

Lea Feuerbach*

REHABILITATION, RESOCIALISATION, AND REINTEGRATION: ADDRESSING LEGAL AND PRACTICAL BARRIERS TO RECIDIVISM PREVENTION IN CROATIA

Abstract: This article examines prevention in the criminal justice system through three main steps. First, it conducts a conceptual analysis of rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration, reviewing terminological ambiguities at the international level and in Croatian legislation, where definitions often overlap and remain unclear whether they denote identical processes or distinct phases thereof. Second, it analyses domestic academic literature to assess how Croatian researchers address this terminological ambiguity while outlining their key conclusions alongside limitations such as scarce empirical data. Third, it evaluates practical implementation by contrasting the normative framework's rules for treatment delivery with actual program data from prison reports, noting inability to measure frequency or evaluate effectiveness and success, while highlighting penal system challenges like overcrowding and resource shortages, and need for data sources beyond official prison reports that incorporate inmates' experiences and perspectives from other penal actors.

Keywords: recidivism prevention, rehabilitation, resocialisation, reintegration, prison system.

1. THE COMPLEXITY OF REHABILITATION, RESOCIALISATION, AND REINTEGRATION: A CONCEPTUAL INTRODUCTION

Rehabilitation, as a correctional focus, is often defined broadly and inconsistently, leading to variations in how it is applied in practice. Studies have shown that rehabilitation is significantly linked to lower recidivism rates, emphasising its importance in the correctional system.¹ At its core, rehabilitation is the process of

* Ph.D. Candidate at the Ferenc Deák Doctoral School of the University of Miskolc and Scientific Researcher at the Central European Academy, Budapest, lea.feuerbach@centraleuropeanacademy.hu, ORCID: ID orcid.org/0009-0004-3763-7889

1 Sheldon Seigafo, "Inmate's Right to Rehabilitation during Incarceration: A Critical Analysis of the United States Correctional System", *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, no.2 (2017): 184.

restoring individuals who have offended to a crime-free life,² requiring the collaboration of various stakeholders, such as prison and probation services, intervention providers, local authorities, and civil society organisations.³ While the fundamental aim of rehabilitation can be understood as reducing reoffending, thereby contributing to safer communities and lowering the social and economic costs of crime,⁴ the term is often used without clear definition in many texts. Instead, the broader term “rehabilitation programs” is more frequently encountered, encompassing the diverse methods and approaches designed to achieve these goals.⁵

In defining resocialisation, it is important to distinguish it from the broader concept of socialisation. The term socialisation, derived from Latin, refers to the process through which individuals acquire the knowledge, norms, and values necessary to function as members of society.⁶ Resocialisation, by contrast, denotes the process of re-integrating convicted individuals into social life, enabling them to re-establish their roles within the community.⁷

In addition to rehabilitation and resocialisation, the literature frequently refers to the concepts of “reintegration” and “social reintegration”.⁸ The concept of reinte-

- 2 Criminal Justice Alliance, *Criminal Justice Dictionary*. Available at: <https://www.criminaljusticealliance.org/resources/criminal-justice-dictionary/> (Accessed: 17 March 2026).
- 3 RAN Practitioners Prison Rehabilitation and Reintegration, *RAN Practitioners Spotlight magazine*, 2020.
- 4 Government of South Australia, *Rehabilitation, education and work*, 2024. Available at: <https://www.corrections.sa.gov.au/Rehabilitation-education-and-work>. (Accessed: 17 March 2026).
- 5 National Research Council, *The Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1979); Emily A. Whitney, “Correctional Rehabilitation Programs and the Adoption of International Standards: How the United States Can Reduce Recidivism and Promote the National Interest”, *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems*, no. 3 (2009); Piet Hein van Kempen, Warren Young, eds., *Prevention of reoffending: The value of rehabilitation and the management of high risk offenders* (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2014); Igor Đurin, *Opći programi tretmana zatvorenika: Rad i izobrazba u funkciji rehabilitacije* (diss., Sveučilište u Zagrebu: Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijski fakultet, 2017); Karen Heseltine, Andrew Day, “Rehabilitation Programmes in Australian Prisons,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice*, eds. Antje Deckert, Rick Sarre (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 831–846; Snježana Maloić, Anita Jandrić Nišević, “Reintegracija zatvorenika u društvo – možemo li bolje?” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 28, no. 1 (2020): 47–77; Lisa Forsberg, Thomas Douglas, “What Is Criminal Rehabilitation?” *Criminal Law and Philosophy* 16, no. 1 (2022): 103–126.
- 6 Zoran Kanduč, “Zamisao o rehabilitaciji: pogled s kriminološkog stajališta,” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 4, no. 2 (1996): 142; Penal Reform International, “The Meaning of Rehabilitation – Resocialization and Its Regulation Based on National and International Standards,” 2019, <https://www.penalreform.org/blog/the-meaning-of-rehabilitation-resocialization-and-its-regulation/> (Accessed: 17 March 2026).
- 7 Penal Reform International, “The Meaning of Rehabilitation”.
- 8 Narayanan Ganapathy, “Rehabilitation, Reintegration and Recidivism: A Theoretical and Methodological Reflection,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development* 28, no. 3 (2018): 154–167; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Introductory Handbook on the Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders* (Vienna: United Nations, 2018); United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *The Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders* (Vienna: United Nations Office at Vienna, 2018), Marcelo F. Aebi et al., *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics* (Göttingen, 2021), 331–332; Erika Váradi-

gration was formally recognised in the 2006 European Prison Rules, underscoring its significance within European correctional practice.⁹

The literature and international documents frequently show an intertwining of terms, indicating that there is no firm boundary between them. However, while these terms are interrelated and often share closely linked meanings, they are not synonymous.¹⁰ One potential explanation for the inconsistent use of terminology is that rehabilitation has historically been a contentious concept, often carrying negative connotations due to its association with human rights violations.¹¹ This negative perception arose when rehabilitation was used as justification for extended periods of imprisonment.¹²

2. DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION FRAMEWORK

This section aims to present the international legal framework for prisoner resocialisation, rehabilitation and reintegration, as well as Croatian legal provisions that primarily or occasionally address this issue. In addition to judgments from the European Court of Human Rights, prevention and prisoners' rights to dignified conditions and rehabilitation are also covered by numerous documents at the European Union level. The roots of resocialisation ideas can be traced back to 1977 with the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners,¹³ as well as other European documents, such as the *General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI)* on the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* from 1996, and the *Recommendation Rec(2006)2 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the European Prison Rules*. In addition, several key international documents, such as the *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (1950), the *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* (1984), and the *Recommendation of the European Parliament to the Council on the Rights of Prisoners in the European Union* (2003), also address issues related to prisoners. Although these documents do not primarily focus on crime prevention through rehabilitation, reintegration, or resocialisation, they address important aspects of prisoners' rights. The list of international legal frameworks pre-

Csemame, ed., *Criminal Legal Studies: European Challenges and Central European Responses in the Criminal Science of the 21st Century* (Budapest: Central European Academic Publishing, 2022), 286, 288, 421.

