Reintegration Services in the Canterbury Region

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The Howard League for Penal Reform, Canterbury Branch

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Thanks also to the Howard League in Canterbury, whose members and supporters gave us information and helped undertaken the study. The model of organisation-supported community research is a very rich one, and we hope we have shared new skills of data collection and analysis with others.

There is no doubt, of course, that the findings and conclusions of this study are all our own. They may be challenged or debated by Howard League members, or any of the participants, in the various forums where we will speak in the next few months, commencing with a presentation to the Howard League AGM in August. We look forward to that, as one of our concerns is that reintegration tends to be business that goes on away from the public eye. We like to think that our findings will contribute to better services in this region, and may spur other regions on to do similar studies.

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Contents

Executive summary

The idea for a study of reintegration services came from the work of the Howard League in Canterbury prisons. In particular, prisoners often worried that there were inadequate programmes and services to help them leave prison and prevent them from returning. We began with a focus on the relationship between prisons and NGO services, and this focus was maintained throughout the study. Further themes emerged, especially the broad philosophical, targeted service reorganisation taking place within the Department of Corrections. We found ourselves researching within a maelstrom of changing systems and relationships, which were often imperfectly articulated and imperfectly understood by various participants in the prison and community sectors.

Key findings arising from the study include:

- There is a consensus in the Department of Corrections management in Canterbury that cooperation between the Department and NGOs is desirable to assist in the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners, with the ultimate goals of reducing prisoner numbers and creating fewer victims of crime.
- This cooperation between state and independent agencies is mirrored in certain jurisdictions around the world, and from these we can gain certain insights, namely: the importance of mutual 'buy-in' to end goals and the means to achieve them; the necessity for clear and honest lines of communication; and a need for NGO professionalism to be balanced against the risk of NGOs losing their unique and important points of difference that make them effective.
- Corrections management have embraced a culture of change and their thinking is sophisticated, though the process is ongoing.
- Much of this culture change can generally be understood as moving away from a system with a focus on confinement and toward one with a greater focus on rehabilitation and reintegration. The latter is captured by use of the term 'transitioning' to describe the move from prison to the community.
- Acknowledging financial constraints, there was a desire among management to offer more services to prisoners and to 'front load' services rather than waiting until the end of the sentence is nearing, and to engage with prisoners on short sentences.
- Management realised that there was a need for better engagement with NGOs.
- Prisoners interviewed for this project included men and women with a range of sentences and risk profiles.
- The vast majority of prisoners reported a willingness to change away from criminality, with 80 percent of the prisoner sample reporting that they wanted to change 'a lot' about their lives. Recidivism rates, however, show that most will fail.
- These prisoners said offending occurred for a number of psychological and practical reasons, many of which can be targeted by programmes and interventions.
- The three most prominent types of assistance required were: support and counselling, employment, and alcohol and drug support.
- Among prisoners, there was a low level of understanding about what support was available and often there was conflict reported between what prisoners thought they needed and what Corrections was offering them.
- The majority of prisoners reported that they heard about programmes or courses mainly from other prisoners, and only a third through Corrections or Probation.
- Relationships with Case Officers were largely good, but relationships with Case Managers were mixed, and included a number of very negative experiences.

- Many prisoners, including those who did not rate their relationship as negative, reported not being aware of who their Case Managers were, or not knowing what their job was – a worrying finding given the importance of Case Managers to the Department's goals.
- Prisoners' relationships with Probation Officers tended to be mixed, and prisoners identified a significant tension between officers' roles as supporters of reintegration and enforcers of the law.
- Only 50 percent of prisoners said they intended to use support services or programmes after prison, despite 75 percent admitting that they needed help in order to change.
- There are numerous programmes in the community that could be better targeted to prisoners (or ex-prisoners) but there is no definitive database as to what is currently available.

We believe that this study will spark more thinking, and more integrative action, between Corrections and NGOs over service models to be followed in this region. The voices of the prisoners interviewed in this study make their needs very clear; the task is to find ways to meet those needs. We have highlighted education programmes, access to health and addiction services and good jobs for people leaving prisoners as key goals; others including housing, counselling and other forms of support. There is a need both to work with existing providers to maximise access and provide the best services, and also to seek new opportunities for reintegration services. Most of the prisoners in this study want to live crime-free lives in the community, but believe they face a number of barriers to achieving this goal. There is, we believe, both the common will among all agencies, and potentially the resources, to achieve this goal.

1. Introduction

This report is drawn from primary research undertaken by the authors between August 2013 and June 2014, for the Howard League for Penal Reform in Canterbury. The broad aim of this project was to provide a stocktake of reintegration services in the Canterbury region, through qualitative research with prisoners, service providers and staff at the Department of Corrections in the region.

The question of reintegration has long been of concern to the Howard League. It relates to some very basic questions around the purposes of imprisonment in society, and how prisoners should be treated. Is prison to be a place of punishment, where the full weight of society's opprobrium should be felt in daily life, or a place of therapy, where the punishment of being 'sent away' from society is tempered with a range of programmes to rehabilitate the offender?

Over the years, reintegration services have tended to occur only towards the end of a sentence. This has had implications for the effectiveness of what is offered. It has also meant that people attempting to get parole have not been able to complete the courses deemed necessary in a timely manner, thus delaying their release.

There have also been ongoing concerns about the mix of services available to prisoners, both in the prison and after release. A shortage of alcohol and drug services, for example, might mean that a person reoffends simply because they have not been able to get effective treatment. Some are so institutionalised that they are unable to live effectively on the outside, and others are so damaged by mental illness, sexual or other forms of abuse or a range of other conditions that, without support, they are bound to re-offend.

This study investigates the question: what is the thinking, where are the services, and how good is access to reintegration services in this region? It is a stocktake because, in a changing context, it took place over a short period of time and investigated the issue from a wide range of perspectives. While a range of views were canvassed, any commentary or conclusions reached are our own.

1.1 Background

The work was situated within an international literature which focussed on the relationship between prison services and NGO providers, primarily in the United Kingdom (as no literature exists in New Zealand on this topic). With Corrections increasingly turning to external expert providers for services, the NGO/Corrections relationship is central to the search for better reintegration services.

The work was undertaken during a period of significant change in the organisation of prisoner and reintegration support in the region. These changes are described in depth through our interviews with regional Department of Corrections staff and community stakeholders and include:

- A shift in thinking about reintegration as an end-of-sentence process, to viewing it as commencing on the first day in prison;
- From re-integration to transition;

- Reorganisation of in-prison services, especially the case management approach and working to improve the effectiveness of in-prison programmes;
- Closer and more effective engagement with the community services sector;
- New contracting models to improve effectiveness in both prison and post-prison programmes; and
- Underpinning all of these changes, the basic view that a prison sentence can be a time to provide services and opportunities for prisoners that prepare them more effectively for life outside prison, and thus reduce re-offending.

There are difficulties in undertaking research in a time of rapid change. First, there is unevenness in the understandings by different groups about what is envisaged. That is, they may experience the change without understanding the philosophical nature of the shift. Prisoners, in particular, were usually unable to identify any overall change in services. Second, change occurs at different rates within complex sectors, and resistance to aspects of the shift may also be evident, especially from workers within the system who are suddenly required to embrace new modes of engagement within the institution. Third, the landscape is shifting rapidly. From the commencement of the project to its end, large new contracts were formed and other community organisations closed, new contracting arrangements were mooted and additional services developed.

1.2 Structure of the report

The report is written in five sections, including this introduction and methodology. The literature review, which focuses on the important area of Corrections/NGO relationships and their implications, is followed by a section that summarises findings of eight interviews conducted with senior staff of the Department of Corrections regional office, plus one prison manager, for this project. The interviews are important because they demonstrate the thinking behind the changes identified in the report, and also explore both philosophical and practice issues arising from the significant shift in reintegration approaches.

