



Fact sheet 2011-5a

Recidivism report 2002-2008

Trends in the reconviction rate of Dutch offenders

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Policy programmes in the field of Dutch criminal law often aim at the reduction of recidivism; measures are taken to lower the risk of prosecuted offenders relapsing into criminal behaviour. Some years ago, specific targets were formulated with respect to two major offender groups. For convicted juvenile offenders, and for adult ex-prisoners, the medium-term recidivism will have to be reduced by 10 percentage points between 2002 and 2010 (VbbV, 2007). The current government also endorses the need to suppress recidivism (DSP, 2011). A substantial part of crime in the Netherlands is committed by persons who have been prosecuted before. Therefore, crime prevention is also the prevention of recidivism.

The *Recidivism Monitor* is an ongoing research project carried out by the WODC. With this instrument the realisation of the recidivism targets can be monitored. Each year, the WODC reports on the reconviction rate of Dutch offenders. Nearly all persons who were suspect in a penal case are included in the study. The standard measurements of the *Recidivism Monitor* relate to five offender populations: adult offenders sanctioned by court or Public Prosecutor's Service (PPS), juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS, ex-prisoners, former inmates of juvenile detention centres and former offenders placed under an entrustment order (tbs).¹ The reconviction rates in the tbs-sector are reported on separately (see int. al. Bregman & Wartna, 2011). This fact sheet outlines known recidivism in the other four offender populations. Specifically, the study relates to juveniles and adults who were sanctioned by court or PPS or released from a penitentiary institution in the years between 2002, the first year of the target period, and 2008, the latest year for which statistics are currently available.

¹ As from next year, the population of clients of the Probation Office will also be subject of the standard measurements of the Recidivism Monitor.

Box 1 Main results

For a third consecutive year Dutch criminal recidivism has decreased on a broad front. The latest measurements of the WODC Recidivism Monitor show another slight reduction of the percentages of adult and juvenile offenders who were reconvicted within two years. The last year of the study relates to persons who were sanctioned by court or PPS in 2008, or who were released during that year from a penitentiary institution. The first year of the research period is 2002.

- From 2004, the percentage of repeat adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS decreased slightly. Of the adults 27.5% sentenced for committing a crime in 2008 relapsed within two years. In 2002 this was 30.8%.
- For juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS the decline in recidivism started somewhat later. The national reconviction rate for this population decreased from 2006. In 2002 this was 39.1%. In 2008 35.9% of all minors with a criminal case disposed by court or PPS were prosecuted again within two years after the index case.
- The last few years the reconviction rate of ex-prisoners decreased as well. From 2002, the recidivism percentages in the sector of the adult prison system show a downward trend. Of all the adults leaving a penitentiary institution in 2008, 48.5% came into contact with the judicial system again, within two years. In 2002, this was 55.2%.
- The 2-year reconviction rate among former inmates of juvenile detention centres who were released in 2002 was 55.3%. For juveniles released in 2008 this was 52.0%. From 2006 a decrease is noticeable. This population also includes minors institutionalised under a civil suit.

The rates in this box are *adjusted* reconviction rates. Changes in the composition of the offender groups on background characteristics such as sex, age and the number of previous contacts with the Dutch judicial system, have been taken into account. Furthermore, the checks were carried out for the occurrence of registration effects. Therefore the decrease in recidivism, which is evident in all the offender populations, appears to be a *real* decline. Future research will have to reveal its causes.

Study method

The Recidivism Monitor is based on data from the Dutch Offenders Index², an anonymous version of the official registration of judicial documentation in the Netherlands. The use of the Dutch Offenders Index implies that only the criminal cases that have come to the attention of the PPS are being analysed. Offences that go undetected or fail to be prosecuted are not taken into consideration.

A detailed summary of the used method can be found in a brochure which is available on the WODC website.³ The brochure explains how the raw offence data from the Dutch Offenders Index are converted into the reconviction statistics. The outcome of the calculation can be found in REPRIS, a query panel operated database that can be accessed through the WODC-website.

This report examines the prevalence of recidivism up to two years after imposing the sanction or release from the institution. We present the percentages of the persons who reappeared in the registrations of

the judicial system within two years after the original, index case. Figures on other observation periods are also available, mounting up to nine years after the disposal of the original case or the date of release from the penitentiary institution. These figures can be found in the annexes to this fact sheet. In addition to the 'general' recidivism, this fact sheet will shortly look into the so-called 'serious' recidivism. These are crimes carrying a maximum sentence of at least four years and crimes for which pre-trial detention may be imposed. We will look into the 'very serious' recidivism as well. These are crimes carrying a maximum sentence of at least eight years. Also, figures have been calculated with regard to the frequency (i.e. the average number of reconvictions per repeat offender) and 'volume' of recidivism which is the total number of reconvictions per 100 offenders. All these statistics can be found in REPRIS. REPRIS contains all the figures of the recidivism research of the WODC, including statistic breakdowns by offender, offence and disposal characteristics. This fact sheet presents the outcome for the entire populations and therefore merely presents an overall picture of the recidivism in the Netherlands.

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

³ <http://english.wodc.nl/onderzoek/cijfers-en-prognoses/Recidivemonitor/>

Table 1 The offender groups of the WODC Recidivism Monitor – round 2011

Group		Number of individuals within a cohort						
		2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS	Adults with a criminal case as a result of a crime, disposed of through a fixed penalty, a discretionary dismissal because of lack of interest or other policy reasons, transaction, or a punishment or order imposed by a judge	148,444	168,800	170,827	169,855	173,437	164,536	157,510
Juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS	Minors with a criminal case as a result of a crime, disposed of through a fixed penalty, a discretionary dismissal because of lack of interest or other policy reasons, transaction, or a punishment or order imposed by a judge	20,352	21,604	23,084	23,550	24,068	25,068	24,823
Ex-prisoners	Adults who have been released from a penitentiary institution, with the exception of those released from aliens custody and individuals who are awaiting deportation	19,156	22,515	27,840	35,111	35,240	33,677	32,105
Former inmates of juvenile detention centres	Minors who have been released from a penitentiary institution for juvenile offenders including those convicted under criminal law or institutionalised under a civil suit	2,839	3,364	3,527	3,651	3,651	3,618	3,436

Study numbers

Table 1 outlines the four research groups. An individual person may appear in more than one population and within that population he or she may figure in several cohorts. However, within one cohort an individual appears only once.⁴ The population of ex-prisoners entails those who were released from a penitentiary institution, but also holds persons who were held in pre-trial detention or imprisoned for non-compliance with an alternative sentence.⁵ The former inmates of juvenile detention centres include minors who were convicted under criminal law (juvenile detention, pre-trial detention or a treatment