- 9 Recommendation Rec (2006)2 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the European Prison Rules. Available at: <http://book.coe.int> (Accessed: 17 March 2026).
- 10 Anna-Maria Getoš Kalac, Lea Feuerbach, "Small-Scaling Imprisonment in the Balkans – The 'Holy Grail' of Resocialisation?" *Central European Journal of Comparative Law* 6, no. 2 (2025): 127–166.
- 11 Sonja Meijer, "Rehabilitation as a Positive Obligation," *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice* 25, no. 2 (2017): 146.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 United Nations, *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules)* (New York: United Nations, 2015).

sented here is not exhaustive, but it highlights several key documents. Moreover, EU law does not provide a single, universally binding instrument that clearly defines rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration across all contexts. Instead, these concepts are addressed with varying degrees of precision in different EU policy papers, frameworks, and initiatives.¹⁴

In the context of the domestic legislative framework, beyond criminal law, it is important to consider the protection provided by the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.¹⁵ Although the Constitution does not contain provisions specifically dedicated to prisoners' rights, it establishes a general framework for the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms applicable to all individuals, including those deprived of liberty. In this regard, several provisions are particularly relevant, including Article 16 (limitations of rights and the principle of proportionality), Article 21 (right to life and abolition of the death penalty), Article 28 (presumption of innocence), Article 29 (right to a fair trial), and Article 35 (respect for private and family life, dignity, and honour). These guarantees form an important constitutional basis for the protection of prisoners' rights and their resocialisation.

Moreover, the Croatian Criminal Code plays a key role in defining the purpose of punishment, as set out in Article 41.¹⁶ This provision identifies the main objectives of punishment as expressing societal condemnation of crime, strengthening public trust in the rule of law, and deterring both the offender and others from engaging in criminal behaviour. It also emphasises the importance of fostering awareness of the harmful consequences of crime and the fairness of punishment. Importantly, Article 41 highlights the resocialisation dimension by underscoring the need to facilitate the offender's reintegration into society.¹⁷

Moreover, the right to rehabilitation is defined in the Act on the Legal Consequences of Convictions, Criminal Records and Rehabilitation, particularly in Articles 18 and 19, where it is given a meaning that differs from the one traditionally used in criminological discourse.¹⁸ In addition to the broad, non-strictly

14 For example, see: Radicalisation Awareness Network, *RAN Rehabilitation Manual* (2020), https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-06/ran_rehab_manual_en.pdf, 5, 14, 22, 70 (Accessed: 1 April 2025); Radicalisation Awareness Network, *Spotlight on Rehabilitation and Reintegration* (2024), https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/document/download/8379618f-31f2-48dc-a8d6-83d6a541643d_en?filename=spotlight_on_rehabilitation_and_reintegration_042024_en_0.pdf, 38 (Accessed: 1 April 2025).

15 *Constitution of the Republic of Croatia*, "Official Gazette", nos. 56/90, 135/97, 08/98, 113/00, 124/00, 28/01, 41/01, 55/01, 76/10, 85/10, 05/14 (2014).

16 *Croatian Criminal Code*, "Official Gazette" no. 125/11, 144/12, 56/15, 61/15, 101/17, 118/18, 126/19, 84/21, 114/22, 114/23, 36/24 (2024).

17 It is also worth noting that the *Croatian Criminal Procedure Act*, "Official Gazette" no. 52/2008, 76/2009, 80/2011, 91/2012, 143/2012, 56/2013, 145/2013, 152/2014, 70/2017, 126/2019, 126/2019, 80/2022 (2022) provides certain rights for prisoners, such as the right to humane accommodation, rest, personal hygiene, and visits, while defining a prisoner as a person in investigative detention. However, a more detailed analysis of its provisions is not necessary in the context of recidivism prevention and resocialisation.

18 *Croatian Act on the Legal Consequences of Convictions, Criminal Records and Rehabilitation*, "Official Gazette" no. 143/12, 105/15, 32/17, 53/22 (2022).

defined criminological understanding, the Act provides a precise legal definition. It stipulates that an offender who has been lawfully convicted or acquitted has the right, after a legally specified period and under the conditions set by the Act, to be regarded as a person who has not committed a crime. Consequently, their rights and freedoms may no longer be distinguished from those of individuals with no criminal conviction. Rehabilitation occurs after the completion, pardon, or expiration of a prison sentence, long-term imprisonment, juvenile detention, or payment of a fine. Once rehabilitation has taken place, individuals regain all rights afforded to citizens under the Constitution, laws, or other regulations, with the exception of those restricted by security measures or other legal consequences of the conviction. The Act also specifies rehabilitation periods in detail.¹⁹ The definition of rehabilitation provided here is clear but narrow, as it focuses solely on the legal outcome rather than the broader process of psychological or social change. The term rehabilitation is widely used in penology and criminology, where it carries a broader meaning encompassing individual transformation and crime prevention. From a strictly legal perspective, however, it has a precise, distinctive meaning.

The key legal document governing prisoners' rights and obligations is the Croatian Execution of Prison Sentence Act.²⁰ Article 3 outlines the purpose of serving a prison sentence and emphasises that, alongside humane treatment and respect for the dignity of the individual, the primary goal is to prepare prisoners for life in freedom in accordance with legal and social norms, thereby contributing to community protection. Although the Act provides a descriptive account of imprisonment's purpose without explicitly labelling it as rehabilitative, reintegrative, or resocialising, the principle of *lex specialis derogat legi generali* suggests that the legislator views resocialisation, reintegration, and rehabilitation as imprisonment core aims. However, the Act does not define these concepts. It merely references them in relation to general prison programmes (Art. 27) and prisoners' participation in daily activities (Art. 13). The legal framework and obscurity regarding rehabilitation, resocialisation and reintegration is largely consistent across Central and Eastern European countries, with similar principles and structures in place.²¹

Analysis of the international and Croatian criminal law frameworks concerning preventive criminal justice measures (rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration) reveals that while numerous documents protect prisoners' fundamental rights in accordance with human dignity, clear terminological distinctions between these concepts remain absent. The European legislator allows national lawmakers considerable discretion in implementing preventive programmes aimed at reintegrating individuals into society after serving their sentences. The only term

19 More on how rehabilitation periods can affect understanding of recidivism can be found in: Getoš Kalac, Feuerbach, "Small-Scaling Imprisonment in the Balkans", 9–10.

20 *Croatian Execution of Prison Sentence Act*, "Official Gazette" no. 14/21 14/21 (2021).

21 For more details see: Getoš Kalac, Feuerbach, "Small-Scaling Imprisonment in the Balkans", 133–139.

explicitly defined by Croatian legislation is the right to rehabilitation, which indicates that, after a certain period, an offender is regarded as someone who has not committed a crime. Croatia introduce some clarity by establishing a structured legal framework for managing criminal records and defining “rehabilitation” in a specific way. However, it can also create confusion, particularly when viewed in the broader context of rehabilitation, resocialization, and reintegration. The use of terms such as “rehabilitation programmes/treatment,” and “social reintegration” can refer to different processes and objectives, further complicating their interpretation and application within the legal and correctional systems. Croatia is not alone in adopting this approach to defining rehabilitation; several Central and Eastern European countries, including Hungary, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Moldova, also recognise the importance of rehabilitation and resocialisation in their criminal justice systems, specifying criteria and procedures in their legislation for expunging criminal records and reinstating individuals’ legal status.²² However, Croatian definition differs from the right to rehabilitation as a positive obligation outlined by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). In *Murray v. the Netherlands* (2016), the ECHR established this right as a state duty to implement prison regimes for life-sentence prisoners that align with rehabilitation goals and enable progress toward release. This discrepancy raises the question of whether clearer distinctions among these terms are needed to resolve the surrounding terminological confusion. The following sections examine how this ambiguity manifests in Croatian academic literature.