The fourth section outlines the results of interviews with prisoners in the three Canterbury prisons. These explore what the prisoners know about reintegration services, how they experience them and views around the relationships between staff and prisoners within the prison system.

The final section outlines our stocktake of services, including service issues in the region. It categorises and examines access to and provision of these services, and examines issues in relation to each service.

There is a conclusion that summarises the key issues arising from the report. Perhaps the main point is that the fundamental changes outlined in section three are not necessarily clearly perceived and understood, either by prisoners or by the NGO sector. The implementation of the new re-integration model is therefore somewhat uneven

1.3 Methodology

The Howard League for Penal Reform (Canterbury) received funding from the Lotteries Community Sector Research Fund to undertake this research. Two researchers, both long-term members of the Howard League in the region, planned and developed the methodology and interviewed participants.

A series of interview schedules were developed for Corrections staff, community sector representatives and prisoners. A literature review and an overview of the sector were completed initially, and were reported back to the Corrections regional office in a seminar format. As a result of that process, permission was granted to interview Corrections contractors in the region, and to enter the three regional prisons and undertake individual interviews with prisoners.

Eight senior staff members from the Department of Corrections, Southern Region, were interviewed for the project. This included a number of senior managers within the regional office and a prison manager. A total of 45 face-to-face interviews were conducted with prisoners in the three prisons, using a range of closed and open questions about their experiences with NGOs and Corrections staff. The aim was to examine a wide range of prisoners: on remand, different security ratings, men and women and short and long-stay sentenced prisoners.

Both formal and informal interviews were completed with NGOs working in Christchurch with prisoners and their families. Fifteen formal interviews were completed, a number of agencies wished to talk informally or off the record, while others felt they were contractually bound not to talk to us, despite having permission from the regional office. The stocktake of services is based on a search undertaken in the Canterbury region between November 2013 and January 2014,plus the result of the interviews.

This report completes our contractual obligations to the Lotteries Community Sector Research Board. As well, we are presenting the findings to the Howard League AGM and intend to complete further publications. The research will be available on the Howard League website.

2. A review of international experiences

This section provides an overview of the literature concerning the interaction between NGOs and correctional facilities around the world. Despite a continually growing level of cooperation between the two, there was found to be a dearth of research on the subject. However a number of important lessons can be drawn from international evidence, in particular those from the United Kingdom, where the role of NGOs has undergone a recent upheaval.

2.1 The increase in State and NGO interaction

Around the world, NGOs are becoming increasingly essential to the operation of prisons and the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners. As Mills et al. (2012, p. 393) explains, NGOs present an approach that is often novel and are able to provide services that the prison institution, for various reasons, cannot:

> The strengths of TSOs [Third Sector Organisations; NGOs] and their consequent appeal as partners in service provision are well-rehearsed, and include their specialist expertise, and cost-effectiveness, but also their relative independence from the criminal justice system. This may allow for considerable innovation and diversity in their provision, and help service users to view them as trustworthy and approachable and allow them to act in an advocacy role, representing the views of service users to criminal justice and other agencies. In the case of organizations based in a particular locality, they may engage local people in their work through volunteering and mentoring, thus enhancing social cohesion and links with the local community and can assist in the provision of a seamless 'through the gate' service.

These organisations are becoming essential to the prison system because they provide a way to "help bridge the gap between public and private life" (Bassford, 2008, p. 10)ensuring that the often harsh prison environment (and the similarly harsh shock of re-entry to society afterwards) is mitigated by the provision of proper resources and care.

The development of the NGO 'Third Sector' industry in the justice system has been taking place since the 1970s, as Ludwig-Mayerhoffer (1996, p. 273) explains:

> The 1970s and 1980s have seen several major transformations of penal social control. Most conspicuous among these have been shifts away from state-based agencies towards non-state agencies of various types (Cohen 1985). While many reformers have argued that this shift represented a divestment of closed institutions in favour of more community-based, alternative measures, others have pointed out that these new measures served not to replace, but rather to complement, the older, more repressive institutions, thus expanding the net of social control (although recently some doubts have been cast on that notion, see McMahon 1990). A concomitant phenomenon was the increase of privatization of penal control. While in recent years, the debate has centered around the privatization of prisons that was observed first in the U.S.A. and was hotly debated in the U.K. (see Ryan & Ward 1989a, b; McDonald 1994), one should be aware that privatization was also an important corollary of the developments at the 'soft end' of social control, that is, the various forms of community-based measures (Curran 1988: 367).

Since Ludwig-Mayerhoffer wrote in this 1996, the increasing importance of NGOs in prisons has continued uninterrupted, including a significant rise in the use of faith-based programmes (which seem to provide the bulk of American non-government prison services) in America during George W. Bush's presidency and a recent surge of development in the Third Sector in the United Kingdom, not only in prisons but across all of society. The rise of prison privatisation has also continued unabated, leading to privatised prisons across the USA and the UK (where some prisons are run by groups of made up of both private firms and NGOs).

2.2 The United Kingdom's 'Big Society' and NGO marketisation

The growing incorporation of both business and voluntary sector organisations into the penal system has led, particularly in the UK, to a vigorous debate about fairness and governmental responsibility in a system where all three sectors often have overlapping responsibilities. This has largely been spurred by the "Big Society" policy of the United Kingdom's governing Conservative Party, which "seeks to shift power from politicians to people" by "devolving power to communities and local government" (2010, p. 2) and providing increased funding to extra-governmental organisations. While this policy is ostensibly beneficial for NGOs, many commentators have suggested that because Big Society allows for increased access by private businesses as well, it may lead to a marketization of social services that is ultimately negative. As Mary Corcoran points out "it is incorrect to speak of 'the voluntary sector' as a unitary entity, given the diversity of organisations' incomes, sizes, membership, aims and methods" and yet, either out of necessity or ignorance, "despite inclusive political language about the value of the sector's role as the critical conscience of [UK] public policy, the de facto, official conception of the voluntary sector is that of biddable service deliverers" (2009, p.32).

What this means is that within the context of government integration, and in particular government funding, NGOs are given an equivalency with for-profit penal organisations that is arguably unfair, and is at the very least unsuited to their particular strengths. NGOs, with often limited funding and an inherent deficit in the business skills required to compete in a market (being, after all, not businesses), tend to fall short when compared in market terms with for-profit organisations that can afford to operate on larger scales. As Mike Maguire (2012, p.487) explains:

> A different kind of imbalance is also possible (especially in a context where, to achieve economies of scale, commissioning is increasingly undertaken across large geographical areas), whereby TSOs fail to win most contracts for services which they are well equipped to deliver in an innovative way. It has frequently been argued that, unless commissioners have a good understanding (and preferably local knowledge) of voluntary agencies, and of how what they offer and how they conduct their activities differs from other sectors, they are likely to prefer bids from public or private sector bodies. At a practical level, TSOs are often less familiar with the technicalities of bidding to meet precise specifications for service delivery, and unable to call upon the same degree of expertise and resources in preparing their submissions.

