

Double trouble in the re-integration of former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background?

An explorative research on the risks, criminogenic needs of former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background and the responsivity of welfare work in the Netherlands

Abstract. An overrepresentation of adolescents with a non-western background can be found in very high numbers of recidivism among former detained adolescents with a little research about this target group. Contributing to the scarce body of research on former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background, the aim of this study was to explore how the risks and criminogenic needs differ from the general group and whether welfare work responds adequately on these risks and needs. This is necessary to effectively reduce recidivism. In order to answer this question, 15 qualitative, in-depth interviews were conducted with professionals who work with this target group. The findings show that different general *SAVRY* risk factors (e.g. lack of social support and negative attitudes) play a strengthened role. Besides, identity issues and the lack of bonding with society are two important additional risk factors. The *Big Four* (antisocial network, antisocial behaviour, antisocial personality pattern and antisocial cognitions) dynamic needs also manifest differently for these adolescents due to migration backlogs. Most interventions and welfare work do not meet the risks and the *Big Four* criminogenic needs of this specific group of adolescents and success factors to increase responsivity are suggested (recognition for the identity, culture sensitivity, including role models and social network and create a mutual base of trust). These findings have important theoretical and policy-related implications, which come down to investing in more ethnic specific literature and interventions on recidivism.

Keywords. Criminal recidivism, re-integration, adolescents with a non-western migrant background, welfare work, Risks-Needs-Responsivity-model

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Introduction

Each year, around 35.000 detainees leave the prison after serving their sentence in the Netherlands (Dienst Justitiële Inrichtingen, 2017). Approximately 2.000 of them are adolescents, who served their sentence in a Juvenile Justice Institution (Weijters, Verweij & Tollenaar, 2017). Within the field of juvenile crime, there is an overrepresentation of adolescents with a non-western migrant background in the Netherlands (Kruissink & Esser, 2004; Steketee, van der Gaag, & Wolthuis, 2016; Bovenkerk, & Leeuw, 2004). The group of detainees with a non-western migrant background consists of 13.640 adolescents against 5 590 former detained adolescents with a western migrant background. Thereby, a peak in criminality is particularly noticeable in the adolescent phase, between 18 and 25 years (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [CBS], 2016). This overrepresentation of people with a non-western migrant background and adolescents can also be seen in recidivism rates in the Netherlands (see Figure 1) (Bellaart, 2013).

Recidivism is the tendency of a convicted offender to re-offend. In other words, recidivism is a person's relapse into criminal behaviour after having been punished for certain behaviour (Aresti, Eatough, & Brooks-Gordon, 2010). For juvenile delinquents, the overall recidivism rate is 70 – 80 % (Wartna, el Harbachi, & van der Laan, 2005). Recidivism rates of all offenders in the Netherlands are approximately 66% (Dienst Justitiële Inrichtingen [DJI], 2016; Raad voor Strafrechtstoepassing en Jeugdbescherming, 2017). Apparently, it is difficult for many adolescents to return where they left off after detention.

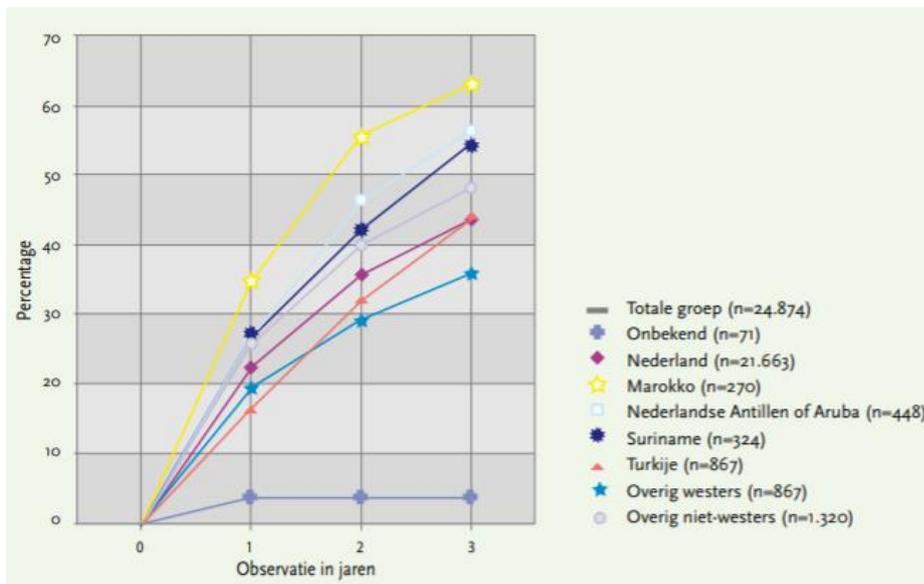


Figure 1. Recidivism among adolescents based on country of birth

Note. Reprinted from *Jongeren weer op de rails* (p.9), by H. Bellaart, 2013.

The relatively high recidivism rates can be explained by the living conditions of these former detained adolescents after detention. The ties with society have been weakened, which makes organizing their lives according to the standards of society more difficult. Many of these adolescents have financial debts, psychological problems, and have no accommodation or work (Raad voor Strafrechtstoepassing en Jeugdbescherming, 2017; Holman & Ziedenisberg, 2006). For that reason the reintegration process in the Netherlands is focused on improving the living conditions of former prisoners with regard to five aspects: obtaining a valid proof of identity, assistance with finding a home, assistance with obtaining an income, psychical or mental help and help with debts (Wartna, El Harbachi, & Van der Laan, 2005). However, providing help on these living conditions is not enough in reducing the recidivism rates for these adolescents.

Some scholars advocate that there should be special attention for specific risk factors of adolescents with a non-western migrant background. They emphasize the importance of specific components in generic crime policy combating recidivism (Bellaart, 2013; Baas, 2005). Moreover, it is necessary to increase responsivity of welfare work, by tailoring help and interventions to the specific characteristics of adolescents with a non-western migrant background (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). This can make them feel understood and represented in society. The greater the help for these adolescents the smaller the chance to recidivate (Steketee, van der Gaag, & Wolthuis, 2016). Welfare work only has a positive and effective influence on adolescents when it has an adequate connection with the target group. However, this is not the case at the moment (Assen, Trommelen, & De Vries, 2007). Not much is known about the specific reintegration process and the influence of welfare work on these adolescents (Brons, Hilhorst, & Willemsen, 2008). People with a non-western migration background might need other responses from welfare work than native Dutch people, due to the risks and problems related to their migration background, like identity problems, different norms and values, and the lack of connection with society (Graffam, Shinkfield, Lavelle, & McPherson, 2004; Bellaart, 2013; Pels, 2008).

Prior investigations and policies were primarily focused on former detained adolescents as a whole group. Due to this, there is a lack of in-depth explanations about why the adolescents with a non-western migrant background have higher recidivism rates. However, some studies found that former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background have to deal with strengthened risk factors (e.g. the lack of social support, community disorganization and poor parental management). Some scholars state that causes

for recidivism can be found in the socioeconomic differences between the ethnic groups (Uggen, Manza, & Thompson, 2006; Van den Berg, Bijleveld, Blommaert, & Ruiters, 2017). Others refer to the cultural differences and migration-related problems as stated in the paragraph above. Recidivism of this target group is a complex problem and generally the result of an interaction of different causes on different levels (Steketee, van der Graag, & Wolthuis, 2016). This study contributes to the literature by exploring the particular risks and criminogenic needs of the adolescents with non-western background and it investigates whether the current welfare work adequately meets these criminogenic needs and risks.

There is a gap in the literature and policies regarding recidivism and re-integration of adolescents with a non-western migrant background. To find out which factors are effective in the welfare work to prevent recidivism of former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background, it is important to understand the underlying risk and what they need to reintegrate in society. Based on these risks and criminogenic needs, this study provides tools for welfare work to increase the connection with this specific group. The aim of this study is to fill this gap by giving an in-depth explanation on the following research question by interviewing different professionals working with these adolescents: *What is the influence of the risks and criminogenic needs on recidivism of adolescents with a non-western migrant background and how does this relate to the responsiveness of welfare work?*

To investigate these risks and criminogenic needs, this study looks into adolescents with a non-western migrant background between the ages of 18 and 25. Most publications talk of the second generation (non-western) migrant adolescents. Because a variety of international literature has been used, the definitions of adolescents with a non-western migrant background can vary. The definition of non-western migrant background used by CBS (2016) will also be used in this thesis: ‘Person with a migrant background from one of the countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey’.

