



Recidivism report 1997-2004

Developments in the reconviction rate
of Dutch offenders

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Each year, the research bureau of the Dutch Ministry of Justice (WODC) calculates the reconviction rates of a number of important offender groups. This fact sheet contains a concise account of the measurements carried out in the course of 2007. The data relate to four, to some extent overlapping offender groups in the Netherlands: adult offenders sanctioned by court or Public Prosecutor's Service (PPS), juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS, ex-prisoners and former inmates of juvenile detention centres. The research includes all persons who were sanctioned by court or PPS in the 1997-2004 period or were released from a penitentiary institution during that period. For each of these four groups, a description is given of the development of the two-year reconviction rate. Apart from the actual figures of the observed reconviction rates, *adjusted* reconviction rates are shown as well.¹ Adjusted rates offer better insight in the net development of the reconviction rates, as the rise of the national clear-up rate and some of the changes in the composition of the offender populations were taken into account. Towards the end of the fact sheet, regional differences within the Netherlands will briefly be touched upon. The reconviction rates will be broken down by district court.

¹ The raw figures, broken down by background characteristics such as sex, age and type of offence, can be found in REPRIS, a query panel which can be accessed on the WODC site. Apart from percentages, REPRIS contains statistics with regard to the frequency and volume of the recidivism.

Box 1: Main results

The figures in this box are an adjustment of the rough recidivism estimates evinced by the research populations. They indicate an approximation of the net development of criminal recidivism, since they have been adjusted for changes in the composition of the offender groups. Fluctuation in the willingness to report crimes and the national clear-up rate were taken into account as well.

- In the 1997-2004 period, the prevalence of criminal recidivism of adult offenders increased. In 1997, 26.1 percent again came into contact with the judicial system within two years; in 2004, this applied to 29.1 percent. After 2002, the level of recidivism hardly changed.
- Between 1997 and 2004, the two-year reconviction rate among juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS increased by 5.5 percent; from 36.1 to 41.6 percent.
- The reconviction rate of former detainees likewise increased across the entire monitoring period – from 55.1 to 58.6 percent. However, since 2002, there has been a slight decrease.
- In contrast to other groups, former inmates of juvenile detention centres gradually became less liable to re-offend in the course of the monitoring period. In 1997, 60.2 percent again came into contact with the judicial system within two years of leaving, whereas in 2004, this applied to 54.3 percent. A decrease of nearly 6 percent points.

Method

The data for the research were taken from the Dutch Offenders Index² which is an anonymous version of the official registry of judicial documentation in the Netherlands. The Dutch Offenders Index contains the criminal cases that have come to the attention of the PPS. Offences that go undetected or fail to be prosecuted are not taken into consideration. In this report, attention is paid only to recidivism that occurred within two years dating from the original criminal case

or release from the institution. Recidivism is operationalized as any new criminal case as a result of a criminal offence that has not led to acquittal, a dismissal by reason of unlikelihood of conviction, or any other technical decision.³ The timing of recidivism was established on the basis of the offence date.⁴

² In Dutch: Onderzoeks- en Beleidsdatabase Justitiële Documentatie (OBJD).

³ For a comprehensive explanation of the method of the Recidivism Monitor, please find the brochure on <http://english.wodc.nl/>.

⁴ Before now, the offence date was not always available. The results of last year's calculations can be found in table books that are available on <http://english.wodc.nl/onderzoek/cijfers-en-prognoses/Recidive-monitor/index.aspx.tekst>.

Table 1: The offender groups of the Recidivism Monitor*

Group	Description	Number of observations							
		1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS	Individuals with a conviction* in relation to a crime that falls within the scope of adult criminal law.**	139,476	138,207	139,590	136,615	138,742	147,273	168,253	169,731
Juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS	Individuals with a conviction* in relation to a crime that falls within the scope of juvenile criminal law.**	13,942	14,007	14,658	15,113	15,926	18,402	19,610	21,272
Ex-prisoners	Adults who have been released from a penitentiary institution, with the exception of those released from Aliens Custody, individuals who are awaiting expulsion and people of whom the pre-trial detention was lifted.	18,281	18,631	17,977	19,862	19,991	17,015	20,887	25,936
Former inmates of juvenile detention centres	Minors who have been released from a penitentiary institution for juvenile offenders. This includes young offenders convicted under criminal law or institutionalised under a civil suit.	1,476	2,006	2,122	2,367	3,007	3,224	4,186	4,937

* In this study sanctions and measures imposed by the PPS itself are seen as convictions, although from a strictly legal point of view they are not.

** Less serious offences, such as most traffic offences are excluded.

Table 1 shows the numbers of observations in the four offender groups. Apart from exclusion due to administrative reasons, it concerns all persons from the populations described.⁵ In each sector, the number of persons has increased with the years. This ties up with changes in the penal climate in the Netherlands, where more and more people come into contact with criminal justice, a development that is connected with a huge expansion of the judicial sanction's capacity. The sharpest rises in numbers have occurred after the change of the century. In 2003 and 2004, the number of criminal cases involving adults was much higher than before. Among ex-prisoners this is the case in the last year of the period we monitored. For several years, the Dutch prison system suffered from capacity shortages. In 2004, this problem came to an end, allowing an acceleration of the execution of short-term detention sanctions (DJI, 2005).

