, (g) substance abuse, and (h) leisure/recreation (Bonta

& Andrews, 2017). Criminal history is a static risk factor and, thus, cannot be altered, whereas the remaining seven are classified as dynamic risk factors which can be subjected to change (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). As such, dynamic factors, or the so-called criminogenic needs in the context of RNR, serve as targets for change through interventions, as well as good indicators of changes in offending risk over time (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). In addition, as the number of the factors increase, so does the probability of antisocial behaviour (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). On the other hand, if consider to be on a continuum, the positive ends of these factors constitute strengths (e.g., close relations with prosocial others or absence of relations with antisocial peers; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Furthermore, inter- and intra-individual differences are also observed among the Central Eight (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). For instance, one offender might have a lengthy criminal history and difficulties in the domains of substance abuse, procriminal associates, and employment, whereas others in only in the areas of procriminal attitudes and family or marital relationships (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Similarly, an individual could engage in antisocial behaviour only when under the influence of substances and in the presence of procriminal others (Wormith & Bonta, 2018).

The identification of the Central Eight as the major risk factors has been based on a substantial body of research traced back to authors' work and early research in 1980s and 1990s for the development of a risk assessment instrument to be used by probation and parole officers in Ontario, Canada (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). After several adaptations of the instrument based on relevant validation studies (see also Wormith & Bonta, 2018 for a review), the first version of the Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) was published in 1995 (Andrews & Bonta, 1995). The LSI-R included a number of items that assessed the domains of antisocial attitudes, antisocial associates, criminal history, substance abuse, family/marital, school/work, leisure recreation, financial problems, accommodation problems, and a domain of personal/emotional issues which included indication of antisocial personality difficulties combined in with mental health difficulties (Andrews & Bonta, 1995). According to Andrews and Bonta (2010), this was the "first structured outline of the Central Eight risk and need factors" (p. 56). Research continued throughout the years with the latest version of the Level of Service (LS) instruments, the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004) being published in 2004.

In addition, Bonta and Andrews (2017) posit that accumulated research has continuously demonstrated that factors such as social class of origin and personal distress or psychopathology constitute only minor risk factors in comparison to the Central Eight. Thus, in the context of the GPCSL the authors make a distinction between criminogenic needs, that is the 7 dynamic risk factors, and factors that are considered as non-criminogenic needs. The latter include aspects such as self-esteem, happiness, anxiety or feelings of worry, psychopathology, sociability, physical health needs, and so forth (p. 54). Similarly, factors such as social class or structure and culture are considered constraints, background contextual factors which cannot explain the variation in individual antisocial behaviour within a particular context (p. 54). For instance, not all individuals in lower classes commit offences while others in the upper classes do, and not all offenders are sad and unhappy (p. 54). Thus, although the GPCSL acknowledges that offenders present various needs, from emotional to accommodation or health needs, if the goal is to decrease the risk of re-offending, rehabilitation should target primarily criminogenic needs (p. 157). Addressing non-criminogenic needs is highly unlikely to affect the future reoffending unless those are directly associated with or have an impact on criminogenic needs (p. 157). Likewise, considering the GPCSL is general theory, the authors maintain that the Central Eight factors are applicable across age, gender, race, nationalities, and socioeconomic factors and these aspects are perceived as potential responsivity factors to be taken under consideration during treatment (p. 46).

As the next sections of the present dissertation will detail, numerous primary and meta-analytical studies have examined the predictive validity of the LS instruments and the Central Eight with various offending populations and the search findings have been used to further inform the theory of the GPCSL. For instance, in previous publications (e.g., Andrews & Bonta, 2010) the first four factors (criminal history, procriminal attitudes, procriminal associates, and antisocial personality pattern) were classified as the “Big Four”, and the remaining factors (family/marital, school/work, substance abuse, and leisure/recreation) as “Moderate Four” risk factors. The distinction was based on empirical findings from prediction studies conducted mostly with samples of general offenders which indicated that the first four factors had a higher effect compared to the rest (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

However, according to the authors of the model (Bonta & Andrews, 2017), recent studies with more diverse samples, such as general (Olver et al., 2014), mentally

disordered (Bonta, Blais, & Wilson, 2014), young (Grieger & Hosser, 2014), drug (Wooditch, Tang, & Taxman, 2014), and Indigenous offenders (Gutierrez, Wilson, Rugge, & Bonta, 2013), although still confirm the predictive validity of the Central Eight, did not observe the aforementioned distinction. In contrast, the authors recently suggested that procriminal attitudes and associates might hold particular importance in risk prediction (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Although preliminary, this assumption is based on more recent research findings (e.g., Pratt et al., 2010), the significance of these two factors in the decision to offend, and their practical relevance to rehabilitation (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The following table (Table 4) summarises key aspects of each of the Central Eight factors, including indicators that present increased risk, strengths examined during assessment, as well as dynamic needs which constitute promising targets for change during treatment in the context of RNR.

Table 4. Central Eight factors: risk indicators, strengths, and dynamic needs

	Risk indicators	Strengths	Dynamic needs
Criminal history	Early onset history of antisocial behaviour (e.g., being arrested at a young age); number of prior offences; range and diversity of offences; non-compliance with correctional supervision in institutional and community settings. In contrast, the seriousness of the current offence is not taken into account.	Absence of history of criminal behaviour or rare criminal acts.	Developing noncriminal alternative behavioural responses for at risk situations; promoting self-efficacy beliefs that are supportive of rehabilitation.
Procriminal attitudes	Attitudes, beliefs, values, and rationalisations that support antisocial behaviour and the associated cognitive-emotional states of anger, defiance, and resentment; personal identity that is favourable to crime. Specific risk indicators include (a) identification with criminal others, (b) rejection of convention, and (c) rationalisation or neutralisation techniques.	Prosocial identity and the rejection of procriminal cognitions.	Reduction of antisocial thinking; development and practice of alternative prosocial thoughts and feelings; building and adopting a prosocial identity.

	Risk indicators	Strengths	Dynamic needs
Procriminal associates	Social support for crime including close and frequent association with procriminal others and absence or low association with prosocial others.	Existence of prosocial relations and absence of procriminal relationships.	Strengthening of prosocial relationships; decrease of association with procriminal relations.
Antisocial personality pattern	(a) Behavioural aspects: generalised trouble in multiple domains, longstanding pattern of antisocial and problematic behaviours, often with early onset, and diverse criminal history. (b) Personality traits: poor self-control and lack of planning, often expressed as impulsivity and adventurous pleasure-seeking behaviour. (c) Negative emotionality: irritability, feeling mistreated, being antagonistic, and expressing callous disregard for others.	High self-control and good problem-solving skills.	Building self-control and self-management skills; anger management and problem-solving skills or increasing empathy.
Family/ marital	(a) Quality of the interpersonal relations: non-rewarding relationships, dissatisfaction with the current circumstances, lack or limited mutual caring, interest, and respect. (b) Procriminal support: procriminal/neutral family behavioural expectations regarding antisocial activity. (c) Lack or limited monitoring/supervision/ and disciplinary style for younger offenders.	Positive and caring relations, prosocial expectations, and intense monitoring and supervision constitute strength factors.	Conflict reduction; building positive relationships; and increasing supervision and monitoring of the offender's behaviour.

	Risk indicators	Strengths	Dynamic needs
School/ work	Low levels of performance, non-rewarding involvement, low satisfaction, or poor relationships and attachment with peers and authority figures; frequent unemployment, long periods of unemployment, misconduct in educational settings.	High levels of performance, rewards, and satisfaction with relevant pursuits.	Enhancement of performance, rewards, involvement, and satisfaction.
Substance abuse	Current problems and prior history of alcohol misuse and use of illegal drugs, except for tobacco and prescription of drugs, including the relevant impact on interpersonal relationships, employment, financial circumstances, and implications with law violations.	Absence of and negative cognitions toward substance abuse.	Reduction of abuse; modification of the associated cognitions supportive of substance abuse; and development of relevant alternatives.
Leisure/ recreation	Limited or lack of involvement and satisfaction with conventional prosocial leisure activities.	Participation in prosocial leisure activities and subsequent gratification and rewards.	Enhancement of involvement in relevant activities, increasing prosocial rewards and satisfaction.

Note: Adapted from Andrews, 2012; Andrews et al., 2004; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017.

3.2.1.4. RNR principles

The RNR model constitutes the practical application of the GPCSL perspective that aims to guide the assessment and treatment of offenders (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). In the initial conceptualisation of the RNR model, three principles associated with more effective rehabilitation programmes were identified, namely the risk, need, and responsivity principles (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). As the next sections of the present dissertation will detail, since the first meta-analysis by Andrews and colleagues in 1990 (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990) a significant body of primary and meta-analytical research has empirically examined the RNR principles in terms of both the effective assessment and treatment of offenders. Thus, the model has since expanded

to include up to 18 principles at times (e.g., Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011) and 15 principles in the latest publications (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Even though the number of principles and their specific descriptions have been adjusted over the years, the main aspects and guidelines have remained constant (Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). In the latest comprehensive publication of the model, the authors summarise the main aspects of the RNR through 15 principles grouped as (a) three overarching principles, (b) nine core principles and key clinical issues, and (c) three organisational principles (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

The three overarching principles reflect the overall definition of the psychology of criminal conduct which suggests “the ethical and humane application” of empirically validated methods (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 21). Thus, these principles “are fundamentally value based”, in the sense that they should be followed regardless of whether they have any impact on reducing offending (Andrews, 2012, p. 129). According to Bonta and Andrews (2017), the first principle, “respect for the person and the normative context” (p. 154), encompasses the overall standards on the basis of which services are provided. In this regard, RNR notes that interventions or other services should be delivered with the respect for the individual and their personal autonomy, be ethical, humane, just, and legal, as well as respect the norms and social context in which the services are delivered (p. 154). According to the latter, some norms might vary in different settings, such as correctional services involving young offenders that should increasingly focus on educational aspects (p. 154). The second principle calls for establishing intervention programmes on empirically validated psychological theory and recommends the GPCSL theory (p. 155). Finally, the third overarching principle suggests the “general enhancement of crime prevention services” (p. 154). This principle essentially stresses that crime prevention should not be considered as the responsibility of solely justice and correctional agencies (Andrews, 2011). But rather, should be viewed as a legitimate objective of services beyond the criminal justice system, such as mental health services (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 154).

Subsequently, Bonta and Andrews (2017) list nine aspects that comprise the core principles and key clinical issues. These include firstly the importance of human services in addressing reoffending, in contrast to relying solely on sanctions, deterrence, or restoration (p. 156). But also emphasise the three original risk, need, and responsivity principles, often described as “who”, “what”, and “how” to treat (p. 170). The risk principle suggests that the intensity of treatment should correspond to the level of risk

of the offender, with higher intensity services offered to high or moderate risk offenders and little or no intervention is needed for low-risk offenders (p. 156). The need principle calls for primarily targeting criminogenic needs – the dynamic factors of the Central Eight that when addressed can have a significant effect on recidivism – in an effort to move them towards becoming strengths (p. 157). The general responsivity principle recommends the use of cognitive behavioural and cognitive social learning techniques as the more effective strategies of intervention, while specific responsivity suggests tailoring the treatment to the existing context and the needs and individual characteristics of each offender (p. 154).

The additional clinical principles of the model call for interventions to target multiple criminogenic needs especially with high-risk offenders, which is referred to as breadth in the context of RNR (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, p. 52). Similarly, professional discretion advises that professional judgement over structured recommendations should be made cautiously and on specific grounds which are clearly documented (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 145). The remaining principles in this category are described as the principles of structured assessment (Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). Thus, these principles highlight the need to use structured and validated assessment tools in contrast to unstructured professional judgement (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The use of validated assessment tools is considered as a prerequisite for adherence to the RNR principles, and especially the risk principle (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The assessment of the individual's strengths is also recommended for more effective risk prediction and increased responsivity (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

The remaining three organisational principles cover the setting, staffing, and management aspects of intervention and stress the importance of policy and management support (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). In terms of setting, although the RNR principles are applicable to both community-based and custodial settings, the former is considered as preferable (p. 155). The staffing practices principle stipulates that services are more effective when delivered by staff well trained in relationship (e.g., respectful, caring, collaborative working relationships, respecting personal autonomy) and structuring (e.g., problem solving, modelling, reinforcement, and skill building) practices and skills which draw upon GPCSL-based strategies (p. 155). Finally, the management aspects aim to promote programme integrity and recommend (a) the selection, training, and supervision of staff according to RNR; (b) the establishment of ongoing monitoring and feedback mechanisms; (c) the cultivation of systems that

support effective practice and continuity of services; (d) and other specific indicators for programme integrity (p. 155).

3.2.2. Impact, applications, and empirical support

The RNR model is often described in the literature as the dominant or most influential model for the assessment and rehabilitation of offenders (e.g., Cullen, 2012; Fortune, Ward, & Mann, 2015; Newsome & Cullen, 2017; Polaschek, Day, & Hollin, 2019; Ward & Fortune, 2013). Since its early conceptualisation in 1990 (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990), RNR has had an undeniably substantial impact on rehabilitation research, practice, and policy (Cullen, 2013; Fortune & Heffernan, 2019; Gannon & Ward, 2014; Ogloff & Davis, 2004; Polaschek, 2012; Raynor, 2018). It has been widely used to inform both the assessment and the rehabilitation of offenders across the world. For instance, Level of Service (LS; see Wormith & Bonta, 2018) assessment instruments are used in correctional and forensic settings in 18 countries in Europe, North America, Asia, and Australia (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Singh et al., 2014). Indicatively, by 2006 more than 900 programmes in the United States had adopted the LS instruments (Vose, Smith, & Cullen, 2013) and the adult and youth versions of the LS tools were used in formal assessment of more than one million offenders in 2010 (Wormith, 2011).

The LS instruments are designed to predict short- and long-term recidivism, institutional misconduct, and breach of supervision (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). As such, their applications include the determination of the level of institutional security, assessment of treatment needs and appropriate referrals, informing court decisions regarding community supervision in pre-sentencing circumstances and sentencing conditions of probation, decisions regarding the level of supervision in the community, as well as whether to release offenders on parole (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). The most recent version of the LS instruments, the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2004) was released in 2004, marking the fourth generation of risk assessment measures. First-generation assessments were based on clinical judgments regarding risk and second-generation tools focused predominantly on static risk factors (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; see also Giannoulis, 2017). The third-generation tools shifted towards the assessment of both risk and need factors, also examining the criminogenic needs of offenders, while aspects aiming to guide the delivery of services targeting criminogenic needs were incorporated into the fourth-generation tools (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).

Similarly, as the next sections of this dissertation will detail, a number of studies have examined the validity of the RNR principles in interventions programmes with, for instance, youth (Koehler, Lösel, Akoensi, & Humphreys, 2013), female (Gobeil, Blanchette, & Stewart, 2016), sexual offending (Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009a, 2009b), and ethnically diverse offending populations (Gutierrez, Chadwick, & Wanamaker, 2018; Usher & Stewart, 2014). In fact, although the model has not escaped criticism, an aspect that even critics of the model acknowledge (e.g., Fortune, & Heffernan, 2019; Herzog-Evans, 2017; Ward, Collie, & Bourke, 2009; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007) is the strong empirical foundations on which it was conceptualised and the substantial research literature over the years validating its principles. Following the seminal paper of Andrews and colleagues in 1990 investigating the RNR principles (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990) and an early meta-analysis exploring risk factors for recidivism in 1996 (Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996), a substantial body of primary and secondary research examining the RNR principles has been performed. Considering the numerous individual studies, meta-analyses have been extensively used to systematise and summarise the results (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith & Bonta, 2018; Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). At the time of this writing, a relevant literature search yields more than 40 meta-analyses and systematic research studies published in the last three decades on RNR related concepts, some with broader and others with more narrow scope. Notably, Wormith and Bonta, (2018) list 14 meta-analytic and multiple sample studies examining various versions of the LS instruments. Likewise, Wormith and Zidenberg (2018) summarise the findings of 14 meta-analyses conducted since 2000 investigating validity of the RNR principles (for detailed reviews of older publications see also Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews 2017; Campbell, French, & Gendreau, 2009; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; McGuire 2002, 2013; Smith, Gendreau, & Swartz, 2009).

On the other hand, simultaneously with the growing popularity and empirical support of the RNR principles, an aspect that has received increasing attention is how RNR has been implemented in practice. Several studies have focused on examining the extent to which large scale correctional programmes do in fact adhere to the RNR principles and with what results (e.g., Bonta, Rugge, Scott, Bourgon, & Yessine, 2008; Dowden & Andrews, 2004; Duriez, Sullivan, Latessa, & Lovins, 2018; Farringer, Duriez, Manchak, & Sullivan, 2019; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2006; Lowenkamp, Makarios, Latessa, Lemke, & Smith, 2010). Overall, the results raised

significant concerns regarding the quality and integrity of the RNR-informed programmes in “real world” settings (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 212; see also Andrews, 2006; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Goggin & Gendreau, 2006). The next section attempts to provide a brief, albeit non-exhaustive, overview of the main research findings regarding the RNR model. Some of the most noteworthy findings of the more recent studies are summarised below, focusing primarily on results of meta-analytical and systematic research studies. Firstly, research on RNR-based assessment is presented and, in particular, studies examining the predictive validity of the Central Eight risk/need factors as those were assessed using various LS instruments. Subsequently, research studies examining RNR-informed offender rehabilitation are briefly outlined. Lastly, this section concludes with studies exploring RNR adherence in real world applications of the model.

3.2.2.1. Offender Assessment

The most comprehensive and largest scale meta-analysis to date examining the validity of the Central Eight factors in predicting recidivism was performed by Olver, Stockdale, and Wormith in 2014. The authors examined the predictive validity of the LS instruments across 128 studies representing 151 independent samples and a total number of 137,931 offenders sentenced to both custodial and community sentences. The overall total score of the LS scales significantly predicted, with small to moderate effects, both general ($r = .29$, random effects, 95% CIs [.27, .31], $k = 124$) and violent recidivism ($r = .23$, random effects, 95% CIs [.19, .27], $k = 39$). The relevant effects for the Central Eight domains were also significant for both general (ranged from $r = .12$ to .31) and violent recidivism (ranged from $r = .09$ to .23). The magnitude of effect size for the prediction of sexual recidivism among sexual offenders only was smaller ($r = .11$, random effects, 95% CI [.03, .18], $k = 7$), with many of the individual domains of the Central Eight being non-significant predictors. Similar results regarding the low utility of the LS instruments in the prediction of sexual recidivism have been also observed in other large sample studies (e.g., Ragusa-Salerno, Ostermann, & Thomas, 2013; Wormith, Hogg, & Guzzo, 2012).

An aspect that has received increasing attention is the use of the LS instruments with ethnic minority samples. In the study of Olver and colleagues (2014) the predictive accuracy of the LS scales was also examined with samples of ethnic minorities consisting of Aboriginal offenders ($r = .20$, random effects, 95% CIs [.27, .31], $k = 13$), Asian ($r = .32$, random effects, 95% CIs [.25, .38], $k = 4$), Black ($r = .30$, random effects,

95% CIs [.16, .42], $k = 9$), and Hispanic ($r = .22$, random effects, 95% CIs [.01, .41], $k = 6$) ethnic groups. The mean effect size on general recidivism was comparable between ethnic minorities ($r = .27$, random effects, 95% CIs [.22, .32], $k = 36$) for and non-minorities ($r = .29$, random effects, 95% CIs [.23, .34], $k = 24$), and the relevant within study comparisons yield effect sizes of .29 and .28 respectively. However, ethnic minorities were found to score significantly higher on both the LS total score and most of the subscales' scores when compared to non-minorities. Similar findings have been reported by previous meta-analysis with Aboriginal offenders (Gutierrez et al., 2013; Wilson & Gutierrez, 2014) as well as a subsequent study with Canadian Aboriginal Offenders (Wormith, Hogg, & Guzzo, 2015) and an individual study with Spanish young Offenders of Arab Descent (Villanueva, Gomis-Pomares, & Adrián, 2019).

In addition, effect sizes significantly varied by country or geographic region (Olver et al., 2014). Canadian samples consistently demonstrated stronger prediction of general ($r = .38$, random effects, 95% CIs [.35, .41], $k = 51$) and violent recidivism ($r = .26$, random effects, 95% CIs [.23, .29], $k = 28$), followed by studies conducted outside of North America, and then studies conducted in the United States. A similar difference between Canadian and non-Canadian studies was also observed in a previous meta-analysis examining recidivism with young offenders (Olver, Stockdale, & Wormith, 2009). The authors suggested that the regional differences observed could be potentially attributed to the quality of the LS assessment, rater accuracy, and the resources available to Canadian researchers (e.g., national databases, training opportunities), or the familiarity of Canadians with the instrument and the longer history of its use in the country (Olver et al., 2014). Authorship bias (Singh, Grann, & Fazel, 2013) and the allegiance effect of the instrument's initial authors (Andrews, Bonta, Wormith, Guzzo, et al., 2011) have also been proposed as potential sources of variation in the predictive validity of the LS instruments. Researchers have also sought to examine whether the heterogeneity observed in the prediction of recidivism is influenced by how conviction or incarceration is determined across different jurisdictions or cultures with inconclusive, however, results (Campagna, Hsieh, & Campbell, 2019). Regardless, studies following the meta-analysis by Olver and colleagues (2014) have continued to support the overall predictive validity of the LS instruments with offending populations in Germany (Grieger & Hosser, 2014), China (Zhang, 2016; Zhang & Liu, 2015), Pakistan (Bhutta & Wormith, 2016), and the French version (Guay, 2016) of the LS/CMI (Andrews et al., 2004).

Moreover, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to the predictive accuracy of the LS scales with female offenders (e.g., Andrews et al., 2012; Smith, Cullen, & Latessa, 2009), while the use of a gender responsive supplement for the existing assessment scales has also been proposed (Van Voorhis, Wright, Salisbury, & Bauman, 2010). The results of the 2014 meta-analysis (Olver et al., 2014) supported the predictive accuracy of the LS scales for both general ($r = .31$, random effects, 95% CIs [.26, .35], $k = 45$) and violent ($r = .26$, random effects, 95% CIs [.20, .32], $k = 12$) recidivism, with comparable effect sizes to those observed for the male samples (general recidivism $r = .30$, random effects, 95% CIs [.27, .34], $k = 80$; violent $r = .24$, random effects, 95% CIs [.20, .27], $k = 30$). All LS domains significantly predicted violent and general recidivism for both groups, however, significant differences between male and female offenders were observed in some of the LS subscales, such as the substance abuse and the personal/ emotional factors. Suggesting therefore that, although the LS scales are perceived to be equally applicable to both male and female offenders, (Bonta and Andrews, 2017, p. 185) some of the individual domains might relate differently to females (Olver et al., 2014; Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Significant results have also been observed with meta-analyses examining the predictive validity of the youth version of the LS instruments (Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory; Hoge & Andrews, 2002, 2011). Overall, the results supported the predictive accuracy of the scale for both general and violent recidivism, among male and female, as well as Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal young offenders (Olver et al., 2009, 2014; Pusch & Holtfreter, 2018; Schwalbe, 2007, 2008).

Furthermore, the predictive accuracy of the Central Eight risk/needs factors has been also examined with samples of offending populations with mental health diagnoses. A meta-analysis by Bonta, Blais, and Wilson (2014) examined the predictive validity of the LS instruments with mentally disordered offenders across 126 studies that yield 96 unique samples ($N = 23,900$). All risk/need factors examined significantly predicted general recidivism (i.e., any recidivism, including violent) and violent recidivism (including sexual recidivism) with small to moderate effect sizes. The strongest predictor for general recidivism was Substance Abuse ($d = .51$ random effects, 95% CIs [.37, .64], $k = 22$) and so was for violent recidivism Antisocial Personality Pattern ($d = .57$, random effects, 95% CIs [.48, .67], $k = 26$). The domains of Leisure/Recreation and Procriminal Associates could not be examined for either general or violent recidivism due to insufficient data. Similar results were also observed

in a recent meta-analysis (Eisenberg et al., 2019) examining the predictive validity of the Central Eight risk/need factors with samples of adult forensic outpatients across 27 studies representing a unique population of 116,982 offenders. All factors were significantly associated with general and violent recidivism yielding small to moderate effect sizes.

In addition, Bonta and colleagues (2014) assessed several clinical variables as predictors of recidivism, including schizophrenia, psychosis, mood and personality disorders, psychopathy, psychiatric treatment history, prior admissions, hospitalisation length, and intelligence. Only the existence of an unspecified personality disorder and having an antisocial personality or psychopathic disorder significantly predicted both violent and general recidivism. In fact, antisocial personality or psychopathy was the strongest of the all the individual predictors examined, both for general ($d = .54$, random effects, 95% CIs [.43, .65], $k = 16$) and violent ($d = .66$, random effects, 95% CIs [.52, .80], $k = 14$) recidivism. This domain was also aggregated under the Antisocial Personality Pattern of the Central Eight, but the observed effects for the relevant clinical variable were slightly higher for both general and violent recidivism. Finally, when persons with mental disorders were compared to other offenders, the findings indicated that the presence of mental health issues did not predict recidivism.

Finally, meta-analytic studies have examined the predictive validity of the LS instruments in comparison to other common assessment tools, including among other the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R, Hare, 2003) the Violence Risk Assessment Guide (VRAG, Harris, Rice, & Quinsey, 1993) and the Historical-Clinical-Risk Scales (HCR-20, Webster, Douglas, Eaves, & Hart, 1997). Overall, the majority of studies reported comparable results between the LS and other widely used instruments in the prediction of (a) general recidivism (Gendreau, Goggin, & Smith, 2002; Gendreau et al., 1996), (b) institutional violence and violent recidivism (Campbell et al., 2009; Gendreau et al., 2002; Yang, Wong, & Coid, 2010), (c) the use of self-report versus risk appraisal instruments (Walters, 2006), as well as for scales examining risk among (d) young (Olver et al., 2009; Schwalbe, 2007, 2008) or (e) female offenders (Geraghty & Woodhams, 2015). The one exception was a 2011 meta-analysis by Singh, Grann, and Fazel which placed the predictive accuracy of the LS instrument last among the nine tools examined in terms of violence prediction. However, the comparability of the results and conclusions of this study have been

subject to debate (Edens & Kelley, 2017; Olver et al., 2014; Williams, Wormith, Bonta, & Sitarenios, 2017; Wormith & Bonta, 2018).

3.2.2.2. Offender Treatment

Following the 1990 meta-analysis of Andrews and colleagues (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990), perhaps the most cited study examining the RNR principles is the “Expanded Meta-Analysis” (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, pp. 365-369; Bonta & Andrews, 2017, pp. 201-203). The authors have published results of the Expanded Meta-Analysis in several meta-analytical papers throughout the years focusing on different aspects of the model (Andrews & Dowden, 1999, 2005, 2006; Dowden & Andrews, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2003, 2004; Dowden, Antonowicz, & Andrews, 2003). These publications draw on an expanded databank of the 1990 study (Andrews, Zinger, et al., 1990) accumulated by Dowden in 1998, which included 374 effect sizes from 225 studies on judicial and correctional interventions. The database includes studies published between 1950 and 1998 and 80% of them were conducted in the United States with primarily Caucasian offenders (Dowden, 1998). In addition, more than half of sample participants (56%) were juvenile offenders, and the samples were entirely (46.5%) or predominantly (26.2%) male (Dowden, 1998).

The overall results of the study (see Andrews & Bonta, 2010, Resource Note 11.1, pp. 365-369; Bonta & Andrews, 2017, Resource Note 11.1, pp. 201-203) indicate that adherence to the risk principle, defined as delivering services to higher risk cases, was associated with an increased effect size ($r = .10$, $k = 278$) when compared to programmes that did not follow the principle ($r = .03$, $k = 96$). The relevant results for the need principle, defined as the number of criminogenic needs targeted exceeding the number of the non-criminogenic needs, were $-.01$ ($k = 205$) and $.19$ ($k = 169$) for adherence and non-adherence respectively. Only general responsiveness was examined, operationalised as the use of behavioural, social learning, and/or cognitive behavioural strategies. The mean effect size was $.04$ ($k = 297$) for programmes not implementing such strategies relative to $.23$ ($k = 77$) for the programmes that do so. Adherence to all three principles was also associated with enhanced effect sizes for both community ($r = .35$, $k = 30$) and custodial settings ($r = .17$, $k = 30$), with the corresponding effects for non-adherence being $.06$ ($k = 219$) and $.002$ ($k = 95$) respectively.

Subsequently, in 2009 Smith, Gendreau, and Swartz performed a systematic review of 21 meta-analyses on the effectiveness of offender treatment programmes published between 1985 and 2006. The study provided further support for the

effectiveness of interventions adhering to the RNR principles in reducing reoffending, especially regarding general responsivity which outperformed the principles of risk and need. More recent meta-analyses or reviews have focused on the overall effect of psychological treatment in reducing recidivism (e.g., Gannon, Olver, Mallion, & James, 2019; Papalia, Spivak, Daffern, & Ogloff, 2019) or specific offending populations. For instance, Hanson and colleagues (2009a, 2009b) examined the RNR principles in sexual offender treatment programmes. The results indicated that programmes incorporating the principles of need and general responsivity resulted in larger reductions in sexual recidivism. However, the study did not offer support for the risk principle, which was defined as the offenders in the treatment group being classified as higher risk relative to the average risk for sex offenders. Although not directly examining the RNR principles, Schmucker and Lösel (2015) found, among other treatment related moderator variables analysed, support for the specific responsivity principle, such as the use of individualised treatment approaches and sessions. Relatedly, Harrison and colleagues (2020) examined the effectiveness of cognitive behavioural treatment programmes for sexual offenders on recidivism, but only two studies employing a combination of relapse prevention and RNR framework were included in the analysis.

In addition, the applicability of the RNR principles has also been the subject of meta-analyses examining drug treatment programmes in the United States and Canada. One study found that adherence to the principles was associated with reduced crime outcomes, although it did not have a significant effect on drug use (Prendergast, Pearson, Podus, Hamilton, & Greenwell, 2013). Another study examining drug treatment courts found that adherence to the principles was quite low, with 13 courts adhering to one principle, one court to two of the principles, and none to all three principles (Gutierrez & Bourgon, 2012). However, the results indicated that as adherence to RNR increased so did the strength of the courts' effectiveness (Gutierrez & Bourgon, 2012). Studies have also examined the responsivity principle in relation to ethnically diverse offender groups. For example, a meta-analytic review of 7 studies (Gutierrez et al., 2018) found support for the specific responsivity principle. Indigenous offenders participating in culturally relevant programmes showed significantly lower odds of reoffending in comparison to those participating in generic culturally nonspecific programmes. In addition, the meta-analytic study of Usher and Stewart (2014) with samples of Canadian ethnically diverse offenders self-identified as

Caucasian, Aboriginal, Black, and Other, concluded that cognitive behavioural treatment programmes adhering to the RNR principles were effective in recidivism reduction regardless of ethnic group thus, supporting the general responsivity principle.

Moreover, support for the RNR principles was demonstrated in meta-analyses examining aftercare programmes (James, Stams, Asscher, De Roo, & der Laan, 2013), diversion programmes (Wilson & Hoge, 2013), and rehabilitation programmes in Europe (Koehler et al., 2013) for young and juvenile offenders. In addition, Lipsey (2009) performed a “largely atheoretical and descriptive” (p. 126) meta-analytical overview of 548 samples of juvenile offenders (ages 12 to 21 years) derived from 361 primary research reports. The author did not directly examine the RNR principles but found that interventions delivered to high-risk offenders were more effective in reducing recidivism, thus, supporting the risk principle of RNR. Finally, meta-analytic (Gobeil et al., 2016) and systematic reviews (Tripodi, Bledsoe, Kim, & Bender, 2011) examining the effectiveness of correctional interventions for female offenders have also been performed. For example, Gobeil and colleagues (2016) found gender-informed and gender-neutral interventions to be equally effective. However, in line with the specific responsivity principle, when the analysis was restricted to higher methodological quality studies, the effect size for the gender-informed interventions was significantly higher compared to the gender-neutral programmes.

3.2.2.3. “Real world” applications and RNR adherence

Despite the continuous growth of research in support of the RNR, as the authors and proponents of the model have noted, the issues with its implementation remain significant in its “real world” applications (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 212; Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Important concerns were raised early on (e.g., Andrews, 2006; Goggin & Gendreau, 2006), as programmes were often found to be of poor quality or largely unsuccessful in reducing recidivism. For instance, a meta-analysis by Dowden and Andrews in 2004 found that only 3% to 16% of the programmes assessed followed Core Correctional Practices (CCP; Andrews & Kiessling, 1980). Core Correctional Practices (CCP; Andrews & Kiessling, 1980) – as of lately referred to as “GPCSL-based Staff Practices” (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 234) – describe intervention strategies and techniques (e.g., problem solving, modelling, reinforcement, and skill building) which can influence behavioural change, and as such should be essential skills of practitioners working with offenders. Similarly, Andrews and Bonta (2010) describe six programmes as case studies of “recent failures” in correctional treatment (pp. 397-

399). A notable example among them was the probation programmes implemented in England and Wales during the late 1990s (see also Maguire, 2004; Maguire et al., 2010; Raynor, 2018). And more recently often cited in the relevant literature is Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement (HOPE) program (e.g., Cullen, Pratt, Turanovic, & Butler, 2018; Duriez, Cullen, & Manchak, 2014; Lattimore et al., 2016).

As a result, in an effort to address the issues in the implementation of programmes, formal assessment protocols were developed. For instance, the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory – 2000 (CPAI-2000; Gendreau & Andrews, 2001; Nesovic, 2003) and CPAI-2010 (Gendreau, Andrews, & Thériault, 2010), and an abbreviated and modified version referred to as the Evidence-Based Correctional Program Checklist (CPC; see Duriez et al., 2018), were developed to assess programme quality, treatment integrity, and adherence to the RNR principles. Other relevant tools include Vanderbilt University's Standardised Program Evaluation Protocol (SPEP; Howell & Lipsey, 2012) which examines the effectiveness of services offered to juvenile offenders (see also Baglivio et al., 2018), the Correctional Program Checklist-Drug Court (CPC-DC; Blair, Sullivan, Lux, Thielo, & Gormsen, 2016), and a new survey-based tool, the Core Correctional Practice Self-Report (CCPSR; Haas & Spence, 2017).

An early study employing CPAI that assessed 38 community residential programmes in Ohio, United States indicated that higher treatment integrity was associated with reduction in recidivism (Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Smith, 2006). However, the treatment programmes had little effect in reducing recidivism and 68% of the programmes fell into the “unsatisfactory” category, while none of the programmes scored in the highest category of programme integrity. Similar results were reported by a study examining youth facilities (Lowenkamp et al., 2010). Recently, Farringer and colleagues (2019) analysed 563 Correctional Program Checklist (CPC) assessments conducted in various correctional programmes in the United States between 2005 and 2018. Overall, average programme adherence to the RNR model was low to moderate and over the span of the 14 years fidelity in RNR implementation decreased instead of increasing. In a related article, Duriez and colleagues (2018) presented a descriptive comparison of the average scores of 631 programmes evaluated using the CPAI between 1995 and 2005 to 499 programmes evaluated using the CPC between 2005 and 2016. Little improvement was observed over the 20 years span and

most of the programmes (36%) fell under the category of “low adherence” to the RNR principles.

A related aspect that much of the relevant literature has been focusing on is community supervision programmes, with studies indicating that supervision officers tend to show rather low levels of adherence to the risk, needs, and responsivity principles. For instance, the results indicate that, although probation officers did administer validated risk/needs instruments, they often did not use the results to inform treatment, case management, or supervision decisions (Miller & Maloney, 2013; Thurman, Chowdhury, & Taxman, 2019; Viglione, 2019; Viglione, Rudes, & Taxman, 2015; see also Flores, Russell, Latessa, & Travis, 2005; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Holsinger, 2006 for earlier findings). Similar results were found by Bonta and colleagues (2008) in a study examining audio taped interviews between 62 probation officers and the offenders they supervised in Canada. The authors observed that probation officers focused disproportionately on enforcing aspects of supervision, such as compliance with the conditions of probation. Similarly, they often ignored criminogenic needs and showed few of the skills associated with behaviour change in offenders, such as prosocial modelling and differential reinforcement. Among others, Bonta and colleagues (2008) proposed as a potential solution the use of instruments that would integrate assessment and case management, such as the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004), a fourth generation LS instrument. However, a recent study examining the use of the LS/CMI in a sample of Canadian male and female community-supervised offenders ($N = 136$), showed that the case management plans developed by the probation officers exhibited poor adherence to the RNR principles (Dyck, Campbell, & Wershler, 2018).

Efforts in response to these issues included the development of several formalised training programmes for community supervision officers in recent years, such as the Proactive Community Supervision (PCS) strategy (Taxman, 2008; Taxman, Yancey, & Bilanin, 2006) and the Skills for Effective Engagement, Development and Supervision (SEEDS) model (Rex & Hosking, 2013). In addition, three training programmes were developed based specifically on the RNR principles, namely the Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) project (Bonta et al., 2010, 2011), the Effective Practices in Community Supervision (EPICS) model (Smith, Schweitzer, Labrecque, & Latessa, 2012), and the Staff Training Aimed at Reducing

Re-arrest (STARR) model (Robinson et al., 2012; Robinson, VanBenschoten, Alexander, & Lowenkamp, 2011).

Preliminary evaluation studies examining the effectiveness of the SEEDS (Sorsby et al., 2013; Sorsby, Shapland, & Robinson, 2017), STICS (Bonta et al., 2011; Bonta, Rugge, Bourgon, & Wanamaker, 2019; Bourgon & Gutierrez, 2012) EPICS (Labrecque & Smith, 2017; Labrecque, Schweitzer, & Smith, 2013; Latessa, Smith, Schweitzer, & Labrecque, 2013; Smith et al., 2012), and STARR (Clodfelter, Holcomb, Alexander, Marcum, & Richards, 2016; Lowenkamp, Holsinger, Robinson, & Alexander, 2014; Robinson et al., 2012) programmes have so far produced promising but mixed findings. Overall, the results indicate that training often leads to attitudinal and behaviour changes or differences in the skills used by the training groups in comparison to the control groups. However, the training programmes often fail to produce substantial and consistent differences in the recidivism rates (see also Davies & Polaschek, 2019 for a review).

In this regard, Chadwick, DeWolf, and Serin (2015) performed a meta-analytic review of 10 studies, which included studies and evaluations of most of the aforementioned training programmes. The authors examined the effect that formalised training of community supervision officers had on recidivism. A small but significant association was observed, with the average recidivism rate for offenders supervised by trained officers being at 36.22% (95% CIs [.30, .43]) against 49.91% (95% CIs [.49, .58]) for offenders supervised by non-trained officers, thus, indicating a 13% further reduction in recidivism rates. On the other hand, a recent replication of the STICS training programme in a different jurisdiction failed to reaffirm the initial findings reported by Bonta and colleagues in the 2011 study. No consistent behavioural changes nor differences in the recidivism rates were observed between the training and the control groups (Bonta et al., 2019).

3.2.3. Controversial issues and challenges for and to RNR

As Polaschek (2012) notes in her appraisal of the model, RNR “has made an *original substantive contribution* to criminal justice assessment, intervention, research, programme accreditation, and programme integrity” (p. 8, [italics original]). It has managed to present a set of simple principles that represent and codify “key findings from myriad studies and meta-analyses” (Polaschek et al., 2019, p. 14) and “a very large volume of etiological and intervention-related information” (Polaschek, 2012, p. 2). One of the main strengths of RNR is the model’s empirical validity, the fact that its

initial conceptualisation was consistent with pre-existing empirical data, and that subsequent studies have “fleshed out but not falsified any major aspects of the model” (Polascheck, 2012, p. 7). Yet RNR’s growth and development over the years has not escaped criticism and controversy, nor remains without challenges in its practical implementation. Two aspects evident in the above overview of the research literature of the model pertain to the variability observed in the assessment using the LS instruments across different populations and the adherence to the RNR principles in the practical application of the model. A related aspect is the extent to which the principle of specific responsivity has, or has not, been developed in terms of theory, research, and practice (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, p. 507; Bourgon & Bonta, 2014; Cohen & Whetzel, 2014; Polascheck, 2012). In this regard, scholars and researchers have proposed adaptations and enhancements of RNR over the years or advocated for alternative models (e.g., Abracen & Looman, 2016a, 2016b; Taxman, 2014; Taxman & Smith, 2021; Taxman, Caudy, & Pattavina, 2013; Ward & Stewart, 2003c)

The first aspect of controversy apparent in the above review of the research literature of the model relates to offender assessment according to the RNR principles and the use of the LS instruments. Despite the accumulated evidence in support of the overall predictive validity of the LS instruments and the Central Eight factors, a considerable degree of heterogeneity is observed across gender, ethnicity, and different counties (Olver et al., 2009, 2014). Considering that the LS instruments were developed based on samples of white male offenders predominantly in Canada, concerns remain about potential gender (Van Voorhis et al., 2010), racial and ethnic (Schmidt, van der Meer, Tydecksc, & Bliesener, 2018), or authorship (Singh et al., 2013) biases (see also Wormith & Bonta, 2018). In addition, given the significant advancements in the field of criminal justice research since the LS instruments were developed (Campagna et al., 2019) a growing body of research has sought to explore potentials for further enhancing offender assessment beyond the measuring of the Central Eight risk/need factors. An area that has recently emerged, although in need of further research, is the assessment of strength or protective factors along with the assessment of risk factors (Horan, Wong, & Szifris, 2020; Kroner, Polaschek, Serin, & Skeem, 2019; Serin, Chadwick, & Lloyd, 2016; Wanamaker, Jones, & Brown, 2018; Wong & Horan, 2019, 2021). Another topic of recent interest is the dynamic predictive validity of the risk-need assessment and how the change in risk scores over time could enhance the prediction of recidivism and treatment outcomes (Day, Wilson, Bodwin, & Monson, 2017; Lloyd, Hanson,

Richards, & Serin, 2020; Serin, Lloyd, Helmus, Derkzen, & Luong, 2013; Vose et al., 2013; Labrecque, Smith, Lovins, & Latessa, 2014).