Theoretical framework

Since this study’s context is the Dutch welfare work to prevent recidivism of the target group, it is important to explain the working methods in this field. The Ministry of Justice, the Dutch probation service, forensic psychiatry and debt assistance use the What Works Principles (WWP) for effectively reducing recidivism (Kelders & Kwekkeboom, 2018; Bellaart, 2013). A substantial body of literature supports the efficacy of these principles in programmes to reduce future criminal behavior (e.g., Andrews & Bonta, 2006, 2010; Andrews et al., 1990; Dowden & Andrews, 1999; Kelders & Kwekkeboom, 2018). The aim

of this WWP-model is to abate recidivism by identifying the risk factors and dynamic criminogenic needs of a former offender and offer the former offenders behavioural interventions that have a demonstrable positive effect on recidivism (Boone & Kox, 2012). The WWP is a set of six principles which can possibly explain why and whether or not an intervention has achieved the intended objectives. These principles are the risk, need, responsivity, skills, practice and the social principles (Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Bellaart, 2013). The three widely used principles, which will be discussed in the next sections, are the *risk* principle, or the ‘who’ to target, the *need* principle, or the ‘what’ to target and the *responsivity* principle, which tells us ‘how’ to target the criminogenic needs of the adolescents with a non-western migrant background (Latessa & Lowenkamp, 2005). Together, these three principles are incorporated in the Risk-Need-Responsivity-model (RNR-model) (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). The risk and need principles are necessary to explain why adolescents fall back on offending (Nash & Bowen, 1999). Besides that, the responsivity principle is also investigated in this study. The offer must also be suitable for those of whom it is intended and arranged in a way that it reaches the goals (Green & Kreuter, 2005, in Kelders & Kwekkeboom, 2018).

Risks

The risk principle sets out who should be treated. This involves two risks: the risk of recidivism and the risk of damage. This study focusses on the risk of recidivism. This means the chance of re-committing a criminal offence. The intensity and duration of a treatment must be coordinated on the client’s risk on recidivism: the higher the risk of recidivism, the more frequent and longer the treatment should be (Vogelvang, 2005). Research shows that intensive treatment of offenders with a low risk on recidivism leads to an increase in the risk on recidivism: “*So, if it ain’t broke, don’t fix it*” (Van Horn, Eisenberg, & Uzieblo, 2016). A clear problem analysis is necessary. It must be clear what the problem is, how it is caused or maintained, what needs to happen and who should do it (Kelders & Kwekkeboom, 2018).

Many scholars state that the clinical view of a professional is not sufficient for an adequate assessment of the recidivism risk. It must be supported by a well-founded scientific instrument. They use statistic techniques to determine which criminogenic factors predict recidivism. Based on this, risk assessment tools are used to map the risks of adolescents (Vogelvang, 2005). This indicates that there is mostly quantitative research on the risk assessment of adolescents. A shortage of qualitative aspects of reoffending is noted by

different scholars as a limitation within the existing literature. These kind of researches contributes to case-specific risk management (e.g. Hoogsteder, 2014; Worling & Långström, 2003).

Historical Risk Factors

- History of Violence
- History of Nonviolent Offending
- Early Initiation of Violence
- Past Supervision/Intervention Failures
- History of Self-Harm or Suicide Attempts
- Exposure to Violence in the Home
- Childhood History of Maltreatment
- Parental/Caregiver Criminality
- Early Caregiver Disruption
- Poor School Achievement

Social/Contextual Risk Factors

- Peer Delinquency
- Peer Rejection
- Stress and Poor Coping
- Poor Parental Management
- Lack of Personal/Social Support
- Community Disorganization

Individual Risk Factors

- Negative Attitudes
- Risk Taking/Impulsivity
- Substance Use Difficulties
- Anger Management Problems
- Low Empathy/Remorse
- Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Difficulties
- Poor Compliance
- Low Interest/Commitment to School

Figure 2. Items from the Structured Assessment of Violence Risk in Youth (SAVRY)

Note. Reprinted from Mental health screening and assessment in juvenile justice (p.314), by Borum, Bartel, and Forth 2005.

The most commonly used risk assessment tool is the SAVRY model (see Figure 2), which shows the chance of the repetition of violent behaviour among adolescents in general and makes a distinction between historical, social and individual risk factors. In contrast to the rich literature concerning risk factors for adolescents in general, there have only been a few researchers who focus on adolescents with a non-western migrant background specifically (e.g. Bellaart, 2013; Worling & Långström, 2003). The risk assessment for these adolescents might be different, which points out this study's relevance. Despite the lack of empirical studies, some studies show that SAVRY risk factors can be strengthened in the case of adolescents with a non-western migrant background. These adolescents also have to deal with

specific risk factors that are related to their migration background. *Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau* (in Bellaart, 2013) cites the following examples of ethnic-specific risk factors: the lack of social ties with the Dutch Society, a minority position, poor contact with institutions, negative perceptions of certain population groups and parents who cannot offer enough social control and structure. In the next section the specific criminogenic needs of the adolescents with a non-western migrant background will be discussed based on a literature review.

Criminogenic needs

The need principle targets the focus on correctional treatment, which has to tackle the criminogenic needs that are directly related to committing crimes (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). An important distinction has to be made between the criminogenic needs, and static risk factors (both included in the risk assessment tools like SAVRY). The static risk factors are unchangeable and give a basic risk on recidivism, like a low IQ, or previously committed offences (Vogelvang, 2006). Criminogenic needs are changeable risk factors, like poor social support. These criminogenic needs are crucial in preventing recidivism, because these can be influenced by intervention. Within the changeable criminogenic needs, there is a distinction between stable factors that exert their influence for a longer period of time and acute factors that cannot predict recidivism in the longer term (Andrews & Bonta, 2007). For youth rehabilitation, the stable criminogenic needs are the most important starting points. Research shows that influencing these changeable ‘*Big Four*’ factors (see Box 1) in programs can indeed lead to a reduction in recidivism. Moreover, advocates of the RNR-model point out the applicability of the criminogenic needs across a variety of groups and contexts (Andrews & Bonta, 2007; Vogelvang, 2006; Debidin, 2009). In her validation study, Debidin (2009) found that recidivism for offenders with a non-western migration background can be predicted by the risks and criminogenic needs with the same accuracy as among native British offenders. On the contrary, it has been argued that, due to the development of research in countries where most offenders were white males, the principle cannot be applied to other populations such as people from minority ethnic groups (e.g. Shaw & Hannah-Moffat, 2000; Raynor & Lewis, 2011). In this study, it will therefore be investigated how the *Big Four* criminogenic needs manifestate in adolescents with a non-western migrant background.

Big four (Andrews & Bonta, 2006):

a. Antisocial cognition: Attitudes, beliefs, values, rationalizations and personal identity that is favorable to crime (risky thinking).

- b. Antisocial network: Association with criminal others and with anti-criminal others.
- c. History of antisocial behaviour: Early involvement in a variety of antisocial activities and risky situations.
- d. Antisocial personality pattern: Impulsive, adventurous, pleasure-seeking and involved in generalized trouble. Build problem-solving skills, self-management skills, anger management skills and coping skills.

Box 1. Stable dynamic needs of adolescents

Note. Retrieved from Andrews & Bonta (2006)

In the provision of welfare work, it is necessary to adjust assistance to the specific criminogenic needs of adolescents. For adolescents with a non-western migrant background, their migrant background has an influence on all of the ‘*Big Four*’ factors. Pehlivan (2011) names the lack of bonding with the Dutch society as a strengthening factor on the antisocial cognitions of these adolescents. The adolescents do not feel accepted because of the increasing negative attention for people with a migrant background. Labelling and behaving according to these labels (self-fulfilling prophecy) can lead to adolescents distancing themselves from society and its systems, such as school and police. The poor contact with authorities, but also with the parents who often cannot connect with their children, causes the adolescents to search their affection on the streets (Bellaart, 2013). This process is an example that influences all four criminogenic factors. The interventions in which the culture and lifestyle of those involved are respected, will decrease the risk of recidivism (Brons, Hilhorst & Willemsen, 2008). So, it is important for this study to find out how criminogenic needs manifestate in the target group and if these criminogenic needs are different from the general group of former offenders. However, risks and needs assessments, to be useful for adolescents with a non-western migrant background, need to be carried out by appropriately trained people and effective contiguous programs with the time to do it properly (Raynor & Lewis, 2011). The importance of responsivity will be discussed in the next section.