The table does not reflect the sharp increase in the proportion of female offenders. Among the juvenile offenders formally sanctioned by court or PPS as well as among the populations of ex-prisoners and former inmates of juvenile detention centres, the proportion of women has grown considerably. The annexes to this fact sheet include a survey for each sector of the changes in offenders' background characteristics. The proportion of girls released from juvenile detention centres increased from 8.5 percent in 1997 to 19.7 percent in 2004 (see annex 4). It especially applies to girls who were institutionalised under a civil suit. This proportion has risen sharply, and with it the rate of first offenders. The number of juveniles and adults sanctioned by court or PPS for violent offences is growing (see Annexes 1 and 2). In the Netherlands more and more people have been

prosecuted for a violent crime. In the population of ex-prisoners, the increase in the proportion of older people is remarkable. The proportion of over-40s rose from 19.8 to 26.8 percent (see Annex 3). Across the entire Dutch population, the over-40s only increased by 2.7 percent.⁶

The demographic changes in the composition of the study populations are important, since they affect the levels of recidivism. Along with the offenders' backgrounds, their 'risk profiles' change as well. Thus, an increase of the number of girls will result in a decrease of recidivism, as presently women tend to re-offend less than men (Wartna, Tollenaar & Blom, 2005). If there were to be an increase in the proportion of convicted frequent offenders, this would automatically result in an increase of the reconviction rate. By correcting the raw figures, the fluctuations due to changes in the composition of the populations can be neutralised. Next to this, we can take the effects of registration into account. Since 2000, an increasingly large proportion of criminal offences that were reported to the police has been cleared (Van der Heide & Eggen, 2007). Since the measurements relate to *recorded* criminality only, the increase of the clear-up rate automatically boosts the rates of reconviction. By correcting them, this effect is countered as well. This correction takes place on the basis of a time series of the national clear-up rate. No distinction is made with regard to type of offence or region. Moreover, it is assumed that for juveniles the same fluctuations in the clear-up rate were found as for adult offenders. This need not be the case, so there are limitations to the corrections made. Nevertheless, the adjusted rates yield a better insight into the net development of the reconviction rates than the raw figures do (see also box 2 below).

⁵ An individual person may appear in more than one population and in several year cohorts. At the most however, only once per population per year.

⁶ CBS Statline (March 26 2008).

Box 2: The use of adjusted recidivism data

Fluctuations in the composition of the study groups as well as potential effects of registration make it difficult to keep a clear perspective on the development of the reconviction rates. That is why the Recidivism Monitor shows adjusted rates as well as raw ones. The raw figures are corrected by means of a statistical model – a parametric survival model – which is a special type of regression analysis (Royston, 2001). The model estimates the influence background characteristics have on the chances of reconviction and calculates whether there are significant registration effects. On the basis of these estimates, the raw reconviction rates can be corrected. The adjusted rates show the trends of the recidivism in the four sectors independent of the changes in the background characteristics included in the model and likewise independent of fluctuations in the willingness to report a crime and the clear-up rate.

Separate regression equations were formed for each of the four offender populations. The models were fitted to one half of the population and validated against the other half. In view of the scant number of former inmates of juvenile detention centres a ten-fold cross validation was performed for this group. The fit of the four models is good. Two years after imposing judicial sanctions or release from the institution, the prediction error does not exceed 1.0 percent in any of the four study populations. This means that the models yield an accurate estimate regarding the influence of the factors in the model on the reconviction rate within two years.

Six common background characteristics were included in the prediction models: the offender's sex, age and country of birth, the type of offence, the number of previous criminal cases and the age at which the first criminal case took place. With respect to the adult offenders, two other factors played a role in predicting the chances of reconviction: the total number of former fines and the number of previous criminal cases as a result of very serious offences. In the model for the former inmates of juvenile detention centres, the ethnic background was used (instead of the country of birth) and likewise, the legal framework (criminal or civil) was added. In this group, the age at which inmates are released proved not to be significant. Together, the background characteristics included in the models determine the 'risk profile' for the group. Subsequently, annual clear-up rates and percentages of willingness to report crime were added. In none of the study populations, the fluctuations in the willingness to report crime turned out to contribute separately to the recidivism prediction. Apparently, this factor does not play a significant role – at least, not on a national level. The boosting effect of the clear-up rate on the reconviction rates was only evident among adults. The rate of solved crimes has increased since the year 2000 (Van der Heide & Eggen, 2007). This factor was only significant and positive for the adult offender model and consequently, the recidivism figures were (slightly) corrected for this element.