As such, an environment of biddable service delivery puts pressure on NGOs to adapt to fit the market, rather than the needs of their community. Taken to its logical extreme, this would leave little room for difference between NGOs and private businesses, save perhaps for some elements of their economic model. In reality however this is more likely to result in

NGOs simply being marginalised or their purpose being diluted by partnerships with for-profit organisations:

> Perhaps the greatest current concern, however, is that the 'Big Society' talk is essentially a Trojan horse for what Rod Morgan calls the 'Big Market', and that the voluntary sector as a whole will soon lose out to a number of large private companies which are becoming ever more prominent in competitive bidding exercises. This might entail most [NGOs] being squeezed out entirely or, more likely, being used by private corporations as 'bid candy' – that is, written into tenders as junior partners in order to convince commissioners of the lead organization's commitment to certain values or approaches – though with no guarantee that, having served their purpose, they will not then be marginalized. (*ibid*, p. 485)

Such agreements would allow for private corporations to take on the positive reputation of partnered NGOs, without necessarily having to commit to maintaining the behaviour that earned that reputation in the first place. For the NGOs in question, this is an example of the larger issue of 'goal distortion', whereby maintaining the lifeline of funding begins (whether consciously or unconsciously) to gradually take the place of social change as the organisation's main goal. For an organisation that has no other interests to fall back on and no alternative source of funding on the same scale, making figurative deals with the devil may become essentially unavoidable. Andrew Neilson (2009, p.407) makes the example of a bid to run a UK prison made in 2008 by Nacro, (a charity formerly known as the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders), arguing that by creating a place for itself as a part of the prison institution, Nacro risked losing its ability to criticise that institution from without:

> Goal distortion risks a crisis of identity. While running any public service might arguably compromise a voluntary sector organisation's campaigning and advocacy role to a degree, there is undoubtedly a marked difference between a charity providing social care to the elderly and a charity running a prison. Given the difficulties surrounding such a politically-charged institution as the prison, it might be easier for Nacro to drop its campaigning and advocacy roles altogether and become purely a service provider.

Although Nacro's bid was ultimately unsuccessful, Paul Senior (2011) notes that the possibility of other large-scale institutional takeovers by Nacro have not been ruled out. By drawing a direct line of funding between the government and NGOs, those NGOs risk becoming equivalent to government departments. As Mary Corcoran (2011, p.33) notes, these organisations become "increasingly dependent on public service contracts", and "submit as part of the bargain to predetermined and ill-suited performance targets and efficiency audits", leaving them beholden to the institution that supports them, lest the funding be cut off. Further compounding this dependence, "To meet these standards, government has offered voluntary organisations capacity-building support to upgrade their capability to bid for, and deliver, services", a move that, while theoretically beneficial, could also serve to expand organisations to a scale where they are simply no longer capable of returning to their earlier methods of fundraising without suffering a significant reduction in size, thereby making them permanently reliant upon government funding. The problem with this is not only the loss of the organisation's perceived freedom in offering social critique, but also that attempting to force NGOs into the mould of private contractors is simply a poor use of resources. As Maguire (2012, p.487) explains,

> More importantly, many [NGOs] are unused to being treated purely as 'delivery agents' for interventions designed and closely specified by others. As noted earlier, the ability to innovate is supposedly one of their defining characteristics, but by treating them as simply an 'alternative provider' and judging them according to a set of narrow criteria and ability to meet narrowly defined targets, commissioners who lack sensitivity to the special qualities they offer may either dismiss them as unable to deliver what is required, or else compel them to change their approach to the extent that there is a risk of 'killing the golden goose' and negating their most attractive asset.

It is clear, from studying the discourse surrounding 'Big Society' in the UK that seeking to outsource criminal justice to voluntary sector organisations, regardless of their prior record in the area, is intensely problematic. NGOs replacing government services are necessarily required to comply with the criteria set by their employers, essentially restraining the service that they are able to provide and limiting the freedom that was the major benefit of their non-governmental status in the first place.

2.3 NGOs and professionalism in prisons

Perhaps the most important factor in the attempt to integrate NGOs into the criminal justice system is how NGOs are viewed by prison staff and administration. The respect – or lack thereof – held by prison staff for NGOs impacts greatly on the degree to which NGO programmes are accessible to prisoners and vice versa. A study conducted in various UK prisons by Alice Mills, Rosie Meek and Dina Gojkovic (2011, p.399) found that although "prisons engage with an average of 20" NGOs of various types, "respondents were aware of only four organisations and report engaging with no more than one", a result that indicates the importance of ensuring that prison staff are aware of what outside services are available and feel comfortable recommending these services to prisoners in need. A further study conducted by Mills, Meek and Gojkovic (2012, p.401) that conducted interviews with NGO and prison staff provides some insight into the complications involved in operating NGOs within a walled environment:

> From the perspective of TSOs, the main critical issue affecting relations with prison staff and their work in prisons was 'institutional inconvenience'; times when they were prevented from accessing offenders due to a lack of individual staff time or willingness, security concerns or regime factors […] TSO respondents also noted their frustration at the length of time taken to get security clearance and at travelling considerable distances to be turned away at the gate due to an unexplained security incident. Prison staff admitted that TSOs could be seen as a nuisance, particularly by those working on the wings as they could add to their workload.

'Institutional inconvenience' is unavoidably a major factor when dealing with a prison, but the degree to which it was reported as a problem is indicative of the importance of integration and cooperation between prisons and NGOs. The admission by prison officers that they find NGO staff to be a nuisance is evidence of an important failure: if NGOs are not able to show their worth it is a loss for both parties. Demonstrating the value of a programme is one of the most practical and effective ways for NGOs to gain the support of prison staff (Edgar, Jacobson, & Biggar, 2011, pp. 44-45). A significant barrier to gaining this support appears to be the NGO staff's relative lack of professionalism: as often unpaid and (at least in terms of working with prisons) untrained volunteers, NGO staff have the tendency to disrupt the delicate prison ecosystem:

> Staff mentioned several incidents where third sector personnel, notably volunteers, were concerned to help prisoners and build up relationships with them, but did not exercise appropriate caution or respect the appropriate boundaries in these relationships, potentially endangering the security of the establishment.
>
> "You tend to get some [volunteers] who don't see why certain rules exist.[...] I fortunately caught a letter being taken out by a volunteer. I said, 'Where are you going with that, you've been told you can't do...?' 'But he only wants me to post it.' I said, 'You don't know what's in that letter, we don't do that'". (Staff, Prison Y)
>
> "They don't understand how prison works. [name of TSO] workers used to take girls' [sic] clothes home for washing and bring them back and then they were told that there's really no possibility of doing that. Sometimes organizations need to be reminded that these girls [sic] are in here for a reason and they should not get too friendly or intimate with them." (Staff, Prison X)
>
> "In some cases, the methods used by volunteers to provide services were simply unsuitable in the prison environment: We had a Buddhist gentleman and he was bringing in all sorts of goodies. They were all related to Buddhism, there were blank CDs for them to put chanting on and incense, but he didn't understand the implication of bringing a recordable item into a prison." (Staff, Prison C)
> (Mills, Meek, & Gojkovic, 2012, p. 397)

Providing adequate training for NGO staff intending to enter prisons is therefore essential, not only as in order to avoid any breaches of security but also to avoid irritating and inconveniencing prison staff unnecessarily.

> Prison staff also raised concerns about information sharing by TSOs, the lack of which could leave them uncertain as to whether they were managing risk appropriately. In her review of volunteering in the criminal justice system, Neuberger (2009) suggested that tensions are likely to emerge in risk-averse settings where professional staff are under statutory obligations, in this case to maintain the security of the prison and manage risk, and volunteers do not have such obligations under any legal contract. In order to function well in the prisons, staff suggested that TSOs needed to consider security, risk and the appropriate boundaries In their relationships with offenders and they acknowledged that TSOs may need guidance and support to ensure they fully understand the implications of working in prison. Several members of prison staff noted that prisons were becoming much more adept at hosting third sector personnel and producing appropriate training and induction for them. (*ibid*, p. 397-398)

The only way, then, for prisons to realise the practical benefits of working with NGOs is to make an investment in training them to work within the prison environment. It was noted that because larger NGOs are more likely to employ paid staff, and therefore were significantly more able to provide training in how to behave properly in prisons. Small NGOs with more limited resources are at a significant disadvantage in this respect, being much more likely to be "viewed as naïve in a prison environment", and therefore much more of an inconvenience. Conversely, however, it is these small organisations that are "more likely to bring the so-called 'added value' to their work with offenders, particularly the building of social cohesion through their connections to the local community" (*ibid*, p.401), and therefore represent a worthwhile investment. Wider prison policy and the attitudes of senior management also have a significant impact on NGOs' work:

> Several TSOs in the study worked in both a privately run establishment and a public sector prison in the sample, and made striking comparisons about the way they were treated by both institutions. In the private sector prison they felt respected and supported by all levels of staff, but a constant battle with hostile, obstructive officers and uncooperative senior management in the public sector prison was thought to seriously compromise access to prisoners and the level of service they could provide. (*ibid*, p.400)

This demonstrates that the need for professionalism extends to prison staff as well, and shows how important it is that prison policy recognise the value of NGOs. A recent report by Nacro (2009, p. 73), a large charity that operates within UK prisons, made a number of key recommendations regarding the integration of prison and NGO staff:

> Developing shared understanding and breaking down the 'cultural dissonance' that exists between public, private and voluntary agencies is crucial if goals are to be met. Staff from all the different agencies (including Third Sector agencies) need to understand and share some of the same goals if reducing re-offending by effectively managing offenders within the remit IOM is to be achieved. Effective marketing and communication (including multi-agency training events) is critical across communities and organisations in developing a common purpose.

This "cultural dissonance" is a major barrier to NGO integration in general: without a common set of goals and an understanding of each other's roles with regards to those goals, any progress made will always be slow. Multi-agency training events are a particularly useful (and relatively straightforward) suggestion. Nacro also recommends greater cooperation between agencies within specific cases, "for example staff from different agencies visiting IOM offenders together: Police officers with Third Sector agency staff; staff from one Third Sector agency with staff from another Third Sector agency etc. The use of multi-agency case conferences should be encouraged, with involvement from those offering specific individual pathway interventions, if appropriate". In order to facilitate this cooperation "the Police, TS [NGO] lead and Probation Service should be co-located in the districts they are covering. Clear boundaries and guidelines for intervention should be developed – who doing what, when, how etc.". Macdonald (2005, p. 177) observes the same need for multi-agency cooperation in his study of central and eastern European prisons, also noting some of the barriers to the effective implementation of this approach:

> Finally, it is clear from this study that multi-disciplinary [multi-agency] working is essential to the success of initiatives across central and eastern European prisons and this appears to have been accepted by many staff. Nevertheless, the research has shown that multi-disciplinary working is not happening in all the sample prisons. Staff shortages and a high prison population are suggested as reasons why multi-disciplinary working, although desirable, was not always possible. Multi-disciplinary working tended to be most effective in prisons where top management took the lead in instigating this way of working.

This highlights once again the importance of institutional policy in aiding NGO integration, and the necessity that prison management take an active role in fostering that interaction.

2.4 Conclusion

A number of straightforward conclusions can be drawn from this literature. It is important that the state be mindful of the nature of the organisations that it is engaging when offering funding – the strengths of small third sector and faith-based organisations often lie in their access to resources that are not easily quantified, and which may cease to function well in a context where they are treated as being equivalent to commercial operations. Because of this, there is a significant risk that should NGOs be forced to compete in a marketplace, they will be unable to provide their services on a larger scale with the same quality of results. Furthermore, they risk having their credibility co-opted by larger commercial organisations wishing to use their involvement as "bid candy" for commercial projects. Much of this literature also highlights the importance of institutional policy in ensuring the effectiveness of NGOs already operating within prisons, including a need for organised cooperation between corrections and NGO staff, without which NGOs risk being shut out and underutilised.

3. Challenges and change: a Corrections perspective

This section outlines the results of in-depth interviews completed with eight regional and prison staff in the Canterbury region. It turned out that the research is taking place at a time of significant change within the Department of Corrections, driven both by changing philosophies and by specific government targets.

3.1 A time of change

A central theme that emerged from the interviews was that the Department of Corrections (DoC) is in a period of enormous change. Four of the participants pointed to the Better Public Service target to reduce re-offending by 25% by 2017[1] as being an important impetus for change:

> The main thing is the reduction in re-offending. In order to achieve this, good reintegration systems are required. Prisoners need to be supported and led into different pathways. The aim is to help the offender make better choices, provide skills and support life-changing experiences.

Others all identified various philosophical changes in the DoC including moving "beyond compliance to a more liberal view, that people can change", moving from "a disciplinary model to a model of strengths and deficits", "intensive support to overcome institutionalisation and reduce re-offending", to "a broader model (than psychological approaches)".

There was a unanimous view that an "empowering" change had taken place in the DoC over the past 2-3 years. Features of that change included:

> A move to individual case management and the principle that reintegration starts on the first day of sentence, or even while a person is on remand;
>
> A model of "transitions" to supersede "reintegration";
>
> Changing the role of prison officers to be 'more like probation officers' (OAG, 2013 p. 7);
>
> A better model of national/regional, and regional/local planning and management, which brings the various parts of the DoC closer together, in particular regional offices, national office and prisons; and
>
> A more autonomous, ideas-driven approach to the field of Corrections.

The model of reintegration being promoted appears to consist of four key areas. First, the notion of reintegration, of going out of the community and coming back in, is to be replaced by the concept of transitions. This is not merely a semantic difference. Reintegration implies a removal of self from society, whereas transition implies that the person is still in society but in a different space. The former treats prison as a 'black box' where the prisoner remains static until release. The latter sees the prison as a place where things can happen, including the making of new pathways towards a better life beyond prison. The term utilised by some staff to describe this process is 'pathways'. One person summarised the view:

[1] http://www.ssc.govt.nz/bps-reducing-crime

> The view is that people can change. The punitive part is the loss of liberty. The state's responsibility is to make them positive individuals.

The participants had a variety of ways of explaining the changes that were happening. One reflected on how the system used to be: "It was dominated by security, fulfilling obligations, focus on not breaching rules, more stick and less carrot… The shift has been from the process to the people."

Specific changes include the model of custodial care, which one participant describes as a "mental health model" and the system of management. Each prisoner now has a case manager, who plans an active programme to prepare prisoners for their day of release, and a case officer, who works in the cell block or wing with the prisoner. A core aim is to marry each prisoner up with work options, courses and services that will help them. A prison manager noted that there is now a much stronger focus on rehabilitation, driven from the top of Corrections.

One person noted that there has been a big change among staff: "They have a passion to make a difference. I am really amazed at the effect on staff - they are empowered. I think it's nationally but definitely regionally". Others commented on this too, some noting that "not everyone" has changed, but that staff are doing a lot.

A notable feature of the new direction is how strongly it is supported by the senior staff interviewed. For them, the changes of model described above are "a breath of fresh air":

> The approach is open not closed. There is ideally the same person working with the offender. It used to be about care and control, but now risk and opportunity. The court expects the sentence to be carried out. This is not a friendship model but purposeful engagement to reduce reoffending – providing offenders with the motivation to change. A key test for us will be – are the offenders starting to recognise the changes that are happening?

The pathway approach is explained in this extract:

> This involved planning for the best release of a prisoner from when they first go in. The Southern Region is making leaps and bounds. We are working increasingly in multi-disciplinary teams. There is organisational commitment to the Right Track model. This is focused on how the prisoner is travelling. It is a logical process involving a case manager, working within a hospital model with team triage, so that the offender is on the best path possible (which can change). Also the 'one service' model - probation has always been very separate from prison service - now being brought together - and sit together on leadership team. Also the addition of prison managers to regional leadership teams - they are held to account for carrying out plans, but also now have input into problems/ issues and resolutions.

Other participants describe features of the new system. A key point is that sentence planning needs to start from the first day of the sentence, and case management allows this to happen. As well, service integration has broken down the "silos" between various groups working within the prisons. So there is both vertical and horizontal integration of services. The participants thought that the changes would be confusing for longer-term prisoners, and that Corrections needs to be realistic about the opportunities for change.

