Sexual offender treatment for reducing recidivism among convicted sex offenders: a systematic review and meta-analysis

Martin Schmucker and Friedrich Lösel
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Sexual offender treatment for reducing recidivism among convicted sex offenders: a systematic review and meta-analysis

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Plain language summary

Treatment of sexual offenders reduces reoffending, but more research needed to identify effective interventions

Treatment can reduce reoffending (recidivism) rates of sexual offenders. But the results of individual studies are too heterogeneous to draw a conclusion on the general effectiveness of sex offender treatment.

What is this review about?

Sexual offender treatment programs to reduce reoffending have been implemented in many countries as part of a strategy in managing this offender group. However, there are still controversies regarding their effectiveness.

This review integrates findings from six experimental and 21 quasi-experimental studies that compare groups of treated sexual offenders with equivalent control groups. These studies tested whether treated sexual offenders differed from the control groups in sexual and other reoffending.

What are the main findings of this review?

What studies are included?

Included studies compare official recidivism rates of treated sexual offenders with a comparable group of sexual offenders that have not been subjected to the respective treatment. Quasi-experimental studies were included only if they applied sound matching procedures, where the incidental assignment would not introduce bias, or where they were statistically controlled for potential biases. The treatment had to explicitly aim at reducing recidivism rates.

The review summarizes 27 studies containing 29 eligible comparisons of a treated group and a control group, containing data for 4,939 treated and 5,448 untreated sexual offenders. The studies come from seven different countries, but more than half of the studies have been carried out in North America. All eligible comparisons evaluated psychosocial treatment (mainly cognitive behavioral programs). No studies on pharmacological/hormonal treatment were found which meet the inclusion criteria.

Does treatment of sexual offenders reduce recidivism?

On average, there is a significant reduction in recidivism rates in the treated groups. The odds to sexually reoffend were 1.41 lower for treated compared to control groups. This equals a sexual recidivism rate of 10.1 percent for treated offenders compared to 13.7 percent without treatment. The mean rates for general recidivism were higher, but showed a similar reduction of roughly a quarter due to treatment.
The results from the individual studies were very heterogeneous, that is individual study features had a strong impact on the outcomes. Methodological quality did not significantly influence effect sizes.

Cognitive-behavioral as well as studies with small samples, medium to high risk offenders, more individualized treatment, and good descriptive validity revealed better effects. There was no significant difference between various settings. We found significant effects for treatment in the community and in forensic hospitals, but there is not yet sufficient evidence to draw conclusions regarding the effectiveness of sex offender treatment in prisons.

**What do the findings of this review mean?**

Overall, the findings are promising, but there is too much heterogeneity between the results of individual studies to draw a generally positive conclusion about the effectiveness of sex offender treatment. Applied cognitive-behavioral foundation of treatment has relatively good potential, but other features, like the risk of the treated offenders or including individualized treatment, significantly affect treatment success.

More well documented randomized trials and high-quality quasi-experiments are needed, particularly outside of North America. In addition, there is a clear need of more differentiated process and outcome evaluations.

**How up-to-date is this review?**

The study pool of the present analysis was based on the broad search of 2,039 documents from a review published in 2005, updated to cover studies issued prior to 2010. More recent studies were evaluated in an appendix and mostly showed similar findings as in our review. This Campbell Systematic Review was published in July 2017.
Executive summary/Abstract

Background

Sexual offender treatment programs to reduce reoffending have been implemented in many countries as part of a strategy in managing this offender group. However, there are still controversies regarding their effectiveness.

Objectives

A meta-analysis of relatively well-controlled outcome evaluations assessing the effects of treatment for male sexual offenders to reduce recidivism is conducted. The aim is to provide robust estimates of overall and differential treatment effects.

Search methods

We searched a broad range of literature databases, scanned previous reviews and primary studies on the topic, hand-searched 16 relevant journals, carried out an internet search of pertinent institutions, and personally contacted experts in the field of sex offender treatment. In total, we identified more than 3,000 documents that were scanned for eligibility.

Selection criteria

Studies had to address male sexual offenders and contain an outcome evaluation with a treated group (TG) and an equivalent control group (CG). Apart from randomized controlled trials (RCTs), also quasi-experimental designs were eligible if they applied sound matching procedures, statistically controlled for potential biases or the incidental assignment would not introduce bias. The studies had to evaluate therapeutic measures aiming at reducing recidivism. Both, psychosocial and organic treatment approaches were eligible. Case reports were not eligible and sample size had to be at least n =10. To be eligible, studies had to report official recidivism data as an outcome and provide sufficient information for effect size calculation. There were no restrictions with regard to country of origin or language and both published and unpublished documents were eligible.

Data collection and analysis

For each study/comparison we coded general features, characteristics of the sample, treatment variables and methodological features. As most studies reported their results in terms of recidivism rates, we chose the odds ratio (OR) as effect size measure. If results on treatment dropouts were provided, we merged them with the treatment group results (“intent to treat” analysis). All statistical analysis of effect sizes applied a random effects model.
Results

29 comparisons drawn from 27 studies met our inclusion criteria. This study pool comprised 4,939 treated and 5,448 untreated offenders. A quarter of the studies were retrieved from unpublished sources. Most studies appeared since 2000 and more than half came from North America. The evaluations mostly addressed cognitive-behavioral sex offender treatment. No study on hormonal treatment met the inclusion criteria. Only about one fifth of the comparisons were RCTs and matching designs were rare as well. The follow-up periods ranged from 1 to 19.5 years ($M=5.9$ years). Most frequently recidivism was defined as a new conviction and with only one exception studies presented data on sexual reoffending.

Overall, there was a positive, statistically significant effect of treatment on sexual reoffending ($OR = 1.41$, 95% CI: 1.11 to 1.78, $p < .01$). The mean effect equates to 26.3% less recidivism after treatment (sexual recidivism rate of 10.1% in treated sex offenders vs. 13.7% in the control groups). There was a comparable effect on general recidivism (26.4% less recidivism in treated groups; $OR = 1.45$, 95% CI: 1.15 to 1.83, $p < .01$). The overall effects were robust against outliers, but contained much heterogeneity.

Cognitive-behavioral programs showed a significant effect. Two RCTs on Multi-Systemic Therapy (MST) which also contains many cognitive-behavioral elements revealed a particularly large effect. Other intervention types showed weaker or no effects. There was a rather clear trend for better treatment effects of more individualized programs. There was no significant difference between various settings. We found significant effects for treatment in the community and in forensic hospitals, but there is not yet sufficient evidence to draw conclusions regarding the effectiveness of sex offender treatment in prisons.

The overall methodological quality of the studies was not significantly related to effect size. It should be noted, though, that we could not demonstrate a significant effect on sexual reoffending for the few RCTs in our study pool. Sample size was not linearly related to effect size but small studies with fewer than 50 participants had larger effects. This may suggest publication selection bias. However, studies from unpublished sources did not reveal weaker effects compared to published studies. The strongest methodological moderator was descriptive validity. Most studies lacked a detailed documentation of offender variables so that only few analyses could target this factor. With regard to offender characteristics we found no significant treatment effect for low risk participants. In contrast, medium and higher risk groups benefitted from treatment. Although the treatment of adolescents fared somewhat better than for adults, this difference was not significant. It made no difference whether offenders entered treatment voluntarily or on a mandatory basis.

Authors’ conclusions

Overall, the findings are promising, but there is too much heterogeneity between the results of individual studies to draw a generally positive conclusion about the effectiveness of sex offender treatment. However, the results reveal information that is practically relevant: For example, our review confirms that cognitive-behavioral programs and multi-systemic approaches are more effective than other types of psychosocial interventions. The findings also suggest various conditions of success such as more individualization instead of fully standardized group programs, an advantage of treatment in the community or therapeutic settings instead of prisons, a focus on medium to high risk offenders, early treatment of young sexual offenders, and measures to ensure quality of implementation.

Overall, and particularly with regard to moderators, the research base on sex offender treatment is still not yet satisfactory. To enable more definite answers, more high-quality research is needed, particularly outside North America. There is a clear need of more differentiated process and sound outcome evaluations on various types of interventions (including pharmacological treatment), specific characteristics of programs, implementation, settings and participants and research methods.
Sexual offending is a topic of particularly high concern in the general public, mass media and in crime policy making. Accordingly, many governments of industrialized countries have implemented not only more punitive measures but have also invested in treatment of sexual offenders to reduce recidivism. However, there is much controversy about the effectiveness of sex offender treatment, in particular with regard to methodological issues of evaluation (e.g. Marshall & Marshall, 2010; Rice & Harris, 2003; Seto et al., 2008). A general conclusion and consensus on ‘what works’ in this field is complicated by various issues (Lösel & Schmucker, 2017):

1. Sexual offending is a very heterogeneous category that contains, for example, various forms of child molesting, rape, exhibitionism, distribution and consumption of child pornography on the internet and other forms.

2. There are very different types of sexual offenders such as those with (or without) a deviant sexual preference (paraphilia), an antisocial personality, an opportunistic orientation, neuropsychological deficits, and so forth (Robertello & Terry, 2007).

3. Although there is much research on static and dynamic risk factors for reoffending and structured risk assessment instruments (e.g. Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009), the knowledge about the origins and causal mechanisms is less clear (e.g. Mann et al., 2010; Ward et al., 2005).

4. Treatment approaches are heterogeneous, ranging from psychosocial interventions such as cognitive-behavioral programs and relapse prevention or psychodynamic therapy to organic interventions such as hormonal treatment by medication or surgical castration, and some of these categories embrace rather different therapeutic measures in themselves (e.g. Marshall et al, 1998; McGrath et al., 2010).

5. Sound treatment evaluation is difficult because in various jurisdictions serious sexual offenders cannot simply be left untreated in control groups, the base rate of sexual recidivism is relatively low, and with regard to sexual reoffending longer follow-up periods are required compared to other fields of correctional intervention.

For such reasons controlled evaluations of programs for sexual offenders are less frequent than in general or violent offender treatment, particularly outside North America (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; Lösel, 2012). However, over the last 20 years the number of studies has increased and more than a dozen systematic reviews or meta-analyses have been carried out (for overviews see Corabian et al., 2011; Lösel & Schmucker, 2014, 2017). Although there is overlap between these syntheses, they vary substantially with regard to the included primary studies, coding schemes, methods of effect size calculation and integration as well as the investigation of outcome moderators. Some meta-analyses concentrated on psychotherapeutic/psychosocial interventions only (e.g. Hanson et al., 2002), whereas others also included hormonal medication and surgical castration (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005). Within the category of psychotherapeutic/psychosocial interventions the specific treatment programs not only vary considerably but also share similarities. For example, the contents of cognitive-behavioral treatment (CBT), such as reducing deviant sexual attitudes, improving self-control, enhancing social skills, promoting perspective taking, or coping with stressors, overlap with those of relapse prevention programs that focus on avoidance or coping
with risk situations. Multi-systemic therapy for young sexual offenders and social therapy/therapeutic communities make particular use of the social context of the clients, but also incorporate elements from CBT, attachment and psychodynamic approaches. Hormonal treatment is used for subgroups of paraphilic offenders or others who are mainly motivated by sexual drive and not by dominance or other motivations. Medication is normally not used alone but accompanied by psychotherapy and other interventions. The available research syntheses also vary with regard to the countries of origin or language (e.g. most concentrated on reports in English), outcome criteria (e.g. reoffending versus other variables) and – in particular – methodological quality of the studies included.