Responsivity

The responsivity principle, which addresses the ‘how’ of an intervention, states that the treatment needs to be responsive to the former offender’s cognitive and emotional styles (Grieger & Hosser, 2014). Besides that, the method of treatment must comply with general treatment characteristics, such as a good therapeutic working relationship and treatment

environment (Van Horn, Eisenberg, & Uzieblo, 2016). The responsivity principle implicates that not all interventions are appropriate for all former offenders because people differ in personality, motivation, social support and social, emotional and cognitive skills (Van Horn, Eisenberg, & Uzieblo, 2016). Intervention developers should strive for an as good as possible match between the former offender, the executor and the program. Since the criminogenic needs are usually multiple, the intervention must also focus on different aspects using different methods (Brons, Hilhorst, & Willemsen, 2008).

Especially for adolescents, it is very important to mobilize the social network in their treatment. This must always be the starting point in creating a program for a former detained adolescent (Vogelvang, 2005). However, it is hard to involve parents of the particular target group, because of the guilt and shame feelings of the adolescents or the communication problems between the parents and institutions (language barrier and lack of knowledge of the parents and the lack of cultural sensitivity of the welfare workers). Besides, the parents have other norms and values about the upbringing of their child than the welfare workers, which can lead to distrust towards care provision organizations (Bellaart, 2013).

In a more individual sense, responsivity concerns three things: the motivation of the adolescents, the learning styles and the (im)possibilities of both the adolescents and their immediate environment. Examples of these (im)possibilities are intelligence, language skills, goals of the adolescents and social support. The treatment environment also belongs to this immediate environment (Vogelvang, 2005). The social support for adolescents with a non-western migrant background can be totally different, as described above. Besides, the adolescents live in deprived areas, have few positive role models and have to deal with negative media perceptions. This negative environment has a big influence on the possibilities of the adolescents. A vicious circle is created, from which it is difficult for adolescents to escape without proper supervision (Bellaart, 2013)

Finally, the offered program for the adolescent must be appropriate and attractive and there must be a good cooperative relationship between the adolescent and the social assistant. Gender and cultural background of the juvenile probation officer or social assistant may be considerations here (Vogelvang, 2005). Wormith and Olver (2002) found that an increased sensitivity to cultural factors also increases the engagement of the recipients and the treatment completion. This can reduce recidivism of the target group.

Methods

Instruments

To answer the research question of this thesis, explorative interviews were conducted with different professionals. The nature of this study is to explore experiences and ideas about the specific risks and criminogenic needs of the target group and the responsiveness of welfare work on these risks and needs. Given the exploratory nature of the research, it was most suitable to use qualitative semi-structured interviews. Due to the explorative qualitative form of the research question and little previous research about the recidivism of the target group, the Grounded theory (Bowen, 2006) with sensitizing concepts is used to operationalize. This approach is a combination of inductive analysis with deductive analysis. Inductivism is expressed in the open and flexible research design, data collection and data analysis providing detailed understandings of underlying reasons and opinions. Deductivism is visible in the sensitizing concepts. These are relevant aspects from overarching theories, derived from the literature, which function as lenses during the collection of data. Based on the sensitizing concepts, topics such as antisocial network, lack of social support and negative attitudes (Andrews & Bonta, 2006), are formed as a loose guide for the interviews (see appendix A). To avoid new insights going unnoticed, emerging codes are included in the data-analysis. This topic list was used for all professionals, but adjusted after the pilot of three interviews.

Participants

The group of participants contains fifteen different kind of experts and professionals who work with former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background, varying from employees at Dutch prisons to forensic behavioural expert (see Appendix B). The participants were selected by their expertise and amount of work experience with the initial target population, the former detained adolescents with a migrant background. A conscious choice has been made for respondents with different professions and backgrounds to gain insights into different perspectives, to get a better grasp of the reintegration of these adolescents.

Procedure

A part of the professionals was recruited by phone or mail or by the researcher's colleagues at the internship organization and informed about the purpose of this thesis. So, a part of the welfare workers was selected by purposive sampling, a non-random sampling

technique in which the researcher decides on what needs to be known and select participants based on that and are willing to provide information by virtue of knowledge or experience (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Another part of the professionals was approached on the recommendation of previous participants of the interviews because potential participants were hard to find due to their busy schedules or unwillingness to talk about the vulnerable target group. Snowball sampling is defined as a non-random sampling technique wherein participants recruit other participants for research (Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2010). The interviews were conducted in various locations, mostly at the workplaces of the professionals, but also at the participants' homes and cafés. The interviews lasted minimum 1 hour and maximum 1,5 hour. A clear and personal explanation and written informed consent of the research process is provided with the aim and conditions of this study. Also was stated what they could expect regarding the length, recording and storing the interview. The participants were also informed about the voluntarily and non-committal form of research and ensure that stopping the research was always possible.

During the analysis protecting the privacy have been taken into account, by transcribing without including names or personal information that could be traceable. The participants were numbered as participant 1 till 15 and the personal information is placed in a secured document. Data collection, coding and analyzing were simultaneous, which was ideal for the iterative nature in this study. The analyzing of the data was assisted by the software package Nvivo 12. It was an inductive thematic analysis, which is a flexible method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within qualitative data (Green & Thorogood, 2014; Braun & Clarke, 2006). To warrant the confirmability of the study, the development of the codes, themes and the topic list and coding tree was discussed with other researchers.

Results

In this section, the findings of this research on the influence of risks and criminogenic needs on recidivism for adolescents with a non-western migrant background are presented. Additionally, the responsivity of welfare work is investigated. In order to do so, this research used the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR)-model, by illustrating the professionals' experiences with former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background and their reintegration process. In addition to presenting the factors that contribute or hinder the reintegration process of adolescents with a non-western migrant background, a brief insight is provided into the views of the professionals on the current aftercare and welfare work policy and its response on former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background.

Risks

The professionals mentioned some aspects (e.g. the lack of social support and negative attitudes) of the SAVRY risk assessment tool as a big influence on recidivism for the adolescents. These aspects will be presented in this section. The professionals mentioned that these risk factors play a strengthened role for the target group. Second, other risk factors (e.g. discrimination, no bond with society and identity issues), which are additional risk factors specific for adolescents with a non-western migrant background, are described. The analysis shows a complex interaction between generally valid risk factors from the risk assessment tools and the risk factors related to migration backlogs.

SAVRY risk factors. The professionals name different risk factors from the SAVRY instrument and acknowledge that these risk factors play an enhanced role for adolescents with a non-western migrant background. Frequently mentioned SAVRY risk factors are poor pedagogical skills of the parents, lack of social support, one-sided school and neighbourhood compositions, lack of connection with the school, negative attitudes and the attraction to delinquent peers. These factors play a role in the social and individual context of the SAVRY model. Historical risk factors are hardly mentioned. This accumulation of risk factors in the different areas of life makes it more difficult to offer appropriate aftercare and increases the risk of recidivism. An intervention developer describes this accumulation of general risk factors for delinquents like stated in the SAVRY model and specific risk factors related to the migrant background of the adolescents.

'They search for love and warmth. If you don't get that at home, then you go find it elsewhere. Parenting plays an important role (...) But you should not only look at the upbringing but also the influence of the street and education, how is that going and what can we do about it. There are also social problems, for example discrimination and polarization that takes place, that they cannot find an internship, creates the mindset that it will never be something. The society also has a responsibility to ensure that we do not lose and involve these adolescents'. (Participant 4, intervention developer and former employee at a juvenile justice institution)

In this case the poor pedagogical skills are described in combination with low commitment with school and attraction to delinquent peers. However, the professionals also name social problems as discrimination and polarization as additional risk factors associated

with the migrant background of the adolescents. In line with this quote, the professionals are unanimous about the strengthened effects of the general valid risk factors for adolescents with a non-western migrant background.