3.2 The stakeholder engagement strategy: working with NGOs

A key element of the changes described by Corrections staff, along with the in-house factors discussed above, is a new and strengthened relationship with stakeholders, and especially with agencies and NGOs who work with Corrections. This is explained in the following extract:

> There is now a stakeholder engagement plan. The aim is to develop and foster relationships, respect relative roles, objectives and expertise: a focus on us needing each other. The innovations fund has unleashed lots of innovative thinking. Funding is always difficult, but a lot more has been provided over the past 12 months and there should be more in the future. As part of the drivers of crime, the MOH has put an extra $20m into alcohol and drug services. Programmes are funded through the DHBs - they have a mutual client group.

The new approach involves working quite closely with providers to facilitate good engagement, planning and communications: "Trust relationships. Reasonable, mature relationships. Providers engage with us without barriers."

The lack of barriers at the senior management level does not, however, indicate that the whole organisation is barrier free. One person noted that: "Our big challenge is working with our own staff so that they can do good things. The Right Track initiative has provided the mechanism to provide professional development for staff, encouraging and upskilling them to have more meaningful interactions with offenders".

Other stakeholder tensions are caused because "Corrections is difficult to navigate and inequalities cause tensions". There has been some effort to improve these relationships, but key issues remain: "why do we fund this and not that". More opportunities have arisen for inter-governmental agency relationships through the Better Public Services initiative.

The prison manager interviewed was very positive about NGO engagement in the prisons. He cited the Pathway Trust as an example, offering a range of services within and without the prison. He also mentioned the increased availability of alcohol and drug services when people first enter prison, so that "they do not have to wait if they have an addiction". The need to begin programmes of all kinds earlier into sentences was a key finding from the interviews with prisoners and NGOs.

All those interviewed recognised the value of NGOs: "we cannot do it on our own". However, "They could do a lot more. There is an opportunity to have more value added through delivery by external services". The recent formation of a forum of NGOs to discuss provision in the region is expected to improve services and contracts.

One issue mentioned by several participants is the quality of NGO services. They need good staff and good resources, and to be prepared to work in the prison system. There is currently a mix of contract staff and volunteers, which has strengths but also causes gaps and unevenness in service, the issues resulting from which are discussed later in this report.

Another central issue is the ability of NGOs to work effectively within the prison system, where there are "tensions between custody, security and interventions". Some "have a good understanding of the prison system" and work well. One person thought that internal programme staff also had difficulties at times, as the interventions being offered were "into the unknown" for many custodial staff. Finally, one person thought that where "Corrections

has let go of control, things are working well". More generally, participants thought that "gaps remain" in most aspects of the relationship between NGOs and Corrections.

3.3 The state of services in the region: a Corrections perspective

One person summarised the state of transition services in the region as: "There are a few solid and capable services that operate in Canterbury, and a number of gaps. Services are not always where we want them to be". Most others used the term 'gaps' as well. In some cases, the gaps refer to a lack of needed capability among NGOs:

> We are confident there will be funding to support services but less confident that we will be able to contract NGOs to meet the need. In a pathways approach, it is the quality of the people that make the difference.

The other kind of gap is that of services: "duplications and gaps. Make sure what we have currently works as best it can. There are significant gaps – planning, money, access to services".

The new Out of Gate service is seen as the kind of service that could bridge many of the gaps by offering needs-centred and multi-service models. One person thought that this service offered "a good description of where we are getting to".

The prison manager had a slightly different perspective on this question, while agreeing there were gaps, and "unmet needs". One area that he is interested in changing is that of High Security prisoners, who often face long sentences and are often not given opportunities to work within the prison: "they are away doing nothing for long periods of time, and never get their heads in the right space. It would be good to front-load them with services rather than waiting until close to release". This sentiment was found to be echoed by prisoners, some of whom felt that the tendency to withhold services until the later in their sentences was an attempt to keep them in prison longer.

The case management system in prisons, where individual prisoners work with staff to draw up a sentence plan, which is constantly reworked and developed, is seen as central to effective reintegration. So what is the relationship between case management and services provided by NGOs? Until recently, we were told, "they were not seen as integrated". A lot of effort has now gone into elements of integration, including:

- Appointing a manager of case managers;
- Developing case manager capacity through portfolios and other means;
- Concentrating on good offender planning: "thinking outside the square"
- Stakeholder engagement (see above);
- Multidisciplinary support;
- Planning pathways and influencing the offenders; and
- Developing programmes for prisoners in conjunction with services.

3.4 Better or worse?

We were interested in exploring the underlying views about the functions of prison in society with the Corrections staff. We asked them whether it was true that, in the past, people went into prison 'bad' and came out 'worse'. Some very interesting responses were given, including this detailed overview:

> They don't come out worse but they do come out worse off. Deficits appear when people are punished by removal from society. The present environment marries with my own beliefs - a humanist position - but there is a long, long way to go. Offenders have a wide range of needs, and society is better off if we try and address these while the person is in prison, as it makes society safer.

Another participant put the issue into a broader social perspective: "What do you want your neighbours to be like when they come out of prison?".

One long-standing Corrections staff person thought that:

> Even in previous times the view was that prisoners should go out and be better people – be able to fill out a form, talk to people. But the focus now on is on changed individuals - changing lives. Staff understand this, but offenders may be confused.

Another person commented that "I think people come out better. For some, going to prison is the best thing they ever did. The prison environment provides opportunities for people". One person said that making people better was definitely a goal but was not written down. They are "putting effort into trying to make people better". For example, she cited a pilot programme at Otago CF where prisoners were trained to act as mentors to others.

The prison manager was more cautious in his view:

> The majority come out better. I wouldn't say people come out worse, but a proportion don't engage to improve themselves. There are some groups that are difficult to turn around, for example those with mental health needs are difficult. But services are getting better...".

Participants were asked whether some groups were more difficult to transition than others, and all agreed that they were (although there was a concern to avoid labelling, as prisoners from any sort of background can blossom and do well in the prison system).

> Yes, there are hard to reach groups within the prison. A number of risk factors, especially that they do not want to change.

One person explained that these people may have been sentenced to any period in prison, and for a range of crimes: "These are usually people who are not integrated in the first place, or those who have lost all their links to society. There is a need to take a long term approach with such people".

There is "a nervousness" in prison about some people, who may have mental health issues, be sociopaths or "very odd people". Another person explains: "They may be untreatable - mental health, brain injury, intellectual disability, very hard to treat and manage in community. We take a CBT[2] approach. Some people - you are pretty sure they will do something nasty".

A number of people mentioned some gang members, who would rather "serve their whole sentence than participate in services". As well, some long-term prisoners are institutionalised to the old model and have complex needs. Some have no motivation to

[2] Cognitive behavioural therapy.

change. Prison is not a deterrent. It "is hard to get people to break ties and move in a different direction".

The prison manager interviewed agreed with all these categories. He noted that people with mental health issues need good health care. Gang members "are not all difficult to deal with", but there are others who will not engage. He spoke of one prisoner, with a very long sentence, who had "lots of problems in his first four years, including assaults. Over time, with a hell of a lot of work, he turned around, and is now in the self-care unit".

3.5 Services in the region

Participants had a variety of views about what reintegrative services are most important in the Canterbury region. One person was very clear:

> In Canterbury the most important has been the CML trade training workshops, run by CPIT and established on prison grounds. A $6m refurbishment of the workshops has taken place. There are still issues. We have made significant progress with mental health services. Accommodation is the biggest issue in Canterbury at present.

Another did not cite a particular area, but mentioned broader changes. Factors listed included the shift from providing services mainly in the last eight weeks of sentence, to providing them throughout the sentence, getting Community Probation involved before a person leaves prison, and the case manager system.

