

**Gendered Perspectives on Holland's Prison Programs:
Statistics and Practices**

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“The civilization of a society can be judged by entering its prisons.”
-DOSTOEVSKY

Abstract

This study is the capstone project of an exploratory study of prison programming in Holland examining gender equity or inequity in opportunity of available programs. It also serves to assess the efficacy of BONJO, Holland's largest prison-programming oversight and networking group sponsoring my work. Through over twenty interviews with independent prison-related organizations, information was gathered on perceived problems of the prison system.¹ Also documented were differences in need of male and female inmates, and programming opportunities for men and women. This data was set in contrast to secondary data extrapolated from studies sponsored by the Dutch Ministry of Justice.

It is concluded that while both men and women are addressed in independent prison programs, the opportunities and degree of programming are not gender comparable. This can only in part be explained by the difference in volume of male to female inmates. Female inmates were more underrepresented in prison programming focus, although programs available were comparable to percentages of inmates incarcerated. Aside from gender, no significant link was found between populations of high recidivism based on ministry data and the focus of independent programming organizations. Lastly, although most prison-related organizations were satisfied with BONJO, each program expressed concern with the Dutch prison system and identified distinct issues needing additional attention. The following pages help to explain the details of, and reasons for, these findings.

¹ Independent programs not provided directly by prisons or jails.

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Introduction

The criminal justice system is a complex network of processes surrounding sentencing, incarceration, and release. The inmates subjected to these processes are a frequently overlooked population of Dutch society; they are physically hidden and conceptually ostracized based on their criminal involvement and histories. Corrections facilities, most often sex-segregated to serve their populations, require a male/female separation in facilities, staffing, and programming, the implications of which are present at every stage of the corrections process. These differences, like the inmate populations, are rarely examined to insure equal opportunity and chance of successful reintegration into society.

This has been a topic of great interest to me as it combines my interests of social justice and gender and women's studies. After working at a prison in the US for over a year, I have gained an immense appreciation for prison-related work and reformers. These questions are relevant in Holland just as they are in the US. Ensuring that the populations who most need attention are the same populations who have programs and services available is an effective way to combat cycles of reincarceration. This study will hopefully add to the depth of knowledge regarding the Dutch prison system, the programs available to inmates and ex-prisoners, and the implications of sex-specific programming.

The primary research question becomes then, what are the prison-related programs available to men and women in Holland? More specifically, are these programs comparable to one another and are they focusing on combating recidivist rates presented in statistical data available through primary and secondary resources? Answering such questions will illustrate if certain groups are more often targeted in programming, but against lower

statistics of re-incarceration risk. It will further discover if gaps exist between at risk groups and programming availability. As of yet, little has been done to address such matters. Once obtained, this information will help illuminate equal and unequal treatment of the sexes and expound the effectiveness of these programs in context of statistical data; it will additionally be useful in ensuring future equal treatment and opportunity in prison and will help identify additional target group areas.

Included first in this paper is a brief literature review of four Dutch articles helping to set this study in place. Topics covered in these writings range from the well-being of female inmates in Holland to the outcomes of new piloted prison programs. A short theoretical framework follows, providing a discourse on Michel Foucault's writings and the necessity of prison programming. Author assumptions and study methodology follow, before findings and analysis are discussed. Appendices are included to help further illustrate results and provide additional notes of interest.

This study samples twenty of the seventy active, prison-related advocacy and volunteer organizations affiliated with BONJO, the Belangenoverleg Niet-Justitiegebonden Organisaties located in Amsterdam-Oost.² The goal of this study is twofold. Readers can expect a comparison of the services and programs these organizations offer throughout the criminal justice system to examine equality in programming between men and women.

Additionally, this study allows for a short comparison of programming to Dutch statistical data to illuminate successes and places for improvement in Dutch prison work. It will furthermore illuminate perceived problems and challenges within the prison system in

² Overseeing Group of Non-Justice related Organizations.

Holland. Information in the Appendix also illustrates some of the outcomes of the BONJO assessment conducted alongside my research.

Literature Review

The prison reform movement in the United States has, until recently, been a quiet one. Though articles, selected scholars, and theorists publish information about the status of prisons, mainstream media has opted to leave the topic alone. The same has largely been true for Holland. The majority of prison-related information and studies conducted in Holland are governmentally funded through the Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek-en Documentatiecentrum.³ These studies are then made public via a comprehensive online database, supplying libraries, search engines, and the like, with over 500 articles, fact lists, etc. concerning Dutch prison and criminal justice issues. Although few are closely relate to my topic, a brief review of these studies helps to highlight the focus and importance of this research.

Integral Chain Care, Front Door and Comorbidity are three prison programs piloted in 2005 as part of the Judicial Addiction Care program in *A Summary and Conclusions of the Evaluation of the Pilot Projects on Judicial Addiction Care in the Dutch Prison System*. Linked to the Recidivism Reduction program of the Dutch Ministry of Justice, these three programs were tested as part of the Ministry's plan to reduce recidivism twenty-percent by the year 2010.⁴ All three programs focus on drug-related issues. Unlike programs in my sample group, these three programs are entirely Ministry funded, take place within the prison, and are run by government funded employees. The programs include early intervention at the police station, medical services, group therapy, and individual conversations. Staff and detainee perceptions were documented to help determine program success. Together,

³ WODC, The Research and Documentation Center (Of the Dutch Ministry of Justice).

⁴ Medema, Frank. Mensink, Connie, et al. *Summary and Conclusions of the Evaluation of the Pilot Projects on Judicial Addiction Care in the Dutch Prison System*. ITS: January 2005, 2.

however, the pilot projects only met a total of five out of thirteen set standards (one indicator has not been measured due to some early mistakes in staff documentation).⁵ The study concluded that no official statements could be made about the program's effectiveness due to the time frame of the projects.⁶ It was suggested that a follow-up study be conducted to answer questions such as: Are the participants still in programs after a longer period of time? Why do they drop out? What happens to them after they finish follow-up programs? Do they relapse into their old behavior or can they make a new start? In other words, the larger part of these pilot projects fails to achieve the set standards. What was achieved, however, was a solid collaboration between several prison-related working disciplines including prison offices, medical services, and inmates.⁷

Though the Ministry's study was not completely successful, it illustrates the proactive measures of the Ministry Department to combat recidivism. My study instead examines how individual citizens and volunteers are doing their part in addressing the issue. In addition, it helps to further this discourse by viewing a sample of programs provided by individuals outside of Ministry jurisdiction. Finally, the present study examines a *broad* range of programs and more importantly, assesses how these programs are utilized.