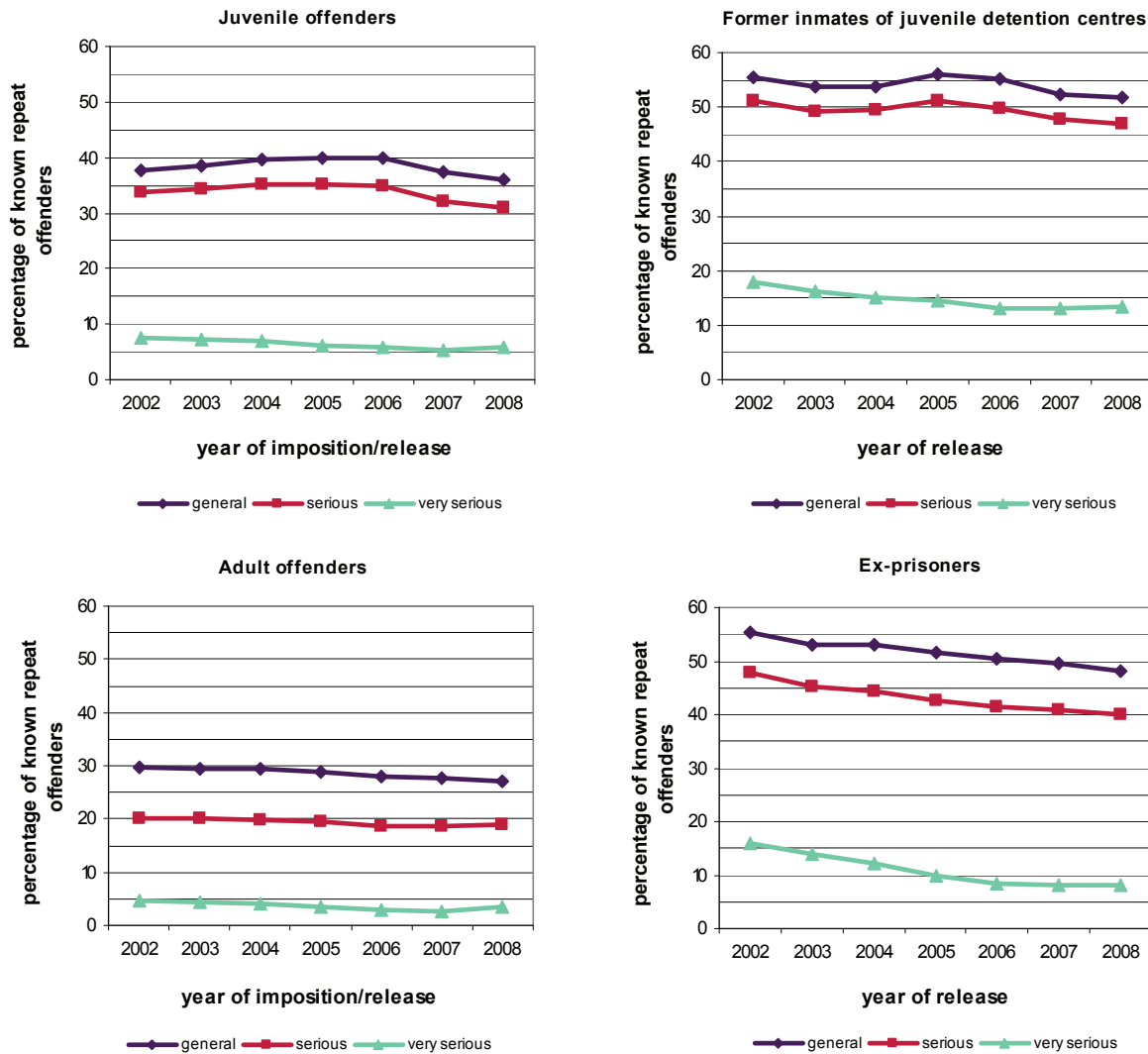
order for juveniles) and minors who were institutionalised under a civil suit. Until well into 2008, the last category of minors could be institutionalised under a family supervision order (ots), followed with placement in care. From next year, the release-information the WODC uses for its research will no longer fully represent this group of minors.

This research study includes in total more than 1.3 million unique individuals. In each population there was a substantial growth of the numbers in the first years of the study, but the numbers decreased in the latest period. For adult offenders and ex-prisoners the population size has decreased with about 5%. The population of former inmates of juvenile detention centres was, in the last year, reduced with 5%. The strong increase of the numbers of adult ex-prisoners resulted from a major backlog clearing in the execution of sentences. Because of a lack in capacity, in 2002 and 2003, not all sentences could be executed immediately. After 2004, the lack in capacity was resolved and the backlog could be caught up.

⁴ Suppose an adult offender has three criminal cases within one year: the first one was disposed of through a fine, the last two were disposed of through a short prison sentence. The first criminal case than counts as an index case in that year's study on adult offenders. In this study, the other two cases count as recidivism events. The second case is included as an index case in the study on ex-prisoners. In this study, the third case is counted as recidivism and the first case is considered to be part of the criminal history of the offender.

⁵ In cases where the pre-trial detention was resumed after suspension, the release date of the latter detention was the starting point for calculating recidivism.

Figure 1 Prevalence of 2-year general, serious and very serious recidivism in seven consecutive cohorts of four offender populations; raw figures, not adjusted for fluctuations in the compositions of the populations



Unadjusted figures

Figure 1 provides the raw 2-year reconviction rates in the seven consecutive cohorts of the four offender populations. The prevalence of general recidivism is highest among ex-prisoners and among former inmates of juvenile detention centres.⁶ Within two

years more than half of the offenders in these two populations came into contact with the judicial system again in relation to a crime. In the populations of juvenile and adult offenders, recidivism rates are considerably lower. About 30% of the adult offenders are reconvicted within two years, for the juvenile offenders this is around 40%. Besides those who were detained, these last two populations include

⁶ As every year, the outcome of the measurements may deviate slightly from the results of the previous round (Wartna et al, 2010). This is a consequence of 'data evolution'; completing and clearing of the source data and changes in the processing. This way, more juveniles sanctioned under a civil, family supervision order (ots) could be included within the former inmates of juvenile detention centres, and so called 'false stays' were deleted from the database. In addition, this round

the available offence information was used more sufficiently. This meant that in all sectors, the nature and seriousness of the committed crimes could be determined with more precision. This also leads to some changes in the recidivism percentages.

persons with a fine, a community punishment order (a community service order or a training order) or a discretionary dismissal. They contain less serious offenders too and therefore it is not surprising that the reconviction rates in these populations are lower than for ex-prisoners and former inmates of juvenile detention centres.

Not only for general recidivism, but also in terms of 'serious' and 'very serious' recidivism, the risk of relapse is highest for those who completed an intra-mural sanction. 'Very serious' recidivism takes place less often than 'general' or 'serious' recidivism. Of course, this also depends on the definition of this type of relapse: in general crimes carrying a maximum sentence of 8 years or more, such as murder, manslaughter, rape and armed robbery, occur less frequently than relatively minor offences such as vandalism, theft and assault and battery. This is reflected in the reconviction rates.