Other important areas of reintegration mentioned were health services and youth development. One person noted that building self-worth and developing personal skills are crucial. In health, a major increase in health and mental health services will make a difference, and one person noted a good relationship with the Canterbury District Health Board. In youth development, one person thought that there had been a disconnect with other youth sector work, in that Corrections had, until recently, worked on a deficit model whereas most of the sector worked on a strengths-based approach.

One issue that arose frequently in the interviews was the question of timely delivery. We found that questions of delivery were strongly bound up with some core issues around security and the use of resources.

> We can't compromise security. Basically, it comes down to scheduling. Resources are stretched. But the majority have their needs met. We are not planning a transfer of resources at present. Over time staff have come to take a more rehabilitative approach, but the priority is still keeping offenders safe and keeping them inside.

However, there has been a clear shift from "a focus on breaches of security and probation issues", or a focus mainly on compliance and security. One person explains:

> Under [Chief Executive] Ray Smith, we now target a reduction in reoffending. This is partly political, as prisons were getting way beyond what the country could afford, and the goal is to reduce costs by reducing the muster. Before, it was about prisons administering the sentence of the courts. Now it is about changes in policing, youth, sentencing to reach targets. It is not just about custodial sentence but about making people better.

The other participants all thought that access to services in a timely manner was improving. There were "greatly improved targets", and "We are getting better at it". Things that are helping include much earlier engagement with services in the community before release, and the new Out of Gate service for shorter term offenders. However, two people mentioned that a lack of good quality accommodation at reasonable prices was a barrier to good transition into the community.

There is an acknowledged need to shift funds from the prisons into community services, to aid transitions. To an extent, this is already happening, with the "focus on transitional services", but extra funding will have to wait until the gains from current changes show through in the dropping of prisoner numbers, so Corrections can invest in new services. The wait is frustrating:

> The Pathway Trust says, if you give us $100,000, we can do this…. But it is very hard to find such funds.

Two strategies are underway. One is to focus on timeliness of provision, to ensure that services offered meet the need. The second is to "knock down the barriers between prison and probation and provide continuity of care". The issue of continuity comes up continually, but such continuity is somewhat hampered by a lack of resources in some areas.

3.6 Planning and engagement

In the region, planning services has become a major focus in many areas, including youth and youth strategy, offender employment and a review of high security and short term services.

The Canterbury area and the Southern Region is considered strong: "Canterbury tends to be listened to". The region feels empowered to act and become stronger, and is working at a leadership level to make changes. The issue is how to harness the new autonomy and make it work. Some barriers include capability issues within the prison and the need for more input from the field.

M□ori issues were rarely mentioned in the interviews, despite a relatively high number of M□ori in Canterbury prisons. One person noted:

> M□ori matters are considered more important in the North Island. At Rimutaka they have a whole staff member devoted to iwi liaison but there is not more work there than here, just more responsiveness. There is a need to develop this capability here.

The Southern District Plan for Canterbury (DoC, 2014 p. 17) does mention the need to make better relationships with hapu to assist young M□ori offenders in particular, but no overall engagement with local iwi is discussed. This is interesting because of the perception by some M□ori prisoners in interviews for this project that there is very little tikanga, kapa haka or other M□ori–centred services available in the local prisons, and especially the women's prison.

3.7 Planning for better services

The current Southern Region Plan has recently been completed for the DoC. It cites two key areas of focus:

> Increasing interventions available to offenders; and
> Ensuring that offenders are fully engaged in activities that will reduce their risk of offending (DoC, 2014 p. 17).

The participants have made it clear that this is not just about getting more services, but also better services. Current initiatives, such as the case management model which is crucial to the delivery of a whole-of-sentence transitions model, is not yet perfect:

> How do we get case management model consistently all through the organisation? We always think we can do more! But we have not yet achieved the full implementation of case management.

Another person agrees, noting: "We haven't yet got the resources to do case management in the prison effectively, so full implementation of the plan is problematic". This statement was borne out by the findings of the interviews with prisoners (below) which found that most prisoners had little engagement with or awareness of their case managers.

Central to what goes on in the prison are the new forms of engagement that underpin the case management model. Some participants talked about a friendship model, moves to first names (although this is not policy), and an internal conflict in maintaining strong levels of personal support within the historically impersonal prison environment.

The next step is seen to be better co-ordination of the services that are available. Co-ordination has a number of levels to it, as various participants note:

> Joining up with other government agencies, for example the Ministry of Social Development and the Police, to operationalise relationships[3].

> The focus will be on making sure we get a return on investment. Areas needed include remand services, AOD, literacy and numeracy. A lot is needed.

> There are a lots of changes. A new example is Out of Gate for short serving prisoners. A wide range of contracts for services expire next year and we are looking beyond that, e.g. one contract for reintegration services? Lots is happening but it is not all integrated. Outcomes are not where we want them to be but new services and processes are emerging. Parole board has closer focus on reintegration, such as demanding services in place before they will let a prisoner out. But both the Parole Board and Corrections are exposed and need to show results.

It is evident that, as much change that has been achieved, more is needed. However, the prison manager sees significant progress already, and reports:

> We have a site assessment underway and the assessors are overwhelmed with what we are achieving. We value the support we get from people. Prisoners have seen the changes….

3.8 Conclusion

[3] The point here seems to be that Corrections wants to work in a model that is not just about what goes on in prisons, but the whole context by which people might or might not end up with a custodial or community sentence.

The Canterbury sub-region of the Department of Corrections is in a process of massive change in philosophy, outlook, services and plans. Although mandated by top-down changes within the agency nationally, the Regional team are seen as national leaders in innovation. There is a new openness about the organisation that was strongly celebrated by the participants in this study.

The key focus is delivering effective reintegration services to prisoners, to reduce re-offending and, over time, bring down prison numbers. The case management model and new forms of engagement in prisons, new partnerships with NGOs, and the planning of a range of integrated services all aim to meet that goal.

The change has required significant re-orientation of the work focus and even attitudes of staff in prisons. A process called Right Track has been implemented to achieve this, and progress has been made among most staff, although not all. In prisons, there is still a collision evident between the reintegrative approach and the systems and requirements of security. For example, those with higher security ratings, who may also be the most difficult to reintegrate, are unlikely to be able to hold or engage in a wide range of programmes: not all prisoners can benefit from the services available. Other problems that are not yet resolved include how to deliver electronic communication systems, and indeed internet services, into the prison safely.

The case management model is still not fully embedded, and difficulties remain in working with certain groups of prisoners who will not or cannot engage.

Subsequent sections of this report document the services currently available to reintegrating prisoners. But this is not a full stocktake because, in such an environment of reform, changes are constantly being made and further changes, possibly radical ones, are likely in the future. One organisation interviewed early in the project was completely gone by the end of it, and other contracts were changed during the process.

4. A survey of Christchurch prisoners

To what extent have the wide-ranging and exciting change in philosophy, services and practice permeated the prison walls, to be understood by the subject of these changes: the prisoners. Interviews were undertaken with 46 prisoners in the three Canterbury prisons between January and March 2014, with permission granted by the regional office of the Department of Corrections. The results of these interviews are outlined in this section.

4.1 Demographic characteristics of participants

An interview schedule was developed that combined a range of quantitative and qualitative questions.

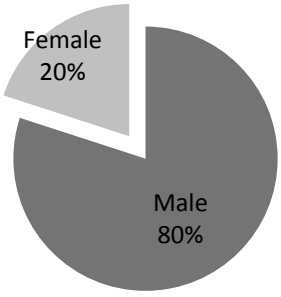


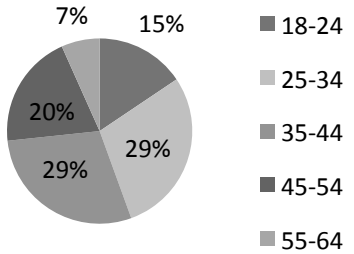
Fig 1. Participants by gender

Thirty six of the participants were male and ten were female. Of the male participants, six were in Rolleston Prison and thirty were in Christchurch Men's Prison. The remaining ten participants were in Christchurch Women's Prison. Compared to the national average, female prisoners were overrepresented in the sample. There are currently 533 remand and sentenced prisoners in NZ prisons, compared to 7987 males.[4] Overall, women make up just 6.6 percent of New Zealand prisoners, and the Canterbury region contains one of just three women's prisons nationally.