Given this diversity of interventions, it is not surprising that the magnitude of treatment effects vary substantially (Lösel & Schmucker, 2014), although the two most comprehensive meta-analyses revealed similar results with regard to those types of treatment in which they overlapped (psychosocial interventions; Hanson et al., 2002; Lösel & Schmucker, 2005). However, due to the low number of high quality evaluations, i.e. randomized controlled trials (RCTs) or good quasi-experiments with equivalent control groups, the results of these reviews should not be seen as a definite answer to ‘what works in sexual offender treatment’ but rather as steps in a development to establish a sound evidence base. A good example for such a process is the review of Hanson et al. (2009) that showed that the Risk-Need-Responsitivity (RNR) model of offender treatment (Andrews & Bonta, 2010) can be transferred from general to sexual offender treatment.
Objectives

Building on and updating our previous meta-analysis (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005) we meta-analytically integrate methodologically sound experimental and quasi-experimental studies that estimate the effects of treatment for sexual offenders on recidivism. This should provide the currently most valid international database on the effects of sexual offender treatment. Apart from the general question if treatment works for sexual offenders, the meta-analysis aims at analyzing characteristics that moderate treatment success.
Methods

Criteria for considering studies for this review

In order to be eligible for the meta-analysis, primary studies had to have the following characteristics:

1. **Study of male sexual offenders.** Participants had to have been convicted of a sexual offence or to have committed acts of illegal sexual behavior that would have led to a conviction if officially prosecuted. Studies on female sex offenders were not eligible. From the little that is known about female sex offending, we have to assume that it is not just a blueprint of its male counterpart (e.g. Freeman & Sandler, 2008).

2. **Evaluation of treatment.** No restrictions were made on the kind of intervention applied as long as it aimed to reduce recidivism (i.e., psychosocial as well as organic treatment modes such as hormonal medication by medroxyprogesterone or cyproterone acetate and surgical castration were eligible). However, interventions had to incorporate therapeutic measures; purely deterrent or punishing approaches were not included. Treatment did not have to be specifically tailored for sexual offenders. General offender treatment programs were eligible if the study addressed at least a subgroup of sexual offenders and reported separate results for these in both the treated and control groups.

3. **Study design.** The study had to report the same recidivism outcome for the treatment group (TG) and a control group (CG) not receiving the program under investigation. Apart from randomized studies, we included comparisons from quasi-experimental designs if there were no serious doubts regarding the equivalence of treatment and control groups. This included studies that used appropriate matching procedures, demonstrated equivalence by comparison of and/or statistical control for relevant variables. Equivalence was also assumed if the criteria of the incidental assignment did not relate to risks of reoffending such as availability of treatment in a certain region/at a certain time. These aspects were reflected in our adaptation of the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (see Farrington et al., 2002). Level 3 or above had to be reached in order to be eligible. Our adaptation is slightly stricter and a little more differentiated at the upper end of the scale that is of special interest for the synthesis of methodologically sound studies. We used the following categories:
   - **Level 1: No control or comparison group.**
   - **Level 2: Nonequivalent comparison group.** Differences on relevant variables effecting recidivism are reported or are to be expected (e.g., treatment dropouts, subjects who refuse treatment).

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1 The methodology of this review is based on the published protocol (Lösel & Schmucker, 2009)
• **Level 3: Incidental assignment but equivalent control group.** No serious doubts that assignment resulted in equivalent groups, or sound statistical control of potential differences.²
• **Level 4: Matching procedures.** Systematic strategy to attain equivalence of the control group (e.g. theoretically sound matching or propensity score techniques).
• **Level 5: Random assignment of treated and untreated subjects.** This level also required absence of selective attrition (in case of selective attrition studies were downgraded or excluded depending on its severity).

CGs could consist of untreated offenders or offenders receiving “treatment as usual” or another kind of treatment that differed from the evaluated program in content, intensity and specificity. Waiting-list control groups were included if the design allowed testing of a program effect (see outcome measures).

4. **Measure of recidivism as outcome.** An indication of officially registered new offences had to be included as a dependent variable. Although recidivism is not a very sensitive indicator of treatment effects (e.g. Barbaree, 1997), it is politically and practically most relevant. We followed a broad definition of recidivism (sexual as well as non-sexual offences). Studies could use criteria such as arrest, charge, conviction or incarceration as long as these definitions drew on officially registered recidivism. In contrast, primary studies focusing exclusively on changes in measures of personality, attitudes, hormone levels, problem behaviors, clinical ratings of improvement, and the like were not included. Self-reported offending was also not included because of the severe risk of biased reporting (i.e. denial of offences).

5. **Sample size.** Studies had to contain a minimum total sample size of 10 persons with at least 5 offenders in each group. This also excluded case reports. We kept this criterion low because clinical studies on sex offenders are often small-scale.

6. **Sufficient data for effect size computation.** Studies had to report outcomes in a way permitting the calculation of effect size estimates.

7. **Country of origin.** No restrictions were made as to where studies were conducted. For economic reasons, we restricted our analysis to studies reported in English, German, French, Dutch, or Swedish language.

8. **Published and unpublished studies.** Published as well as unpublished studies were eligible. There were no restrictions regarding the time of publication.

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**Search methods for identification of studies**

The study pool of the present analysis was based on the broad search of 2,039 documents that was reported in Lösel and Schmucker (2005) and updated to cover studies issued prior to 2010. Thus it concerned at least six more years of primary research than the previous meta-analysis.³ The coding was also updated for new information where necessary.

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² As an example, the treatment program evaluated by Lab et al. (1993) was originally intended for low to medium risk youths only, but in fact the risk scores of CG youths assigned to non-specific programming did not substantially differ and the groups were also comparable on a number of other characteristics. We therefore assumed that potential outcome differences could be plausibly interpreted as representing treatment effects and rated it on Level 3.

³ Carrying out and publishing a comprehensive meta-analysis takes a lot of time. Therefore, trying to keep a review updated can create a vicious cycle that is in conflict with timely publication. We are aware of a few more recent studies that are not included in our review. We also know about two studies with large samples, however, after some waiting time the latter findings have not yet been released. Therefore, we felt that the current analysis should now be published. To check the robustness of our findings, we assessed the available more recent studies and found that they were generally in accordance with our main results. The respective studies are briefly reported in Appendix 1.
The search used as many sources as possible to achieve a comprehensive international study pool that included both published and unpublished evaluations (see Schmucker & Lösel, 2011). The sources included:

1.1.1 **Searches in electronic literature and research databases**

We searched multiple databases which tapped different academic subjects:

- C2-SPECTR
- Center for Sex Offender Management (CSOM) documents database
- Cochrane Library
- Dissertation Abstracts International
- ERIC
- KrimLit Beta II
- MedLine
- National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS)
- PAVNET Online
- PsycInfo
- Psyndex
- Social Services Abstracts
- Sociological Abstracts
- UK National Health Service National Research Register

While such databases usually only cover published reports, some of the databases also refer to unpublished material. Usually the search combined four different keyword clusters: 1) (abnormal/delinquent) sexual behavior (e.g. sexual, paraphilia, molestation etc.); 2) criminal conduct and population (e.g. criminal, offenders, prison etc.); 3) therapeutic intervention (therapy, treatment, corrections etc.) and 4) outcome research (e.g. effectiveness, outcomes, recidivism etc.). The following terms were used to search four topical clusters:

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<th>Terms used</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cluster 1: (abnormal/delinquent) sexual behavior</td>
<td>sex* or paraphil* or rape or rapist or molest* or exhibitionis* or voyeur* or pedophil* or incest* or fetish* or necrophil* or frotteur*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster 2: criminal conduct and population</td>
<td>offen* or crim* or delinquen* or perpetrator* or prison*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster 3: therapeutic intervention</td>
<td>treat* or therapy or psychotherapy or intervention or training or correction* or rehabilitation or prevention or management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster 4: outcome research</td>
<td>evaluation or evaluate or evaluated or outcome or outcomes or effect or effects or effectiveness or impact or recidivism or re-offen* or reoffen* or follow-up or followup or relapse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Search terms were individually adapted to the specific layout and search options the databases allowed for in order to construct manageable, but albeit comprehensive results.

1.1.2 **Searching other resources**

Apart from electronic databases our search used a number of additional sources to further enhance the comprehensiveness of our search:

- *Previous reviews* on sexual offender treatment were scanned for included studies.
- *Primary studies* were scanned for cross references (*snowball method*).
- **Handsearches of pertinent journals.** Available journals that are known to publish articles relevant to the topic at hand were searched manually. This search included 16 journals (e.g. Aggression and Violent Behavior; Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health; Journal of Sexual Aggression; Psychology, Crime & Law; Sexual Abuse).

- **Internet search.** We also conducted internet searches primarily to find unpublished material. Obviously, the internet cannot be searched in full as it constitutes a rather loosely organized pool of information (Schmucker & Lösel, 2011). We visited the internet representations of pertinent institutions (e.g. Departments of Corrections, Ministries of Justice), searched them for information on relevant studies and followed indications of such research until we could locate the referenced material.

- **Personal inquiries.** We personally contacted experts in the field of sexual offender research and asked for own or other studies that would contribute to our study pool.

### 1.1.3 Managing studies located incidentally

Sometimes relevant studies are found incidentally (e.g. in the course of another but related literature search; content alerts of journals and the like). There is the danger that incidentally located studies might bias the study pool depending on the special research interests or typically scanned sources. One might decide to drop such studies from the pool. On the other hand, the aim of a comprehensive review is to include all studies that are available. Our decision was to include such incidentally located studies but to document that they were identified in this way. However, we found that we had either located such studies by our systematic literature search as well or they did not meet the eligibility criteria on closer inspection.

### Data collection and analysis

#### 1.1.4 Data extraction and management

A broad range of variables were coded for descriptive purposes although not all relevant variables were reported in all reports. The coding of study characteristics followed a detailed coding manual that was extended from our previous meta-analysis (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005).