Many studies have been completed (and since updated) regarding characteristics of prisoners in Holland. These studies examine characteristics such as ethnic background or criminal activity. In a 2008 recidivism study, *Developments in the Reconviction rate of Dutch Offenders*, age, nationality, and gender of reconvicted inmates were measured. This recidivist data is necessary for any department of justice in order to view the most "at-risk" groups of

⁵ Medema, Frank. Mensink, Connie, et al. *Summary and Conclusions of the Evaluation of the Pilot Projects on Judicial Addiction Care in the Dutch Prison System*. ITS: January 2005, 11.

⁶ Ibid, 12.

⁷ Ibid, 12.

reconviction. Taken together, the data of this study illustrates some of the challenges of the Dutch prison system. During the 1997-2004 period, the prevalence of criminal recidivism of adult offenders increased. In 1997, twenty-six point one percent again came into contact with the judicial system within two years; in 2004, this grew to twenty-nine point one percent.⁸ Measuring recidivism in this way has been a recent popular trend, both in Holland and in the United States, in assessing the effectiveness of the criminal justice system, as well as criminal law and policy.

Data from this study was compiled by the Dutch Offenders Index, a database created by the official registry of judicial documentation of criminal cases. It is important to note in this study that only reconviction rates two years post-release were taken into consideration so any reconvictions that occurred after two years were not included in the data. Because of this, actual recidivism rates are likely much higher. Admittedly, this study does not include a dialogue addressing reasons for cited increases and decreases in reconviction rates. It was concluded that recent developments in recidivist data cannot be ascribed to national fluctuations in willingness to report a crime, nor can they be completely attributed to prior risk population types or profiles.⁹ This survey admits that further explanatory research must be done to reveal underlying trends described in the data of this study.

My study could be considered a qualitative extension of this research. Since 2002, the criminal recidivism rates among former detainees show a favorable trend, but rates among younger and juvenile offenders have risen.¹⁰ This information provides three important notes applicable to my study: It illustrates first that recidivist data can be linked to certain

⁸ B.S.J. Wartna, K.A. Beijersbergen, M. Blom, N. Tollenaar." Developments in the reconviction rate of Dutch offenders." Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek-en Documentatiecentrum. Den Haag: 2008. P 2.

⁹ Ibid, 10.

¹⁰ Ibid, 1.

“at-risk” groups, second, that recidivism continues to be a problem seeking resolution (often through programming), and third, that there is a need to reveal alternative reasons for the prevalent existence of reconviction. The present study additionally reviews “at risk” populations and also examines gendered groups to determine what programs can be used to meet certain needs.

A portion of my ISP will be evaluating a sample group of twenty of the seventy prison-related service programs that fall under the umbrella organization BONJO, and then comparing these services with current research assessing the needs of male and female prisoners. Are there gaps? Are services matching up with perceived needs? *Gedetineerde Vrouwen in Nederland Over Import- en Deprivatiefactoren Bij Detentieschade*, a study by Anne-Maria Slotboom and Catrein Bikelveld, examines the need and well-being of Dutch women in prison at the four female detention facilities in Holland.¹¹ Of the hundreds of articles in the Dutch Ministry of Justice Database, this is one of the few that focuses on women.

Reviewing an article that, from its beginning, acknowledges different needs of men and women in prison is important; this article helps to segregate the dialogue of men and women in prison, something that my study will further explore within the context of prison-programming. In the last ten years, the number of women in prison in Holland has more than doubled. Over forty percent had been victims of sexual/physical and/or psychological abuse prior to detention. It was found that nearly half of the women exhibited depression

¹¹ The Well-Being of Incarcerated Women in the Netherlands

symptoms and over a third exhibited post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms.¹² These findings are of interest to the current study as they outline particular needs of women.

Though most women rarely thought about harming themselves, they did show signs of environmental stress. Most related to my study, however, is the fact that over fifty percent of female inmates are unaware of any organization or program that supports prisoners during or after their release.¹³ Additionally, only a small portion of women participate in programming that prepares them for life post-incarceration. The women who do, however, are positive about their ability to integrate successfully.

This study took particular note of mothers in prison, finding that having young children or obstacles preventing contact with their family increased the chances of developing psychological problems while incarcerated.¹⁴ In summary, authors of this study compared Dutch prisons with a “healthy prison” concept which consists of four different components.” These components included “a safe environment, treating people with respect, a full constructive and purposeful regime, and resettlement training to prevent re-offending.”¹⁵ The present study takes this last component and analyzes it against programs for men, contributing to a dialogue of equality and equity in prison programming. It additionally examines what reentry programs *are* available to women.

Van Binnen Naar Buiten by Jos Kuppens is a Dutch study that analyzes some of the difficulties that detainees and ex-prisoners face during the reintegration process.¹⁶ This comprehensive study sets the framework for reviewing what types of programming can and

¹² Bijlveld, Catrein and Slotboom, Anne-Maria et al. GEDETINEERDE VROUWEN IN NEDERLAND OVER IMPORT- EN DEPRIVATIEFACTOREN BIJ DETENTIESCHADE. Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam. California Department of Corrections: 2003, 2-3.

¹³ Ibid, 3-4.

¹⁴ Ibid, 4.

¹⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹⁶ From Inside to Outside

should take place within a prison. Additionally, it is helpful in providing background for the present study, comparing needs versus services offered to Dutch criminals. Where the previous article established that men and women have different needs, Kuppens's study helped determine what some of those general needs may be. The present study will help define this further by examining what is *practically* available for men and women and will briefly observe if men and women use the programs available to them.