That recidivism rates are highest among former inmates of juvenile detention centres and ex-prisoners, is not necessarily due to the fact that these persons have been detained. Raw, unadjusted recidivism figures do not demonstrate the effectiveness of executed sanctions. A reconviction rate can only be indicative of the effectiveness of an intervention if it is properly contrasted with the reconviction rate of a comparable group of offenders who have not undergone the same sanction. Here, that is not the case. Those who were detained already had higher chances to relapse into crime before admission than offenders who underwent a community sanction.

A similar complication hinders the interpretation of the *development* in the reconviction rates. Figure 1 demonstrates a decrease for each population in the reconviction rates for the entire research period. The ex-prisoners experienced a markedly high decrease, but also in the other populations the percentages for the later cohorts are the lowest, for 'general' recidivism as well as for 'serious' and 'very serious' recidivism. At first sight this is of course a positive development: in all sectors of Dutch criminal law, the recidivism seems to be decreasing. The question remains, however, whether this is an actual decrease. Up to this point it cannot be ruled out that the reconviction rates are reduced because the offender groups in the research have become less 'serious'. The persons in the more recent cohorts may have been less prone to relapse into crime. Suppose for

instance that in these cohorts there are more first offenders and more female offenders. In that case it would not be surprising to find that the reconviction rates are lower as it is a well-known fact that female offenders and first offenders generally tend to re-offend less frequently than male offenders and offenders with a criminal past. So, when deciding upon the *net*-development of criminal recidivism in the various sectors, changes in the composition of the research groups will have to be taken into account. We will examine these changes in the next paragraph.

Fluctuations in offender populations

In order to understand the trends in the Dutch national recidivism figures, it is important to study the fluctuations in the offender populations. The tables in the annexes 1 through 4 outline the background characteristics which could be included in the study. It is clear that the proportion of women and girls has indeed increased considerably over the years. Especially in the sector of the juvenile detention centres (annex 4) there is a substantial increase in the proportion of girls. Furthermore, the number of juveniles institutionalised under a family supervision order (ots) or under a treatment order (pij) increased, resulting in more longer stays. Also, gradually a larger amount of juveniles of Dutch origin were released. The prison population seems to slowly be ageing. In the later research cohorts there are more prisoners of over 40 (see annex 3). The increase of the average age is a consequence of the overtaking of the earlier mentioned backlog, which gave a sudden growth in the intake of relatively old persons with a traffic offence. When fines for traffic offences are not paid for, a prison sentence can be imposed instead. Usually these are short prison terms and, as can be seen in the table in annex 3, this influenced the average length of the confinement. Almost half of the prison sentences ending in 2008 was shorter than one month. Besides the length of the prison terms it can be seen that the amount of first offenders among the ex-prisoners decreased during the research period. The prisoners were less often detained as a result of their first criminal case. One would expect that this would lead to an increase of the reconviction rate, as more experienced criminals are generally more prone to recidivate than first offenders. In the population of adult offenders with a criminal case we see a slight increase in the age of the offenders too (annex 1). This might be a reflection of the ageing of the Dutch overall population. In this

population the distribution of 'country of birth' among adult offenders is relatively stable. The percentage born in the Netherlands increases, which is at the expense of the amount of offenders born in Morocco, Suriname, the Dutch Antilles and Turkey. The percentage of criminal cases in relation to a violent offence increased. In 2008, almost 16% of the adult offenders were prosecuted for this type of offence; in 2002 this was merely 12%. The distribution of the number of prior criminal cases has not changed much in the 2002-2008 period. The same goes for the starting age of the adult offenders. In 2008 one out of every five penal cases ended up in a community service order. However, in the Netherlands the fine still is the most common punishment used for adult offenders. Almost three in five adult offenders received a monetary sanction which is a fine by a judge or a financial transaction ordered by the PPS.

In comparison, juvenile offenders more often have criminal cases for violent or public order offences (see annex 2). For minors the community service order is the most frequent used penalty. In 2008, over 60% of the criminal cases against juveniles ended in a community service order. The proportion of imprisonment sentences is 5%, for adult offenders this was about 10% in recent years. In addition, we see an increase in the number of juvenile offenders with a criminal history, and a decrease in the age of first offenders. The amount of offenders born in the Netherlands is quickly increasing; in 2008 this was almost 9 out of 10 young offenders.

The changes in the offender populations are of importance, since they will affect the reconviction rates. Along with the offenders' backgrounds, their 'risk profile' changes as well. Thus, an increase of the number of women will result in a decrease of recidivism, as analyses indicate that women tend to re-offend less often than men. The increase in the num-

ber of older offenders also has consequences, as the risk of recidivism is inversely proportional to age. The confounding influence of fluctuations on the measured background characteristics can be partly neutralised by adjusting the raw figures with the help of a statistical model. By doing so, the 'net development' of recidivism can be revealed more effectively. The models that are used by the research of the Recidivism Monitor usually include six common background characteristics: 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. Box 2 shows the technical details. The relationships between these characteristics and the chances of reconviction have been analysed quantitatively to estimate the influence the fluctuations of these backgrounds must have had on the reconviction rates.

In the same manner, the occurrence of registration effects was verified for. Between 2000 and 2005, an increasingly large proportion of criminal offences that were reported to the police have been cleared; after 2005 the clear-up rate slightly decreased again (Kalidien, De Heer-de Lange & Rosmalen, 2011). As the measurements of the Recidivism Monitor relate to recorded crime only, the increase of the clear-up rate automatically boosts the rates of reconviction. The verification for this effect and the influence of possible changes in the Dutch citizen's willingness to report crimes, takes place on the basis of national data. Regional differences are not taken into account and no distinction is made with regard to type of offence.

Moreover, we must assume that for juveniles the same fluctuations in the willingness to report crimes and the clear-up rate were found as for adult offenders. So, in short, there are limitations to the adjustment of the raw reconviction rates. Nevertheless, the adjusted rates yield a better insight into the net development of the reconviction rates than the raw figures do.

Box 2 Adjusting the raw recidivism figures

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. The raw reconviction rates can be adjusted through the models. 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 small number of former inmates of juvenile detention centres a 'ten-fold cross validation' was performed for this group. The fit for the four models is good. Two years after imposing judicial sanctions or release from the institution, the prediction error does not exceed 0.8% in any of the four study populations. This means that the models yield an accurate estimate regarding the influence of the factors on the two-year reconviction rate. Six common background characteristics were included in the statistic 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 (age of onset). With respect to the adult offenders and ex-prisoners, two other factors played a role in predicting the chances of reconviction: the total number of previous fines and the number of previous criminal cases as a result of very serious offences. For the juvenile offenders only this latter factor was of additional importance. In the model for the former inmates of juvenile detention centres, the ethnic background was used (instead of the country of birth) and, 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 representing the willingness to report crime were added to the model. In none of the study populations did the fluctuations in the willingness to report crime turn out to contribute separately to the recidivism prediction. In this round, this also applied to the clear-up rate. The boosting pressure was not evident in any of the sectors. This factor was not significant and positive for any of the other models. Therefore, the recidivism figures did not need to be corrected for this element.

