

Daar doen we het voor!

Opbrengsten en effecten
van verslavingsreclassering

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Summary

This is what we are working for!

Yields and effects of the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offender

Summary

The aim of the SVG, the Foundation for the Rehabilitation and Probation of Drug-Addicted Offenders (Stichting Verslavingsreclassering GGZ) is to improve its ability to show the social relevance of the work done by organizations for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders. This relevance is often most visible to those directly involved: the clients, professionals and their immediate environment. The outside world is much less informed. Yet, the present spirit of the times has made it very important to the SVG to prove the significance of its efforts.

With this trajectory, still in development, a first step has been taken to gain insight into the yields and ultimately the efficiency of the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders. This concerns the total of the returns of the activities at client level: To what extent does the criminal behaviour of clients actually change? Does their contact with the police decrease? What is the contribution of the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders to the reintegration of these clients? Do the living conditions of clients change as a result of their rehabilitation? To answer these questions, the Verwey-Jonker Institute has focused on the approach used for young adults (JOVO). This target group is important because crime figures show that the peak in registered crime is associated with young adults aged eighteen to twenty. In addition, the group of young adult offenders is larger than other groups of offenders (Grandia et al., 2010). Furthermore, the introduction of young adult criminal law and the decentralization of youth care, among other things, have turned young adults into an interesting target group for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders. The expectation is that much improvement may still be brought about with this target group.

The trajectory in development

Within the trajectory in development, we have first mapped the JOVO approach within three units of Palier, Tactus and Victas. This was accomplished through interviews and observations. Next, we have developed a monitor, based on, among other things, feasibility and relevance. In this monitor, we have brought together result indicators for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders. We have subsequently applied the monitor to the three units of the institutions for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders. To support this process, we have executed case studies. These provide more insight into the impact of the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders on individual young adult clients.

The monitor

To form a better picture of the yields of this work, it is important to establish a direct link between the monitor with result indicators and the efforts made by institutions for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders. After all, general developments in crime cannot be related to these specific efforts just like that. For this reason, the monitor takes the changes in police contacts and recidivism of the individual clients as its starting point. This involves all clients who have been coached by institutions for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders in the form of advice and/or supervision.

For the monitor, we have made use of police data from the police's Basic Enforcement Service (in Dutch: Basisvoorziening Handhaving (BVH)) and Recognition Service System (Herkenningsdienstsysteem (HKS)). In the BVH, all incidents are registered in which the police get involved. From this database, we have included all personal police contacts that were not initiated by the police. The HKS is a nationwide system, used by the police since 1986 to register data concerning reports of crime. The HKS can be seen as a database consisting of registered facts.¹

The advantage of using these data is that, apart from all the incidents included in the WODC's recidivism monitor, other incidents are set down as well. While reports of nuisances, for instance, get registered in the BVH, they seldom lead to registration in the HKS. Yet, precisely this type of police contacts is relevant for the clientele of institutions for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders and has a great impact on feelings of safety in society. In addition, the BVH and HKS data have enabled us to carry out measurements (of recidivism) over very short periods.

We have linked the data from the police registration to data on the clients who have started a trajectory for rehabilitation from drug addiction between 2008 and 2012. This involves, besides personal client data, data on trajectories, data concerning the different aspects of care from IRIS (the Integral Rehabilitation Information System) and its predecessor CVS (Client Tracking System), and data on clients' primary problems from LADIS (the National Information System on Alcohol and Drugs).

In doing so, we have all the time made a comparison between the period before a client started out in a trajectory to be rehabilitated from a drug addiction and the period after. Within this trajectory, no use could be made of a control group. For this reason, it is impossible to ascribe the results to just the efforts made by the institutions for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders alone. We have always compared the group of young adults aged 18 to 23 to the older clients of the institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders.