A further area of criticism stemming from the review of the relevant literature is how the principles of RNR have been operationalised and transferred in practice. Research has often showed that programmes show little adherence to the RNR principles (e.g., Duriez et al., 2018; Farringer et al., 2019), often disproportionately focusing on managing risk and ignoring criminogenic needs (e.g., Bonta et al., 2008). A related aspect of critique refers to the theoretical and practical underdevelopment of the specific responsivity principle (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, p. 507; Bourgon & Bonta, 2014; Cohen & Whetzel, 2014; Polascheck, 2012). Specific responsivity calls for matching treatment programme and delivery to the specific characteristics and needs of the individual, including considerations such as gender, ethnicity, age, offender motivation, therapeutic alliance, and other therapists' characteristics (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). A few recent studies have explored the use of gender-informed (Gutierrez et al., 2018) or culturally relevant programmes (Gobeil et al., 2016), but research on other aspects of specific responsivity remains sporadic and has not been systemised in meta-analytical studies (Bonta & Andrew, 2017). Taken together, these issues have led to the criticism of RNR as a "one size fits all" policy with little regard to the individual needs of each offender (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 103; see also Polaschek, 2011, 2012).

The authors of the RNR model have also conceded that the "implementation issues remain huge" (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; p. 517; Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 298) and that specific responsivity remains largely unexplored and underdeveloped (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, p. 507; Bonta & Andrew, 2017, p. 294; see also Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). In this regard, Bonta and Andrews (2017) have proposed three main ways for improving programme effectiveness: (a) the use of fourth generation assessment instruments, such as the LS/CMI (Andrews et al., 2004), (b) formal and structured assessment of correctional programmes using, for instance, the Correctional Program Assessment Inventory – 2010 (CPAI-2010, Gendreau et al., 2010), and (c) RNR-based training of service providers, such as the Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision (STICS) project (Bonta et al., 2010, 2011). Nonetheless, as previously noted, preliminary research shows positive, but limited success of the abovementioned solutions (e.g., Bonta et al., 2019; Duriez et al., 2018; Dyck et al., 2018; Farringer et al., 2019).

In response to these challenges, scholars have proposed additions or adaptations to the RNR model. For instance, Taxman and colleagues have advocated for a second generation of RNR with several modifications and an increased focus on responsivity to enhance the model's effectiveness (Taxman, 2014; Taxman et al., 2013). Similarly, Abracen and Looman (2016a, 2016b) have proposed the Risk–Need–Responsivity–Integrated (RNR-I) approach for working with groups of offenders with higher risk and needs, which expands RNR to include additional considerations, such as trauma and mental health issues. Proponents of the RNR have also recently drawn the attention to the need for expanding its theoretical framework to incorporate findings from key biosocial research, such as neurophysiological findings and genetic influences, into the understanding of criminal behaviour (Newsome, & Cullen, 2017). But the most rigorous critiques and challenges against RNR have been raised by desistance scholars and, in particular, the Good Lives Model (Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c).

The Good Lives Model (GLM) was developed by Ward and colleagues (Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) to address shortcomings in RNR interventions for sexual offending. Ward and colleagues (Ward & Stewart, 2003c) considered that RNR focused disproportionately on managing risk, on reducing or eliminating risk factors such as negative attitudes and cognitions. Instead, they proposed, treatment should be based on the enhancement of the offender's capabilities and strengths towards improving their quality of life and well-being, which would then reduce their chances of reoffending (Ward & Stewart, 2003c). Thus, they developed and proposed the GLM to be used in conjunction with the RNR in the treatment of sexually offending populations (Ward & Stewart, 2003c). Based on their experience with RNR interventions for sexual offending, Ward and colleagues (Ward & Stewart, 2003c) identified several problematic areas in RNR, involving primarily the issues of responsivity and offender motivation, that limited the model's treatment capacities. Drawing on the works of Maruna (2001) and of Haaven and Coleman (2000), Ward and Stewart (2003c) criticised RNR for neglecting the importance of developing a new personal identity, a new self, in the changing process towards a crime-free life. Secondly, the authors posited that RNR disregards the role of personal agency, the individual's ability to pursue meaning and shape their actions towards a meaningful life (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 355). Thirdly, they believed that the aspect of responsivity was not well-addressed within RNR (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 355). The authors proposed that at least some non-criminogenic needs, such as anxiety, low self-esteem, and

psychological distress, should be addressed during treatment to facilitate the establishment of a therapeutic relationship and motivate participants to engage in the treatment process (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 355). Finally, Ward and Stewart (2003c) postulated that RNR pays insufficient attention to the importance of social and cultural context and that the rehabilitation process should take into consideration the context in which the individual will likely be released into.

The GLM has since evolved into a general rehabilitation framework for offending (Ward & Maruna, 2007) and has spirited an ongoing and often caustic debate between the authors and proponents of the two models over the past 20 years (e.g., Bonta, & Andrews, 2003; Ward & Stewart, 2003a, 2003b; Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011; Ward et al., 2012; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). In the years since its initial conceptualisation the GLM grew in popularity (e.g., McGrath, Cumming, Burchard, Zeoli, & Ellerby, 2010) and together with advances in positive psychology and research in desistance from crime (e.g., Laub & Sampson, 2003; Maruna, 2001; Maruna & LeBel, 2010) a shift in the literature was observed. Scholars wondered whether the current correctional practices have reached a “glass ceiling” (Porporino, 2010, p. 63) in terms of effectiveness, noting that RNR was not the “last word” on offender rehabilitation (Polaschek, 2012, p. 13). As the next sections will detail, what could be perceived as a conceptual dichotomy in tertiary crime prevention and rehabilitation was eventually stimulated between approaches that: (a) aim to manage offenders’ risk of recidivism, such as the RNR, and (b) positive or strength-based approaches that promote the enhancement of the offenders’ strengths towards desisting from crime, predominantly associated with and represented by the GLM (Polaschek, 2016; see also Porporino, 2010; McNeill, 2012; McNeill & Graham, 2019).

3.3. The Good Lives Model: Theory, research, and practical applications

3.3.1. Theoretical framework and main assumptions

The Good Lives Model (GLM), developed by Ward and colleagues (Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c), is a strength-based rehabilitation theory or framework that “aims to equip offenders with the internal and external resources to successfully desist from further offending” (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 175). The core underlying assumption is that offenders, like all human beings, are naturally predisposed to desire and actively seek certain goals or outcomes (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). The attainment of these outcomes, termed primary human goods, is associated

with increased well-being (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). Antisocial behaviour is linked to the lack of internal capacities and external resources to obtain these goods through prosocial ways or means, referred to as secondary or instrumental goods (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Willis & Ward, 2011; Willis, Yates, Gannon, & Ward, 2013). Thus, interventions based on the GLM principles aim to equip offenders with the capacities and conditions necessary to obtain primary goods in nonharmful prosocial ways (Willis & Ward, 2011; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). In particular, the aim of treatment has a dual focus on the promotion of human needs and the reduction of reoffending risk (Ward & Maruna, 2007, Yates & Ward, 2008). These two goals are not perceived as mutually exclusive (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). Rather, promoting the offender's specific and personally meaningful goods and enhancing their capacities and conditions to achieve those goods, is assumed to automatically eliminate or reduce offending (Ward & Stewart, 2003a, 2003c; Ward & Maruna, 2007).

The theoretical underpins and the assumptions of the model can be traced in various theoretical frameworks and research findings which underlie aspects of the development of the GLM and influenced its formulation. According to the authors, “the term *good lives* and the basic ideas associated with the model have been developed from the excellent work of Kekes, 1989” ([italics original] Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 356; see also Ward, 2002) and the model itself “has its roots in positive psychology and humanistic traditions” (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 353). The foundations of the GLM and reasoning behind its core assumption were conceptualised based a body of literature which, according to the authors of the model, provide support, evidence, and consensus for each of the presuppositions that compose the GLM's core assumption (e.g., see Ward & Brown, 2004, pp. 246-247; Ward & Maruna, pp. 144-146; Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 356). Moreover, when discussing the theoretical scope of the model, Ward and Maruna (2007) note that the GLM “has emerged out of the RNR model” and constitutes “a product of basic psychological research” in strengths-based practices and positive psychology (p. 143).

In fact, the model was originally conceptualised to address issues often observed in RNR-based interventions with sex offenders – such as responsivity, offender motivation, and treatment engagement – and shift the focus from risk management to the enhancement of the offenders' competences (Ward & Stewart, 2003c). The GLM was initially formulated and proposed to be used “in conjunction with” RNR (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 202; Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 357) and has been described as

“complementary” to RNR (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 357; Whitehead, Ward, & Collie, 2007, p. 595; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 124), an “augmentation” aiming to enhance RNR (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 516). In contrast, it has also been perceived and described as an alternative framework or approach (Ward, 2010; Ward, & Maruna, 2007; Whitehead et al., 2007). Nonetheless, the authors have often stressed that practitioners should not forsake or replace RNR with GLM or choose between the two (Laws & Ward, 2011; Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Ward & Stewart, 2003b, 2003c). Instead, they suggest incorporating aspects of both models in the rehabilitation of offenders, while emphasising that the principles of risk, need, and responsivity are in fact entrenched in GLM (Laws & Ward, 2011; Heffernan & Ward, 2019).

In addition, the authors indicate that the GLM constitutes an example of a strengths-based or positive psychological approach to offender rehabilitation but was developed independently of the positive psychology movement (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward, Polaschek, & Beech, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007). The model indeed shares key conceptualisation ideas with positive psychology, but authors emphasise that it was created autonomously, and the initial theory formulation was not influenced by the values and principles of positive psychology (Ward et al., 2006). Moreover, the GLM constitutes a strength-based rehabilitation theory since (a) it focuses on the offenders’ capabilities, values, and aspirations, that is their primary goods; and (b) interventions are designed to assist offenders in acquiring the capabilities to attain these goods (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Whitehead et al., 2007). Furthermore, the authors note that the model is “agency-centered” due to the fact that it is “founded on the ethical concepts of human dignity and human rights” (Laws and Ward, 2011, pp. 176-177; see also Ward, 2011; Ward & Birgden, 2007, 2009; Ward & Syversen, 2009). The GLM’s agency orientation is supported by its focus on the “individuals’ ability to select goals, formulate plans, and to act freely in the implementation of these plans” (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 178). In this regard and taking into consideration the importance that the GLM assigns on the notion of identity in the rehabilitation process, “there is considerable overlap” between the GLM and the desistance paradigm (Willis & Ward, 2011, p. 293). Although developed independently (Willis & Ward, 2011), the GLM was subsequently adapted in alignment with desistance theory (see Laws & Ward, 2011) and is often presented in the literature as an example of desistance perspectives or at least a model closely affiliated with and in line with the desistance paradigm (e.g., Cullen, 2013, McNeill, Farrall, Lightowler, & Maruna, 2012; Porporino, 2010).

In the years that followed its initial conceptualisation, the GLM has undergone several theoretical and practical developments and elaborations. For instance, some of the elaborations and variations of the model developed over the years include the GLM-Comprehensive (Ward & Gannon, 2006), the integration of the GLM and Self-Regulation Model (Yates & Ward, 2008), and the Good Lives-Desistance Model (GLM-D; Laws & Ward, 2011). Finally, although the GLM was originally conceptualised based on the literature on sexual offending (Willis & Ward, 2011; see also Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c), it is described as a general rehabilitation theory or framework (Laws & Ward, 2011; Whitehead et al., 2007). The authors emphasise that the GLM was “designed to apply to all types of criminal behaviour” (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 107) and “is applicable to a wide range of problems, including other types of criminal behavior, and is not restricted to use with sex offenders” (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 179). Nonetheless, thus far it has been reportedly applied mostly with sexually offending populations (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Whitehead et al., 2007). As a result, most of the literature on GLM in terms of theoretical conceptualisation, empirical support, and practical implications remains focused or with an emphasis on sexual offending.

The next section outlines the main theoretical framework and key constructs of the GLM. As a rehabilitation theory, the authors (e.g., see Laws & Ward, 2011; Purvis, Ward, & Willis, 2011; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) describe three hierarchical levels of ideas or components that comprise the foundations of the GLM: (a) general assumptions, (b) etiological (causal) assumptions, and (c) practical implications. The following description draws on the relevant literature published by Ward and colleagues throughout the years and relies on the more comprehensive descriptions of the model by Ward and Maruna (2007) and by Laws and Ward (2011) in an attempt to provide an overview of these three sets of conceptual elements. Subsequently, the empirical research examining the etiological assumptions and correctional applications of the model is described, concluding with an appraisal of the model.

3.3.1.1. General assumptions

In the context of GLM the general assumptions reflect the overall core principles, aims, and values that underpin rehabilitation (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Subsequently, the etiological or causal assumptions of the model, which aim to explain the onset and continuation of antisocial behaviour, flow logically from these general

assumptions (Laws & Ward, 2011). Both sets of assumptions then inform the practical implications of the model in terms of rehabilitation interventions (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). Laws and Ward (2011) identify a set of 6 general assumptions: (a) embodiment, plasticity, and cognitive extension, (b) primary human goods, (c) values and identities, (d) primary goods and risk (e) ecological factors (f) nature of risk, (g) and nature of intervention. The following segment elaborates on these general assumptions of the model.

3.3.1.1.1. Embodiment, plasticity, cognitive extension

Laws and Ward (2011) introduce the notions of embodiment, plasticity, and cognitive extension as the first general assumption of the GLM. This assumption can be traced back to the extended mind thesis (see Clark, 2008; Clark & Chalmers, 1998), which Ward and colleagues (Ward, 2009; Ward & Casey, 2010) have previously proposed for the conceptualisation of cognitive distortions in sexual offenders. Conveying the term Extended Mind Theory, the authors examined its theoretical implications for the understanding and treatment of cognitive distortions in sexual offenders (Ward, 2009; Ward & Casey, 2010). Subsequently, it was also integrated into the GLM theory to form the “most fundamental assumptions” from which the rest of the assumptions of the model stem (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 184). Embodiment, plasticity, and cognitive extension, through a series of assumptions and in amalgamation with the notions of agency, the concept of practical identities, and desistance theory are used to formulate the GLM’s view regarding the nature of humans and of rehabilitation. For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the reasoning behind this assumption is only briefly and somewhat simplistically described below (for further details see Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward, 2009; Ward & Casey, 2010; Ward & Nee, 2009).

In the context of the GLM, Ward and colleagues describe these concepts as follows. Embodiment reflects the rejection of dualism between mind and body and adopts a view of humans as physically embodied (Laws & Ward, 2011). Their mental functioning is causally dependent on their body and is formed, at least partially, by their sensor and motor experiences (Laws & Ward, 2011). In essence, it highlights the contribution and impact of the body, of physical experiences, on the contents of thought, the formulation of judgements, and the overall psychological experience of individuals (Ward, 2009). Cognitive and behavioural plasticity describe individual’s adaptability to new situations and their ability to attain new external and internal cognitive resources and tools to increase their capabilities, to solve problems, in order

to advance their personal interests and goals (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward, 2009; Ward & Casey, 2010). Building on the previous assumptions, cognitive extension maintains that individuals' cognitive systems incorporate both internal (brain-based systems) and external components (Ward, 2009; Ward & Casey, 2010). External resources such as language, computers, social and cultural institutions and so on can be viewed as part of the individual's extended minds (Laws & Ward, 2011). In that sense, individuals are not confined in their biological capacities but can also incorporate external elements when engaging in cognitive tasks (Laws & Ward, 2011). In sum, humans are evolved animals, physically embodied and socially embedded, with cognitive systems that consist of an amalgamation of internal and external components which enable them to engage in cognitive tasks, such as problem-solving (Ward, 2009).

Upon accepting these presuppositions, the authors translate them into a series of assumptions regarding human nature and subsequent implications for rehabilitation. According to Laws and Ward (2011), embodiment underlines the fact that individuals depend on others for access to essential goods or, in any case, the means to attain those goods themselves. In this regard, offenders, as all humans, need, or have the right to, the resources required to maintain their physical integrity and consequent capability to pursue their goals (Laws & Ward, 2011). This highlights the interdependence of the offenders with their environment and the community in general and thus, the responsibility of the state, and by extension correctional interventions, to supply offenders with these resources, tools, and capacities (Laws & Ward, 2011). Secondly, the continuous process of cognitive and behavioural plasticity reflects human agency and highlights the importance of resources and support from others towards securing valued outcomes (Laws & Ward, 2011). With regard to rehabilitation, this serves to remind correctional practitioners that assisting offenders to capabilities to achieve their life goals will likely alter their sense of self in a way that is both personally fulfilling and socially beneficial (Laws & Ward, 2011). Finally, based on the extended mind hypothesis that human cognition involves both internal and external resources, correctional practitioners and social supports in general could be, to some extent, perceived as part of the offenders' extended minds (Ward, 2009). For instance, offenders could depend on the view and cognitive resources of therapists and other treatment group members when reflecting on their lives and offending-related problems (Ward, 2009). Thus, targeting criminogenic needs and altering offenders' cognitions require input from others (Ward & Nee, 2009).

3.3.1.1.2. Primary and secondary goods

A basic premise in the GLM is that all humans are goal-seeking beings, naturally inclined to pursue certain goals in life, referred to as primary human goods (Ward & Maruna, 2007). The attainment of primary goods leads to increased well-being, greater fulfilment, and a sense of meaning (Ward & Marshall, 2007; Ward & Maruna, 2007). Ward and Stewart (2003c) defined primary human goods as “valued states of affairs, states of mind, characteristics, activities, or experiences that are sought for their own sake and that are derived from substantive facts about human nature.” (p.357). In other words, primary goods represent the core values and life priorities of an individual (Ward et al., 2012) and they do not constitute means to an ultimate higher end, but rather have intrinsic value themselves (Yates, Kingston, & Ward, 2009). Based on “psychological, social, biological, and anthropological research” (Ward and Maruna, 2007, p. 113), the GLM identifies 11 groups of primary human goods⁴: life, knowledge, excellence in work, excellence in play, autonomy, inner peace, relatedness, community, spirituality, happiness, and creativity. Although the list of primary goods might not be exhaustive or definitive, the authors argue that the identified goods will most likely remain in some form in any future revision (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). In addition, the primary goods are complex and multifaceted constructs, which means that they can also be divided into subgroups or components (Ward & Brown, 2004). For instance, relatedness includes intimacy, friendship, support and so forth (Ward & Brown, 2004).

In addition, it is assumed that although individuals prioritise or value different goods, all individuals seek all primary goods to some extent (Willis, Prescott, & Yates, 2013). Similarly, a fulfilling life would require the presence of all primary goods to some threshold degree (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). The importance

⁴ It should be noted that the number of goods and the terminology used to describe them have evolved over the years. For example, Ward and Stewart (2003c) initially proposed 9 primary goods. In subsequent publications happiness and creativity were listed as separate goods (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007; Ward et al., 2006), relatedness (including relationships) and community were combined (Ward & Brown, 2004), whereas more recently it was also proposed to divide excellence in work and play into two distinct goods (Purvis et al., 2011). Similarly, the terminology describing the primary goods has also undergone revisions, partially to facilitate the use of the model in clinical practice (see Willis, Prescott, & Yates, 2013). For example, friendship (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 356) is referred to as relatedness (Yates & Ward, 2008, p. 4) and happiness (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 356) is now labelled as pleasure (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p.516). In the current study, the terminology used in the assessment protocol of the model developed by Yates, Kingston, and Ward (2009) and implemented in the data collection of the present research, is adopted, with the exception of listing excellence in work and play as distinct goods in order to avoid confusion and ensure consistency with the more recent literature of the model.

or priority assigned by individuals to specific primary goods reflect their personal identity and indicate their life values and priorities, the kind of life they seek, and the kind of person they wish to be (Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Stewart, 2003c). Finally, Laws and Ward (2011) emphasise that in the context of the GLM the primary goods “are *prudential* (i.e., related to personal interests) rather than moral goods” ([italics original] p. 188). In other words, they do not constitute “morally good actions”, but are activities or experiences which can potentially lead to increased well-being (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 188). Therefore, GLM does not presume that humans are innately or naturally good in an ethical sense, but rather that due to their nature individuals are expected to function well if they have access to these goods (Laws & Ward, 2011).

Given that primary goods can often be abstract concepts, individuals typically do not specify them as goals but rather refer to the means utilised to achieve the primary goods, which are termed as instrumental or secondary goods (Yates & Ward, 2008). Secondary goods represent the concrete means, the ways, or the activities in which individuals engage in order to achieve the primary goods (Willis, Prescott, & Yates, 2013). Secondary goods constitute a rather important notion in the GLM, given that offending is assumed to result primarily from pursuing primary goods in “socially and often personally destructive ways” (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 184). For example, an individual could be seeking the primary good of relatedness via sexual offending. Table 5 presents an overview of the 11 primary goods and examples of associated possible secondary goods.

Table 5. Primary human goods and secondary or instrumental goods

Primary goods	Description	Possible secondary/instrumental goods
Life	Healthy living and physical functioning, such as food, water, physical health; staying alive and safe.	Healthy diet; regular physical exercise; managing specific health problems; engaging in work or criminal activity to meet basic needs.
Knowledge	Knowledge about oneself, others, the environment, or specific subjects.	School or other training, vocational, or self-study activities; mentoring or coaching others; active attempts to understand self and/or others; participation in treatment or rehabilitation programmes.

Primary goods	Description	Possible secondary/instrumental goods
Excellence in work	Excellence and mastery in work.	Working or seeking to obtain employment and/or being successful at work; advancing one's career; being employed or volunteering in meaningful work.
Excellence in play	Excellence and mastery in hobbies or leisure activities.	Participation in leisure or recreational activities or hobbies, such as sports, artistic, or musical activities.
Agency or autonomy	Autonomy, independence, formulating one's goals, making one's own decisions, making one's own way in life.	Engaging in activities to ensure self-sufficiency; employment that allows for autonomy; achieving financial independence; developing and following through with life plans; being assertive; communicating one's needs; attempting to dominate, control, manipulate, or abuse others; engaging in aggression.
Inner peace	Emotional self-regulation, experiencing emotional equilibrium, being free from emotional turmoil and stress.	Active engagement in specific activities to regulate emotional stress or to achieve equilibrium (e.g., physical exercise, meditation, stress reduction techniques, use of sexual activity); use of substances to regulate mood or cope with emotions; attempts to manage impulsivity.
Relatedness	Close and mutual bonds with others, including relationships with intimate partners, family members, and friends.	Engaging in social activities; spending time with friends and/or family; establishing and maintaining intimate relationships; attempts to acquire intimacy.
Community	Being part of or belonging to groups with individuals that share common interests, values, or concerns.	Participation in community or volunteer activities/groups; participation in special interests' groups (e.g., sports team, political party; being a member of a gang or pro-paedophilia group; assisting others in time of need).
Spirituality	Having a sense of meaning or purpose in life, being	Participation in religious/ spiritual activities (e.g., church, prayer,

Primary goods	Description	Possible secondary/instrumental goods
	part of a larger whole, religious truths and involvement, spiritual connections.	meditation); participating in groups sharing a common purpose (e.g., environmental groups); active attempts to develop and/or implement a personal philosophy.
Happiness	Desire to experience happiness and pleasure, being content and satisfied with one's life.	Engaging in activities that result in satisfaction, contentment, fulfilment, sense of purpose in life, or sense of pleasure (e.g., relationships, leisure activities, sex, substance use, thrill seeking activities).
Creativity	Desire for novelty and innovation, the experience of doing things differently, desire to create an artistic or creative output or product.	Engaging in new or novel activities; disliking routine; engaging in creative activities or other types or artistic expression.

Note: Adapted from Willis, Prescott, and Yates, 2013 (p.6); Yates et al., 2009 (pp. 10-12); Yates, Prescott, and Ward, 2010 (pp.73-74).

3.3.1.1.3. Value laden rehabilitation process

In the context of the GLM, values are an integral part of rehabilitation and have an impact on various aspects of the correctional practice (Ward and Maruna, 2007). In particular, the GLM assumes that rehabilitation is a value laden process which involves various types of values including prudential, ethical, and epistemic or knowledge related values (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). Prudential values essentially reflect the primary goods sought by the individual (Ward & Marshall, 2007; Ward & Maruna, 2007) and thus represent the best interests of the individual in the rehabilitation process (Ward & Maruna, 2007). They will in part define the aims of the intervention and enable the tailoring of the intervention to the interests of each person, as well as increase the individual's motivation and treatment engagement (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Ethical values represent the best interests of the community, describe what is right or wrong and regulate the individual's behaviour towards others (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Therefore, they restrict the manner that practitioners behave towards individuals and "provide limiting conditions for any program" (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 149). Finally, epistemic or cognitive values refer to the methods and best practices

informing the interventions and thus assist practitioners in selecting effective interventions and supporting individuals in desisting from offending (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

3.3.1.1.4. Personal and practical identities

According to the GLM, the rehabilitation process requires and significantly depends on the construction of more adaptive personal identity (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Marshall, 2007). In particular, the GLM posits that it is not enough to simply address risk factors and equip individuals with skills to manage or reduce risk (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). But it is also necessary to focus on the reconstruction of the “self”, to give individuals the opportunity to shape a more adaptive personal identity that would result in fulfilment and a sense of meaning for them (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). Identity⁵ is an important notion in the context of the GLM rehabilitation process as it is associated with the pursuit of human goods and the individual’s understanding of what constitutes a good life (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). Overall, the GLM assumes that a person’s sense of identity, their self-conceptions, arises from their core value commitments and their most highly valued goods in the pursuit of their conception of a good life (i.e., good lives plan; Ward & Fortune 2013).

In particular, as previously mentioned, the GLM assumes that even though all primary goods need to present to some extent, individuals often assign different priority or importance to the various goods that they pursue (Ward & Marshall, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008). The importance placed on certain primary goods shows the core commitments and values a person holds and, thus, indicates their personal or narrative identity (Ward & Marshall, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008). Core value commitments stand for what shapes and directs an individual’s life, and the more heavily weighted goods (i.e., overarching goods) reflect the kind of person they desire to be and the kind of life they wish to live (Yates & Ward, 2008). When an individual highly values a certain good (e.g., mastery at work) they would seek and value related experiences, activities, and traits associated with it (e.g., training, being viewed as competent; Ward &

⁵In earlier publications Ward and colleagues use the term “personal identity” (e.g., see Ward et al., 2006, Ward & Stewart 2003c). Subsequently, influenced by the work of Maruna (2001), the terms “personal or narrative identity” were used almost interchangeably (e.g., see Ward & Marshall, 2007). Laws and Ward (2011) readopt the term “personal identity” and introduced the concept or “practical identity” which is predominantly used throughout their publication.

Marshall, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008). Consecutively, by seeking a specific type of activities and experiences (e.g., work-related), the individual becomes a certain type of person with particular interests, aspirations, and lifestyle (Ward & Marshall, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008). Thus, these activities and experiences act to comprise the person's narrative or personal identity (Ward & Marshall, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008). This notion presupposes that, to some extent, individuals are self-constituting, meaning that they construct themselves through the manner they live their lives and the meaning they attribute to their experiences (Ward & Marshall, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008).

An individual develops their identity based on the available biological and cultural resources, their skills, and opportunities (Ward & Marshall, 2007). A person with an unclear or maladaptive identity is more likely to continue their offending behaviour as they do not acquire the capabilities, attitudes, and external resources and opportunities to achieve their good life plan through prosocial means (Ward & Marshall, 2007). To illustrate this, Ward and Marshall (2007) give the example of an individual living in a violent and impoverished area where they might have difficulties in finding prosocial ways of living, and thus developing a prosocial identity, due, for example, to the existing stereotypes and restricted resources. In addition, the attainment of primary goods depends on internal (e.g., skills and attitudes) and external (access to opportunities, resources, and support) conditions, as well as on cultural and social resources (e.g., exposure to prosocial values and ideas; Ward & Marshall, 2007). In the GLM framework, criminogenic needs (i.e., risk factors) are perceived as distortions or omissions in these external and internal conditions which are required in order for an individual to implement their good lives plan in a specific environment (Yates & Ward, 2008).

Thus, the purpose of rehabilitation is to assist offenders to articulate their personal good lives plan and then equip them with the internal and external conditions to implement their plan (Ward & Marshall, 2007). Essentially, support them in establishing a more adaptive identity where living towards their good lives plan does not involve antisocial behaviour (Ward & Marshall, 2007). In turn, this is expected to result in the reduction or elimination of risk factors, as the individual would now acquire the internal and external conditions to implement their good lives plan (Ward & Marshall, 2007). Offending behaviour will now be viewed as “an inadequate and harmful (to self and others) effort to meet the same basic needs that all of us pursue.” (Ward & Marshall, 2007, p. 296). The construction of an adaptive identity necessitates

that the offender has an awareness regarding their core primary goods, the limits of their existing skills, and the competencies needed to attain these goods (Ward & Marshall, 2007). Thus, the process of developing a more adaptive personal identity during the rehabilitation process is in part a self-reflection process (Ward & Marshall, 2007). By reflecting on their lives and core value commitments, which are often unclear to offenders, the individual will alter their actions and eventually the kind of person they are (Ward & Marshall, 2007). Practically, the rehabilitation process involves two main processes which are expected to result in the construction of a more adaptive personal identity (Ward & Fortune, 2013). A normative task where, with the assistance of the practitioners, individuals reflect on what a good life would constitute for them and in the context of this process they identify their personal core value commitments (Ward & Fortune, 2013). And secondly, a capacity building task during which the individual is equipped with the internal and external conditions required to implement their good lives plans in a manner that both respects their personal priorities and reduces the risk of offending (Ward & Fortune, 2013).

In relation to the above concept of identity, Laws and Ward (2011) recently introduced and adopted the notion of “practical identities” in the framework of the GLM. Following the work of Korsgaard (1996), the authors define the conception of practical identity as “a description under which you value yourself and find your life worth living and your actions to be worth undertaking” (Korsgaard 1996, p.101). The authors associate the fact that an individual can pursue multiple primary goods and that they often assign different importance to some goods (heavily weighted goods), to endorsing or developing a range of distinct practical identities (Laws & Ward, 2011). For example, an individual might value the role of a parent within the familial context, the role of a psychologist in the professional context, the role of a soccer player in the leisure context and so on (Ward & Fortune, 2013). Similarly, the good of relatedness can be expressed in the practical identities of being a friend, partner, or parent (Laws & Ward, 2011). All these practical identities will influence the individual’s decision-making process and subsequently their actions (Ward & Fortune, 2013). Thus, the various practical identities and the associated roles, aims, actions, and tasks that they require can often result in conflicts between the different practical identities (Law & Ward, 2011). Laws and Ward (2011) present the example of a person that values both his professional role and his role as a partner. They could be pressured to work longer hours, which then could conflict with his responsibilities as a partner (Law & Ward,

2011). The individual's lack of self-reflectiveness in this situation can result in a state of dissonance and erratic or conflicting acts and, in some cases, eventually lead to antisocial behaviour such as the commission of a sexual offence (Law & Ward, 2011).

3.3.1.1.5. Twin focus on goods' promotion and risk reduction

This assumption reflects the dual focus of the GLM interventions at (a) promoting the individual's primary goods and well-being, also referred to as approach goals; and (b) reducing or managing risk to the community, termed avoidance goals (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Approach goals describe what will be gained or achieved and they involve the individual's desires for certain outcomes, activities, experiences, characteristics, or states of affairs (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008). In contrast, avoidance goals refer to what should be avoided or eradicated and entail the reduction, alteration, or eradication of the abovementioned aspects (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Yates & Ward, 2008). According to the GLM, focusing treatment on altering or reducing risk factors "is to mistakenly target what is wrong with an individual rather than what is required to live a different kind of life" (Ward & Brown, 2004, p. 250).

This notion reflects two elements in the context of GLM, a normative and a pragmatic component (Law & Ward, 2011). Firstly, it illustrates the ethical underpinning of the GLM in human rights' theory and practice, as it emphasises that the well-being of offenders should be promoted along with the reduction of risk (Law & Ward, 2011). Secondly, given that the GLM assumes that there is a causal relation between human needs and criminogenic needs or risk factors, it is presumed that promoting the individual's approach goals will also reduce their dynamic risk factors (Law & Ward, 2011). In particular, the GLM assumes that individuals seek to meet their human needs through the attainment of primary goods (Law & Ward, 2011). Criminogenic needs, or risk factors, are viewed as obstacles or omissions in the internal capacities (e.g., skills, attitudes, values) and external conditions (e.g., resources, opportunities) necessary to fulfil their good lives plan in a particular set of environments (Law & Ward, 2011). Thus, equipping offenders with the external and internal conditions to effectively implement their good life conceptualisation is expected to automatically reduce or eliminate their criminogenic needs (Law & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007) and they will be less likely to harm others or themselves (Ward & Stewart, 2003a).

3.3.1.1.6. Ecological Factors

Ward and Maruna (2007) present the GLM as an ecological model that takes into account the reciprocal relationship of the individuals and their biological factors with the contexts in which they exist, the cultural, social personal circumstances and environments (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Thus, the authors argue that any assessment or intervention process should take into consideration the “match between the characteristics of the individual and the likely environment” that they will be released into (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 118). They clearly reject the idea of a context-free intervention and underscore the importance of understanding the particular context the individual lives in and the distinctive challenges they face when promoting a more adaptive functioning (Law & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). This assumption reflects the GLM’s view of human beings as complex and multifaceted animals “comprised of a variety of interconnected biological, social, cultural, and psychological systems, [...] interdependent to a significant degree” (Law & Ward, 2011, p. 190). Consequently, according to the GLM the understanding of human behaviour also requires the understanding of the environments in which the individual lives (Law & Ward, 2011). By extension, the GLM posits that offending is not simply the result of personal psychological deficits or psychopathology, but rather that it emerges from “a network of relationships between individuals and their local environments” (Law & Ward, 2011, p. 191).

3.3.1.1.7. Risk as a multifaceted and contextualised concept

This supposition follows from the previous assumptions regarding human nature, the relationship between human beings and their environments, and the GLM’s conception of individuals as embedded in multiple complex systems and as illustrations of these systems (Laws & Ward, 2011). Thus, within the GLM framework risk is perceived as a multifaceted rather than as a simply individualistic concept and is composed of individual factors as well as social, situational, and cultural elements (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Similarly, risk is also viewed as contextualised, dependent on the particular circumstances of the individual, their lifestyle and environments (Ward & Maruna, 2007). For example, even when risk factors are associated with individual personality traits or elements (e.g., impulsivity), these traits are always expressed in response to a specific environmental cue (e.g., interpersonal threats) and have meaning only within a particular, cultural, and situational context (Laws & Ward, 2011). Relatedly, cultural or social factors, such as extremely punitive parole conditions, can

also increase or generate risk by, for example, stigmatising and isolating offenders from social relations and ultimately their need for relatedness and intimacy (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Likewise, environmental conditions can also generate risks that could ultimately result in antisocial behaviour (Ward & Maruna, 2007). For instance, difficulties in relation to housing can lead to overcrowded living conditions and severe frustration, aggravating already tense relations, and eventually leading to the frustration being expressed as aggressive behaviour (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Therefore, according to Laws and Ward (2011), risk assessment and management should take into account all the aforementioned factors, cultural, social, situational and context related aspects. The authors stress that the GLM's conceptualisation of risk comes in direct contrast to the so-called psychometric approaches that operationalise risk predominantly on individualistic terms "as individual deviancy" (Law & Ward, 2011, p. 192) and view offenders as "disembodied bearers of risk" (Ward & Stewart, 2003c, p. 354). According to the GLM, these approaches fail to take into consideration (not only) the role of the environment but also the influence of correctional policies and interventions (e.g., community notification, geographical restrictions) can have in creating risk (Law & Ward, 2011). In contrast, interventions that aim to reduce risk by enhancing the individual's strengths and taking into consideration their aspirations and concerns can also increase the offender's motivation (Law & Ward, 2011).

3.3.1.1.8. Nature of intervention

The final general assumption presented by Laws and Ward (2011) describes the nature and character of the GLM intervention as (a) explicitly constructed in the form of a good lives conceptualisation (i.e., good lives plan) and (b) a rights-based rehabilitation. An intervention plan formulated as a good lives conceptualisation that takes into account the individual's primary goods, strengths, and relevant contexts, and explicitly identifies the capacities and resources needed to achieve those goods (p. 192). By respecting the individual's ability to decide certain aspects of the rehabilitation process themselves, this aspect reflects the GLM's emphasis on agency and autonomy and comes in contrast with interventions that prevent the involvement of offenders in the decision-making process (p. 192). With regard to the GLM as a rights-based rehabilitation, the authors discriminate between interventions that are warranted on the basis that the needs of the community surpass those of the offender; and those that view rehabilitation as the right of the offender with states being obligated to offer assistance

to those who wish to change (p. 193). The GLM adopts the latter position and posits that, as with other educational or other self-improvement activities, offenders take part in the GLM interventions because they believe that it will improve their quality of life, or at least for perception purposes in judicial and parole processes or family relationships (p. 193).

3.3.1.2. Etiological assumptions

Ward and colleagues also present a series of etiological or causal assumptions that seek to explain the onset and continuation of antisocial behaviour (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 178), which are grounded in the model's view of human nature (Ward & Maruna, 2007). In particular, the authors argue that the etiological assumptions of the GLM flow logically from the above general assumptions, they are "general in nature", and aim to offer practitioners with "a cognitive map or general overview of the broad causes of antisocial behavior" (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 193; Ward & Maruna, 2007 p. 120). They also maintain that these etiological assumptions aim to only "orient correctional workers" and they would need be further supplemented from specific theories for more detailed explanations regarding antisocial behaviour and specific offence types (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 197; Ward & Maruna, 2007 pp. 124-125). The authors posit that the etiological framework of the GLM integrates aspects from various criminological theories⁶ and presents them in a way that is "user-friendly" for both

⁶ As the GLM evolved since its initial conceptualisation, Ward and colleagues do not often specifically refer to or rely on criminological theories to support GLM's etiological assumptions regarding offending. They rather draw on various distinct theories and empirical findings to support the model's general assumptions regarding human nature and subsequently the etiological assumptions of offending. For instance, Ward and Maruna (2007) posit that the evidence for the association between primary goods attainment and offending is derived from: (a) the research in support of the primary goods and "the vast amount of work on human needs, subjective well-being, quality of life, and personal strivings (among the wider, "non-offender population)" (p. 157; see also pp. 144-116); (b) "from criminological research on the process of desistance from crime" (p.154); and (c) from "emerging criminological research" which can "provide some (weak) support for the link between the attainment of each of the primary human goods and criminal behavior" (p. 156), where the authors cite "a small sample of some of the possible studies" that link quality of life and each of the primary goods to criminal behaviour (see pp. 156-157). Ward and colleagues do, however, consistently maintain, in one form or another, a view of human behaviour as a complex interplay between biological, social/ cultural/ contextual, and psychological factors – often referenced in the literature as humans being "physically embodied" and "culturally embedded" (e.g., Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 176, p. 197; Ward & Maruna, p. 152) – and support the associated notion of cognitive and behavioural plasticity (e.g., Laws & Ward, 2011, pp. 181-183; Ward & Gannon, 2006, p. 84; Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 115). This view of human behaviour as an interplay of biological, social/ cultural/ contextual, and psychological factors could be perhaps traced back to the Integrated Theory of Sexual Offending (ITSO; Ward & Beech, 2005). For instance, Ward and Gannon (2006) reconstructed the GLM into the "GLM-Comprehensive" by incorporating the ITSO to provide the "etiological grounding" (Ward & Gannon, 2006, p. 77) for and "bolster" (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007, p. 91) the general assumptions of the GLM. Using the etiological assumptions of the ITSO, the authors describe how biological (e.g., genetic predispositions, brain development, and natural selection),

offenders and practitioners engaged in the rehabilitation process (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 193; Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 120).

Overall, according to Ward and colleagues (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007) the etiological assumptions of the GLM are composed of three key conceptual elements. The first assumption posits that primary goods are implicated in offending through the use of maladaptive means to attain them, which are referred to as flaws (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Ward et al., 2012). Secondly, the GLM postulates that criminogenic needs or risk factors constitute internal or external obstacles that interfere with the attainment of primary goods (Ward & Maruna, 2007). The final etiological assumption suggests the existence of two pathways, a direct and an indirect route, between the attainment of primary goods and the onset of offending (Laws & Ward, 2011). The following sections elaborate on these three assumptions of the model.