Additional risk factors. Besides the factors that are part of the SAVRY model, the welfare workers also mentioned additional factors when talking about the target group. All participants acknowledged that migration problems in the form of identity issues are an important extra stressor for these adolescents. Identity issues are not included in the SAVRY model, while identity development is an important factor in the adolescent phase. For adolescents with a non-western migrant background, having a double nationality is an important additional stressor with all the risk factors related to the struggle between different cultures. Because the adolescents are pulled to different directions, their identity development process is hindered and a split identity is created. The adolescents often have the idea that they are lacking on both sides, which can create a negative self-image. The adolescents who develop an inadequate social identity due to the struggle of a split identity, feel worse than the majority group and seek change as cognitive alternatives.

Another additional specific risk factor is the lack of bonding with society due to the negative image created by society and discrimination. Without being adequately guided and understood in this at home, at school and by the welfare workers, they are looking for their safe place on the street. A forensic behavioural expert describes the relationship between identity issues and losing the bond with society as follows:

If you have no connection with the job and society, you also have the abrasion between those two different cultures at home. Then you are no longer feeling at home or safe. (...) I think that it is an extra difficulty there. That for adolescents with a migrant background bonding becomes difficult because you feel very much at home with your own culture, but you also have to belong to the other side, deal with two different personalities. The adolescents react on this with: now I'm just not going to do anything anymore because I don't know what's good anymore. (Participant 14, a forensic behavioural expert).

Criminogenic needs

The RNR-model (Andrews & Bonta, 2006) states that welfare work should be adjusted to the criminogenic needs. However, it is also found that adolescents with a non-western migrant background have other dynamic criminogenic factors which have to be

tackled in welfare work (Shaw & Hannah-Moffat, 2000; Raynor & Lewis, 2011; Bellaart, 2013). The findings of the specific needs are presented thematically based on the aspects of the *Big Four* of Andrews and Bonta (2006) and there will be checked how they manifest for adolescents with a non-western migrant background.

Antisocial cognitions. In addition to growing up in unsafe, negative environments, processes such as negative media imaging, discrimination, stigmas and having few opportunities can have a major impact on the moral development of adolescents with a non-western migrant background. These adolescents often have difficulty in keeping up in school due to another system of standards, cannot find a job due to discrimination or they do not accept low-paid jobs. The adolescents find a safe place on the street that they cannot find at school or at home. However, living on the streets creates risky thinking by identification with other delinquent peers. Additionally, the adolescents have the idea that they have no chances which makes them proceed to criminal acts. Negative attitudes towards the law and justice are also an important risk factor for antisocial cognitions of adolescents (Andrews & Bonta, 2006), which plays a strengthened role for the target group. A senior researcher on and advisor of multicultural issues describes the strengthened effect of the relationship between specific social problems and the street culture for the adolescents:

For example identity issues, if you are confused about that, then it is easier for you to get into the hands of the boys (...) who does have a direction and can rid you of your confusion, even if it is temporarily your life. Especially if you do not find much support in the family, if you find it difficult at school, which is also often the case because the family does not have that luggage. (...) So if you enter school in all those ways and then develop an attitude of I will not succeed, this is not my route (...) And then you have a peer group that offers a temporary structure, even if that is not a desired structure. (Participant 7, senior researcher and advisor of Multicultural Issues)

Antisocial network. What the previous paragraph already briefly showed and what welfare workers in this paragraph endorse, is that the social processes have a major influence on the adolescents. Their network is often characterized by a disadvantaged neighbourhood and the lack of adequate social support and the lack of chances which makes it easier to switch to crime.

In this way, welfare workers describe that when something goes wrong the parents are not able to hit the right tone and are not able to provide the right handles to find their way in

society. This is because the parents do not know the culture and systems of society and what they expect from their child. These adolescents get into trouble faster because their foundation is not that strong or even missing and they often have no one around them who can adequately support them in their struggles. Participant 4 illustrates the lack of parenting skills:

We also see that parents often do not know very well how to deal with their child. The pedagogical skills of the parents are disappointing. (...) That goes wrong because you also have to set limits (...) They use the same approach as their parents have raised them. They did not go to Western schools to learn about upbringing differently. How to psychologize, so talk to their child, because you need just like Oprah Winfrey... For many Dutch people is that normal, but for many migrant families, it is too far away. (Participant 4, intervention developer and former employee at a juvenile justice institution)

Additionally, the adolescents are often disappointed in loved ones, but also in social assistance organizations and have difficulty dealing with disappointments. The adolescents often cannot express their feelings or talk about their problems, because shame and guilt for both the parents and the adolescents are important factors in non-western cultures. Different participants mentioned the important influence of shame that makes it harder to recognize if something is going wrong. The practitioner explains:

'You [adolescents with a non-western background] know that you will embarrass everyone. So you swallow it and pretend it didn't happen until there is a real catch (...) The longer that persists, the less openness there is in a family or with other adults, the less the chance that you will be there before the child is on the wrong track.'
(Participant 3, practitioner at the centre for forensic mental health care)

If the support cannot be obtained from the parents, it may be effective if other adults in the social network can support the adolescents. It is striking that these role models are frequently present in the environment, but that they are not actively asked for help. The adolescents and the parents are embarrassed, do not want to express their problems and have the idea that they can do it by themselves. This involves the aspect of shame culture. The forensic behavioural expert illustrates the difference between the Dutch and the non-western cultures, where asking for help is not common:

'In Dutch culture we are much more open to asking your sister. Can Marijke stay with you after school from 3 to 5, so that we have more supervision of her? In terms of

culture and shame, that is something difficult.’ (Participant 14, forensic behavioural expert)

Besides that, it fits with the stage of life of adolescents to focus more on peers than on adults. Because of the disadvantaged environment this process plays an enhanced role among adolescents with a non-western migrant background. The adolescents engage in a street culture in which respect from peers can be earned by showing courage and even criminal behaviour. In fact, coming into contact with justice often leads to a higher status for these adolescents. It is difficult to leave this group culture because these adolescents are more group oriented and they finally found a place they fit in. The negative role models give the adolescents a sense of self-esteem, the feeling that they ‘matter’. This helps them to shape their identity. A probation officer describes the attraction to the street: *‘Loyalty, your matties [friends], they have a lot of recognition with each other. They have had it all, lack of attention, hardly any contact with the parents and insufficiently finding their way in society’.* (Participant 5, probation officer)

The adolescents have to deal with an accumulation of factors like stigmas about their migrant background, discrimination on their school or internship since their childhood. This makes participating in society hard for them. Andrews and Bonta (2006) state that isolation from antiracial others also has a major influence on the adolescents. The street gives them the invisibility to not have to deal with negative images and stigmas. A senior researcher and advisor of multicultural issues names it ‘the process of micro-aggressions’:

‘Moroccans, oh criminals, because they are overrepresented (...) While you might as well say, the sum of factors is reached earlier than with an average Dutch child. I also think that those circumstances weigh more heavily, those cultural factors also have meaning and identity issues, and minority issues. That is not culture, but that balance of power. That you are dealing with more stigmas as an immigrant, or whatever (...) That you just don't belong to the dominant party (...) The automatic white perspective (...) don't understand the daily micro-aggression, that's how it's called beautifully.’ (Participant 7, Senior researcher and advisor of multicultural issues)

In conclusion, the lack of adequate social support from their parents or other adults and growing up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods with not many chances makes that the adolescents search their identity on the street. On the street they find similar adolescents who have the same problems. This makes it a safe place for the adolescents.

History of antisocial behaviour. The feeling of not having a safe place starts at a young age. It makes adolescents come into contact with risky situations. This includes early involvement in any antisocial activities. A major indicator is being arrested at a young age. Prior offenses make recidivism harder for the adolescents. Most professionals reported that the adolescents can be found on the street from an early age, frequently with the following reason, that a developer of different interventions elaborates on: *'If you live in a small house and it is the intention that you leave the house or it is so uncomfortable that you choose that you want go. Then you naturally go to friends.'* (Participant 2, developer of different interventions concerning intercultural participation and integration).