3. STATE OF ART OF RECIDIVISM PREVENTION IN CROATIA

A state-of-the-art literature review on rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration in Croatia was conducted using articles and scientific papers available on the Hrčak platform (portal of Croatian scientific and professional journals). The terms “rehabilitation,” “resocialisation,” and “reintegration” were searched to identify relevant publications. “Resocialisation” appeared in 17 results, but only three addressed criminal law, and in two of these, it was mentioned only sporadically in the context of juvenile offenders. “Reintegration” yielded 41 results, with six relating to criminal law. “Rehabilitation” appeared 525 times, predominantly in medical contexts, with only 10 articles addressing criminal law, of which eight are relevant to this analysis. Two articles were excluded: one overlaps with the resocialisation category and mentions rehabilitation only briefly, while the other reviews a seminar on juvenile rehabilitation. An overview of the key literature is presented in Table 1.

22 Ibid.

Table 1: Overview of Key Literature on Resocialisation, Reintegration, and Rehabilitation in Croatia

Category	Author(s) and Year	Summary	Key Points
Resocialisation ²³	Jukić and Sabljo (2017) ²⁴	Focuses on penological andragogy and prison treatment, emphasizing tailored approaches for inmate resocialization.	Highlights the need for skilled professionals and improved prison treatments to help rehabilitate inmates in Croatia.
Reintegration	Šimpraga and Vukota (2010) ²⁵	Evaluates a supervised conditional release program, showing its positive impact on reintegration.	Importance of probation system, post-penal support, supervision, and assistance for successful reintegration.
	Špero and Rosandić (2017) ²⁶	Explores electronic monitoring as an alternative sanction enforcement tool in Croatia.	Electronic monitoring's potential as a viable alternative to traditional sanctions; necessity of probation officer education, importance of adhering to high European standards.
	Maloić and Todosiev (2020) ²⁷	Explores the overlooked role of family dynamics in the reintegration of adult prisoners in Croatia, arguing for greater attention to this factor in both research and practice to reduce recidivism and support successful reintegration.	Family can be both a risk factor and a key support in reintegration efforts, urging greater focus on family involvement and the need for collaboration with non-governmental sectors in reintegration processes.

- 23 Only one article will be analysed on the topic of resocialization. Resocialization within the criminal law context is mentioned in two other articles, albeit sporadically. The first discusses the representation of minors and young adults in the structure of reported offenders for drug abuse offenses (Željko Petković, "Zastupljenost maloljetnika i mladih punoljetnika u strukturi prijavljenih počinitelja kaznenih djela zloporabe opojnih droga iz članka 173," *Policija i sigurnost* 17, no. 1–2 (2008): 111–119), while the second article focuses on reforms in juvenile criminal law and justice (Melita Božičević-Grbić, Sunčana Roksandić Vidlička, "Reforma maloljetničkog kaznenog prava i sudovanja," *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu* 18, no. 2 (2011): 679–715).
- 24 Renata Jukić, Marin Sabljo, "Penološka andragogija – zatvorski tretman i mogućnosti resocijalizacije zatvorenika," *Andragoški glasnik: Glasilo Hrvatskog andragoškog društva* 21, no. 1–2 (36) (2017): 27–36.
- 25 Dijana Šimpraga, Ljiljana Vukota, "Probni projekt Uvjetni otpust zatvorenika," *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu* 17, no. 2 (2010): 813–817.
- 26 Jana Špero Perica Rosandić, "Elektronički nadzor pilot-projekt u Republici Hrvatskoj," *Hrvatski ljetopis za kaznene znanosti i praksu* 24, no. 2 (2017): 671–692.
- 27 Snježana Maloić Dijana Todosiev, "Uloga obitelji u socijalnoj reintegraciji zatvorenika: pregled aktualnih spoznaja," *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 28, no. 2 (2020): 236–256.

Category	Author(s) and Year	Summary	Key Points
	Maloić (2020) ²⁸	Discusses the importance of prison aftercare for successful reintegration, offering recommendations for improvement.	Emphasises the need for a comprehensive aftercare strategy, improved laws, and better resource allocation to support reintegration, with a focus on high-risk offenders and involving state institutions, public agencies, and NGOs.
	Maloić and Jandrić Nišević (2020) ²⁹	Highlights the importance of effective social reintegration as a key goal of imprisonment, focusing on the shared responsibility of individuals and society to address recidivism and support prisoners' reintegration, with an emphasis on prison, probation, and social welfare systems in Croatia.	Social reintegration as key objective; collaboration between prison, probation, social welfare systems; importance of non-governmental sector.
	Rakić and Maloić (2021) ³⁰	Examines the role of probation services in Croatia, focusing on their importance in preventing social exclusion and supporting reintegration of prisoners.	Emphasizes the need for better enforcement of probation services and greater engagement from various stakeholders to reduce social exclusion, mitigate recidivism, and support the successful reintegration of former prisoners into society.
Rehabilitation	Kanduč (1996) ³¹	Discusses rehabilitation from a criminological perspective, arguing that rehabilitation should be a right and not part of a punitive approach.	Critiques past rehabilitative models and advocates for a more humanistic, non-repressive approach to criminal justice, highlighting the absence of a comprehensive criminal policy that integrates rehabilitation effectively.

28 Snježana Maloić, "Pojam i značaj poslijepenalne zaštite – koga štтити, зашто и како?" *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija* 28, no. 1 (2020): 11–46.

29 Maloić, Jandrić Nišević, "Reintegracija zatvorenika u društvo", 47–77.

30 Martina Rakić, Snježana Maloić, "Implementacija probacijskih poslova povezanih s kaznom zatorora u Republici Hrvatskoj: ostvarena postignuća i izazovi ostvarivanja," *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 29, no. 2 (2021): 291–310.

31 Kanduč, "Zamisao o rehabilitaciji", 142–148. Although Kanduč is affiliated with the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, this article is included in the Croatian analysis due to its availability in both Croatian and English on the Croatian Portal of Scientific and Professional Journals – *Hrčak*. The article explores the concept of rehabilitation without linking it to a specific national solution, thus ensuring its relevance within this context.

Category	Author(s) and Year	Summary	Key Points
	Mikšaj-Todorović and Buđanovac (1997) ³²	Describes a curriculum for social pedagogy students aimed at rehabilitative work within the penal system, focusing on practical skills.	Shifting from debating the merits of rehabilitation to developing effective methods for applying theoretical concepts in practice, by incorporating international practices adapted to Croatia's needs.
	Mikšaj-Todorović and Buđanovac (2000) ³³	Examines public attitudes in Croatia toward convicts and rehabilitation, finding that younger, educated, and urban populations are more supportive.	Need for further educational efforts to shift perceptions, particularly in less urbanized and older demographic groups.
	Damjanović, Jandrić and Doležal (2002) ³⁴	Examines the 1999 Croatian Law of Imprisonment and its amendments, comparing them to previous regulations with a focus on inmate rehabilitation.	Importance of well-trained and motivated staff for effective rehabilitation, emphasizing that rehabilitation requires personalized attention to each offender's needs.
	Buđanovac, Mikšaj-Todorović, and Kanduč (2002) ³⁵	Explores public attitudes in Croatia and Slovenia regarding convicts and their rehabilitation.	The analysis revealed five significant factors in the Croatian sample and six in the Slovenian sample, with notable similarities in attitudes regarding trust toward convicts and personal contacts.
	Buđanovac and Mikšaj-Todorović (2002) ³⁶	Continues to examine public attitudes in Croatia and Slovenia, revealing differences in perspectives on prison conditions.	Findings suggest a common inclination towards rehabilitation, with variations reflecting differing perspectives on prison conditions.