3.3.1.2.1. Primary goods and offending

According to the GLM, individuals are by nature goal-seeking, goal-directed beings interacting with the environment in pursuit of personally valued outcomes, the primary human goods (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). They shape their lives around these core values and follow a typically implicit and rudimentary good lives plan (Ward et

ecological factors and processes (e.g., social, cultural, personal, and environmental factors, and social learning), and neuropsychological systems interact to generate the problems observed in human functioning (i.e., emotional problems, social difficulties, offence supportive beliefs, empathy problems, and deviant sexual arousal), which in turn lead to sexually abusive behaviour (Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). Subsequently, Ward and Maruna (2007) adopt a naturalistic perspective of human nature (p. 146), reject the view of mind supported by evolutionary psychology (p.147), and argue for a “a form of gene-culture co-evolution theory developed by Odling-Smee and colleagues (2003), called niche construction” to explain and understand aspects of criminal behaviour. In addition, the authors reference strain theory to support GLM’s etiological assumptions regarding offending: “Building on a central premise of “strain theory” (see Messner & Rosenfeld, 2001), the GLM proposes that crime might best be understood as the product of obstacles to the pursuit of legitimate goals.” (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 121). However, this reference was removed from the subsequent comprehensive description of the model by Laws and Ward (2011), while Ward, Yates, and Willis (2012) also explicitly rejected “the suggestion that the GLM is a reformulation of the frustration-aggression hypothesis or criminological strain theory” (p. 102). Laws and Ward (2011) maintain a naturalistic view of human nature (p. 207) and conceptualise human beings as “practical decision makers” (p. 176). They introduce and adopt the concept of practical identities throughout the publication, and propose embodiment, plasticity, and cognitive extension as the main general assumptions of the GLM which formulate the basis for all subsequent assumptions (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 184). In turn, the notions of embodiment, plasticity, and cognitive extension can be traced back to the extended mind theory (EMT) of cognitive distortions in sex offenders (see Ward, 2009; Ward & Casey, 2010). In addition, Laws and Ward (2011) emphasise that the GLM is “agency-centered (i.e., concerned with individuals’ ability to select goals, formulate plans, and to act freely in the implementation of these plans)” (pp. 176-177) and overall describe the GLM in alignment with desistance perspectives. More recent publications are less extensive, and the descriptions of the etiological aspects of the model are usually restricted to outlines of the criminogenic needs and the associated flaws in the good lives plans, as well as the direct and indirect routes to offending (e.g., see Fortune & Ward, 2014; Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Ward & Fortune, 2013; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013).

al., 2012; Willis, Prescott, & Yates, 2013). The good lives plan or conception is a form of “blueprint” that incorporates the individual’s valued primary goods, the goals and the related activities needed to achieve the kind of life they wish for (Langlands, Ward, & Gilchrist, 2009; Yates et al., 2009). The individual’s failure to acquire the primary goods is hypothesised to result from problems in the good lives conception or implementation and in the means used in seeking the primary goods (Langlands et al., 2009; Yates et al., 2009). These problems, referred to as flaws, either negatively affect the individual’s abilities to obtain the primary goods sought (i.e., indirect route to offending), or lead them to seek primary goods in harmful and antisocial ways (i.e., direct route to offending; Langlands et al., 2009). Essentially, offending is the result of flaws in the individual’s good lives plan (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Ward et al., 2012). Thus, the authors highlight that offending is not located in the primary goods sought, but rather in the secondary goods, the activities and strategies implemented to obtain the primary goods (Yates, Prescott, & Ward, 2010).

The GLM describes four types of flaws, namely, problems with means, scope, capacity, and coherence or conflict (Yates et al., 2010). Although conceptually distinctive, these flaws often overlap, interact, or coexist (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). Difficulties with means refer to the use of inappropriate secondary goods, strategies, or manners, in seeking to obtain the primary goods (Laws & Ward, 2011; Yates et al., 2009). For instance, an individual might pursue the primary good of relatedness via sexual relationships with children (Purvis et al., 2011), or use substances to achieve inner peace (Heffernan & Ward, 2019), or seek control (i.e., autonomy) through assaulting their partner (Langlands et al., 2009). As a result, the individual will likely be unable to obtain the primary good sought and meet their needs, eventually experiencing reduced levels of happiness (Purvis et al., 2011). Similarly, their actions might breach ethical or social norms causing the individual to experience sentiments of disapproval, disappointment, and frustration towards the outcome of their actions (Laws & Ward, 2011).

Lack of scope describes situations where a person focuses on specific primary good(s) neglecting others (Heffernan & Ward, 2019) or when some important primary goods are omitted from their good lives plan (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Fortune, 2013) and not all 11 goods are present (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Purvis et al., 2011). Lack of scope can be caused by the fact that an individual is simply not interested in certain primary goods, or, more often, by lack of capacities (Purvis et al., 2011). For

example, they do not acquire the interpersonal skills needed to achieve goods such as excellence at work, or relatedness and relationships with others (Purvis et al., 2011). In line with that, the lack of certain goods reveals problems in the good lives plan of the individual (e.g., believes that relationships are not important) or in the implementation of the plan (e.g., lack of opportunities to cultivate relationships, or beliefs that intimidation of the partner will ensure their fidelity) (Langlands et al., 2009; Yates et al., 2009). Similarly, Laws and Ward (2011) give the example of an individual lacking the primary good of excellence in work who might be missing information regarding the conditions needed to achieve it or might be under the constraints of a specific practical identity, that of a professional. Another example is a person seeking pleasure (or happiness) via sexual offending, the consequences of which (e.g., prison) become obstacles in obtaining other goods, such as work (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). Problems with scope can result in an unbalanced life where important goods are missing, and aspects of their lives remain underdeveloped (Langlands et al., 2009; Ward & Fortune, 2013; Yates et al., 2009). Similarly, it can cause chronic sentiments of dissatisfaction, inadequacy, frustration, or lack of a sense of fulfilment (Langlands et al., 2009; Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Yates et al., 2009), while a significant focus on one specific good could result in offending (Yates et al., 2010). In addition, it could cause psychological distress, mental health issues, and social maladjustment, which then will inevitably result in reduced levels of happiness and well-being (Purvis et al., 2011; see also Ward, 2002).

The third flaw described in the GLM is conflict or lack of coherence among the primary goods sought and/or the secondary goods, the means implemented to attain the primary goods (Ward et al., 2012; Yates et al., 2010). This occurs when an individual seeks primary goods in ways or situations that are incompatible or interfering with each other (Langlands et al., 2009; Ward & Fortune, 2013; Yates et al., 2009). For instance, an individual seeking autonomy by dominating or controlling their partner will, as result, negatively affect their relationship and the associated good of relatedness (Langlands et al., 2009; Yates et al., 2010). This flaw can lead to psychological distress or unhappiness, while also result in behaviours that affect the likelihood of the individual obtaining either of these goods (Langlands et al., 2009; Yates et al., 2010). In addition, a discrimination can be made between vertical and horizontal coherence (Purvis et al., 2011; Ward & Fortune, 2013). Horizontal coherence describes the degree to which the primary goods are associated with each other in a logical and consistent

manner and are not in conflict (e.g., autonomy interfering with relatedness) (Fortune & Ward, 2014; Purvis et al., 2011; Ward & Fortune, 2013). Vertical coherence describes the degree to which the primary goods are hierarchically classified in terms of importance to the individual (Fortune & Ward, 2014; Purvis et al., 2011) and are then transposed into actions towards achieving them (Ward & Fortune, 2013). Examples include a person that prioritises relatedness over excellence in work, but eventually works long hours and has limited relations (Purvis et al., 2011), in contrast to a person that values excellence in work and is engaged in meaningful employment consistent with their capabilities and interests (Fortune & Ward, 2014).

The final flaw in the GLM framework is an individual lacking the internal (e.g., skills, knowledge) or external capacity (opportunities, resources and supports) to formulate, implement, or adjust their good live plan within their environment and thus, attain the primary goods sought (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Fortune, 2013; Ward & Maruna, 2007). For example, a new job could involve a different skill set requiring the individual to adapt in the new situation, thus interfering with the good of excellence in work (Yates et al., 2009). Similarly, an impulsive individual (internal capacity) might cause disruptions to their social relationships (external capacity) and therefore, the good of relatedness (Yates et al., 2010). In addition to inhibiting the chance of the individual obtaining the primary goods sought, lack of capacity can also increase frustration (Yates et al., 2010). For instance, a person lacking the skills to defend themselves might experience frustration or humiliation and then release it as aggression (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007).

3.3.1.2.2. Criminogenic needs as internal/external obstacles

Criminogenic needs or dynamic risk factors – the empirically validated risk factors for offending identified in the RNR model – are conceptualised in the GLM as internal and external obstacles that interfere with, block and frustrate, the acquisition of primary goods (Ward & Fortune, 2013; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). In other words, it is not enough for an individual to simply desire a primary good for them to obtain it, they also need the internal and external conditions to do so (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Internal conditions involve psychological characteristics, such as skills, beliefs, and attitudes, and external conditions refer to having access to opportunities, social resources, and support (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Within the GLM criminogenic needs are the equivalent of omissions or distortions in these internal and external conditions (Ward & Maruna, 2007). For instance,

associating with antisocial peers – one of the main criminogenic needs in RNR – indicates that the individual either lacks the skills to develop relations with prosocial others (internal conditions), or lacks access to prosocial others (external conditions) (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Relatedly, in the context of the GLM criminogenic needs represent maladaptive secondary goods (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Secondary goods, the means to obtain primary goods, can be adaptive and prosocial, or maladaptive and antisocial (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). In turn, the use of secondary goods depends on the internal capabilities and the external resources (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). Thus, problems with the internal and external conditions are considered in the GLM as causes or contributors to offending, that is, criminogenic needs (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). Ultimately, the existence of the external and internal conditions required is interpreted as (adaptive) secondary goods, their absence or distortion as criminogenic needs (Ward & Maruna, 2007). In line with that, criminogenic needs can also be conceptualised as the four flaws evident in individuals' good lives plans in terms of problems with scope, means, coherence or conflict, and internal and external capacities (Laws & Ward, 2011). Thus, the careful examination and the identification of an offender's criminogenic needs will signal the use of problematic ways in the pursuit of primary goods (Ward & Brown 2004). In other words, it will reveal the use of inappropriate secondary goods or the existence of flaws in the good lives plan (Ward & Brown 2004). And again, the latter occurs because the individual lacks the internal capabilities, or the environment intervenes and frustrates their efforts (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Moreover, the GLM also suggests that each risk factor can be associated with one or more primary goods (Fortune and Ward, 2013; Purvis et al., 2011; Ward & Stewart, 2003c). For instance, impulsivity signals difficulties in achieving the primary good of agency, as the individual likely has difficulties in formulating and implementing plans (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Similarly, impulsivity could indicate difficulties in self-regulation or the primary good of inner peace (Ward & Maruna, 2007). The authors have also proposed possible links between specific criminogenic needs and all 11 primary goods: the primary good of life is associated with substance abuse; the goods knowledge and spirituality are linked to offence supportive attitudes; excellence in work with unemployment; excellence in play and happiness are both associated with "deviant sexual preferences"; agency or autonomy with impulsivity; inner peace with emotional dysregulation; relatedness with deficits in intimacy;

community with antisocial associates; and creativity is likely linked to unemployment or attitudes supportive of offending (Fortune & Ward, 2014; Ward and Fortune, 2013).

For the authors and proponents of the GLM the conceptualisation of the criminogenic needs or dynamic risk factors within the RNR theory presents significant limitations. Ward and Maruna (2007) refer to RNR's description of criminogenic needs as "range riders" (p. 100), factors that simply indicate difficulties in a certain domain without the theoretical depth to explain the mechanisms generating and maintaining a particular risk factor and how to address it. The GLM posits that RNR's concept of dynamic risk factors cannot go beyond statistical prediction as they are "composite" constructs that cannot alone explain criminal behaviour and thus, should not direct treatment and assessment (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 529; Ward & Willis, 2016, p. 177). In this regard, the causal relation that GLM assigns between primary human goods and risk factors and the conceptualisation of criminogenic needs as external and internal obstacles present three main advantages while addressing respective shortcomings in RNR (Ward & Maruna, 2007).

Firstly, Ward and Maruna (2007) argue that by conceptualising criminogenic needs as external and internal obstacles, the GLM explains how human needs – which are met through the acquisition of primary goods – and criminogenic needs are associated. Secondly, it accounts for how the various criminogenic needs relate to each other (p. 160). According to the authors, "the unifying construct" is the individual's lifestyle and the particular environments in which they live (p. 161). Specifically, the way a person lives (i.e., their lifestyle) is the function of their values (i.e., primary goods and goals), their abilities and opportunities (i.e., external and internal conditions), and of the social or cultural contexts (p. 161). Finally, the GLM is also able to explain how criminogenic needs lead to antisocial behaviour (p.160. That is, criminogenic needs are expressed in the lifestyle of the individual (e.g., association with antisocial peers), and thus, offending is, at least partially, "determined by problematic internal and/or external conditions" (p. 162).

3.3.1.2.3. Direct and indirect route to offending

The final etiological assumption of the GLM postulates the existence of two routes, a direct and an indirect pathway, between the attainment of primary goods and the onset of offending (Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007). In the direct route the offender actively, though often implicitly, seeks to attain primary goods via criminal behaviour (Ward & Maruna, 2007). For instance, an offender uses sex with

children as means to achieve relatedness or autonomy and power (Ward & Gannon, 2006). It is hypothesised that due to various ecological factors the individual lacks the internal skills and external opportunities to obtain the primary good through prosocial ways and instead uses offending as the means to achieve it (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007). The authors emphasise that often the individual is in fact unaware of the actual primary good they are seeking, typically due to lack of self-reflectiveness, and can be solely preoccupied with engaging in criminal behaviour (Laws & Ward, 2011). The indirect route describes a chain of events instigated by the unfulfillment of goods that eventually leads to increased risk of offending (Ward & Gannon, 2006). For instance, a conflict between the goods of relatedness and autonomy might result in the disruption of a personal relationship and associated feelings of loneliness and distress (Ward & Gannon, 2006). Efforts to cope with the emotional distress using, for example, alcohol could then lead, under specific circumstances, to the loss of control and culminate in offending (Ward & Gannon, 2006). Thus, the failure to attain the primary goods creates a “ripple effect” in the individuals’ circumstances and these unforeseen outcomes enhance the risk of offending (Ward & Gannon, 2006, p. 86).

According to Ward and Maruna (2007) this assumption is based on research findings regarding the offence process in sexual offending and, in particular, the Self-Regulation Model of offence process (SRM; Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000). The SRM was developed by Ward and colleagues (Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000) to explain the offence and relapse process of sexual offenders and address shortcomings (e.g., see Ward & Hudson, 1996; Ward, Hudson, & Siegert, 1995) in the Replace Prevention model (Marlatt & George, 1984; Pithers, 1990) used in treatment with sexual offending populations. The SRM posits the existence of nine-phases and four pathways that describe the progression to sexual offending (Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000). In recent years, the original SRM was revised into the SRM-Reconstructed (SRM-R) to explicitly incorporate aspects of the GLM and the integrated GLM/SRM-R framework was proposed (Yates & Ward, 2008). Subsequently, the more comprehensive guides developed by the authors of the GLM regarding treatment and assessment refer to the integrated GLM/SRM (Yates et al., 2009, 2010).

As Ward and Maruna (2007) observe, the association between the GLM and the SRM is only theoretical and empirical support for the direct/indirect routes assumption can only be derived from studies examining the SRM and an exploratory study

conducted by Purvis (2005, 2010), both of which, the authors note, assess samples of sexual offenders, thus limiting the generalisability of the results (Ward & Maruna, 2007). Similarly, as the next sections of the present dissertation will also detail, empirical research examining the direct/indirect route assumption in the general offending population has been so far limited (e.g., see Mallion, Wood, & Mallion, 2020). Thus, it remains true that the empirical evidence for this assumption can be derived primarily from studies examining the application of SRM in sexual offending. Therefore, considering the influence of the SRM on the development of the direct/indirect route assumption and the current empirical status of this assumption, a brief description of the SRM is warranted to provide a complete account of the GLM.

The SRM-R suggests the existence of 10 phases⁷ of offence progression and the classification of the pathways to offending into four categories, an avoidant-passive, an avoidant-active, an approach-automatic, and approach-explicit pathway (Yates & Ward, 2008). The 10 phases describe the process that culminates to the commission of the offence, starting with background and predisposing factors (Phase 1) and the occurrence of a significant life event (Phase 2) which may directly or indirectly trigger the desire (Phase 3) to offend (Yates et al., 2010; Yates & Ward, 2008). Subsequently, the individual establishes an approach or avoidance goal in response to the desire (Phase 4) and selects the strategy, passive or active, to achieve it (Phase 5), thus determining which of the four pathways will be followed (Yates et al., 2010; Yates & Ward, 2008). The opportunity to offend (Phase 6) and the pre-offence behaviours of the individual (Phase 7) that lead to the commission of the offence (e.g., acquiring access to the potential victim) lead to the next phase (Phase 8) of the actual commission of the offence (Yates et al., 2010; Yates & Ward, 2008). The final phases describe positive or negative evaluation of the offence immediately after its commission (Phase 9) and the individual's future intentions and expectations regarding offending (Phase 10) and possible adjustments to the good lives plan (Yates et al., 2010; Yates & Ward, 2008).

Accordingly, the pathways to offending are determined based on whether the individual holds approach or avoidance offence-related goals and the strategies they implement to attain those goals (Yates et al., 2010). Approach goals guide behaviour towards achieving a desired state or outcome, whereas avoidance goals steer behaviour

⁷ The original SRM described nine phases of the relapse process (Ward & Hudson, 2000).

to avoid or prevent an undesired outcome (Yates et al., 2010). In addition, the strategies the individual uses during the offence progression to obtain those goals are classified as passive/automatic or approach/explicit (Yates et al., 2010). In the avoidant-passive pathway the offender does desire to prevent offending, but they attempt to deny their urges or distract themselves, or they take no action to avoid the offence which then occurs passively (Yates et al., 2009, 2010). In the avoidant-active pathway, the individual wishes to avoid offending and does actively implement strategies to control it but those are ineffective (e.g., substance use, pornography) and can eventually increase the risk of offending (Yates et al., 2009, 2010). The individuals that follow the approach-automatic pathway do not wish or attempt to avoid offending but rather respond in a relatively automatic manner to situational cues and triggers (Yates et al., 2009, 2010). Finally, in the approach-explicit pathway the individual intentionally and actively attempts to attain their goal, and the offence and the strategies utilised are usually well planned (Yates et al., 2009, 2010). Essentially, the GLM indirect route to offending corresponds to the two avoidance pathways and the direct route to the approach pathways of the SRM (Lindsay, Ward, Morgan, & Wilson, 2007, p. 40; Ward & Gannon 2006, pp. 88-89).

3.3.1.3. Practical implications

In the years that followed the initial conceptualisation of the general and etiological assumptions of the GLM, Ward and colleagues have also elaborated on the practical and clinical application of the model. The authors have outlined general recommendations (e.g., Fortune & Ward, 2014; Fortune et al., 2015; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007; Willis, Prescott, & Yates, 2016) as well as more comprehensive and systematic guides for assessment and treatment planning (Yates et al., 2009), treatment guides for clinicians (Yates et al., 2010), and for the case management of sex offenders in community settings (Purvis, Ward, & Shaw, 2013; Purvis et al., 2011). In addition, more recently Willis and colleagues (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) presented the overarching guidelines for the incorporation of the GLM in existing RNR or cognitive behavioural treatment programmes for sexual offending (see also Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Willis, Ward, & Levenson, 2014).

The authors have often emphasised that the GLM constitutes a rehabilitation theory or framework⁸, not a treatment theory or programme (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 519; Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 212), and, thus, it “does not prescribe specific intervention content” (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 133). In practice, this means that as long as the programme is consistent with the overarching guidelines and it targets both risk reduction and goods attainment, “clinicians can exercise flexibility and creativity in determining how they integrate GLM ideas into their practice” (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 133). In particular, Willis and colleagues (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) outline a series of overarching guidelines regarding the programme aims and orientation, the assessment process, the intervention planning, and the intervention content and delivery. These comprise what is often described as “GLM-guided” treatment (e.g., Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 133) or “GLM-consistent” interventions (e.g., Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 520; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 134).

More recently, however, given the difficulties often experienced in applying the model’s principles within existing treatment programmes (e.g., see Willis et al., 2014) that subsequent sections will further discuss, the authors of the model (Prescott & Willis, 2022) begun exploring in 2022 the possibility of reconstructing the GLM from an overarching framework for rehabilitation to a practice framework (see also Durrant & Ward, 2022). The authors (Prescott & Willis, 2022) draw on the challenges observed in the application of the model across various settings and countries, offering ideas on how programmes and practitioners could be assisted in responding to these challenges. Likewise, the GLM Fidelity Monitoring Tool, a checklist that presents a preliminary method to quantify aspects associated with GLM-consistent treatment was also released in 2022 (Prescott, Willis, & Ward, 2022). The tool is intended as a self-reflection measure for therapists implementing the model but also as a supervisory tool to be used by supervisory staff that monitor relevant sessions (Prescott et al., 2022).

Considering that attempts to reconstruct GLM as a practice framework have only now begun to be explored (Prescott & Willis, 2022), the following section briefly describes the main aspects of the overarching guidelines for the incorporation of the GLM in existing programmes presented by Willis and colleagues (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). It should be noted, however, that these guidelines, as well as the other guides

⁸ The two terms, theory and framework, are often used interchangeably by the authors when referring to the GLM (e.g., see Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 175; Ward et al., 2012, p. 95).

referenced above, describe the practical application of the model with sexually offending populations. Considering also that the model originated in the literature of sexual offending, the vast majority of the publications detailing assessment, case formulation, and treatment, remain focused on sexual offending. In contrast, the literature on the practical application of the model in general offending has developed in less detail. Thus, this section outlines the basic principles regarding the practical application of the GLM based on the literature of sexual offending and not offending in general. The practical applications and empirical support for the model's applicability in general offending populations will be explored in subsequent sections (see sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3).

3.3.1.3.1. Overall aims and programme orientation

The first guideline proposed by Willis and colleagues (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) describes the dual aim of the GLM-consistent interventions to reduce risk and increase the well-being of the offenders. As the authors indicate that the main aim of rehabilitation from the GLM's standpoint is to "build client capacity to live a satisfying life that does not involve harming others" (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 127). An important consideration and critical aspect in this process is maintaining the balance between goods promotion and risk avoidance. As the authors caution "[e]rring on the side of either goal can result in disastrous social and personal consequences for the therapist and client." (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 199; Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 125). On one hand, solely pursuing to increase the well-being of an offender without addressing the risk factors could "result in a happy but dangerous individual" (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 199; Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 125). On the other hand, trying to manage their risk while neglecting the promotion of well-being or primary goods could result in "punitive practices and a defiant or disengaged client" (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 199; Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 125).

3.3.1.3.2. Assessment

The assessment process involves two components: (a) the evaluation of static and dynamic risk, as well as responsivity factors in line with assessment processes implemented in RNR-based programmes, and (b) a GLM-informed assessment (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). In particular, the authors recommend the use of empirically supported instruments assessing static and dynamic risk factors to determine the intensity of the intervention (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). Similarly, dynamic risk assessments are used to assist in the identification of the treatment targets (i.e.,

criminogenic needs) and responsivity factors (e.g., cognitive abilities, mental health, cultural, personality, and other individual characteristics) that will inform the nature and delivery of the intervention (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013).

With regard to the GLM-informed assessment, Willis and colleagues (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) recommend the use of the semi-structured interview protocol developed by Yates and colleagues (Yates et al., 2009) accompanied by a clinician's guide (Yates et al., 2010) that provides examples of dialogues illustrating the clinical interview. In addition, the authors note that self-reported questionnaires examining, for example, quality of life or personal concerns, are also available and can provide supplementary information (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). Overall, the GLM-informed assessment includes four elements: (a) the evaluation of all 11 primary goods to determine the level of importance that the individual assigns to each of the goods and identify the more heavily weighted goods; (b) the identification of past and current secondary goods, the means or activities the individuals implements to attain the primary goods; (c) the potential implication of each of the primary goods in offending; and (d) the exploration of potential flaws in the individual's good lives plan that obstruct the attainment of the primary goods (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013; Yates et al., 2009, 2010).

3.3.1.3.3. Case formulation and intervention planning

The information collected through the assessment is then integrated into a case formulation which subsequently provides the basis for the development of a treatment plan that will guide the intervention process (Yates et al., 2010). Within the GLM framework the construction of the case formulation and the subsequent intervention plan is often described as a systematic process consisting of several steps or phases⁹ (e.g., Laws & Ward, 2011; Purvis et al., 2011; Ward, 2010; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007; Yates et al., 2009, 2010). According to Yates and colleagues (2010) the case formulation begins with the incorporation of the findings on the four elements of the assessment regarding the primary and secondary goods, the evaluation of problems and flaws, and the analysis

⁹ Different publications describe slightly different, although conceptually similar, phases for the construction of the case formulation (e.g., see Laws & Ward, 2011; Purvis et al., 2011; Ward, 2010; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007; Yates et al., 2009; Yates, Prescott, & Ward, 2010). In the current dissertation, the description by Yates, Prescott, and Ward, (2010) is presented for the purpose of clarity, as well as because this publication constitutes a more comprehensive guide for clinicians that describes the case formulation process in detail.

of how the different factors are related to or influence offending. Subsequently, ecological factors such as the context and environment in which the individual will be living after treatment, are taken into consideration (Yates et al., 2010). Consequently, a treatment plan is developed based on the abovementioned factors, while taking also into consideration the “the kind of life that would be fulfilling and meaningful to the individual” and the capabilities they will need to implement the plan in their respective environment (Yates et al., 2010, p. 134). The intervention plan represents the “roadmap” towards the dual aims of reducing risk and increasing well-being and forms the basis for a “future-oriented” good lives plan which is the end product of the intervention process (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 135). Overall, the intervention planning is a collaborative process, as the individual takes part in the specification of the treatment goals, which is also expected to increase the offender’s motivation to participate and engage in treatment (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013).

3.3.1.3.4. Programme content

As previously mentioned (see also section 3.3.1.3.), the GLM constitutes a rehabilitation framework and not a treatment programme (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Laws & Ward, 2011) and thus, it does not recommend specific treatment content (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). Similarly, considering the GLM’s focus on individualised intervention plans, Willis and colleagues (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) reject the idea of treatment manuals and advocate for structured but not rigid guides. The authors note that structured guides allow for the tailoring of treatment to the specific intervention plan of each individual and ensure the addressing of important treatment targets (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). In addition, they safeguard programme integrity and the subsequent maximisation of treatment effectiveness (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). Thus, the authors provide only general guidelines for the incorporation of the GLM into existing treatment contents (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) or for situating aspects and objectives of known effective interventions within the GLM approach (Yates et al., 2010). In essence, they prescribe the use of treatment modules, assignments, and CBT techniques typically included in RNR-based interventions (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013), as well as the targeting of criminogenic needs (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). But these are “communicated differently” (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 528), are “explicitly combined with attention to personally meaningful outcomes” (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 528), and are “wrapped around” the individuals’ heavily weighted goods or life priorities (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 134).

According to Willis, Yates, and colleagues (2013) this is mainly accomplished through two elements. Firstly, the goals of existing modules or assignments that target criminogenic needs are reframed into approach goals and each module is explicitly linked to the fulfilment of primary goods (p. 134). And secondly, the final module or component of the treatment is the establishment and implementation of a “future-oriented” good lives plan (p. 135). The overall aim of the plan is to assist offenders in attaining their heavily weighted goods “in ways that are incompatible with future offending” (p. 135). Finally, an important aspect during this process is release planning and attention to the environment in which the offender will be released to or is currently living in order to make sure that their plan is realistic and feasible in the particular context (p. 135).

3.3.1.3.5. Programme delivery

The guidelines on the delivery of the intervention describe aspects regarding the attitudes and characteristics of the practitioners and the overall procedural approach of the intervention (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). According to the GLM, therapists should acknowledge that offenders are “people like us” (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 281; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 136). That is, individuals attempting to live a meaningful life the best way they can under their specific circumstances and who “act from a common set of goals stemming from their underlying human nature” (Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 199). Thus, they have the right to be treated with dignity and respect, including the language used by the therapists to address them and the display of positive therapeutic characteristics (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). Positive therapeutic characteristics refer to the aspects empirically associated with positive treatment change in sexual offenders, such as empathy, warmth, provision of rewards, and some degree of directiveness (Willis et al., 2014; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013; see also Marshall, 2005). In contrast, the use of confrontation, negative labelling, hostility towards the participants is considered inconsistent with the GLM approach (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013)

In terms of procedural aspects, Willis and colleagues (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) suggest that the GLM adopts a holistic approach to treatment that incorporates existing practices and the individual’s values and well-being that are often neglected in the treatment of sex offenders. Moreover, the GLM emphasises the individual’s autonomy and agency throughout the intervention process (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). In particular, a collaborative and transparent approach is adopted in both assessment (e.g., assessment results are reviewed with the offender), as well as intervention planning and

delivery (e.g., treatment goals are collaboratively set), and the offender's input is sought "as appropriate" (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 136). Similarly, the environmental context in which the treatment programmes operate (e.g., treatment room and surroundings) should also reflect the GLM's commitment to agency (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). Additionally, the GLM adopts a tailored and individualised approach to treatment based on the individual's intervention plan (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) "rather than a manual" (Willis et al., 2014, p. 65). In practice this means that offenders participate only in activities that are relevant to their own plan (Laws & Ward, 2011; Willis et al., 2014) and that the content and intensity of the intervention is based on the criminogenic needs that represent the greater obstacles to the implementation of their good lives plan (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013).

3.3.2. Practical applications and empirical findings

Within a few years of its initial conceptualisation, the GLM model grew in popularity and was rather well received by scholars and practitioners, with many highlighting its potential. For instance, in a 2009 survey of 1,379 treatment programmes for sex offenders the GLM was selected as one of the top three theories describing the treatment approach by approximately one third of the programmes in the United States and one-half of the programmes in Canada (McGrath et al., 2010). In addition, several publications have proposed or outlined the application of the GLM in the treatment of women (Pflugradt & Allen, 2019) or youth (Fortune, Ward, & Print, 2014; Wylie & Griffin, 2013) that have committed sexual offences, sex offenders with learning disabilities (Aust, 2010) or mental disorder diagnoses (Gannon, King, Miles, Lockerbie, & Willis, 2011), and offenders that deny the commission of sexual offences (Dealey, 2018).

Moreover, a number of articles have advocated for the use or described the theoretical application of the model in treating populations other than sexual offenders. For example, scholars have suggested the application of the model in the treatment of young offenders (Fortune, 2018; Wainwright & Nee, 2014) and female adolescents (Van Damme, Fortune, Vandeveld, & Vanderplasschen, 2017); ageing prisoners (Di Lorito, Völlm, & Dening, 2018); indigenous or violent offenders (Leaming & Willis, 2016; Whitehead et al., 2007); street gang members (Mallion & Wood, 2020); offenders of domestic violence (Langlands et al., 2009); as well as or offenders diagnosed with severe mental disorders (Barnao, 2013; Barnao, Robertson, & Ward, 2010). Furthermore, it has been proposed as framework to replace the relapse

prevention model for individuals with substance use problems (Thakker & Ward, 2010); to be used in clinical and community rehabilitation of individuals with serious and complex physical health conditions (Siegert, Ward, Levack, & McPherson, 2007); but also, as a model complementary (Walgrave, Ward, & Zinsstag, 2019) to restorative justice practices (e.g., see Artinopoulou, 2010).

Notably, in a recent study, Willis, Ward, and Levenson (2014) sought to explore how the GLM was operationalised in 13 sex offender treatment programmes across North America that reported using the GLM as their main theoretical framework. Based on the adherence criteria set, the authors observed that only 4 of the 13 programmes surveyed were found to be “responsive to the GLM” in terms of programme delivery and content (Willis et al., 2014, p. 75). In practice, this translated as the programme components utilising mostly approach goals, having links to the fulfilment of primary goods, and highlighting the importance of formulating a Good Lives Plan or equivalent (p. 75). In addition, Willis and colleagues (2014) observed that 7 programmes showed some responsiveness to the GLM, without, though, fully integrating its principles. For example, GLM aspects such as positive therapeutic relationships and individualised interventions were used to inform programme delivery, but the programmes were otherwise problem-focused and did not include aspects about the attainment of primary goods (p. 75). The remaining two programmes had simply added a supplementary component, such as the formulation of a Good Lives Plan, at the end of an existing rehabilitation programme (p. 75).

Furthermore, the study of Willis and colleagues (2014) aimed at examining factors that facilitated or hindered the adoption of a GLM approach in practice. The responsiveness of the treatment participants following the introduction of the GLM concepts was the main factor reported as facilitating the adoption of the GLM by 69% of the responding programmes, followed by the responsiveness of the treatment staff (38%) pp. 69-70). The main aspects impeding the adoption of a GLM approach were policies and laws regarding sex offender management, such parole and probation requirements and punitive legislations, and then lack of resources (pp. 71-72). Overall, Willis and colleagues (2014) concluded that the GLM was predominantly either an added component towards the end of the programme or was integrated solely in the delivery of treatment and not at the phases of offender assessment and intervention planning. In addition, although acknowledging that aspects such as the use of approach goals and positive therapist characteristics are not distinctive to the GLM, the authors

asserted that in this case those were “natural bi-products of the correct operationalisation of the GLM in practice” (p. 76).

On the other hand, as the authors and proponents of the model have noted, research in GLM-based treatment programmes remains limited, especially in comparison to RNR (Ward & Willis, 2016) or even to the number of articles proposing or advocating for its use with various populations (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). In terms of research studies, three evaluation studies (Barnett, Manderville-Norden, & Rakestrow, 2014; Harkins, Flak, Beech, & Woodhams, 2012; Simons, McCullar, & Tyler, 2006, 2008) have so far examined GLM-consistent correctional interventions in comparison to other treatment approaches for sexual offenders (see also Marshall, Marshall, & Olver, 2017; Netto, Carter, & Bonell, 2014). Similarly, a relevant literature search yields relatively few results of studies examining the model’s core elements or etiological assumptions, employing diverse methods of assessment (see also Mallion et al., 2020). The existing research is presented in the following section starting with studies exploring the model’s main elements and assumptions, such as primary goods attainment in relation to offending or community re-entry. Subsequently, research examining the GLM in association to (re)offending prediction and empirical findings on the Self-Regulation Model (SRM; Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000) and the direct/indirect routes to offending are described. Lastly, findings of the studies that have so far examined the implementation of GLM-based interventions are presented.

3.3.2.1. Implication of primary goods in offending

In an early study exploring the GLM assumptions, Barnett and Wood (2008) retrospectively examined the primary goods of agency, relatedness, and inner peace in a sample of 42 males serving custodial sentences for sexual offences in the United Kingdom. The sample included participants that “at least partially acknowledged their offending behaviour” and participants that “categorically” denied the commission of the offence and those that had exhibited “intentional self-injurious behavior” in the past six-month period were excluded (p. 452). Using a self-reported questionnaire designed for the purposes of the study, the authors found that participants at the time of the offence prioritised relatedness ($n = 33$), then agency ($n = 30$), and finally inner peace ($n = 26$). Participants were subsequently classified as having a balanced (i.e., assigned high priority scores to all three goods) or unbalanced (i.e., assigned low priority to one or more goods) good lives conception and the authors examined the groups in relation to the offenders’ problem-solving abilities as measured by a self-reported

questionnaire. Among others, the results indicated that participants with balanced good lives conceptions showed better overall problem-solving abilities in comparison to those with unbalanced conceptions. Finally, the study examined the operationalisation of the three goods at the time of the offence through two open-ended questions. The responses indicated that participants experienced difficulties in achieving the primary goods at the time leading up to the offence or during the commission of the offence. Some participants also reported that offending was one of the methods implemented to achieve the primary goods. Finally, the authors found evidence of the four flaws that according to GLM indicate problematic good lives conceptions, namely difficulties with scope, means, conflict, and capacity.

A more recent study by Chu and colleagues (Chu, Koh, Zeng, & Teoh, 2015) utilised file review to retrospectively examine the primary goods implicated in the offending of a sample of 168 young males (aged 12-18 years) charged or convicted of sexual offences in Singapore. Psychological reports and file records were examined for evidence (i.e., absence or presence) that any of the 10 primary goods were associated with the participants' offending. According to the results the predominant primary good sought was pleasure (91.1%, $n = 153$), followed by relatedness (35.7%, $n = 60$) and inner peace (17.3%, $n = 29$). The primary goods of life and spirituality were not implicated in the offending of any of the participants. Lastly, Taylor (2017) utilised the GLM as a framework to explore the primary goods that 30 convicted residential burglars in England sought through their offending. After conducting interviews that explored a range of topics and the subsequent thematic analysis, the author observed that the findings "resonated with elements" of the GLM (p. 2). The GLM was then retrospectively employed as a framework to analyse the findings. The author found several associations with each of the primary goods and the participants offending and concluded that they "were fulfilling lifestyle attributes and primary goods through the means of residential burglary" (pp. 21-22). The primary goods of community, spirituality, and creativity, although deemed as important to some of the participants, were not found to be explicitly pursued or obtained through their offending.

3.3.2.2. Primary goods and community re-entry

In addition to the above studies focusing on the implication of primary goods in offending, other studies have examined the extent to which sex offenders released into the community following incarceration were able to attain the primary human goods in general, irrespective of offending. For example, Harris, Pedneault, and Willis (2019)

explored the pursuit and attainment of primary goods in a qualitative study with a sample of 42 males previously incarcerated for a sexual offence in the United States. The participants denied sexually offending since their release and thus, were deemed to be desisting from crime, although no official record data were accessed due to the promise of anonymity. Content analysis indicated that the participants desired many of the primary goods, with the most prevalent being the goods of relationships (95.2%), life (78.6%), and knowledge (76.2%). Subsequent thematic analysis indicated that participants experienced significant obstacles in attaining primary goods, which was attributed by the authors, at least partially, to the restrictions the participants experienced due to their status as former prisoners.

A similar smaller scale study examining the re-entry experiences of 16 offenders convicted of child molestation was conducted by Wills and Ward (2011) in New Zealand. Participants assigned moderate or high importance to most of the primary goods, except for spirituality, community, and creativity which were rated as of lower importance by few of the participants. The authors also conducted interviews to explore the extent to which the participants were able to attain the primary goods after one, three, and six months from their release. Overall, the results indicated either partial fulfilment of the goods or that the participants had goals for fulfilling the goods in the future. Although most of the correlations between primary goods attainment and the re-entry experiences, such accommodation, employment, and social support, were non-significant, a positive trend was observed. Thus, indicating that positive re-entry experiences were to some extent associated with goods attainment.

In a related topic, two studies have explored release planning from a GLM standpoint in association to recidivism of sex offenders (Scoones, Willis, & Grace, 2012; Willis & Grace, 2008). Willis and Grace (2008) retrospectively applied a protocol that assessed “the quality and comprehensiveness of reintegration planning” to samples of recidivist and non-recidivist offenders that had received treatment in New Zealand between 1990 and 2000 (p. 233). The protocol included -among other factors- an item examining if secondary goods in relation to one of the primary goods “were present in an offender’s reintegration plan” (p. 225). In other words, it was explored whether the plan included or not concrete approach goals or ways to secure primary goods which were identified by the offenders themselves rather than being suggested by the therapist. The most common primary good recorded was relatedness, followed by knowledge, and excellence in play and work, whereas no significant differences were observed

between the recidivist ($n = 39$) and non-recidivist ($n = 42$) groups. Among other findings, recidivists had significantly lower scores regarding secondary goods in comparison to non-recidivists. However, after controlling for IQ and level of sexual deviance, which were significantly different between the two groups, secondary goods were no longer significantly associated to recidivism. The 2012 study by Scoones and colleagues retrospectively implemented the same protocol in a sample of 196 sex offenders. The results indicated that the assessment of release planning contributed significant incremental value in the prediction of sexual recidivism beyond static and dynamic risk factors.

3.3.2.3. The GLM and prediction of (re)offending

In a recent study, Loney and Harkins (2018) used a sample of 340 university students to examine two of the main assumptions of the GLM, namely, whether the primary goods are universally sought by all individuals and if the lack of effective strategies or the use of maladaptive strategies to attain the primary goods is implicated to offending. The authors used a self-report questionnaire developed for the purposes of the study to assess the primary goods and the related strategies. A self-report questionnaire was also used to examine antisocial and offending behaviour classified as violent, acquisitive, and drug offences. All primary goods were endorsed as important by the participants, while happiness, life, and knowledge were the most highly rated goods. Following a series of logistic regression analyses, the lack of effective strategies did not appear to be strongly associated with offending. Only the lack of effective strategies for agency and creativity significantly predicted acquisitive offending behaviour. On the other hand, the use of maladaptive strategies (e.g., manipulation) for the attainment of agency, happiness, and inner peace (the only three goods for which participants reported use of maladaptive strategies) was significant predictors of offending behaviour. In particular, violent offending was associated with the use of maladaptive strategies to achieve agency and inner peace, acquisitive offending was associated with agency, and drug offending with happiness and inner peace.