From a young age, the adolescents are aware of the fact that a label is being affixed to them but they do not know how or deal with it. It is a vicious circle that starts in their childhood. The adolescents fulfil the self-fulfilling prophecy and use a victim mentality as an explanation for their situation. The adolescents often justify their criminal behaviour, based on the limited circumstances in which they have to live. Thereby, the label of *'Moroccan'* and *'offender'*, for example, has a double meaning for adolescents. It makes it really hard to get a job or education. The adolescents fall into the labels that are already expected, because they see no possibility to get out of these labels.

Teachers and welfare workers often find no connection with these adolescents and do not know how to respond to them. Therefore, the adolescents do not feel accepted at an early stage. Finding no connection anywhere but at the same time have the urge to belong somewhere causes the opt for criminal acts for the adolescents.

Antisocial personality pattern. The adolescents create antisocial personality traits by living in negative circumstances. First and foremost, the adolescents struggle with a negative self-image. The target group has no faith in themselves and their future, which makes that the costs of proceeding to criminality do not outweigh the benefits of criminality. This negative image of the self is created by the labels of society, the disadvantaged situations with few chances and the lack of adequate support in their life.

'I think that many boys have poor self-image, that they think that they cannot do anything because they have had many negative experiences. People often cry out in prison, I can't do anything right, just leave me alone. I'm not good at this (...) For the rest of the time I have a great life, then I have money. This is the most feasible for me. That is very sad. That is for a lot of adolescents, if a mother says that you are difficult

and your father says that you are not doing anything right.’ (Participant 14, forensic behavioural expert)

By seeing themselves and their lives as useless, the adolescents choose the short-term solutions over the long-term solutions. The adolescents live from moment to moment, because they do not have faith in their future. Moreover, the attention and appreciation is filled with the status and prestige achieved on the street or by criminal acts. Participant 5 describes the preference of the short-term solutions:

‘At the same time, appreciation and attention is fulfilled by that status, if you drive around with blingbling and a big car, they get attention. (...) They have achieved something they think. Because they are often short-term people, [they think]how can I achieve something quickly. There are people who save to buy a house or buy a car with time. They do not have that patience (...) That is the aspect I indicate, these adolescents are very materialistic. They are similar to others searching for attention and recognition. They do that with such things.’ (Participant 5, probation worker)

Responsivity

The responsivity illustrates the degree that interventions match to the former offender’s characteristics. The principle can be stated as follows: maximize the offender’s ability to learn from a rehabilitative intervention by tailoring the intervention to the learning style, motivation, abilities and strengths of the offenders (Andrews & Bonta, 2006). The professionals indicated that the most progression has to be booked in this principle, compared to the previous principles. Most interventions and welfare work do not meet the risks and the *big four* criminogenic needs of this specific group of adolescents.

In all risk factors and criminogenic needs the influence of migration can be found, so the responsivity has to be adjusted to those factors. The earlier mentioned additional risk factors are the disrupted identity development, the lack of bonding with society and social network, and social problems as discrimination and polarization. In this paragraph, the success factors in the needed responsivity of the target group will be summarized based on the experiences of the professionals.

First of all, success also depends on the welfare worker. The adolescents are often damaged in their trust by society and the social network, which has to be restored. There is a lot of strain that has to be taken away by adequate support of the welfare worker. Sincerely listen to the adolescents and no time-limited social assistance helps in creating a base of

mutual trust. Another important factor in creating bonds of trust with this target group and their parents is sensitivity to their culture with their practices (for example shame-culture), identity and social problems. The counsellor has to be aware of the minority position in society and the differences in culture. It is important for a counsellor not to stick to their own norms and values and to find a connection with the social environment of the target group. A lot of the professionals described this outreaching approach as *culture sensitivity*. This is not happening enough, according to the participants. Some participants stated that welfare workers of the same age group and cultural background could be an important role model in the lives of adolescents. A ‘buddy’ (with the function of a role model) explains why: *‘As soon as I see that an adolescent seems to lose motivation for school or something, especially with education, then I argue. I once did MBO and now climbed up to HBO (...) And as long as the will is there, you can get there. So I also try to set myself up as a role model, because look: I’m wearing a headscarf, so you know, I still can manage it... Why can’t you? If you go for it, why would you not succeed?’ (Participant 9, buddy)*

Role models with the same cultural background have a better idea of the struggles of the adolescents through their own experience and the adolescents can learn from their success stories despite the struggles related to a migration background, which improves the culture sensitivity in welfare work. Other participants state that every welfare worker has to be sensitive for the particular problems. Role models can also be taken from the own social network of the adolescents. The contact with the social network and society is one of the biggest issues for the target group, also due to specific risk factors as shame-culture. However, the target group attaches more value to what their parents think and feel. A project manager at an Islamic social organization, tells how to use the parents as role models:

‘Role model does not necessarily mean that the parents have to hold a high position. Your father can also be a truck driver, but a person who works hard for his money, who participates in the community, who is respected and not a burden. He tries to help where he can.’ (Participant 6, project manager at an Islamic social organization)

So, involving the social network as much as possible also contributes to success in the welfare work for this target group. The parents feel heard and involved in the reintegration process of their child. In addition, parents with a non-western background also need tools for the language barrier and contact with institutions to become self-reliant in their home situation

and in Dutch society.

The last success factor in responsivity is recognition for their own identity. It increases the responsivity on the motivation, abilities and strengths of the offenders. A lot of the problems in the antisocial cognitions and antisocial personality patterns can be traced to the lack of attention and support from different actors. The adolescents search for appreciation, that they never have received from the different sides. By assuring that it is fine to struggle with who they are and help them in searching for a self-image, the self-confidence can be increased. This reduces the chance that they remain trapped in the particular labels and their self-fulfilling prophecy.

'Recognition of their identity, so religion that is not scary. You can be a Muslim or a Hindu, that is not a problem in the Netherlands. You are also a part of society (...) And making use of this in counseling, involving people who can say something about it and influence it, such as an Imam.' (Participant 4, intervention developer and former employee at a juvenile justice institution)

The quote above illustrates a form of assistance for the target group that can help them in their identity development. A final important note has to be made: the provided forms of responsivity are answers on the earlier mentioned risks and needs of the target group. The overall conclusion of the participants is that these forms have to be integrated in a system approach in which the different sides of life are covered.

Discussion

This study interviewed 15 professional about their experiences with and perceptions on preventing recidivism of former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background, by conducting in-depth qualitative interviews. The research question of this explorative research is: *What is the influence of the risks and criminogenic needs on recidivism for adolescents with a non-western migrant background and how does this relate to the responsivity of welfare work?* Andrews and Bonta (2006) state in their WWP that welfare work is only effective in preventing recidivism if interventions are an adequate response on the specific risk and criminogenic needs of adolescents. This study explores if this is also the case for adolescents with a non-western migrant background. The most important findings show that particular risks factors such as poor pedagogical skills, lack of social support, community disorganization and negative attitudes play a strengthened role for

these adolescents. Yet, additional risks housed in identity issues and the lack of bonding with society due to social problems such as discrimination and self-fulfilling prophecies through labels are important to include in the welfare work. These risks are underlying factors for various problems. In previous literature, more attention is being paid to cultural risks and criminogenic needs in welfare work (Bellaart, 2013; Steketee, Van der Gaag & Wolthuis, 2016). Bellaart (2013) also describes the combination of strengthened effects of the general risk factors with four additional risk factors for the adolescents. These additional risk factors are backlogs due to migration, the minority position, differences in cultures and contact with institutions. However, there is little attention in practice for these additional risks. This research also found other additional risk factors, mentioned as identity issues and the lack of bonding with society. This investigation therefore shows that the current literature and risk assessment tools lacks a few risk factors for adolescents with a non-western migrant background.

Another finding is another interpretation of the criminogenic needs based on the problems related to the migrant background. The backlogs of migration can be found in all of the *Big Four* needs. The antisocial cognitions of the target group are caused by not seeing chances in society and the feeling of not fitting in society, which decreases a positive attitude against law and justice and increases justifying their criminal acts. An antisocial network can be seen as the biggest influence on the adolescents. However, the network of the adolescents is characterized by other risk factors than the general group of former offenders. Parents are not able to give adequate support due to differences in cultural norms and values, which often also is the reason that the adolescents are not able to keep up in society. This in combination with not fitting in society, makes that the adolescents lose bonding with society and search affection on the streets. The history of antisocial behavior starts early for the adolescents, because they can be found on the streets from an early age. On the streets they create their own identity and get isolated from society. In combination with the labels that are put on them by the society from an early age, this creates an ‘us against them’ attitude. After that the process of fulfilling the labels that are given by ‘them’, starts. Antisocial personality patterns as having a negative self-image and choosing short-term solutions over long-term solutions are also related to this self-fulfilling prophecy.