- 32 Ljiljana Mikšaj-Todorović, Aleksandar Buđanovac, "Edukacija studenata socijalne pedagogije za rad na rehabilitaciji osuđenih u penalnom sustavu," *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 5, no. 1–2 (1997): 89–93.
- 33 Ljiljana Mikšaj-Todorović, Aleksandar Buđanovac, "Javno mnijenje o prijestupnicima i rehabilitaciji u Hrvatskoj: utjecaj spola, dobi, obrazovanja i razine urbanizacije," *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 8, no. 1–2 (2000): 27–34.
- 34 Ivan Damjanović, Anita Jandrić, Dalibor Doležal, "Uloga rehabilitacije u svjetlu novih promjena unutar zakona o izvršavanju kazne zatvora," *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 10, no. 1 (2002): 49–58.
- 35 Aleksandar Buđanovac, Ljiljana Mikšaj-Todorović, Zoran Kanduč, "Faktorska struktura stavova prema osuđenima i njihovoj rehabilitaciji na slovenskom i hrvatskom uzorku ispitanika," *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 10, no. 1 (2002): 25–34.
- 36 Aleksandar Buđanovac, Ljiljana Mikšaj-Todorović, "Stavovi prema osuđenima i njihovoj rehabilitaciji na slovenskom i hrvatskom uzorku ispitanika," *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 10, no. 2 (2002): 153–160.

Category	Author(s) and Year	Summary	Key Points
	Maloić (2015) ³⁷	Focuses on the evolving role of probation services in Croatia, including working with high-risk offenders.	Advocates for more domestic research into probation practices to inform the future development of policies in Croatia, integrating European guidelines and international research findings.
	Maloić (2016) ³⁸	Examines Croatian probation services' use of the Risk-Need-Responsivity and Good Lives Models and discusses the potential for restorative justice.	Emphasising the importance of addressing both criminogenic risks and protective factors, argues that effective rehabilitation must be perceived as meaningful by offenders.

3.1. Terminology Review

In the state-of-the-art research in Croatia, authors predominantly use the term “rehabilitation” without providing a clear definition, instead focusing on its purposes and importance.³⁹ Some authors define rehabilitation as ‘the return of a criminal to a law-abiding way of life through treatment’,⁴⁰ or they refer to it as ‘re-enablement’.⁴¹ However, only one article offers a more detailed definition, describing rehabilitation as ‘the result of any planned intervention aimed at the offender that reduces criminal activity, regardless of whether this reduction is achieved through changes in personality, abilities, attitudes, values, or behaviour’.⁴² The use of this definition of rehabilitation significantly differs from the term rehabilitation in the normative context.

Moreover, resocialization is explained in only one article, which defines it as a process that ‘aims to enable the prisoner, after serving their sentence, to reintegrate into the wider social community and become a functional member within various social structures and groups like family, friends, work, etc.’⁴³ Other articles sporadically mention resocialization without delving into its content, merely refer-

37 Snježana Maloić, “Probacija prema punoljetnim počiniteljima kaznenih djela – pomoć ili nadzor?” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 23, no. 1 (2015): 157–179.

38 Snježana Maloić, “Dominantna načela i modeli tretmanskog rada s punoljetnim počiniteljima kaznenih djela u zajednici,” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 24, no. 2 (2016): 115–139.

39 For example, see: Rakić, Maloić, “Implementacija probacijskih poslova”, 291–310; Maloić, “Pojam i značaj poslijepenalne zaštite”, 11–46.; Maloić, Todosiev, “Uloga obitelji u socijalnoj reintegraciji zatvorenika”, 236–256; Maloić, “Dominantna načela i modeli tretmanskog rada”, 115–139; Maloić, “Probacija prema punoljetnim počiniteljima”, 157–179; Buđanovac, Mikšaj-Todorović, “Kanduć, Faktorska struktura stavova prema osuđenim”, 25–34; Mikšaj-Todorović, Buđanovac, “Edukacija studenata socijalne pedagogije”, 89–93.

40 Mikšaj-Todorović, Buđanovac, „Edukacija studenata socijalne pedagogije“, 89.; Kanduć, “Zamisao o rehabilitaciji”, 142.

41 Damjanović, Jandrić, Doležal, “Uloga rehabilitacije u svjetlu novih promjena”, 51.

42 Jukić, Sabljo, “Penološka andragogija”, 28.

43 Ibid.

ring to resocialization goals.⁴⁴ However, this definition of resocialisation cannot be clearly distinguished from rehabilitation definitions found across the analysed body of research. Moreover, the inclusion of “reintegration” within the resocialisation definition creates further confusion, leading to the conclusion that rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration are treated as synonyms despite their potentially distinct theoretical foundations.

Even though six articles directly address reintegration,⁴⁵ none of them provide a definition for the term.⁴⁶ A brief explanation could have been helpful but is not essential, as reintegration appears as the outcome of successfully implemented resocialisation or rehabilitation processes. While an explanation would be beneficial given the observed interconnectedness of these concepts, reintegration is relatively clearly understood as the outcome of (un)successfully implemented resocialisation or rehabilitation processes, and as a binary outcome in which ex-convicts either succeed or fail at avoiding return to prison.⁴⁷ Furthermore, some authors attempt to clarify these terms by focus: rehabilitation remains primarily psychological, while reintegration is predominantly social.⁴⁸

Having focused thus far on the terminology of reintegration, resocialisation, and rehabilitation, the analysis reveals that these terms are frequently employed without further elaboration, lacking consensus on their definitions at either domestic or international levels. Examination of terminological (dis)agreement serves as a conceptual introduction, underscoring the relevance of these concepts to the prevention of recidivism. The subsequent section shifts attention to the principal conclusions drawn from domestic studies, alongside the limitations, such as the dated nature of the articles and insufficient volume of publications to support firm, generalisable inferences.

3.2. *Main Findings and Limitations*

A general conclusion on resocialisation cannot be drawn from a single article; however, it is clear that the topic of resocialization remains underexplored in the Croatian scientific landscape. Moreover, the only article that addresses resocialisation emphasizes the need for additional efforts to achieve positive changes.

44 Rakić, Maloić, “Implementacija probacijskih poslova”, 291–310; Maloić, Todosiev, “Uloga obitelji u socijalnoj reintegraciji zatvorenika”, 115–139; Maloić, Jandrić Nišević, “Reintegracija zatvorenika u društvo”, 47–77.; Maloić, „Dominantna načela i modeli tretmanskog rada“, 115–139; Maloić, “Probacija prema punoljetnim počiniteljima kaznenih djela”, 25–34; Kanduć, “Zamisao o rehabilitaciji”, 146.

45 Snježana Maloić Dijana Todosiev, “Uloga obitelji u socijalnoj reintegraciji zatvorenika: pregled aktualnih spoznaja,” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 28, no. 2 (2020): 236–256.