Harper and colleagues (2021) employed a similar methodology using a large community sample ($N = 1,309$) to develop and validate a self-reported questionnaire measuring primary human goods. Out of the initial 100 items, exploratory analysis resulted in 35 items and only five factors, which were termed as Inner Peace, Energy and Agency, Social Connectedness, Varied Leisure Activities, and Spirituality. Thus,

rather than finding support for the existence of the 11 primary goods envisaged by the GLM, factor analyses resulted into five underline factors, casting “doubt over the conceptually attractive division of primary human goods” (p. 21). The authors also examined the new factors in relation to self-reported aggression, criminality, and delinquency. Some associations in relation to aggression were found, but no significant results were observed in predicting criminal behaviour. However, the authors noted that the non-offending sample and the low level of criminality reported by the participants could potentially account to some extent for the non-significant results observed.

Similarly, other studies have investigated the GLM assumptions by examining the association between offending and self-reported questionnaires on subjective well-being or quality of life. For example, Bouman, Schene, and de Ruiter (2009) examined subjective well-being in relation to offending at a 3-month follow-up ($n = 64$), using self-reported questionnaire, and at 3-year follow-up ($n = 102$), using official reconviction data. Overall, general subjective well being showed a modest negative association with the official reconviction rates. However, no negative association with self-reported offending was observed. For instance, at the 3-month follow up, only two specific indicators, satisfaction with health and life fulfilment, predicted significantly decreased self-reported violent and general offences. Regarding the official reconviction data, none of the subjective well-being indicators was significant after controlling for risk level (which correlated significantly with the number of reconvictions). Some buffer effects were also observed with high-risk participants. For example, those who were less satisfied with their general and mental health reported three times more general offences than the participants who were more satisfied with their health. Likewise, those who were less satisfied with their lives in general committed three times more violent offences than in comparison to the participants who were more satisfied with their lives.

Similarly, a longitudinal study by Barendregt and colleagues (Barendregt, Van der Laan, Bongers, & Van Nieuwenhuizen, 2018) examining a sample of 95 male adolescents with severe psychiatric problems found no relation between quality of life and self-reported delinquent behaviour at a 12-month follow-up. Coping strategies, which were hypothesised to obstruct an individual’s good lives plan implementation according to the GLM, were significantly associated with less self-reported delinquency and psychosocial problems after leaving the facility. A similar study by Van Damme and colleagues (Van Damme, Hoeve, Vermeiren, Vanderplasschen, &

Colins, 2016) with a sample of 95 detained female adolescents, used structural equation modelling to explore quality of life in relation to mental health and offending. The findings did not support a direct negative pathway from quality of life to offending. But low quality of life did increase mental health problems which then increased risk of future offending. Thus, the study found partial support only for GLM's indirect pathway to offending, but not for the direct route.

3.3.2.4. Direct/indirect routes and SRM pathways to offending

In relation to the abovementioned study of Van Damme and colleagues (2016), there has been limited research examining the GLM assumption regarding the direct and indirect routes to offending. The empirical support for this assumption is based primarily on studies examining the Self-Regulation Model (SRM; Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000) and an exploratory study conducted by Purvis (2005, 2010) with a sample of 26 adult males incarcerated for sexual offences. Early research on the SRM includes exploratory studies on the offence progression chain (e.g., Ward, Loudon, Hudson, & Marshall, 1995) and the pathways to offending (Hudson, Ward, & McCormack, 1999; Proulx, Perreault, & Ouimet, 1999), as well as classification of offenders into the four pathways based on clinicians' judgements (e.g., Bickley & Beech, 2002). In addition, a number of studies has focused specifically on the applicability of the SRM pathways to groups of sex offenders with intellectual disabilities (e.g., Ford, Rose, & Thrift, 2009; Keeling, Rose, & Beech, 2006; Langdon, Maxted, Murphy, & Sotsec-id Group, 2007; Lindsay, Steptoe, & Beech, 2008).

The first comprehensive examination of the SRM as conducted by Webster (2005). The study conducted qualitative interviews with a sample of 25 males who had been reconvicted of a sexual offence after participating in treatment and being released from custody. Following grounded theory analyses the author found overall support for the SRM with the approach-explicit pathway being predominant for the sample, both before and after treatment. The assumption, however, that participants would change pathways following treatment was not supported. Similarly, Yates and Kingston (2006) and, more recently, Chu and colleagues (2015) employed file review to retrospectively examine the pathways followed by samples of adult ($n = 80$) and young ($n = 168$; aged 12-18 years) sex offenders, respectively. Both studies found support for the model and different types of offences (e.g., offence against adult or child victims) were associated with different pathways. Moreover, Yates and Kingston (2006) found significant associations between different pathways and measures assessing static and dynamic

risk for sexual recidivism. For example, offenders following the avoidant-passive pathway scored significantly lower on both static and dynamic risk assessments than those following the approach-automatic pathway.

To address the methodological limitation of the previous studies, Kingston and colleagues (Kingston, Yates, & Firestone, 2012; Kingston, Yates, & Olver, 2014) examined the validity and utility of the SRM using a structured protocol in a sample of 275 adult males incarcerated for sexual offences in Canada. The protocol¹⁰ was developed by Yates, Kingston, and Ward (2009) specifically for the determination of offence pathways according to the GLM/SRM theory and provides comprehensive coding and scoring criteria. File review was used in both studies to determine the pathways followed by the participants without, however, prior knowledge of the participants' scores on the other instruments (Kingston et al., 2012, 2014). The findings of the 2012 study supported the existence of the four pathways and overall indicated that offenders following approach pathways showed more problematic offence specific elements (e.g., number of previous offences, violence of the offence); greater reoffending risk on static and dynamic risk measures, as well as differences in treatment needs (Kingston et al., 2012). Subsequently, the 2014 study showed significant differences among the four pathways on some of the scales assessing pre- and post-treatment changes (Kingston et al., 2014). In terms of post-treatment recidivism at a follow-up of four years, offenders following the approach-automatic pathway exhibited higher rates of both general and violent recidivism when compared to individuals in the other three pathways (Kingston et al., 2014). However, the authors note that, after

¹⁰ According to Kingston and colleagues (2012, p. 217, 2014, p. 5), research on the cross-validation and interrater reliability of the protocol have been conducted and presented in two annual conferences, cited as: "Kingston, D. A., Yates, P. M., Simons, D., & Tyler, C. (2009, October). *Self-regulation model of sexual offender treatment: Relationship to risk and the good lives model*. Paper presented at the 28th Annual Convention of the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (ATSA), Dallas, TX." and "Lambine, M., & Leguizamo, A. (2010). *The Self Regulation Model: Research Findings and Implications for Treatment*. Paper presented at the MASOC/MATSA Conference, Marlborough, MA.". Similarly, two more papers by Ward and colleagues (Ward et al., 2012, p. 97; Willis, Yates, Gannon, & Ward, 2013, p. 131) when discussing the protocol mention that the initial research is promising in terms of psychometric properties and refer to the abovementioned presentation of Kingston, Yates, Simons, & Tyler (2009) as well as the following presentation during the same annual conference: "Yates, P. M., Simons, D. A., Kingston, D. A., & Tyler, C. (2009, October). *The Good Lives Model of rehabilitation applied to treatment: Assessment and relationship to treatment progress and compliance*. Paper presented at the 28th Annual Convention of the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers (ATSA), Dallas, TX". None of these presentations has been so far published in a peer-reviewed or other publication. The author of the present dissertation was able to locate the presentation of Lambine & Leguizamo (2010) online, which, however, indicated that the study was "retrospective and archival (did not utilise the interview protocol developed by Yates et al., 2009)".

controlling for the level of reoffending risk, the observed significant differences were reduced. Thus, it appeared that the different risk levels that the participants in each pathway had “accounted in large part for the differences observed” in the recidivism rates (p. 16).

3.3.2.5. Treatment evaluation

Three studies have so far evaluated GLM-consisted interventions in comparison to a control group that was following standard relapse prevention treatment modules for sex offenders. The first evaluation study often cited in the literature was conducted by Simons, McCullar, and Tyler (2006, 2008). The study has been presented at annual conferences but has not been published in a peer-reviewed or other publication¹¹. Therefore, the description of the study presented here has been based on information retrieved from other publications reporting on this study¹². The study compared a group of participants ($n = 100$) that followed a standard relapse prevention (avoidance) programme to a group ($n = 96$) that participated in a “sexual offending treatment programme focused on approach goals” (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 520), described as “GLM informed treatment planning” (Willis & Ward, 2013, pp. 16-17). The study took place within a broader therapeutic community in a minimum-security prison in Colorado, United States and the two groups underwent intervention at different times, one year apart (Netto et al., 2014). Thus, participants were retrospectively assigned to groups, however, the study did control for baseline differences found between the two groups during the analyses (Netto et al., 2014). According to Netto and colleagues (2014), significantly fewer participants in the GLM approach terminated treatment and, after controlling for age and social support, those in the GLM group remained longer in treatment in comparison to the relapse prevention group. Although the two groups

¹¹ The study is most often cited in the literature (e.g., see Fortune et al., 2015; Netto et al., 2014; Ward & Willis 2016; Willis & Ward, 2013; Willis et al., 2014, 2016) as: “Simons, D. A., McCullar, B., & Tyler, C. (2006). *Evaluation of the Good Lives Model approach to treatment planning*. Paper presented at the 25th Annual Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers Research and Treatment Conference, Chicago, IL”. However, it has also been referenced (e.g., see Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Purvis et al., 2011; Yates, 2013) as: “Simons, D. A., McCullar, B., & Tyler, C. (2008). *The Utility of the Self-regulation Model to Re-integration Planning*. Paper presented at the 27th Annual Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abusers Research and Treatment Conference, Atlanta, GA”.

¹² The description presented here relies primarily on the systematic review of interventions that adopt a good lives approach conducted by Netto, Carter, and Bonell (2014). This systematic review was selected as the primary source of information since (a) it was conducted by researchers independent to the Simons et al. study, (b) and independent to the main authors and proponents of the GLM, (c) as well as because it reports on the statistical comparisons performed rather than a solely descriptive presentation of the results.

presented different attrition rates, no analyses were performed to examine potential systematic differences (Netto et al., 2014). In addition, pre/post treatment comparisons revealed no differences between the two groups on psychometric measures assessing social skills and victim empathy. However, after controlling for age and social support, the GLM group demonstrated significantly greater improvement in coping skills and problem solving (Netto et al., 2014). Moreover, though the blinding of the therapists was not possible, participants in the GLM group were significantly more motivated to participate in treatment according to the therapists' ratings (Netto et al., 2014). Finally, based on the available information, it appears that reoffending rates were not examined as study outcomes (see also Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014).

Another study by Harkins and colleagues (2012) compared treatment effectiveness in a sample of sex offenders serving community-based sentences in England and Wales. One group that was attending a relapse prevention programme ($n = 701$) was compared to a group of participants ($n = 76$) in a "GLM-derived module", namely, the Better Lives module (p. 521). Although the Better Lives module "is derived from the GLM rehabilitation theory" (p. 522) and elements of the module "were consistent with the GLM framework" (p. 536), the authors note that "it does not represent an entirely GLM consistent program" (p. 536). No significant differences were observed between the two groups on attrition rates; on any of the targeted treatment areas such as pro-offending attitudes, socio-affective functioning, and relapse skills; or on the overall post-treatment treated profile. In addition, following the completion of the program, semi-structured interviews were performed with 11 facilitators and 20 offenders to examine their perceptions. Overall, the content analysis of the interview data revealed that the Better Lives module was positively perceived by the majority of participants and facilitators. Also, none of the facilitators rated the relapse prevention module as superior to the Better Lives module. On the other hand, 7 to 8 out of the 11 facilitators reported that they thought the model would not be appropriate for all offenders, in particular high-risk or unmotivated offenders, and that the programme was missing an important component in relation to risk. More specifically, the authors note that some of the facilitators reported that "they felt the balance had tipped more in the direction of promoting goods to the detriment of work on reducing risk." (p. 536).

These concerns on the decreased emphasis on risk were addressed in the updated version of the module, which was subsequently evaluated in a study by Barnett,

Manderville-Norden, and Rakestrow (2014). Similar to Harkins et al. (2012), Barnett and colleagues (2014) used a number of pre- and post-treatment psychometric assessments to examine differences between the groups that followed the revised GLM module and the relapse prevention module. The overall results of multiple analyses indicated that the two modules did not differ significantly on attrition rates or other psychometric measures indicating treatment change. There were some indications that participants that completed the GLM module were more likely to sustain a “treated profile” (i.e., the psychometric assessment scores are indistinguishable from those of a non-offender). However, the GLM participants were assessed as less dysfunctional in pre-treatment psychometric measures compared to the relapse prevention group, thus, limiting the importance of this finding. Overall, the authors concluded that there were no important differences between the two modules in affecting change in individuals that prior to treatment present dysfunctionalities in various risk factors. In other words, neither version resulted in significant changes “in the majority of people that required change” (p. 29).

In addition to the three aforementioned evaluation studies, supplementary information on the implementation of GLM interventions can be derived from descriptive small sample or case studies and studies examining user perceptions. For example, Whitehead, Ward, and Collie (2007) presented the application of the GLM assessment, case formulation, and intervention process in a case of a high-risk violent offender. The participant, except for a minor driving charge, had not been reconvicted for a follow up period of 14 months. Similarly, Lindsay, Ward, Morgan, and Wilson, (2007) described two case examples using the method of the life map to illustrate the use and provide a preliminary clinical evaluation of the integrated GLM/SRM model. Both participants were convicted of sexual offences and had not reoffended in a period of five years following the initial treatment referral. Likewise, Wylie and Griffin (2013) presented a case study of an adolescent male convicted of sexual offending that followed an adapted version of the GLM, which was used as a framework for understanding the risk factors and informing the intervention.

Gannon and colleagues (2011) presented a descriptive evaluation of a GLM treatment group consisting of five males diagnosed with psychological disorders that were convicted of or had disclosed sexual offending. Among other issues, the authors reported that the participants made “some notable progress”; remained engaged throughout the process and none dropped out of the program; as well as that all

participants “reported experiencing some tangible benefits post treatment” (p. 164). Although all participants were found to easily comprehend the main elements of the GLM, those with lower intelligence levels and/or indirect routes to offending experienced difficulties in understanding the links between the GLM and their risk factors for sexual offending. Notably, those with higher intelligence “focussed so much on the Good Lives aspect of the group that they failed to fully appreciate the importance of their own risk and treatment factors” (p. 164). Given that no control group was included in the study nor psychometric pre- and post-treatment testing, the authors noted that the conclusions and suggestions of the study were “necessarily speculative” (p. 164).

In a similar study using a multiple-case study research design, Barnao, Ward, and Casey (2016) examined the perceptions of five forensic patients regarding their rehabilitation after participating in a 15-week GLM program. By comparing the participants’ perceptions regarding their rehabilitation before and after the delivery of the program, the authors assigned the participants to those with definite, subtle, or no apparent change. They subsequently identified various factors that have potentially influenced the outcome, such participant’s readiness to change, programme delivery (e.g., staff adherence and experience with the GLM), and level of exposure to the programme (e.g., two of the participants dropped out). Likewise, Ryan, McCauley, and Walsh (2018) implemented semi-structured interviews and a constructivist grounded theory approach to analyse the experiences of 13 sex offenders voluntarily engaging in GLM community-based treatment programme delivered in groups on a weekly basis. A conceptual model was constructed which described the therapeutic process that the participants underwent. The model included factors the participants identified as significant contributors to the therapeutic progress (e.g., group and therapeutic alliance, engagement) and factors significant in inducing change (e.g., holistic approach, motivation enhancement, skills to seek primary goods in prosocial and adaptive manner).

Lastly, two more studies have also examined users’ perceptions regarding GLM-informed interventions in small samples of professionals and service users (Leeson & Adshead, 2013; Ward & Attwell, 2014). In the study of Leeson and Adshead (2013) the GLM-informed intervention was favourably assessed by both practitioners ($n = 7$) and the adolescents ($n = 4$) that had expressed harmful sexual behaviour, whose behaviour was found to improve during the course of the program. Ward and Attwell

(2014), also noted the overall success of the services guided by the GLM, that were provided in the community to individuals with serious mental health issues that had a history of violent or sexual offending. Increased psychological well-being and better risk monitoring and management were among the main outcomes. However, the authors also noted the limitations of their findings due to the small sample ($N = 10$) and the potential biases of participants responding favourably in fear of compromising the services and support received.

3.3.3. GLM appraisal and empirical status

The GLM has gained significant popularity since its conceptualisation and is reportedly used by several programmes to guide correctional practice (McGrath et al., 2010; Willis et al., 2014). Similarly, numerous articles have advocated for its application in the treatment of various populations, from female (Pflugradt & Allen, 2019) or youth (Fortune et al., 2014; Wylie & Griffin, 2013) that have committed sexual offences, to street gang members (Mallion & Wood, 2020) and offenders of domestic violence (Langlands et al., 2009). Among the main perceived strengths of the GLM are its potential to increase treatment engagement and motivation of offenders (Serin & Lloyd, 2009), as well as the more holistic, humane, and rights-based approach to rehabilitation (Glaser, 2011). In addition, the GLM has managed to draw increased attention on the need to adopt positive language and approach goals in correctional practice (Looman, & Abracen, 2013). As the authors and proponents of the model note in their appraisal of the GLM, it “is a relatively coherent, integrated rehabilitation approach with a clearly articulated set of fundamental assumptions and etiological commitments” that draws on and incorporates findings of various disciplines, including the RNR principles (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 171). However, despite its growing popularity, the GLM has not escaped criticism. The predominant point of critique against the GLM, as evident also in the above review of the extant research literature, pertains to the empirical status of the model (e.g., Bonta & Andrews, 2003; Looman, & Abracen, 2013; Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014; Ogloff & Davis, 2004; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012).

In particular, three studies have thus far explored one of the major etiological assumptions of the model regarding the implication of primary goods in offending behaviour (Barnett & Wood 2008; Chu et al., 2015; Taylor, 2017). All three studies were retrospective examinations of the primary goods that the participants were seeking when they committed the offences. One of the studies used interviews and self-reported

questionnaires (Barnett & Wood 2008), another implemented file review (Chu et al., 2015), and the last study retrospectively employed GLM as a framework to analyse the findings after conducting the interviews and the thematic analysis of the findings (Taylor, 2017). The latter study (Taylor, 2017) was the only one examining a sample other than sexual offenders. Additional studies have sought to explore the attainment of primary goods by released offenders during community re-entry and irrespective of offending. The studies utilised samples of sex offenders only and were either retrospective (Scoones et al., 2012), with small samples (Harris et al., 2019; Willis & Ward, 2011), or both (Willis & Grace, 2008).

Supplementary information can also be retrieved by research examining the association between self-reported questionnaires that assess subjective well-being or quality of life and offending (Barendregt et al., 2018; Bouman et al., 2009; Van Damme et al., 2016). Although these studies utilised prospective designs and examined larger samples, they showed limited success in predicting offending or delinquent behaviour. A notable exception is a more recent study by Loney and Harkins (2018) using a sample of 340 university students. The study showed that primary goods are universally sought by all humans as all primary goods were endorsed as important by the participants. In addition, the use of maladaptive strategies to attain primary goods significantly predicted offending behaviour, thus, indicating that maladaptive strategies, such as manipulation, are implicated to offending behaviour. However, an important limitation was that the study utilised a self-reported questionnaire for the assessment of primary goods that was developed specifically for the purposes of the study and has not yet been validated. To that end, the 2021 study of Harper and colleagues that sought to validate a comparable self-reported questionnaire, not only failed to find significant associations between primary goods and recidivism, but rather questioned the mere conceptualisation of GLM's primary goods.

Likewise, research in support of the other core assumption of the GLM, that offenders follow a direct or indirect route to offending, can be predominantly found in studies examining the Self-Regulation Model (SRM; Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000) and research with samples of sex offenders only (Purvis, 2005, 2010). Some of the studies have utilised qualitative interviews (Webster, 2005) or retrospective file review (Chu et al., 2015; Yates & Kingston, 2006). Kingston and colleagues (2012, 2014) sought to address these methodological limitations using a structured protocol (Yates et al., 2009) developed specifically for the determination of offence pathways according to the SRM

theory that provides comprehensive coding and scoring criteria. The results support the existence of avoidant, or indirect, and approach, or direct, pathways towards offending (Kingston et al., 2012). But limited success was observed in the prediction of re-offending based on the different pathways, as the risk levels of the participants accounted for most of the differences observed in recidivism rates (Kingston et al., 2014).

Overall, although quite informative, the aforementioned studies present a number of methodological limitations, such as small samples, retrospective examinations, and diverse methods of assessment (see also Mallion et al., 2020 for a systematic review of the literature). Thus, they significantly restrict the generalisability of the results and provide only preliminary support for the core assumption of the GLM that offenders seek to attain primary goods through offending. Similarly, whether the assumption regarding the existence of direct and indirect routes to offending can be generalised to samples of general offending has not been yet examined. And the so far examination of the SRM pathways has shown little added value in the prediction of reoffending. Importantly, no study has so far examined the implication of primary goods in offending in relation to RNR's Central Eight risk/need factors. Thus, the GLM's incremental validity, whether the assessment of primary goods can increase the prediction of offending or reoffending beyond the Central Eight factors, remains unconfirmed.

Relatedly, limited success has been achieved in establishing the GLM's effectiveness in informing treatment interventions. The research literature includes a few case or small sample studies which overall describe positive effects of the GLM based interventions, such as increased engagement and positive perceptions of treatment (Barnao et al., 2016; Gannon et al., 2011; Leeson & Adshead, 2013; Lindsay et al., 2007; Ryan et al., 2018; Ward & Attwell, 2014; Whitehead et al., 2007; Wylie & Griffin, 2013). Nonetheless, only three nonexperimental evaluation studies (Barnett et al., 2014; Harkins et al., 2012; Simons et al., 2006, 2008) comparing GLM informed interventions to existing treatment modules have been conducted so far (for systematic reviews see also Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014). Importantly, none of the evaluation studies examined the effect of the GLM informed interventions on recidivism, thus their effectiveness in this regard remains unknown.

The study of Simons and colleagues (2006, 2008) did find that participants in the GLM treatment module demonstrated significantly greater improvement in coping

skills and problem solving and were more likely to complete and remain in treatment longer (as indicated by Netto et al., 2014). However, these results were not replicated in the subsequent two studies, where no differences were observed on attrition rates or any of the measures of treatment change (Barnett et al., 2014; Harkins et al., 2012). Participants and facilitators did perceive positively the GLM module in one of the studies, but some of the facilitators raised concerns regarding the limited attention to risk factors in favour of the promotion of primary goods (Harkins et al., 2012). A related concern was raised in small descriptive evaluation study of a GLM treatment group consisting of five offenders where some of the participants focused disproportionately on the good lives aspect neglecting the importance of their risk and treatment factors (Gannon et al., 2011)

A number of important observations should be taken into consideration during the interpretation of the aforementioned results. Firstly, all three evaluation studies involved the treatment of sex offenders exclusively. Secondly, the comparison groups participated in relapse prevention treatment (see Marlatt & George, 1984; Pithers, 1990), a rather specific module predating RNR and not necessarily adhering to the RNR principles. Taken together these elements pose significant limitations in generalising the results to the treatment of offender samples other than sex offenders, and interventions that implement modules other than the relapse prevention model. Moreover, as Harkins and colleagues (2012) note, the treatment module implemented in the evaluation study they conducted was informed by the GLM theory, but it was not fully consistent with the GLM (p. 536). As such, it could be perceived as an approximation of a GLM intervention, rather than a fully informed treatment program. Finally, the first and most cited study in support of GLM-based interventions by Simons and colleagues (2006, 2008) has only been presented at annual conferences. The fact that the study has not been subject to peer review and published to a wide academic audience significantly limits the ability to review its results which can be based only on secondary information.

In summary, the research conducted so far on GLM informed interventions indicates that there is tenuous evidence that GLM interventions could be more effective than alternative relapse prevention programmes for sexual offending. There is also tentative evidence of a positive effect on participant engagement, attrition, treatment perceptions, and changes in aspects such as coping skills. On the other hand, there is lack of evidence regarding the impact of GLM informed interventions on recidivism,

as well as their potential to improve the outcome of existing RNR informed interventions for sexual or general offending. At the same time, another important consideration stemming from the present review of the literature, is that, despite its supported applicability to all types of offending behaviour (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007), the relevant research and theoretical operationalisation of the model in populations other than sexual offenders, remains limited. As a result, GLM has received criticism for two key points. Firstly, it has been subjected to criticism for the danger of implementing in practice a rehabilitation framework that has not yet empirically established its effectiveness (Cullen, 2012; Ogloff & Davis, 2004; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). And secondly, given the at least modest reductions in reoffending exhibited by current practices (e.g., Aos, Miller, & Drake, 2006; Hanson et al., 2002; Lösel & Schmucker, 2005; Schmucker & Lösel, 2015), the extended rehabilitation framework proposed by the GLM would have to show greater effects than those found in current meta-analysis to justify its use based on policy and cost-effectiveness standards (Marshall et al., 2017).

Aspects that could be potentially hindering the systematic examination of the model's etiological assumptions and treatment effectiveness have also been identified. For instance, it has been proposed that the limited research base could be a function of the relatively short existence of the model (Marshall et al., 2017). However, this argument has been at least partially counter refuted, and the limited research evidence has been instead attributed to the theoretical conceptualisation and methodological limitations of the model (Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). More specifically, the GLM has not yet explicitly and systematically translate its theory to specific measures, such as domains, constructs, or common methods of assessment, that could be used in research assessing primary and secondary goods or its treatment guiding principles (Marshall et al., 2017; Serin & Lloyd, 2009; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). For example, GLM's concept of primary goods has been described as a reformulation of RNR criminogenic needs or "vaguely defined philosophic pursuits", such as the primary good of happiness, which cannot be easily quantified and empirically investigated (Abracen & Looman, 2016b, p. 78). Similar concerns have been raised for other core elements of the model, such as the reconstruction of the self within the GLM framework which, by definition, cannot be measured for research purposes (Abracen & Looman, 2016b). In addition, the GLM postulates that crime results from flaws in the good lives plan, such as lack of scope, during the pursuit of primary goods. However,

specific aspects regarding the reasons that individuals engage in criminal behaviour remain unclear (Serin & Lloyd, 2009). For example, the model does not account for why offenders lack scope in the first place; or why lack of scope or difficulties in the attainment of primary goods result to criminal behaviour and not to other problematic but legal behaviours; or even the threshold of frustration in primary goods attainment that needs to be reached for an individual to begin offending behaviour (Serin & Lloyd, 2009)

As a result, the majority of studies exploring the model's etiological assumptions utilised different methods of assessment and diverse operationalisation of the variables examined. The authors and proponents of the GLM have developed interviewing, coding, and scoring protocols for the assessment of offenders based on the model's theory (Yates et al., 2009). However, only two studies exploring the SRM (Kingston et al., 2012, 2014) have so far implemented those coding and scoring protocols by conducting file assessment and did not utilise the associated interview guide. An important note, however, is that these protocols were developed specifically for use with sex offenders and not general offending populations (Yates et al., 2009). Likewise, the protocols were formulated to guide clinical practice, such assessment for the purposes of case formulation and treatment, and not for research purposes per se (Yates et al., 2009). Additionally, the results regarding the protocol's validation studies and psychometric properties have not been yet published in peer reviewed or other publications¹³.

Similarly, with regard to GLM informed interventions, the proponents of the GLM have more recently produced overarching guidelines for the integration of the GLM into existing intervention programmes (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). However, those guidelines constitute a narrative description of recommendations that allow significant discretion and variability – in line with the model's theory – in their practical implementation, rather than systematic principles to methodically guide implementation. At the same time, the guidelines do not offer specific elements based on which GLM guided interventions could be assessed and evaluated for adhering to

¹³ As noted earlier, relevant publications (e.g., Kingston et al., 2012, p. 217, 2014, p. 5; Ward et al., 2012, p. 97; Willis, Yates, Gannon, & Ward, 2013, p. 131) indicate that the research on the cross-validation and interrater reliability of the protocol have been conducted and presented in three annual conferences. The author of the present dissertation was able to retrieve only one of these presentations, which, according to the authors (Lambine & Leguizamo, 2010) was “retrospective and archival (did not utilize the interview protocol developed by Yates et al., 2009)”.

the model's principles and recommended practices. Thus, given the significant variability and limited integration of the model's principles that has been observed in programmes adopting the GLM framework so far (Willis et al., 2014), it has been supported that it appears unlikely that long-term systemic evaluation studies of GLM-based programmes will be produced within the next few years (Marshall et al., 2017). Indeed, attempts to offer more concrete guidelines for addressing the challenges observed in clinical practice (Prescott & Willis, 2022) and tools for clinicians to examine the adherence of interventions to the GLM principles (Prescott et al., 2022) only begun in 2022. The authors and proponents of the GLM have also often acknowledged that research in the model is still limited and in early stages (e.g., Fortune et al., 2015, p. 652; Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 519). Specifically, Ward and colleagues have noted the lack of rigorous treatment evaluation studies and studies examining recidivism as an outcome (Ward & Willis, 2016, p. 187). In addition, the authors have stated the importance for research to continue exploring the core elements and assumptions of the model, such as the significance placed on primary goods and their implication to offending (Heffernan and Ward 2019, p. 530). Notably, the authors and proponents of the model have conceded that the effectiveness of GLM-informed interventions in general (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 518; Willis & Ward, 2011; p. 291) and in enhancing the outcomes of existing programmes has yet to be determined (Willis & Ward 2013, p. 314; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 138; Willis et al., 2014, p. 79). Simultaneously, Ward and colleagues have asserted that the three studies (Barnett et al., 2014; Harkins et al., 2012; Simons et al., 2006, 2008) that have so far evaluated GLM-consisted interventions in comparison to existing sexual offending treatment programmes provide "preliminary, although *mixed*, evidence" regarding the "superiority" of the GLM ([italics original] Ward & Willis, 2016, p. 187). Likewise, in reviewing the existing literature and general findings in relation to the GLM, the authors have concluded that the "available evidence offers support that the GLM addresses limitations of pure risk-based approaches to offender rehabilitation" (Willis & Ward 2013, p. 313) and "preliminary support for its comparable effectiveness and added benefit" (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 528).

Ward and colleagues have also identified various aspects that impede further research and wider application of the GLM. Lack of comprehensive resources, such as guides for clinicians and assessments protocols, were some of the contributing factors to the inconsistent implementation of the model during the earlier years of its

conceptualisation (Willis, Prescott, & Yates, 2013, p. 4; Willis et al., 2014). More recently, the authors have affirmed that the GLM is currently used to guide practice across the world, however it is often applied as an additional component to existing programmes instead of fully guiding the assessment, intervention planning, and delivery of the programmes (Heffernan and Ward 2019, p. 517; see also Willis et al., 2014). The fact that the GLM is often only fragmentally integrated in practice constitutes, according to the authors, one of the main reasons for the mixed and inconsistent results and the lack of evaluation studies examining recidivism as an outcome (Heffernan and Ward 2019, pp. 517-518; Ward & Willis 2016, p. 187). The full operationalisation of the model in a consistent and proper manner would be a prerequisite for conducting research to evaluate the effectiveness of the model (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 138). Punitive policies and legislative constraints also appear to hinder the widespread implementation of the model (Willis et al., 2014; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 138).

However, Heffernan and Ward (2019) have criticised the increased focus on studies examining recidivism as an outcome due to the limitations and difficulties to accurately define and measure recidivism. Moreover, the authors argue that reductions in recidivism rates do not indicate causality between treatment and outcome but are rather simple correlates. As such they cannot provide information about the complexity of human functioning and the causes of or contributing factors to change during treatment. The authors posit that this constitutes a “rather narrow view of the available knowledge” and that they “take a broader view of what constitutes evidence and success” (p. 518). Particularly, they argue that evidence regarding the effectiveness of GLM consistent programmes should be derived by assessing “their impact upon a range of practice-related outcomes” (p. 519). And success “involves more than reduced recidivism and include [sic] knowledge which falls outside treatment programs’ efficacy in reducing recidivism” (p. 519). Thus, they conclude that the small sample and qualitative studies examining offender engagement and motivation, or participants’ and practitioners’ perceptions of treatment are in line with the GLM’s dual focus on risk reduction and promoting good lives. Heffernan and Ward (2019) note that the effectiveness of targeting criminogenic needs has already been established through the extensive research performed in the framework of RNR. Thus, the added value and unique contribution of the GLM lies in increasing engagement via focusing on personal goals and strengths. The latter is more evident, according to the authors, through

personal accounts of treatment experiences, individually meaningful outcomes, and changes after treatment instead of records of recidivism.

Finally, with regard to the lack of studies integrating the RNR and GLM approaches, Willis and Ward (2013) have stated that it is too early to discern if GLM-consistent interventions will eventually result in significant declines in recidivism in comparison to strictly RNR-based interventions. But asserted that “intermediate and longer-term outcomes of GLM-consistent programmes will become available in due course” (Willis & Ward, 2013, p. 314). The authors did claim, though, that since the GLM integrates the RNR principles when incorporated appropriately “it can be argued that the large body of empirical literature supporting the RNR also supports the main basis comprising the GLM” (Willis & Ward, 2013, p. 309). This assertion was then heavily criticised by other scholars (Abracen & Looman, 2016b). Subsequently, Ward and Willis (2016) postulated that performing studies that simply compare the GLM and RNR models is beyond the point as GLM incorporates the RNR principles. They suggested that future research should comprehensively specify the differences between strict RNR and GLM informed treatment programmes (Ward & Willis, 2016). More recently, Heffernan and Ward (2019), asserted that since GLM recommends adherence to the RNR principles, then it ought to be “*at least equal* in its effectiveness” ([italics original] p. 528). Moreover, the authors suggest that the literature on RNR and the research on GLM, which focuses on other important outcomes in addition to recidivism, should be integrated towards a better understanding of how to engage individuals in the process of change (Heffernan & Ward, 2019). Heffernan and Ward (2019) conclude by urging future search to examine ways to incorporate the two models instead of ranking one over the other.

In conclusion, despite the advancement in the theoretical conceptualisation of the GLM in the years since its initial formulation, there has been limited success in providing concrete empirical support for the model. There is not only a lack of systematic evidence in support of the GLM’s effectiveness in guiding treatment, but also of the model’s etiological and core assumptions. An important gap in the research literature remains on whether the GLM can in fact add incremental value in the explanation and treatment of offending beyond the RNR model. For the most part, as the following sections of the present dissertation will discuss, GLM’s initial aim that stimulated its formulation, to address issues in and enhance RNR, continues to be the subject of theoretical debate.

3.4. RNR and/or GLM: convergence and divergence

The aspects of convergence and divergence between the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) have been the subject of discussion and dispute for almost 20 years. The authors and proponents of the two models have engaged in a critical and often acrimonious exchange over the merits of each model by critically comparing and contrasting the theoretical conceptualisation, practical applications, and empirical status of their respective models (e.g., Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011; Bonta & Andrews, 2003; Ward & Stewart, 2003a, 2003b; Ward et al., 2012; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). Overall, the authors of the RNR conclude by dismissing the potential added value of the GLM (e.g., Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011) and the authors of the GLM argue for its superiority and unique contribution (Ward et al., 2012). At the same time, Wormith and Zidenberg (2018) note, the overall criticism addressed to RNR has contributed to its ongoing development. The authors of RNR have often highlighted themselves the need for further advancement of the model, especially in areas such as responsivity, motivation, and therapeutic alliance (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Nevertheless, as Ward and Willis (2016) underline, the debate has offered little understanding about the main differences between the two models and, most importantly, not much progress has been achieved in formulating an integrated approach that encompasses the best aspects of the GLM and the RNR.

Other scholars in the field have also sought to offer insights on the debate (e.g., Cullen, 2012; Looman & Abracen, 2013; McNeill, 2012; Polaschek, 2012; Porporino, 2010), in what became in the early 2010s a conceptual dichotomy between risk management and positive or strength-based approaches (Polansek 2016). More recently though, there is a shift in the literature advocating for reconciliation among opposing perspectives and proposing a more integrative approach to offender rehabilitation (e.g., Herzog-Evans, 2017; Maruna & Mann, 2019; Serin & Lloyd, 2017; Thornton, 2016; Ziv, 2016, 2018). This section provides a brief account of the debate between the two models, but not as an effort to perform another theoretical comparison between the perceived merits of the GLM and RNR models (see Ziv, 2016, 2018 for an extensive theoretical comparison). Rather this section will seek to provide some context on the main aspects of convergence and divergence between the two models as an attempt to move the debate forward. The first part presents a brief recount of the main aspects of the debate based on the critical exchanges between the authors and proponents of the

RNR and GLM. Subsequently, an overview of the literature regarding the conceptual differences and similarities between the two approaches is provided. The more recent calls for reconciliation and proposed integrations of the opposing perspectives are discussed in the last section.

3.4.1. A narrative of the RNR and/or GLM debate

The origins of the debate between the RNR and GLM, and perhaps the origins of the GLM itself, can be found in the work of Ward and colleagues during the 1990s. The authors (Ward & Hudson, 1996; Ward, Hudson, & Siegert, 1995) criticised the Relapse Prevention model (Marlatt & George, 1984; Pithers, 1990) that was then used in the treatment of sexual offending. In brief, Relapse Prevention originated in the literature for the treatment of substance abuse (Marlatt & George, 1984) and was subsequently adapted to the treatment of sexual offending (e.g., Pithers, 1990). A primary aspect of the model, as it was used in the treatment of offenders that sexually abused children, was to teach them strategies for managing high risk situations by using adaptive coping techniques and thus, avoiding relapse (Ward, 2002). In response, the authors developed the Self-Regulation Model (SRM; Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000) of offence and relapse process to replace the Relapse Prevention model. Not long after, Ward (2002) introduced the concepts of “good lives”, primary goods, and human needs and outlined what would then be shaped into the GLM. Influenced, among others, by the work of Maruna (2001), Ward (2002) argued that the changing process of offenders “presupposes a conception of good lives” (p. 513). Thus, rehabilitation should be explicitly guided by the offender’s conceptualisation of a good life to influence the changing process of their behaviour (Ward, 2002).

Subsequently, in 2003 Ward and Stewart (2003a) published an article criticising the concept of criminogenic needs due to its lack of grounding on human needs. The authors (Ward & Stewart, 2003a) drew on the concepts of innate or basic needs and the Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000) and the concept of universal needs (Doyal & Gough, 1991) and proposed the reconceptualization of criminogenic needs as internal and external obstacles to achieving human needs. Bonta and Andrews (2003) responded with a brief commentary in the next issue stating that Ward and Stewart (2003a) ignored the evidence in support of the RNR, provided no evidence for their model of human needs, and accused them of “theoreticism” (Bonta & Andrews, 2003, p. 215). That is, “acceptance or rejection of knowledge in accordance with one’s personal views *and not in accordance with evidence*” ([italics original] Bonta &

Andrews, 2003, p. 215). Ward and Stewart (2003b) responded to the commentary in the same issue, further elaborating on their positions and addressing the criticism. The authors recounted that they are not “empiricists” but are “empirically minded” and highlighted the importance of epistemic values, such as explanatory depth, coherence, and consistency with other scientific domains in theory development (Ward & Stewart, 2003b, p. 233).

Around the same time, Ward and Stewart (2003c) first presented and proposed the Good Lives Model to address shortcomings in the RNR interventions with sexual offenders. The authors (Ward & Stewart, 2003c) postulated that the Relapse Prevention model, although predating the RNR, was an “example” (p. 353), an “attendant” (p. 354) of the “risk-need” model (see also Ward et al., 2012, p. 108). In fact, programmes that did not fully adopt RNR were those that followed the Relapse Prevention model at that time and were primarily focused on risk management throughout all aspects of the treatment (Polaschek, 2016, footnote p. 186). Ward and Stewart (2003c), however, presented RNR as a “risk management” approach in which treatment aims primarily to reduce harm to the community, rather than enhance the offenders’ life quality. Instead, they proposed an approach that would primarily aim to enhance the capabilities of the offenders, which as a result would decrease the probability of them harming themselves or others (Ward & Stewart, 2003c). Since then, Ward and colleagues continued to elaborate on the GLM and develop their theory, while at the same time advancing their criticism of the RNR model, especially towards its theoretical underpinnings (e.g., Ward & Brown, 2004; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward, Gannon, & Yates, 2008; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007). Although the GLM showed limited success in producing empirical support for its assumptions or its effectiveness in treatment, its popularity increased (e.g., McGrath et al., 2010).

Other than a brief reference in 2010 (Andrews and Bonta, 2010, pp. 53-54), the authors of RNR did not respond until 2011 (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011), initiating another caustic exchange between the authors and proponents of the two models. Andrews and colleagues (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011) sought to address the ongoing criticism of the RNR conceding that many of the critical points could be perhaps attributed to their “own failure to clarify and detail certain aspects of RNR model” (p. 736). They concluded that “RNR already subsumes many of the features of GLM” (p. 737) and “GLM-based interventions may not be that different from soundly implemented RNR interventions (p. 750). Thus, they posited that at the

moment “there is nothing unique in GLM other than the encouragement of weak assessment approaches [...] and the addition of confusion in service planning.” (p. 751). In their response, Ward and colleagues (2012) addressed misinterpretations of the GLM theory by the RNR authors and argued for the incremental validity of their model. They contested RNR’s assertion that it already assumes many features of the GLM by postulating that the authors of RNR have “colonised areas of theory and ideas contained in the GLM” and have subsequently revised their theory accordingly and “have shrunk the GLM’s unique contribution to virtually zero” (p. 105). The authors concluded that the “GLM can accommodate all that is valuable in the RNR, but the reverse is not true” (p. 107). RNR’s response in the same issue was brief and to the point: “Let’s consider the evidence.” (Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012, p. 111). The authors of the RNR contrasted the empirical support of the two models and cautioned the proponents of GLM for forwarding a model without sufficient empirical support (Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012).