Based on this study, it can be concluded that the problems in the social context have an enormous impact on the adolescents. Respondents indicated that the focus of prior research and interventions is on assessing risks and criminogenic needs. However, they also stated that the most progression has to be made on the responsivity principle. More investigations should

be done into the influence of welfare work and the social environment (e.g. social network and bonding with society) on adolescents with a non-western migrant background. In other words, this study shows the impact of social problems as the lack of social support, not fitting in society and disadvantaged neighbourhoods on the adolescents. Thereby this research showed that, the negative self-image and identity issues are also caused by problems in different social domains.

Thereby, this research shows that there is a lack of connection between social support of welfare workers and adolescents with a non-western migrant background. The welfare workers do not have an eye for the cultural struggles of the adolescents and follow the general guidelines. The responsiveness of the adolescents has to be improved by *cultural sensitivity* of the welfare workers, by recognizing and guiding the adolescents with a non-western migrant background in their identity issues, involving the parents and creating a base of mutual trust. In conclusion, it is important to make the WWP also custom fit for the adolescents with a non-western migrant background by taking the strengthened risk factors and criminogenic needs, the additional risks and responsiveness into account.

The biggest limitation of this study is representativeness of the participant sample. There has not been spoken with adolescents with a non-western migrant background themselves. Therefore, it was not possible to ask them about their own experiences in and attitudes towards their reintegration process. This was due to the unwillingness of organizations that help these adolescents. They were very protective for their clients' privacy and therefore did not cooperate in providing participants' contact details for this investigation. As an alternative, professionals were asked to talk about their experiences and knowledge about the target group. With that, there was a possibility that the professionals interpreted the behavior of the adolescents in a certain way, which could have biased the results. However, in order to increase the representativeness of the sample, there was searched for a variety of functions and experiences of the professionals in order to create a reliable picture of the target group. The advantage of interviewing professionals, is that the professionals have less interest in sharing socially desirable answers and are willing to share more details about the problems. A recommendation for follow-up research is to gain more insight into this target group by asking them about their own experiences of and attitudes towards the reintegration in the Dutch society.

Another limitation is that all non-western migrant backgrounds are taken together in this study, but there are considerable discrepancies between these cultures. For example,

Bellaart (2013) found other additional risk factors for Antillean adolescents than for Moroccan adolescents. This limitation also shows the importance of elaborating on culture sensitivity in research and more custom fitted welfare work. So, a recommendation for follow-up research would be to split this non-western migrant target group into smaller ethnic groups.

The findings have a few theoretical implications. As mentioned, the study offers critique on the RNR-model (Andrews & Bonta, 2006), by demonstrating the importance of other risk factors (identity issues and the lack of bonding with society) and other interpretations of criminogenic needs (due to migration backlogs) for this target group. This indicates that there has to be looked with a critical eye at the RNR-model, because it does not connect with all groups of adolescents. Further research can investigate if the RNR-model is valid enough to use for adolescents, in particular for adolescents with a non-western migrant background. These findings are in line with the research of Shaw and Hannah-Moffat (2000), which found that the risk assessment tool of the RNR-model fails to recognize specific problems for women and ethnic minority groups and the inability to give a holistic view on the problems in women's or ethnic minorities' lives. This study confirms the conclusions about ethnic minority groups. Besides that, it points out the relevance of qualitative research on the experiences of adolescents with a non-western migrant background and their perceptions on provided welfare work.

Moreover, this study shows the importance of responsivity of welfare work on the target group. More important, the findings indicate that the most progression has to be booked in this principle. With this, important policy implications are provided. Concrete tools are given to make welfare work more culturally sensitive, by recognizing identity issues and building a mutual base of trust. Including the social network of the adolescents or role models with the same ethnic background could also be an important success factor in welfare work.

All in all, this study produces new insights regarding the prevention of recidivism of adolescents with a non-western migrant background by showing additional risks, giving other interpretations of the criminogenic needs and by providing tools to create a better response on these specific risks and needs.

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Appendix A: Topic list/Interview guide

| Sensitizing Concepts | Topics | Operationalization |
|--|----------------------------------|--|
| Desistance | - Family | - Good family relations - Parental attachment - Stable contact with and involvement of family |
| | - Housing, school and work | - Need to go to school or have stable work - Financial situation/an income - Living situation: parents, own house or with friends |
| | - Friends | - Contact with former friends - Purpose of seeing their friends - Number of times of meeting/seeing their friends in a week |
| | - Motivation to quit reoffending | - Selfconfidence - Positive views about the future - Feeling of appreciation |
| Social Bonding theory/ Social Learning theory | - Family | - Important role models - Quality of contact with parents |
| | - Friends (peers) | - Quality of friendships - Support from friends to quit criminal behavior |
| | - Work/School | - Contact with colleagues/classmates - Day time activities |
| | - Society | - Goals for the future - Involvement in social activities - Assessment of position in society |
| | - Neighborhood | - Living in a particular neighborhood - Peers hanging out in the neighborhood - Nuisance in the neighborhood - Quantity of police in the neighborhood |

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Self Control/Strain theory | - Self control | - Stress about certain things and how the adolescents deal with stress/anger/setbacks - Tendency to set short-term benefits over long-term goals - View on the future - Assessment of self-reliance of the adolescents - Help in getting their lives on track |
| | - Strain | - Feeling of acceptance by social network and society - Feeling of having opportunities in society - Psychological problems |
| Social Identity theory | - Self confidence | - Belief about self-worth - Self-reliance - Prospect to improve themselves and their reintegration process |
| | - Imago | - Dealing with the label 'ex offender' or 'migrant' - Positive characteristics about the self |
| | - Bonding with Dutch society | - Feeling of acceptance |
| | - Experiences of discrimination | - Discrimination based on criminal background - Discrimination based on migrant background |
| Ethnic specific risk factors | - Family structure | - Parenting style - Difference in views of parents and society - Language barriers |

| | | |
|------|-----------------------|---|
| | - Shame and guilt | - Contact with parents/family - Contact with people from the same migrant background |
| | - Financial situation | - SES of the parents/family - Income - Work/School |
| | - Stereotypes | - Feeling of acceptance - Labels of 'ex offender' or 'migrant' - Experiences with discrimination |
| | - Street culture | - Feeling of safety on the streets - Friends on the 'streets' - Daytime activities |
| Help | - Social assistance | - Bonding with a 'maatje'/welfare worker (from the same migrant background) - Ethnic specific help - Assessment of the compulsory assistance after detention - Support from the social network |

| | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|---|
| | Ruimte klaar Maken | Prettige interviewopstelling van tafel en twee stoelen Interviewleidraad op tafel Voicerecorder Koffie / thee / water / iets lekkers |
| 5 min | Introductie op Interview | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Uitleg geven over het onderzoek > Introductiepraatje ▪ Doel van het interview: ▪ Danken voor deelname ▪ Toestemmingsverklaring ▪ Heeft u vragen voorafgaand aan het interview? ▪ Akkoord dat de voice recorder nu aan gaat? ▪ Pas na akkoord starten interview <p>Introductievragen:</p> <p>- Korte introductie van de participant en van de organisatie waar diegene voor werkt. <i>(informatie over de organisatie en werkervaring achterhalen)</i></p> <p>- Wat is uw functie? En hoe lang bent u al aan het werk in dit veld met ex-gedetineerde jongeren/ met jongeren met een migratieachtergrond?</p> |