For each study/comparison general features (e.g. type and year of publication, country), characteristics of the sample (e.g. age, offence types, voluntariness of treatment participation, risk of reoffending), treatment variables (e.g. basic treatment concept, setting, format of the treatment) and methodological features (e.g. Maryland Scale rating, follow-up interval). Table 1 shows the main basic variables describing the pool of included comparisons.

All studies were independently coded by the first author and a trained member of our research team with experience in the field of offender treatment evaluation. Inter-rater agreement varied across the variables but was overall similar to our previous meta-analysis (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005). Especially important categories such as treatment type or quality of evaluation design reached nearly 100% and no variable was below 60%. Relatively low agreement was mostly due to discrepancies regarding the missing status of a variable (e.g. author affiliation was coded as missing more often by the second coder due to a lack of knowledge of affiliation networks for sex offender treatment specifically). In case of disagreement of the coders we had a group discussion in the research team to reach consensus.
### Measures of treatment effect

Usually, the outcomes are reported in terms of recidivism rates for treated and untreated participants. We thus chose the odds ratio (OR) as effect size measure (see Fleiss et al., 1994). The following formulas were used for recidivism rates ($p$) and absolute number of successes and failures in the treated group (TG) and comparison group (CG) respectively:

$$OR = \frac{p_{CG} \times (1 - p_{TG})}{p_{TG} \times (1 - p_{CG})} \quad \text{and} \quad OR = \frac{TG_{Success} \times CG_{Failure}}{TG_{Failure} \times CG_{Success}}$$

If any of these frequencies equaled zero, 0.5 was added to each frequency. Some studies reported more sophisticated statistical analyses that controlled for differences between TGs and CGs. In such cases, we used these results instead of the simple recidivism rates. In logistic regression, the coefficients equal the natural log of the OR (LOR), and as an exponent to e this equals the OR (see Fleiss, 1994). The result for the treatment variable could thus be transferred directly. In Cox regression, results are reported in the form of a risk ratio, which is similar but not identical to the OR. We used the risk ratio (RR) to estimate a recidivism rate for the CG corrected for the group differences considered in the Cox regression model ($p_{CG} = RR \times p_{TG}$ or $p_{CG} = RR / p_{TG}$, depending on the coding of the treatment variable in the primary study). We then calculated the OR substituting the estimated CG recidivism rate following the above formula. Few studies reported other test statistics that could not be transformed readily into ORs. In these cases, we used standard procedures to calculate Cohen’s $d$ (see Lipsey & Wilson, 2001) and then converted these into odds ratios using

$$LOR = \frac{\pi}{\sqrt{3}} \times d \quad \text{(Hasselblad & Hedges, 1995, Formula 4, re-arranged)} \quad \text{and} \quad OR = e^{LOR}.$$ 

Studies often reported multiple outcome variables. Different domains of recidivist behavior (i.e., sexual, violent, or general recidivism) were always analyzed separately. If a study reported different indicators of failure (i.e., charge, arrest, or conviction) for a common construct of interest, we would code effect sizes separately and then average them to a single effect size. In fact, this did not occur for any of the studies included in the final sample. To check whether different definitions of recidivism systematically relate to effect sizes, we subjected this to a moderator analysis and found no significant impact (see results section).

Some studies reported separate results for different offender types or risk groups, but did not meet criteria for independent comparisons as defined below. Here, we calculated effect sizes separately for the subgroups and used the weighted average to obtain a study effect size (see Fleiss, 1994).

Whenever possible, participants who dropped out of treatment were included in the treatment group (“intent to treat” analysis).
1.1.6 Unit of analysis issues

Sometimes references report more than one study. We then referred to the individual studies as the units of analysis. If a study contained multiple dependent (sub-)samples, we used the comparison with the highest internal validity. For example, if a study compared recidivism rates for the total sample of treated/untreated participants and additionally matched a subsample of these groups on relevant characteristics, we would use the latter comparison. Some primary studies present results for different independent subsamples (e.g. separated according to offence types). In those cases we used the subsamples as units of analysis when this would improve equivalence between treated and control groups and the report allowed for a differentiated coding of the individual subsamples regarding the coding variables (see below). Following this approach we extracted 29 comparisons from 27 studies that met our inclusion criteria. In total, the 29 comparisons comprise 4,939 treated and 5,448 untreated offenders.

1.1.7 Data synthesis and moderator analyses

Statistical analyses were conducted on the natural log of the OR (Fleiss, 1994; Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). To integrate effect sizes, we applied the weighting procedures based on the standard error of individual effect sizes (Hedges & Olkin, 1985). Analyses were conducted with IBM SPSS Statistics using the macros for meta-analysis written by David Wilson (see Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). Because of the expected heterogeneity of effect size distributions, we applied a random effects model. The random variance component ($\tau^2$) was estimated via the method-of-moments procedure. All moderator analyses were carried out under the assumption of a mixed effects model (see also Lipsey & Wilson, 2001; Wilson, 2001). Continuous moderator variables were analyzed using weighted regression, again under the mixed effects model and weighted $\beta$ coefficients ($\beta_w$) are reported. When only one moderator variable is in the regression model $\beta_w$ equals the simple (weighted) correlation. Data were inspected for outliers and when necessary analyses were controlled for the presence of outliers and extreme values.
Results

Description of studies

1.1.8 Results of the search

Altogether, for the current integration more than 3,000 documents were identified. Figure 1 shows the PRISMA flow chart (Moher et al., 2009) of the literature search and selection process. After duplicates removed, 2851 documents were left for screening. Whenever titles or abstracts of located material did not clearly suggest that the study was ineligible we retrieved the full report to determine eligibility. 38 documents would have remained in the pool for further full-text screening but could not be located. Of the remaining 2813 documents 2373 were excluded because the title or the abstract clearly indicated that they were not eligible. Of the remaining 440 documents the full-texts were assessed for eligibility. At this stage another 413 documents were excluded. A number of these studies did not evaluate a concrete (sexual) offender treatment with respect to outcomes (n = 143). Of the remaining 270 studies, most had to be excluded because they did not incorporate adequate control groups. In the end only 27 studies met the inclusion criteria and comprised the study pool.

1.1.9 Characteristics of included studies

Table 1 contains an overview of the basic characteristics of included comparisons. They were predominantly reported in the last two decades. Nearly a half appeared since 2000 and only four studies were dated before 1990. Due to the lag between treatment and outcomes that is required in follow up studies the time of treatment implementation was often considerably earlier. Although our search identified eligible studies from seven countries, more than a half came from Canada and the USA. The majority of the comparisons were extracted from published journal articles. However, as mentioned, we took effort to include unpublished studies and these constituted almost one fourth of the pool.

Treatment characteristics. Most studies addressed the evaluation of cognitive-behavioral treatments (CBTs). Only eight programs were classified in other categories. In contrast to our previous meta-analysis (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005), no study on hormonal treatment met the more rigorous inclusion criteria of the present meta-analysis. However, some of the programs in the current pool applied additional medication in individual cases. Treatment took place in institutional as well as community settings and all but three programs were specifically designed for sexual offenders.

We coded whether treatment occurred in group and/or individual sessions on a five point scale. In most programs, treatment was solely (k = 9) or mainly (k = 8) carried out in a group format. Eight programs (27.6 %) contained predominantly individual sessions.

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4 The reference section contains a list of these studies with the respective reasons for exclusion.
The duration of treatment ranged from a minimum of eight weeks to a maximum of 281 weeks ($M = 73.34, SD = 69.21, \text{Median} = 37.5$). Obviously, the treatment length differed between settings with outpatient treatment having the shortest durations ($M = 52.54, SD = 41.58, \text{Median} = 30.8$) and treatment in prison settings the longest ($M = 98.50, SD = 91.24, \text{Median} = 78.0$). The length of treatment could not be determined in 9 cases, i.e. almost one third of the studies did not provide information on a very basic variable.

Some features of the interventions were not well documented. Especially, coding of treatment integrity was rarely possible and if so this mostly meant that studies reported positive indicators of treatment integrity. Only one study (Hanson et al., 2004) reported problems in implementing the treatment, but in 18 studies (62.1%) there was simply no information on this aspect. It was also rarely reported whether aftercare services had been offered.

**Offender characteristics.** Regarding the age of the treated offenders, a majority of programs addressed adults only. However, this information could not always be extracted with sufficient certitude. The mean age of the treated offenders across all comparisons was 31.13 years ($SD = 7.97$). Usually the samples were rather homogeneous in age, but again this aspect was not always clearly reported.

With regard to sexual offending, nearly half of the programs and evaluations included mixed groups of rapists and child molesters ($k = 14$). Sometimes other sexual offenders also participated in the program ($k = 6$). Only one comparison referred to rapists and another one to exhibitionists exclusively. Seven comparisons only included child molesters and/or incest offenders. For eight comparisons no further information of offence type (apart from being sexual offenders) was available.

Meta-analyses on general offender treatment have shown that the risk of recidivism is negatively related to effect size (e.g. Lösel, 2012). Therefore, we tried to estimate the mean risk of treated offenders for each comparison. Mostly, there was no report on proper risk assessments in the studies. However, many studies reported some information on variables that are relevant for risk. We used the Rapid Risk Assessment for Sex Offence Recidivism (RRASOR; Hanson, 1997) to evaluate this information. The RRASOR was originally designed for individual risk judgments. We used the items of the RRASOR to estimate the mean risk for the treated group by translating group statistics of the relevant variables (information on prior convictions, age distribution, and victim characteristics in the study sample) into item scores and added them up to the total score. This was possible for 17 comparisons ($M = 1.98; SD = 0.63$ across comparisons). We then recoded these scores into three risk categories with low risk ranging to a score of 1.5 and high risk at a score of 2.5 or above. According to recidivism data reported by Hanson (1997) and Doren (2004) this renders a low risk group with estimated 5 year recidivism rates of roughly below 10%, a medium risk group with estimated 5 year recidivism rates between approximately 10% and 20%, and a higher risk group with estimated 5 year recidivism rates of about 20% and above. Three comparisons reported other risk assessments that could be grouped in these categories as well. Another four comparisons provided information that allowed an approximate risk classification. Table 1 shows the risk classification for those 24 comparisons. Five comparisons did not allow for any risk estimate. One might argue that our high risk category does not represent the offenders at very high risk and could be termed “elevated risk” or high-medium risk as this is done in some studies. However, our risk scores do not refer to individual offenders as in practical risk assessments, but are only used for a rough differentiation between groups as a whole. Against this background, we assume that the comparisons in our high risk category contain a substantial proportion of offenders at highest risk.

**Methodological characteristics.** Sample sizes ranged widely between a very small sample of 16 (Borduin et al., 1990) and a very large sample of 2,557 (Friendship et al., 2003). On average studies included 358 ($SD = 586.73$) offenders but in fact more than half of the comparisons (51.7 %) included fewer than 150 participants ($\text{Median} = 136$).