The results

A year after they had come into contact with institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders, the clients committed significantly fewer offences than they had during the previous year. After they had started their trajectory, they also had fewer encounters with the police during the first year. After the beginning of their trajectory, their average number of crimes based on the HKS decreased more steeply than the police contacts did. Contacts with the police during the first year showed a clear decrease as well. This decrease was smaller, however, than the decrease in registered facts. After about a year, the police contacts increased again, while the number of HKS facts

¹ In 2.1 we will explain the indicators in more detail

remained lower than they were before the start of the trajectory. Yet, with regard to the police contacts, we did observe improved returns: the more recently the clients had entered into a rehabilitation programme, the greater the reduction of police contacts during the first year. We can thus conclude that the yields have improved with regard to the number of police contacts. In this respect, the approach has become more effective.

Figure 1 Average recidivism (HKS) over time

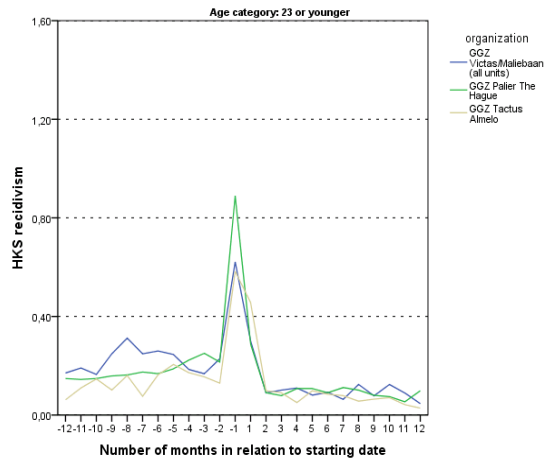
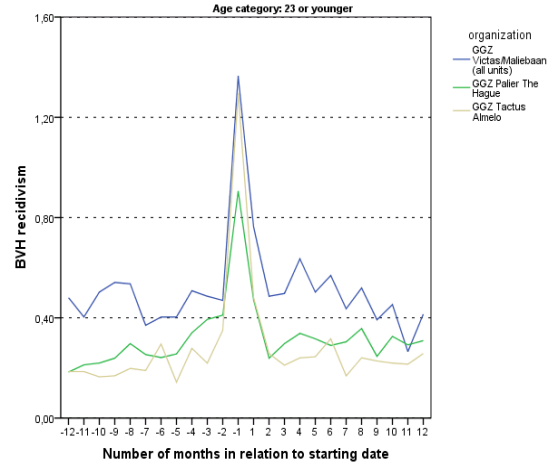


Figure 2 Average number of police contacts (BVH) over time



After the start of their trajectory, the clients aged 23 and older on average came into contact with the police less frequently than the young adults did. Regarding the number of offences, the opposite was true: After entering, the young adults committed a slightly smaller number of offences than the older adults did. The decrease in police contacts and recidivism, however, was the same for young adults and for clients older than 23. In this regard, we have found hardly any significant differences between the three institutions, either.

This means that the volume of committed facts has drastically decreased. Yet, the order of most committed categories remains the same after the trajectory's start. Thus, non-violent crimes against property occur most frequently, followed by violence against persons and offences in the category of vandalism, public order and authority.

With respect to the registrations, it is striking that these have not been carried out systematically and consequently. The clients registered (in LADIS) with a primary problematic more often repeated their offences after starting with a rehabilitation trajectory than people for whom no main addiction problem was registered. It seems, however, that the primary problem of the 'more serious' cases was registered more extensively in IRIS, and thus also in LADIS.² Among the young adults, cocaine users had the highest number of offences to their name before the start of their trajectory, followed by those using opiates, other addictive substances and cannabis. After the start, the small number of opiate users repeated their offences most often by far, followed by the cocaine users.

2 Further analysis has revealed that the clients of whom data on their primary problem have been registered in IRIS stayed on average a year longer in trajectories for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders than those without such a registration did.

Among the older clients, the opiate users had the most offences to their name before the beginning of the trajectory. Here, the cocaine users most often repeated their offences after the start. We have also examined how a number of specific characteristics of both the clients and the trajectories, within the institutionalized rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders and the trajectories leading towards care, influence police contacts and recidivism. As yet, this influence seems small, but further specification of the monitor is necessary.

perty crimes expressed in costs

We will provide a first indication of the cost to society caused by the clients of institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders. To this end, we have expressed the number of facts and the average decrease in money. This enables us to compare the changes in these costs globally. We have done this for the entire period before and after clients entered a trajectory of the institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders, as well as for a year prior to and a year after their entry. For property crimes, the category into which fall the offences committed most often by clients, the costs to society of one offence committed in 2005 were estimated at €1.413,- (Groot et al., 2007).³ Starting from this, by now maybe a little too low an estimate, and from the total number of registered property crimes committed by the population of the three institutions, we have calculated the global costs before and after the beginning of the trajectory. The following table shows that, for property crimes, the costs prior to entry into the trajectory of institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders are considerably higher than the costs after entry are.