The sample was made up of 52 percent P□keh□, 42 percent M□ori, 4 percent Pacific Peoples and 2 percent other. Overall, New Zealand's nationwide prison population is comprised of only 33 percent (n=2385) P□keh□, compared with 51 percent M□ori and 12 percent Pacific Peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). The higher proportion of P□keh□ reflects population differences in the South Island.

Fig. 2. Stated ethnicity of sample

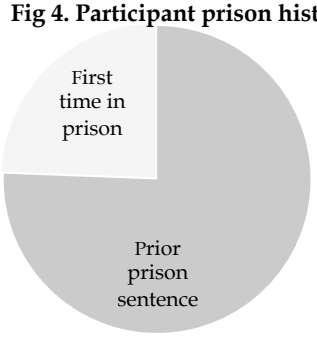
Fig. 3. Participant age



Nearly half of the survey sample were under the age of 35, and no participants were aged over 64, broadly reflecting age demographics across the prison system. Most (n=36) participants were sentenced prisoners. The modal range of prison sentences currently being served were between one and five years long, with only two participants serving more than ten years.

[4] http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/facts_and_statistics/quarterly_prison_statistics/CP_December_2014.html

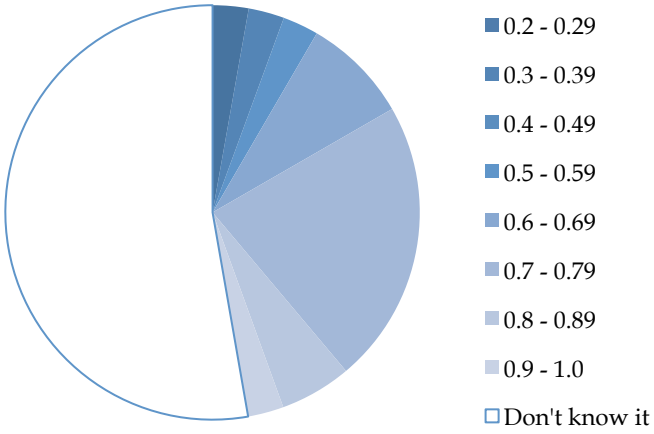
Fig 4. Participant prison history



Fifty-eight percent of respondents (n=20) expected to be released within six months, and twenty-six percent within less than two years, subject to parole in many cases. With their release date looming, consideration of reintegration services should be relatively high on the agenda of prisoners. More than three quarters of participants (n=34) had been sentenced to prison before, and thus should be familiar with the issues raised by transitioning in and out of prison.

The sample included prisoners with a wide range of RoC*RoI scores. RoC*RoI is calculated by the Department of Corrections as risk of reconviction by risk of reimprisonment, and is intended to measure risk of reconviction to a prison term. RoC*RoI scores are a percentage calculation, with 0.2 representing a 20% chance and 0.7 representing a 70% chance, and so on. Just over half of prisoners were not aware of their RoC*RoI score (remand prisoners are not given them). The unknowns were overwhelmingly made up of women: just one of ten female participants knew their RoC*RoI score.

Fig. 5. Participant RoC*RoI scores



4.2 Desire for change

Overwhelmingly, participants reported wanting to change their lifestyle. Eighty percent (n=33) of respondents indicated that they wanted to change a lot. Fifteen percent (n=6) indicated that they wanted to change a little, and only two respondents indicated that they were not intending to change. All (n=10) female respondents indicated that they wanted to change a lot, or that they 'had already' changed a lot. For some, these changes were all-encompassing:

> To tell you the truth, I need to change everything.

Currently, more than 50 percent of prisoners are reconvicted within five years of their release (Department of Corrections, 2009). This may mean that a number of those intending to change their lifestyle will ultimately end up back in prison.

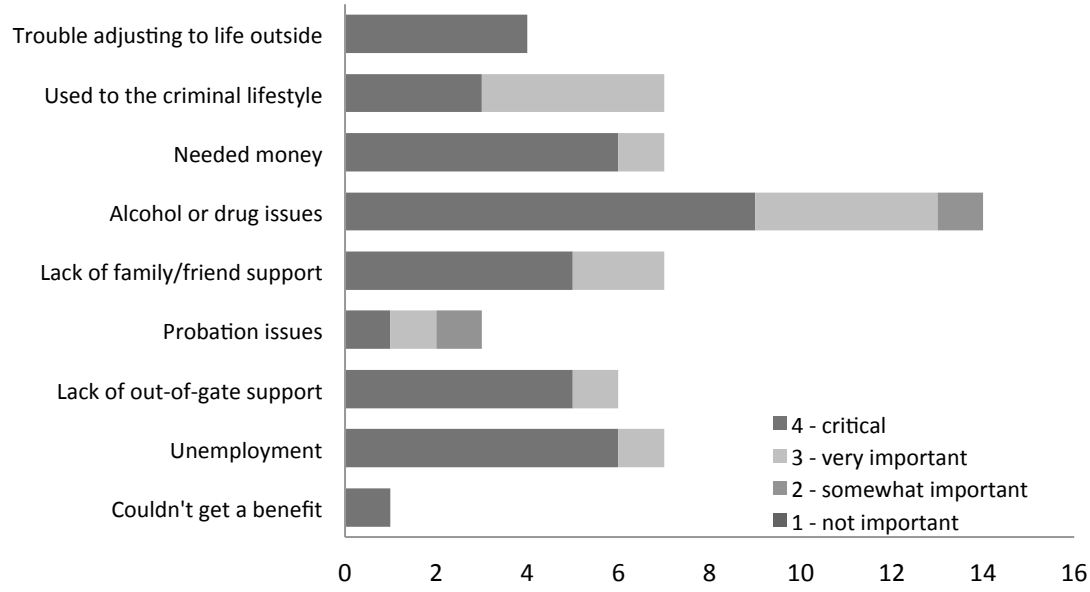
More than three quarters of respondents who were seeking to change acknowledged that they needed some form of help to live a crime-free life. Given that most respondents indicated a desire to change, and yet can be predicted to fail, this is highly significant. Of those who indicated that they did not need help (n=9), four respondents indicated that they would be able to avoid crime on their own and two indicated that they had their own

support (family and friends) and would not need any other help. In other words, these people needed help but felt comfortable that they already had it.

4.3 Repeat offenders

Department of Corrections statistics demonstrate that most recidivism tends to happen within the first twelve months after release. Participants in this study who were repeat offenders were asked to outline the factors that led them to re-offend. The results are outlined in Figure 6 below, which demonstrates that there are multiple reasons for re-offending. Leaving aside probation issues, which tended to be disputes leading to breaches, it is notable that many of the causes of re-offending are factors that are amenable to effective re-integration: drug and alcohol issues; lack of work, benefit or money; lack of support from family or community; and 'trouble adjusting to life outside'. It is therefore reasonable to presume that, were there a fully effective regime of re-integration services in place, recidivism levels among the participants would have been lower.

Figure 6. Stated causes of reoffending



One participant noted that upon his last release from prison the only people that he had to meet him at the gate were gang members – a situation that evidently led to recidivism.