46 Rakić, Maloić, “Implementacija probacijskih poslova”, 291–310; Maloić, Jandrić Nišević, “Reintegracija zatvorenika u društvo”, 47–77; Maloić, Todosiev, “Uloga obitelji u socijalnoj reintegraciji zatvorenika”, 115–139; Šimpraga, Vukota, „Probni projekt”, 813÷817; Špero, Rosandić, “Elektronički nadzor pilot-projekt”, 671–692.

47 Ganapathy, “Rehabilitation, reintegration and recidivism”, 4.

48 *Ibid.*, 5.

The analyses of knowledge on reintegration processes in Croatia underscore the urgent need to improve the systems and support mechanisms involved in the reintegration of prisoners into society. They highlight that insufficient importance is placed on post-penal protection, with the topic of prisoner reintegration being poorly represented in recent domestic professional and scientific literature, which also points to numerous deficiencies in this area. The term “reintegration” has become the focal point for probation services, underscoring the necessity for more active engagement from these services during the prison sentence, particularly in the joint preparation of prisoners and the community for conditional release. Each piece underscores the critical importance of structured programs and interventions, whether through supervised conditional releases, electronic monitoring, probation services, or the involvement of families, in preventing recidivism and enhancing social reintegration. Furthermore, they stress the need for a collective effort involving government institutions, non-governmental organizations, and families to create a supportive environment for former prisoners. The necessity for collaboration among various institutions and government bodies is paramount to ensure effective support for prisoners during reintegration. Additionally, the articles reveal that this area remains under-researched, highlighting the need for further efforts to raise awareness about the importance of post-penal protection and for comparative analyses that could contribute to the development of better practices in this field. Reintegration is a central concept when it comes to probation and post-release processes.

The research on the topic of rehabilitation encompasses professional, review, and original works, including empirical analyses, particularly focused on public attitudes toward prisoners. Some of the works were written in the last century, and the empirical research was conducted in the early 2000s, indicating a significant time lapse and highlighting a serious deficit in research within this field. The authors frequently highlight the insufficient representation of empirical and other analyses, as well as the need for more extensive research in this area. Additionally, they emphasise the importance of greater collaboration among stakeholders involved in rehabilitation, the education of probation officers, the necessity for programme implementation evaluations, and the dangers posed by penal populism. A key focus across all articles is on the advantages of rehabilitation and its significance in the context of criminal justice.

The state of the art regarding the themes of resocialisation, reintegration, and rehabilitation in Croatia, as presented on the portal of Croatian scientific and professional journals, includes 18 articles, of which 15 have been analysed. Four articles were excluded because, although they mention some of these terms, their focus was on other topics. Resocialisation, despite being perhaps the most comprehensive term, is addressed in only one article. The concept of reintegration predominantly focuses on probation services, with articles reflecting on the current state and potential opportunities for alternative sanctions, such as conditional release and electronic monitoring. Articles within the criminological field that discuss rehabilitation primarily examine public perceptions of convicts. Most of these works were published over 20 years ago; however, the issues raised in them are echoed in studies from 2015 and 2016, which represent the “most recent” contributions in this

category. This indicates a persistent neglect of a critically important area, as well as a serious lack of scientific works in the field, which the authors themselves often highlight.

4. PREVENTION THROUGH PRISONER TREATMENT

Recidivism prevention through prisoner treatment can be examined from two perspectives: the normative framework and the practical one, supplemented by data from prison reports.

4.1. Normative Framework

Prisoner treatment encompasses a range of general programmes focused on resocialisation, including work, education, and leisure activities, which are implemented in cooperation with departments responsible for vocational training, security, and healthcare.⁴⁹ In contrast, specialised programmes involve group and individual psychosocial interventions designed to address dynamic criminogenic factors influencing inmate behaviour.⁵⁰ The implementation of both general and specialised programmes is overseen by professionals, including social workers, pedagogues, and psychologists, who work collaboratively with other staff, such as correctional officers, medical personnel, and educational specialists, within the prison system.⁵¹

The Execution of Prison Sentence Act (2021) in article 75 stipulates that the individual programme for serving a prison sentence consists of pedagogical, work-related, health, psychological, social, and security measures tailored to the characteristics and needs of the prisoner, as well as suitable for the type and capabilities of the correctional facility or prison. The individual programme for each prisoner includes several essential components. It begins with an assessment of the risk level during the execution of the prison sentence, which determines the placement in correctional facilities based on security levels (closed, semi-open, open).⁵² The programme also evaluates the prisoner's work capabilities, work habits, type of work, and working conditions suitable for their placement. Additionally, it considers the educational level and the need for further education or vocational training, as well as the prisoner's health status and any required medical treatment.⁵³

49 Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Prison Report for 2024* (Zagreb: Ministry of Justice and Administration, 2025), https://www.sabor.hr/sites/default/files/uploads/sabor/2025-11-06/160302/IZVJ_ZATVORSKI_SUSTAV_2024.pdf (Accessed: 13 March 2026).

50 Ibid.

51 Ministry of Justice, Public Administration and Digital Transformation, "Treatment of Prisoners," 2024, <https://mpudt.gov.hr/pristup-informacijama-6341/ostale-informacije/zatvorski-sustav/tretman-zatvorenika/6159?lang=hr> (Accessed: 13 March 2026).

52 Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Prison Report for 2024*, 17–21.

53 Ibid.

The programme may propose special forms of individual or group work and includes provisions for participation in specific programmes, such as those for drug or alcohol addiction, violence offenders, and sexual offenders, as per court decision or expert team assessment.⁵⁴ Furthermore, it addresses the need for psychiatric or psychological assistance and outlines activities for utilising free time, including cultural and sports activities. The programme also facilitates contact with the outside world through correspondence, phone calls, and visits from family and other individuals.⁵⁵ Finally, it incorporates a preparation programme for release and post-release support to ensure a smooth transition back into society.⁵⁶

The Regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners provide a detailed framework for the standards and methods of conducting prisoner treatment operations.⁵⁷ This includes assessing risk and treatment needs, as well as classifying prisoners based on their levels of criminogenic and security risks to determine appropriate conditions for serving their sentences. The regulations also outline the individual programme for serving a prison sentence, the privileges afforded to prisoners, and the procedures for determining the costs related to the creation, valuation, display, storage, and sale of items and other works produced by prisoners during their leisure time while serving their sentences. Once a prisoner is assigned to a correctional facility deemed most appropriate for addressing their needs and implementing an individualised programme, the prison warden evaluates the programme's effectiveness every six months. This review does not measure overall treatment success, but determines the extent to which actions stipulated in the prison sentence execution plan have been implemented.

4.2. Implementing Prison Treatment in Practice

According to the Prison report for 2024, various special treatment programs were implemented in prisons, correctional facilities, and educational institutions. These programs included treatment for alcohol and drug addiction, gambling addiction, sexual offenses, traffic offenses, and violence-related crimes. Educational development programs focused on social skills training and enhancing parental competencies, as well as improving traffic safety. In total, 828 prisoners participated in special and educational development programmes during 2024, showing a slight increase from 776 in 2023.⁵⁸ Treatment of violent crime offenders accounted for the largest share at 26% (or N=211), followed by treatment of alcohol addicts at 24% or N=(198). Combined addiction treatments (alcohol and drugs) constituted 40% (or N=338), with drug addicts at 17% or N=(140); other programs included inmate as a parent at 14% or N=(113), treatment of sexual delinquents at 7.0% or

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ministry of Justice, Public Administration and Digital Transformation, "Croatian Regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners," 2021, https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/full/2021_11_123_2109.html (Accessed: 13 March 2026).