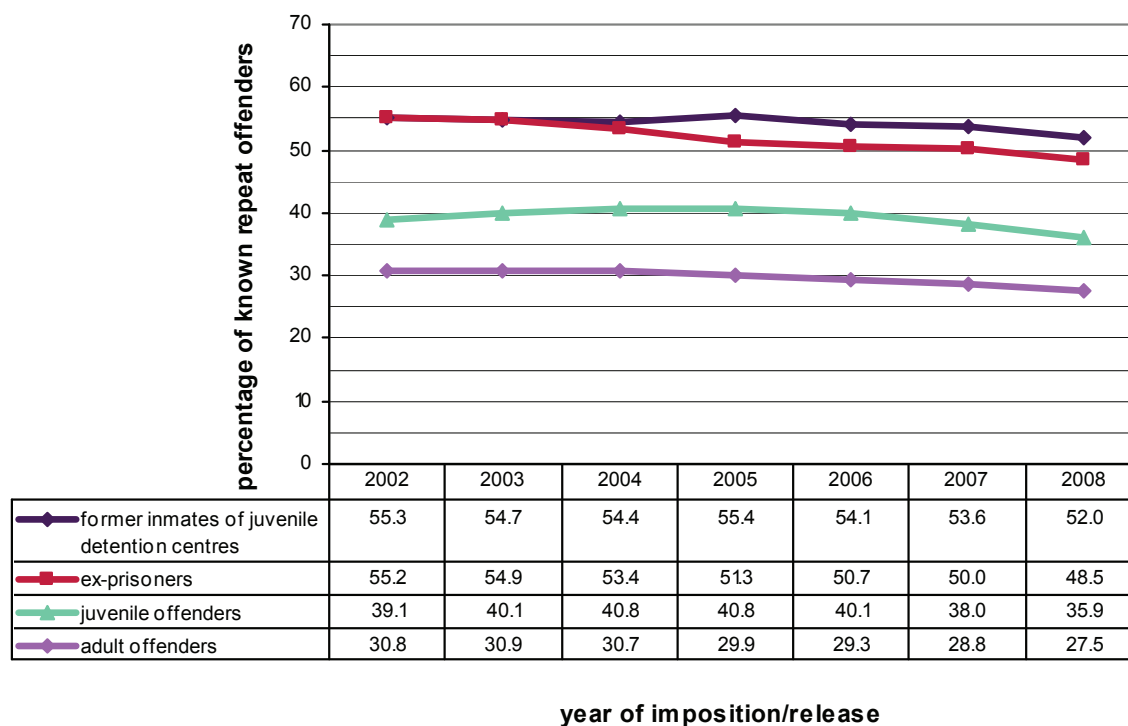
Adjusted reconviction rates

Figure 2 provides the adjusted rates of general recidivism in the four offender populations from the 2002-2008 period. The data relates to general recidivism up to two years after the disposal of the criminal case or the release from the institution. The year 2002 has been chosen since it is the starting point for the policy programme mentioned earlier. The desired recidivism reduction should be visible from 2002 onwards. The adjusted rates show the trends of the criminal recidivism in the four sectors independent of changes in the background characteristics included in the model and likewise independent of fluctuations in the willingness to report a crime and the national clear-up rate. It is as if the offender populations do not vary on these scores; for all the measured characteristics the cohorts are composed in the same way and therefore have the same risk profiles as the 2008 groups.

Comparison of the values in figure 2 to those in figure 1 reveals that the adjustments made are rather small. The adjustments measure on average 0.6% and fluctuate between -1.1% and +1.7%. This means that the changes in the backgrounds of the persons included in the study have not greatly influenced the level of recidivism. For example, in the last two years following the 2002-2007 period, the population of adult offenders has become somewhat more 'serious' and therefore, the raw percentages from the earlier years have been adjusted upwards.⁷

⁷ The adjusted percentages deviate from those stated in the last *Recidivism Report* (Wartna et al., 2010). This is because the last study year constitutes the year of reference in every new study round for the adjustments of the raw figures. As a result, the level of the percentages has changed, but not the mutual relation. The *trend* in the recidivism figures has remained the same.

Figure 2 Adjusted percentages general recidivism two years after imposing the sanction, or release from the institution, by year of imposition/release



In the last two *Recidivism Reports*, it was already established that the reconviction rate had decreased in all offender populations (Wartna et al., 2009, 2010). Figure 2 shows that the downward trend has continued into 2008. In that year, the recidivism continued to decrease in all populations: for the ex-prisoners by 1.5 percentage points, for the former inmates of juvenile detention centres by 1.6 percentage points, for the adult offenders by 1.3 percentage points and for the juvenile offenders by 2.1 percentage points. Once again, the differences remain small, but the trend is indisputable: in recent years, there is a real reduction in the number of reconvictions in the Netherlands. The decrease may be characterised as 'real', since the data for figure 2 have been adjusted for changes in the composition of the study populations and because the findings have been checked for the occurrence of registration effects as a result of fluctuations in the willingness to report crimes and in the national clear-up rate.

The recidivism objective: a new score

With respect to two offender groups, the juvenile offenders and the adult ex-prisoners, specific *targets*

have been set with regard to the desired decrease of recidivism (as mentioned in the introduction). The objective is to decrease the reconviction rate in these groups by 10 percentage points in the 2002-2010 period. The target figures relate to relapses taking place in the period up to seven years after the original case (VbbV, 2010). It has been calculated by which volume the 2-year reconviction rate must decrease in order to meet this objective. For the juvenile offenders the desired reduction of the 2-year reconviction rate amounts to 5.8%. For the ex-prisoners this amounts to 7.7%. Figure 2 shows to what extent the 'recidivism objective' has been realised up to this point. The data relates to a half-way score, as we only have data from the 2002-2008 period at our disposal, and do not have any data about persons who had an original case or were released from a penitentiary institution in 2009 and 2010.

There was a slight increase in the percentage of recidivism for the juvenile offenders between 2002 and 2005, but the last three years of the research period show a more favourable result. On balance, the reconviction rate at the end of the period turns out to

be 3.2 percentage points lower than the rate at the beginning in 2002, the starting year of the research period. Thus progress appears to show; it seems that the targeted 5.8% has been partly achieved. The next two years will show whether the objective can be realised entirely.