Kuppens's study answers four questions posed by the Ministry of Justice. The questions are as follows: 1) How many detainees do/do not have a valid ID, and what is the reason for this? 2) What was the detainees' income situation before and after detention 3) What was the detainees' housing situation before detention and after release? 4) Was there a health care contact prior to, during, and after detention? These served as the driving forces behind the study. When not met, these are the same four most frequent reasons inmates attribute to reincarceration.¹⁷

This before and after approach is effective at understanding not only the harm that detainment can cause while incarcerated, but also the life-effects occurring post-incarceration. It is not a comprehensive before and after look; it relies mostly on health care and housing. It was found that twenty-two percent of detainees have a problem with their ID and over forty percent of detainees have income problems.¹⁸ Furthermore, housing and access to accommodations are problems for thirty percent of the detainees. Lastly, eight percent have problems in the area of (health) care.¹⁹ Taken together, these challenges can

¹⁷ Kuppens, Jos. Ferverda, Henk. Van Binnen Naar Buiten. Een Behoefteteonderzoek naar de Aard en Omvang van Nazorg voor Gedetineerden. Advies-en Onderzoeksgroep. Den Haag: 2008, p 4.

¹⁸ Ibid, 4.

¹⁹ Ibid., 5.

keep inmates from work, from the ability to obtain necessary medication, from having a safe and secure home, etc.

Without these basic essentials, individuals can often return to old ways of behavior to get by. This article acknowledges that without certain indispensable resources in place, risk of reconviction increase, but it does not suggest ways to obtain these essential needs. The present study, in contrast, addresses this gap by examining a selection of aftercare programs whose missions are to help inmates transition from prison to society. Often, these programs help inmates obtain the very needs mentioned above.

To summarize, although programs, recidivism statistics, the needs of women, and aftercare needs of inmates have been previously studied, there exists a gap when it comes to comparing data of need with firsthand accounts of real-life practices. The present study combines information from over twenty individuals intimately involved with prison programming who are familiar with the previously discussed statistics. The perceived problems of the system, the different needs of men and women, and the ways in which these needs are addressed are three themes covered in this study.

Theoretical Framework

Theorist Michel Foucault frequently focuses on themes of imprisonment and discipline in his writings on power and control. In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault writes concerning the body of the condemned, specifically, the body-soul shift and society's use and need of imprisonment. Taken together, these texts help to frame my ISP topic on services offered to women (and men) in Dutch prisons in a historical and cultural context.

First, it is important to understand some of Foucault's aims in writing *Discipline and Punish*, for this will historically root my ISP before the discussion moves to some contemporary social implications of imprisonment. Foucault opens *Discipline and Punish* by writing about the body of the condemned. This is his attempt to illustrate a movement away from where a criminal's body is attacked in public, as in corporal punishment in town squares, to a system of internalization of social control by the prisoner.²⁰ With this concept in place, Foucault introduces the body-soul shift. He argues that once the power to judge shifted to judgments about normal and abnormal, the modern soul was created. The criminal or prisoner with a now "abnormal" soul is defined against the majority of the population.²¹ This not only serves to frame the concept of punishment in a historical context, but relates to the collapse between criminal acts and identity of all individuals in prison.

Services for inmates in prison are designed not only to combat this collapse, but to prepare women for life on the outside where the separation between her former act and current identity is requisite to escaping cycles of recidivism. While in prison, the criminal act, often having occurred in single moment, is applied to their very soul. Inmates are grouped in

²⁰ Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Gallimard. France: 1975.

²¹ *Ibid.*

prisons by security levels; their clothing, schedule, and very existence in prison revolve around a specific act. Unlike un-imprisoned people, their identities are not defined by their family, values, hobbies or interests, but by a single event having occurred (in some cases) years past. No longer are men's (and sometimes women's) bodies tortured as punishment; instead they are subjected to forces of discipline and control that target their person, or for Foucault, their soul, sometimes for years after their criminal moment occurred.

This theoretical concept helps to provide a discourse for discussing non-traditional ideas of bodily harm and the detrimental effects of institutionalized power to someone's identity. While additional sociological and or social disorganization theory may be needed to understand exactly how this collapse happens, the body-soul shift and act/identity collapse help to expose the need for prison programming as a humanistic approach to combat these negative effects.

Later in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault introduces the idea of modern prisons. In the chapter, "The Gentle Art of Punishment," the privatization of punishment is discussed. The theoretical concept of the "coercive institution" was introduced and a criminals' punishment was no longer a public theatrical event.²² Punishment after the creation of jails became hidden and locked away from public view. This isolated punishment has had particularly negative contemporary implications. Prisons today are hidden in many senses of the word. They are located in "bad" parts of town, often surrounded by walls. They have few windows and regulated visitation. Their private nature turns prison populations into invisible minorities to people on the outside.

²² Ibid.

When the rest of society does not see prisoners, or have open and unlimited access to prisons, two things happen. First, the invisibility is exacerbated; inmates conceptualize themselves as lesser people because they do not receive the visual recognition of people on the outside. These individuals “become” their crime (the body-soul shift), as their interaction is limited to communication with guards or other criminals. Secondly, their needs become invisible as well. Prison programming staff, health specialists, counselors, etc., are just a few examples of needs that often go unmet because of the coercive institution. The extreme management and power regimes regulate the meeting of the needs. Also, unlike publicized issues of homelessness, domestic violence, environmentalism etc., the government controlled prison information often goes unnoticed. Understanding the power regimes and the different aspects of the coercive institution that create this invisibility would be helpful in locating ways to break down these relations to create a transparent justice system.

The body-soul shift and the coercive institution are useful tools by which the collapse between act and identity can be exposed. They are additionally helpful in framing the invisibility of inmates and their needs. However, these theories fall short in explaining the cross-cultural existence of these concepts and how they reinforce themselves in such a way that they have become apparent in multiple justice systems. Through not a comprehensive summary, it is within these two concepts that Foucault’s writings become most pertinent to the discourse on female and male imprisonment and the need of prison-related services.

Assumptions

Having been involved in prison work, volunteering, and prison research in the United States, it was hard to begin prison work in Holland without assumptions and preconceptions. Upon arrival in Holland I vacillated between feelings of knowing everything and knowing nothing about prison work. Were things here going to be drastically different, (and better?) or the absolutely the same?

The middle ground, somewhere in between knowing all and nothing, is where I found myself throughout most of the semester. What I had learned and heard about Holland prior to arrival could have been classified as positively liberal. I felt like this would carry into Holland's justice system. I pictured inmates in their civilian clothes, working on their degrees, enjoying vast common spaces and unlimited visitation with friends and family.