Table 1 Costs to society of property crime before and after the start of rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders in €

	Costs prior to start		Costs after start	
	Entire period	1 year before entry	Entire period	1 year after entry
Young adults (N=1461)	€12.180.060,-	€5.148.972,-	€2.228.301,-	€1.906.137,-
Clients aged 23 and older (N=6256)	€69.159.285,-	€27.087.210,-	€13.831.857,-	€12.397.662,-
Total	€81.339.345,-	€32.236.182,-	€16.060.158,-	€14.303.799,-

For both the young adults and the older clients, the average number of property crimes per person has steeply decreased after starting in a trajectory of institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders.⁴ Assuming that the people against whom no intervention takes place will continue on the same footing as before (in reality, this will of course be true for a majority but not for

3 This involves the estimated costs of prevention, insurance, damages, loss of production, medical costs, suffering, police investigation and prevention, legal action, the trial, the execution of court decisions and related support.

4 The young adults go from an average 2.95 committed offences before the start of their trajectory to 0.54 committed offences after the start, a difference of 2.41 offences; older clients go from 3.75 to 0.75 committed offences, a difference of on average 3 offences.

all), this would mean that taking part in a rehabilitation programme will result in a decrease in costs to society amounting to €3.405,33 per person for young adults and €4.239,- for clients aged 23 and older. This amount is just for property crimes alone. When we compare one year prior to and one year after entry, this would amount to € 897,26 for young adults and €1.271,70 for older clients. Table 2 presents the average decrease per person for the entire period, and for one year before and after entry.

Table 2 Average decrease in costs of property crime to society

Average decrease per person in €		
	Entire period	Period of 1 year before and after
Young adults	Total: €3.405,33	€ 897,26
Adults 23 or older	Total: €4.239,-	€1.271,70

To gain more insight into the returns of rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders, the above calculation provides no more than a first, rough glimpse of the possibilities of a cost estimate as a leg up to cost efficiency. Many of the costs and benefits, however, become manifest only in the long run and are different in kind as well. Think, for instance, of the costs and gains in terms of productivity, health care and quality of life. These need to be mapped out, too.

For the time being, we have also ignored the specific costs of the government funding of rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders. It is possible to get an idea of this based on the client-related production and its funding.

Steps to continue

The objective of the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders is to combat recidivism. To attain this goal, institutions providing rehabilitation also aim to reintegrate clients into society. This involves the improvement of the clients' situation in relevant areas of life. The qualitative case studies show that the effects of supervising young adults can be very diverse and may concern all areas of life. For part of the young adult addicted clients, the highest possible goal in view of their complex and often-persistent problems is to create a stable situation. The clients supervised by after-care organizations for drug-addicted offenders are characterized by such unique problems that the nature and intensity of the supervision is different for each client. The supervision is tailored to each individual. The work of these institutions cannot be seen apart from the chains within which it is executed. The probation officer is a central link in the network surrounding the young adult; this is the person who may also wield the big stick looming behind the special conditions. After all, he or she may finally ask to commute a suspended sentence into a prison sentence when the client does not keep to the agreements.

Registration

In this trajectory in development, it was not yet possible to include indicators in the monitor with which changes in different areas of life can be followed. As such, the monitor does not sufficiently do justice to the intensity and diversity of the activities of institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders. For this, a further specification of the monitor is necessary. Right now, the registration of data is not yet optimal for obtaining the information suitable for the monitor. Non-

obligatory registrations are only filled in to a limited extent. Of almost half of the clients, for example, their main problems with addiction have not been registered correctly. The primary goal of the data collection in IRIS, for that matter, is not to gain insight into the yields but to account for work that has been done.