The population of ex-prisoners shows an even more favourable picture. In 2002, the reconviction rate after two years amounted to 55.2, while for the group which was released in 2008, it amounted to 48.5%. A positive difference of 6.7 percentage points. The aimed reduction of 7.7 percentage points is therefore almost achieved.

The question whether the recidivism reduction in the various sectors is a direct result of the government's policy conducted on the area of penal law, has not been answered yet and in fact falls outside the scope of this fact sheet. In the preceding years, various measures have been taken both in the juvenile sec-

tor and in the prison system to help reduce relapses among offenders. Some examples of such measures are the development of standard screening instruments, the increased availability of behaviour modification programmes and the improvement of after-care facilities.

The question whether the offender oriented approach which underpins the implementation of Dutch criminal law policies has contributed to the observed decrease of national reconviction rates, comes down to the question how the measures that have been taken have affected every day practice in handling offenders. In order to make the connection, an inventory will have to be made of the realisation of all the intended measures at the level of individual offenders. Such an analysis will be carried out but – as stated – falls outside the scope of this fact sheet. This report merely provides the relevant figures, which demonstrate that the decrease in the Dutch national reconviction rates has continued into 2008.

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

All WODC reports can be downloaded free of charge at www.wodc.nl (english.wodc.nl).

This site grants access to REPRIS, a web application that allows selection from the Recidivism Monitor figures. REPRIS contains statistics with regard to the offender groups that are being monitored (juvenile and adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS, ex-prisoners, former inmates of juvenile detention centres and former patients of forensic psychiatric hospitals) as well as offender groups for whom criminal recidivism was measured incidentally. A print-out from REPRIS comes with an explanation, but the use of the figures does not come under the area of responsibility of the WODC.

An English version of REPRIS is available in the future. For more information, please contact recidivemonitor@wodc.minvenj.nl.

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

	2002 n=148,444	2003 n=168,800	2004 n=170,827	2005 n=169,855	2006 n=173,437	2007 n=164,536	2008 n=157,510
Sex							
male	85.4	85.3	85.2	84.7	84.3	83.9	83.5
female	14.5	14.5	14.6	15.0	15.5	16.0	16.4
Age							
12-17 years	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0
18-24 years	25.0	24.9	25.5	25.7	25.9	27.0	27.7
25-29 years	15.0	14.5	14.0	13.8	13.9	14.0	14.0
30-39 years	28.2	27.9	27.1	26.2	25.5	24.2	23.6
40-49 years	17.7	18.2	18.7	19.1	19.4	19.4	19.4
50 years or older	13.4	13.8	14.1	14.5	14.8	15.0	15.0
Country of birth							
Netherlands	67.5	67.4	68.5	69.8	70.5	71.4	70.7
Morocco	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.2	2.8	2.9
Netherlands Antilles	3.6	3.7	3.3	3.1	2.8	2.7	2.8
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	4.2	4.2	4.6	4.5	4.4	3.8	3.9
Turkey	3.0	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.7
other Western countries	9.7	9.0	8.7	8.4	8.5	8.7	9.0
other non-Western countries	8.1	8.2	7.6	7.2	7.1	7.1	7.2
Type of offence							
public order offences**	10.3	9.8	10.4	10.5	10.4	11.0	11.5
property offences	25.0	24.0	23.0	22.5	22.6	22.0	23.0
violent property offences	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.2
violent offences (non sexual)	11.7	12.4	13.5	13.8	14.2	14.9	15.8
sexual offences	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6
drug offences	6.6	6.5	7.5	6.9	6.9	6.5	6.8
traffic crimes	29.8	30.6	29.3	30.0	29.8	30.2	26.2
other	12.8	12.9	13.1	13.1	12.7	11.7	12.2
Type of disposal							
imprisonment <=6 months	9.5	9.2	8.3	7.7	7.0	6.8	7.0
imprisonment > 6 months	4.3	4.0	3.8	3.4	2.9	2.9	3.0
community service order	13.6	14.4	15.6	17.2	18.4	18.8	20.0
training order	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5
suspended imprisonment	4.3	3.7	3.1	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.2
fine	58.2	58.5	59.3	59.1	59.1	59.4	57.0
discretionary dismissal	6.2	5.8	6.1	5.5	4.8	4.8	5.4
Criminal history							
0 previous contacts	41.1	40.5	40.1	39.1	39.1	39.6	38.7
1-2 previous contacts	25.3	25.8	26.0	26.6	26.7	26.2	25.5
3-4 previous contacts	10.6	10.8	10.9	11.2	11.2	11.2	11.2
5-10 previous contacts	11.9	12.0	12.3	12.4	12.6	12.6	13.0
11-19 previous contacts	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.7
20 or more previous contacts	5.7	5.4	5.3	5.2	4.9	4.9	5.0
Age at first criminal case							
12-17 years	19.2	19.5	20.0	20.6	21.0	21.1	22.1
18-24 years	32.8	32.9	33.3	33.3	33.2	33.8	33.5
25-29 years	13.2	12.9	12.5	12.3	12.2	11.8	11.7
30-39 years	17.5	17.2	17.0	16.5	16.2	15.5	15.2
40-49 years	9.3	9.4	9.3	9.3	9.5	9.6	9.5
50 years or older	7.2	7.3	7.3	7.4	7.4	7.8	7.5

Due to missing values, the column percentages do not always add up to 100%.

* If there was more than one criminal case within one year, the first case was selected as the index case.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences.