In the last decade, the authors of RNR have remained firm in their position that “there is little added value of GLM over RNR” and GLM has yet to provide experimental evidence in support of its assumptions or the effectiveness of GLM-based interventions (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 292). The authors of the GLM have taken a step further asserting that “RNR suffers from a fatal case of conceptual incoherence and therefore fails as a rehabilitation theory” (Ward & Willis, 2016, p. 188). And, while the GLM might be susceptible to other shortcomings, “in *this respect*, is a stronger rehabilitation model” ([Italics original] Ward & Willis, 2016, p. 188). At the same time, they urge that if correctional researchers and practitioners “are committed to the ideal of *evidence - based practice*” and “if we are to do our jobs as well as we can” this should involve “becoming theoretically literate” and recognising the importance of theories, models, and principles along with empirical evidence ([italics original] Ward & Willis, 2016, p. 188). That is not to say that Ward and colleagues dismiss the importance of research, as they have often noted the need for further empirical research in support of the GLM (e.g., Heffernan and Ward 2019, p. 530; Whitehead et al., 2007, p. 596; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 138).

However, they have also taken a step perhaps too far by declaring that since the GLM incorporates the RNR principles, “it should be *at least equal* in its effectiveness” ([italics original] Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 528) and research in support of RNR can also be taken as support for the GLM (Willis & Ward, 2013, p. 309). In recent years,

given the difficulties observed in the practical implementation (Willis et al., 2014) and empirical support of the model (e.g., see Heffernan & Ward 2019; Mallion et al., 2020; Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014), the proponents of the GLM have shifted their criticism from RNR in general, to the concept of dynamic risk factors specifically (e.g., Fortune & Ward, 2017; Heffernan, Wegerhoff, & Ward, 2019; Ward, 2016; Ward & Willis, 2016). At the same time, they continue to advocate for the integration of the two models, which they do not perceive as mutually exclusive, and for future research to “discover the most effective ways to integrate the two models, rather than prioritising one over the other” (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 531).

3.4.2. Aspects of convergence and divergence

This recount of the debate highlights one of the main points of divergence between the two models. The different approach and distinct starting points of the models, research versus theory, could be potentially attributed to their different starting points in the history of rehabilitation. As Ogloff and Davis (2004) point out, RNR emerged at a time when punishment was the dominant paradigm in correctional policy. The model, the authors note, was established by demonstrating its effectiveness in reducing recidivism rates and thus, increasing the overall acceptance of the rehabilitation paradigm. In contrast, Ogloff and Davis (2004) highlight that the GLM appeared at a time when the importance of rehabilitation was already accepted, and the model proposed that it should aim beyond the reduction of recidivism to increase the well-being of offenders. Changing the direction of rehabilitation without GLM first empirically establishing its effectiveness was viewed as what the authors describe a potential threat to the “advances” that had been thus far made in offender rehabilitation (p. 237).

For the authors and proponents of the RNR, who have been working in the field of corrections since Martinson’s (1974) “nothing works” era, the threat to rehabilitation remains pertinent; so are the many examples of failed treatment programmes in its recent history (Cullen, 2012; Gendreau, Smith, & Thériault, 2009; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). In essence, it is what Cullen (2012) describes as need for “caution, not hubris” (p. 102). Promoting unproven, albeit promising, rehabilitation methods by demonstrating weaknesses in RNR does not “somehow lend legitimacy to their recommendations” (Cullen, 2012, p. 110). But rather, in addition to the danger for the offenders themselves, it jeopardises the common goal of promoting the rehabilitation of offenders against strict punishment policies (Cullen, 2012). As in Martinson’s era,

the ultimate goal of reducing recidivism is still “the bottom line for the public and legislators” (Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012, p. 114).

On the other end, according to Ward and colleagues (2006), the fact that a theory exhibits empirical adequacy does not offer sufficient grounds for “deciding between competing theories or even deciding whether or not it is worth persevering with one model” (p. 8). For instance, Ward (2019) argues against the existing “theoretical illiteracy” (p. 36) in correctional psychological research and practice and presents RNR as an example that “can give the illusion that correctional practice has a secure scientific basis, when in fact it does not” (p. 40). Similarly, Polaschek (2011) notes, “there are limitations to bottom-up empiricism” and “top-down theory development” is equally necessary (p. 21). Hence, searching “for evidence-based practices is blind empiricism unless the mechanisms of action of those practices are understood” (Porporino, 2010, p. 61). Specifically, the authors and proponents of the GLM view RNR as an “*incomplete* rehabilitation theory”, “a set of principles that are related loosely” and argue that the Psychology of Criminal Conduct underlying its assumptions constitutes an underdeveloped etiological theory ([italics original] Ward et al., 2006, p. 271). The authors believe that RNR lacks scope and explanatory depth and, as such, it cannot define and explain deeper underlying mechanisms and processes regarding offending behaviour (Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward et al., 2006). According to Ward and colleagues (Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007), these weaknesses are primarily a consequence of the way the model was conceptualised and applied in practice. RNR has been focusing on the practical functioning of the three principles of risk, need, and responsivity, while disregarding the development of the theoretical foundations of the model and the practice implications to guide professionals (Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007).

Due to these conceptual limitations, the authors of the GLM assert that RNR fails to provide sufficient attention to offender motivation, treatment alliance, self-identity, personal agency, and holds a rather restricted view of human nature (Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007). In addition, they affirm that RNR is “fundamentally a psychometric model”, originating from and based on empirical data from measures of criminal behaviour, that focus on the risk level of offenders ignoring other important contextual or ecological aspects (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 23; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007, p. 210). Therefore, RNR views offenders as “barriers of risk”, as if the specific risk factors are entrenched within them “a bit like pins in a pincushion”

(Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 81) and therapists seek to remove these pins, the risk factors or criminogenic needs (Ward & Stewart, 2003c). Moreover, RNR disregards the responsivity principle and is implemented in practice as “one size fits all” and “heavily manualised” programmes, indifferent to the individual needs and characteristics of each offender (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 23). In sum, Ward and colleagues argue that simply enhancing the current assessment and treatment practices is not enough to address the shortcomings of RNR and further advance offender rehabilitation (Ward et al., 2006). Instead, a completely different approach is needed (Ward et al., 2006), “a broader rehabilitation theory” that integrates the “strengths of RNR while increasing its scope and capacity” (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 106).

At the same time, other scholars have observed that the debate is to some extent false and simply “based on different sets of values about how knowledge should be defined” (Day, Tamatea, & Geia, 2019, footnote 6, p. 586). Others have noted that a positive consequence of the debate and the critical exchanges between the authors comparing and contrasting their models is the observation that the GLM and RNR models might not be so different after all (Herzog-Evans, 2017; Polaschek, 2012). For instance, in her appraisal of the RNR, Polaschek (2012) states that indeed the model has limited explanatory depth in some areas, such as responsivity and the conceptual resources needed to translate the Central Eight risk factors into clinically meaningful outcomes. The author also underlines that RNR and its theoretical framework, PCC, often lack clarity and comprehensibility, thus, making the entire model beyond the three principles of risk, need, and responsivity less accessible to readers (Polaschek, 2012). But she also comments that most of the criticism addressed to RNR by the proponents of the GLM pertain to the misapplications of the RNR in practice and misinterpretations of the model’s principles rather than the model itself (Polaschek, 2012; see also Polaschek, 2016, 2017; Polaschek et al., 2019). For example, Polaschek (2012) emphasises that RNR programmes are “fundamentally capacity building” since they address criminogenic needs by developing and promoting rewards for prosocial and positive capacities (p. 10). Likewise, the author stresses that the importance of therapeutic alliance “is also a founding assumption” of the RNR (p. 11). Thus, the author concludes that “some differences between the two models that seem substantive on paper, evaporate, or at most, become differences in emphasis when the models are applied” (p. 11).

Similarly, Herzog-Evans (2017) suggests that when critics of the RNR portray the model as punitive and focused on public protection instead of rehabilitation they tend to mistake the actual theory for the policies implemented in practice. Looman and Abracen (2013) propose that the models address identical or equivalent concepts, and the alleged differences are mostly semantic. The authors concluded that other than a reminder to utilise positive language and approach goals, most of the GLM's assumptions have already been integrated into the RNR (Looman & Abracen, 2013). The proponents of the RNR have acknowledged the issues with translating the RNR principles into practice and that the increased focus on the three principles of risk, need, and responsivity has led to ignoring the remaining principles of the model (Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). They have also professed the lack of clarity regarding RNR's theoretical concepts, which could have avoided the misinterpretations of the RNR by GLM proponents, noting that "GLM-based interventions may not be that different from soundly implemented RNR interventions" (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011, p. 750). Ward (2012) contradicts the claims of misguided criticism towards the RNR, asserting that the model was recently revised in response to these critiques. Ward and colleagues (2012) further argue that the authors of RNR adjusted the model to incorporate elements of the GLM.

3.4.3. Calls for reconciliation and integrated approaches

Scholars in the field have recently began advocating for truce among competing perspectives and increasingly suggesting various approaches towards integrating aspects of the RNR and GLM models, as well as of desistance research (e.g., Herzog-Evans, 2017; Maruna & Mann, 2019; Serin & Lloyd, 2017; Thornton, 2016; Ziv, 2016, 2018). For instance, Thornton (2016) proposed an elaborated framework of RNR that incorporates ideas from the GLM, as well as Beck's (1996) account of schema modes and Fishbein and Ajzen's (2011) reasoned action approach. Likewise, Herzog-Evans (2017) has appealed for a truce among opposing models and perspectives and has proposed an integrative theory for offender supervision, presenting a series of integrated treatment principles with the RNR as a starting point due to its increased evidence base. The author (Herzog-Evans, 2017) expanded the RNR principles by drawing on several perspectives, including aspects from Taxman and colleagues' second generation of RNR (Taxman, 2014; Taxman et al., 2013), Abracen and Looman's (2016a, 2016b) Risk–Need–Responsivity–Integrated (RNR-I) approach, critiques against RNR by the desistance scholars and the GLM, as well as legal theory

and jurisprudence. Similarly, researchers have just started developing an assessment and sentence planning tool that seeks to incorporate constructs from the RNR, GLM, and desistance principles (Horan et al., 2020; Wong, & Horan, 2019). In contrast, Looman and Abracen, (2013) posited that there is no need for paradigm shift, but rather proposed the RNR-I (Abracen & Looman, 2016a, 2016b) approach to address shortcomings in the RNR. Alternatively, McNeill and colleagues (McNeill, 2012; McNeill & Graham, 2019) have drawn the attention beyond the debate between the RNR and GLM as the psychological perspectives of rehabilitation to the other three forms of rehabilitation, namely, legal, moral, and social perspectives.

Notably, Ziv (2016) devoted his dissertation to a comprehensive exploration of the conceptual compatibility or incompatibility of the two models in an effort to move the debate, but also offender rehabilitation, forward. The author examined in detail the theoretical and correctional frameworks of the two models and attempted to clarify the controversial issues between them to establish common ground. Analysing the perspectives and positions of both sides regarding the other side's model, he identified several controversial aspects between the RNR and GLM. Ziv determined that the GLM could indeed offer incremental value by expanding RNR in aspects such as motivation, agency, values, human needs, and primary goods, as well as due to its focus on contextual factors and the more holistic view of risk. At the same time, despite the similarities between the two models, the author observed that integrating the GLM and RNR could in fact "be more challenging than many scholars have assumed" (p. 309). For instance, aspects such as the GLM's emphasis on unstructured assessments instead of psychometrically validated instruments, the application of extensive clinical discretion, the focus on non-criminogenic needs, and the different treatment strategies recommended (e.g., cognitive strategies and self-reflection over behavioural strategies), are a few of the incompatible aspects of the GLM and RNR. According to Ziv, an intervention based on the GLM's dual focus on the promotion of primary goods and on risk reduction, could in fact "distort the essence of the RNR model's principles or even resist their practical implications (pp. 308-309).

Thus, Ziv (2016) concluded that integrating the two models would result in RNR abandoning some of its core principles and evidence-based practice that have established its effectiveness and legitimacy over the years. Alternatively, the GLM would have to concede, according to the author, the importance of primary goods in the rehabilitation process due to the lack of empirical evidence in support of their

implication to offending. In response, Ziv suggested two ways forward, both for the models but, most importantly, for the rehabilitation paradigm. One future where the models continue to evolve separately, resulting in either one or two models that can empirically demonstrate effective recidivism reduction. And an alternative future where both models are integrated into what the author suggests as the Risk-Need-Responsivity-Motivation (RNRM) model. Founded on the principles of the RNR due to its theoretical coherence and empirical support, the RNRM model envisaged by Ziv would also have a secondary focus on the promotion of primary goods to increase offender well-being and motivation. As a final point, the author noted that the future of the three models, RNR, GLM, and RNRM, “depends on scientific evidence that demonstrates their capacity” to reduce recidivism and improve the lives of offenders (p. 340).

In summary, when the literature on the potential similarities, differences, or the integration of the RNR and GLM models is viewed in broader terms, three different – but perhaps not mutually exclusive – perspectives arise. The first perspective, represented primarily by the authors and proponents of the RNR model, posits that “there is little added value of GLM over RNR” (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 292), since RNR already incorporates many of the GLM’s features (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011) and “GLM-based interventions may not be that different from soundly implemented RNR interventions” (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011, p. 750). The latter has been proposed by other scholars as well, noting that the supposed differences are mainly semantic (Looman & Abracen, 2013) or differences in emphasis (Polaschek, 2012). It has also been suggested that most of the criticism addressed to RNR by the GLM relates to misinterpretations of RNR and misapplications in its practical implementation (Polaschek, 2012; see also Polaschek, 2016, 2017; Polaschek et al., 2019), mistaking the actual theory of the model for the policies implemented in practice (Herzog-Evans, 2017).

The second perspective, initially brought forth by the authors of the GLM, highlights a series of limitations in RNR that could be addressed by incorporating the GLM, advocating for the superiority and unique contribution of the latter (Ward et al., 2012). These limitations include, among others, RNR’s “conceptual incoherence” (Ward & Willis, 2016, p. 188) and underdeveloped etiological theory (Ward et al., 2006, p. 271); the psychometric nature of the model that focuses on risk while ignoring other important contextual or ecological aspects (Ward & Maruna, 2007, p. 23; Ward,

Melser, & Yates, 2007, p. 210); its indifference to individual needs and characteristics, disregarding the responsivity principle (Ward & Maruna, 2007); but also the insufficient attention to offender motivation, treatment alliance, self-identity, and personal agency (Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007). Other authors have also noted some of these limitations with RNR, its limited explanatory depth in some areas, often exhibiting lack of clarity and comprehensibility (Polaschek, 2012), and eventually wondering whether RNR and the existing correctional practices have reached a “glass ceiling” (Porporino, 2010, p. 63; see also Polaschek, 2012; Ziv, 2016). Thus, the third perspective corresponds to the most recent calls for truce among different approaches and for efforts towards the development of an integrated approach (e.g., Herzog-Evans, 2017; Maruna & Mann, 2019; Serin & Lloyd, 2017; Thornton, 2016; Ziv, 2016, 2018), perhaps best represented in the more comprehensive work of Ziv (2016, 2018). Ziv (2016), as noted also above, advocates for an integrated approach founded on the principles of the RNR and with a secondary focus on the promotion of primary goods which, nonetheless, might present increased difficulties in its practical application and would still depend on the empirical evidence regarding its effectiveness.

3.5 Summary and conclusions

The present chapter focused on the detailed presentation and examination of the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c), two of the perspectives that have dominated the contemporary international literature in crime prevention and offender rehabilitation. The background in which the models emerged, their theoretical framework and assumptions, the literature on their practical applications and research evidence were outlined and critically analysed. A narrative of the debate between the two models followed, not seeking to provide another theoretical comparison of the perceived differences and similarities between them (see Ziv, 2016, 2018 for an extensive theoretical comparison), but as an attempt to offer some context on the main aspects of convergence and divergence between the GLM and RNR models towards moving the debate forward. To that end, through the review and critical examination of the relevant literature, the following key aspects could be summarised.

Conceptualised in the period following the “nothing works” claims (Martinson, 1974) and during the emergence of the “what works” literature, RNR is perhaps best

considered as an approach to offender assessment and rehabilitation comprising two main elements. The first component sets the theoretical framework and core assumptions of the model, introducing a General Personality and Cognitive Social Learning (GPCSL) perspective of criminal conduct and supporting the prominence of 8 risk/need factors, the Central Eight, in association with the onset and maintenance of antisocial behaviour (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The second component is the actual RNR model, which constitutes the practical application of the aforementioned theoretical assumptions in guiding the assessment and treatment of offenders (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). In particular, the authors of the model propose a series of 15 overarching, core, and organisational principles associated with the effective application of the model in correctional practice (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Evolving into the most influential approach in the field (e.g., see Cullen, 2012; Fortune, Ward, & Mann, 2015; Newsome & Cullen, 2017; Polaschek, Day, & Hollin, 2019; Ward & Fortune, 2013), the model has been extensively used in offender assessment and treatment across the world (e.g., see Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and its empirical validity has been repeatedly demonstrated through a myriad of studies (e.g., see Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith & Bonta, 2018; Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). However, despite its undeniable empirical foundations acknowledged by even the critics of RNR (e.g., Fortune, & Heffernan, 2019; Herzog-Evans, 2017; Ward, Collie, & Bourke, 2009; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007) the implementation of the model in practice has not been without challenges and controversy.

The GLM emerged as an alternative (Ward, 2010; Ward, & Maruna, 2007; Whitehead et al., 2007) or complementary framework (Ward & Stewart, 2003c; Whitehead, Ward, & Collie, 2007; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013), aiming to address shortcomings in RNR. The GLM constitutes a strength-based rehabilitation theory or framework founded on three hierarchical levels of ideas or components, namely a series of general assumptions, etiological or causal assumptions, and practical implications (e.g., see Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). It is based on the fundamental premise that, as all human beings, offenders inherently seek certain goals in life, conceptualised as the 11 primary goods, which when attained can lead to increased well-being (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007). Antisocial behaviour is subsequently linked to flaws or obstacles in obtaining these goods through prosocial ways or means, which are referred to as secondary or instrumental goods (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Willis & Ward, 2011). Following its initial

formulation in the early 2000s, the GLM continued to elaborate and systemise its theoretical framework and grow increasingly in popularity (e.g., see McGrath et al., 2010; Willis et al., 2014). Yet, as previous sections of this chapter have detailed, the model was confronted with important difficulties in its practical applications (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Willis et al., 2014) and in providing concrete empirical support for its etiological assumptions and treatment effectiveness (see also Mallion et al., 2020; Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014).

Through its continuous challenges to RNR, the GLM did manage, though, to stimulate a conceptual dichotomy in tertiary crime prevention and rehabilitation among perspectives that: (a) focus on reducing risk, such as RNR, and (b) promote the enhancement of the offenders' strengths, represented mainly by the GLM (Polaschek, 2016; see also Porporino, 2010; McNeill, 2012; McNeill & Graham, 2019). To that end, Table 6 below provides a narrative overview of some of the key aspects of each model that have been detailed throughout this chapter, including the models' theoretical frameworks and key etiological assumptions, primary focus, and guidelines for practical implementation, as well as some of the challenges and key points of critique associated with each model.

Table 6. Narrative overview of key aspects of the Risk-Need-Responsivity model and the Good Lives Model

Risk-Need-Responsivity model	Good Lives Model
Theoretical framework and key assumptions	
Prominence of the Central Eight 8 risk/need factors in association with the onset and maintenance of antisocial behaviour, which include one static factor (i.e., criminal history) and 7 dynamic factors which are subject to change, also termed as criminogenic needs (i.e., procriminal attitudes, procriminal associates, antisocial personality pattern, family/marital, school/work, substance abuse, leisure/recreation; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Behaviour in general – and, thus, antisocial behaviour – is learned, maintained, and	All humans seek certain goals termed as primary goods, which represent the core values and life priorities of an individual (Ward et al., 2012) and are organised in 11 categories (i.e., life, knowledge, excellence in work, excellence in play, autonomy, inner peace, relatedness, community, spirituality, happiness, and creativity; Purvis et al., 2011; Yates et. al., 2009). The primary goods are associated with offending through the use of maladaptive means to attain them, which are referred to as flaws (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Ward et

Risk-Need-Responsivity model	Good Lives Model
changed through social learning mechanisms (e.g., modelling, self-regulation, conditioning) and is under the control of signalled cost-reward contingencies (i.e., rewards increase, while costs decrease the likelihood of a given behaviour; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). In this context, the individual differences or the variation observed in antisocial behaviour is perceived as “the distribution of the Central Eight risk/need factors in interaction with the reward-cost contingencies” in each social context (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 54).	al., 2012) and are associated with the means, scope, capacity, and coherence or conflict in the pursuit of primary goods (Yates et al., 2010). Two pathways between the attainment of primary goods and offending exist, a direct (i.e., the individual actively, even if unconsciously, seeks to attain primary goods via criminal behaviour) and an indirect route (a chain of events instigated by the unfulfillment of goods eventually leads to increased risk of offending; Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007).
Primary focus	
Offender assessment and treatment focuses, among other aspects, on supporting changes in the Central Eight factors and the density of costs and rewards in the associated familial, professional, educational, and recreational context of an individual towards prosocial alternatives (Bonta & Andrew, 2017).	GLM-consistent interventions have a dual focus on the promotion of human needs and the reduction of the risk of recidivism (Ward & Maruna, 2007, Yates & Ward, 2008). The two treatment goals are not perceived as mutually exclusive (Heffernan & Ward, 2019), but instead supporting offenders in achieving their personal goals and equipping them with the resources needed to attain them is believed to automatically eliminate or reduce offending (Ward & Stewart, 2003a, 2003c; Ward & Maruna, 2007).
Practical implementation guidelines	
RNR proposes a series of 15 (a) overarching, (b) core, and (c) organisational principles to guide the effective application of the model in correctional practice (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The three overarching principles are “value based”, representing	The GLM has been presented as an overarching rehabilitation framework rather than a treatment theory or programme (Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 519; Laws & Ward, 2011, p. 212), and as such it does not “prescribe specific intervention content”

Risk-Need-Responsivity model	Good Lives Model
aspects that should be followed regardless of their effect on reducing recidivism (Andrews, 2012, p. 129), such as the delivery of services with "respect for the person", including their personal autonomy, and with respect for the "normative context"; and the use of empirically validated psychological theory in informing practice (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 154). The core principles and key clinical issues highlight, among others, the importance of offering human services in addressing recidivism, rather than relying only on sanctions, deterrence, or restoration (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and include the original three principles of risk (i.e., intensity of services in accordance with the level of risk), need (i.e., targeting criminogenic needs towards becoming strengths), and responsivity (i.e., use of effective strategies of intervention in a manner tailored to each individual and context; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The organisational principles address aspects related to setting, staffing, and management of intervention and stress the importance of policy and management support (Bonta & Andrews, 2017).	(Willis, Yates, et al., 2013, p. 133). Instead, the authors of the model recommend a series of overarching guidelines regarding the programme aims and orientation (i.e., reduce risk and increase well-being) assessment process (i.e., evaluation of risk/need factors and GLM-informed assessment through semi-structured interview protocols), intervention planning (i.e., case formulation and individualised treatment plan), and intervention content and delivery in line with the model's principles, allowing clinicians flexibility and creativity in integrating the GLM into their practice (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). Given the challenges observed in the implementation of GLM-consistent programmes with relevant efforts showing limited adherence to the model's principles (Willis et al., 2014; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013), efforts to reconstruct the GLM into a practice framework begun in 2022 offering ideas for overcoming the observed challenges (Prescott & Willis, 2022). A preliminary method and tool for clinicians and supervisors to measure aspects associated with GLM-consistent treatment was also recently presented (Prescott et al., 2022).
Empirical support	
The validity of the Central Eight factors in predicting recidivism using the model's Level of Service (LS; see Wormith & Bonta, 2018) instruments has been examined in large scale meta-analytical	A review of the relevant literature yields a few studies exploring the model's assumptions (e.g., Barendregt et al., 2018; Barnett & Wood 2008; Bouman et al., 2009; Chu et al., 2015; Kingston et al., 2012,

Risk-Need-Responsivity model	Good Lives Model
studies (e.g., Olver et al., 2014), studies focusing on young (e.g., Olver et al., 2009), female (e.g., Andrews et al., 2012; Smith, Cullen, & Latessa, 2009), or Aboriginal offenders (e.g., Gutierrez et al., 2013; Wilson & Gutierrez, 2014), as well as in relation to mental health difficulties (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2019; Bonta et al., 2014) and other widely used assessment instruments (e.g., Campbell et al., 2009; Gendreau et al., 1996, 2002; Walters, 2006; Yang et al., 2010). The effectiveness of interventions adhering to the RNR principles in reducing reoffending has been investigated in interventions programmes with general (e.g., Smith, Gendreau, & Swartz, 2009), youth (Koehler et al., 2013), female (e.g., Gobeil et al., 2016), ethnically diverse (e.g., Gutierrez et al., 2018; Usher & Stewart, 2014), and sexual offending populations (e.g., Hanson et al., 2009a, 2009b).	2014; Taylor, 2017; Van Damme et al., 2016; Yates & Kingston, 2006), employing different methods of assessment, small samples, and retrospective study designs. Data regarding GLM informed interventions are derived primarily from case studies or small sample studies (e.g., Barnao et al., 2016; Gannon et al., 2011; Leeson & Adshead, 2013; Lindsay et al., 2007; Ryan et al., 2018; Ward & Attwell, 2014; Whitehead et al., 2007; Wylie & Griffin, 2013). Three nonexperimental evaluation studies (Barnett et al., 2014; Harkins et al., 2012; Simons et al., 2006, 2008) have been conducted so far which, however, involved the treatment of sex offenders exclusively and do not report information regarding the effect of the GLM informed interventions on recidivism.
Challenges and key points of critique	
Concerns have been raised regarding the assessment methods of the model, including potential biases (e.g., Schmidt et al., 2018; Singh et al., 2013; Van Voorhis et al., 2010) and methods that could advance the currently used risk-need assessment methodology beyond the Central Eight factors (e.g., Horan et al., 2020; Kroner et al., 2019; Serin, et al., 2016; Wanamaker et al., 2018; Wong & Horan, 2019, 2021). Another important challenge revolves around the manner the model has been	Important challenges have been observed in the implementation of GLM-consistent programmes, with relevant efforts showing limited adherence to the model's principles, and aspects such as punitive legislations and policies and lack of resources also hindering its widespread adoption (Willis et al., 2014; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). The model was also confronted with difficulties in providing concrete empirical support for its etiological assumptions and treatment effectiveness (see also Mallion et

Risk-Need-Responsivity model	Good Lives Model
applied in practice (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). Relevant programmes have been often found to show little adherence to the RNR principles (e.g., Duriez et al., 2018; Farringer et al., 2019), focusing disproportionately on managing offenders' risk on the expense of their needs (e.g., Bonta et al., 2008) and raising important concerns regarding the quality and integrity of the RNR-informed programmes in "real world" settings (Bonta & Andrews, 2017, p. 212; see also Andrews, 2006; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Goggin & Gendreau, 2006).	al., 2020; Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014). Thus, it has been suggested that long-term systemic evaluation studies of GLM-based interventions are unlikely to be produced within the next few years (Marshall et al., 2017). To that end, the GLM has received intense criticism (a) for promoting its applications and declaring its effectiveness (e.g., see Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 528; Willis & Ward 2013, p. 313) without sufficient empirical evidence (Cullen, 2012; Ogloff & Davis, 2004) and (b) for the difficulties in explicitly and systematically operationalising its assumptions into constructs or domains and respective assessment methods that can be used in research (e.g., Abracen & Looman, 2016b; Serin & Lloyd, 2009; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012).

Note: RNR: Risk-Need-Responsivity. GLM: Good Lives Model.

The different approach of the two models, accounted at least to some extent by their different starting points in the history of rehabilitation (e.g., see also Ogloff & Davis, 2004), resulted in a lengthy and often acrimonious debate in the literature among the authors and proponents of the of the RNR and GLM regarding the merits and unique contributions of each model (e.g., Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011; Bonta & Andrews, 2003; Ward & Stewart, 2003a, 2003b; Ward et al., 2012; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). Other scholars have also attempted to move the debate forward, increasingly advocating in recent years for various combined approaches that encompass aspects of both the RNR and GLM models (e.g., Herzog-Evans, 2017; Serin & Lloyd, 2017; Ziv, 2016, 2018). Overall, it could be suggested that, in broad terms, at least three perspectives could be observed within the relevant literature regarding the similarities, differences, or the potential integration of the two models:

- (a) The first perspective, supported primarily by the authors and proponents of the RNR, rejects the incremental value of the GLM, noting that RNR already subsumes many of the GLM's features (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Other scholars have also suggested that the perceived differences are mostly semantic or differences in emphasis (e.g., see Looman & Abracen, 2013; Polaschek, 2012) and the relevant criticism pertains to misinterpretations or misconceptions regarding RNR and its practical implementation (e.g., see Herzog-Evans, 2017; Polaschek, 2012, 2016, 2017; Polaschek et al., 2019).
- (b) The authors of the GLM brought forth the second perspective, advocating for the superiority and added value of the GLM in addressing limitations in RNR, such as its theoretical incoherence; the increased focus on risk in contrast to its limited responsiveness to individual characteristics; and the inadequate attention to offender motivation and well-being (e.g., see Ward et al., 2012; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Melser, & Yates, 2007; Ward & Willis, 2016). Some of the abovementioned limitations in both the theory and practice of the RNR model have also been noted by other authors (e.g., see Polaschek, 2012; Porporino, 2010; Ziv, 2016).
- (c) The third perspective represents the more recent calls for an integrated approach (e.g., Herzog-Evans, 2017; Maruna & Mann, 2019; Serin & Lloyd, 2017; Thornton, 2016; Ziv, 2016, 2018), possibly best exemplified in the work of Ziv (2016, 2018). Ziv (2016) suggested a model founded on the principles of the RNR, due to its theoretical coherence and empirical evidence base, that would also have a secondary focus on the promotion of primary goods to increase offender well-being and motivation. Nevertheless, the author also warns that the integration of the two models could in fact be far more complex than what scholars have assumed, requiring RNR to concede some of its main principles and evidence-based practice or GLM to forfeit the importance of primary goods in the rehabilitation process (Ziv, 2016).

In conclusion, tracing the controversial history in which these models emerged, through their theoretical frameworks, empirical standing, and practical applications, to their renewed debate within rehabilitation the following consideration arises. The points of convergence and divergence among RNR and the GLM and the potential for

their integration appear to still be 20 years later a matter of different perspectives and interpretations, theoretical debate and conceptual differences. And even though the dispute and discussion over the merits of each model and the potential approaches to their integration has generated increased interest regarding the nature and future of offender rehabilitation and the prevention of reoffending, limited progress towards research or practical applications has been so far achieved. Nonetheless, for the public and policy makers, reducing recidivism is and will likely continue to be the ultimate goal (Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012, p. 114). Thus, it could be hypothesised that the ability of each model, individually or in combination, to reduce recidivism and improve the lives of offenders is still dependent upon the scientific evidence (Ziv, 2016) that would allow for advocating for the rehabilitation of offenders in contrast to strict punishment policies (Cullen, 2012).

CHAPTER 4. SYNOPSIS AND CONCLUSIONS OF PART I – FROM THE CRITICAL REVIEW TO AN INTEGRATED RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

A cross-cutting observation from the review of the relevant literature is that, in spite of the apparent variations, two core patterns reappear in some form or another throughout the recent history of the criminological literature when it comes to the notions of crime prevention, rehabilitation or reintegration, and even recidivism or desistance. These concepts have simultaneously been the object of desire or aspiration and of controversy or dispute. The debate extends from their mere definition and what they entail, their approach or objectives, to the perpetual discourse between theory and research, empiricism and theoreticism. The international literature has been marked by the now half-a-century debate between the “nothing works” and “what works” perspectives (Allen, 1981) to the third wave of “what works” dispute (Lösel, 2012b) among the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c). The national literature did not remain unaffected by the collapse of the rehabilitative ideal (Karydis, 1990; Lambropoulou, 1999). It followed a different but equally contentious route within the Greek correctional system with the conceptual “intolerance” (Giovanoglou, 2006, p. 39) towards reintegration giving in recent years rise to the calls for promoting reintegration as the right of the prisoners (e.g., Anagnostaki, 2019; Courakis, 2008; Giovanoglou, 2006, 2018a; Nikolopoulos, 2018; Panagos, 2020; Panousis, 2012). Reverting to Lösel’s (2012b) discerning remark about the frequency of discussions on paradigm shifts in social sciences, it could be hypothesised that the pattern of aspirations and disputes exhibits increased probabilities of remaining prevalent over the next half a century as well. Within this frame of reference, the identification of aspects that appear to be at least somewhat constant throughout the different perspectives may provide useful indications for pathways to move these debates forward.

To that end, the examination of the relevant literature appears to suggest that the answer to the debate on whether the RNR and GLM models could or should be integrated and whether they are comparable or distinct, seems to also remain a matter of perspective. This could also potentially provide some context on why the conflict over the merits of the two models has persisted for almost 20 years in largely theoretical terms and with little success in moving forward in terms of research and practical applications. Notwithstanding the lack of consensus, two viewpoints seem to steadily

persist among the different perspectives. Firstly, as the authors of the RNR acknowledge, the difficulties with the implementation of the RNR in real word applications continue to be significant (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018). Similar longstanding concerns exist about the largely theoretically, empirically, and practically unexplored principle of specific responsivity (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018).

Likewise, in spite of the accumulated empirical support for the overall predictive validity of the Central Eight risk/need factors and the Level of Service instruments (e.g., see Olver et al., 2014), a considerable amount of controversy has been surrounding the assessment of offenders in line with the model's principles. The heterogeneity observed across gender, ethnicity, and different countries (Olver et al., 2014), has resulted into ongoing concerns regarding potential biases (e.g., Schmidt et al., 2018; Singh et al., 2013; Van Voorhis et al., 2010) but also the possibility of advancing RNR's predictive validity with the examination of strength or protective factors (e.g., Horan et al., 2020; Kroner et al., 2019; Serin, et al., 2016; Wanamaker et al., 2018; Wong & Horan, 2019, 2021). The proposed developments that could enhance the effectiveness of RNR in response to these issues, such as fourth-generation assessment tools, formal assessment of treatment programmes, and formalised training of practitioners (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) have shown so far limited success (e.g., see Bonta et al., 2019; Duriez et al., 2018; Dyck et al; Farringer et al., 2019). Even if further advancements are achieved on these domains, RNR's next steps in terms of theoretical advancements that could potentially further enhance its effectiveness remain uncertain (Ziv, 2016). Thus, the current practices and RNR may have reached, or at any rate be close to, a "glass ceiling" (Porporino, 2010, p. 63).

Secondly, equally true remains the argument that the GLM has managed to show little success in empirically demonstrating its effectiveness in treatment (e.g., Heffernan & Ward 2019; Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014). In addition, it has encountered significant difficulties in implementing the principles of the model in practice (Heffernan & Ward, 2019; Willis et al., 2014), making the prospect of future systematic GLM treatment evaluations more unlikely (Marshall et al., 2017). Most importantly thought, despite its growing popularity (McGrath et al., 2010) and theoretical advancement, the GLM has so far received only tentative empirical support for the model's main etiological assumptions seeking to explain the onset and

continuation of offending (e.g., see Mallion et al., 2020). A review of the existing literature results into a limited number of studies employing retrospective designs and various methods of assessment (e.g., Barendregt et al., 2018; Barnett & Wood 2008; Bouman et al., 2009; Chu et al., 2015; Harper et al., 2021; Loney & Harkins, 2018; Taylor, 2017; Van Damme et al., 2016), providing only tenuous support and mixed results regarding GLM's assumption that primary goods are implicated in offending or reoffending. Similarly, only partial evidence for the second GLM assumption that offenders follow a direct or indirect route to offending has been found in samples of general offending (Van Damme et al., 2016), while limited added value of this assumption in the prediction of reoffending has been observed (Kingston et al., 2014).

Taken together these two aspects have more recently shifted the focus of the literature from opposing strength-based versus risk management approaches (Polaschek, 2016), towards scholars promoting the integration of the two models (e.g., Herzog-Evans, 2017; Serin & Lloyd, 2017; Ziv, 2016, 2018). However, to the best of the present author's knowledge, no study has so far attempted to empirically investigate the complementarity of the two models in the rehabilitation of offenders. But even before any potential implications for treatment, the GLM's etiological assumptions have not been yet examined in relation to RNR's assumptions in the assessment of offending. Therefore, the incremental value of the GLM's assumptions and whether the assessment of primary goods and offending routes can enhance the explanation of offending and the prediction of recidivism beyond RNR's Central Eight factors, remains untested.

At the same time, although recidivism appears to be an important issue in Greece (e.g., see Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007), aspects inherent in the legislative history (Karydis & Koulouris, 2013; Koulouris, 2018), criminological tradition and research (Lambropoulou, 2005; 2014), and the overall prison conditions (see CPT, 2020a, 2022a) have shaped an important gap in the relevant literature and practice on national level. Although the risk of recidivism affects various aspects regarding the treatment of offenders (Gasparinatou, 2020, pp. 163-164; see also Giannoulis, 2017, pp. 73-79), predictive judgments for prisoners' conditional release and home leaves are based on the offender's behaviour during custody and, thus, the lack of systematic criteria for risk assessment has often raised significant concerns (Cheliotis, 2010). Similarly, an important lack of systematic data on depicting crime in Greece (Tsigkanou, 2016a, 2016b, 2018) and recidivism specifically has persisted over the past

decades (see also Lambropoulou, 2014). Recent studies examining factors associated with reoffending have been limited to retrospective assessments and small samples (e.g., Zarafonitou et al., 2019b). In practice, psychological rehabilitative programmes (Anagnostaki, 2019), such as RNR and GLM, and formal processes for risk and needs assessment (CPT, 2020a) remain absent. Previous work has sought to address this gap expanding on the conceptual examination of rehabilitation and risk assessment and investigating the RNR and GLM models from criminological, correctional, legal, and methodological perspectives (Giannoulis, 2017). The systematic investigation of the phenomenon of recidivism and, most importantly, the empirical validity of the RNR and GLM models in the national context as a natural next step, however, has not been explored.

Within this context, the aim of the present study is to examine validity and complementarity of the RNR and GLM models, while at the same time exploring their applicability in the national framework. Using a longitudinal, follow-up research design, this study will also seek to investigate the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece, collecting official data on the reincarceration rate of released offenders. More specifically, for the purposes of this study, a sample of soon to be released male offenders was examined and followed for a period of approximately four years after their return to the community to examine recidivism. In an effort to address previous methodological limitations (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012), the assessment of the GLM assumptions was performed using the structured assessment protocol developed (Yates et al., 2009) and recommended by the primary authors of the theory (Willis, Yates, et al., 2013; Ward et al., 2012). Similarly, for the examination of the RNR, the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004) was used, a fourth-generation risk and needs assessment instrument that has been extensively used in the prediction of reoffending across various countries (Olver et al., 2014). Finally, the data on recidivism were retrieved through the electronic system of custodial institutions maintained by the General Secretariat for Crime Policy of the Ministry of Citizen Protection.

PART II. EMPIRICAL STUDY

CHAPTER 5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

The present study constitutes an attempt to investigate the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece and empirically explore the validity and incremental value of the two most prominent contemporary models in offender rehabilitation and crime prevention, the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and Good Lives Models (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003). At the same time, a core objective of this study is not only to examine the complementarity of the two models, but also explore the potential for their application in the national context. More specifically, drawing on the theoretical framework and previous research findings regarding the RNR and GLM and the national setting, the following research objectives and corresponding hypotheses were formulated:

- (a) The first research objective is the exploration of the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece, providing descriptive information on the reincarceration rate of recently released offenders. Given the lack of recent concrete data, no specific hypothesis is made regarding the expected rate of recidivism among the sample.
- (b) The second objective is the investigation of the predictive validity of RNR in a Greek sample using the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004) scale. All eight individual risk/need factors and the total score of the LS/CMI are anticipated to predict recidivism. Higher scores on the LS/CMI are hypothesised to result in higher probability of reoffending.
- (c) The third objective is the examination of the main etiological assumption of GLM that primary goods, which are universally sought by all humans, are implicated in offending. All 11 primary goods are expected to be significantly associated with reoffending.
- (d) The fourth objective focuses on the investigation of the next etiological assumption of GLM, according to which individuals follow different routes to offending, a direct and an indirect pathway. It is hypothesised that differences in recidivism will be observed among individuals following different pathways, with offenders pursuing a direct route reoffending at higher rates.