My independent study proposal submitted for my abroad application back in September of '08 led me to researching the Bijlmerbajes, the largest prison in Amsterdam. Online information of the Bijlmer explained program options for inmates including specialized sections of spiritual rehabilitation, working opportunities, and special care units—fourteen towers total, each with different purposes and functions. Compared to jails I have worked at and researched in the states, these specialized centers seemed heavenly. With all the talk of gender equity and women's rights in Holland, I was especially excited to see programs available to women. I also knew, however, that the Bijlmerbajes was just one facility in one of the *most* liberal cities in Holland. It was likely wrong of me to assume all facilities would be similar.

These thoughts led me to the other side of the spectrum, thinking that my experiences here would mirror those at home. I assumed women would be forgotten in the system based on their lower rates of incarceration compared to men. I assumed that the prison-related advocacy groups would be few and far between and would focus only on males. I assumed that the stigma of imprisonment was universal and perhaps worse in Holland since people were imprisoned for “harder crimes” and not soft drug use. These thoughts, combined with other assumptions involving recidivism rates, obstacles faced post-incarceration, etc., were some things that led me to believe in the universality of poor prison systems and the challenges of life post-incarceration, particular for women and mothers.

In the interest of brevity, I will say I didn’t know exactly what to think; I was prepared for shock at either similarities or differences. My range of assumptions allowed for me to be open to all data, experiences, parallels, and disparities. Since the completion of this project I have grown to appreciate my conflicting assumptions. In this study, readers will find results supporting both of my pre-project suppositions.

At this juncture, I would also like to clear up the meaning of some frequently used terms found in this article.

Male/Men: I use these terms interchangeable to refer to those individuals who are incarcerated in prison facilities for men. This excludes female inmates who identify as male, as the prison system bases housing and statistics on biological sex.

Female/Women: I use these terms interchangeable to refer to those individuals who are incarcerated in prison facilities for women. This excludes male inmates who identify as female, as the prison system bases housing and statistics on biological sex.

Recidivism: Rate of reincarceration

Methodology

Individual interviews and the use of existing data were the two primary methods of research most conducive to this study. In order to ascertain specific information on programs available to men and women within the sample group of prison-related organizations involved in the study, interviewing program directors, members, and volunteers personally, was essential. In this way, questions were directed at each program and could then be altered as appropriate for the specific interviewed organization. In total, I conducted over twenty interviews from programs ranging from Humanitas in Rotterdam to Vrijwillige Hulpverlening aan (ex-)gedetineerden in Leeuwarden.²³ Through these individual interviews, suitable follow-up and clarifying questions could be asked. This targeted additional information would have been more difficult to ascertain in other simpler survey-type formats. The use of existing data from the Dutch Ministry of Justice and other secondary resources was used to determine prison statistics and recidivist data by race, gender, and age; secondary sources are also helpful in understanding theories that surround the interaction between these sub-groups and the criminal justice system. Taken together, these two research methods allow for a concise and accurate representation of current programming (gender-based or otherwise) and needs in the Dutch prison system.

This project began at BONJO, where I helped to design an assessment tool used in gathering data for my study. Then, questions were added to ascertain the efficacy of BONJO as an organization, and how it could be more effective as Holland's prison programming

²³ Volunteer Help Organization for Prisoners and Ex-Prisoners.

oversight group.²⁴ Next, I contacted over fifty prison related programming organizations outside of prisons via letters and emails. Included was information about my study in Holland and my affiliated work with BONJO. The first twenty organizations that I interviewed became my sample group through which I drew my lessons and conclusions for the study. It is important to keep in mind that this is a mere *sample* of available programs. Interviews took place either in person or on the phone and lasted anywhere from twenty to sixty minutes. I used the assessment tool as a basic interview guide with certain questions as “landing points,” though most interviews flowed well on their own. Questions focused on gathering information on programming details, gender targeting and services provided, as well as some more open-ended questions concerning perceived problems of the Dutch criminal justice system from those who know it best.

In interviewing organization members, it became important to remain an unbiased interviewer. The risk with my interviews was that information could be catered to me, for better or worse, based on my perceived identities as a feminist (some questions were directed about women), upper/middle class (I clearly have the means to study abroad) and as a person with an obvious U.S. accent. It is possible these identities could have affected the interviewing by leading interviewees to consider me in negative ways which in turn could cause an over/under emphasis of certain facts to align or distinguish themselves with me based on my “perceived” but latent opinions and experiences. I attempted to address these by remaining culturally conscious (greeting interviewees in Dutch, telling about my program in Holland and my study) and asking follow-up questions when appropriate to illustrate my

²⁴ Findings concerning BONJO’s efficacy were omitted from the analysis of this paper in the interest of maintaining a clear gender-focus in prison programming. Excerpts can be found in the Appendix

genuine interest. Luckily, this methodology as a whole did not elicit any other noticeable concerns requiring notation.

Once all members of the sample group had been interviewed, data was condensed and organized in a summary sheet. This included all open-ended responses, program details, and ratings/suggestions for BONJO's improvement. Though seemingly unrelated, the latter data concerning BONJO also became helpful in identifying areas needing improvement in a wider criminal justice context. Gender-related data was separated specifically for the purpose of this study. Programs for men, women, details on their offerings, etc were compiled and analyzed. Finally, this information was compared against available Ministry data focusing on different incarcerated populations and inmate need.

Findings and Analysis

Background: My findings are the result of twenty self-conducted interviews. Quotations supporting my findings are taken directly from these interviews. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of my interviewees, a selection of which are ex-inmates. When possible, program managers and directors were interviewed. In three cases, directors were unavailable; for this reason program participants or volunteers were interviewed.

Programs for Men:

“What programs or services do you offer for male inmates or ex-inmates?”

Eighty-five point five percent of Holland’s inmates are men, the majority of which are located in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague. With men constituting the majority of Holland’s inmates, two questions present themselves: First, is the percentage of programs for men aligned with the percentage of men incarcerated? Second, are the programs (in practice) combating the self-reported and theorized need of these inmates?

From my interviews it was found that *ninety percent* of total prison programming is available to men. Twenty five percent of this programming is for men only. Over thirty percent of the programming available to men is also open to female participants as well. It becomes clear, then, that the proportion of programs available to men nearly mirrors (in fact, exceeds) the percentage of incarcerated men.

Programming for men included (but was not limited to) male only prison visitation, mixed prison visitation, post incarceration counseling, aftercare assistance with housing and jobs, and post-release drug counseling. It is apparent that most types of support are available to men at all points of their incarceration process, from sentencing to release. The two

largest types of programming groups for men were in-prison visitation programs and aftercare support groups.