Results

Figure 1 provides the raw reconviction rates in the consecutive cohorts of the four study populations. Figure 2 provides the adjusted rates. With respect to the juvenile offenders, ex-prisoners and the former inmates of juvenile detention centres, the corrections result in an upward adjustment of the figures.⁷ This implies that through the years, the judicial interventions were progressively related to persons with characteristics known to be associated with a low risk of re-offending. So in the 1997-2004 period, the sectors in question were liable to some sort of *net widening*. On the one hand the judicial authorities were dealing with more and more people. On the other hand, based on their background characteristics, these people were less likely to re-offend.

The ex-prisoners and former inmates of juvenile detention centres have the highest rate of criminal recidivism. These are two 'high-risk' groups. The two other groups of juvenile and adult offenders include persons who committed minor offences and were fined or given a discretionary dismissal because of lack of public interest or other policy reasons. This explains why these populations show lower reconviction rates. Juveniles re-offend more often than adults. This may partly be a manifestation of the well-known 'age-crime curve' (e.g. Farrington, 1986). Relatively speaking, juveniles commit more criminal offences and thus also re-offend more often. There may be a selection effect, too. In general, the judicial authorities are less likely to prosecute juveniles than adults.

As a result, the juveniles who are subject to criminal proceedings constitute a group with a relatively high risk of re-offending. Be this as it may, if someone has come into contact with the judicial system before the age of 18, the a priori risk of recidivism exceeds that of someone who started his criminal career at a later age.

After checking for two possible registration effects and correcting for changes in a number of background characteristics, the criminal recidivism in three out of four study populations turns out to have increased. Across the total study period, adults increased by 3.1 percent, juveniles by 5.5 percent and ex-prisoners by 3.5 percent (see figure 2). Only among former inmates of juvenile detention centres, the prevalence of general recidivism within two years has decreased: by 5.9 percent in eight years' time. In raw figures, the decrease measures 10.7 percent (see figure 1). Therefore nearly half the decrease of recidivism among former inmates of juvenile detention centres must be contributed to the measured changes in the study population. Between 1997 and 2004 more and more juveniles who were detained have a relatively low a priori risk of re-offending: girls, first offenders and juveniles institutionalised under a civil, family supervision order ('ots', see annex 4). As a result of this, the raw reconviction rate has decreased considerably.

⁷ The corrections were largest towards the end of the study period. In the population of adult offenders, the corrections were smaller and more variable.

Figure 1: Reconviction rates within two years after imposing the sanction, or release from the institution; by year of imposition/ release

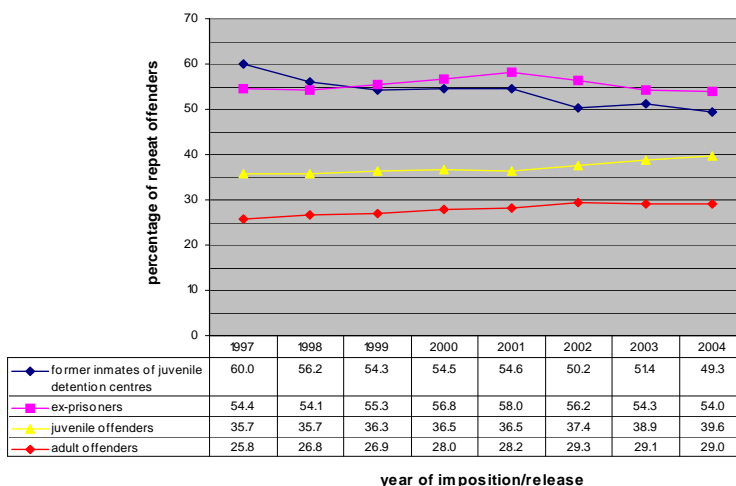
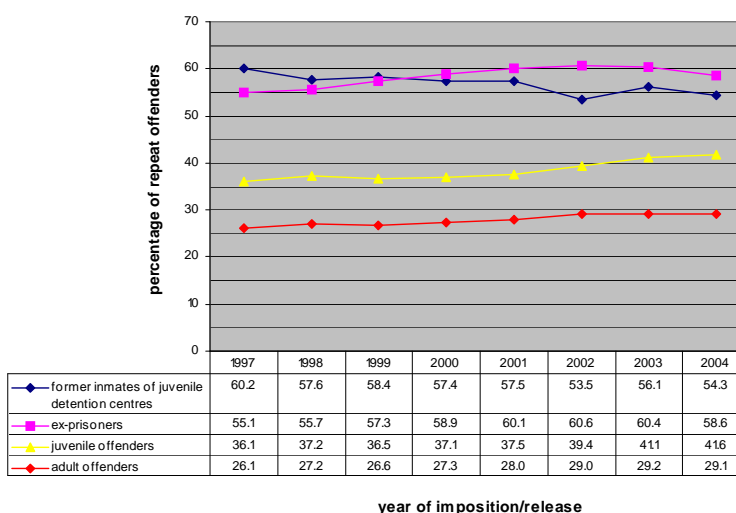


Figure 2: Adjusted reconviction rates within two years after imposing the sanction, or release from the institution; by year of imposition/ release