| 60 min Totaal | | KERN VAN HET INTERVIEW |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 20 min | Topic 1: Hulpverlening | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wat ziet u als de doelgroep er uit waar u mee werkt? Waarom ligt de focus op deze groep? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>(Doelvragen naar: leeftijd, gender, locatie, culturele achtergrond, SES, opleidingsniveau)</i> 2. In hoeverre komen jongeren met een migratieachtergrond vaker in de criminaliteit terecht en recidiveren zij vaker? Waar komt dat door? 3. Wat is belangrijk in de begeleiding van (ex-gedetineerde) jongeren met een migratieachtergrond? Is dat anders dan de begeleiding van jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond? 4. Hoe vindt u dat de verplichte nazorg van de jongeren is geregeld? Zijn er dingen die verbeterd/anders moeten worden in de begeleiding/reguliere nazorg van deze doelgroep? Zo ja: welke? Waarom? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>(Praktische zaken: genoeg voorzieningen, cultuursensitief)</i> 5. Hoe laten jullie de jongeren weer deel uit maken van de samenleving? Kunt u het proces beschrijven? 6. Werkt uw interventie goed genoeg voor de jongeren met een migratieachtergrond? Wat is er nog meer nodig om de interventie te verbeteren voor deze doelgroep? 7. Op welke modellen/theorieën is uw interventie gebaseerd of gebruikt u bij de begeleiding van deze jongeren? 8. Hoe zou het ideale re-integratieproces van deze jongeren moeten verlopen volgens u? Welke rol heeft u hierin? 9. Wat zijn de behoeften van (ex-gedetineerde) jongeren met een migratieachtergrond volgens u? Op welke manier sluit uw werk/dit project aan bij de behoefte van de jongere? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>Wat werkt daarin wel en niet? Ingaan op rolmodellen, vertrouwen, herstelbemiddeling</i> 10. Welke risicofactoren voor jongeren met een migratieachtergrond moeten weggenomen worden om het overgaan tot criminaliteit/recidiveren te voorkomen? 11. In hoeverre wordt er in de aanpak om recidive te verminderen rekening gehouden worden met cultuur specifieke risicofactoren en succesfactoren? 12. In hoeverre vindt u dat jongeren met een niet-westerse migratieachtergrond ander soort hulp moeten krijgen dan andere jongeren? Is dit noodzakelijk denkt u? |
| 15 min | Topic 2: Individuele context | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wat zijn de veelvoorkomende problemen waar (ex-gedetineerde) jongeren met een migratieachtergrond mee kampen? Tegen welke barrières lopen zij aan? Is dit anders of hetzelfde dan voor jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>(Doelvragen naar: praktische problemen, problemen in het gezin, psychische problemen, stress/frustratie, zelfbeeld van de jongeren)</i> 2. Welke rol speelt migratieachtergrond hierin mee? En hoe verschilt dit van de jongeren zonder migratieachtergrond? <i>(maar ook: criminele achtergrond, discriminatie/uitsluiting)</i> |

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| | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. In hoeverre hebben deze jongeren te maken met discriminatie om hun migratieachtergrond of criminele achtergrond? En hoe gaan zij om met deze 'labels'? 4. Op welke van deze twee ligt de focus volgens de respondent? En waar merken of zien ze dit aan? 5. Wat voor beeld hebben deze jongeren over zichzelf? En over hun toekomst? 6. Hoe zien de jongeren hun positie in de maatschappij? Voelen zij zich geaccepteerd? Waaruit blijkt dat? |
| 20 min | Topic 3: Sociaal netwerk | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hoe ziet het sociaal netwerk van de jongeren er over het algemeen uit? 2. Hoe belangrijk acht u het sociaal netwerk bij het plegen van delicten? Hoe zit dat bij de re-integratie van de jongeren met een migratieachtergrond? 3. Hoe is de relatie tussen de jongeren en de ouders over het algemeen? 4. Wat is de invloed van de familie op de jongere? 5. Wat is de invloed van de financiële situatie van de ouders of familie op het overgaan tot criminaliteit/recidiveren van de jongeren? 6. Hoe belangrijk is het hebben van vrienden voor deze doelgroep? Wat voor invloed heeft dit op het vertonen van delinquent gedrag? 7. Hoe heeft het opgroeien tussen twee culturen invloed op de (problemen van de) jongeren? 8. In hoeverre speelt de buurt waar de jongeren in opgroeien een rol bij het overgaan tot criminele activiteiten? En hoe groot is de invloed van de straatcultuur op de jongeren met een migratieachtergrond? 9. Wat is over het algemeen hun opleidingsniveau? Hoe staan de jongeren tegenover het hebben van werk of naar school gaan? 10. Denkt u dat het terecht komen in de criminaliteit en recidiveren afhankelijk is van de omstandigheden waarin deze jongeren opgroeien of dat er sprake is van een zekere culturele invloed? En waarom? |
| 5 min | Afsluiting | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Heb ik iets niet gevraagd wat u wel wil vertellen? 2. Heeft u zelf nog vragen? <p>Overige inbreng...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bedanken voor deelname • Nog andere interessante respondenten voor dit onderzoek? • Uitleggen wat er met de resultaten gebeurd |

Appendix B: Participant characteristics

| Participant number | Category/Characteristics | Gender | Background |
|---------------------------|--|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Recovery consultant and trainer at a Dutch prison | Male | Dutch |
| 2 | Developer of different interventions concerning Intercultural participation and Integration | Female | Dutch |
| 3 | Practitioner at the centre for forensic mental health care | Female | Dutch |
| 4 | Project leader of the teams Education & Labor and Inclusion and diversity at a knowledge institute and former employee at a juvenile justice institution | Male | Moroccan |
| 5 | Trainer at the Probation Service (Reclassering Nederland) | Male | Moroccan |
| 6 | Project manager at an Islamic social organization | Male | Turkish |
| 7 | Senior researcher and advisor of Multicultural Issues | Female | Dutch |
| 8 | An employee of a juvenile forensic psychiatric clinic | Female | Dutch |
| 9 | A buddy of a buddy project with former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background | Female | Moroccan |
| 10 | A buddy of a buddy project with former detained adolescents with a non-western migrant background | Female | Moroccan |
| 11 | A welfare worker at an organization for the reintegration of former detained adolescents with a migrant background | Male | Tunisian |
| 12 | A welfare worker at an organization for the reintegration of former detained adolescents with a migrant background | Female | Turkish |
| 13 | A welfare worker at an organization for the reintegration of former detained adolescents with a migrant background | Male | Moroccan |
| 14 | Forensic behavioural expert at an organization for outpatient services | Female | Dutch |
| 15 | Post-Release Coördinator at a Dutch organization for adolescents in prison | Female | Dutch |

Appendix C: Structured code tree

| Name | Files | References |
|---|-------|------------|
| Betrokkenheid ouders | | 3 |
| Betrekken ouders makkelijker bij cultuur specifieke hulpverlening | | 5 |
| Contact met de ouders slecht en wordt niet erkend | | 5 |
| herstel met ouders | | 3 |
| Jongeren hechten veel waarde aan wat ouders vinden | | 4 |
| Ouders betrekken bij preventie recidive | | 7 |
| Ouders ook hulpbehoevend | | 4 |
| Ouders weten niet in welke wereld hun kind leeft | | 5 |
| steun vanuit huis | | 5 |
| Verbeterd contact met ouders zorgt voor stoppen | | 2 |
| Weinig of geen warme band met ouders | | 1 |
| Werken met ouders aan hun reactie naar de kinderen | | 2 |
| Ex-gedetineerde jongeren met een migratieachtergrond | | 0 |
| Gender | | 4 |
| Oververtegenwoordiging jongeren met een migratieachtergrond | | 4 |
| Gevoeligheid voor geld en status | | 1 |
| Geld en status belangrijk voor de jongeren | | 3 |
| Gevoelig voor aanzien | | 2 |
| Illegaal werk aantrekkelijker dan legaal werk | | 1 |
| Korte termijn denken | | 6 |
| Impulsiviteit als risicofactor | | 1 |
| Uitkering aantrekkelijker dan werk | | 1 |
| Werk en opleiding | | 7 |
| Identiteitsproblematiek | | 3 |
| Erkenning van de identiteit | | 2 |
| Identiteitsontwikkeling vergroten | | 2 |
| Opgroeien tussen meerdere culturen | | 9 |
| Veel vragen over de eigen identiteit | | 4 |
| Wij cultuur | | 3 |
| Zingeving | | 3 |
| Kansen in de maatschappij | | 1 |
| Discriminatie | | 6 |
| Algehele machteloosheid ipv discriminatie | | 1 |
| Discriminatie | | 2 |
| Discriminatie gebagatelliseerd door omgeving | | 1 |
| Eenzaamheidsgevoelens door discriminatie | | 1 |
| Etnisch profileren | | 1 |
| Hulpverlening | | 1 |
| Herstel anders voor mensen met een migratieachtergrond | | 2 |
| Stevigere aanpak nodig | | 2 |
| Tekortkomingen hulpverlening | | 0 |
| Behandeling als nazorg | | 1 |