“We visit males in prison and establish pen-pal correspondence with them to help support them while they are in prison.”²⁵

“We just work with male inmates and volunteers. We have contacts with the spiritual care people as well as the prison and through our church. We visit the men twice a week. It helps for them to have someone to talk to.”²⁶

“We have visits to the male prison once every 2 weeks for an hour. We just help because there is something in us. We just want to do this. Some people do other things, but we do this. I like to do this...this kind of work asks something of yourself. It’s a kind of religion you have in you. You just need to do good work for someone else to have problems. It might be easier to play with children or do other things, but this is special to me.”²⁷

Many of the programs for men focused on establishing personal connections with inmates and helping the men get settled after their release. One reason for this is the perception that men frequently do not know how to ask for help on their own, and that many men have challenges in creating close emotional friendships. Regardless of the validity of these perceptions, these could be driving stigmas that help to center volunteer groups on such foci.

The second question, concerning the pairing of need with the practices of programs, was more difficult to ascertain. Few studies have been released on the self-reported needs of inmates; most studies of this nature have concentrated on victims of crime, not the perpetrators. However, in a 2008 study conducted by the Advies-en Onderzoeksgroep, the assessed needs of inmates occurring post-release were documented. What is of greatest concern for my study’s purposes are the results illustrating the four needs determined to

²⁵ Arts, Yvette. Telephone Interview. Vrijwillige Hulpverlening aan (ex-)Gedetineerden. 16 April, 2009.

²⁶ Swart, Jasper. Telephone Interview. Vrijwillige Hulpverlening aan (ex-)Gedetineerden. 23 April, 2009.

²⁷ Guijt, Ylva. Telephone Interview. Bezoekersgroep Oosthoek/Grave. 29 April, 2009.

most influence chance of reincarceration: It was found that twenty-two percent of detainees had problem locating their identification cards, forty percent of detainees had income problems, thirty percent had problems finding housing, and eight percent had problems finding adequate health care.²⁸ Without these necessities, individuals can often find themselves returning again to the same behaviors that landed them in prison to begin with. To combat this, 45% of my interviewed programs focused especially on aftercare.

“We offer transitional housing for men for half a year [after release]. Then we help then find another apartment. We try and help with psychological problems. Where we can help, we do help. We only have 11 housing locations, so its limited. We will offer classes with different kinds of knowledge like communication skills or how to use computers.”²⁹

“We really focus on communication between volunteer and ex-inmate. We try and support all their needs. We don’t always give them money or housing, but anything else we do. A lot of mental support is given and practical help, like where to go for a job, how to get housing. We try to be positive and give them openings and ideas on how to get them the stuff the need.”³⁰

Within the population of interviewees, it was generally agreed upon that if men have a steady income and more responsibility after release, they will be less likely to slip back into cycle of crime. I believe it is for this reason that there is such a large concentration of aftercare programs. The above quotations come from two of the eight sampled programs that focus primarily on aftercare for inmates. It is clear that through program mission and practical action, aftercare is being addressed in ways that will be beneficial to male inmates and ex-inmates for the purposes of successful reintegration and the lowering of recidivism rates.

²⁸ Kuppens, Jos. Ferverda, Henk. Van Binnen Naar Buiten. Een Behoeftedonderzoek naar de Aard en Omvang van Nazorg voor Gedetineerden. Advies-en Onderzoeksgroep. Arnhem: 2008, 4.

²⁹ Helgers, Martin. Telephone Interview. STEK en VRIJ. 28 April 2009.

³⁰ Koelman, Alexander. Telephone Interview. Een Nieuwe Start. 24 April, 2009.

Programs for Women:

“What programs or services do you offer for male inmates or ex-inmates?”

Women make up only fourteen point five percent of the estimated 175,000 inmates in Dutch jails and prisons.³¹ Similar questions are relevant here as they were for programming opportunities for men. It was found that only five percent of the sampled programs are exclusively for women. Another five percent of programs are for mostly women, and sixty-five percent of programs available to men also said they are open to or are currently working with women, though they may not necessary have female clients at the time of assessment.

Taken together, women have theoretical access to seventy-five percent of available programming. The proportion of programming opportunity, in a sense, exceeds the percentage of women incarcerated. However, for the majority of “both” programming options, female attendance was cited as far lower or non-existent, despite the program’s willingness to work with female inmates. This can be attributed to the locations of female detention centers. Isolated in Zwolle, Breda, Ter Peel, and Nieuwersluis, women do not have access to the same programs, post-release, as do the men concentrated in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Den Haag. Due to this, many of the programs go unused or underused by female inmates/ex-inmates. Programs open to women were similar to those open to men. They included in-prison visitation, post-incarceration counseling, aftercare assistance with housing and jobs, and post-release drug counseling.

There are about twenty women that we visit every other week. I give them a hug, and I speak with them about their moms, their children and whatever else is on their mind”³²³³

³¹ B.S.J. Wartna, K.A. Beijersbergen, M. Blom, N. Tollenaar.” Developments in the reconviction rate of Dutch offenders.” Wetenschappelijk Onderzoeken Documentatiecentrum. Den Haag: 2008. See Appendix 6.

³² Mobei, Anne. Telephone Interview. Ontmoeting Kerk and Detentie. 28 April, 2009.

There was great difficulty in comparing the documented needs of women with the practices of programs. There was no available data for specific needs of *women* during or after release. Neither Ministry data nor independent study groups chose to focus on female inmates in this way. Although it is unfortunate that the data is not available, this in itself can be viewed as a result. Based on the universality of the above mentioned “male” needs of housing, a source of income, etc., one can assume that women’s needs were comparable. As *documented* data was unavailable, I asked a few of my interviewees what they perceived the needs of women to be. Many defined these needs against the needs of men:

“For the men its difficult to get a house. For women it’s much easier. Also with jobs it’s easier for women I would think. It’s not the same question; many men have less money and more debt. The men deal with far more financial problems”³⁴

“For women I would think it is harder. Women they have to take care of children. It’s an extra difficulty. The relation with the family of women is also more interesting. They give greater value to their family situations”³⁵³⁶

“In income, and house issues they are equal. In work, however, I don’t think women are as eager to get to work. They want to stay home. They are less motivated. They need to go to work and it’s better for them. Both men and women, however, just need a place to be.”³⁷

These findings were interesting as interviewees input assumptions about the nature of men versus women. I believe that the social construction of dichotomous gender roles played a large part in these responses’ since all three respondents focused on working with one gender or the other and input consisted of assumptions of how men and women “are.”