58 Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Prison Report for 2024*, 12.

N=(58), social skills training at 7% (or N=54), treatment of traffic offenders at 5% (or N=39), driver-factor of traffic safety at 1% (or N=8), and psychosocial treatment of gambling addicts at 0.8% (or N=7).

Table 2: Number of Prisoners Included in Special and Educational Development Programs in 2024⁵⁹

Special and Educational Development Programs	During 2024	One-day snapshots on 31 December 2024
Treatment of Drug Addicts	140	41
Treatment of Alcohol Addicts	198	52
Program for Psychosocial Treatment of Gambling Addicts	7	0
Treatment of Sexual Delinquents	58	10
Treatment of Violent Crime Offenders (group and individual)	211	67
Treatment of Traffic Offenders	39	0
Social Skills Training	54	28
Inmate as a Parent (group and individual)	113	19
Driver – Factor of Traffic Safety	8	8
TOTAL	828	233

Moreover, a total of 16,826 individuals deprived of their liberty and subject to educational measures passed through the prison system in 2024. These figures encompass various groups, including prisoners and juvenile offenders serving prison sentences (5,982), individuals in pretrial detention (8,219), persons in misdemeanour detention or serving misdemeanour sanctions (2,533), as well as juvenile offenders subject to educational measures (92).⁶⁰ Treatment options are not applicable to all of these groups. Special treatment programmes are generally applied only to individuals who have been convicted and sentenced, specifically prisoners serving a custodial sentence and minors undergoing juvenile imprisonment or educational measures in correctional facilities.⁶¹ In addition to so-called *flow data*, which relates to prisoners throughout the year, there are also *stock data* collected as of 31 December each year. Croatia records its stock data on 31 December. However, the choice of this date presents a limitation, as 31 December is New Year's Eve.⁶² According to the *Execution of Prison Sentence Act*, many prisoners are granted privileges such as temporary release to their place of residence or another location to visit family members during the holidays (Art. 138). Additionally, if a prisoner's release date falls on a holiday, they are released the day before (Art. 178). These circumstances, with the date falling just before the holiday period, may artificially reduce the

⁵⁹ Ibid., 42–43.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 19.

⁶¹ Ibid., 32.

⁶² Anna-Maria Getoš Kalac, Reana Bezić, Petra Šprem, “Ružno pače’ hrvatskoga kaznenog pravosuđa – zatvorski sustav u svjetlu domaćih i europskih trendova,” *Godišnjak Akademije pravnih znanosti Hrvatske* 12, no. 1 (2021): 87.

number of prisoners recorded on that day.⁶³ According to the prison report, on 31 December 2024, there were 4,965 individuals deprived of their liberty within the correctional system. However, as previously noted, these figures encompass a wide range of individuals whose freedom has been restricted. For instance, the number of individuals in pre-trial detention on the same day was 2,107.

Therefore, the report does not provide sufficient information to determine how many individuals could potentially be eligible for preventive programmes, making it challenging to draw any conclusions about the representation of such programmes among prisoners.

It is also important to emphasise that although the legal framework for preventive programmes is well established and encompasses a wide range of programmes and options, there are practical limitations to their implementation due to the conditions and capacities of the prison system. The prison report itself highlights the limitations on the implementation of educational programmes, the organisation of leisure activities, and the opportunities for training in basic employment skills and secondary education, which are constrained by the capabilities of the correctional institution.⁶⁴ Given the previously highlighted deficit of information and scientific literature on the topic of crime prevention, it is challenging to obtain an accurate picture of the state of preventive programs within the prison system. This makes the scientific article by a former inmate particularly significant, as it focuses on the practical application of the provisions of the *Execution of Prison Sentences Act*. The author emphasizes the overcrowding of the Croatian prison system and the inability to conduct individual treatment effectively, arguing that the notion of such treatment is, in reality, a fiction that is not implemented.⁶⁵ Ombudsman reports lend support to these claims by noting persistent issues of prison overcrowding and staff shortages.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Andonov asserts that, in practice, there are only two categories of inmates that the treatment departments in prisons and correctional facilities are concerned with: inmates who have been sentenced to compulsory treatment for addiction in addition to their prison sentence and those who enter addiction treatment during their incarceration.⁶⁷ Furthermore, he highlights the shortage of

63 Ibid.

64 Government of the Republic of Croatia, *Prison Report for 2024*, 37–38.

65 Angel Andonov, “Primjena pojedinih odredaba Zakona o izvršavanju kazne zatvora,” *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu* 20, no. 1 (2013): 110.

66 Croatian Ombudsman, *Report of the Ombudsman for 2023* (Zagreb, 2024), https://www.ombudsman.hr/hr/download/izvjesce_pucke_pravobraniteljice_za_2023_godinu/?wpdmdl=18399&refresh=665d76648ee941717401188,266-285. (Accessed: 1 April 2025); Croatian Ombudsman, *Annual Report for 2024* (Zagreb: Office of the Public Defender, 2025), https://www.sabor.hr/sites/default/files/uploads/sabor/2025-04-02/142202/IZVJ_PUCKA_PRAVOBRANITELJICA_2024.pdf (Accessed: 1 March 2025).

67 While Andonov’s observations remain relevant, they predate the 2024 prison data showing expanded engagement in non-addiction treatments, such as treatment of violent crime offenders at 26% or (N=211) suggesting possible shifts in correctional priorities. Addiction treatments combined still dominate at 40% or (N=338), aligning with his claims; however, given the age of the cited literature and scarcity of recent empirical studies, strong conclusions should be avoided, and further academic research is warranted to assess evolving treatment patterns.

qualified personnel, including social workers, pedagogues, and psychologists, which exacerbates the challenges in delivering effective treatment. The lack of proper addiction treatment options in many prison institutions has been highlighted by other authors as well.⁶⁸ These issues reflect broader challenges in the correctional system, including inadequate resources and overcrowding, which hinder effective implementation of treatment programs. Consequently, inmates may lack necessary support for addiction issues and other criminogenic needs, complicating chances of successful reintegration after release.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis reveals a persistent lack of clear terminological distinctions between rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration in both international and domestic legislation, as well as in the academic sphere, despite their significant importance in legal and correctional frameworks.

The analysis of Croatian state-of-the-art research reveals that these terms are often used interchangeably without precise definitions. While some authors provide descriptions or highlight the purposes of these concepts, only a few attempt to determine them explicitly. The limited and inconsistent explanations contribute to conceptual ambiguity, making it difficult to identify whether researchers are referring to distinct processes or overlapping aspects of offender resocialisation. This lack of clarity underscores the need for a more systematic and precise approach to defining these key terms in criminological discourse. While it would be overly ambitious to propose a new and comprehensive definition of terms, rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration, their distinctions and similarity will be outlined. Resocialisation appears to be the broadest concept, encompassing a set of measures (such as prison treatment programmes) and reintegration as an outcome. In Croatian legislation, particularly in the *Execution of Prison Sentences Act*, references are made to activities and programmes with rehabilitative and reintegrative purposes. However, the term “rehabilitation programmes” is not explicitly used, nor is it precisely defined. Instead, the legislation outlines general objectives of treatment, such as resocialisation and preparation for life after release. This lack of precise terminology in legal provisions contributes to the frequent use of the term “rehabilitation programmes” in the literature when referring to various treatment programmes.. Overall, resocialisation entails not only acquiring socially acceptable behaviours but also effectively applying them following the completion of treatment programmes. Rehabilitation, by contrast, is the only term legally defined, referring to the process through which a convicted person’s rights are restored after a specified period, treating them as if they had never been convicted. Its primary objective is to eliminate legal consequences and mitigate stigma. Reintegration stands at the core of post-penal phases, serving as the outcome of rehabilitative and resocialisation efforts, resulting either in success through adapting to crime-free life according to socially acceptable norms or in recidivism.