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

	2002 n=20,352	2003 n=21,604	2004 n=23,084	2005 n=23,550	2006 n=24,068	2007 n=25,068	2008 n=24,823
Sex							
male	83.3	83.0	83.2	82.5	82.0	81.2	81.0
female	16.6	16.9	16.7	17.5	17.9	18.8	19.0
Age							
12 years	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.6
13 years	7.5	7.2	7.8	8.5	8.0	7.8	7.9
14 years	13.8	13.7	14.0	14.8	14.7	14.2	14.6
15 years	20.0	19.2	19.8	19.8	19.9	20.1	19.5
16 years	23.8	23.6	23.4	23.8	23.9	24.2	23.5
17 years	32.1	33.3	32.1	30.3	30.7	30.7	31.7
Country of birth							
Netherlands	79.5	81.4	82.8	84.2	85.2	86.8	87.1
Morocco	2.8	2.4	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.2	1.0
Netherlands Antilles / Aruba	2.9	2.6	2.2	2.3	1.9	1.6	1.7
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.0	0.9
Turkey	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.6
other Western countries	4.4	4.1	3.8	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.3
other non-Western countries	7.6	6.9	6.8	6.0	5.6	5.3	5.2
Type of offence							
public order offences**	27.6	27.8	29.2	29.5	29.6	30.1	29.9
property offences	37.5	35.4	35.6	33.9	34.2	32.2	31.7
violent property offences	6.8	5.6	5.3	4.8	4.3	4.2	3.6
violent offences (non sexual)	14.4	15.1	15.7	16.7	16.9	16.8	17.7
sexual offences	2.3	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.1
drug offences	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.5
traffic crimes	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.8	4.3
other	6.3	8.8	7.1	7.5	7.8	8.8	8.8
Type of disposal							
imprisonment <=6 months	6.9	6.5	6.2	6.5	5.7	5.3	4.6
imprisonment > 6 months	1.2	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.5
community service order	45.6	50.1	55.5	56.5	57.8	59.6	61.5
training order	17.8	13.3	12.1	12.1	12.4	10.6	9.8
suspended imprisonment	3.5	3.8	3.3	2.6	1.8	1.6	1.4
fine	10.3	12.0	9.5	9.5	10.4	11.4	10.6
discretionary dismissal	11.1	9.8	8.9	7.7	6.9	7.1	7.7
Criminal history							
0 previous contacts	71.7	71.4	70.9	70.2	68.3	67.8	66.2
1-2 previous contacts	21.9	22.0	22.5	23.4	24.8	24.8	24.9
3-4 previous contacts	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.9	5.1	5.3
5-10 previous contacts	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.5
11 or more previous contacts	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Age at first criminal case							
12 years	5.0	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.6	6.0	6.0
13 years	12.8	12.4	12.8	13.6	13.7	13.8	14.1
14 years	18.3	18.3	19.0	19.5	19.6	19.5	20.3
15 years	21.4	20.7	21.4	21.5	21.1	21.1	20.9
16 years	20.5	20.4	20.0	20.2	20.2	20.4	19.3
17 years	21.7	22.5	21.2	19.7	19.5	19.1	19.4

Due to missing values, the column percentages do not always add up to 100%.

* If there was more than one criminal case within one year, the first case was selected as the index case.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences.

Annex 3 Background characteristics of adult prisoners; by year of release*

	2002 n=19,156	2003 n=22,515	2004 n=27,840	2005 n=35,111	2006 n=35,240	2007 n=33,677	2008 n=32,105
Sex							
male	93.2	88.4	89.8	91.5	91.1	91.4	91.0
female	6.8	11.6	10.2	8.5	8.9	8.6	9.0
Age at date of release							
up to 20 years	5.4	5.3	4.9	4.2	4.6	5.1	4.7
20-24 years	19.1	18.5	18.4	18.2	17.9	18.4	18.3
25-29 years	18.1	17.6	16.4	16.0	15.9	16.2	16.6
30-39 years	34.4	34.2	33.3	31.8	30.9	29.1	29.1
40-49 years	17.1	18.2	19.6	21.2	21.3	21.6	21.4
50 years or older	5.9	6.2	7.4	8.6	9.4	9.6	9.9
Country of birth							
Netherlands	51.1	50.0	53.9	57.0	59.0	58.1	58.6
Morocco	7.8	7.1	6.8	6.7	6.2	6.0	5.6
Netherlands Antilles / Aruba	8.7	10.8	9.4	8.0	7.2	6.7	6.7
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	8.5	8.2	8.6	8.5	8.0	7.5	7.3
Turkey	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.1	2.8
other Western countries	9.4	9.3	7.9	7.3	7.6	8.7	8.9
other non-Western countries	10.4	10.9	9.6	8.9	8.5	9.5	9.6
Type of offence							
public order offences**	6.6	5.7	6.6	7.4	7.4	7.5	7.2
property offences	34.5	33.7	33.9	32.6	30.0	28.0	28.8
violent property offences	12.5	11.4	10.1	8.2	7.3	7.0	6.7
violent offences (non sexual)	13.3	12.8	13.1	14.6	14.8	14.8	15.0
sexual offences	2.9	2.6	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.8
drug offences	17.6	20.6	17.3	13.4	12.4	12.0	11.5
traffic crimes	3.1	3.4	5.4	7.2	8.0	7.8	8.1
other	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.3	3.9	4.0
n/a (not sanctioned by court or PPS)	4.3	3.7	4.1	5.3	6.9	7.9	7.7
Criminal history							
0 previous contacts	18.7	20.0	15.0	12.0	12.0	12.4	12.4
1-2 previous contacts	14.8	15.8	17.8	17.7	17.7	17.5	16.9
3-4 previous contacts	10.2	10.8	12.0	13.3	13.3	13.5	13.2
5-10 previous contacts	19.7	19.4	20.8	23.3	23.7	23.7	24.2
11 or more previous contacts	13.8	13.3	14.3	14.6	14.8	14.7	15.3
Criminal history	22.8	20.6	20.2	19.2	18.5	18.2	18.0
Age at first criminal case							
12-17 years	38.7	36.5	38.1	39.1	39.9	40.4	40.8
18-24 years	31.9	32.0	32.4	32.8	31.6	31.1	30.9
25-29 years	11.8	12.3	11.4	10.8	10.8	10.8	10.5
30-39 years	12.0	12.8	11.9	11.5	11.6	11.4	11.5
40-49 years	3.8	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.6
50 years or older	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.7
Length of confinement							
up to 1 month	25.5	29.0	32.8	38.6	44.1	46.5	47.2
1 to 3 months	26.0	24.5	25.5	25.8	23.9	22.7	23.1
3 to 6 months	20.2	20.2	17.7	15.4	13.8	13.1	13.1
6 months to 1 year	18.2	16.9	15.2	12.9	10.9	10.4	9.4
1 year or longer	10.2	9.4	8.9	7.4	7.3	7.3	7.2

Due to missing values, the column percentages do not always add up to 100%.

* If there was more than one criminal case within one year, the first case was selected as the index case.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences.