³³ Only one interview citation is shown as this was the only example of an all-female prison visitation group.

³⁴ Frank, Karen. Telephone Interview. Humanitas. 29 April, 2009.

³⁵ Volhard, Job. Telephone Interview. Bezoek/Begeleiding (ex-)Gedetineerden. 1 May 2009.

³⁶ This was an unexpected illustration of how gender, not sex, works its way into the criminal justice system. In speaking of need, many individuals cited the woman’s responsibility to her children, her family, and her home as playing an additional role in her recovery.

³⁷ Kuindersma, Laurence. Telephone Interview. InformatieSteunPunt. 28 April, 2009.

Without equal knowledge of both men and women, respondents had to rely on assumptions of aftercare needs of the other gender

Though the majority of aftercare programs are open to working with women, none of them emphasized women's needs as cited above, in particular. However, since "offering support" and "helping in any way we can" were two common mission statements of aftercare programs, it can be inferred that the needs of women *could* be met in this way.³⁸ Because of this, I conclude that there is an alignment between the needs of women and the programs available. It is apparent based on program mission and practical action that there are programs available to women comparable to need.

Summary of Equity and Equality in Programming:

Although the percentage of programs may be aligned with the percentage of incarcerated women, the current program options are not focusing on the growing proportion of women in prison. When asking about program options for women, most interviewees mentioned women later, only when asked if they were included in the clientele. Common responses were, "Yes, we have worked with a few women before." Or "We are open to working with women." In only two cases of the twenty programs interviewed were women a main focus of program mission. Where five percent of programs work exclusively with women, twenty five percent of programs work exclusively with men.

In total, seventy-five percent of prison-related programs are available to women, compared to the ninety percent of programs available to men. Out of the thirty percent of programs open to both men and women, eighty-three percent of those worked primarily with men. Due to this, although the programs for men and women may be proportional to

³⁸ Koelman, Alexander. Telephone Interview. Een Nieuwe Start. 24 April, 2009

their percentages of incarceration (or far greater in the case of women), program opportunity is not gender-equal nor gender blind. This is likely related to the proportion of men incarcerated versus women, and also the location of the all-female facilities. The stigma of male-criminals as hardened, violent, or in need of special care, may also be a factor in the greater programming opportunity for male inmates.

A Comparison of Statistics and Data:

The second goal of my ISP was to identify “at risk” groups with high incarceration rates to see if any number of the programs sampled targeted or focused on these populations. Higher percentages of incarcerations do exist related to gender, country of origin, type of offense, etc., however, none of the twenty sample groups targeted any “at risk” group more than any other.³⁹ Gender was found to be the only basis for program focus. This could be due to the sensitivity of focusing on a specific nationality or the fear of not reaching a “critical mass” of clients should there be age discrimination, type of offense requirements, etc. for programming. Further research is needed concerning the programs offered by jails and prisons directly to more adequately answer this portion of the research question.

Perceived Needs of Men and Women: “Do men and women have different needs when leaving prison?”

After no statistical data was found on the self-reported needs of women in particular, I altered my interviews to include questions on the perceived differences in need of men and women post-release as an alternative to obtaining statistical data. Answers to these questions ranged dramatically, but the overwhelming majority of respondents agreed that men and women enter and leave the prison system with significantly different needs. These perceived

³⁹ Please see Appendix 6

differences are one explanation for the segregation of program foci among prison-related programming groups.

“For Women it’s easier to get money because of her body. Many times they will stay with someone who is looking after them. There are more social organizations helping women than men. Men go quicker back to old behavior again. Most of the time, women have children. And then the organizations will want to help them or their children are incentive not to get re-involved in bad behavior.”⁴⁰

“Yes definitely. They have totally different needs. The emotions are very different. They need different things because they have different problems.”⁴¹

Yes, there are definitely different needs. For females, more emotional support. They need long-term time to build trust-relationships and they have to talk about the processes they went through. Men are more open than women, I think.”⁴²

I believe the complete separation of male and female facilities plays a large role in the different perceptions of male and female need post-imprisonment. Without contact with both genders, it becomes difficult to compare. Latent bias based upon individuals’ program involvement could also play a part in which population they believe has greater need.

Contemporary Issues/Problems in the Dutch Prison System:

“What do you think is the biggest challenge the Dutch Prison system faces?” “What are the contemporary societal issues that you seek to address in your work?”

These two questions were asked during each of the twenty interviews. Only once was gender equity cited as a specific challenge:⁴³

“The system doesn’t work at all for these women. The controller and the prison guards who work with the women totally don’t understand what has happened to them. Or their histories. Or their feelings. This is a big problem.”⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Inen, Pim. Telephone Interview. When the Eagle Learns to Fly. 29 April, 2009.

⁴¹ Mobei, Anne. Telephone Interview. Ontmoeting Kerk and Detentie. 28 April, 2009.

⁴² Krepel, Nadine. Telephone Interview. SAMAH. 23 April, 2009.

⁴³ It was cited as a challenge by the program director of the only “female only” program group.

⁴⁴ Mobei, Anne. Telephone Interview. Ontmoeting Kerk and Detentie. 28 April, 2009.

At no other time was gender mentioned during these responses. This could be due to the separation of spheres between male and female inmates or the perceived existence of equality in the prison system. What the majority of interviewees did focus on was the importance of aftercare. Though the majority of these responses were not gender focused, they provide unique insight into the perceived problems of the Dutch Prison system and are therefore included in Appendix 4.

Conclusion

From the sample group, it is concluded that while programs available for men and women exceed the proportion of incarcerated men and women, there still exists a gender discrepancy. Ninety percent of prison programs are available to men, whereas only seventy-five percent of programs are available to women.

Types of programs available to men and women were found to be comparable. In both cases, in-prison visitation, pen-pal programs, drug dependency programs, and aftercare assistance were made available. For men, no gaps were found between the perceived reported need (as relayed by interviewees) and practical programming. Furthermore, no gaps were found between statistically documented need and prison programming for men. Women were not subjects of studies on statistical need; because of this only perceived reported need of interviewees was used. It was found that gaps *could* exist between interviewee reported need and available programming. Depending on the focus of aftercare programs, some may not be equipped or prepared to address the cited different emotional and familial needs of women. As it remains unclear, further research is needed to assess reality of this finding. Future questions include the availability of female inmate transitional housing programs, or the availability of work-release programs for either men or women.