68 Anna-Maria Getoš Kalac, Reana Bezić, “Criminology, Crime and Criminal Justice in Croatia,” *European Journal of Criminology* 14, no. 2 (2017): 261.

Even though Croatian law and international documents provide a solid framework for protecting prisoner rights, implementation of rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration to prevent recidivism faces obstacles from terminological ambiguities and systemic constraints. Clearer legal definitions of these terms, coupled with policies attuned to prison realities, would better support effective recidivism prevention. Furthermore, the analysis of available data on treatment programmes within the Croatian prison system highlights a gap between the theoretical framework and practical implementation. While various treatment options, both general and specialised, are prescribed by law, their effectiveness is constrained by the overcrowded and resource-limited conditions of the prison system. This issue is exacerbated by a lack of data on the number of inmates for whom these preventive measures could be applied, hindering a comprehensive understanding of their reach and impact. The practical application of preventive programmes appears inconsistent with the extensive legal framework, raising concerns about their efficacy and accessibility. Improvement requires incorporating inmates' own perspectives, which reveal prison realities more authentically than legal texts or official statistics alone. Such input proves vital for pinpointing real obstacles and shortcomings in treatment approaches, yielding a truer picture of on-the-ground program execution.

The state-of-the-art review of Croatian literature on recidivism prevention also underscores the need for further empirical research and academic discourse on rehabilitation, resocialisation, and reintegration. Despite some key articles addressing recidivism prevention topics, particularly within probation services and post-penal support, the overall representation of relevant issues in Croatian scientific literature remains insufficient. This gap highlights the necessity for more research and collaboration to enhance the effectiveness of preventive and treatment measures.

In conclusion, addressing both legal and practical shortcomings in the Croatian correctional system is crucial for improving the treatment of prisoners and the overall effectiveness of prevention programmes. A clearer legal definition of key concepts, supplemented by comprehensive data collection and inmate perspectives, will provide a more accurate picture of how these programmes function in practice. By bridging the gap between theoretical frameworks and real-world conditions, the Croatian prison system can better fulfil its mandate to reduce recidivism and promote successful resocialisation, ultimately leading to a more just and effective criminal justice system.

LITERATURE

- Aebi, Marcelo F., et al. *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics*. Göttingen, 2021. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.17875/gup2021-1787>.
- Andonov, Angel. "Primjena pojedinih odredaba Zakona o izvršavanju kazne zatvora." *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu* 20, no. 1 (2013): 101–118.
- Božičević-Grbić, Melita, Sunčana Roksandić Vidlička. "Reforma maloljetničkog kaznenog prava i sudovanja." *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu* 18, no. 2 (2011): 679–715.
- Buđanovac, Aleksandar, Ljiljana Mikšaj-Todorović. "Stavovi prema osuđenima i njihovoj rehabilitaciji na slovenskom i hrvatskom uzorku ispitanika." *Kriminologija & soci-*

- jalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 10, no. 2 (2002): 153–160.
- Buđanovac, Aleksandar, Ljiljana Mikšaj-Todorović, Zoran Kanduč. “Faktorska struktura stavova prema osuđenima i njihovoj rehabilitaciji na slovenskom i hrvatskom uzorku ispitanika.” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 10, no. 1 (2002): 25–34.
- Damjanović, Ivan, Anita Jandrić, Dalibor Doležal. “Uloga rehabilitacije u svjetlu novih promjena unutar zakona o izvršavanju kazne zatvora.” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 10, no. 1 (2002): 49–58.
- Forsberg, Lisa, Thomas Douglas. “What Is Criminal Rehabilitation?” *Criminal Law and Philosophy* 16, no. 1 (2022): 103–126.
- Ganapathy, Narayanan. “Rehabilitation, Reintegration and Recidivism: A Theoretical and Methodological Reflection.” *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Work and Development* 28, no. 3 (2018): 154–167.
- Getoš Kalac, Anna-Maria, Reana Bezić. “Criminology, Crime and Criminal Justice in Croatia.” *European Journal of Criminology* 14, no. 2 (2017): 242–266.
- Getoš Kalac, Anna-Maria, Reana Bezić, Petra Šprem. “Ružno pače’ hrvatskoga kaznenog pravosuđa – zatvorski sustav u svjetlu domaćih i europskih trendova.” *Godišnjak Akademije pravnih znanosti Hrvatske* 12, no. 1 (2021): 83–112.
- Getoš Kalac, Anna-Maria, Lea Feuerbach. “Small-Scaling Imprisonment in the Balkans – The ‘Holy Grail’ of Resocialisation?” *Central European Journal of Comparative Law* 6, no. 2 (2025): 127–166.
- Heseltine, Karen, Andrew Day. “Rehabilitation Programmes in Australian Prisons.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice*, eds. Antje Deckert, Rick Sarre. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Jukić, Renata, Marin Sabljo. “Penološka andragogija – zatvorski tretman i mogućnosti resocijalizacije zatvorenika.” *Andragoški glasnik: Glasilo Hrvatskog andragoškog društva* 21, no. 1–2 (36) (2017): 27–36.
- Kanduč, Zoran. “Zamisao o rehabilitaciji: pogled s kriminološkog stajališta.” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 4, no. 2 (1996): 142–148.
- Maloić, Snježana. “Probacija prema punoljetnim počiniteljima kaznenih djela – pomoć ili nadzor?” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 23, no. 1 (2015): 157–179.
- Maloić, Snježana. “Dominantna načela i modeli tretmanskog rada s punoljetnim počiniteljima kaznenih djela u zajednici.” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 24, no. 2 (2016): 115–139.
- Maloić, Snježana. “Pojam i značaj poslijepenalne zaštite – koga štiti, zašto i kako?” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija* 28, no. 1 (2020): 11–46.
- Maloić, Snježana, Anita Jandrić Nišević. “Reintegracija zatvorenika u društvo – možemo li bolje?” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 28, no. 1 (2020): 47–77.
- Maloić, Snježana, Dijana Todosiev. “Uloga obitelji u socijalnoj reintegraciji zatvorenika: pregled aktualnih spoznaja.” *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 28, no. 2 (2020): 236–256.
- Meijer, Sonja. “Rehabilitation as a Positive Obligation.” *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice* 25, no. 2 (2017): 145–162.