- (e) The fifth and final research objective of the study is to examine the incremental validity of GLM assumptions in predicting recidivism beyond the risk/need factors of the RNR. It is hypothesised that inclusion of the GLM assumptions will significantly increase the predictive value of the RNR risk/need factors in differentiating between recidivists and non-recidivists.

CHAPTER 6. METHODS

6.1. Research design

The present study employed a prospective, follow up, design seeking to empirically investigate the validity of the Risk-Need-Responsivity Model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) in predicting recidivism. The study took place into two phases. The first research phase involved the primary data collection through interviews with the study participants. The second phase of the study, during which the follow up data on recidivism were collected, took place approximately 4 years later. Thus, recidivism represented the dependent variable of the study. The etiological assumptions of the RNR and GLM models, as those were measured by respective assessment tools, constituted the independent variables in order to examine their effect on predicting recidivism. Moreover, the incremental validity of GLM was examined by assessing if the addition of GLM in the prediction of recidivism using the RNR model would significantly enhance predictive accuracy.

6.2. Sample selection and study participants

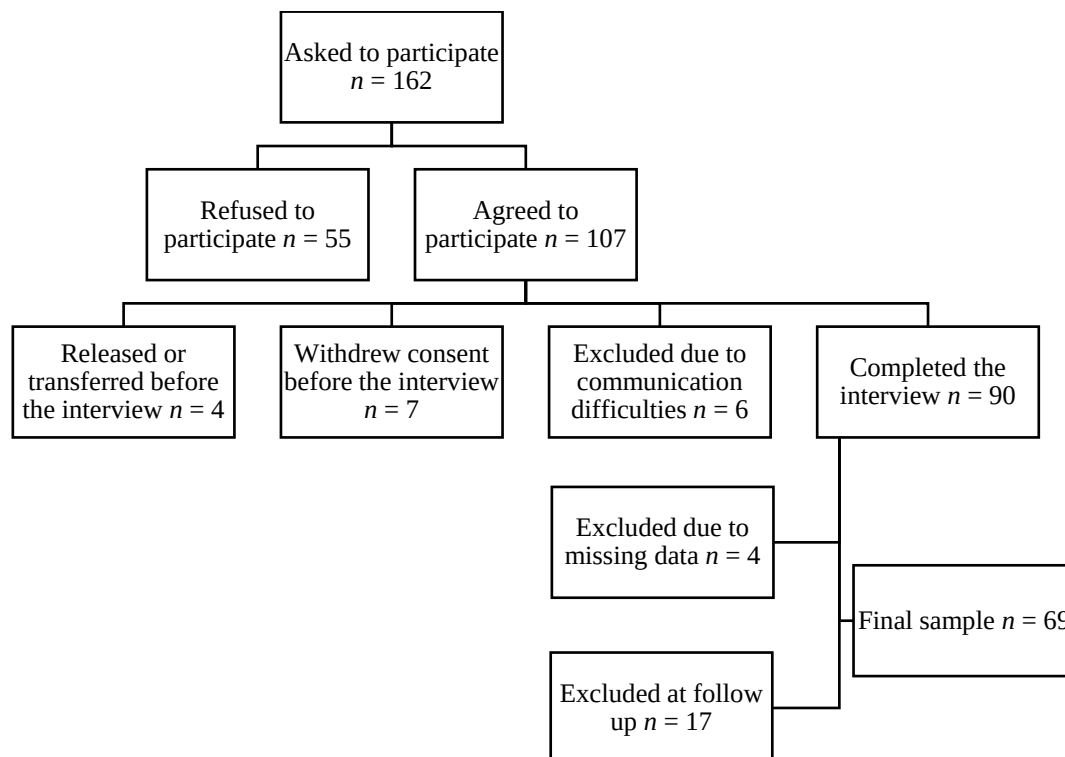
6.2.1. Sample selection

The selection of the custodial institutions in which the study would take place was based primarily on population criteria aiming to increase the probability of identifying the target sample. At the time of the data collection in early 2016, 35 custodial institutions, including 10 specialised and therapeutic (e.g., hospital) units, operated in Greece with an approximate number of 9,600 detainees (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.b). The facilities selected for the purposes of the study were those with (a) larger populations and (b) offenders sentenced for a diverse range of offences. Applications to conduct the study were submitted to 7 facilities, which at the time collectively hosted approximately one third of the prison population. Finally, the study took place at six out of the seven facilities, as permission for one of the filed applications was denied. Similarly, in line with the research design, a set of basic inclusion criteria were set for the selection of the study participants. Firstly, participants were male offenders and, secondly, of Greek nationality in an effort to avoid language barriers. Thirdly, the sample included participants that were estimated to be released shortly and within six months following the performance of the research interview. The purpose of this criterion was to avoid relevant biases and allow for participants to

remain in the community for a sufficient amount of time before the follow up data would be collected. Finally, consistent with the previous criterion, participants had to be convicted to a custodial sentence and not be in pre-trial detention, to increase the probability that they would be released upon serving their sentence and within the six-month timeframe.

In total, 162 individuals meeting the inclusion criteria were identified through file review across all the facilities and were asked to participate in the study. A total number of 55 individuals refused to participate and 107 gave their consent to take part in the study. However, the original sample was further reduced due to several factors and Figure 2 below presents the sample selection process. As the figure indicates, four participants that agreed to participate in the study were released or transferred to another facility before the interview took place. In addition, 6 respondents were excluded by the researcher due to evident difficulties in their participation in the interviewing process, resulting from communication or other similar difficulties. Moreover, 7 individuals withdrew their consent at a later point and before the interview was held.

Figure 2. Sample Selection Tree



Thus, full interviews were completed with 90 participants in total. Out of the 90 participants, four were excluded during the coding of the data due to missing information, such as information on their criminal, family, or employment histories that resulted in insufficient available data to score the measures used in the study. Moreover, 17 participants were excluded from further analysis during the second phase of the study. The follow up data indicated that these 17 participants were not eventually released within the six-month period following the interview, which constitutes one of the main inclusion criteria of the present study, and thus, they were no longer eligible for participating in it. Consequently, the final sample consisted of 69 participants.

6.2.2. Participants' demographic and offence-related characteristics

With regard to the demographic characteristics of the sample, all 69 participants were male and of Greek nationality. The age of the participants at the time of the interview ranged from 21 to 67 years, with a mean age of 42 years ($SD = 11.09$). More than half of the participants were married or in a relationship (55%, $n = 38$), while 24.6% ($n = 17$) were single, 14.5% divorced or separated ($n = 10$), and the rest of the participants reported being widowed (5.8%, $n = 4$). As for the participants' educational background, 43.5% ($n = 30$) had never gone to school or had only received primary school education. An equal 43.5% of the participants had completed lower (21.7%, $n = 15$) and upper (21.7%, $n = 15$) secondary school education, while the 13% ($n = 9$) had followed tertiary education studies.

Moreover, most of the participants (58%, $n = 40$, $M = 2.07$, $SD = 1.68$) had more than one index offences of similar or different nature, with property (27.5%, $n = 19$) and drug (26.1%, $n = 18$) related offences being the most prevalent. Ten (14.5%) of the participants were incarcerated for economic offences (e.g., fraud, forgery, embezzlement, tax evasion); 5 (7.2%) for violent offences against persons (e.g., assault, trafficking in human beings); 5 (7.2%) for other offences and two (2.9) for sex offences. The remaining 9 participants (12.8%) were sentenced for two or more of the aforementioned offence categories. The length of the participants' sentence ranged from 2 months to 26.7 years, with a mean sentence length of 81.26 months ($SD = 65.86$). On average, participants were incarcerated for 22.10 months ($SD = 26.69$) at the time of the interviews, with the relevant period spanning from less than one week to 10 years. Finally, all but 9 (13%) of the participants had at least one prior conviction (87%, $n = 60$), while 66.2% ($n = 45$) had three or more prior youth or adult convictions. Lastly, direct comparisons between the demographic characteristics of the sample and those of

the total number of incarcerated individuals in the six custodial institutions where the study took place or the total prison population in general were not possible due to confidentiality issues and the limited official and anonymised data available.

6.3. Measures

6.3.1. Level of Service/Case Management Inventory

The Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004) was used for the assessment of the RNR model. The measure was acquired through the publisher of LS/CMI, Multi-Health Systems Inc, following the submission of the present author's qualifications, including her professional licence to practise as a psychologist, which constituted a primary requirement for the administration of the measure. LS/CMI constitutes a structured assessment that aims to identify dynamic areas of risk/need to be addressed through interventions in order to reduce the risk of reoffending (Andrews et al., 2004). The first section of the LS/CMI, that was used for the purposes of the current study, consists of 43 items divided into eight subscales in accordance with the Central Eight risk/need factors of the model (Andrews et al., 2004). The subscales of the measure are the following: (a) Criminal History, (b) Education / Employment, (c) Family / Marital, (d) Leisure / Recreation, (e) Companions, (f) Alcohol / Drug Problem, (g) Procriminal Attitude / Orientation, and (h) Antisocial Pattern (Andrews et al., 2004). The items for each subscale are scored as either present or absent and are aggregated to obtain the score for each subscale and the total score of the measure (Andrews et al., 2004). The total score on all 43 items represents the overall risk or risk/need level of offender, ranging from (a) very low (score 0-4), (b) low (score 5-10), (c) medium (score 11-19), high (score 20-29), and very high (score 30-43) (Andrews et al., 2004).

Information for scoring the LS/CMI is collected via interviews with the offenders and through file review of existing records (Andrews et al., 2004). In line with the guidelines of the measure (Andrews et al., 2004), a semi-structured interview protocol in Greek consisting of 55 questions was developed for the purposes of the present study. This protocol was subsequently incorporated into the overall interview protocol, including the other measures used, that was constructed for the purposes of the present study. The process for the development and piloting of the overall interview protocol of the current study is outlined in the next sections. The coding of the information collected via the interviews and file review was subsequently performed in

line with the English manual and original scoring criteria and forms of the instrument. The only modification made was the adaptation of two items referring to school education, which were adjusted to reflect the 12-grade national school system. The reliability and validity of the Level of Service instruments, and LS/CMI specifically, in predicting recidivism have been extensively evaluated in numerous studies and several meta-analytic reviews examining offenders sentenced to community and custodial sentences across various countries (e.g., see Olver et al., 2014). In addition, recent studies have also demonstrated satisfactory psychometric properties and predictive accuracy for the use of the Level of Service instruments with samples in Germany (Grieger & Hosser, 2014), China (Zhang, 2016; Zhang & Liu, 2015), Pakistan (Bhutta & Wormith, 2016), and France (Guay, 2016).

6.3.2. The GLM assessment protocol

For the assessment of the GLM's etiological assumptions, the structured protocol and scoring guide developed by the primary authors of the model for the performance of theoretically informed assessments were used (Yates et al., 2009). The protocol is available through the relevant manual (Yates et al., 2009) and has been designed for use by clinicians experienced in risk assessment and well-versed in the GLM and SRM models (p. 1). The protocol consists of two main parts, with the first part examining the GLM primary goods and the second part assessing the individual's pathway to offending according to the Self-Regulation Model of offence process (SRM; Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000). Therefore, the GLM assessment component was used for the examination of the main etiological assumption of the model regarding the implication of primary goods in offending. The SRM component was then employed for the investigation of the second etiological assumption of the model that proposes the existence of a direct and an indirect route to offending. Considering the lack of a structured assessment for the examination of the diverse routes to offending and the fact that this assumption was formulated on the basis of the SRM (Ward & Maruna, 2007), this assessment protocol was selected to address the methodological limitations observed in previous studies (Kingston et al., 2012, 2014). In addition, the protocol and scoring criteria have been designed for the assessment and treatment planning for sexual offenders specifically (Yates et al., 2009). However, the overall scoring criteria are rather broad, with limited sections referring specifically to sexual offending. Thus, only minor adjustments to the protocols were performed for their use in the present study. For instance, in criteria such as "believes that sanctions for sexual offending are

appropriate [...]” or “generally views sexual offending as a legitimate means to achieve goals [...]”, the reference to “sexual offending” was simply replaced with “offending”.

The GLM assessment and coding protocol (Yates et al., 2009) seeks to provide information for the 11 primary goods which according to the theory constitute basic aspirations of all human beings. These goods are: (a) Life, (b) Knowledge, (c) Excellence in Work, (d) Excellence in Play, (e) Agency, (f) Inner Peace, (g) Relatedness, (h) Community, (i) Spirituality, (j) Happiness, and (k) Creativity. In the original 2009 protocol of Yates and colleagues, excellence in work and play was examined as a single good. However, in more recent publications (e.g., Purvis et al., 2011) the division of this good into two separate goods has been proposed. Thus, in the present study excellence in work and excellence in play were assessed and coded separately in line with the more recent literature on the model. The protocol of Yates and colleagues (2009) examines four components for each of the primary goods, namely: (a) overall importance or value of the good to the individual, (b) instrumental/secondary goods used to attain the primary good, (c) implication of goods in offending, and as final subcomponent (d) potential flaws in the Good Lives Plan. Each of the primary goods is assessed and scored separately and the relevant scoring forms include a series of indicators which are scored as present or absent for each respondent. The final scoring is performed on a scale of 1 to 3, providing three separate ratings for each of the primary goods. The three ratings or sub-scores for each good include the following: (a) Overall value/Importance of the good for the individual, scored as low, moderate, or high; (b) Link to (sexual) offending/Risk factors, rated as none/minimal, moderate, or strong, and (c) Treatment Priority, scored as low, moderate, or high.

Similarly, the second component of the Yates and colleagues (2009) protocol assessing the SRM pathways to offending includes 7 items examining aspects during and following the commission of the offence. These items are operationalised as follows: (a) life event / desire to prevent offending, (b) attitude towards offending / schema, (c) cognitive distortions, (d) post-offence evaluation, (e) self-regulation, (f) offence planning, and (g) control over offending behaviour. Accordingly, the first four items refer to the offence related goals of the individual, which are classified as Avoidant or Approach goals towards the commission of the offence. Consequently, the remaining three items seek to determine the pathway followed for the commission of the offence, classified as a Passive / Automatic or Active / Explicit offence strategy.

Each item is assessed and coded into a corresponding scoring form which contains a series of elements recorded as present or absent indicators for (a) avoidant or approach goals, and (b) for the respective passive/automatic or active/explicit pathway, or as (c) inconclusive indicators. Depending on the nature of the indicators evident in the participant's responses, a separate score for each of the seven items is assigned on a scale of 0-2. The individual scores are then aggregated separately to determine, firstly, the offence related goals as Avoidant (score 0-2), Cannot code/Undetermined (score 3-5), Approach (score 6-8); and secondly, the offence strategies as Passive/Automatic (score 0-2), Cannot code/Undetermined (score of 3), and Active Explicit (score 4-6). Based on the above scores in the two main parts of the assessment, the allocation of the pathway is finally determined as (a) Avoidant-Passive, (b) Avoidant-Active, (c) Approach-Automatic, and (d) Approach-Explicit. Finally, for the purposes of the present study Avoidant-Passive and Avoidant-Active, and the Approach-Automatic and Approach-Explicit pathways were collapsed into indirect and direct routes, respectively.

The assessment and scoring of the protocol are performed using the interview guide provided by the authors of the manual (Yates et al., 2009). The guide consists of (a) 27 general questions which are repeated for each of the 11 primary goods for the GLM assessment and (b) 54 questions for the SRM assessment investigating the commission of the most recent offence through questions examining aspects prior, during, and following the commission of the offence. According to the authors, the interview guide and relevant questions provided are indicative and constitute general guidelines. Interviewers are encouraged to evaluate these characteristics by asking further sub-questions and probes depending on the participant's answers, while also using effective interview techniques. At the same time, it is suggested to ask the questions included in the protocol in a way that facilitates the natural flow and coherence of the conversation.

Moreover, the authors (Yates et al., 2009) also suggest the use of the interview guide in combination with other evaluation tools, as well as the inclusion of its questions in more extensive interview protocols. More specifically, it is recommended to use the current protocol in conjunction with risk assessment tools such as the LS-CMI, which is also used in the present study. This, according to Yates and colleagues (2009), would allow for the researcher to obtain a more general and complete understanding of the participant and consequently, be able to identify and extract the

necessary information for the evaluation of the GLM. Finally, according to the manufacturers of the protocol the assessment procedure for identifying these factors can have two forms. Firstly, it can be conducted by asking increasingly detailed questions about the activities, experiences, and so forth that the individual values and pursues in their lives. Secondly, it can be performed by noting the goals evident with respect to the offence-related actions and the general functioning of the individual at the time of the offence.

Thus, in line with the authors recommendations, the combination of the above two methods was used for scoring the GLM in the context of this study. The interview guide provided in the model's manual (Yates et al., 2009) was translated into Greek and was integrated into the overall interview protocol developed for the purposes of the present study as outlined in the section below. The information collected through the interviews was then coded and scored into the scoring sheets provided by the original manual of Yates and colleagues (2009). Lastly, it should be noted that these protocols have received limited empirical support, and thus there is restricted evidence with regard to their psychometric properties. To the present author's knowledge, no study has used the GLM assessment protocol thus far, while the SRM protocol has been used in only one previous published study with a sample of 275 adult male offenders incarcerated for sexual offences (Kingston et al., 2012, 2014).

6.3.3. Interview protocol development and pilot testing

The semi-structured interview protocol that was constructed for the purposes of the present study consisted of three parts corresponding to the models assessed, namely LS/CMI, GLM, and SRM. The part for the assessment of the LS/CMI was constructed by the author of the current dissertation in line with the manual, scoring guide, and interview guide of the original instrument (Andrews et al., 2004) and initially consisted of 55 questions. The parts for the examination of GLM and SMR were based on the interview guides developed by the authors of the model (Yates et al., 2009), initially including 27 and 54 questions, respectively. Questions from the GLM/SRM protocol referring specifically to sexual offending were adjusted to simply refer to offending in general, as were the relevant scoring criteria. Subsequently, the questions of the GLM/SRM protocol were independently translated in Greek by two researchers that were native Greek speakers and fluent in English. The translations were compared and contrasted, and no major deviations were observed. A back translation of the Greek version into English was performed by another researcher, which was perceived to be

adequately close to the original English versions. Thus, considering that the semi-structured interview protocol developed for the purposes of this research is based on the original interview guide of the measures, its reproduction and publication as part of the current dissertation is not possible due to the protection of intellectual property rights of the original authors and manufactures of the measures.

Subsequently, the semi-structured interview protocol was pilot tested with a small sample of 10 individuals from the general population. The purpose of this process was twofold. Firstly, to evaluate the understanding and coherence of the questions of the GLM and SRM models that were adapted and translated and the questions that were constructed for the assessment of the LS/CMI. And, secondly, to ensure that the questions, as they were translated or developed in the Greek language, provided the necessary information for scoring all the items included in the assessment tools and protocols. The first five interviews were used to examine and adjust the interview protocol as needed. The remaining five were primarily aimed at finalising the protocol and for the researcher to acquire further practice with the use of the protocol in an effort to ensure its effective use with the study sample.

The participants included psychologists, graduate and undergraduate students of sociology and criminology, as well as individuals with no background in relevant studies to offer unbiased feedback. The interviews were recorded and subsequently used to adjust the interview protocol as necessary. In addition, some of the interviews were observed by a third party, another psychologist, in order to provide further feedback as an independent to the process reviewer. Participants were instructed to answer the questions based on the history of an offender, a possible scenario, that they had recently read or heard. The duration of the interviews ranged from sixty to eighty minutes approximately. Following each interview, participants were asked to provide feedback on the process, the questions asked, the level of understanding and coherence, and any other thoughts that they might have regarding the process.

During the first pilot interview the three parts of the protocol for the assessment of the respective models were used consecutively, starting with the LS/CMI assessment, and following with the GLM and then the SRM models. The information provided during the interview was coded to score the measures according to the relevant criteria and scoring forms provided. Common questions between tools, such as the LS/CMI procriminal attitudes and the attitude towards offending/schema of the SRM, were then compared in order to select and combine overlapping sections. In particular,

the results in the respective questions were contrasted to determine if and which of the similar questions could potentially offer enough information to score both items. In addition, the feedback provided by the participant during the first interview was used to refine the wording of some of the questions to facilitate understanding. Furthermore, incorporating the feedback of the participant, the sequence of questions was changed, with the GLM questions being integrated into the LS/CMI questions. More specifically, the GML questions were integrated into the protocol after each corresponding LS/CMI section. For instance, the GLM questions about the importance of knowledge and work were inserted right after the LS-CMI education and employment sections, respectively. This change was deemed necessary for two reasons. Firstly, it would be in line with the instructions and suggestions of the tool manufacturers that recommend its use in combination or after a risk assessment tool such as LS/CMI. And secondly, the feedback from the pilot interview demonstrated the difficulty that the participant had in answering the exact same questions 11 consecutive times, which also constituted one of the options suggested by the manufacturers (Yates et al., 2009).

The adjusted version of the protocol was piloted in three more interviews. The recorded interviews were studied with regard to flow, coherence and comprehension, as well as in terms of gathering the information needed to score the tools. The comparison of the results of the three pilot interviews showed a significant variation in the amount of information regarding the GLM and SRM models that was collected between participants. Considering that the original questions in these tools, as those were provided by the manufacturers, are general in nature, the answers of the participants, and consequently how they perceived and understood the respective questions, varied significantly. Accordingly, the sub-questions, probes, and explanations offered each time by the researcher also varied. As a result, the development of specific sub-questions, probes, and examples was considered important to, at least to a certain extent, control the deviations among interviews. The construction of the additional questions was based on the manufacturers' suggestions and the guidelines, as well as on the scoring criteria of the models (Yates et al., 2009, 2010). The latter were incorporated into the protocol as indicators for the interviewer to navigate the discussion accordingly. In addition, some of the repeated SRM questions with regard to the commission of the offence were placed at later points, in order to cross check and confirm the information provided.

Furthermore, some of the GLM questions regarding factors associated with offending and possible flaws in the pursuit of goals were marked as optional. For instance, when a participant answered that they did not consider spirituality as an important good, a few additional questions with regard to engaging in relevant activities were asked to confirm indeed that this good was not important for the individual and the remaining questions were omitted. In addition, it was observed through the analysis of the interviews that the information needed for the GLM primary goods associated with offending and the potential flaws were in fact offered indirectly during the assessment of the SRM. More specifically, when participants were asked if a factor such as relatedness (i.e., relationships and friendships) is associated with their offending behaviour they were unable to answer. On the contrary, the study of the interview as a whole, and mainly of the SRM section regarding the commission of the offence, provided the researcher with the necessary information for the coding of the GLM model regarding aspects. This is in line with the manufacturers' suggestions regarding the evaluation of the GLM through two methods, either by gradually posing more detailed questions or by the overall assessment of the participant's narration of the offence and their answers to the questions of the other tools used (Yates et al., 2009). Therefore, the questions regarding these two aspects were marked as optional, leaving to the discretion of the researcher the need to ask them on a case-by-case basis. Finally, a fifth interview with the newly adjusted protocol was performed, the results of which were considered satisfactory, both regarding the flow and coherence of the interview and in terms of scoring the necessary information. This was further confirmed during the remaining five interviews that were conducted with the finalised version of the interview protocol.

In conclusion, the finalised semi-structured interview protocol that was used in the study consisted of 21 thematic areas or categories, organised as follows: (a) Introduction - History, (b) Education, (c) Knowledge, (d) Work, (e) Excellence in Work, (f) Family, (g) Friends, (h) Relationships, (i) Community, (j) Leisure time, (k) Recreation, (l) Creativity, (m) Spirituality, (n) Alcohol / Drug use, (o) Happiness, (p) Inner Peace, (q) Antisocial Pattern, (r) Agency, (s) Financial issues, (t) Life, and (u) Offence Pathway. Each thematic area reflected subscales or items of either the LS/CMI or the GLM/SRM assessment protocols, or a combination of both measures. Table 7 below presents an overview of the 21 thematic areas and the corresponding measures and subscales or items, as well as an abbreviated description of each category drawing

on the more detailed Tables 4 (see section 3.2.1.3) and 5 (see section 3.3.1.1.2) presented earlier and which outline the RNR's Central Eight factors and the GLM's primary human goods, respectively. All thematic areas entailed a series of questions, prompts, and examples falling into four categories. The first category included a series of baseline questions that were asked in each interview, such as those regarding the previous criminal history, marital status of the individual, and other pertinent information. The questions in the second category varied depending on the case, such as the marital status of the participant. The third category included possible sub-questions, prompts and examples used, if needed, to clarify certain aspects or elicit further information. Finally, key indicators of the models examined were inserted as check-list points in order for the interviewer to confirm that the information required for scoring the tools has been retrieved. The latter was deemed necessary due to the multiple factors and variables assessed in the context of the study, as well as the extensive length of the interviews.

Table 7. Interview protocol: thematic areas, descriptions and corresponding measures and subscales

Thematic area	Description	Corresponding measure and subscale
Introduction - History	Index offence(s) and present sentence; criminal history; compliance with custodial and community supervision.	LS/CMI, Criminal History subscale
Education	Educational history; present school involvement (if applicable), performance, rewards, and satisfaction.	LS/CMI, Education / Employment subscale
Knowledge	Desire for knowledge, information and understanding about oneself, others, or the world.	GLM, primary good of Knowledge
Work	Employment history; present employment (if applicable), performance, rewards, and satisfaction.	LS/CMI, Education / Employment subscale
Excellence in Work	Desire for excellence and mastery in work.	GLM, primary good of Excellence in Work

Thematic area	Description	Corresponding measure and subscale
Family	Family and marital status; quality of interpersonal relations; prosocial support; monitoring/supervision/ and disciplinary style for younger offenders.	LS/CMI, Family / Marital subscale
Friends	Close and frequent association with procriminal others and absence or low association with prosocial others; social support for crime.	LS/CMI, Companions subscale
Relationships	Desire to establish close and mutual bonds with others, including intimate partners, family members, and friends.	GLM, Primary good of Relatedness
Community	Desire to be part of /connected with groups with shared interests, values, or concerns.	GLM, Primary good of Community
Leisure time	Involvement and satisfaction with conventional prosocial leisure activities.	LS/CMI, Leisure / Recreation subscale
Recreation	Desire to engage in leisure activities, excellence and mastery in hobbies or leisure activities.	GLM, Primary good of Excellence in Play
Creativity	Desire for novelty and innovation, the experience of doing things differently, creating an artistic or creative output or product.	GLM, Primary good of Creativity
Spirituality	Desire for a sense of meaning or purpose in life; religious truths and involvement, spiritual connections.	GLM, Primary good of Spirituality
Alcohol / Drug Use	Current problems and prior history of alcohol misuse and illegal drug use; impact on interpersonal relationships, employment, financial circumstances; implications with law violations.	LS/CMI, Alcohol / Drug Problem subscale

Thematic area	Description	Corresponding measure and subscale
Happiness	Desire to experience happiness and pleasure, being content and satisfied with one's life.	GLM, Primary good of Happiness
Inner Peace	Emotional self-regulation and equilibrium, being free from emotional turmoil and stress.	GLM, Primary good of Inner Peace
Antisocial Pattern	Behavioural aspects, personality traits, and negative emotionality associated with antisocial behaviour.	LS/CMI, Antisocial Pattern subscale
Agency	Desire for autonomy, independence, formulating one's goals, making one's own decisions.	GLM, Primary good of Agency or Autonomy
Financial issues	Financial problems and financial management skills.	LS/CMI, Antisocial Pattern subscale
Life	Physical needs, important factors for healthy living and physical functioning.	GLM, Primary good of Life
Offence Pathway	Offence related goals and offence pathway followed: life event / desire to prevent offending; attitude towards offending / schema; cognitive distortions; post-offence evaluation; self-regulation; offence planning; control over offending behaviour.	SRM assessment protocol; LS/CMI, Procriminal Attitude / Orientation subscale

Note: Adapted from Andrews, 2012; Andrews et al., 2004; Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Willis, Prescott, and Yates, 2013; Yates et al., 2009, 2010.

6.3.4. Recidivism

Recidivism was defined as reincarceration for a new conviction following the participants' release from prison. Recidivism was coded as a dichotomous 0 (no) or 1 (yes) variable with respect to whether participants were reincarcerated for a new conviction. Imprisonment due to parole violation or pre-trial detention were not included in the analyses. In these cases, if participants had not also been incarcerated

for a new conviction within the follow up period, the variable was coded as no. The recidivism data were retrieved in August 2020 through the records maintained in the electronic system of the General Secretariat for Crime Policy. This constitutes the body responsible for the operation of the Greek custodial institutions, operating initially under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human rights and subsequently transferred in 2019 under the Ministry of Citizen Protection. The electronic system became operational in 2015 (see Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights, 2015) and its specific parameters, including the exact type of information contained, the methods of data input and maintenance, and other details about its operation have not been yet studied. The data collected at this phase included (a) the exact date that the participants were released following their participation in the first phase of the study when the interviews were conducted; (b) whether they had been reincarcerated for a new conviction; and, if yes, (c) the date of reincarceration, (d) the nature of the offence, (e) and the length of the new sentence. Finally, the mean follow-up period for the recidivism study was 3.8 years ($M = 1389.78$ days, $SD = 77.00$), ranging from 3.3 to 4.18 years.

6.4. Procedure

6.4.1 Approval and ethics

The present study received approval from the General Secretariat for Crime Policy, the national body responsible for the operation of the Greek custodial institutions. In addition to the centralised approval of the study by the General Secretariat for Crime Policy, each of the custodial institutions in which the research took place individually approved the performance of the study within their premises. As previously noted, 6 out of the 7 facilities for which applications were submitted granted their approval for the performance of the study and the primary data collection phase took place between April and December 2016.

Individuals meeting the inclusion criteria were identified through file review and through the prison records and were asked to participate in the study. Potential participants were informed in detail, both in writing and verbally, about the purposes of the study; what their participation would entail; the voluntary nature of their participation and the fact that they could withdraw their consent at any time; as well as about the confidentiality of all information provided. In particular, participants gave their informed written consent for (a) the performance and audio recording of the

interviews; (b) for the researcher to access and collect information regarding the participants criminal history from the prison records; and finally (c) for the examination of the participants recidivism through records' review during the follow up study. The interviews took place one or more days after the participants had been initially asked to take part in the study and had given their written consent. The duration of the interviews varied between 30 minutes and 2 hours, with a mean duration of one hour. The review of the participants' files and criminal records, when those were available, took place after the performance of the interviews, to avoid any potential biases.

All data and information collected were anonymised and secured to a safe location which only the researcher could access. More specifically, each participant was assigned a unique identification number. Subsequently, all personal and identifiable information were separated from the research data used in the analyses and placed into two distinct files. Each separate file was encrypted, and password protected with different security codes, which were known only to the researcher. Similarly, the audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed by the researcher, removing any potentially identifiable information. The anonymised transcripts were used for coding and scoring the participants' answers into the measures used in the current study. Finally, the follow up data on recidivism were retrieved from the electronic system of the General Secretariat for Crime Policy in August 2020, following the submission and approval of a relevant application by the researcher. The data were once again anonymised based on new unique identification numbers assigned for each participant, and the anonymous data were used for the analyses.

6.5. Statistical analysis

The data were analysed using the IBM SPSS 26 statistical program. Descriptive statistics, reported as absolute numbers and percentages for categorical data, and in relation to means, standard deviations, and range for continuous data, were calculated for all the measures used in the present study. The reliability of the LS/CMI and the GLM and SRM components of the GLM assessment protocol was examined with the use of Cronbach's alpha values. To ensure consistency with previous studies and produce comparable results, a series of analyses were performed for the investigation of the main hypotheses. Specifically, point-biserial correlations were used to examine the association between the LS/CMI total and subscale scores and recidivism. In addition, Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curves were employed and Area

Under the Curve (AUC) values were used to assess the predictive validity of the measure. Separate analyses were performed for the total score and the subscale scores of the LS/CMI, in an effort to further examine the relationships between the variables.

Accordingly, point-biserial correlations coefficients and ROC curves were also used to separately investigate each of the GLM's 11 primary goods and corresponding subscales (i.e., overall value/importance, link to offending/risk factors, and (c) treatment priority) in association to recidivism. For the examination of the next hypothesis regarding the SRM's different pathways to offending, chi-square analyses were conducted, comparing the recidivism rates of individuals following direct and indirect routes to offending. Finally, logistic regression was used to explore the incremental validity of the GLM assumptions in predicting recidivism beyond the LS/CMI total score. The LS/CMI score was entered in the first step of the analysis and the GLM variables were included in the second step in order to assess the incremental value of each predictor.

CHAPTER 7. RESULTS

7.1. Descriptive information on recidivism

According to the follow-up data, 42% ($n = 29$) of the 69 study participants were reincarcerated following a new conviction during the follow up period¹⁴. As outlined in the methods section, the mean follow-up period was 3.8 years ($M = 1389.78$ days, $SD = 77.00$), ranging from 3.3 to 4.18 years. The mean time between the participants' release and their return to prison to serve a custodial sentence after a new conviction was 1.3 years ($M = 447.59$ days, $SD = 276.43$), ranging from 22 days to 3.3 years. More specifically, 34.48% ($n = 10$) of the participants were reincarcerated within a year, 55.17% ($n = 16$) within two years, and the remaining 10.34% ($n = 3$) after two or more years since their return to the community. Among the 29 participants who were reincarcerated, 9 had been re-imprisoned two or more times within the follow up period. The vast majority of the participants were reincarcerated for the commission of offences similar to those for which they were sentenced during the first phase of the study.

7.2. Predictive validity of the LS/CMI

Descriptive statistics for the participants' scores on the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI, Andrews et al., 2004) were calculated. The means, standard deviations, and range of responses for the total and subscale scores of the measure are presented in Table 8. In addition, the reliability of the measure was examined, and the respective Cronbach's alpha values are also shown in the following table (Table 8). For the examination of the first hypothesis a series of analyses were performed in an effort to ensure consistency with previous studies. More specifically, one-tailed point-biserial correlations were initially produced to investigate the association of the LS/CMI total and subscale scores with recidivism. The results are presented in Table 9 below. As the table indicates, the LS/CMI total score was significantly associated with recidivism with an r_{pb} value of .37, $p < .001$. With regard to the subscales of the measure, however, only the subscales Criminal History ($r_{pb} =$

¹⁴ Although not included in the subsequent analyses, information on recidivism was also available for the initial sample of the 90 offenders that took part in the research before 21 participants were excluded due to missing data or for no longer meeting the inclusion criteria of the study. According to the results for the 90 participants, 41.1% ($n = 37$) were reincarcerated following a new conviction during the follow up period. Three (3.3%) participants were incarcerated for a parole violation, two (2.2%) were in pre-trial detention, and 1 (1.1%) had not been released since first participating in the study in 2016. The remaining 47 (52.2%) participants had not received a new sentence during the follow up period. Thus, the recidivism rate for the initial sample and the sample used in the analyses was comparable, with a rate of 41.1% and 42% respectively.

.34, $p < .001$), Education/Employment ($r_{pb} = .30$, $p < .001$), Alcohol/ Drug Problem ($r_{pb} = .30$, $p < .001$), and Antisocial Pattern ($r_{pb} = .20$, $p < .05$) produced significant results. The remaining subscales were not significantly related to recidivism.

Table 8. Means, standard deviations, range, and Cronbach's Alpha for the LS/CMI total and subscale scores

LS/CMI subscale	N=69			Cronbach's Alpha
	Mean	S.D.	Range	
Criminal History	4.26	1.69	1-8	.72
Education/ Employment	4.74	2.58	0-9	.69
Family/ Marital	1.80	1.17	0-4	.74
Leisure/ Recreation	1.46	0.70	0-2	.74
Companions	2.16	0.87	1-4	.73
Alcohol/ Drug Problem	2.39	2.60	0-8	.68
Procriminal Attitude/ Orientation	2.01	1.37	0-4	.73
Antisocial Pattern	1.96	1.36	0-4	.72
LS/CMI total score	20.78	7.90	3-35	.73

Note: LS/CMI: Level of Service/Case Management Inventory. SD: Standard Deviation.

In addition, Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curves were employed to examine the predictive performance of the measure. Separate analyses were performed for the total score and the subscale scores of the LS/CMI, with recidivism as the outcome variable. The Area Under the Curve (AUC) values and respective standard error and confidence interval values are also presented in the following table (Table 9). As Table 9 illustrates, the total score of the LS/CMI presented an AUC value of .72, $p < .001$. In line with the correlations, only the Criminal History (AUC = .68, $p < .05$), Education/Employment (AUC = .69, $p < .001$), Alcohol/Drug Problem (AUC = .69, $p < .001$) subscale scores of the LS/CMI showed moderate predictive validity for recidivism. The Antisocial Pattern subscale, which presented a significant correlation with recidivism ($r_{pb} = .20$, $p = .048$), did not, however, produce significant results. In summary, the above results appear to confirm the predictive validity of the LS/CMI, indicating that the total score of the measure does have the ability to distinguish between the two groups, namely recidivists and non-recidivists. However, only three of the 8 subscales of the measure presented a consistently significant association with recidivism.

Table 9. Point-biserial correlations and ROC curves for the total and subscale scores of the LS/CMI and recidivism

LS/CMI subscale	Recidivism		
	r_{pb}	AUC	SE AUC [95% CI]
Criminal History	.34**	.68*	0.06 [.55, .80]
Education/ Employment	.30**	.69**	0.07 [.56, .82]
Family/ Marital	.17	.61	0.07 [.47, .74]
Leisure/ Recreation	.15*	.59	0.07 [.45, .73]
Companions	.05	.53	0.07 [.39, .67]
Alcohol/ Drug Problem	.30**	.69**	0.06 [.56, .82]
Procriminal Attitude/ Orientation	.10	.56	0.07 [.42, .69]
Antisocial Pattern	.20*	.62	0.07 [.48, .75]
LS/CMI total score	.37**	.72**	0.06 [.60, .84]

Note: ROC: Receiver Operating Characteristic. LS/CMI: Level of Service/Case Management Inventory. r_{pb} : Point-biserial correlation coefficient. AUC: Area Under the Curve. SE: Standard Error. CI: Confidence Interval.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

7.3. Implication of primary goods in reoffending

Descriptive information and an overview of the results on the Good Lives Model (GLM) measure of Yates, Kingston, and Ward (2009) for the 11 primary goods and corresponding subscales are presented in Table 10. More specifically, the table presents the frequency and percentage of the ratings as low, moderate, or high regarding the (a) overall value/importance of each primary good, (b) its link to offending/risk factors, and (c) treatment priority. All primary goods received a moderate or high score on their overall value or importance to the individuals participating. The review of the table shows that the most highly rated good was that of Relatedness, which was assessed as highly important for 67 (97.1%) of the participants. In contrast, the good of Creativity was rated as highly important in 5 (7.2%) cases only. Relatedness followed by Inner Peace were also the two goods mostly associated with offending and risk factors, with the respective values being 57 (82.6%) and 39 (56.5%). Similarly, these two goods were also the most prioritised for treatment, as opposed to Creativity that was assessed as a high treatment priority for one participant. Finally, Cronbach's alpha values, assessing the reliability of the measure, are also presented for each subscale in Table 10.

Table 10. Frequencies and Cronbach's Alpha of the GLM subscales

Primary Goods	GLM subscale	n (% of N)			Cronbach's a
		Low	Moderate	High	
Life	Overall value/Importance	13 (18.8%)	24 (34.8%)	32 (46.4%)	.66
	Link to offending/Risk factors	24 (34.8%)	13 (18.8%)	32 (46.4%)	.66
	Treatment Priority	28 (40.6%)	11 (15.9%)	30 (43.5%)	.67
Knowledge	Overall value/Importance	29 (42.0%)	21 (30.4%)	19 (27.5%)	.66
	Link to offending/Risk factors	26 (37.7%)	26 (37.7%)	17 (24.6%)	.65
	Treatment Priority	31 (44.9%)	24 (34.8%)	14 (20.3%)	.65
Excellence in Work	Overall value/Importance	13 (18.8%)	26 (37.7%)	30 (43.5%)	.70
	Link to offending/Risk factors	25 (36.2%)	26 (37.7%)	18 (26.1%)	.66
	Treatment Priority	26 (37.7%)	27 (39.1%)	16 (23.2%)	.66
Excellence in Play	Overall value/Importance	46 (66.7%)	17 (24.6%)	6 (8.7%)	.68
	Link to offending/Risk factors	53 (76.8%)	14 (20.3%)	2 (2.9%)	.68
	Treatment Priority	56 (81.2%)	12 (17.4%)	1 (1.4%)	.68
Agency	Overall value/Importance	20 (29.0%)	16 (23.2%)	33 (47.8%)	.67
	Link to offending/Risk factors	20 (29.0%)	25 (36.2%)	24 (34.8%)	.67
	Treatment Priority	21 (30.4%)	22 (31.9%)	26 (37.7%)	.67
Inner Peace	Overall value/Importance	16 (23.2%)	32 (46.4%)	21 (30.4%)	.68
	Link to offending/Risk factors	16 (23.2%)	14 (20.3%)	39 (56.5%)	.67
	Treatment Priority	18 (26.1%)	16 (23.2%)	35 (50.7%)	.67
Relatedness	Overall value/Importance	0 (0.0%)	2 (2.9%)	67 (97.1%)	.68
	Link to offending/Risk factors	1 (1.4%)	11 (15.9%)	57 (82.6%)	.69
	Treatment Priority	5 (7.2%)	18 (26.1%)	46 (66.7%)	.68
Community	Overall value/Importance	51 (73.9%)	7 (10.1%)	11 (15.9%)	.67
	Link to offending/Risk factors	48 (69.6%)	19 (27.5%)	2 (2.9%)	.68
	Treatment Priority	49 (71.0%)	18 (26.1%)	2 (2.9%)	.68
Spirituality	Overall value/Importance	34 (49.3%)	22 (31.9%)	13 (18.8%)	.69
	Link to offending/Risk factors	64 (92.8%)	2 (2.9%)	3 (4.3%)	.67
	Treatment Priority	65 (94.2%)	1 (1.4%)	3 (4.3%)	.67
Happiness	Overall value/Importance	22 (31.9%)	35 (50.7%)	12 (17.4%)	.68
	Link to offending/Risk factors	17 (24.6%)	36 (52.2%)	16 (23.2%)	.67
	Treatment Priority	18 (26.1%)	34 (49.3%)	17 (24.6%)	.67
Creativity	Overall value/Importance	51 (73.9%)	13 (18.8%)	5 (7.2%)	.66
	Link to offending/Risk factors	63 (91.3%)	5 (7.2%)	1 (1.4%)	.67
	Treatment Priority	64 (92.8%)	4 (5.8%)	1 (1.4%)	.68

For the examination of the second hypothesis a series of analyses were performed to explore the relation between recidivism and the GLM subscales for all 11 primary goods. To maintain consistency with the previous analyses, two-tailed point-biserial correlations coefficients were calculated. As the results in Table 11 indicate, a significant relation was observed between recidivism and, at least partially, with three of the primary goods assessed by the GLM measure. The Overall value/Importance, Link to offending/Risk factors, and Treatment Priority subscales of Inner Peace were associated with recidivism with the respective values being $r_{pb} = .28$, $p < .05$, $r_{pb} = .26$, $p < .05$, and $r_{pb} = .31$, $p < .01$. In addition, the Link to offending/Risk factors subscale of the primary good Creativity was also significantly associated with recidivism, $r_{pb} = .25$, $p < .05$. Lastly, the Overall value/Importance subscale score of the good Excellence in Work presented a significant association with recidivism, $r_{pb} = -.24$, $p < .05$.