It is not clear why the adjusted reconviction rate has decreased among former inmates of juvenile detention centres while in the other sections the rates have gone up. Of course it is possible that for some reason criminality was specifically reduced in this group, or that the judicial interventions in this sector alone proved to be more effective than they were earlier. Although this explanation cannot be ruled out entirely, we believe it is more likely that this result is due to a selection effect. As a result of the changes in the penal climate, the composition of the population of the juvenile detention centres has changed dramatically (see table 1). It stands to reason that, on top of the factors for which corrections were made, the detained juveniles have also become less high-risks in terms of characteristics that have not been measured in this study.⁸

The same may apply to the adult prison system, where a small reduction of the adjusted recidivism rate has been evident since 2002. The sharp increase of the number of ex-prisoners, particularly the number of persons released from short-term detention, suggests that the composition of the prison population changed with respect to more characteristics than this study could adjust for. At times when there are more than enough prison cells, defendants with a relatively good prognosis are detained as well and as a consequence, the level of recidivism decreases correspondingly.

⁸ For instance, it could be that towards the end of the study period, the juveniles generally were more motivated to refrain from further criminal behaviour. This lowers the chances of recidivism, even with similar scores on the factors that *were* included in the

prediction models used. Alternatively, it could be that the problems underlying the admission in the institutions have shifted in nature.

Regional differences in the Netherlands

The results of figures 1 and 2 apply to the Netherlands as a whole. To check whether there are regional differences, the reconviction rates are broken down by district court.⁹

There are several reasons why the level of recidivism might be higher in one district than in another. There may be differences regarding influx.

⁹ For the breakdown of the reconviction rates, the district court of the index case was taken as a starting point. This is usually the district where the defendant lives. It does not necessarily include the town where he has re-offended.

In metropolitan areas the police deal with more suspects per capita than elsewhere (Mantgem et al, 2007). Furthermore, there may well be regional differences in criminal investigation policies and clear-up rates. Thirdly, in spite of national guidelines, prosecutors and judges in the one district court may make their own choices when imposing judicial sanctions and finally it is conceivable that in some regions the sanctions and measures that are imposed are less well executed. For all these reasons there may be local differences in the level of recidivism.

Figure 3: Raw and adjusted reconviction rates within two years after imposing the sanction, for adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS and disposed in 2004

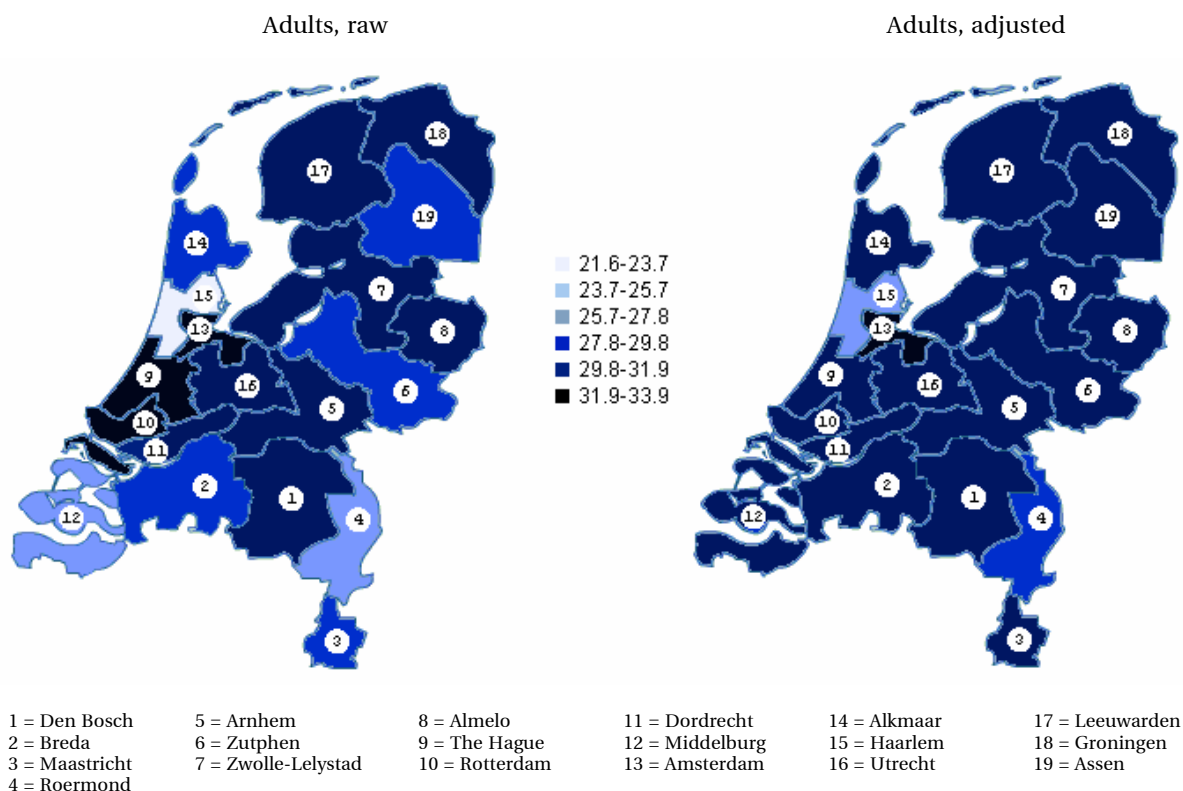


Figure 3 shows the two-year reconviction rate for adult offenders sanctioned in 2004.