- Mikšaj-Todorović, Ljiljana, Aleksandar Buđanovac. "Edukacija studenata socijalne pedagogije za rad na rehabilitaciji osuđenih u penalnom sustavu." *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 5, no. 1–2 (1997): 89–93.
- Mikšaj-Todorović, Ljiljana, Aleksandar Buđanovac. "Javno mnijenje o prijestupnicima i rehabilitaciji u Hrvatskoj: utjecaj spola, dobi, obrazovanja i razine urbanizacije." *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 8, no. 1–2 (2000): 27–34.
- Petković, Željko. "Zastupljenost maloljetnika i mladih punoljetnika u strukturi prijavljenih počinitelja kaznenih djela zloporabe opojnih droga iz članka 173." *Policija i sigurnost* 17, no. 1–2 (2008): 111–119.
- Rakić, Martina, Snježana Maloić. "Implementacija probacijskih poslova povezanih s kaznom zatvora u Republici Hrvatskoj: ostvarena postignuća i izazovi ostvarivanja." *Kriminologija & socijalna integracija: časopis za kriminologiju, penologiju i poremećaje u ponašanju* 29, no. 2 (2021): 291–310.
- Seigafo Sheldon. "Inmate's Right to Rehabilitation during Incarceration: A Critical Analysis of the United States Correctional System." *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences* 12, no 2 (2017): 183–195.
- Šimpraga, Dijana, Ljiljana Vukota. "Probni projekt Uvjetni otpust zatvorenika." *Hrvatski ljetopis za kazneno pravo i praksu* 17, no. 2 (2010): 813–817.
- Špero, Jana, Perica Rosandić. "Elektronički nadzor pilot-projekt u Republici Hrvatskoj." *Hrvatski ljetopis za kaznene znanosti i praksu* 24, no. 2 (2017): 671–692.
- Van Kempen, Piet Hein, Warren Young, eds. /2014/ *Prevention of Reoffending: The Value of Rehabilitation and the Management of High Risk Offenders*, Cambridge: Intersentia.
- Váradi-Csemane, Erika, ed. *Criminal Legal Studies: European Challenges and Central European Responses in the Criminal Science of the 21st Century*. Budapest: Central European Academic Publishing, 2022. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.54171/2022.evcs.cls>.
- Whitney, Emily A. "Correctional Rehabilitation Programs and the Adoption of International Standards: How the United States Can Reduce Recidivism and Promote the National Interest." *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* 18, no. 3 (2009): 777–810.

REPORTS, HANDBOOKS, AND OTHER ONLINE SURCES

- Criminal Justice Alliance. *Criminal Justice Dictionary*. Available at: <https://www.criminaljusticealliance.org/resources/criminal-justice-dictionary/>
- Croatian Ombudsman. *Report of the Ombudsman for 2023*. Zagreb, 2024. https://www.ombudsman.hr/hr/download/izvjesce_pucke_pravobraniteljice_za_2023_godinu/?wpdmdl=18399&refresh=665d76648ee941717401188
- Croatian Ombudsman. *Annual Report for 2024*. Zagreb: Office of the Public Defender, 2025. https://www.sabor.hr/sites/default/files/uploads/sabor/2025-04-02/142202/IZVJ_PUCKA_PRAVOBRANITELJICA_2024.pdf
- Durin, Igor. *Opći programi tretmana zatvorenika: Rad i izobrazba u funkciji rehabilitacije*. Diss., Sveučilište u Zagrebu: Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijski fakultet, 2017.
- Government of South Australia. "Rehabilitation, Education and Work." 2024. <https://www.corrections.sa.gov.au/Rehabilitation-education-and-work>

- Government of the Republic of Croatia. *Prison Report for 2024*. Zagreb: Ministry of Justice and Administration, 2025. https://www.sabor.hr/sites/default/files/uploads/sabor/2025-11-06/160302/IZVJ_ZATVORSKI_SUSTAV_2024.pdf
- Ministry of Justice, Public Administration and Digital Transformation. “Croatian Regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners.” 2021. https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/full/2021_11_123_2109.html
- Ministry of Justice, Public Administration and Digital Transformation. “Treatment of Prisoners.” 2024. <https://mpudt.gov.hr/pristup-informacijama-6341/ostale-informacije/zatvorski-sustav/tretman-zatvorenika/6159?lang=hr>
- Ministry of Justice, Public Administration and Digital Transformation. “Croatian Regulations on the Treatment of Prisoners.” 2021. https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/full/2021_11_123_2109.html
- National Research Council. *The Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 1979.
- Penal Reform International. “The Meaning of Rehabilitation – Resocialization and Its Regulation Based on National and International Standards.” 2019. <https://www.penalreform.org/blog/the-meaning-of-rehabilitation-resocialization-and-its-regulation/>
- Radicalisation Awareness Network. *RAN Rehabilitation Manual*. 2020. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-06/ran_rehab_manual_en.pdf
- Radicalisation Awareness Network. *Spotlight on Rehabilitation and Reintegration*. 2024. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/document/download/8379618f-31f2-48dc-a8d6-83d6a541643d_en?filename=spotlight_on_rehabilitation_and_reintegration_042024_en_0.pdf
- RAN Practitioners. “Prison Rehabilitation and Reintegration.” *RAN Practitioners Spotlight Magazine*, 2020.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. *Introductory Handbook on the Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders*. Vienna: United Nations, 2018.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. *The Prevention of Recidivism and the Social Reintegration of Offenders*. Vienna: United Nations Office at Vienna, 2018.

INTERNATIONAL LAW DOCUMENTS

- Council of Europe. *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (European Convention on Human Rights)*. Rome: Council of Europe, 1950.
- European Parliament. *Recommendation of the European Parliament to the Council on the Rights of Prisoners in the European Union (P5_TA(2004)0142)*. Brussels: European Parliament, 2004.
- Recommendation Rec (2006)2 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the European Prison Rules. Available at: <http://book.coe.int>
- United Nations. *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*. New York: United Nations, 1984.
- United Nations. *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules)*. New York: United Nations, 2015.
- United Nations General Assembly. *Resolution 2200 A (XXI): International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. New York: United Nations, 1966.

*Lea Feuerbach**

REHABILITACIJA, RESOCIJALIZACIJA I REINTEGRACIJA:
PRAVNE I PRAKTIČNE PREPREKE U PREVENCIJI
RECIDIVIZMA U HRVATSKOJ

REZIME

Ovaj rad ispituje prevenciju recidivizma u kaznenopravnom sustavu kroz tri glavna koraka. Prvo provodi konceptualnu analizu rehabilitacije, resocijalizacije i reintegracije, razmatrajući terminološke nejasnoće na međunarodnoj razini i u hrvatskom zakonodavstvu, gdje se definicije često preklapaju i ostaje nejasno označavaju li iste procese ili njihove različite faze. Drugo, analizira domaću akademsku literaturu kako bi se procijenilo na koji način hrvatski istraživači pristupaju toj terminološkoj nejasnoći, uz prikaz njihovih ključnih zaključaka i ograničenja poput nedostatka empirijskih podataka. Treće, procjenjuje praktičnu provedbu usporedbom pravila normativnog okvira o izvršavanju tretmana s dostupnim podacima iz zatvorskih izvješća, pri čemu se uočava nemogućnost mjerenja učestalosti ili evaluacije učinkovitosti i uspješnosti, uz isticanje izazova kaznenog sustava poput prenapučenosti i nedostatka resursa te potrebe za izvorima podataka izvan službenih zatvorskih izvješća koji uključuju iskustva zatvorenika i perspektive drugih aktera kaznenog sustava.

Ključne riječi: prevencija recidivizma, rehabilitacija, resocijalizacija, reintegracija, zatvorski sustav.

69 doktorantkinja na Doktorskoj školi „Ferenc Deák“ Univerziteta u Miškolcu i naučni istraživač u Centralnoevropskoj akademiji u Budimpešti., lea.feuerbach@centraleuropeanacademy.hu, ORCID: ID orcid.org/0009-0004-3763-7889