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

	2002 n=2,839	2003 n=3,364	2004 n=3,527	2005 n=3,651	2006 n=3,651	2007 n=3,618	2008 n=3,436
Sex							
male	85.0	82.2	82.7	83.4	81.8	76.9	77.5
female	15.0	17.8	17.3	16.6	18.2	23.1	22.5
Age at date of release							
15 years or younger	26.0	24.6	26.0	25.1	24.0	25.6	26.6
16 tot 18 years	54.4	54.4	54.1	55.7	56.2	57.2	54.0
18 years or older	19.4	20.9	19.8	19.1	19.8	17.1	19.3
Country of birth							
Netherlands	70.1	73.6	75.2	77.3	77.9	80.5	81.3
Morocco	6.2	4.7	4.2	3.7	3.8	2.7	1.9
Netherlands Antilles / Aruba	5.0	4.2	3.9	3.7	3.4	2.6	3.1
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	3.3	3.0	2.5	2.3	2.1	1.5	1.6
Turkey	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.6
other Western countries	4.8	5.1	4.3	3.9	3.6	3.8	4.0
other non-Western countries	9.7	8.2	8.8	8.0	7.9	7.7	6.8
Ethnicity							
Netherlands	39.8	42.5	45.1	45.1	47.3	51.7	49.5
Morocco	18.9	17.9	17.6	16.4	16.9	15.2	15.6
Netherlands Antilles / Aruba	6.3	5.6	5.7	5.9	5.4	4.6	6.3
Suriname (Dutch Guyana)	11.4	10.3	9.4	8.6	8.2	7.8	7.5
Turkey	4.3	4.8	5.0	5.9	5.6	4.8	4.9
other Western countries	8.3	9.2	7.3	7.5	6.4	6.7	7.4
other non-Western countries	10.9	9.5	9.8	10.5	9.7	8.8	8.9
Type of offence							
public order offences**	7.2	8.7	8.1	10.5	9.5	8.8	7.8
property offences	19.5	20.6	20.7	21.6	20.6	20.5	17.9
violent property offences	32.4	25.0	26.2	25.1	24.2	20.3	20.4
violent offences (non sexual)	6.9	8.7	8.6	9.4	8.7	9.1	9.3
sexual offences	3.8	2.3	4.3	3.3	3.3	2.7	3.3
other	4.4	3.6	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.3
n/a (not sanctioned by court or PPS)	25.6	30.8	28.2	26.5	30.1	34.1	37.6
Criminal history							
0 previous contacts	40.0	39.0	37.4	35.6	32.2	34.2	31.4
1-2 previous contacts	33.6	35.5	36.4	36.5	37.0	36.2	37.0
3-4 previous contacts	14.6	14.2	15.7	16.2	18.0	18.0	18.6
5-10 previous contacts	10.7	10.2	9.6	10.7	11.9	11.1	12.3
11 or more previous contacts	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.7
Age at first criminal case							
15 years or younger	63.7	62.0	65.9	66.8	67.8	67.6	72.0
16 to 18 years	32.2	33.3	30.2	29.9	29.0	29.5	25.1
18 years or older	3.8	4.7	3.9	3.3	3.1	2.8	2.7
Length of confinement							
less than 3 months	53.7	55.6	55.2	56.7	52.5	51.1	46.7
3 to 6 months	17.4	15.7	16.9	15.8	13.9	15.0	15.4
6 to 12 months	10.0	9.9	9.0	9.0	11.0	11.6	13.8
12 months or longer	18.8	18.8	18.9	18.6	22.6	22.2	24.1
Type of confinement							
pre-trial detention	49.1	45.9	46.6	47.5	43.7	38.4	36.5
juvenile detention	21.3	17.8	20.0	19.7	16.9	16.8	11.6
treatment order for juveniles ('pij')	4.9	5.1	4.3	4.0	4.3	4.2	7.7
civil, family supervision order (ots)***	20.9	25.5	26.5	26.6	31.3	37.7	41.1

Due to missing values, the column percentages do not always add up to 100%.

* If there was more than one criminal case within one year, the first case was selected as the index case.

** Vandalism, light aggression and public order offences.

*** Including guardianship and voluntary continued support.

Annex 5 Recidivism rate in seven consecutive cohorts of adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS⁸

Table 5.1 Prevalence of general recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS in the 2002-2008 period

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	148,444	20.4	29.7	35.7	40.0	43.1	45.5	47.5	48.9	50.0
2003	168,800	20.4	29.5	35.5	39.7	42.8	45.2	47.0	48.2	
2004	170,827	20.3	29.4	35.2	39.4	42.3	44.5	45.9		
2005	169,855	19.7	28.9	34.7	38.6	41.4	43.3			
2006	173,437	19.1	28.1	33.7	37.5	39.9				
2007	164,536	18.8	27.6	32.9	36.1					
2008	157,510	19.0	27.2	32.0						

* General recidivism = Reconvictions as a result of any crime, not disposed of through an acquittal, a dismissal by reason of unlikelihood of conviction, or any other technical decision.

Table 5.2 Prevalence of serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS in the 2002-2008 period

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	148,444	14.1	20.2	24.3	27.4	29.8	31.8	33.4	34.6	35.5
2003	168,800	13.8	20.0	24.1	27.3	29.7	31.5	32.9	33.9	
2004	170,827	13.6	19.9	24.0	27.1	29.4	31.1	32.2		
2005	169,855	13.2	19.5	23.7	26.6	28.8	30.1			
2006	173,437	12.5	18.7	22.8	25.6	27.4				
2007	164,536	12.6	18.5	22.1	24.1					
2008	157,510	13.2	19.1	22.5						

* Serious recidivism = Reconvictions in relation to any crime that carries a minimum sentence of 4 years, or for which pre-trial detention can be imposed.

Table 5.3 Prevalence of very serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among adult offenders sanctioned by court or PPS in the 2002-2008 period

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	148,444	2.9	4.7	5.9	6.9	7.6	8.1	8.6	9.0	9.3
2003	168,800	2.8	4.3	5.5	6.3	7.0	7.5	7.9	8.3	
2004	170,827	2.5	4.0	5.0	5.7	6.4	6.8	7.3		
2005	169,855	2.2	3.4	4.3	5.0	5.6	6.2			
2006	173,437	1.8	2.9	3.8	4.4	5.0				
2007	164,536	1.7	2.7	3.5	4.2					
2008	157,510	2.5	3.5	4.4						

* Very serious recidivism = Reconvictions in relation to any crime that carries a minimum sentence of 8 years.

⁸ This annex presents raw reconviction rates. The differences between the years can partly be ascribed to fluctuations in the backgrounds of the persons included in the consecutive cohorts. More figures can be found in REPRIS, an online search panel which can be accessed through www.wodc.nl/recidivemonitor.

Annex 6 Recidivism rates in seven consecutive cohorts of juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS⁹

Table 6.1 Prevalence of general recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS in the 2002-2008 period

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	20.352	23.1	37.8	47.3	53.9	58.8	62.0	64.3	66.2	67.4
2003	21.604	23.7	38.6	47.7	54.5	58.7	62.1	64.1	65.7	
2004	23.084	24.9	39.5	48.7	54.7	59.0	61.8	63.6		
2005	23.550	24.7	39.8	49.0	54.7	58.6	61.1			
2006	24.068	25.3	39.9	48.3	53.8	57.5				
2007	25.068	23.7	37.4	45.6	50.7					
2008	24.823	22.7	36.1	44.0						

* General recidivism = Reconvictions as a result of any crime, not disposed of through an acquittal, a dismissal by reason of unlikelihood of conviction, or any other technical decision.

Table 6.2 Prevalence of serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS in the 2002-2008 period

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	20.352	20.7	33.7	42.1	47.7	51.9	54.4	56.2	57.6	58.5
2003	21.604	21.0	34.2	42.2	47.8	51.2	53.9	55.5	56.7	
2004	23.084	22.2	35.2	43.0	47.9	51.3	53.6	55.0		
2005	23.550	21.9	35.2	43.0	47.7	50.8	52.7			
2006	24.068	22.3	34.8	41.9	46.5	49.3				
2007	25.068	20.5	32.1	38.7	42.3					
2008	24.823	19.5	31.1	37.6						

* Serious recidivism = Reconvictions in relation to any crime carrying a maximum possible custodial sentence of at least 4 years, or for which pre-trial detention can be imposed.