Only about one fifth of the comparisons were randomized controlled trials (RCTs) and studies with matching procedures to ensure equivalence of treated and untreated offenders were rare as well.
More than half of the comparisons drew on incidentally assigned samples (Level 3 on the Maryland Scale). Although sample characteristics and/or statistical control procedures justified the assumption of equivalence between treatment and control groups (see Methods section), the large proportion of Level 3 studies bears a risk of findings biased by weaker designs. Most studies had a rather long follow-up period. The mean time at risk ranged from 12 to 234 months with 24 comparisons (82.8 %) reporting follow ups of more than three years. On average the follow up time was 70.26 months or 5.9 years. Except for one study (Robinson, 1995) all reported sexual recidivism as an outcome. Most commonly, recidivism was defined as a new conviction but other definitions such as rearrest, new charges or reincarceration were used as well. Three studies integrated different indicators to establish whether a new offense had occurred or not.

We also coded what Lösel and Köferl (1989) introduced as “Descriptive Validity” (DV) of an evaluation (see also Farrington, 2006; Gill, 2011). This is not a characteristic of the study method itself but refers to the accuracy of information provided in a research report. Overall, there was often a lack of information and clarity about the treatment evaluated and details regarding the population and methods used. On a scale from 0 (very low) to 3 (excellent) the overall transparency was on average 1.21 ($SD = 0.68$). The descriptive validity was especially low for reporting on the actual implementation of the treatment at hand ($M = 0.48; SD = 0.69$) which points back to the high number of missing information regarding treatment integrity. For other areas the documentation was better, but not ideal (DV for “treatment concept”: $M = 1.41; SD = 0.91$; DV for “evaluation methods”: $M = 1.48; SD = 0.74$). Only outcome reporting had better values regarding DV ($M = 2.38; SD = 0.98$); however, this was due to our eligibility criteria as studies that did not allow for a reasonably accurate estimate of effect size were not included.

### Synthesis of results

#### 1.1.10 Total effects

Of the 29 comparisons included in the analyses, 28 reported on sexual recidivism outcomes (see Table 2). Figure 1 gives an overview of the ORs and confidence intervals for these comparisons as well as the overall mean. The forest plot shows considerable differences between effect sizes and this heterogeneity was significant; $Q (df = 27) = 52.05, p < .01$. According to Higgins et al.’s (2003) I$^2$-measure nearly half of the observed heterogeneity cannot be attributed to sampling errors but represents systematic differences between the studies. Integration of the results according to a random effects model revealed a highly significant mean OR of 1.41 (95% CI: 1.11 to 1.78, $p = .005$). The treated offenders recidivated sexually at a mean rate of 10.1% ($n$-weighted average). The mean OR indicated that without treatment the recidivism rate would have been at 13.7%, i.e. treatment reduced recidivism by 3.6 percentage points or 26.3%.

Too few studies reported on violent ($k = 7$) or non-sexual recidivism ($k = 7$) to allow for adequate integration on these outcomes. However, 14 comparisons presented data on general recidivism (see Table 2 and Figure 2). As in sexual offending there was considerable and significant heterogeneity across outcomes in general recidivism; $Q (df = 12) = 23.66, p = .03$. The mean effect size was $OR = 1.45$ (95% CI: 1.15 to 1.83, $p = .002$). In terms of recidivism rates the $n$-weighted average in general reoffending for the treated groups was 32.6%. According to the estimated mean effect the respective rate is 41.2% without treatment. This is a reduction of 8.6 percentage points or 26.4% in general recidivism.

#### 1.1.11 Sensitivity analyses: Exclusion of outliers

The forest plots of Figures 1 and 2 suggest that the significant heterogeneity might be due to outliers. In order to test the robustness of the effects we supplemented the calculation of the total effects with an analysis excluding extreme values. To identify outliers we drew on the procedure developed by Huffcutt and Arthur (1995) for meta-analysis. This takes into account the extremeness of a value (i.e. its deviation from the grand mean) as well as the respective sample size. For small samples larger deviations may be expected by chance, while for larger samples even
small deviations can be unlikely (i.e. “extreme”) and influence results considerably. For every study the Sample-Adjusted Meta-Analytic Deviancy (SAMD) statistic was calculated, both with respect to effects in sexual and general recidivism. For sexual recidivism three effects stood out of the other effect sizes (Borduin et al., 2009; Greenberg et al., 2000a; McGrath et al., 1998). Excluding those comparisons from the integration resulted in a marginally lower mean OR of 1.38 (95% CI: 1.12 to 1.70). This effect was still significant at $p = .003$. While the effect size distribution became more homogenous with the outliers excluded ($I^2 = 35.4\%$), it was still significantly heterogeneous; $Q (df = 24) = 37.18, p = .05$. For any recidivism one study showed an extreme value (Borduin et al., 2009). Excluding this reduced the total effect to $OR = 1.40$ (95% CI: 1.14 to 1.71). Again, the effect remained significant at $p = .001$, and heterogeneity was reduced, $I^2 = 32.7\%, Q (df = 12) = 17.83, p = .12$.

Overall, our sensitivity analysis showed that the mean effect sizes were relatively robust. The study of Borduin et al. (2009) on MST was an outlier in both outcome criteria and therefore should be considered with particular caution, but due to its relatively small sample size it had not much impact on the overall effect in our sensitivity analysis. As the effect size distribution for sexual recidivism remained heterogeneous, a more differentiated analysis of moderator effects was carried out.

### 1.1.12 Moderator analyses

The moderator analyses were based on a mixed effects model. Due to the rather small number of comparisons those analyses suffer from low statistical power. Nevertheless it seemed worthwhile to explore on variables that may systematically influence the results because this is relevant for a more detailed future development of sexual offender treatment. Table 3 gives an overview of methodological, offender and treatment variables and their impact on differences between study results.

#### 1.1.12.1 Methodological variables

As we included studies that used different definitions for recidivism, we tested whether the recidivism measure used would be related to systematic outcome differences. At $Q (df = 4) = 2.94, p = .57$, there was no significant impact on study effect sizes and the heterogeneity of the effect size distribution was not reduced when applying this characteristic as a moderating variable.

Overall, design quality had no systematic effect on results. Neither the comparison between randomized and quasi-experimental designs nor the more differentiated distinction according to the Maryland Scale yielded any significant differences between mean effects ($p = .80$ and $p = .94$, respectively) and the correlation between study effect size and methodological quality was minuscule ($\beta_w = -.06, z = -0.34, p = .73$). However, the effect of treatment was statistically significant only for the designs at Level 3 of the Maryland Scale. For the few RCTs the effect was a bit smaller and not statistically significant. This reflects the low number of RCTs and hence the lower statistical power. High heterogeneity among randomized trials also contributed to lower statistical power, $Q (df = 4) = 14.39, p < .01$ (see also Figure 1). While the two randomized studies on MST of juvenile offenders (Borduin et al., 1990, 2005) showed untypically strong treatment effects, the remaining three RCTs revealed weak to even negative results (Marques et al., 2005; Ortmann, 2002; Romero & Williams, 1983).

Although general recidivism outcomes were not the target of our moderator analyses, it should be noted that these showed a different picture with regard to methodological quality (see Figure 2). Here, there was a significant difference between randomized and non-randomized designs, $Q (df = 1) = 5.91, p = .02$. RCTs had a strong treatment effect ($k = 4, OR = 3.46, 95\% CI: 1.63 to 7.34, p = .001$), whereas quasi-experimental designs revealed no significant outcomes ($k = 10, OR = 1.30, 95\% CI: 0.98 to 1.74, p = .07$). This reverse picture is obviously due to different subsets of primary studies. Those two randomized studies showing the worst outcomes for sexual recidivism (Marques et al. 2005; Romero & Williams, 1983) did not present data on general recidivism. Marques et al. reported findings on violent recidivism which showed even worse results ($OR = 0.64$). Therefore,
we assume that if all randomized studies had reported on general recidivism the effect would have been much smaller than mentioned above.

Recidivism base rate – defined as the mean recidivism rate in TG and CG – was an important moderator. The higher the rate of reoffending in a study sample, the larger the resultant effect sizes ($\beta_w = .39$, $z = 2.27$, $p = .02$). This is in fact closely related to the a priori risk of treated offenders with higher risk (see section on offender variables).

There were no systematic differences due to the length of follow up. However, two counteracting processes may be reflected in this variable. On the one hand, longer follow up periods are logically related to higher recidivism rates (in our sample the correlation was $r = .35$). Recidivism outcomes thus have a higher range in which effects can be demonstrated. On the other hand, the longer the follow up, the more other influences may have an impact in the life of a treated offender, thus supposedly reducing the effect of treatment. Following these thoughts we calculated a partial correlation between effect size and length of follow up with control for the recidivism base rate. It showed a clearer albeit still not significant negative trend ($\beta_w = –.27$, $z = –1.48$, $p = .14$; corrected for outliers: $\beta_w = –.39$, $z = –1.94$, $p = .052$).

Analyses on sample size also revealed complex results. There was only a small and non-significant linear relation to treatment effects with larger samples doing slightly worse ($\beta_w = –.05$, $z = –0.29$, $p = .77$). Eliminating the particularly large studies with $N > 1000$ (Duwe & Goldman; 2009; Friendship et al. 2003) raised the correlation which remained non-significant though ($\beta_w = –.19$, $z = –1.04$, $p = .30$). However, as Table 3 shows, there is one category that clearly stands out: Studies with small samples ($n \leq 50$) had very strong effects compared to all studies with larger samples ($p = .001$). Among the comparisons with larger samples there was no systematic relationship between sample and effect size ($\beta_w = .14$, $z = 0.67$, $p = .50$).

The strongest moderating effect in the methodological domain resulted for descriptive validity (DV, quality of reporting on the study). The 4-point scale rating of DV correlated with effect size at $\beta_w = .46$, $z = 2.78$, $p = .01$, indicating that unsatisfactory reports went along with worse outcomes. A closer inspection showed that this was mainly due to imprecise reporting on the treatment concept ($p = .01$) and the evaluation outcomes ($p = .02$). While the latter is probably related to conservative effect size estimation procedures, the former aspect points towards treatment integrity.

There was no difference in mean effects with regard to publication type, $Q (df = 2) = 2.59$, $p = .27$, or publication status, $Q (df = 1) = 0.01$, $p = .94$.

### 1.1.12.2 Treatment variables

The analyses on the treatment characteristics showed a significant effect for the general treatment concept applied. This is mainly a function of two evaluations on MST which were carried out by the program developers and had extremely large effects. Repeating the analyses on differences between the general treatment approach without those two studies revealed a non-significant result, $Q (df = 2) = 0.51$, $p = .78$. Of the remaining treatment approaches cognitive-behavioral programs showed a modest but significant effect on sexual recidivism. Other psychotherapeutic approaches did not yield a statistically significant treatment effect. This may be due to the low number of studies conducted on such therapies. The time of treatment implementation does not make a difference. There is no indication that treatment effects became larger in more recent time.