In order to measure the 'true differences' between the district courts, one should take into account that not all district courts try similar criminal cases. The one deals with frequent offenders more often than the other and therefore alone will evince a higher reconviction rate. Part of the differences in influx can be adjusted by means of the prediction model introduced in box 2.¹⁰ In figure 3, we see the effects of raw data being adjusted. The raw reconviction rates on the left are more dispersed. This is because the risk profiles of the defendants vary from one district court to another. In the right-hand map, these differences have been taken into account. The offenders have been rendered compatible as to

age, sex, country of birth, type of offence, number of previous criminal cases and age at the first contact. The remaining differences in reconviction rates must be ascribed to other factors. The raw reconviction rates are highest in the 'Randstad', the built-up area of Western Holland. After correction, the differences between the districts are smaller.¹¹ In the Amsterdam district court, the reconviction rates continue to be relatively high. The Hague and Rotterdam now fit the national picture.

We cannot provide an explanation for the differences on the right-hand side of figure 3. Various factors might play a role. At the beginning of this section, some possibilities were mentioned. As long as it remains unclear what underlies the differences between the adjusted rates, reconviction

¹⁰ In this instance, no correction has been made for the rise of the clear-up rate.

¹¹ Before adjustment, the largest difference between two district courts measures 12.2 percent, after adjustment 5.1.

rates are not good indicators of the 'performance' of the district courts. In this analysis, only a part of the influx differences between the district courts was adjusted for. WODC will perform further research in which demographic and socio-economic data will be added to the model.

Conclusion and discussion

By means of annual measurement, WODC charts the criminal recidivism of important offender groups. In doing so, it follows the method of the Recidivism Monitor (Wartna, Blom & Tollenaar, 2008). The results of the measurements that were performed in 2007 show that between 1997 and 2004, the prevalence of criminal recidivism among adult offenders, among juveniles sanctioned by court or PPS and among former detainees increased by several percent points. Recidivism among the former inmates of juvenile detention centres dropped.

The developments in the level of recidivism cannot be ascribed to the rise of the general, national clear-up rate, nor to fluctuations in willingness to report a crime. These potential registration effects have been checked for. Likewise, the results cannot be attributed to differences in the influx of offenders as shifts in the offenders' a priori risk profiles were adjusted for. Thus, the explanation for the rates must lie elsewhere. Further explanatory research will have to reveal what underlies the trends described in this fact sheet. The same

applies to the reasons of differences between district courts. Regional differences in the level of recidivism have been established, but as yet, it has not been made clear how they come about.

The Dutch government purposes to lower recidivism among former detainees and juvenile offenders by 10 percent points (VbbV, 2007). This objective relates to the 2002-2010 period. It's still too early for an evaluation, but on the basis of the data presented here, a preliminary score can be given. Since 2002, the criminal recidivism among former detainees shows a favourable trend, but the reconviction rate among juveniles sanctioned by court or PPS has risen. In contrast the rates among juveniles who were released from a detention show a long-term decreasing trend. This is remarkable, as several auditing reports have made clear that the treatment of juveniles in these institutions has been under a lot of pressure for some years (Algemene Rekenkamer 2007, Inspectiediensten 2007). It seems unlikely that the recidivism reduction is due to improved juvenile rehabilitation. Instead, it probably is a side-effect of the recent expansion in the field. During the study period, the number of places and placements in juvenile detention centres has shown a sharp increase. It looks as if more and more juveniles were incarcerated in spite of having lower risks of re-offending, and that the reconviction rate in this group has decreased for that reason.

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This series includes concise reports of research conducted by or on behalf of the WODC. Inclusion in the series does not entail that the contents of the research reflect the official point of view of the Dutch Minister of Justice.

WODC-reports can be downloaded free of charge at <http://wodc.nl/>. Some of the reports are in English. The site grants access to REPRIS, a web application which stores the outcome of the research of the Recidivism Monitor. REPRIS contains statistics regarding the offender groups that are being monitored as well as offender groups for whom criminal recidivism was measured incidentally.