To get more grip on the returns of the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders and on the productive elements that apply specifically to the target group of the institutions providing this rehabilitation, it is important to continue the development of the monitor function within the SVG and/or its institutions. This means that the monitor needs to be elaborated, supplemented and specified in more detail. This also requires a better registration of data, as well as the registration of data fit for the monitor's objectives. Not just the way of registering is involved here, but also what needs to be registered in order to gain good insight. In addition, registering data for the monitor's objectives must also yield something concrete for the individual probation officers. Being professionals, they need to be able to experience the benefits of better insight into their clients and of effective methods for themselves. The registration must first be regarded as useful, before it is possible to show how tailored after-care may be provided. This is a step beyond the prevailing product logic, according to which registration only serves to give account and for settlement.

Possible applications

It goes specifically for the target group of young adults, that much is unknown about the effectiveness of and productive elements in the work done by institutions for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders; about what works for whom and under which circumstances. Within the institutions, there is a need for more knowledge in this area. To what extent do a more intensive approach of young adults and another interpretation of supervision contribute to a decrease in recidivism and better reintegration? Subsequently, to which young adults would this apply? The monitor we have developed provides a sound basis for answering such questions by means of a comparative and experimental set-up. It makes it possible, for instance, to differentiate between different levels of intensity and different interpretations of activities (cf Grandia et al., 2010). Supervision - in recent years elaborated in more and more detail within after-care and resettlement organizations (see, for instance, Krechtig et al., 2012) - can be reinterpreted in a well-founded way by focused monitoring. It will also generate an unambiguous and clearer view on SVG's client population. Moreover, a univocal monitor will make it possible to keep a finger on the pulse. After all, important questions are, for example, how the nature of the committed offences will develop over time, and what this may mean for the work executed by the SVG.

Conclusion

With the aid of the monitor, we have structurally provided insight into the returns and effects of the work done by institutions providing rehabilitation and probation for drug-addicted offenders. This is a first step to better map out the yields and returns of their efforts. At its core, the monitor couples data at the individual client level to relevant indicators. Because of this set-up, the monitor is very useful in bringing into view the yields with regard to other clients or client groups, and in gaining more insight into underlying factors. The monitor can be extended or specified for other approaches or target groups. The indicators derived from the BVH and HKS can focus more on the specific goals

of the approach to be monitored. To bring to the fore different kinds of returns, it is possible to link information about relevant areas of life such as living conditions, income and daily activities at client level. The 'ability to manage for oneself' matrix, for example, used by various institutions, provides perspectives for this. The information about the clients' trajectories can be specified in the monitor. In our view, however, it is vital to a deepening insight always to interpret the findings locally (as well).

We have developed a monitor that brings together indicators to get the returns of the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders into view. The monitor offers good opportunities to extend and to specify. To make full use of the monitor, it is of great importance to pay more attention to registration and the monitoring function of institutions for the rehabilitation and probation of drug-addicted offenders.

The monitor's results are very promising. A year after they had come into contact with the rehabilitating institutions, the clients committed significantly fewer criminal offences than they did during the year prior to that moment. After the start of their trajectory, their contact with the police decreased as well. The average number of criminal offences, based on the HKS, decreased more steeply after the beginning of their trajectory than the police contacts of these clients did.

Colofon

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De relevantie van verslavingsreclassering is vaak vooral zichtbaar voor de direct betrokkenen: de cliënten en professionals en hun directe omgeving. Voor de maatschappelijke buitenwacht is dat anders. In de huidige tijdgeest wil de Stichting Verslavingsreclassering GGZ (SVG) dan ook de maatschappelijke betekenis van het werk van instellingen voor verslavingsreclassering beter kunnen aantonen.

Deze publicatie beschrijft de totstandkoming van een monitor die indicatoren samenbrengt waarmee de opbrengsten van verslavingsreclassering eenduidig in beeld komen. De focus lag daarbij op de aanpak van jongvolwassenen. Wat is de impact van verslavingsreclassering voor jongvolwassen cliënten op hun crimineel gedrag? Vermindert hun contact met de politie? De eerste resultaten zijn veelbelovend. De ontwikkelde monitor biedt een goede basis om de vinger aan de pols te houden over wat voor wie werkt, en onder welke omstandigheden.