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| Communicatie tussen verschillende instanties belangrijk | 5 |
| Gebrek aan tijd en geld | 3 |
| Geen vertrouwen in hulpverlening | 3 |
| Hogere straffen helpen niet | 1 |
| Invloed van detentie op je brein | 1 |
| Medewerking van andere organisaties lastig | 1 |
| Taalbarrière in de hulpverlening | 6 |
| Toegankelijkheid instanties slecht | 3 |
| Toon hulpverlening belangrijk | 3 |
| Cultuurspecifieke hulpverlening | 6 |
| Maatjesprojecten | 2 |
| Toon belangrijker dan soort nazorg | 2 |
| Vooral met detentie gestraft ipv behandeling | 1 |
| Vrijwillige en veplichte (na)zorg | 9 |
| Kansen na detentie | 7 |
| Label crimineel en migratieachtergrond | 8 |
| Lid van minderheidscultuur | 3 |
| Maatschappelijk of participatiedoel bieden | 5 |
| Overweging overgaan tot criminaliteit | 2 |
| Polarisatie | 0 |
| Polarisatie in de buurt | 1 |
| Polariserende Nederland werkt niet mee | 3 |
| Politiek over criminaliteit | 3 |
| Signalering en preventie moet eerder in werking worden gesteld | 4 |
| Weinig binding met de maatschappij | 3 |
| Moreel besef | 3 |
| Bewustzijn creëren bij de ex-gedetineerde jongeren | 5 |
| Idee dat alles weer goed is buiten | 1 |
| Invloed van chronische stress | 2 |
| Morele onthechting als risicofactor | 1 |
| Slachtofferrol ex-gedetineerden | 5 |
| Tot gevoel van spijt komen lastig | 1 |
| Werken aan morele oordeelsvorming | 3 |
| Worsteling erkennen en verwerken | 1 |
| Negatief zelfbeeld | 5 |
| Toekomstbeeld van de jongeren met een migratieachtergrond | 8 |
| vragen over zelfbeeld | 2 |
| Zelfbeeld van de jongeren met een migratieachtegrond | 2 |
| Negatieve omgeving | 2 |
| Doelgroep relatief vaker mishandeld | 1 |
| Geen verschil in invloed vrienden tussen jongeren met en zonder migratieachtergrond | 1 |
| Invloed negatieve vrienden | 4 |
| Invloed straatcultuur | 9 |
| Invloed van de buurt | 4 |
| Invloed van de financiële situatie ouders | 4 |

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|--|---|
| Invloed van de SES | 2 |
| Invloed van eenzijdige samenstelling van buurten en scholen | 4 |
| Niet verbieden om met bepaalde vrienden om te gaan | 2 |
| Ontwrichting in het gezin | 3 |
| Ouders en familieleden met crimineel gedrag | 4 |
| Soortgelijke vrienden | 2 |
| Toetrekken naar vrienden | 6 |
| Vermindering conflicten als beschermende factor | 1 |
| Positieve rolmodellen inzetten | 1 |
| Maatje als rolmodel | 4 |
| Rolmodellen die niet steun geven | 2 |
| Rolmodellen in de omgeving | 5 |
| Rolmodellen inzetten tijdens hulpverlening | 3 |
| Psychische problemen | 7 |
| Speciale aandacht LVB jongeren | 5 |
| Traumatische ervaringen in de jeugd | 3 |
| Recidive | 1 |
| Beschermende factoren voor recidive | 4 |
| Complexiteit recidive | 4 |
| Risicofactoren veranderen in behandeling | 1 |
| Verhouding omstandigheden en culturele invloed | 5 |
| Verschil in risico en beschermende factoren tussen wel en geen migratieachtergrond | 4 |
| Voorbeeld van cultureel verschil in de criminaliteit | 1 |
| Respondent gegevens | 8 |
| Sensitiviteit | 0 |
| Bewustzijn eigen referentiekader | 3 |
| Cultuur sensitiviteit | 8 |
| Aansluiting tussen de culturen mist | 4 |
| Diversiteit draagt bij aan een breder perspectief | 2 |
| Herkenning van belang in de hulpverlening | 3 |
| Meer begrip vanuit hulpverlening bij dezelfde culturele achtergrond | 4 |
| Nadeel van een tolk | 1 |
| Organisaties te wit | 2 |
| Rolmodellen met dezelfde culturele achtergrond | 3 |
| Transcultureel behandelen | 1 |
| Ervaringsdeskundigheid | 6 |
| Menssensitiviteit | 1 |
| Aansluiting afhankelijk van de behandelaar | 3 |
| Bepaalde houding tegenover de jongeren | 2 |
| Maatwerk | 6 |
| Match maatje en jongere belangrijk | 5 |
| Responsiviteit (aansluiting) op problemen mist (RNR) | 4 |
| Bottom up werken | 2 |
| Menssensitiviteit ipv cultuursensitiviteit | 3 |
| Schuld en schaamte | 6 |

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|---|---|
| Andere familiestructuur | 4 |
| Eigen kinderen niet verraden | 2 |
| Familie naast gezin belangrijk | 4 |
| Nakomen van afspraken lastig voor ouders | 1 |
| Niet altijd bereid om de ouders te betrekken | 2 |
| Ontkenning | 4 |
| Schuld en schaamte bij de jongeren | 2 |
| Schuld en schaamte ouders | 3 |
| Sociaal netwerk versterken | 5 |
| Contacten zoeken voor sociaal netwerk | 2 |
| Op zoek naar hulpbronnen en ingewikkeldheden in het systeem | 4 |
| Sociaal netwerk in kaart brengen | 7 |
| Turning points | 1 |
| Goede vrienden | 3 |
| Invloed familie | 4 |
| Kinderen | 1 |
| Ouders | 1 |
| Partnerrelaties | 1 |
| Uitwerking van positieve of negatieve invloed sociaal netwerk | 2 |
| Weghalen bij slechte invloeden straat of vrienden | 3 |
| Systeembenadering | 2 |
| Combinatie praktisch en reflectie belangrijk in re-integratieproces | 3 |
| Dagbesteding | 1 |
| Herstel | 1 |
| Kansen en ondersteuning naast elkaar bieden | 8 |
| Persoon en systeem betrekken noodzakelijk voor interventies | 2 |
| Praktische zaken en herstel moet meegenomen worden in begeleiding | 2 |
| Praktische zaken regelen | 5 |
| Systeemtheorie niet krachtig genoeg voor problematiek | 1 |
| Transactionele theorieën basis voor interventies | 1 |
| Verband games en criminaliteit | 1 |
| Vertrouwen en outreachende aanpak | 1 |
| Aandacht aan de jongeren geven | 5 |
| Aanpak vertrouwen creëren | 5 |
| Betrouwbaarheid en eerlijkheid | 3 |
| Connectie belangrijker dan correctie | 2 |
| Contact opbouwen tijdens detentie | 6 |
| Geen tijdsgebonden hulpverlening | 5 |
| Intake belangrijk voor de vertrouwensband | 2 |
| Inzet creëert vertrouwen | 6 |
| Laagdrempelig contact in hulpverlening | 4 |
| Laten zien dat je er bent | 2 |
| Meer openheid en flexibiliteit bij de hulpverlener | 2 |
| Oprechte interesse belangrijk bij de jongeren | 5 |
| Outreachende aanpak werkt | 2 |

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| Structurele hulp | 3 |
| Vertrouwen van belang in de hulpverlening | 6 |
| Vertrouwensband opbouwen duurt langer bij jongeren met een migratieachtergrond | 4 |
| Vroeger verschillende groepen geweest die zich minder goed ontwikkelde | 2 |
| Zelfredzaamheid vergroten | 7 |
| Weerbaarheid vergroten | 2 |
| Zelfinzicht creëren bij de jongeren | 3 |
| Zelfvertrouwen creëren | 2 |