As Table 3 shows, there are only few treatment features that clearly differentiate effective treatment. This is in part due to the few comparisons available for moderator analyses and the low power of the respective tests. However, there are some other findings that deserve mentioning. For example, while there was no clear indication of effect size differences across different settings ($p = .16$), we only found significant effects for outpatient treatments and those provided in hospitals. Treatment in prison settings yielded a lower and non-significant mean effect.
The comparisons of specialized (versus non-specialized) sex offender treatment and authors’ affiliation with the treatment both showed no significant moderator effect. But when testing the individual categories, only treatment tailored for sexual offenders and only evaluations conducted by authors affiliated with the treatment revealed significant mean effects in sexual recidivism.

There was a rather clear trend for better treatment effects of programs that have a more individualized approach ($\beta_w = .41, z = 2.47, p = .01$). In part this was due to the two trials on MST which represent a highly individualized approach. However, there remained a considerable tendency after exclusion of those studies ($\beta_w = .31, z = 1.67, p = .09$).

Treatment duration did not play a role regarding effect size; there was even a non-significant negative relation ($\beta_w = -.15, z = -0.72, p = .47$). Controlling for different settings, outliers, or offender risk did not substantially alter this picture.

### 1.1.12.3 Offender variables

Most studies lack a detailed description of offender variables or their analyses are not differentiated enough to allow for a detailed investigation of their impact on effect size. For example, we could not even perform a sensible analysis regarding the type of offence committed. Therefore, only three offender variables have been looked at in detail.

Regarding offender age, there was a significant treatment effect for both adults and adolescents. Although treatments that refer to adolescents fared somewhat better than those for adults, this difference was not significant ($p = .17$). If the analysis drew on the mean age of the treated participants, there was a tendency for younger groups benefiting more from treatment ($\beta_w = -.30, z = -1.80, p = .07$). However, this was mainly due to the two evaluations of MST that targeted adolescents. Excluding these, the age effect disappears ($\beta_w = -.11, z = -0.60, p = .55$). Another result refers to treatment recruitment. It made no difference whether offenders entered treatment voluntarily or on a mandatory basis ($OR = 1.33$ vs. $OR = 1.32$).

One of the strongest moderating effects is related to the risk of reoffending. The higher the risk, the higher the resulting treatment effect was. Treatments for low risk participants showed no effect at all. For the three risk categories there was a strong linear relationship ($\beta_w = .46, z = 2.59, p < .001$) and the results proved rather stable against outlier corrections. However, it must be noted that our risk classification is only a rough estimate and only three studies fitted into the highest category.
Discussion

Overall results

The above meta-analysis revealed a significant mean odds ratio of 1.41 for sexual recidivism. Only 10.1% of treated offenders reoffended whereas without treatment the recidivism rate would be 13.7%. That is a difference of 3.6 percentage points or 26.3%. For the more general outcome of any recidivism the mean effect was in the same range, even somewhat higher. Excluding outlier results only slightly reduced the mean effects and they remained significant, both for sexual and any recidivism. Thus, the total effects seem to be robust. Drawing on a sample of 29 rather well-controlled comparisons the results suggest that treatment can effectively reduce recidivism in sexual offenders.

The present mean effect in sexual recidivism is smaller than the one we found in our previous meta-analysis which included 80 comparisons (OR = 1.70; Lösel & Schmucker, 2005). However, the previous review contained many studies with nonequivalent comparison groups. It also incorporated studies on surgical castration and pharmacological treatment. Studies on surgical castration showed very large effect sizes but had various methodological shortcomings (apart from ethical and legal problems of the intervention itself). Excluding those studies the mean OR in our previous review was 1.38, and when the analyses were restricted to psychosocial interventions only it further decreased to OR = 1.32. As only psychosocial interventions fulfilled the stricter eligibility criteria in the current meta-analysis, the present mean effect is even a little stronger than in the previous meta-analysis.

Quality of the evidence and risks of bias

1.1.13 Study design

Although the overall results suggest a desirable mean effect of treatment this cannot be simply generalized because of the considerable heterogeneity in the findings of the primary studies. In addition, only six studies (five with sexual offending as outcome) were RCTs. Eight further studies at least used individual matching procedures to render equivalence between treatment and comparison groups. Although the effect size of those studies was in the same range as for the methodologically weaker studies, both the RCTs and the studies with an individual matching failed to yield statistical significance. In both cases this may be due to low statistical power (few studies and often only small sample sizes). The RCTs also showed very heterogeneous results, which further reduces statistical power. Obviously, there is no unambiguous trend in the best studies available. Accordingly, more RCTs are needed in order to get more valid data on the true effects of sexual offender treatment. On the other hand one should consider the arguments of Marshall and Marshall (2007) against a too narrow focus on RCTs in this field; for counter-arguments see Seto et al. (2008). An RCT that is not adequately designed to address the practice of psychotherapy may have limited value (e.g. Seligman & Levant, 1998; Hollin, 2008) and various threats to internal validity may also occur in RCTs (e.g. Lösel, 2007). In addition, RCTs for sexual offenders become increasingly difficult because various countries require mandatory treatment when the offence or sentence exceeds a specific level of seriousness. This often makes it impossible to form a randomized control group. Therefore, we suggest carrying out more RCTs on sexual offender treatment, but when an RTC is not feasible for legal or practical reasons one should also apply
sound quasi-experimental designs. Such a strategy has already been recommended in Campbell’s (1969) groundbreaking article on program evaluation (see also Shadish et al., 2002).

The basic evaluation design was not a significant moderator in our meta-analysis. This is in contrast to findings in other fields of criminology (Weisburd et al., 2001), but not an exception in offender treatment research (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; Lösel, 2012). In the present meta-analysis other features had a clearer influence on effect sizes.

1.1.14 Other risks of bias

Beyond the overall quality of the evaluation design our meta-analysis may contain various other risks of bias. For example, one third of the studies had only small sample sizes with up to 50 offenders. Those had higher effects than evaluations based on larger samples. This is usually regarded as a sign of publication bias. However, the difference in the present meta-analysis was not simply a function of an evaluation being published or not. Publication status did not exert an influence on effect size and the small sample effect was visible in published as well as unpublished studies. It is possible, though, that there is an “internal” publication bias, i.e. it may be more difficult to “hide” the results of a larger study. In contrast, the results of small scale studies may never be reported at all, not even as an unpublished report, especially if those results are negative and the researcher has a strong interest in not making the results visible. In fact, only one of the unpublished studies drew on a small sample (14%) compared to 30% among published studies. Thus, the results of this meta-analysis may be upwardly biased due to publication selection bias.

An alternative explanation of the small sample effect may be that treatment implementation is better monitored and easier controlled in a small scale setting. There are some other findings in our review that fit well with this implementation hypothesis: Evaluations that focused on only one program, implemented in one location revealed somewhat better results than studies that evaluated different programs across different institutions. Usually the latter indicates that program implementation was not well controlled (Greenberg et al., 2002; Rudijs & Timmermann, 2000) or that it was in fact weak (Hanson et al., 2004). Only two of the multi-location evaluations indicated a well-controlled implementation (Friendship et al., 2003; Guarino-Ghezzi & Kimball, 1998). Those two showed relatively good outcomes among the multi-location evaluations. Also, model projects that can be assumed to have a tight grip on program implementation fared slightly better than routine applications of treatment. This is in accordance with the literature on general offender treatment (Lösel, 2012) and also related to the issue of a potential influence of authorship. The finding that only evaluations by authors affiliated to the program had a significant effect is in accordance with other criminological research (e.g. Eisner, 2009; Petrosino & Soydan, 2005). On the one hand this could be a matter of treatment integrity: It is likely that those who evaluate their own work pay more attention to proper program implementation. In fact, three quarters of the comparisons showing positive indicators of treatment integrity come from authors affiliated with the program in some way. On the other hand authors affiliated with the treatment may also be more reluctant to report negative results and may selectively analyze and publish favorable results. As we do not have detailed data on such processes, we only can alert the reader to such potential risks. For example, both studies on MST had a sound RCT design, but they were carried out by the program developers themselves and showed extremely large effect sizes (with Odds Ratios of about 20). However, the two studies also had other features that are connected with higher effects in the moderator analyses: They targeted young and rather high risk adolescent offenders, contained small samples and controlled for treatment integrity. Relatively positive results on MST have been reported in general offender treatment as well (Curtis et al., 2004). However, these are also predominantly studies by the program developers. In addition, the effects of MST were especially high in efficacy studies (demonstration projects) compared to effectiveness studies in real practice. When Littell et al. (2005) conducted a review on MST they drew a more skeptical picture because they only identified one fully independent evaluation and this showed no positive effect. Not surprisingly, Littell et al.’s critical conclusions have been challenged by Henggeler et al. (2006). However, independent evaluations of MST in Scandinavia have also shown contradicting effects (Ogden et al., 2007; Sundell et al. 2008).
In general there was no clear interaction between author affiliation and publication status in our data. But again, these results only refer to reports that were made available to us and there might be a “hidden” publication effect that goes beyond “officially published or not.” Overall, there was not enough valid information on treatment implementation and therefore this topic could not be properly tested.

1.1.15 Descriptive validity

Insufficient information in the documentation of details of the evaluation was very common in the current study set. This problem hinders more detailed moderator analyses and is in itself related to treatment effects. Studies that had more shortcomings in their reports showed lower effects than the better documented studies. The correlation between documentation quality (descriptive validity) and effect size can be tracked down to two aspects. First, it is a consequence of outcome reporting. Whenever possible effects were estimated for a comparison, but sometimes data had to be partially reconstructed from what was reported in a study. To ensure that the reconstruction would not overestimate the effects this was done in a conservative manner, so smaller effects in those comparisons could be expected. The second – and probably stronger – influence regarding the quality of documentation comes from the lack of detail on the treatment concept under consideration. The clearer a treatment concept was documented the higher the treatment effect. Again, this underlines the importance of treatment integrity. One can assume that in those cases that did not sufficiently report on the treatment, the concept may have been less elaborated or not properly implemented. Although this interpretation is somewhat speculative, the issue of descriptive validity should be seriously taken into account in future research.

The influence of methodological variables reduces the power to detect important content variables or may be confounded with such variables (Lipsey, 2003). Due to the limited number of available comparisons a meaningful statistical control for confounded variables was not possible in this meta-analysis. In spite of these limits, there are some moderating effects that deserve further attention.