To assess the validity of the GLM in predicting recidivism, ROC curves were also calculated separately for each of the 11 primary goods' subscales. The relevant results are presented in Table 11, indicating that only the three subscales of the primary good Inner Peace were significant predictors of recidivism. The AUC values were .65 for Overall value/Importance, .64 for Link to offending/Risk factors, and .67 for Treatment Priority, at a value of $p < .05$. Overall, the aforementioned results indicate that only the primary good Inner Peace presented a consistently significant association with recidivism, with the three subscale scores presenting moderate predictive validity.

Table 11. Point-biserial correlations and ROC curves for the GLM subscale scores and recidivism

Primary Good	GLM subscale	Recidivism		
		r_{pb}	AUC	SE AUC [95% CI]
Life	Overall value/Importance	.19	.61	0.07 [.47, .75]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	.15	.58	0.07 [.45, .72]
	Treatment Priority	.13	.57	0.07 [.43, .71]
Knowledge	Overall value/importance	-.17	.41	0.07 [.28, .54]
	Overall value/Importance	-.12	.43	0.07 [.29, .57]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	-.03	.48	0.07 [.34, .62]
Excellence in Work	Treatment Priority	-.24*	.38	0.07 [.24, .51]
	Overall value/Importance	-.12	.43	0.07 [.30, .57]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	-.07	.46	0.07 [.32, .60]

Primary Good	GLM subscale	Recidivism		
		r_{pb}	AUC	SE AUC [95% CI]
Excellence in Play	Treatment Priority	-.15	.42	0.07 [.29, .56]
	Overall value/Importance	-.09	.47	0.07 [.34, .61]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	-.13	.46	0.07 [.32, .59]
Agency	Treatment Priority	.05	.54	0.07 [.40, .68]
	Overall value/Importance	-.03	.49	0.07 [.35, .63]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	.03	.52	0.07 [.38, .66]
Inner Peace	Treatment Priority	.28*	.65*	0.07 [.52, .78]
	Overall value/Importance	.26*	.64*	0.07 [.51, .77]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	.31**	.67*	0.07 [.54, .80]
Relatedness	Treatment Priority	-.03	.50	0.07 [.36, .63]
	Overall value/Importance	-.11	.45	0.07 [.31, .58]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	-.11	.44	0.07 [.30, .58]
Community	Treatment Priority	-.13	.43	0.07 [.29, .57]
	Overall value/Importance	-.20	.41	0.07 [.28, .55]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	-.18	.42	0.07 [.29, .56]
Spirituality	Treatment Priority	-.12	.43	0.07 [.29, .57]
	Overall value/Importance	-.09	.47	0.07 [.33, .61]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	-.07	.48	0.07 [.34, .62]
Happiness	Treatment Priority	.05	.52	0.07 [.38, .66]
	Overall value/Importance	.23	.62	0.07 [.49, .76]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	.22	.62	0.07 [.49, .75]
Creativity	Treatment Priority	-.13	.45	0.07 [.31, .56]
	Overall value/Importance	-.25*	.43	0.07 [.29, .56]
	Link to offending/Risk factors	-.23	.44	0.07 [.30, .57]

Note: ROC: Receiver Operating Characteristic. GLM: Good Lives Model. r_{pb} : Point-biserial correlation coefficient. AUC: Area Under the Curve. SE: Standard Error. CI: Confidence Interval. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

7.4. Direct and indirect routes to reoffending

The findings from the Self-Regulation Model (SRM) assessment protocol of Yates, Kingston, and Ward (2009) were analysed in order to determine the direct or indirect route followed by the participants in their offending. Among the 69 participants, the allocation of the offence pathway was not possible for three of the

respondents due to conflicting coding results. These three participants were scored with an undetermined offence pathway and, thus, were removed from further analyses. According to the findings for the remaining 66 participants, 18 (27.3%) of the respondents were classified as having followed an Avoidant-Passive offence pathway, 10 (15.2%) participants followed an Avoidant-Active pathway, 16 (24.2%) an Approach-Automatic pathway, and 22 (33.3%) followed an Approach-Explicit pathway. For the purposes of the present analysis, participants were subsequently collapsed into two groups: (a) those following an indirect route to offending, including participants classified as Avoidant-Passive and Avoidant-Active, and (b) participants following a direct route to offending, encompassing the Approach-Automatic and approach-explicit pathways. Table 12 below presents the offending routes and allocation of pathways among the participants with respect to recidivism.

Table 12. Allocation of offence pathways among recidivists and non-recidivists

Route to offending	Offence Pathway	<i>n</i> (% of N)	<i>n</i> (% of N)	<i>n</i> (% of N)
		Non-recidivists	Recidivists	Total
Indirect	Avoidant-Passive	9 (13.6%)	9 (13.6%)	18 (27.3%)
	Avoidant-Active	7 (10.6%)	3 (4.5%)	10 (15.2%)
Direct	Approach-Automatic	9 (13.6%)	7 (10.6%)	16 (24.2%)
	Approach-Explicit	14 (21.2%)	8 (12.1%)	22 (33.3%)
	Total	39 (59.1%)	27 (40.9%)	66 (100%)

The reliability of the measure was also assessed and the corresponding Cronbach's alpha values for the 7 items of the tool were as follows: (a) life event/ desire to prevent offending, Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$, (b) attitude towards offending/schema, Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$, (c) cognitive distortions, Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$, (d) post-offence evaluation, Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$, (e) self-regulation, Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$, (f) offence planning, Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$, and (g) control over offending behaviour, Cronbach's $\alpha = .78$. Finally, in line with previous studies, chi-square analyses were conducted to examine the relation of the direct/indirect routes to recidivism. The results indicated that there was no significant relation between different routes and recidivism. A value of $\chi^2 (1) = 0.08, p = .782$ was observed, suggesting that there were no statistically significant differences among the two groups following different pathways.

7.5. Incremental validity

Logistic regression analysis was performed for the examination of the final hypothesis of the present study. The LS/CMI total score and the three GLM subscale scores (i.e., Overall value/Importance, Link to offending/Risk factors, and Treatment Priority) for the primary good of Inner Peace, were used as the predictor variables, while recidivism was used as the outcome variable. To assess the incremental value of each predictor, the first step of the logistic regression analysis included the LS/CMI total score and the GLM subscales were included in the second step. Considering also that GLM does not provide for an overall or aggregated score, the three subscale scores for Inner Peace were selected for the examination of the incremental validity, as those were the only significant predictors in the previous analyses conducted. The direct and indirect routes to offending, as those were assessed by the SRM protocol, were excluded from the examination, since the results in the previous analyses showed no significant association to recidivism. The results of the analyses for the examination of the incremental validity of the GLM in predicting recidivism are presented in Table 13.

Table 13. Incremental validity of the GLM Inner Peace primary good: Binary logistic regression models for the prediction of recidivism

	β (SE)	OR [95% CI]
Step 1		
Constant	-2.56** (0.83)	
LS/CMI total score	0.11** (0.04)	1.11 [1.04, 1.19]
Step 2		
Constant	-3.81** (1.15)	
LS/CMI total score	0.09* (0.05)	1.10 [0.01, .20]
Inner Peace: Overall value/ Importance	0.81 (0.45)	2.25 [0.93, 5.45]
Inner Peace: Link to offending/Risk factors	-0.83 (1.01)	0.44 [0.06, 3.15]
Inner Peace: Treatment Priority	0.79 (0.99)	2.20 [0.31, 15.42]

Note: $R^2_{\text{(Cox-Snell)}} = 0.11$, $R^2_{\text{(Nagelkerke)}} = 0.18$ for Step 1. $R^2_{\text{(Cox-Snell)}} = 0.19$, $R^2_{\text{(Nagelkerke)}} = 0.25$ for Step 2.

$\chi^2(1) = 9.82$, $p = .002$ for Step 1. $\Delta\chi^2(3) = 4.547$, $p = .208$ for Step 2.

GLM: Good Lives Model. LS/CMI: Level of Service/Case Management Inventory. SE: Standard Error.

OR: Odds Ratio. CI: Confidence Interval.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

As the table (Table 13) indicates, the initial model with the inclusion of the LS/CMI total score as the sole predictor was a significant fit of the data, with a value of $\chi^2(1) = 9.82, p < .01$. The LS/CMI total score also was a significant predictor of recidivism with a β value of 0.11, Wald's $\chi^2(1) = 8.47, p < .01$. In addition, the odd ratio value of 1.11 (95% CI [1.04, 1.19]) of the scale suggests that when the LS/CMI score increases by one unit, the odds of recidivism are expected to increase by 1.11 units. On the contrary, the addition of the GLM Inner Peace subscales in the second step of the model produced non-significant results, with the model no longer presenting a good fit of the data ($\Delta\chi^2(3) = 4.547, p = .208$). The only predictor that was significant in the second model was the LS/CMI total score, with a lower, however, β value of 0.09, Wald's $\chi^2(1) = 4.137, p < .05$. In conclusion, the results of the present analysis re-confirmed the predictive validity of the LS/CMI, however, no evidence was found in support of the incremental validity of the GLM. The introduction of the GLM Inner Peace subscales did not improve the goodness-of-fit of the model, which was no longer statistically significant and unable to differentiate between recidivists and non-recidivists.

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION

8.1. Empirical investigation of recidivism in Greece

A core objective and primary research question of the present dissertation was the exploration of the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece through the collection of information on the reincarceration rate of released offenders. According to the data retrieved from official records, 42% ($n = 29$) of the participants in the study had returned to prison following a conviction for a new offence within approximately three years of their release. Out of the total sample of the 69 participants, 14.5% ($n = 10$) had returned to prison within one year and 37.7% ($n = 26$) within two years from their release. Notably, 13% ($n = 9$) of the participants were reincarcerated two or more times during the follow up period. When the present findings are contrasted with reincarceration rates for the commission of new offences in other countries, the observed rates appear to be comparable, if not higher. For example, more than 40% of released prisoners were reincarcerated within two years of their release in Australia, Quebec, Canada, and New Zealand (Yukhnenko et al., 2019). However, the corresponding reincarceration rate within a 3 to 3.5 year follow up period was 30.5% in Catalonia, Spain, 34% in Israel, and 37% in 23 states of the US (Yukhnenko et al., 2019).

Direct comparisons of the current findings with the national literature present several difficulties, mainly due to the different operationalisation of recidivism and methods employed. Nonetheless, the findings of the present study appear to be in line with previous research studies conducted several years ago that were prospectively or retrospectively collecting data on the criminal histories of incarcerated offenders. For instance, Courakis and Stathouloupoulou, (2007) in a follow up study conducted between 1999 and 2000 also found that 44% of the 113 participants were incarcerated at that time of the follow up study, following their release from prison six to seven years ago. Similarly, Kranidioti and Spirou (2010) examined the criminal histories of 357 offenders in 2001 and found that 42% ($n = 191$) of the participants had been previously incarcerated. The same 42% rate was also the average number of individuals reconvicted within five years of their first conviction between 1974 and 1996, based on the analysis of the official justice statistics retrieved from National Statistical Service of Greece (1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988,

1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999; see also Table 1).

However, significant discrepancies are observed when more recent self-reported or official data on recidivism or criminal history are examined. For instance, in a sample of 321 offenders interviewed between 2005 and 2008, 54% of them indicated that they had been previously incarcerated (Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010). Although the aim of the study was not the examination of recidivism specifically, a rather smaller rate was observed in a study conducted in 2009 by the Thessaloniki Law School (see Giovanoglou, 2012; Koulouris, 2012; Papachristou, 2012; Pitsela, 2012; Tsilonis, 2012). In a sample of 123 participants, 30.9% indicated through self-reported questionnaires that they had been previously convicted or incarcerated (Giovanoglou, 2012). In a more recent study – even though the authors could not corroborate the information chronologically or through official sources – 55% of the 40 participants self-reported new arrests, convictions, incarcerations, or undetected by the police offences (Zarafonitou, at al., 2019b). Nonetheless, it should be noted that the operationalisation of recidivism adopted in this study (Zarafonitou, at al., 2019b) encompasses aspects that may not necessarily reflect reoffending as, for example, an arrest might not result in a conviction, while reincarceration could also be attributed to a parole violation or pretrial detention rather than the reconviction for a new offence. Official statistical data on the previous convictions of incarcerated individuals from the same period, however, show much smaller rates. Even though data were available only for 52-68% of the offenders that were incarcerated between 2006 to 2015, on average only 15% of them had a previous conviction (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; see also Table 3). Consequently, the formulation of any assumptions with regard to increasing or decreasing trends in recidivism rates over the past 20 years in Greece presents significant constraints.

8.2. Predictive accuracy of RNR's Central Eight risk/need factors

The second hypothesis of the present study sought to assess the predictive validity of Risk-Need-Responsivity model's (RNR) Central Eight risk/need factors, as those are measured by the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004). The hypothesis was, at least partially, confirmed, as the results of the Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) and correlation analyses showed that the overall score of LS/CMI was moderately predictive of recidivism. The effect ($r_{pb} =$

.37) observed in the present study is consistent and comparable with the results of several meta-analytic studies (e.g., Olver et al., 2014; see also Wormith & Bonta, 2018) and individual studies examining the Level of Service (LS) instruments with samples in Europe (e.g., Grieger & Hosser, 2014; Guay, 2016) or other countries outside of North America (Bhutta & Wormith, 2016; Zhang, 2016; Zhang & Liu, 2015). Likewise, the findings of the ROC analyses ($AUC = 0.72$) suggest that the total score of the measure predicted recidivism 72% of the time, correctly differentiating between recidivists and non-recidivists.

However, despite the significant results observed in terms of the total score of the measure, only three of the eight factors examined presented consistently significant results. The subscales Criminal History ($r_{pb} = .34$, $AUC = .68$), Education/Employment ($r_{pb} = .30$, $AUC = .69$), and Alcohol/Drug Problem ($r_{pb} = .30$, $AUC = .69$) moderately predicted recidivism. The subscale of Antisocial Pattern showed a small in magnitude effect on recidivism ($r_{pb} = .20$, $p = .048$), but further analysis indicated that this factor was not a significant predictor of recidivism ($AUC = .62$, $p = .102$). The lack of significant results for the remaining scales (i.e., Family / Marital, Leisure / Recreation, Companions, and Procriminal Attitude / Orientation) is generally contradictory with the majority of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature on the model (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). However, similar results are not entirely uncommon in research pertaining to the predictive accuracy of the LS instruments with samples outside of Canada (e.g., Olver et al., 2009, 2014). Thus, a number of aspects may be potentially associated with the fact that only some of the factors examined demonstrated significant results.

Firstly, a plausible explanation could be found in the regional differences that have been often observed with the use of the LS instruments with samples outside of Canada (Olver et al., 2009, 2014) where the tools were primarily developed and have been extensively used. For instance, the 2014 meta-analysis of Olver and colleagues, found significant variation among the results of studies performed with Canadian samples, and samples in the US and countries outside of North America. In countries outside of Canada, strong and consistent findings were observed primarily for the subscales of Prior Offences, which is the equivalent of Criminal History in the present study, Education/Employment, and Companions (Olver et al., 2014). Likewise, mixed results with regard to the individual subscale scores were found in a study examining the predictive validity of the Central Eight factors with a sample of offenders in

Germany (Grieger & Hosser, 2014). Similar to the present study, the initial ROC analyses showed that the factors examining family relations and leisure or recreation aspects were not significant (AUC of .53 and .51 respectively; Grieger & Hosser, 2014). The aforementioned findings appear to be in line with the results for the individual factors in the present study, where the Family / Marital and Leisure / Recreation subscales failed to show significant associations with recidivism. Therefore, cultural differences or the specific national context could be potentially associated with the fact that only some of the predictors presented consistent associations with recidivism.

Secondly, the aforementioned proposed explanation is further supported by the fact that the LS instruments have been often subjected to criticism regarding potential racial and ethnic biases (Schmidt et al., 2018). An increased degree of heterogeneity has been often observed across ethnic and minority groups (Olver et al., 2014). For example, higher effect sizes for recidivism have been found for individuals belonging to ethnic minorities (Olver et al., 2014). In addition, as with the present study, Prior History, Education / Employment, and Substance Abuse were among the most prominent and consistent predictors of recidivism for these groups (Olver et al., 2014). A number of individuals belonging to ethnic groups were also among the participants of the present study. And, notably, only half of the participants in the present sample that were classified as high risk for reoffending based on the LS/CMI total score were in fact reincarcerated during the follow up period. Taken together, the regional and ethnic differences that have been previously noted could potentially offer some context about the non-significant results for some of the eight factors observed in the present study.

Thirdly, as Olver and colleagues (2014) have also suggested, the discrepancies observed in different countries could also be attributed to factors associated with the quality of the assessment performed for the scoring of the instrument, the resources available (e.g., national databases) and the longer history and experience of Canadian researchers with the instrument. In line with the above, to the author's knowledge, the present study has been the first attempt to empirically investigate the RNR theory and the LS/CMI measure in Greece. Likewise, information for scoring the instrument for the purposes of the present study was almost exclusively retrieved from the interviews performed with the participants. Corroborating file review was not possible in all cases and, where available, the files offered information only on the criminal histories of the participants and none of the other aspects examined. Thus, the scoring of the measure relied almost exclusively on the accounts offered by the participants, often resulting in

missing data (e.g., regarding the criminal histories of the participants) and inability to verify the information from other sources. This was especially the case with the subscale of Antisocial Pattern, which showed a small effect on recidivism but eventually no predictive value. The assessment of this factor focuses on current behavioural patterns, but also on early and diverse antisocial behaviour corroborated by school, social, and criminal history records (Andrews et al., 2004). The lack of available records for the verification of information could be hypothesised to have affected to some extent the inconsistent findings of the present study.

Fourthly, recidivism was defined in the present study as reincarceration for a new offence and no information was available regarding new offences resulting in community sentences. The definition of recidivism and how new convictions or incarcerations are determined, has also been suggested as a potentially influencing factor for the heterogeneity observed in the prediction of recidivism across different counties (Campagna et al., 2019). Finally, a possible reason for the unanticipated results could be the relatively small sample used in the current study. Individual differences on the number and nature of the Central Eight factors have been often observed among offenders (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). For example, some might experience difficulties in aspects such as substance abuse or employment, while others may have lengthy criminal histories and more complex family or marital relationships (Wormith & Bonta, 2018). Although a diverse range of scores on the individual factors was observed in the present study, the findings could have been affected to a certain extent by sample specific patterns. Consequently, the replication of the present study with a larger sample and a broader definition of recidivism would significantly enhance the interpretation of the findings described above.

Nevertheless, consistent with previous research results, the overall score of the LS/CMI demonstrated adequate predictive accuracy, thus offering preliminary support for the applicability of the measure in the national framework. At the same time, it could be proposed that the individual factors predominantly associated with recidivism appear to be in line with previous research findings in Greece, reflecting the national context. As anticipated by both theory and research (Bonta & Andrews, 2017), criminal history was among the factors strongly influencing recidivism. This factor includes the number of prior offences, the number of present offences and history of incarceration, parole or probation violations and institutional misconduct, but also examines early onset of criminal history (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Past research with incarcerated offenders

in Greek custodial institutions had extensively documented that a significant proportion of the population has one or more prior convictions (e.g., Andritsou, et al., 1988; Courakis et al., 1995; Giovanoglou, 2012; Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010). Likewise, the vast majority (87%) of the participants in the present study had at least one prior youth or adult conviction, and more than half (66.2%) had three or more previous offences. Lastly, as noted also above, criminal history has been shown to be a reliable predictive factor among different regions and countries (Olver et al., 2014).

Criminal history, however, constitutes a static risk factor, unaffected by treatment or other interventions (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The other significant predictors, education or employment and substance misuse, though, represent dynamic risk factors, or criminogenic needs according to the RNR theory (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Therefore, when targeted through interventions these factors can potentially affect future reoffending (Bonta & Andrews, 2017), having, *par extension*, significant implications for current practices. Importantly, factors such as difficulties in finding employment and drug use were also among the aspects contributing to recidivism identified in the study of Courakis and Stathouloupoulou (2007). The Education / Employment subscale of the LS/CMI focus on aspects such as performance, rewards, and satisfaction within the current work and/or school context (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Prior education, misconduct in educational settings, and frequent or lengthy unemployment are also among the factors examined (Andrews et al., 2004). Except for historical factors related to the prior unemployment or the educational background of the participants, this finding may possibly be interpreted through two aspects pertinent to the national context.

The first aspect relates to the conditions within the prison setting. The restricted opportunities that work positions within Greek prisons offer for meaningful activities and professional development have been repeatedly emphasised (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019; Koulouris & Aloskofis, 2013). Similarly, the limited number of available vocational training initiatives and programmes aiming to support the social reintegration of prisoners (CPT, 2020a, 2022a), especially in connection to the labour market (Lambropoulou, 2014) have also been highlighted. In contrast are the documented benefits resulting from the detainees' participation in Second Chance Schools in Greek prisons, including the opportunities offered for personal, social, and professional development (Papaioannou & Anagnou, 2019; Papaioannou et al., 2018). A second apparent aspect concerns post-release planning and support. To that end, the

lack of a systematic process for release preparation (Anagnostaki, 2019) and the limited post-release support available (Lambropoulou, 2005, 2008, 2014) may also be associated with the importance of this factor in affecting recidivism.

The Alcohol / Drug Problem factor encompasses current and previous substance misuse, with issues during the last calendar year being the higher indicator of risk/need (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The assessment of this factor also involves the effect of substance misuse on work or educational pursuits, personal relations, as well as law violations (Andrews et al., 2004). Thus, this factor is also highly interconnected with other aspects of the LS/CMI and criminogenic needs, including procriminal attitudes and associates (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Previous studies have also found that individuals with a history of alcohol, cannabis, or other drug use reach as high as 88% of the inmate populations in Greece (Apostolopoulos et al., 2018). In the present study, 59% of the participants had a current or past issue with drug use and 25% with alcohol misuse. Although not directly asked, approximately half of them mentioned that they had previously participated in some form of substance abuse programmes, but only six of them were following an in-prison programme at the time when the interviews were conducted. Substance abuse treatment or counselling programmes are usually available in approximately 70% of the Greek custodial institutions (CPT, 2020b), but participation, especially in the dedicated detoxification unit in Eleonas, Theves remains low (Ministry of Citizen Protection, n.d.d). Thus, it would appear reasonable to suggest that the high prevalence of substance abuse compared to the low participation in relevant programmes could explain the importance of this factor in relation to recidivism.

8.3. GLM primary goods: Importance and association to recidivism

The next hypothesis aimed at the examination of the first etiological assumption of the Good Lives Model (GLM) that primary goods, which are universally sought by all humans, are implicated in offending through the use of maladaptive strategies employed to achieve them (Laws & Ward, 2011). Overall, the results of the present study offered limited support for this hypothesis. On a descriptive level, all primary goods were at least to some extent important and implicated in the previous offending behaviour of the participants. Yet, despite the narrative identification of the goods in the offence related behaviour of the participants, when the primary goods were examined in relation to recidivism, significant results were observed with only three (i.e., Excellence in Work, Creativity, and Inner Peace) of the 11 primary goods. In terms

of prevalence, Relatedness, which represents family, social, or intimate relationships, was the primary good to which almost all participants (97.1%) assigned a high importance. Likewise, Relatedness followed by Inner Peace were the two goods that were most often associated with offending and the most prioritised for treatment. On the other end, the goods of Creativity, Spiritually, and Community, received the lowest ratings as important aspects for the individual, their offending behaviour, and priority for treatment.

However, when associations with recidivism were examined, only the primary goods of Excellence in Work, Creativity, and Inner Peace presented a small in magnitude correlation with recidivism. More specifically, the overall value or importance of the primary good Excellence in Work presented a significant association ($r_{pb} = -.24$) with recidivism. The remaining subscales of this good, namely its link to offending or to risk factors and its level of priority for treatment, were not significantly associated with recidivism. Likewise, the link to offending or risk factors of Creativity was the only subscale of this the primary good associated with recidivism ($r_{pb} = .25$). Finally, all three subscales of Inner Peace (Overall value/Importance: $r_{pb} = .28$; Link to offending/Risk factors $r_{pb} = .26$; Treatment Priority: $r_{pb} = .31, p < .01$) also had a significant effect on recidivism. Nonetheless, when ROC curves were employed to assess the predictive validity of the 11 primary goods, only the results regarding Inner Peace presented a consistently significant association with recidivism. The corresponding AUC values (Overall value/Importance: $AUC = .65$, Link to offending/Risk factors: $AUC = .64$; Treatment Priority: $AUC = .67$) indicated that the subscales of this primary good could predict recidivism with a moderate effect, with a 64-67% chance that the subscales of measure will accurately discriminate between recidivists and non-recidivists.

Although only a limited number of studies have previously examined the relationship between primary goods and offending or reoffending, the existing literature presents mixed results with respect to the role of primary goods in such processes. On one hand, comparable results have also been observed in studies that were simply retrospectively identifying the primary goods that participants were seeking when committed offences through self-reported questionnaires (Barnett & Wood, 2008), the analysis of interviews (Taylor, 2017), or file review (Chu et al., 2015; see also Harris et al., 2019; Wills & Ward, 2011). For example, Relatedness and Inner Peace were among the most prioritised goods in a study examining a sample of 42 males serving

custodial sentences for sexual offences (Barnett & Wood, 2008). In line with the present findings, Taylor (2017) also noticed that Community, Spirituality, and Creativity were not implicated in the offending of a sample of 30 individuals convicted for residential burglars in England. On the other hand, studies that have sought to investigate the association between self-reported questionnaires assessing subjective well-being or quality of life and offending have also demonstrated limited success in predicting offending or delinquent behaviour (e.g., Barendregt et al., 2018; Bouman et al., 2009; Van Damme et al., 2016).

An important exception was the survey of Loney and Harkins (2018), using a sample of university students and a questionnaire assessing primary goods developed specifically for the purposes of the study. The authors did find some associations between maladaptive strategies to attain the primary goods of Agency, Happiness, and Inner Peace and self-reported offending behaviour. However, the questionnaire used in the study has not been yet validated. In this regard, a more recent study by Harper and colleagues (2021) sought to validate an analogous self-reported questionnaire developed for the assessment of primary goods. They authors found no significant results in predicting self-reported criminal behaviour in a community sample. Most importantly though, rather than finding support for the existence of the 11 primary goods proposed by the GLM theory, factor analyses indicated that only five factors underpin the questionnaire developed. Inner Peace, described by the authors as “the experience of mental wellbeing” was among these five factors and was also the factor under which most of the items regarding the primary goods examined clustered (p. 18). It should be noted, however, that the study examined a non-offending sample with a low level of self-reported criminality, potentially affecting the non-significant results observed. Regardless, the lack of support for GLM’s conceptualisation of the 11 primary goods and the number of items that clustered on the Inner Peace factor appear to be in direct contrast to GLM’s theory but could potentially offer some context with regard to the interpretation of findings of the present study.

The primary good of Inner Peace generally describes emotional regulation and equilibrium, including activities ranging from physical exercise and meditation to the use of substances to regulate mood or cope with emotions (Yates et al., 2009). Thus, the significant predictive value of Inner Peace, may possibly signify two different, although not mutually exclusive, interpretations within the national context. Primarily, this finding could potentially relate to substance misuse. As noted earlier, alcohol and

drug abuse were also a significant predictor of recidivism when the LS/CMI was examined. Similarly, a rather high prevalence of substance abuse was observed in the sample of the present study. Alternativity, as an expression of emotional regulation and equilibrium, Inner Peace could also be interpreted in terms of the overall emotional well-being and mental health of the participants. The increased prevalence of mental health issues has been documented in studies with participants incarcerated in Greek custodial institutions. Previous studies have shown rather high prevalence of mental health disorders (Alevizopoulos & Igoumenou, 2016; Fotiadou et al., 2006), including self-injurious behaviour (Sakellidis et al., 2010) and numbers of suicides (Themeli, 2006). As opposed to the increased mental health difficulties experienced by detainees, the absence of the concept of psychological counselling in the Greek Correctional Code (Law 2776/1999) has also been emphasised (Arvanitidis, 2008). The lack of psychological rehabilitative interventions and programmes (Anagnostaki, 2019); the limited counselling and psychological support available (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019); and other aspects of correctional counselling regarding the committed offence or the personal development of the individuals (Themeli, 2008, 2018b), constitute some of the relevant parameters describing the Greek correctional system. Therefore, even though mental health was not directly examined in the context of the present study, it could be suggested that the finding with relation to Inner Peace could be associated, at least to some extent, with the overall well-being of the participants.

8.4. The GLM's direct and indirect routes to (re)offending

Non-significant results were also observed when the second etiological assumption of the GLM was examined, according to which individuals follow different routes to offending, a direct and an indirect pathway (Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007). This hypothesis was rejected, as different routes were indeed observed among the participants with 42.4% following an indirect route to offending and the remaining 57.6% a direct pathway. But no significant differences in recidivism were found between the two groups. This finding is in line with previous studies using the assessment protocol that was also employed for the examination of this hypothesis in the context of the present study. More specifically, Kingston and colleagues (2014) implemented file review to determine the offence pathway followed by 275 adult males incarcerated for sexual offences. Different pathways were followed by the participants, but after controlling for the level of reoffending risk, the authors found no significant differences on the recidivism rates among the different groups.

An important aspect that should be also taken into consideration is that the assessment protocol (Yates et al., 2009), and the theory of the Self-Regulation Model (SRM, Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000) in general, have been developed specifically in the framework of sexual offending and not general offending. Nonetheless, according to the authors and proponents of the model, GLM's etiological assumption regarding the existence of the two routes was in fact based on relevant research findings in sexual offending and the SRM specifically (Ward & Maruna, 2007). In addition, similarly to the present results, the one study that has so far examined this hypothesis in a sample of 95 detained female adolescents also found only partial support for the indirect pathway (Van Damme et al., 2016). Lower quality of life was shown to increase mental health problems, which then increased risk of future offending, but no support for the direct pathway to offending was found (Van Damme et al., 2016). Even though in this case the sample was composed of younger female participants, in contrast to the adult male offenders of the present research, this constitutes the only other attempt to examine this hypothesis in a sample of general, not exclusively sexual, offenders.

8.5. Incremental validity of the GLM in the prediction of recidivism

The final hypothesis examined the incremental value of GLM in predicting recidivism beyond RNR's Central Eight risk/need factors. In particular, it was investigated if the assessment of the primary good of Inner Peace, which was the only primary good significantly predicting recidivism, could increase the predictive validity of RNR. The hypothesis was rejected, as the introduction of Inner Peace did not improve the predictive accuracy of the model, which was no longer a significant fit for the data and unable to differentiate between recidivists and non-recidivists. Although this hypothesis has not been subjected to empirical investigation before, analogous results were observed in two previous studies that examined the etiological assumptions of the GLM, while also controlling for the level of risk of recidivism.

For instance, Bouman and colleagues (2009) performed a study with a sample of 102 forensic outpatients examining the association between subjective well-being and reoffending at 3-year follow-up using also official reconviction data. After controlling for risk level, measured by a previous version of the LS/CMI that was used in the present study, subjective well-being was no longer a significant predictor of recidivism. Similarly, Kingston and colleagues (2014) also found no significant difference between offenders following different pathways after controlling for the

participants' risk level, which largely accounted for the initially observed differences. Despite the diverse samples and different assessment methods, the present results appear to be in line with previous studies that have sought to examine the incremental value of GLM's assumptions beyond RNR or risk level in predicting reoffending. Overall, it could be hypothesised that methodological aspects or theoretical constraints may account for the lack of empirical support for GLM's incremental value, but also for the previous results regarding the model's etiological assumptions.

Firstly, potential effects resulting from the assessment protocol used for the examination of GLM's assumptions should be also taken into consideration when interpreting the results of the present study. This protocol (Yates et al., 2009) has been developed and recommended by the authors of the model as a structured and theoretically informed assessment method (Ward et al., 2012; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013). The SRM component exhibited satisfactory internal reliability (Cronbach's Alpha values ranging from .74 to .78) within the context of the present study. However, lower values of internal reliability were observed for the GLM subscales (Cronbach's Alpha values ranging from .67 to .70). Although it provides for rather general scoring criteria that were modified and pilot tested for the purposes of the present study, the protocol was initially constructed for use in treatment planning with individuals that have committed sexual offences (Yates et al., 2009). Most importantly, to the present author's knowledge, no previous study has used the protocol for the assessment of GLM and a single study utilising the SRM component of the protocol with a sample of sexual offenders has been so far published (Kingston et al., 2012, 2014).

An important consideration with the use of this protocol in practice should be also noted. The assessment relies heavily on the participant's narration of the offence, how the events unfolded, what they were seeking to achieve, or how the attainment of primary goods related to offending. In this regard, difficulties have been also observed in studies with participants experiencing mental health issues and lower intelligence that encountered difficulties in understanding key concepts of the GLM (Gannon et al., 2011). The relevant terminology for the primary goods was subsequently amplified to ensure better understanding (Yates et al., 2010). Although inferences can be made through the participant's narration of events, significant issues arise when individuals deny responsibility for the offence or that the offence ever took place. Notably, an earlier GLM study included only participants that "at least partially acknowledged their offending behaviour" and those that "categorically" denied that they committed the

offence were excluded from participation (Barnett & Wood, 2008, p. 452). Such difficulties were also often during the data collection and analyses of the present study, potentially affecting the observed results. Especially regarding the examination of the direct and indirect routes to offending, where the allocation of pathways was not possible for three of the participants due to conflicting or missing information.

Secondly, it could be proposed that a possible reason for the present results may be found in the theoretical framework of the GLM itself. Critically, GLM proposes that RNR's risk factors or criminogenic needs, such as RNR's substance abuse, constitute internal or external obstacles that hinder or prevent the acquisition of primary goods (Ward & Fortune, 2013; Ward & Maruna, 2007; Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). Thus, it has been suggested that each risk factor can be associated with one or more primary goods (Fortune & Ward, 2014; Purvis et al., 2011). To that end, poor emotional regulation could lead an individual to the use of substances in an effort to achieve Inner Peace, with substance abuse then contributing to offending (Purvis et al., 2011). In practical terms, it could be hypothesised that the importance of Inner Peace in the prediction of recidivism is the equivalent of the Alcohol/Drug Problem factor measured by the LS/CMI with the additional component of emotional well-being encompassed by Inner Peace. However, previous studies exploring the GLM assumptions through self-reported questionnaires of subjective well-being or quality of life, have also demonstrated limited success in predicting offending or delinquent behaviour (e.g., Barendregt et al., 2018; Bouman et al., 2009; Van Damme et al., 2016).

To that end, accumulated research has previously demonstrated that factors such as psychopathology or personal distress constitute only minor factors in the prediction of recidivism when compared to RNR's Central Eight risk/need factors (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). Thus, addressing such factors is less likely to affect the future reoffending, especially when compared to the Central Eight factors (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). For instance, in meta-analysis examining the findings of 126 studies, clinical variables, such as schizophrenia, psychosis, mood and personality disorders, were not predictive of recidivism (Bonta et al., 2014). Significant associations were found only with antisocial personality or psychopathy, a domain that is also aggregated under the Antisocial Personality Pattern of the Central Eight (Bonta et al., 2014). Similarly, earlier versions of the LS/CMI and the Central Eight factors included a relevant aspect examining personal or emotional distress, which encompassed indications of antisocial personality problems and mental health issues

(Bonta & Andrews, 2017). The factor was subsequently reclassified as a minor risk/need factor, and the antisocial personality problems were transformed into the Antisocial Personality Pattern subscale (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Olver et al., 2014). A factor that correlated to recidivism in the context of the present study as well. This could potentially explain why although Inner Peace was a significant predictor of recidivism individually, the model was no longer a good fit when this factor was included into the model with the LS/CMI overall score.

8.6. Limitations, future research, and reflections

The present study also exhibits some limitations that may be found useful in informing relevant research in the future. Although the current study constitutes one of the few recent efforts for the comprehensive investigation of recidivism in Greece, follow up data were only available for individuals that were reincarcerated following a conviction for a new offence. Thus, information on new convictions resulting in community sentences (e.g., parole, probation, or community service) were not taken into consideration for the operationalisation of recidivism. At the same time, it was not possible to determine based on the information available from the electronic system maintained by the General Secretariat for Anti-Crime Policy if the new offence was committed before or after the participants' release from prison – thus verifying their return to criminal activity. Similarly, pre-trial detention and imprisonment due to parole violation, which could be the result of the commission of or conviction for a new offence during the period of supervision, were excluded from the operationalisation of recidivism and, thus, were not included in the analyses. In addition, information on the date of commission or conviction for the new offence could also offer possibilities for examining the potential impact of ongoing policy or legislative changes, such revisions over the years in the sentence lengths envisaged for specific offences. Likewise, although there are evident methodological advantages in the use of official data for examining recidivism, a number of undetected offences may still not be captured through this method of assessment (see also National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022 on limitations in measuring recidivism). Despite these limitations, a similar pattern of results was obtained in previous studies (e.g., Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007; Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010) using self-reported data, but future studies would significantly benefit from a broader operationalisation and

measurement (e.g., comparing official and self-reported data) of recidivism, as well as further information on the dates of commission and/or conviction for the new offence.

Extensive efforts were performed to ensure the selection of a representative sample, however, as is often the case with follow-up studies, participant attrition was still observed. The extension of the present work employing a larger and more diverse sample would be an important next step towards enhancing the generalisability of the present findings. The inclusion of participants serving community as well as custodial sentences would certainly present further opportunities for the verification and expansion of the present findings, especially regarding applicability of RNR's Central Eight in the national context. In this regard, direct comparisons among offenders convicted of sexual and other types of offences would also allow for a more extensive examination of GLM's etiological assumptions. Although it has been repeatedly suggested that GLM is applicable to all types of offending behaviour (Laws & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007), much of the literature on the theory, research, and practice regarding the model remains centred around sexual offending. Likewise, the assessment of samples of female and juvenile offenders, as well as of offenders of non-Greek nationality that were excluded in the present study due to language barriers, would also be warranted. Relatedly, in addition to examining different types of offences or sentences, potential effects of other parameters, such as the length of the sentence or of the time served, the participants' age, gender or other demographic characteristics could also provide for a more in-depth study of the two models examined and of the overall phenomenon of recidivism in Greece in general. Thus, a larger and more diverse sample and the possibility of comparing different groups of offenders would offer opportunities for studying a sample more representative of the entire prison population, but also for examining potential different patterns among the various groups.

Given that this study was a preliminary attempt to employ in research the GLM assessment protocol developed (Yates et al., 2009) and recommended by the authors of the model, an important limitation relates to this measure and the practical difficulties occurring with its use. As noted earlier, the measure was initially developed for the assessment of offenders convicted of sexual offences for treatment planning purposes (Yates et al., 2009), and has received rather restricted empirical support with regard to its psychometric properties. Nonetheless, the scoring criteria of the measure were rather broad, and not explicitly specific to the nature of sexual offences and only minor modifications were needed, with the measure presenting relatively satisfactory internal

reliability within the context of the present study. However, a more recent study has since questioned the conceptualisation of the 11 primary goods envisioned by the GLM, finding only five distinct factors among them (Harper et al., 2021). Similarly, to the best of the present author's knowledge, this study constituted the first attempt to use the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004) in a sample of Greek offenders. Nevertheless, the scoring of the measure was made according to the English manual and was based on the original scoring criteria and forms, with the results exhibiting also satisfactory internal reliability. Yet, mixed results regarding the predictive validity of some of the individual subscale scores of the measure were found in the present study, but also other studies employing samples outside of North America (e.g., see Grieger & Hosser, 2014), raising concerns for potential ethnical and regional biases (e.g., see Olver et al., 2014; Schmidt et al., 2018).