Annex 1: Background characteristics of adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS; by year of disposal

	1997 n=139,476	1998 n=138,207	1999 n=139,590	2000 n=136,615	2001 n=138,742	2002 n=147,273	2003 n=168,253	2004 n=169,731
sex								
male	85.5	85.5	85.2	85.9	86.0	85.7	85.6	85.5
female	14.5	14.5	14.8	14.1	14.0	14.3	14.4	14.5
age								
12-17 years	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5
18-24 years	23.3	23.8	23.9	24.5	24.9	25.5	25.4	25.9
25-29 years	17.9	17.9	17.4	16.8	15.8	15.0	14.4	13.9
30-39 years	27.9	27.8	28.2	28.5	28.2	28.1	27.8	27.1
40-49 years	17.1	16.8	16.8	16.8	17.4	17.6	18.2	18.6
50+ years	13.3	13.2	13.1	12.8	13.1	13.3	13.8	14.0
country of birth								
Netherlands	69.8	69.6	68.5	68.4	67.5	67.5	67.8	68.7
Morocco	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.6	3.5
Netherlands Antilles	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.7	3.3
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	5.1	4.9	4.7	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.5
Turkey	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.0
other Western countries*	9.3	9.1	9.3	9.3	10.0	9.8	8.9	8.7
other non-Western countries	6.0	6.3	6.9	7.4	7.9	8.1	8.1	7.6
type of offence								
public order offences**	8.5	9.3	9.9	10.4	10.5	10.5	10.0	10.5
property offences	29.9	29.1	28.5	26.8	25.5	25.2	24.0	23.0
violent property offences***	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.5
violent offences (non sexual)	8.4	9.1	9.9	10.6	11.4	11.6	12.3	13.3
sexual offences	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7
drug offences	5.0	5.4	5.1	4.9	5.7	6.5	6.5	7.4
traffic crimes	29.7	29.8	28.9	29.6	30.1	29.5	30.6	29.4
other serious offences	13.2	12.6	13.0	13.4	12.9	12.7	13.1	13.1
misdemeanors	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
criminal history								
0 former contacts	43.4	44.0	42.3	41.4	42.3	41.9	41.4	41.1
1-2 former contacts	25.0	24.3	24.9	24.9	24.7	24.9	25.4	25.7
3-4 former contacts	10.2	10.0	10.2	10.5	10.2	10.4	10.7	10.7
5-10 former contacts	11.2	11.1	11.6	11.9	11.8	11.7	11.8	12.0
11-19 former contacts	5.0	5.1	5.4	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.2
20 or more former contacts	5.2	5.4	5.6	5.8	5.7	5.7	5.4	5.3
age at first criminal case								
12-17 years	18.1	18.5	18.9	19.6	19.3	19.6	19.7	20.3
18-24 years	30.7	31.5	31.9	32.6	32.7	33.1	33.2	33.4
25-29 years	14.0	14.0	13.8	13.7	13.3	13.1	13.0	12.5
30-39 years	18.3	17.8	18.0	17.6	17.6	17.6	17.3	17.1
40-49 years	10.7	10.2	9.7	9.3	9.6	9.4	9.4	9.4
50+ years	8.3	8.0	7.6	7.1	7.5	7.3	7.4	7.4

* Including Indonesia, Japan and all countries in Europe (except Turkey), North-America and Oceania.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences; due to missing values the column percentages do not always add up to 100 percent.

*** Including robbery and distortion.

Annex 2: Background characteristics of juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS; by year of disposal

	1997 n=13,942	1998 n=14,007	1999 n=14,658	2000 n=15,113	2001 n=15,926	2002 n=18,402	2003 n=19,610	2004 n=21,272
sex								
male	87.8	86.9	86.4	85.8	84.8	83.4	82.6	83.1
female	12.2	13.1	13.6	14.2	15.2	16.6	17.4	16.9
age								
12 years	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8
13 years	7.8	7.5	7.4	7.9	7.6	7.5	7.7	8.0
14 years	14.9	13.2	13.6	14.2	14.7	14.8	14.4	14.7
15 years	21.6	20.5	20.6	20.8	21.4	21.5	20.5	21.3
16 years	25.6	26.0	26.0	25.4	25.8	25.3	25.2	24.9
17 years	27.7	30.6	30.1	29.2	28.0	28.4	29.5	28.3
country of birth								
Netherlands	80.6	80.8	80.2	79.6	79.3	79.5	80.9	82.8
Morocco	5.1	4.8	4.1	3.6	3.1	2.9	2.4	2.1
Netherlands Antilles	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.2
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.2
Turkey	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0
other Western countries*	4.4	4.3	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.4	4.2	3.9
other non-Western countries	4.2	4.9	5.6	6.4	7.3	7.6	7.1	6.7
type of offence								
public order offences**	25.7	25.3	25.7	25.5	26.7	27.6	27.7	29.3
property offences	42.9	41.8	40.8	40.0	38.3	37.2	36.1	35.7
violent property offences***	7.4	7.3	7.7	7.3	7.9	7.5	5.9	5.5
violent offences (non sexual)	10.8	12.3	12.9	13.9	14.3	14.4	14.9	16.0
sexual offences	2.5	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.3	2.0	1.8
drug offences	1.7	1.9	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.6
traffic crimes	2.6	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.2	3.2	3.3
other serious offences	6.1	5.2	5.7	6.4	5.3	6.1	8.5	6.8
misdemeanors	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
criminal history								
0 former contacts	72.2	73.4	71.0	70.8	71.8	72.1	71.8	71.2
1-2 former contacts	20.8	19.4	21.4	21.9	20.7	21.5	21.7	22.3
3-4 former contacts	4.2	4.2	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.1	4.3	4.4
5-10 former contacts	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.0	2.0	1.9
11 or more former contacts	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
age at first criminal case								
12 years	5.4	5.1	5.1	5.4	4.9	4.9	5.2	5.3
13 years	12.2	12.4	12.1	12.5	12.5	12.3	12.5	12.6
14 years	19.3	18.2	18.2	18.5	19.2	19.3	19.0	19.8
15 years	22.8	21.9	22.1	22.1	22.4	22.5	21.8	22.3
16 years	21.5	22.3	22.2	21.7	21.8	21.7	21.5	21.3
17 years	18.8	20.0	20.4	19.7	19.3	19.4	20.0	18.5