Results of further moderator analyses

1.1.16 Treatment characteristics

Various treatment concepts that are used in practice were only represented by single studies or not at all. For example, no evaluation of pharmacological treatment fulfilled the eligibility criteria for our study pool. With regard to cyproterone acetate (CPA) or selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) we found no controlled studies that examined their effectiveness on sexual offender recidivism. With regard to medroxyprogesterone acetate (MPA), there are at least some controlled studies. However, these evaluations mostly draw upon non-equivalent control groups and none of them fulfilled the criteria for the current review. To our knowledge there is one RCT on MPA treatment with sexual offenders (McConaghy et al., 1988). But with regard to the recidivism outcomes the randomized design is so severely disturbed that it renders the groups clearly non-equivalent. The RCT only holds for a less strict outcome criterion (“reduction in anomalous behavior”) that was not eligible for the present analysis. While other meta-analyses found favorable effects for hormonal medication (Hall, 1995; Lösel & Schmucker, 2005) these effects were based on relatively weak studies. It is therefore essential that the promising findings from previous meta-analyses be confirmed in evaluations with stronger research designs.

Only evaluations of psychosocial treatments met the inclusion criteria of this meta-analysis. Among the various therapeutic approaches one program stands out: The two evaluations of MST for juvenile sexual offenders showed extraordinarily strong effects and differed significantly from other approaches. The risk of a bias in these studies has been discussed above. Against this background the two MST studies on sexual offenders need replication in independent evaluations.
The majority of evaluations in the present study pool addressed cognitive-behavioral treatments (CBTs). Although CBT is not at all a homogeneous concept (Marshall & Marshall, 2010), there is a relatively broad study base to draw conclusions. The 20 comparisons evaluating sexual recidivism showed a significant, albeit moderate mean effect. This is in line with most of the previous meta-analyses on sexual offender treatment (e.g., Hall, 1995; Hanson et al., 2002; Lösel & Schmucker, 2005) and on general offender treatment (Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; see also Lösel, 2012 and Wilson et al., 2005). Other approaches did not reach significant effects. In fact, there were only few evaluations of other treatment approaches that fulfilled the inclusion criteria. However, even among the CBT approaches the effects varied considerably and the only RCT on CBT that reports sexual recidivism outcomes (Marques et al., 2005) did not show a positive treatment effect.

Although CBT approaches have been advocated over the last decades, the effects are not as clear cut as one might wish for “best practice”. It seems that the principal treatment approach in itself is not the clearest moderator and other variables may be more relevant for outcome differences.

Many of the treatment-related variables in the current meta-analysis did not provide clear cut differences between evaluations. However, there was a tendency that outpatient treatment fared better than treatment in prisons. The difference in favor of community programs is in agreement with the general research on ‘what works’ in correctional treatment (e.g. Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Koehler et al., 2013; Lipsey and Cullen, 2007; Lösel, 2012; Lösel & Koehler, 2014). This may be due to iatrogenic ‘contamination effects’ in the prison subculture, a lack of deterrence, a deferred transfer of learned contents to the world outside, difficulties during resettlement and other influences (Durlauf & Nagin, 2011; Gatti et al., 2009; Lösel et al., 2012; Markson et al., 2015). Our results on prison-based treatment are highly relevant for practice but they are difficult to interpret. Although there was no significant mean effect, prison-based programs did not fare significantly worse than treatment in other settings. Therefore, some issues of treatment context need to be emphasized: First, the primary studies did not directly compare treatment in prison vs. in the community, but TGs and CGs within the prison context. Second, institutionalized treatment in hospitals showed a significant effect on sexual reoffending. Third, one of the few primary studies in our pool that demonstrated a significant result was a prison-based CBT program (Duwe & Goldman, 2009: OR = 1.46). Therefore, it is necessary to investigate what program, organizational, relational and offender differences can make sexual offender treatment in prisons more promising.

One relevant issue may be the treatment format. In practice sexual offender treatment takes place in groups for the most part. In a thorough discussion Ware et al. (2009) provide plausible arguments for this approach. Not least, practical and financial reasons have to be considered. However, our findings suggest that the inclusion of individual sessions reveals better results. There may be confounding variables at work. For example, excluding the MST evaluations reduced the effect of individualization and the relation is probably not fully linear, i.e. a complete individualization may not be the golden principle either. However, it seems that supplementing group treatment with individualized sessions may better fit the responsibility principle of appropriate offender treatment (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Fortunately, there is no systematic research on the question whether an individualized or a group format is better for sexual offenders. However, there are various reasons for better effects of programs with individualized elements. First, some offenders may “hide” in group sessions. Second, using group sessions means that the same needs are targeted for all participants. This goes against the concept of individual needs and specific responsivity (Andrews et al., 2011), especially in mixed groups with very heterogeneous offender types. Third, supplemental individual sessions allow to tailor treatment more specifically (Drake & Ward, 2003) and to strengthen therapeutic alliances (Marshall et al., 2003; Ward & Maruna, 2007). Since general research on psychotherapy has clearly shown that relational issues and therapist characteristics are as important as the treatment model (e.g. Orlinsky et al., 1994), offender treatment needs to recognize that one size may not fit all (Lösel, 2012). Accordingly, treatment manuals should provide sufficient scope for flexibility and innovation (Marshall, 2009).

It would be desirable to more clearly disentangle the effect of the treatment format also for other variables; e.g. there is no controlled research on a fixed versus rolling format. Unfortunately, our study pool is too small to allow for analytical models enabling us to control for confounding variables in a more appropriate manner. In our previous meta-analysis that had less strict...
inclusion criteria and thus a bigger study pool we could control for a number of other variables. As a consequence the impact of group versus individual treatment was less clear when we applied hierarchical regression analyses (Lösel & Schmucker, 2005). Therefore, at this stage we recommend to further investigate whether individualization is connected to better treatment outcomes or not. This kind of research should be related to analyses of the influence of other treatment process variables (see also Harkins & Beech, 2007; Pratt, 2010).

1.1.17 Offender characteristics

Regarding offender characteristics there is a trend for younger sex offenders to gain more from treatment. Again, this has to be interpreted with caution due to possible confounding variables. For example, younger offenders are also at higher risk for reoffending. Nevertheless, our findings indicate that early interventions in the career of sexual offenders are particularly worthwhile. The treatment of adolescent or young adult offenders can also benefit more from protective factors in the family or natural social context (Lösel & Bender, in press; Lösel & Farrington, 2012; Lösel et al. 2012).

The risk of reoffending was the strongest predictor of a positive treatment effect in the current analysis. The result of better effects in offenders at higher risk is in line with findings from general offender treatment (Lipsey & Cullen, 2007; Lösel, 2012). Hanson et al. (2009) applied the Risk-Need-Responsivity model to sexual offender treatment and found that programs were most effective when they fulfilled all three principles. The risk principle taken alone did not reach a significant result, but Hanson et al. rated the risk only dichotomously. Probably our differentiated risk rating led to more homogeneous categories and therefore better statistical power. However, as mentioned above, the category of ‘high risk’ in our review should be regarded cautiously because it does not mean that all of these offenders were at very high risk. For example, psychopathic offenders who would qualify as highest risk groups are particularly difficult to treat and often excluded from treatment programs (Lösel, 1998). At the other end of the risk level our findings suggest no significant effect. For offenders at low risk of reoffending the recidivism rate is so small that treatment cannot add much to further reduce reoffending.

Another variable deserves attention because it failed to produce a moderating effect: voluntary vs. non-voluntary treatment participation did not differ in their outcomes. Although the mean effect of studies with non-voluntary treatment was not significant this seems to be mainly a consequence of low statistical power (only six comparisons fell in that category). In fact, the mean effect is just the same as for voluntary treatment and in both categories the outcomes are highly heterogeneous. This means that a) offenders brought to treatment via external pressures such as judicial orders may benefit from treatment, and b) that voluntariness in itself is not a sufficient condition for successful treatment. Our finding points to the important role of change motivation as a process (e.g. Prochaska & Levesque, 2002) and techniques such as motivational interviewing (Miller & Rolnick, 2002). Unfortunately, treatment descriptions were not detailed enough to code and analyze this issue in more detail.
Authors’ conclusions

Taken together the above analyses of reasonably well-controlled evaluations suggest that treatment of sexual offenders can be effective, but the results are not homogeneous. In particular, treatment in prisons and pure group formats seem to be less promising and require more differentiated research. Our findings are also supported by several more recent studies that were not included in this review (see Appendix 4). However, there is still a lack of high quality studies to unambiguously demonstrate treatment effectiveness. Future research must continue to evaluate sexual offender treatment in studies that use methodologically sound designs and are preferably independently authored and well documented. Good documentation is important because this is the key to a more thorough understanding of causal mechanisms in treatment practice. Due to the heterogeneity between primary studies, the investigation of outcome moderators needs much more attention. For example, although there is much research on the characteristics and subtypes of sexual offenders, this is rarely taken into account in treatment evaluation. In addition, we need more research on the processes of therapy with sexual offenders (Marshall & Burton, 2010) and focused tests of certain treatment features such as individualization, motivation and institutional context (Lösel, 2012). There are also too few evaluations that investigate recidivism not only as a dichotomous category but consider multiple criteria such as survival time, frequency and harm of the respective offences (e.g. Olver et al., 2012). Instead of sweeping controversies about the effectiveness of sex offender treatment more differentiated perspectives are needed (Koehler & Lösel, 2015). As it is common in other areas of psychotherapy and psychosocial intervention, research and practice should ask more frequently what works with whom, in what contexts, under what conditions, with regard to what outcomes, and also why. Although our review does not provide a definite answer to such differentiated questions, it suggests that sexual offender treatment has made progress towards an evidence-oriented crime policy.
References

References to included studies

[Independent comparisons drawn from the studies are reported in brackets]


La Macaza Clinic (2002). Criterion 8 - Program Follow-up and ongoing assessment. Unpublished manuscript.


### Additional references


Ogden, T., Hagen, K., & Andersen, O. (2007). Sustainability of the effectiveness of a programme of Multisystemic Treatment (MST) across participant groups in the second year of operation. *Journal of Children’s Services, 2*, 4-14.