In comparing practical programs to statistical data of “at risk groups,” no correlation was found between focus of program and age of the perpetrator, nationality of the inmate, or type of crime committed. Gender was the only factor that played a part in program focus. This could be a result of the interviewed sample. Future research could look at a larger sample of available programs or inmate perception on race/crime/age specific programs.

The majority of respondents did feel that men and women have different needs while

leaving prison. Most felt that men faced additional pressures and challenges, though women had unique situations based on their duties at home, relation to family members, and role as mothers. This was a surprising finding as it was an expected display of how societal gender roles can impact a post-prison transition experience.

Lastly, it was found that gender equity and gender equality was not a focus of prison groups. Only one respondent cited different treatment of men and women in prison as a challenge of the criminal justice system. Notably, this response came from the individual who worked in the only “women’s only” program.

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⁴⁵ Some names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the interviewees

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Appendix 1



Short Answer/Bonjo Assessment:

Compared with our other organization affiliates Bonjo is: More Active/About the Same/Less Active

Bonjo makes a consistent effort to keep us up to date with their goals/mission 1 2 3 4 5

Bonjo makes themselves available by phone/email should we need to contact them 1 2 3 4 5

Bonjo is a valuable associate 1 2 3 4 5

Bonjo seems interested in what our organization is doing 1 2 3 4 5

Are you aware that there is a list that the ministry uses for NJO's*
to be admitted to prisons? Yes No

Do you have easy access to prisons and jails? (if you need it) Yes No

How long have you been affiliated with BONJO? _____ years

How much is your annual budget approximately? € _____

Open Ended Perceptions of Bonjo/Program Mission:

How often do you have contact with Bonjo?

How can Bonjo better help assist your organization in the future?

What are your perceptions of Bonjo: (first thoughts when the name is said)

How would you describe your relation to BONJO?

How would you describe your contacts with BONJO?

What are some types of people you work with: Volunteers? Inmates? Lawyers?

In what ways does your group benefit male inmates or ex-prisoners?

In what ways does your group benefit female inmates or ex-prisoners?

Do you think that male and female inmates/ex prisoners, have different needs?

Can you describe for me other services that you offer to either male or female inmates or both?

What are the contemporary societal issues that you seek to address in your work?

What do you think is the biggest challenge the Dutch Prison system faces?

Organization Information:

How many active members/employees/volunteers do you have?

During any given week, what are some of the duties and activities organization members perform?

How is organization your funded?

How many sources of income does your organization have?

Do you get funds from the Ministry? If yes, how much?

Appendix 2



Excerpts of Bonjo Data from Interviews

What are some types of people you work with: Volunteers? Inmates? Lawyers?

Volunteers 70%	Social Workers: 15%
Paid Staff: 10%	Pastors/Religious Contacts: 10%
Inmates 65%	Students: 5%
Ex-Inmates 45%	Immigrants: 10%
Lawyers: 25%	Some Other: 35%

Are you aware of the list the ministry uses for NJO's to be admitted into Prisons?

Yes Responses: 50%	No Responses: 50%
--------------------	-------------------

Do you have easy access to prisons and jails? (if you need it)

Yes Responses: 60%	N/A: 5%
No Responses: 35%	

Gender Program Breakdown by Availability

Mostly Men 35%	Mostly Women 5%
Only Men 25%	Only Women 5%
Both 30%	

How is organization your funded?

Many Private Donations: 2	United Nations: 1
Ministry: 13	Various Churches: 2
Privately Funded Lawyers/Board of Directors: 1	Foreign Affairs: 1
Council of Amsterdam/Other City Subsidy: 2	Public Institute: 1
European Union: 1	Self-Made Revenue: 2
	Prison: 1

How many sources of income does your organization have?

Average Response: 1.8	Unknown: 3
Organizations with many Small Donations: 2	

Do you get funds from the Ministry? If yes, how much?

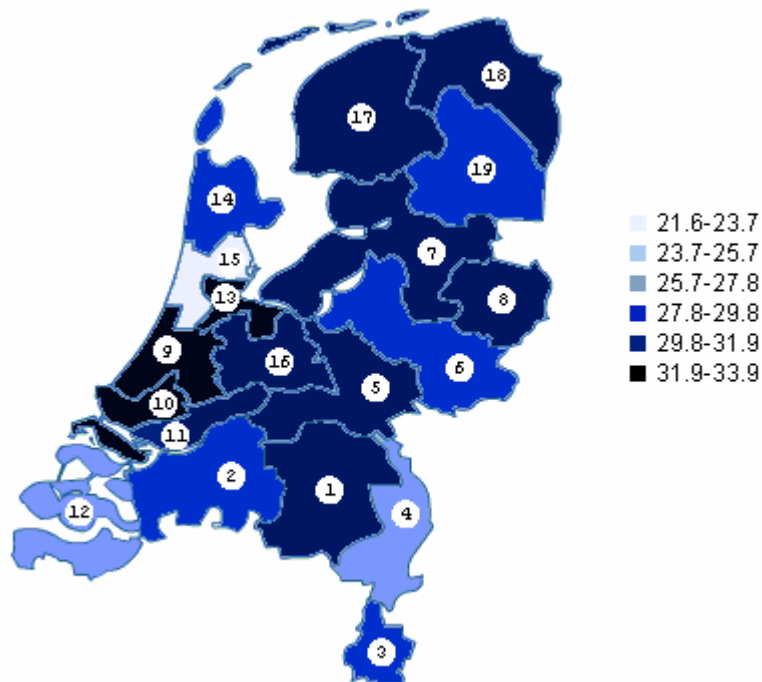
Yes Answers: 13	Sometimes: 1
No Answers: 4	
Unsure: 2	**Average Amount, if Yes. 3,286

Average Size of Prison Related Groups

Paid Staff/Program: 2.6	Volunteers/Program 28
-------------------------	-----------------------

Appendix 3

Two Year Re-Conviction Rate for Adults arrested in 2004.
(Data Released in 2008)⁴⁶



- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1 = Den Bosch | 2 = Breda |
| 3 = Maastricht | 4 = Roermond |
| 5 = Arnhem | 6 = Zutphen |
| 7 = Zwolle-Lelystad | 8 = Almelo |
| 9 = The Hague | 10 = Rotterdam |
| 11 = Dordrecht | 12 = Middelburg |
| 13 = Amsterdam | 14 = Alkmaar |
| 15 = Haarlem | 16 = Utrecht |
| 17 = Leeuwarden | 18 = Groningen |
| 19 = Assen | |

⁴⁶ From B.S.J. Wartna, K.A. Beijersbergen, M. Blom, N. Tollenaar. "Developments in the reconviction rate of Dutch offenders." Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek-en Documentatiecentrum. Den Haag: 2008.