Relatedly, although the scoring of the measures was based on the original scoring manuals of the manufacturers, the interview protocol used was constructed specifically for the purposes of the present study. Even though its use was piloted with a small sample from the general population before the study took place, it has not been widely employed in research contexts, and its publication as part of the present study is not possible due to the protection of intellectual property rights. At the same time, the vast majority of the information for the scoring of the measures used in the present study was retrieved from the interviews performed with the participants. As corroboration of the retrieved information through file review was rarely possible, potential biases from participants responding in a socially desirable manner cannot be ignored. In addition, even though the internal consistency of all measures used was assessed, it was not possible to examine interrater reliability due to the unique nature of the sample and the particularities relating to data protection in the current study. Thus, the replication of the present research with a larger sample that would allow the performance of factor analysis and the extensive examination of the psychometric properties of both the GLM protocol and the LS/CMI, as well as their validation in Greek samples, would substantially enhance the interpretation of the current findings.

8.6.1. Reflections

An important aspect related to the validity, reliability, and generalisability of findings from qualitative research interviews, as those conducted in the present study, is the interaction between the researcher and the participants, but also between the researcher and the institutional context in which a study takes place (Evangelou, 2017;

Isari & Pourkos, 2015). Among the main limitations of qualitative interviews is the high degree of subjectivity that inevitably carries the risk of bias (Iosifidis, 2008). In this regard, being aware of the context – albeit social, interpersonal, spatial, or temporal – in which a study takes place can be directly linked to the credibility of the findings and often extends to the dimension of reflection (Isari & Pourkos, 2015). Reflection is related to the role of the researcher throughout the different research phases, such as their personal perceptions and attitudes towards the subject of the study, the interaction with the research participants, and the choice and decision-making processes (Isari & Pourkos, 2015). Therefore, the main aim of the reflexive methodology is to critically analyse and discuss the process of conducting the research by returning to the experience and reevaluating it in the present time (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2018), describing the history of the research itself alongside the stories of the participants (Isari & Pourkos, 2015). Thus, this section attempts to reflect on the process of conducting the present research, some of the challenges encountered and how these were addressed, the choices and decisions made throughout the process, as well as the lessons learned.

Considering the closed environment of prisons, but also the relevant ethical and security considerations involved, the presence of external researchers in prisons performing interviews with offenders can naturally be met with apprehension. Thus, the researcher was sometimes regarded initially with scepticism and a certain level of curiosity by the prison employees, some of whom were often cautious as to her role or background and the appropriateness (e.g., in terms of safety) of conducting such a study in a prison facility. It could be hypothesised that this was potentially intensified by the age and gender of the researcher as a younger female, but also due to the nature of the study and the fact that the interviews would be audio recorded. The latter involved not only special permissions, but also a longer process for entering the prison and passing with the audio recorder device through the various security checks to the spaces where the interviews would be conducted.

Predictably, the situation varied significantly among the six prisons where the study took place. Especially as in some prisons the data collection process lasted for a few days or weeks, while in others the researcher performed interviews over the span of one or several months, with staff members becoming more accustomed to her presence in the prison. The support of the prison psychologists, social services' employees, other prison specialists, and of the prison directors was rather important in this regard. As one of the aforementioned staff members was usually the main contact

and liaison person for the researcher during but also before the data collection took place, handling the process for issuing the required approvals and permissions for the researcher to enter the prison and perform the interviews. Their support was also crucial in facilitating the entire interview process, including the relevant logistical arrangements of where or when the interviews would be conducted, as well as introducing and bringing the researcher in contact with other staff members across different departments (e.g., for accessing prison records to identify potential participants or perform the file review).

Once the individuals that met the selection criteria were identified through file review, they were individually informed about the study by the researcher and asked whether they would be interested to take part. With few exceptions (e.g., when another person that had already been asked to participate informed them about the study), most participants had no previous information about the study before meeting with the researcher. Several participants were interested to know why they were selected to take part in the study, with the researcher explaining that the main criterion was the estimated date of their release. In this regard, at the time when many of the interviews were conducted the temporary legislative measures for earlier release that were in place to address prison overpopulation (pursuant to Law 4322/2015) had expired and their renewal (that was eventually enforced with Law 4411/2016) was still pending. Thus, the uncertainty surrounding the participants' release was major issue of concern and stress for many of them, adding to their existing pains of imprisonment (e.g. loss of liberty and autonomy; Sykes, 2007). Parallels could be perhaps drawn with the pains of uncertainty and indeterminacy, where prisoners serving indeterminate sentences are unable to plan their future as their release date may be days or years away (Crewe, 2011a). Similar connotations could be drawn with the pains of psychological assessment, not only in the sense of how risk assessments – such as those used in the present study – can be used to determine the future of prisoners serving indeterminate sentences, but also in terms of the overall nature of psychological discourse (Crewe, 2011a). The latter highlights how discussions about personal issues within the context of psychological assessments can force prisoners to address or even accept views that are against their personal perceptions for the sake of the process (Crewe, 2011a). Potential effects to the research planning and the sample selection process were also a concern for the researcher at that time. As one of the main selection criteria was for participants to be released within six months following the performance of the

interview, the estimated release date of many participants would vary depending on whether the relevant measures would be renewed or not. In these cases, the decision made was to proceed with the interviews and if participants were no longer meeting the criterion, they would be then excluded at the second phase of the study when the follow up data, including information on their exact release date, would be collected. Furthermore, and irrespective of the renewal of the temporary measures, the dates of release of potential participants could only be estimated in approximation. Individuals that were in pre-trial detention were not included in the sample, to increase the possibility that participants would be released upon serving their sentence. However, it is not uncommon for a person to be notified of and receive a decision for a new conviction regarding a different offence at any point while serving their sentence, eventually having to remain in prison longer to serve the new sentence. Thus, it is indicative that 17 participants from the initial sample that was interviewed were ultimately excluded at the follow up phase of the study as they were not eventually released within the envisaged six-month period.

In most prisons the interviews took place in an empty office or space that usually had a glass window which would allow for ensuring the confidentiality of the interviews but also respecting the prison safety protocols. The times when the interviews were conducted were also set according to each prison's schedule in order not to disrupt other ongoing activities or the participants' individual schedule, such as visitations or school classes. Interruptions due to persons needing to enter the room where the interviews were conducted, background noises, or other unanticipated events were not uncommon, but overall, there were no major disruptions. In general, the interviewing process was completed without any issues and the communication and cooperation between the participants and the researcher was good. In this regard, six potential participants with evident communication or similar difficulties had been excluded from the study in previous stages, such as during the information sessions to receive the consent of the participants before the interviews took place. Nevertheless, as expected, the level of information and details provided by the participants and the flow of the interviews varied significantly. This was also reflected in the length of the interviews, since the duration ranged between 30 minutes and 2 hours, with an average duration of one hour.

The participants' ability to recall information, including the chronological sequence of events, also differed. This was particularly relevant to questions that focused on current events (e.g., contact with family/friends over the last year) but also

their criminal (e.g., dates of first conviction or imprisonment) or employment history. Likewise, the reasons and motives behind the participants decision to perform the interviews also differed. Some participants mentioned that they took part in the study because they genuinely wanted to support the research effort; some wanted to share their stories, voice their views or things they considered important to be said; and some viewed the interviews as a welcome distraction from the prison life and an opportunity to speak with someone from “outside” of the prison. Others were vague about their personal motives, while in only a couple of cases did participants give the impression that they thought they could 'gain' something from the interviews (e.g., preferential treatment or earlier release) despite the researcher’s clear explanations to the contrary.

Undoubtedly, personal perceptions and attitudes can significantly affect the role of the researcher across all stages of the research process. Especially given that the sample of the present study included persons convicted for sexual or violent offences but also participants convicted for the so-called victimless crimes (e.g., drug use) that can potentially generate different feelings and attitudes in terms of the harm caused or the perceived seriousness of the offence. In this regard, the nature of the study and the relevant questions posed focused predominantly on aspects related to the participants’ life, such as family and personal relationships, employment history, stress associated with their upcoming release from prison, the events surrounding the offence that led to their imprisonment, and so on. Therefore, the participants where in fact narrating parts of their life stories, often revealing several difficulties and struggles they had been or were currently facing (e.g., unemployment, financial difficulties, homelessness, health, mental health, and substance abuse issues, estranged relationships, life disruption due to the imprisonment, etc.). This focus on the participants’ life stories facilitated the researcher’s efforts to distance herself and compartmentalise, separating her personal perceptions (e.g., about the crime or the potential harm to the victims) from the aim of the research that was to obtain an objective and unbiased – to the extent possible – account of participants’ offending and personal histories.

At the same time, this focus on the participants’ life stories allowed for the creation of an open and safe space for them to share their experiences and views, building and maintaining a good communication relationship. In this regard, the review of the participants’ files and criminal records was performed after the completion of the interviews. Therefore, when entering the interviews, the researcher was unaware of the nature of the offences for which the participants were convicted or any details about

their histories, other than the fact that they were expected to be released from prison within the next six months. Thus, the participants had the opportunity to present their stories from their perspective, reinforcing, in most of the cases at least, their trust in the researcher and interview process and allowing them to open up about different aspects of their lives. An illustrative example was some participants who were asked a question (e.g., about drug use) at the beginning of the interview and gave a negative response but revealed later in the process that they had previously lied or omitted certain aspects. Certainly, there were also participants who were more suspicious and reluctant to discuss certain topics, with the researcher fully respecting their right not to answer any question they did not wish to, but that was the minority of the cases.

Relatedly, there were two main areas of concern for the researcher – perhaps also evident in the above description – throughout the process, before and during the interviewing phase, and while transcribing the interviews, coding, and analysing the data. The first major concern revolved around the process of receiving the necessary formal approvals for conducting the study and identifying and engaging participants that would be willing to take part. As anticipated, the application and approval processes were lengthy and complicated, oftentimes casting doubts on the actual feasibility of the study. Similarly, the extent to which the researcher would be able to identify an adequate number of participants to perform the relevant analyses was an ongoing concern, even if eventually 107 of the 162 individuals initially identified (approximately 66% response rate) agreed to participate in the study. The second concern was the researcher's ability to efficiently perform the interviews and collect all the necessary information for scoring the measures used in the study. This was related not only to the extensive length of the measures used and the fact that retrieving or corroborating information through file review was rarely possible, but also to whether participants would trust the researcher with the relevant information during the interviews. Overall, a cross cutting conclusion would be that the process was challenging but highly rewarding. Obtaining the necessary approvals, travelling across different prisons throughout the country, performing, transcribing, and analysing more than 100 hours of interviews were among the main challenges encountered. Nonetheless, the experiences gained, and the scientific and life lessons learned will remain invaluable, with the participants entrusting the researcher with their stories shaping not only the outcomes of this dissertation but most importantly her understanding of the subject studied.

CHAPTER 9. RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the objectives of the current study, the present research was undertaken in an effort to investigate the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece, as well as to explore the validity and incremental value of the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c). Summarising the analyses and discussion of the present findings, the following conclusions could be drawn with regard to the examination of the relevant research objectives and hypotheses:

- (a) The 42% reincarceration rate observed would seem to suggest a rather high prevalence of recidivism in samples of offenders released from Greek prisons. However, direct comparisons with official statistical data and previous research studies conducted in Greece present several limitations due to the different methodological approaches and operationalisation of recidivism or the increased rates of missing information. Thus, there are restricted possibilities of making any assumptions regarding potential fluctuations in recidivism rates in Greece over the past decades.
- (b) As hypothesised, the results of the present study appear to confirm the overall validity of RNR's Central Eight risk/need factors in predicting recidivism, with a 72% chance of the measure accurately distinguishing between recidivists and non-recidivists. Presenting results comparable to the international literature, this finding would seem to support the overall applicability of the model in the national framework. However, possibly affected by country or context specific factors, sample patterns or methodological aspects, only three – namely criminal history, education or employment, and substance misuse – of the eight individual factors examined were predictive of recidivism.
- (c) Nevertheless, the significance of these factors may potentially add to a growing body of literature with regard to the needs of incarcerated offenders in Greece. To that end, the present findings could contribute to the current understanding of the national context in terms of the increased number of previous offences often observed in samples of incarcerated individuals. Most importantly though, these findings may further reflect the rather high prevalence of substance abuse among imprisoned offenders in contrast to

the low participation in relevant treatment programmes operating in prisons. But also highlight the limited possibilities offered for meaningful activities and professional development within custodial settings, as well as the restricted release preparation and post-release support available.

- (d) The results from the examination of GLM's first etiological assumption offered limited support that the universally sought 11 primary goods are implicated in offending. Only the good of Inner Peace presented a consistently significant association with recidivism, with the subscales of this factor predicting recidivism at a 64-67% accuracy rate. Describing emotional regulation and activities such as physical exercise or use of substances to cope with emotional states, this factor could potentially signify the high prevalence of substance abuse and mental health difficulties that previous studies in Greece have extensively documented.
- (e) Contrary to expectations, the present study also failed to find support for the second main etiological assumption of the GLM that a direct and an indirect route exist between the attainment of primary goods and offending. Distinct pathways were followed by the participants, but no significant differences were found in the recidivism rates of individuals pursuing different pathways to offending. Considering the rather restricted number of previous studies and the mixed results so far observed, this finding would seem to imply that only tenuous evidence exists thus far for the applicability of this assumption in samples of general offending populations.
- (f) Finally, the present results demonstrated no indication for GLM's incremental value in predicting recidivism beyond RNR, with the inclusion of Inner Peace resulting in a model that was no longer able to differentiate between recidivists and non-recidivists. Overall, it could be hypothesised that the limited evidence in support of the GLM's etiological assumptions and incremental validity may, at least to some extent, result from methodological aspects, such as the assessment protocol of the model, or theoretical considerations related to the operationalisation of the model's primary goods and their attainment through diverse routes that result to offending.

PART III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

CHAPTER 10. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In a framework of frequent discussions about paradigm shifts (see Lösel, 2012b) and the continuing aspirations and controversy surrounding the prevention of reoffending, the present dissertation presented an attempt to empirically investigate the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece and examine and comparatively assess two of the most prominent contemporary models in offender rehabilitation and crime prevention, the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003). Drawing on the theoretical framework and the current and previous research findings, the following general conclusions may be reached:

- (a) The present data, indicating that 42% of the released offenders that took part in the study returned to prison within approximately three years of their release, appear to signify the high prevalence of recidivism in Greece. Nonetheless, considering the lack of reliable official data (see also Lambropoulou, 2014) and prospective studies examining recidivism over the past decades, there are limited opportunities for the formulation of any assumptions with regard to increasing or decreasing trends in recidivism in Greece in recent years. Thus, these results highlight the significance of the systematic study of recidivism through official statistical data and advanced methodological research designs. Most importantly though, the present findings emphasise the importance of examining and addressing factors related to increased risk of reoffending. Not, however, in the sense of the “dangerousness” of the offender for the general public (e.g., see Gasparinatos, 2020), but rather as a way to identify potential need areas or aspects of vulnerability that could be addressed in efforts supporting the reintegration of the offender (see also Giannoulis, 2017).
- (b) Within this framework, the results of the current study provided also preliminary evidence in support of the overall applicability and predictive accuracy of RNR (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and its assessment framework, the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004), in the national context. Even though the present study did not escape previous concerns regarding potential ethnical and regional biases (e.g., see

Olver et al., 2014; Schmidt et al., 2018), and further investigation is warranted, results comparable to international findings were observed (e.g., see Grieger & Hosser, 2014; Olver et al., 2014). Therefore, the present findings appear to lend support to the ongoing calls (e.g., see CPT, 2020a) for the development and adoption of systematised and more structured processes for risk and needs assessment in Greece as well.

- (c) An equally important consideration stemming from the present research relates to the individual risk/need factors associated with recidivism, namely substance misuse and employment or educational aspects. Notably, these factors describe aspects for which relevant initiatives, such as substance abuse programmes or second chance schools, are already available to a certain extent within Greek prisons (CPT, 2020b, 2022b). Thus, it could be suggested that the present results further reflect the “distancing” that Koulouris (2018) describes as one of the main characteristics of the Greek correctional system (pp. 590-591). The voluntary nature of the relevant services results in both a lack of motivation for participation on behalf of the offenders, especially those that need them the most, and a minimisation or lack of investment in relevant activities by the state (Koulouris, 2018; Nikolaou, 2009). Given that these factors can be targeted through interventions resulting into lower probability of recidivism (Bonta & Andrews, 2017), the present results also resonate with advocations for the intensification of efforts facilitating the reintegration of offenders (e.g., see Anagnostaki, 2019; Courakis, 2008; Giovanoglou, 2006, 2018a; Nikolopoulos, 2018; Panagos, 2020; Panousis, 2012); not only for reducing the risk of reoffending but also for promoting reintegration as the right of the prisoners.
- (d) In an attempt to add to the literature empirically investigating the GLM in samples of general offending populations, the present study demonstrated limited support for the model’s etiological assumptions regarding the onset and continuation of offending. Only, Inner Peace, one of the 11 universally sought primary goods implicated in offending, was consistently associated with recidivism, while no evidence was found regarding the association of the different direct or indirect routes that offenders follow and reoffending. Likewise, no indication for the incremental value of the GLM’s assumptions

in enhancing the prediction of recidivism beyond RNR's Central Eight factors by incorporating the assessment of primary goods and offending routes was observed. Taking into consideration the limited number of studies available (e.g., see Mallion et al., 2020) and the conflicting results often observed (e.g., see Harper et al., 2021; Kingston et al., 2014; Loney & Harkins, 2018; Van Damme et al., 2016), it could be suggested that the limited evidence in support of the GLM's assumptions and incremental validity could be, at least partially, associated with methodological or theoretical aspects of the model. Thus, leading to the conclusion that the need for the validation of the model through accumulated empirical evidence remains critical.

- (e) To that end, and in relation to recent calls for an integrated approach that encompasses aspects of both the RNR and GLM models (e.g., Herzog-Evans, 2017; Serin & Lloyd, 2017; Ziv, 2016, 2018), this study appears to echo Ziv's (2016) comparative assessment of the two models and the author's observations that their integration might eventually "be more challenging than many scholars have assumed" (p. 309). As such, an integrated approach would eventually still depend "on scientific evidence" demonstrating capacity to reduce recidivism and improve the lives of offenders (Ziv, 2016, p. 340). However, the results of the present research may not necessarily reflect the model's potential or usefulness for offender rehabilitation and crime prevention.
- (f) Potential advantages and incremental value from the application of the GLM in treatment, such as the model's focus on human needs and agency (Ziv, 2016), increased engagement and positive perceptions of treatment (e.g., Barnao et al., 2016; Leeson & Adshead, 2013; Ward & Attwell, 2014), have been often highlighted. The greatest, perhaps, advantage of the model is its focus and advocacy for improving offenders' lives which the GLM has managed to bring forth in the literature in recent years. In consequence, the empirical validation of the model's etiological assumptions and assessment methods appears to be an essential step towards the GLM evolving from a conceptual approach to rehabilitation into an evidence-based rehabilitation theory.

CHAPTER 11. IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Notwithstanding the limitations of the present study, the current findings may contribute to the existing understanding of the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece and the expanding body of national and international literature on offender rehabilitation and crime prevention, while also giving rise to areas for future research. To that end, potential implications and indications for future research directions are suggested below.

An aspect repeatedly brought forth in the framework of the present dissertation relates to the limitation in the systemization of existing data and findings regarding the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece as a result of the different methods of assessment and operationalisation of recidivism employed (see also National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022 on limitations in measuring recidivism). It is indicative that older longitudinal studies (Courakis & Stathouloupoulou, 2007) and official statistical data for the years before 2000 (National Statistical Service of Greece, 1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999; see also Table 1) point to a recidivism rate of 42-44%, which is comparable to the findings of the present study. In contrast, more recent statistical data and studies retrospectively examining recidivism suggest rates ranging from 15% (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015; see also Table 3) to 54% (Kranidioti & Spirou, 2010). Importantly though, these more recent studies and data present information on the criminal histories of individuals, thus, depicting the number of prisoners assessed at a given time that had been previously convicted or incarcerated. However, in research contexts at least, recidivism is usually defined as the commission of one or more new offences by a previously convicted individual and is measured prospectively, within a set follow up period (Zara & Farrington, 2016).

In this respect, the relevant literature suggests that the majority of individuals who have been incarcerated do not return to prison, whereas approximately half of those released from prison at a specific moment – including many who have been incarcerated multiple times – are likely to return (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). For example, 87% of the participants in the present study had at least one previous conviction, approximately 55% of them mentioned – although it was not always possible to verify through official records – that they had been imprisoned

before, but only 42% of them returned to prison within the next four years. Thus, this approach to recidivism that focuses on the past criminal histories of prisoners does not take into account those persons who may desist from crime. In other words, it does not account for those individuals who may have been convicted or imprisoned at some point in time, but who have not since returned to prison in order to be included in the sample examined each time. Therefore, future research would significantly benefit from prospective longitudinal designs and a definition of recidivism that focuses on the examination of released prisoners or convicted individuals that reoffend after their release or previous conviction, rather than their past criminal histories.

Furthermore, it could be suggested that this lack of comprehensive data in Greece highlights at least two aspects of the ongoing debate on the study of recidivism and its applications. Firstly, it strongly reinforces one of the main criticisms and limitations associated with research on the phenomenon of recidivism. Presenting recidivism rates or referring to individuals as recidivists without specifying and addressing the limitations in the operationalisation of recidivism and the assessment methods used in each specific context may result in misuse and misinterpretation of the data in both practice and policy (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). Certainly, a fully accurate and exact figure of recidivism could never be established given the number of unreported, undetected, or unprosecuted offences and, thus, any analysis of recidivism is inherently dependent on the dataset it relies upon (Zara & Farrington, 2016). Consequently, future research efforts and official data would considerably improve the current understanding of the phenomenon of recidivism in Greece by acknowledging context specific definitional and measurement limitations and offering detailed information on the assessment methods employed (see also National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022).

Secondly, the situation in Greece also brings forth the long-lasting calls (e.g., see Maltz, 1984; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022) for the need to move beyond recidivism in explaining post-offending behaviour and assessing the effectiveness of relevant interventions. The prevention of recidivism has been long regarded as one of the aims of sanctions (Farsedakis, 2016), or at least how effectiveness has been measured (Cullen & Jonson, 2016) when evaluating correctional programs (Maltz, 1984). And, despite its limitations, recidivism will most likely continue to be perceived as the ultimate outcome, at least for members of the general public and policy makers (Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). It remains true that the

literature on reoffending has been primarily focused on the prevention of reoffending and the “risk paradigm” (see Farrington, 2000), predominantly associated with the Risk-Need-Responsivity model (RNR; Bonta & Andrews, 2017) examined in the present dissertation. In contrast, the Good Lives Model (GLM; Ward, 2002; Ward & Stewart, 2003c) is thought to be more aligned with the desistance paradigm (e.g., see Laws & Ward, 2011) and approaches that can support abstinence from criminal behaviour. However, as next sections of this chapter will further explore, when contrasted and applied in practice many of the distinctive features of each model often reveal what could be perceived as variances in the prioritisation and importance assigned to different aspects, rather than strictly contrasting perspectives (see also Polaschek, 2012). Therefore, the extent to which recidivism and desistance, and their predictive and correlative factors, do in fact represent the opposite ends of the same continuum (e.g., see Zara & Farrington, 2016; Laub & Sampson, 2001) remains a key topic for future research and theoretical discourse. However, it could be perhaps suggested that the social reintegration of offenders may still be viewed as the ultimate goal regardless of the outcome – recidivism or desistance – measured or pursued (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022).

In this regard, although further research is necessary, the preliminary evidence in support of the RNR model (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and the validity of the Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004) in the national context may offer valuable information on potential implications regarding the needs of incarcerated offenders in alignment with the national literature on two main areas, namely the assessment and treatment of offenders. As detailed in earlier sections, designed to predict short- and long-term recidivism, institutional misconduct, and breach of supervision (Wormith & Bonta, 2018), previous and newer versions of the Level of Service (LS) instruments have been used in correctional and forensic settings in several countries (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Singh et al., 2014). Among their primary applications are the provision of information for decision making regarding conditions of probation, level of supervision in the community, or the determination of the level of institutional security; decisions with regard to the release of offenders on parole; as well as the assessment of treatment needs and appropriate referrals (Wormith & Bonta, 2018).

The vital need for the adoption of a formalised risk and needs assessment procedure for all detainees entering the Greek prison system to serve as a basis for the

development of a structured programme of activities, sentence planning, and allocation to work posts has been repeatedly underlined (CPT, 2020a). In relation to that, predictive judgments regarding the risk of committing new crimes are envisaged in several aspects pertinent to the Greek criminal justice and correctional systems (Gasparinatos, 2020, pp. 163-164; see also Giannoulis, 2017, pp. 73-79), including, for instance, the conditional release of incarcerated offenders (Anagnostaki, 2018, 2019; Koulouris et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the mere definition of recidivism as part of the sentencing process (Article 88, paragraph 1, Law 283/1985) was recently removed from the revised Greek Penal Code in 2019 (Law 4619/2019). Thus, possibly aggravating previous concerns that have been raised about the use of measures such as conditional release and home leaves as means for compliance and discipline during custody or for potentially discriminatory practices (Cheliotis, 2006, 2010). At the same time, similar concerns could also potentially arise following the recent revision of the Greek Correctional Code (see Article 11, Law 4985/2022) to envisage the placement of individuals, among others, who are considered “particularly dangerous” in increased security custodial institutions without specifying the relevant decision-making criteria or assessment processes. However, calls for the implementation of systematic risk and needs assessments to inform the placement of detainees to specific wings within the Greek prisons have been repeatedly made (CPT, 2020a, 2022a), while the recommendations of the Council of Europe for the treatment of “dangerous” offenders also highlight that relevant decisions and actions should be informed by formalised assessments utilising evidence-based and validated tools (Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, 2014, 2021).

Therefore, the results of the present study may provide important information for the development and adoption of systematised and more structured processes in Greece as well. Not only for the assessment of risk of reoffending based on formalised criteria, but most importantly for the performance of risk and needs assessments that could be used to inform a more structured programme of activities for detainees during custody and towards their release preparation. Nonetheless, as with the utilisation of any risk and need assessment, further research and increased caution would be warranted to avoid any possible adverse effects from their use (e.g., see Gasparinatos, 2018, 2020; Nikolopoulos, 2003). Additional research for the detailed examination of the LS/CMI’s psychometric properties and its validation across various samples of offenders sentenced to community and custodial sentences would be a necessary first

step in this regard. Similarly, future research would also need to further examine the predictive accuracy of the individual Central Eight risk/need factors in an effort to determine potential cultural or context specific differences. In addition to extensive research, careful consideration would also need to be given to aspects related to the practical application of such assessments in the national context, as a number of critical questions and dilemmas are associated with their use (e.g., see Grove & Meehl, 1996; Rogers, 2000; Zara & Farrington, 2016) regardless of their level of acceptance by different parts of the scientific community.

For instance, the LS/CMI may be administered and scored by professionals with different backgrounds such as psychologists, social workers, probation officers, case workers, etc. (Andrews et al., 2004). However, according to its manufacturers (Andrews et al., 2004), the final interpretation of the results must be made, or at least supervised, by an individual with specific qualifications in psychological assessment and test interpretation to ensure adequate understanding of the limitations of such assessments. Considering that in 2020 there was on average one psychologist or sociologist and two social workers in each Greek prison (Aebi & Tiago, 2021), the practical application of such assessments on a wider scale would most likely presuppose on the availability of human resources and the extensive training of prison staff. Given the number of practical difficulties encountered by probation officers in performing their existing duties, such as lack of staff and resources and need for further training (Anagnostaki, 2016), it could be assumed that similar conditions would be needed for the widespread application of such assessments for offenders supervised in the community as well. Similarly, although the performance of psychometric assessments and the compilation of relevant reports is part of the formal duties of prison psychologists (Article 108, Law 1851/1989; see also Arvanitidis, 2008; Galanou, 2011), potential conflicts of interests in terms of confidentiality (e.g., undetected criminal activity or drug use being reported during the assessment process) would also need to be addressed beforehand.

Relatedly, the ethical and legal dilemmas arising from the use of assessments about the future risk of criminal behaviour to influence court judgements or other aspects associated with the treatment of offenders (e.g., see Gasparinatou, 2018, 2020; Grisso & Appelbaum, 1992; Nikolopoulos, 2003) constitute also important issues. To that end, Giannoulis (2017) extensively examined the applicability of RNR and GLM into the national context from theoretical, legal, and methodological standpoints.

Indeed, the two models, as does the predictive nature of risk assessment, remain rooted in positivist criminological approaches (Giannoulis, 2017). However, considering the reintegrative approach to risk assessment adopted by the models, the author suggested under specific conditions the incorporation of the justice model and of RNR and GLM (Giannoulis, 2017). Relevant assessments could be used to inform sentencing decisions (e.g., deciding among different types of sentences of equal gravity), tailoring interventions to the offender's individual needs, and, at least to a degree, to decisions regarding home leaves and conditional release (Giannoulis, 2017).

An important consideration in this regard is that the LS instruments were originally designed for use among sentenced offenders and according to manufacturers "they were never designed, nor should they be used, to assist in the conviction process" (Wormith & Bonta, 2018, p. 117). But these instruments have since been increasingly used in pre-sentence circumstances (e.g., informing decisions about the suitability of community supervision) and pre-conviction decisions (e.g., informing decisions on bail; Wormith & Bonta, 2018). At the same time, biases associated with the use of risk assessments to inform judicial decisions during the sentencing process are often observed in the relevant literature, even in countries with a long history of their use (e.g., see Skeem et al., 2020). Therefore, on national level, the pilot use and evaluation of risk and needs assessments for purposes that could support the reintegration of offenders (e.g., assessment of needs for sentence/treatment planning or release preparation) would constitute a prerequisite before their adoption for aspects related to the judicial or correctional treatment of offenders (e.g., for prisoners' conditional release, home leaves, or determination of custodial security) is considered.

Moreover, building on previous work theoretically examining aspects of RNR and GLM in the national context (e.g., Giannoulis, 2017, 2019; Zarafonitou et al., 2019b), the present dissertation also sought to contribute to the comparative examination and critical appraisal of the two models. Although the assessment of the rehabilitation frameworks of GLM and RNR was beyond the scope of the current research, the empirical investigation of the models' etiological assumptions could provide grounds for the further exploration of their application for the treatment of offenders in Greece as well. Taking into consideration the limited counselling and psychological support available (Artinopoulou & Kamarakis, 2019), the few rehabilitative programmes (Anagnostaki, 2019), but also the increased prevalence of mental health difficulties experienced by incarcerated individuals (Alevizopoulos &

Igoumenou, 2016; Fotiadou et al., 2006; Sakelliadis et al., 2010; Themeli, 2006), it could be hypothesised that the application of the model could have significant implications for tertiary crime prevention and offenders' well-being in Greece. Further empirical evidence in support of the GLM is warranted, but the overall positive results for RNR offer encouraging indications for its potential as a rehabilitation framework within the national context.

In this context, the present and future research findings could further substantiate the ongoing calls for the intensification of efforts promoting reintegration as the right of the offender (e.g., Anagnostaki, 2019; Courakis, 2008; Giovanoglou, 2006, 2018a; Nikolopoulos, 2018; Panagos, 2020; Panousis, 2012). In a field previously shaped by the conceptual “intolerance” (Giovanoglou, 2006, p. 39) towards social reintegration and the scepticism against rehabilitation (e.g., see Chaidou, 2018, pp.70-71 & p. 170; Zagoura, 2018), the recognition of this right is thought to constitute the primary point of convergence between rehabilitation and the justice model (Giovanoglou, 2006; Panagos, 2020). Thus, from a theoretical standpoint at least, it is now increasingly recognised that the prevention of recidivism could be consistent with the respect of the rights and dignity of the offender, while relevant rehabilitative (work, educational or other) programmes may be considered an integral part of relevant policies (Panagos, 2020). However, from a practical standpoint, the extent to which the implementation of such programmes would be feasible in the environment of the Greek prisons or in community supervision constitutes undoubtedly an important question (see also Giannoulis, 2019).

The existing circumstances of overcrowding and lack of staff and resources (e.g., see CPT, 2022a; National Preventive Mechanism Against Torture and Ill-treatment, 2022) have had, and will most likely continue to have, adverse consequences on both the living conditions and the limited rehabilitative interventions available in Greek prisons. These conditions in combination with the “distancing” effect characterising the Greek correctional system (Koulouris, 2018, pp. 590-591) and the overall prison subculture (e.g., see Chaidou, 2018) could create significant barriers to both prisoners' motivation to participate and the state's investment in such initiatives. Furthermore, research has documented that large scale programmes in both custodial and community settings often face significant issues (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith & Zidenberg, 2018) even in countries with far greater available resources and more extensive rehabilitative tradition. Many programmes have been found to show

limited adherence to the RNR principles (e.g., see Duriez et al., 2018; Farringer et al., 2019), with an unequal focus on managing risk in the expense of the offender's needs (e.g., see Bonta et al., 2008). GLM-based interventions, although more focused on promoting human needs (Ward & Maruna, 2007), have yet to produce concrete empirical evidence regarding their effectiveness (e.g., see Heffernan & Ward 2019; Marshall et al., 2017; Netto et al., 2014) and systemic evaluation studies are unlikely to become available soon (Marshall et al., 2017). Thus, the risk of relevant programmes still being or regarded as “controlling” and “correctional” (Raynor & Robinson, 2005, p. 134) towards reducing risk “with a minimum of resources” (Garland, 2001a, p. 176) remains prevalent.

Nonetheless, and even if all the above questions “are answered in the negative” there are still “sound humanitarian reasons” for experimenting with rehabilitative programmes (Ashworth, 2005, p. 84) and each step towards that end remains equally important (see also Giannoulis, 2017; Panagos, 2020). Therefore, considering that substance abuse programmes represent the closest equivalent to formal psychological rehabilitation interventions in Greek prisons (e.g., see Anagnostaki, 2019), it could be suggested that these programmes could potentially offer a promising starting point for piloting and evaluating the effectiveness of relevant initiatives. Furthermore, small scale programmes, especially within the autonomous therapeutic communities operating in separate wings (e.g., see KETHEA, 2015, 2021), would allow for assessing not only the effectiveness of such programmes on recidivism but also on the overall well-being and other factors associated with successful reintegration of offenders (e.g., see National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2022). Simultaneously, these programmes would also provide an opportunity to examine the impact of initiatives that are based on offenders' voluntary participation due to personal motives rather than external factors (e.g., potential for earlier release or beneficial judicial treatment; see also Glaser, 2011; Panagos, 2020) before larger scale interventions are considered.

Furthermore, and beyond the implications on a national level, the current study also aimed at contributing to the existing international literature towards enhancing the current understanding of the GLM and its comparability to RNR. The results of the present study empirically examining the complementarity of the two models appear to resonate with Ziv's (2016) theoretical comparison and the author's conclusion that their integration may be more complex than previously assumed. The author also predicted

that an integrated model would require either RNR to forsake its evidence-based practice and some of its key principles or GLM to concede on the importance of primary goods (Ziv, 2016). This assumption also appears to be in line with the findings of the current research. Simultaneously, as previously noted, other scholars have also suggested that some of the perceived differences between the two models are predominantly semantic or differences in emphasis (e.g., see Looman & Abracen, 2013; Polaschek, 2012), often associated to misinterpretations or misconceptions regarding RNR and how it has been applied in practice (e.g., see Herzog-Evans, 2017; Polaschek, 2012, 2016, 2017; Polaschek et al., 2019). To that end, through the critical appraisal of the models, including theoretical aspects, as well as previous and current research findings, three key considerations and directions for further investigation seem to emerge.

The first relates to the concept of primary goods and their implication to offending, but also their relation to RNR's Central Eight risk/need factors. Overall, there has been so far limited support for the impact of the existing conceptualisation of primary goods on recidivism. Previous research (e.g., Barendregt et al., 2018; Bouman et al., 2009; Loney & Harkins, 2018; Van Damme et al., 2016) and the recent study of Harper and colleagues (2021) questioning the conceptualisation of the 11 primary goods combined with the present findings appear to concur in this regard. At the same time, the significance of both GLM's Inner Peace and RNR's substance abuse in predicting recidivism in the sample of the present study generates the question about potential associations or convergence between these two factors. Whether one factor subsumes the other, reinforcing RNR's position that it already includes most of what GLM postulates (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011); or if this reflects GLM's assumption that risk factors are obstacles in the attainment of primary goods (Ward & Maruna, 2007), remains an essential issue for future research. The fact that no support was found for the incremental value of Inner Peace in the present study, and the previous research on emotional distress (Bonta & Andrews, 2017) and well-being or quality of life (Barendregt et al., 2018; Bouman et al., 2009; Van Damme et al., 2016), could be hypothesised to corroborate the former. The replication of these findings with a larger sample and the performance of factor analyses to identify clusters of potentially related variables among the GLM assessment and RNR's LS/CMI factors would be needed to clarify this aspect.

A second area in need of further investigation is the etiological assumption of the GLM that a direct and an indirect pathway exist between the attainment of primary goods and the onset of offending (Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Maruna, 2007). So far, only one study has shown partial support for this assumption in relation to general offending or delinquency (Van Damme et al., 2016). Descriptive information collected in the present study seems to suggest that individuals experience different pathways in the commission of offences. However, if this constitutes an etiological assumption that explains the onset and continuation of offending behaviour, as the authors of the model suggest (Law & Ward, 2011; Ward & Maruna, 2007), but most importantly its relation to the attainment of primary goods has yet to be established. The dysfunctional self-regulatory behaviour, which is found primarily in the Self-Regulation Model for sexual offenders (SRM; Ward & Hudson, 1998, 2000; Yates et al., 2009) on which this assumption was initially based and constructed (Ward & Maruna, 2007), appears, in clinical practice at least, to merit further investigation. An illustrative example is an offender that recognises the negative consequences of criminal behaviour (e.g., stealing), on themselves and others, and does not wish to offend. However, when the opportunity emerges, they may lack the self-control to prevent the offence from happening or feel that they had no other way to meet their needs (e.g., acquiring money for drug use). Nonetheless, if this aspect is already assumed in the impulsivity and low self-control encompassed in the Antisocial Personality Pattern of the Central Eight (Andrews et al., 2004); or in the underlying assumption of RNR on how criminal behaviour is learned, maintained, and altered through social learning mechanisms such as self-regulation (Bonta & Andrews, 2017), is another interesting aspect that future work could concentrate on.

A final important consideration for future research relates to the methods of assessment proposed by the model and its increased focus on narrative accounts, as described in previous chapters. Although less structured assessments are in fact more consistent with the overall conceptualisation and scope of the model (Heffernan & Ward, 2019), the lack of psychometrically validated instruments may eventually result in an adverse effect for the model's overall empirical standing. For instance, a cross-cutting observation concerning the results of the present and previous studies is that when the primary goods and direct or indirect routes to offending are explored on a descriptive level in the narration of the offence, information in support of their implication is more evident. However, when those are examined in relation to

recidivism, only limited support for their implication has been observed. Thus, diminishing the evidence in support of the model and at the same time lending further support to two main points of critique that have been repeatedly addressed to the GLM. The first relates to the lack of explicit and systematic translation of the model's assumptions to constructs or domains and respective assessment methods that can be used in research (e.g., Abracen & Looman, 2016b; Serin & Lloyd, 2009; Wormith, Gendreau, & Bonta, 2012). This aspect then leads further support to the second criticism of the GLM for promoting its applications and declaring its effectiveness (e.g., see Heffernan & Ward, 2019, p. 528; Willis & Ward 2013, p. 313) without sufficient empirical evidence (Cullen, 2012; Ogloff & Davis, 2004). Taking into consideration that punitive policies and legislative constraints have been among the factors hindering the model's widespread implementation (Willis et al., 2014; Willis, Yates, et al., 2013) it could be assumed that empirical validation remains a key priority.

In conclusion, the findings of the present study offer significant indications for potentially high rates of recidivism in Greece, drawing attention to the need for comprehensive research and official statistics on recidivism, but also the significance of focusing on aspects associated with reoffending. Even though further research is necessary, the results of the present dissertation appear to support previous calls for the adoption of formalised risk and needs assessment processes in Greece and the systemisation of efforts that would promote the reintegration of offenders. Moreover, although this study presents only an initial step towards the better understanding and empirical investigation of the GLM and its complementarity to RNR, the present results point to a series of areas in need of further research. Despite the wide interest and potential of this model for offender rehabilitation, the restricted available evidence in support of the GLM across the relevant literature highlights the need for the more rigorous empirical investigation of the model. The GLM's theoretical conceptualisation and methods of assessment, but also the extensive examination of its relation to RNR, appear to be critical steps for establishing the model's effectiveness as an offender rehabilitation framework.

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