### References to excluded studies

The following list presents those identified reports that were excluded after the full text was obtained. These reports presented an outcome evaluation of treatment for sexual offenders but did not meet the eligibility criteria of our systematic review. The references are marked by numbers which refer to the following reasons for exclusion:

1. No control group
2. No adequate control group (e.g. treatment dropouts)
3. Non-equivalent control group (i.e. rated at level 2 of our methods rating)
4. No official recidivism measure as outcome
5. Insufficient presentation of results
6. Complementary article to an included study


Berner, W., & Karlick-Bolten, E. (1986). *Verlaufsformen der Sexualkriminalität. 5-Jahres-Katamnesen bei Sexualdelinquenten unter Berücksichtigung von Frühsozialisation,


Byrne, S. M. (1999). *Treatment efficacy of a juvenile sexual offender treatment program*. (Dissertation), Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns, Newfoundland, Canada. [3]


Gretenkord, L. (1994). Gewalttaten nach Maßregelvollzug (§ 63 StGB). In M. Steller, K.-P. Dahle & M. Basqué (Eds.), *Straftäterbehandlung: Argumente für eine Revitalisierung in Forschung und Praxis* (pp. 75-89). Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus. [1]


Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction. (1996). Five year recidivism follow-up of sex offender releases. [3]


Servais, J., & Hubin, P. (1968). Synthese des connaissances actuelles concernant un inhibiteur de la libido chez le male, la methyloestrenolone. [Synthesis of current knowledge of an inhibitor of libido in the male, the methyloestrenolone]. *Encephale,* 57(4), 333-352. [1, 4]


van Beek, D. (1999). *De delictscenarioprocedure bij seksueel aggressieve delinquenten; een onderzoek naar de bruikbaarheid van de delictscenarioprocedure in de behandeling van seksueel agressieve delinquenten in de Dr. Henri van der Hoevenkliniek.* Arnhem: Gouda Quint. [1]


Information about this review

Review authors

Lead review author:
The lead author is the person who develops and co-ordinates the review team, discusses and assigns roles for individual members of the review team, liaises with the editorial base and takes responsibility for the on-going updates of the review.

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<thead>
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<tr>
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<td><a href="mailto:martin.schmucker@fau.de">martin.schmucker@fau.de</a></td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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Please give brief description of content and methodological expertise within the review team. The recommended optimal review team composition includes at least one person on the review team who has content expertise, at least one person who has methodological expertise and at least one person who has statistical expertise. It is also recommended to have one person with information retrieval expertise.

Who is responsible for the below areas? Please list their names:

- Content: Martin Schmucker, Friedrich Lösel
- Systematic review methods: Martin Schmucker, Friedrich Lösel
- Statistical analysis: Martin Schmucker
- Information retrieval: Martin Schmucker

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

No external funding was claimed for this review.

DECLARATIONS OF INTEREST

The authors are not engaged in the development or delivery of treatment programs for sexual offenders and are not affiliated with an institution providing such treatment. As independent researchers and experts, MS and FL are conducting evaluations of offender treatment programs. FL also serves on the Correctional Services Accreditation and Advice Panel of England and Wales and various advisory boards on treatment and prevention of offending in Germany.

PLANS FOR UPDATING THE REVIEW

MS and FL plan a major update in about two years’ time to include more recent evaluations.
AUTHOR DECLARATION

Authors’ responsibilities

By completing this form, you accept responsibility for maintaining the review in light of new evidence, comments and criticisms, and other developments, and updating the review at least once every five years, or, if requested, transferring responsibility for maintaining the review to others as agreed with the Coordinating Group. If an update is not submitted according to agreed plans, or if we are unable to contact you for an extended period, the relevant Coordinating Group has the right to propose the update to alternative authors.

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### TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF INCLUDED COMPARISONS

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**Methodological characteristics**

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\[ k = 29 \]

*individual comparisons may cover multiple categories*
### TABLE 2: TOTAL MEAN EFFECTS AND HETEROGENEITY

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<th>Outcome</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>OR</th>
<th>CI95%</th>
<th>Q</th>
<th>$I^2$</th>
<th>TG(^a)</th>
<th>CG(^b)</th>
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<td>Sexual recidivism</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>1.11 – 1.78</td>
<td>52.05**</td>
<td>48.1%</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>13.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Any recidivism</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.45**</td>
<td>1.15 – 1.83</td>
<td>23.66*</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>41.2</td>
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</table>

*Note. k = number of comparisons; OR = mean odds ratio (random effects model with $\tau^2 = 0.14$ for sexual and $\tau^2 = .06$ for any recidivism); CI95% = 95% confidence interval; $Q = test$ of homogeneity ($\chi^2, df = k – 1$); $I^2 = Percentage$ of heterogeneity not due to chance; TG = treated group; CG = comparison group

\(^a\) $n$-weighted average \(^b\) estimated recidivism rate

\(* p < .05, ** p < .01\)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>$Q_{bet}$</th>
<th>$OR$</th>
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<th>Continuous variables$^a$</th>
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### Offender characteristics

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<th>$z$</th>
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<td>.46</td>
<td>2.59$^{**}$</td>
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<td>0.68 – 1.47</td>
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<td>Medium risk</td>
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<td>0.96 – 1.84</td>
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<td>High risk</td>
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<td>3.95$^{***}$</td>
<td>1.77 – 8.84</td>
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$k =$ number of comparisons; $Q_{bet} =$ test of between group differences ($\chi^2$-distributed with $df =$ number of categories – 1); $OR =$ odds ratio; CI$_{95\%}$ = 95 % confidence interval; $\beta_w =$ regression weight for continuous moderator variables.

$^a$ Analyses refer to the continuously coded variable for age (mean), time of treatment implementation, duration of treatment, follow-up period, and sample size. For all other variables, if presented, the regression weights refer to the ordered categories presented in the table. Analyses were conducted using meta-analytic regression methods applying a mixed effects model. Since the regression models only included the tested moderator variable as single predictor in each of the analyses the significance testing of the $\beta$-weight via z-test equals the result for the full regression model which is therefore not individually presented.

$^\dagger p < .10;$ $^* p < .05;$ $^{**} p < .01;$ $^{***} p < .001$
**Figure 1: Prisma flow chart of the literature search and selection process**

(Figure template adapted from Moher et al., 2009)

Records identified through database searching (n = 3254) → Additional records identified through other sources (n = 323) → Records after duplicates removed (n = 2851) → Records screened (n = 2813) → Records excluded (n = 2373) → Full-text articles assessed for eligibility (n = 440) → Studies included in quantitative synthesis (meta-analysis) (n = 27) → Full-text articles excluded:
- No outcome evaluation (n = 89)
- No primary study (n = 36)
- Not specific for sexual offenders (n = 18)
- No control group (n = 121)
- No untreated CG, e.g. dropouts (n = 43)
- Non-equivalent CG (n = 73)
- No official recidivism outcome (n = 13)
- Insufficient documentation (n = 2)
- Supplementary to included article (n = 18)
FIGURE 2: FOREST PLOT OF SEXUAL RECIDIVISM OUTCOMES

\( (k = 28; \text{Mean odds ratio and 95%-confidence interval}) \)
FIGURE 3: FOREST PLOT OF GENERAL RECIDIVISM OUTCOMES

(k = 14; Mean odds ratio and 95%-confidence interval)
Appendix

APPENDIX 1: RELEVANT STUDIES THAT APPEARED MORE RECENTLY

The following is a commented list of more recent evaluations of SOTP\(^5\). Some of these studies might have been eligible for the current meta-analysis, but we did not fully code them because we know of two rather large evaluations in progress which require a further update of our meta-analysis in the near future. In the meanwhile, the following list serves to check whether recent studies are in accordance with the findings of the present meta-analysis:

**Abracen, Looman, Ferguson, Harkins, & Mailloux (2011)**

This study compared a TG of 64 sex offenders from an institutional SOTP in Ontario with a CG of 55 untreated offenders from the region’s correctional service. The groups were at high risk/need and matched for age at index offence, offender type, psychopathy scores, and risk of recidivism. The treatment was both individual and group based, applied a cognitive-behavioral relapse prevention concept and incorporated the Good Lives Model (e.g. Ward & Maruna, 2007). Outcome was measured by official reoffending with mean follow-up periods of 9.4 (TG) and 11.2 (CG) years. The base rate of sexual reoffending was low (ca. 10%) in both groups. Although the comparison between actual and predicted reoffending was somewhat more favorable in the TG, there was no significant difference in recidivism between TG and CG. It has to be noted that only a handful of offenders reoffended, both groups received other programs beyond SOTP, and there were more offenders with higher risk scores and mental health problems in the TG than the CG.

**Comment**: This study has the strength of evaluating SOTP in daily practice and with a rather long follow-up period. The findings of overall low rates of sexual recidivism are consistent with our meta-analysis. They also agree with the non-significant effect we observed for custodial treatment.

**Grady, Edwards, Pettus-Davis, & Abramson (2012)**

This study mainly investigated whether volunteering for treatment has an impact on reoffending. However, the analyses included actual treatment participation as a variable in a Cox regression model that also controlled for a number of variables (e.g. Static-99 risk score, volunteering for treatment, type of sexual offence, pedophilia diagnosis) and thus allowed to estimate a treatment effect, too. 161 sex offenders volunteered and participated in a mainly cognitive behavioral, group based institutional program in North Carolina. Non-participants had either volunteered for treatment but were not selected (n = 282) or were eligible but had not volunteered (n = 443). The study participants had a moderate-low recidivism risk. Official recidivism was assessed after five

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\(^5\) Abbreviations: SOTP = Sexual offender treatment program; TG = Treatment group, CG = Control/comparison group
years for all study participants. The results indicate a significant reduction in sexual, violent, and non-violent reoffending in the TG.

*Comment:* The study is not designed to evaluate a treatment effect in the first place and, thus, selection bias is not controlled for, although the analyses applied incorporate a number of relevant control variables. The results differ somewhat from our meta-analytic findings as there is a significant effect in a custodial setting in a rather low risk group.

*Letourneau, Henggeler, McCart, Borduin, Schewe, & Armstrong (2013)*

This study is a further U.S. based evaluation of MST for young sex offenders; for others see Borduin et al., (1990; 2009) in our MA. It is asked whether positive results in efficacy trials could be replicated and sustained after two years in an implementation in a community mental health center. In a blockwise RCT on juvenile sex offenders (mean age 14.7 years) a TG of 66 young male offenders was compared with a CG of 58 offenders who received ‘treatment as usual’, i.e. mainly group-based CBT interventions. The study reports on a 2-year follow-up for a number of outcomes including official recidivism (rearrests), but differences in sexual reoffending could not be analyzed because of a very low base rate. There was also no significant decrease in rearrests when analyses were controlled for baseline status.

*Comment:* The randomized design is a clear strength of this study. However as the study does not provide enough ‘hard’ recidivism data it would not influence our results.

*Olver, Nicholaichuk, Gu, & Wong (2012)*

This study compared a TG of 625 incarcerated sex offenders in Canadian institutions with a CG of 107 sex offenders who did not receive the respective treatment. All programs based on the Canadian standards of the Risk-Need-Responsivity Model. There were some pre-treatment differences between TG and CG (e.g. less singlehood, more unrelated victims, lower risk scores and higher age at release). The authors used a brief actuarial risk scale to assess and control for group differences. A Cox regression controlling for risk found a significant effect on violent reoffending but only a smaller and not significant effect on sexual recidivism. In further analyses treated and untreated offenders were stratified for risk level. These showed that only for the high risk group there was a significant treatment effect on sexual recidivism. In addition, in the TG the time to new sexual offences was longer for treated offenders and the offences committed were somewhat less harmful.