* Including Indonesia, Japan and all countries in Europe (except Turkey), North-America and Oceania.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences; due to missing values the column percentages do not always add up to 100 percent.

*** Including robbery and distortion.

Annex 3: Background characteristics of ex-prisoners; by year of release

	1997 n=18,281	1998 n=18,631	1999 n=17,977	2000 n=19,862	2001 n=19,991	2002 n=17,015	2003 n=20,887	2004 n=25,936
sex								
male	95.9	95.2	92.4	92.0	94.7	93.3	88.6	90.2
female	4.1	4.8	7.6	8.0	5.3	6.7	11.4	9.8
age								
12-17 years	3.6	4.0	4.5	5.2	4.4	4.6	4.6	4.0
18-24 years	18.3	17.6	17.1	16.9	17.5	18.9	18.3	17.9
25-29 years	23.0	21.6	20.9	19.5	18.2	18.7	17.7	16.5
30-39 years	34.1	34.6	34.5	34.9	35.8	34.5	34.2	33.5
40-49 years	14.6	15.2	16.5	17.0	17.3	16.6	18.0	19.6
50 + years	5.2	5.6	5.2	5.3	5.6	5.2	5.9	7.2
unknown	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.3
country of birth								
Netherlands	54.9	53.9	52.9	52.6	49.8	47.6	47.5	51.7
Morocco	8.4	8.5	8.3	7.8	7.9	8.0	7.3	7.2
Netherlands Antilles	5.9	6.3	6.3	7.1	7.8	8.7	11.1	9.4
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	10.8	10.3	10.1	9.4	9.4	8.7	8.4	8.7
Turkey	3.6	3.8	3.8	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.2
other Western countries*	7.9	8.4	8.4	9.3	10.0	10.5	9.8	8.7
other non-Western countries	8.0	8.5	9.8	10.1	11.5	12.5	12.1	10.6
type of offence								
public order offences**	6.0	5.9	6.8	6.7	6.7	6.3	5.3	6.4
property offences	36.6	36.6	37.5	36.8	37.6	36.9	35.3	35.4
violent property offences***	9.1	8.6	7.9	8.1	10.2	12.0	11.5	10.0
violent offences (non sexual)	8.3	8.1	8.5	9.4	10.3	11.6	11.5	11.7
sexual offences	2.6	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.6	2.3	2.2
drug offences	12.4	12.6	11.6	11.1	13.2	17.0	20.6	16.1
traffic crimes	7.2	7.4	7.1	6.4	5.4	3.4	3.8	5.9
other serious offences	2.9	2.7	2.6	3.0	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9
misdemeanors	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
criminal history								
0 former contacts	12.5	12.8	12.7	13.4	15.0	18.8	20.0	14.2
1-2 former contacts	14.0	14.1	14.5	14.2	14.0	14.0	14.7	17.1
3-4 former contacts	10.6	10.9	10.7	10.7	10.7	9.8	10.3	11.8
5-10 former contacts	21.8	21.5	21.6	21.3	20.5	19.6	19.3	20.9
11-19 former contacts	17.7	17.5	16.8	16.6	16.3	15.1	14.6	15.6
20 or more former contacts	23.5	23.2	23.7	23.8	23.4	22.7	21.1	20.4
age at first criminal case								
12-17 years	39.1	38.8	37.7	38.1	37.8	37.6	35.8	37.5
18-24 years	32.5	32.1	32.8	32.4	31.5	31.5	31.8	32.0
25-29 years	11.8	11.7	12.4	12.4	12.4	12.3	12.4	11.5
30-39 years	10.6	11.0	11.1	11.3	12.0	12.0	12.7	11.9
40-49 years	3.1	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.5	3.6	4.3	4.0
50 + years	1.1	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4
length of incarceration								
up to 1 month	28.9	32.3	35.4	35.5	23.5	18.6	18.8	24.3
1-3 months	23.9	22.6	23.8	23.9	20.0	23.7	24.5	24.9
3 to 6 months	15.8	15.2	15.0	14.5	14.7	20.2	20.6	19.5
6 months to 1 year	18.7	18.4	15.8	15.8	14.8	21.3	21.4	18.7
1 year or longer	11.9	10.6	9.0	9.3	9.7	12.2	12.0	10.9

* Including Indonesia, Japan and all countries in Europe (except Turkey), North-America and Oceania.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences; due to missing values the column percentages do not always add up to 100 percent.