Table 6.3 Prevalence of very serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among juvenile offenders sanctioned by court or PPS in the 2002-2008 period

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	20.352	4.0	7.6	10.6	12.7	14.3	15.5	16.5	17.3	17.9
2003	21.604	3.9	7.4	10.0	12.0	13.4	14.7	15.6	16.4	
2004	23.084	4.1	7.1	9.3	11.0	12.4	13.6	14.6		
2005	23.550	3.5	6.0	8.1	9.9	11.4	12.7			
2006	24.068	3.2	5.7	7.7	9.5	10.9				
2007	25.068	2.9	5.2	7.3	9.0					
2008	24.823	3.6	5.9	8.1						

* Very serious recidivism = Reconvictions in relation to any crime carrying a maximum possible custodial sentence of at least 8 years.

⁹ This annex presents raw reconviction rates. The differences between the years can partly be ascribed to fluctuations in the backgrounds of the persons included in the consecutive cohorts. More figures can be found in REPRIS, an online search panel which can be accessed through www.wodc.nl/recidivemonitor.

Annex 7 Reconvictions in seven consecutive cohorts of ex-prisoners¹⁰

Table 7.1 Prevalence of general recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among ex-prisoners; by year of release

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	19,156	43.7	55.3	61.4	65.1	67.7	69.6	70.8	72.0	72.7
2003	22,515	42.0	53.1	58.9	62.7	65.2	66.9	68.3	69.1	
2004	27,840	41.1	53.1	59.4	63.6	66.3	68.2	69.4		
2005	35,111	38.7	51.6	58.6	63.0	65.9	67.6			
2006	35,240	37.9	50.5	57.5	61.7	64.2				
2007	33,677	37.2	49.5	56.0	59.5					
2008	32,105	36.3	48.2	53.6						

* General recidivism = Reconvictions as a result of any crime, not disposed of through an acquittal, a dismissal by reason of unlikelihood of conviction, or any other technical decision.

Table 7.2 Prevalence of serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among ex-prisoners; by year of release

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	19,156	37.9	47.7	53.5	57.2	59.9	62.0	63.5	64.6	65.4
2003	22,515	36.1	45.2	50.6	54.4	57.1	58.9	60.3	61.3	
2004	27,840	33.8	44.5	50.4	54.6	57.5	59.5	60.8		
2005	35,111	31.6	42.7	49.5	53.8	56.7	58.4			
2006	35,240	30.4	41.5	47.7	51.8	54.1				
2007	33,677	30.1	40.8	46.8	50.1					
2008	32,105	29.6	40.1	44.8						

* Serious recidivism = Reconvictions in relation to any crime carrying a maximum possible custodial sentence of at least 4 years, or for which pre-trial detention can be imposed.

Table 7.3 Prevalence of very serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among ex-prisoners; by year of release

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	19,156	10.3	15.9	19.5	21.8	23.5	25.0	26.1	27.1	28.0
2003	22,515	9.4	13.8	16.9	19.0	20.6	21.8	22.9	23.8	
2004	27,840	8.0	12.1	14.7	16.7	18.3	19.6	20.9		
2005	35,111	6.5	9.8	12.4	14.4	15.9	17.3			
2006	35,240	5.3	8.4	10.7	12.7	14.1				
2007	33,677	5.1	8.2	10.6	12.4					
2008	32,105	4.9	8.1	10.2						

* Very serious recidivism = Reconvictions in relation to any crime carrying a maximum possible custodial sentence of at least 8 years.

¹⁰ This annex presents raw reconviction rates. The differences between the years can partly be ascribed to fluctuations in the backgrounds of the persons included in the consecutive cohorts. More figures can be found in REPRIS, an online search panel which can be accessed through www.wodc.nl/recidivemonitor.

Annex 8 Reconversions in seven consecutive cohorts of former inmates of juvenile detention centres¹¹

Table 8.1 Prevalence of general recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among former inmates of juvenile detention centres; by year of release

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	2,839	39.8	55.3	64.6	69.7	73.2	75.1	77.0	78.5	79.0
2003	3,364	37.4	53.7	62.1	67.2	70.7	73.1	75.2	76.5	
2004	3,527	38.3	53.7	63.2	68.8	72.8	75.4	76.7		
2005	3,651	40.2	56.1	64.8	70.5	74.2	76.3			
2006	3,651	39.2	55.2	63.1	68.8	71.2				
2007	3,618	37.5	52.3	61.1	66.0					
2008	3,436	35.3	51.8	59.0						

* General recidivism = Reconversions as a result of any crime, not disposed of through an acquittal, a dismissal by reason of unlikelihood of conviction, or any other technical decision.

Table 8.2 Prevalence of serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among former inmates of juvenile detention centres; by year of release

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	2,839	36.9	51.2	60.1	65.2	68.1	70.2	72.2	73.5	74.0
2003	3,364	34.6	49.3	57.2	62.0	65.1	67.6	69.4	70.3	
2004	3,527	34.9	49.6	58.0	62.9	66.6	68.9	70.2		
2005	3,651	37.0	51.2	59.6	64.3	67.4	69.3			
2006	3,651	35.3	49.9	57.6	62.9	65.1				
2007	3,618	34.1	47.8	56.1	60.3					
2008	3,436	31.3	47.0	53.4						

* Serious recidivism = Reconversions in relation to any crime carrying a maximum possible custodial sentence of at least 4 years, or for which pre-trial detention can be imposed.

Table 8.3 Prevalence very serious recidivism* (cumulative percentages re-offenders) among former inmates of juvenile detention centres; by year of release

	Number	Observation period in years								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2002	2,839	10.7	17.8	23.1	27.1	29.5	31.6	33.3	34.7	35.2
2003	3,364	10.6	16.2	20.4	23.4	25.4	27.4	29.0	30.0	
2004	3,527	9.6	15.2	18.0	21.1	23.8	26.1	27.9		
2005	3,651	9.7	14.6	18.5	21.5	24.0	25.8			
2006	3,651	8.1	13.0	17.0	20.4	22.9				
2007	3,618	7.5	13.2	17.0	20.4					
2008	3,436	7.4	13.4	16.9						

* Very serious recidivism = Reconversions in relation to any crime carrying a maximum possible custodial sentence of at least 8 years.

¹¹ This annex presents raw reconviction rates. The differences between the years can partly be ascribed to fluctuations in the backgrounds of the persons included in the consecutive cohorts. More figures can be found in REPRIS, an online search panel which can be accessed through www.wodc.nl/recidivemonitor.