*Comment:* This is a relatively large study with particular strengths in risk-oriented analyses and differentiated outcome measurement. The overall nonsignificant effect is consistent with our above findings on custodial treatment and large sample sizes. The significant effects for offenders at higher risk are also in accordance with our results.

*Smallbone & McHugh (2010)*

This study evaluates prison-based treatment in Queensland, Australia. The Queensland prison system offers different treatments according to the risk (medium vs. high) and cultural background of sexual offenders. In total, 158 sexual offenders had attended a treatment program and were compared to 251 untreated sexual offenders with regard to official recidivism (police records) after an average of 29 months. The two groups differed on a number of variables (including risk measures). Treated offenders mostly had moderate-low risk while untreated offenders were at higher risk according to Static-99. Analyses controlling for risk only found a small and non-
significant treatment effect for sexual recidivism and a marginally significant effect for any recidivism.

Comment: The results are basically in line with our findings in that a prison-based treatment of mainly low to moderate risk sexual offenders showed a weak effect only.

_Smid, Kamphuis, Wever, & van Beek (2014)_

This study from the Netherlands applied a quasi-experimental design to evaluate inpatient treatment for high-intensity sex offenders. The sample consisted of 25% of all convicted Dutch sex offenders that were not referred to any kind of treatment between 1996 and 2002 (CG; \( n = 176 \)) and all convicted Dutch sex offenders of the same time period who received an inpatient sex offender treatment (TG; \( n = 90 \)). The treatment took place in special institutions that contain elements of social-therapeutic prisons and forensic hospitals. The concept is based on the Risk-Need-Responsivity model. The Static-99 was applied to control for nonequivalence in risk between the TG and CG. Outcome was measured by official data on sexual reconviction. The mean follow-up period was 12.33 years. In total, 15% had a sexual and 38% a violent (including sexual) offence. There were some differences in demographic and offence characteristics between the TG and CG. The results showed no overall significant treatment effect on sexual recidivism when regressions controlled for risk level, age and ethnicity. However, there was a marginally significant treatment effect for high-risk offenders. The latter was stronger for violent recidivism in general and untreated sex offenders at higher risk recidivated more frequently and faster.

Comment: This study has various strengths: It evaluated a complex institutional treatment facility outside North America, uses a long follow-up period, applies a risk-related analysis and investigates survival time curves. Although the Cox regressions may not fully control for baseline differences between TG and CG, the findings are in accordance with our MA: The mean recidivism rates were in a similar range, treatment in a custodial setting had no significant effect on sexual recidivism, and the outcome was more favorable for high-risk offenders.

_Worling, Littlejohn, & Bookalam (2010)_

This is an update of the Worling and Curwen (2000) study included in our meta-analysis. It is less detailed with regard to the subgroups studied and only compares treatment completers vs. a comparison group comprised of non-treated sex offenders as well as treatment dropouts. Thus we decided to retain the “older” study with 10 years follow-up but more differentiated reporting of subgroups that allowed a more sensible intent-to-treat estimate of treatment effects. The update that recurs on a 20-years follow-up shows that the results are virtually unchanged and there were only few additional offenders who recidivated in the 10 years after the first report.

Comment: While the very long follow-up period is a clear strength, the report does fail to meet stricter methodological criteria. It corroborates the results from the shorter follow-up that met the inclusion criteria of our meta-analysis.
APPENDIX 2: CODING SCHEME

In the following the coding variables are listed (in italics) across the different more general domains (general study characteristics, sample, study design, follow-up data, treatment characteristics, comparison group, outcome data).

In case of categorical variables the coding categories are added in brackets.

General study characteristics

- **Publication type** (journal article, book chapter, thesis, unpublished report, conference paper, online presentation, other)
- **Year of publication**
- **Country of origin**
- **Confounding/Dependency of evaluation**: Are the authors involved in the treatment program? (yes, no)
- **Descriptive validity**
  Descriptive validity is a concept introduced by Lösel & Köferl (1989) as an extension to Cook & Campbell’s (1979) formulation of different threats to validity. It refers to a report’s quality in documenting the relevant details of an evaluation. We used 4-point-scales to judge descriptive validity in the areas of:
  - Treatment concept
  - Treatment realization
  - Study design
  - Presentation of results
  - Overall transparency of report

Sample

- **Original sample size**
  - Treatment group
  - Comparison group

- **Attrition rate**
  - Treatment group
  - Comparison group

- **Mean age**
  - In treatment group
  - In comparison group

- **Age group** (adult, adolescent, mixed)

- **Homogeneity of age** (large, medium, low)

- **Offense types** (separately yes-no-coded whether present in TG: rape, child molestation, incest, exhibitionism, other: specify)

- **Offender risk** (low, medium, high)
  Rated on the group level using the items of the Rapid Risk Assessment for Sex Offence Recidivism (RRASOR; Hanson, 1997):
  - Earlier conviction for sex offenses: Mean number of previous convictions for a sexual offence (max. 3)
  - Age below 25: (Estimated) relative frequency of offenders aged < 25
  - Male victims: Relative frequency of offenders with male victims
  - Any unrelated victims: Relative frequency of offenders with unrelated victims

  The sum of the item scores was then categorized in low risk (≤ 1.5), medium risk (1.5 to 2.5) or high risk (≥ 2.5). If results of other risk instruments are reported these are used to categorize the mean offender risk accordingly if possible. If neither the RRASOR rating can
be applied nor detailed results of another risk instrument are reported but the authors present a risk classification for the offender group this is used to group the study in our risk categories.

- **Referral to treatment** (voluntary, compulsory/both)
- **Reporting of results for treatment dropouts** (reported separately, counted as part of treated group, counted as part of comparison group, partly counted as treated partly as untreated, dropouts not included in analysis, no dropout participants)
- **Percentage of treatment dropout**

### Study design

- **Type of Comparison group** (volunteered for treatment, no treatment available at that time or at that place/region, not suitable for treatment/no treatment order, refused treatment, other)
- **Assignment to treatment** (random without matching or stratification, random after individual matching or stratification, nonrandom with individual post-hoc matching, available samples)
- **Group differences** (negligible differences, some relatively unimportant differences, some differences judged to be important, not tested; relevant characteristics such as age, prior offending, type of offenses, psychopathology/personality disorders, risk assessment scores etc.)
- **Statistical control of relevant potential group differences** (yes, no)
- **Internal validity of overall study design according to the Maryland Scale of Methodological Rigor Rating:**
  - (1) No control or comparison group present with regard to recidivism outcomes.
  - (2) Nonequivalent comparison group: Differences on relevant variables effecting recidivism are reported or are to be expected because of assignment strategy (e.g., treatment dropouts or subjects who refuse treatment as CG).
  - (3) Incidental assignment but no serious doubts that assignment resulted in equivalent groups, or sound statistical control of potential differences. The assignment strategy is not related to relevant risk variables (e.g. CG did not receive treatment because it was not offered in that region or at the time). This should be controlled and demonstrated by comparing TG and CG on relevant variables relating to risk of reoffending. There might be small differences in relevant variables but they should not be statistically significant or otherwise substantial. Even if not statistically significant, the magnitude of the differences has to be checked and evaluated for its magnitude, e.g. by taking the variable's SD into account. If there is indication of actual or potential group differences the statistical analyses have to adequately take care for this (e.g. regression methods including relevant variables as control).
  - (4) Matching procedures. Systematic strategy to attain equivalence of the control group (e.g. theoretically sound matching or propensity score techniques). The variables used for matching have to be relevant with regard to differences that actually or potentially arise from treatment assignment for the program under evaluation.
  - (5) Random assignment of treated and untreated subjects. If there is attrition with regard to the recidivism data the study has to be downgraded or even excluded depending on its severity: TG and CG have to remain reasonably well comparable despite the (potential) effects of selective attrition (see Level 3)

### Follow up

- **Start of follow-up period** (beginning of treatment, end of treatment, time at risk)
- **Follow-up time** (average in months)
  - Treatment group
  - Control group
Treatment

- **Main treatment approach** (Cognitive/Behavioral/Relapse Prevention, Insight-oriented, Systemic, Therapeutic community, Psycho-educational, Hormonal or otherwise medicinal, Surgical castration)
- **Sex offender specific treatment** (yes, no)
- **Setting** (prison, hospital in-patient, outpatient/ambulatory, mixed)
- **Treatment length as planned (in weeks)**: Estimated by factual average duration of treatment if planned treatment length is not reported
- **Treatment dosage** (5-point scale integrating frequency, length of sessions and therapist/patient ratio; e.g. a short group meeting of an hour any two weeks would be regarded as low dosage)
- **Treatment intensity** (5-point scale rating integrating treatment length and dosage)
- **Format of treatment** (5-point scale: individual only, mainly individual, mixed, mainly group, group only)
- **Aftercare** (obligatory, optional, not offered/not reported)
- **Time of treatment**: Year in which the treatment program was initially established
- **Integrity of treatment implementation** (positive, negative): Will be judged positively if either the description of actual treatment conforms to the treatment concept or if measures like supervision/specialized training of therapists have been taken to ensure treatment integrity; will be judged negatively if problems like insufficient monitoring of therapists, administrative problems, or resistance to treatment by correctional officers are reported
- **Researcher-monitored model project (vs. routine practice)** (yes, no)

Comparison/control group (CG)

- **Treatment of CG** (none, judged as ineffective/placebo, unspecific, psycho-educational, psychotherapeutic, medicinal, other)
- **Intensity/adequacy of CG treatment** (5-point scale; no to full treatment with partial treatment in between, i.e. only restricted treatment or only some CG members treated)

Outcome data (separately coded for each eligible outcome variable reported)

- **Type of recidivism** (sexual, violent, any sexual or violent, nonsexual, neither sexual nor violent, any recidivism, parole violations)
- **Definition of recidivism** (rearrest, reconviction, new charge)
- **Sample sizes for effect size (ES) computation**
  - Treatment group
  - Comparison group
- **Effect size measure**
  - *ES calculation based on* (proportions/frequencies, means and standard deviations, test statistics, p values, other)
  - *Confidence in ES calculation* (5-point scale: highly estimated, moderate, some, slight, no estimation)
About this review

Sexual offender treatment programs to reduce reoffending have been implemented in many countries as part of a strategy in managing this offender group. However, there are still controversies regarding their effectiveness.

This review integrates findings from six experimental and 21 quasi-experimental studies that compare groups of treated sexual offenders with equivalent control groups. These studies tested whether treated sexual offenders differed from the control groups in sexual and other reoffending.