*** Including robbery and distortion.

Annex 4: Background characteristics of former inmates of juvenile detention centres; by year of release

	1997 n=1,476	1998 n=2,006	1999 n=2,122	2000 n=2,367	2001 n=3,007	2002 n=3,224	2003 n=4,186	2004 n=4,937
<i>sex</i>								
male	91.5	88.5	85.2	88.1	87.2	85.4	82.9	80.3
female	8.5	11.5	14.8	11.9	12.8	14.6	17.1	19.7
<i>age upon release</i>								
15 years or younger	25.7	24.5	29.2	27.2	30.3	28.3	27.7	31.7
16 through 17 years	53.0	54.6	54.5	53.8	52.5	53.4	53.0	51.1
18 years or older	21.3	20.9	16.1	19.0	17.2	18.2	19.3	17.1
<i>country of birth</i>								
Netherlands	69.8	67.7	69.2	69.7	70.6	70.1	73.2	75.0
Morocco	10.3	10.4	8.2	7.4	6.5	6.0	4.8	4.0
Netherlands Antilles	5.1	4.2	4.1	5.2	4.6	4.9	4.0	3.8
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	4.4	4.6	4.2	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.1	2.3
Turkey	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.1
other Western countries*	3.0	3.8	4.2	4.4	5.0	4.4	4.7	4.2
other non-Western countries	6.0	7.8	8.6	8.1	8.7	9.9	9.1	9.5
<i>ethnicity</i>								
Netherlands	46.6	38.9	38.6	40.6	38.7	41.2	44.4	47.1
Morocco	20.1	21.6	20.0	19.9	18.9	18.3	17.2	15.9
Netherlands Antilles	5.2	5.1	5.0	6.4	6.1	6.1	5.4	5.4
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	11.2	12.9	13.2	10.8	11.7	11.4	10.0	8.9
Turkey	5.0	5.6	5.7	5.2	6.1	4.1	4.3	4.7
other Western countries*	2.7	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.4	3.8	3.9
other non-Western countries	8.9	12.2	13.9	13.6	15.2	15.5	14.8	14.0
unknown	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
<i>type of offence</i>								
public order offences**	5.3	5.8	6.4	7.0	5.0	6.0	6.7	7.7
property offences	18.6	19.8	17.8	18.5	17.0	16.7	16.5	18.2
violent property offences***	25.7	26.3	27.9	31.4	26.3	26.0	19.5	26.5
violent offences (non sexual)	6.2	5.2	6.6	6.6	5.8	6.5	7.6	8.2
sexual offences	2.9	1.7	3.2	3.0	2.8	3.3	2.5	4.1
other offences	2.3	3.0	3.3	2.5	2.3	3.3	2.6	2.8
none/civil suit	38.9	38.1	34.8	30.9	40.8	38.3	44.6	32.2
<i>criminal history</i>								
0 former contacts	29.2	31.1	36.1	37.7	35.6	36.2	34.9	40.4
1-2 former contacts	34.8	41.8	41.4	33.2	34.6	35.6	40.0	44.2
3-4 former contacts	17.5	13.0	12.0	15.4	15.2	15.0	13.6	10.8
5-10 former contacts	15.7	11.8	9.1	12.2	12.7	11.7	10.1	4.5
11 or more former contacts	2.8	2.4	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.4	0.1
<i>age at first criminal case</i>								
15 years or younger	67.2	64.5	66.7	64.9	66.4	64.3	64.2	67.0
16 through 17 years	29.3	32.2	30.1	31.2	30.1	31.8	31.9	29.7
18 years or older	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.8	3.4	3.7	3.8	3.2
<i>length of incarceration</i>								
less than 3 months	54.8	51.9	51.0	50.7	52.0	52.7	54.8	52.0
3 to 6 months	19.2	16.9	19.0	17.6	19.7	16.0	14.2	16.6
6 to 12 months	11.7	11.6	10.9	11.4	10.4	12.4	11.9	12.0
12 months or longer	14.3	19.6	19.0	20.2	18.0	18.9	19.0	19.4
<i>type of confinement</i>								
pre-trial detention	44.4	44.6	47.4	44.1	46.4	45.6	44.1	43.0
juvenile detention	21.6	21.9	18.1	16.2	14.4	16.8	12.8	15.3
treatment order for juveniles ('pij')	3.9	5.2	5.4	6.5	4.4	4.7	4.2	4.6
juveniles under a civil, family supervision order (ots)	17.8	18.6	18.4	16.4	17.5	19.0	22.5	29.3

* Including Indonesia, Japan and all countries in Europe (except Turkey), North-America and Oceania.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences; due to missing values the column percentages do not always add up to 100 percent.

*** Including robbery and distortion.