Appendix 4

Excerpts of Contemporary Issues/Problems in the Dutch Prison System from Bonjo Assessment

“Cities do not enough for people who are sent out of Prison. First thing inmates do when they are out is they find their dealers, and not employers of their cities. They should have people visiting prisoners before they come out. Now they are trying to put them in big housing with all these other ex-detainees. This is bullshit! People need individual care-maybe group housing-but its much too big. Keep it simple. Give them money and work and they will re-socialize. Do not put them into a kennel.”⁴⁷

“The biggest challenge is how to stop the recidivism of prisoners. Not easy for ex-prisoners to re-find a place in community. They always go back to old friends and old ways of life. Then they go back to prison.”⁴⁸

“[The biggest problem is] how to make the Prison more of an open system. It should focus more on getting people prepared to get out. So its not like you are an animal behind bars. Prisoners need reorganization. To help make people safe and keep them safe but to also keep the human aspects alive so that when he returns to society he is not standing in emptiness. The social work system is doomed sometimes.”⁴⁹

“Not a lot has changed in the last 20 years. Where to go, where to sleep, where to get money? These things don’t change. A lot of people have these problems, I don’t understand it but I guess the problems are getting worse and bigger and bigger. Their heads aren’t good either and this is more stressful. How is it possible that our society has gotten like this? Why does 3 or 4 months in jail ruin someone? They have no motivation...I just don’t understand it. If they did something and they have a short sentence, its not always the biggest crime. But still. They come out ruined. They don’t have patience either. People come out at 22, 23 years and figure their lives are over. I understand there are a lot of things going on, but the jails should invest in making people motivated.”⁵⁰

“We should understand that jails are always needed because people get confused or need to be out of society for a few months. But shutting out visitor groups is very wrong. Jails need to be open for society to come in. Most people in jail will come back to the jail, so society should be allowed in. They have a right to be human. That’s one of the challenges. Also, the ideas they have about motivating people-they should be implementing those in jails. They should start looking at new ideas and thinking outside the box. You need to have spirit when you get out so you can make something with your life.”⁵¹

“Punishing people instead of getting them better. You can shut people away for a lifetime. In every system in the world this is a bad system. Earlier they just put these people on an island. That’s not a great idea, but at least they weren’t locked up. Prisoners are more expensive than the elderly. We pay so much for them, but its not a good system.”⁵²

⁴⁷ Kuindersma, Laurence. Telephone Interview. InformatieSteunPunt. 28 April, 2009.

⁴⁸ Van Den Bergh, Dwight. Telephone Interview. Bezoekgroep Geniepoort. 22 April, 2009.

⁴⁹ Helgers, Martin. Telephone Interview. STEK en VRIJ. 28 April 2009.

⁵⁰ Koelman, Alexander. Telephone Interview. Een Nieuwe Start. 24 April, 2009.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Westerbroek, Jan. Telephone Interview. Cliëntenbelangenbureau. 28 April, 2009.

Appendix 5



EXCERPTS OF ASSESSMENT SUMMARY SHEET

Short Answer:

Compared with our other organization affiliates Bonjo is: More Active/About the Same/ Less Active

More Active Responses: 10%

About the Same Responses: 10%

Less Active Responses: 45%

Unable to Answer Responses: 15%

Additional Comments:

Percent of Organizations with whom Bonjo is the sole affiliate: 15%

One organization was unsure because they recently joined

Bonjo makes a consistent effort to keep us up to date with their goals/mission 1 2 3 4 5

Average Score: 4.1

Bonjo makes themselves available by phone/email should we need to contact them 1 2 3 4 5

Average Score: 4.15

Bonjo is a valuable associate 1 2 3 4 5

Average Score: 4

Bonjo seems interested in what our organization is doing 1 2 3 4 5

Average Score: 3.8

How would you describe your relation to BONJO? (a sampling of answers)

Close. Very active with them

Good relation. Definitely with Job and Nico

Friendly for sure but not much interaction with them. I would like more

Good. Business-like but cordial

We know Job personally, but no close relation with the organization.

How would you describe your contacts with BONJO? (a sampling of answers)

Mostly very nice.

Not very often close, but they are available.

If I have a problem, I always have someone to talk to. It's nice.

Healthy

How can Bonjo better help assist your organization in the future? (a sampling of answers)

Maintain more contact and more action in contacting members and finding out what's going on in the field.

Increase handouts and information guides relating to prison work and drug use.

Concentrate more on the people in the prison, not volunteers.

*Full Transcripts can be obtained from Bonjo after June 2009.

Appendix 6⁵¹

Background Characteristics of Adult Offenders Illustrating “At Risk Groups”

	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	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5
18-24	23.3	23.8	23.9	24.5	24.9	25.5	25.4	25.9
25-29	17.9	17.9	17.4	16.8	15.8	15.0	14.4	13.9
30-39	27.9	27.8	28.2	28.5	28.2	28.1	27.8	27.1
40-49	17.1	16.8	16.8	16.8	17.4	17.6	18.2	18.6
50+	13.3	13.2	13.1	12.8	13.1	13.3	13.8	14.0
Country of Birth								
NL	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
Antilles	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.7	3.3
Suriname	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
OWC*	9.3	9.1	9.3	9.3	10.0	9.8	8.9	8.7
ONWC**	6.0	6.3	6.9	7.4	7.9	8.1	8.1	7.6
Types of Offense								
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
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

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

**Other Non-Western Countries

*** Vandalism, light aggression and public

⁵¹ Compiled from B.S.J. Wartna, K.A. Beijersbergen, M. Blom, N. Tollenaar. "Developments in the reconviction rate of Dutch offenders." Wetenschappelijk Onderzoeken Documentatiecentrum. Den Haag 2008.