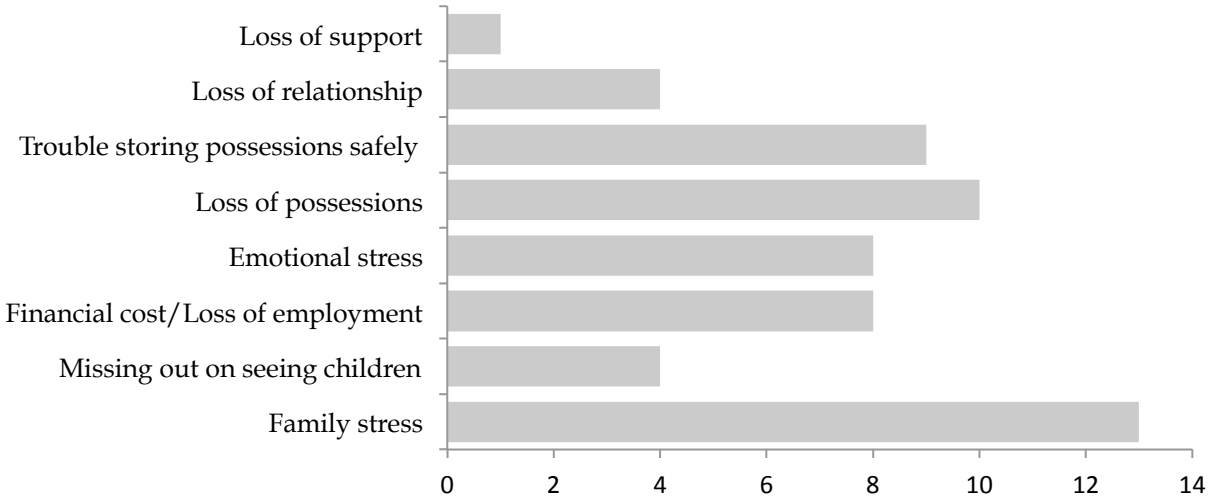
This was a familiar refrain but often with multiple influences, one respondent summed it up: 'I was on a couch with no money. No Job. I started using drugs, it was the drugs really.'

This analysis of repeat offenders highlight the significance of the claim by one Corrections staff member (in section 3.4) that prisoners "don't come out [of jail] worse but they do come out worse off" – a distinction that appears to have little relevance when so many make their return to crime in the face of financial pressure.

Even when it is anticipated, the movement from the outside world into prison can cause significant stresses and logistical issues for prisoners. This issue, as noted by a number of respondents (see Fig. 7 below), is often exacerbated by limited communication allowed to prisoners, beginning with a single phone call in police cells and followed by difficulty making calls in prison. The most commonly identified problem caused by incarceration was

family stress, which often meant difficulties for the offender's parents or spouses, forced to pick up the pieces left by the offender's sudden absence. Similarly, emotional stress, missing out on seeing children and the loss of relationships were also identified by a number of participants. While these emotional issues may inhibit the rehabilitation opportunities, and thus are ideally mitigated, more palpable practical concerns are also evident.

Fig. 7. Issues caused by incarceration



Many respondents also identified the loss of their possessions or trouble finding a place to store those possessions as an important issue. A number of respondents mentioned that they had been forced to rely on criminal associates to pack and store their possessions, and as such they would likely be sold or stolen by the time of their release. Similarly the financial costs of sudden incarceration were high – many respondents noted issues with closing or settling accounts for bills from prison, including one who was facing bankruptcy because of unpaid bills accrued due to failing to disconnect his power and phone accounts. In these ways then, problems at the earliest stages of incarceration may inhibit successful reintegration on release.

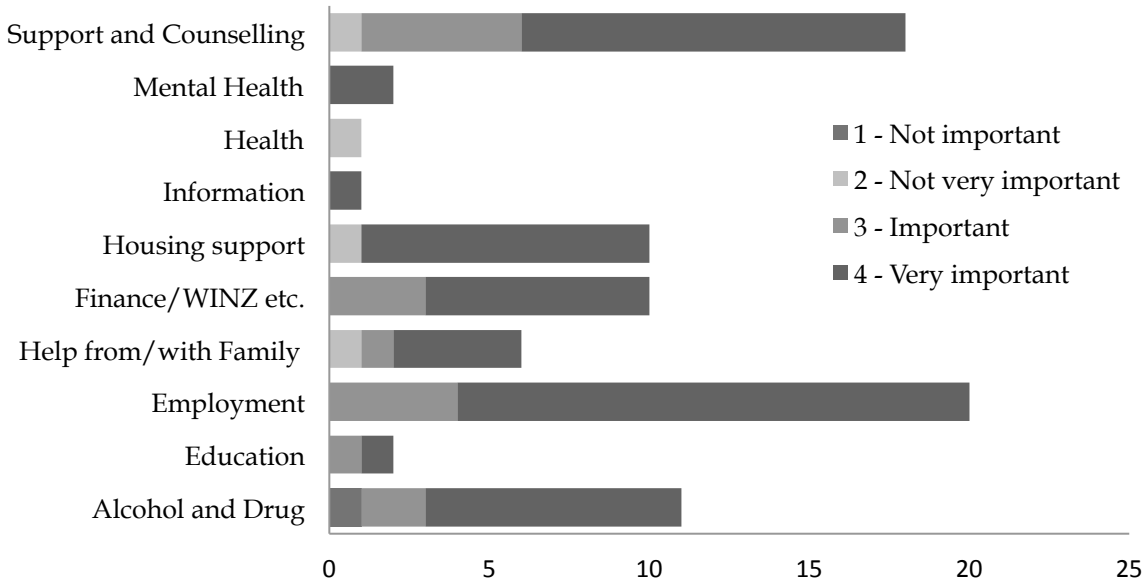
4.4 Types of reintegrative services identified by participants

When asked what kind of assistance would help them to overcome these issues, participants identified a range of key services. The most common response was employment (which included answers ranging from needing help with CV writing and interview skills to needing a job in general), which was identified by 20 respondents (44 percent of the total sample), the majority of whom rated this as critically important. Support and counselling were similarly common needs, and were identified by 18 respondents, although were rated as slightly less important overall. Responses in this category include mentoring, counselling and support structures in general, but do not include mental health and psychiatry services or family restoration and support from family members. Alcohol and drug support was also significant, and was identified by 11 respondents. Other key issues were financial and Work and Income support, and help with housing, each of which were identified by ten respondents.

The overall theme of the importance of support structures and stability is shown clearly in these responses. Without the stability of a steady income (be it through employment or

benefit) and proper housing, the discontinuity generated by release can quickly foster a return to criminal activity.

Fig 8. Varieties of assistance needed



These responses were generated from an unprompted question by the interviewer, roughly: what services or assistance do you need to help you live a crime-free life? It is obvious from the responses that this is something that prisoners have been actively thinking about, and that they are willing to accept assistance to live better lives on the outside. In the previous chapter, the Corrections senior staff noted that it was now intended that reintegration begin on the first day of sentence. A core question, then, is whether, in practice, prisoners were getting the assistance they needed.

4.5 Access to services inside prison

As part of the overall change to systems within the Department of Corrections, all sentenced prisoners are now allocated a Case Manager (usually a non-sworn officer with a background including social services) and a case officer (a prison officer working in the same area of wing on the prison as the person). This two tier system is supplemented by the 'Right Track' system, in which all Corrections staff foster and facilitate improved communication and opportunities for prisoners. The case management process involves working with the prisoner to plan how to meet their reintegrative needs, including:

- the needs or characteristics that are directly related to offending;
- behaviour, attitudes, and compliance;
- education and work;
- health, well-being, and lifestyle support; and
- housing, finance, and victim-related issues (OAG, 2013, 3.12).

In principle, these new relationships should lead to a plan by which the identified needs of the prisoner are planned for and timetabled over the life of the sentence, in an agreed manner between the parties, based on good mutual understanding of needs and how goals

will be met. In practice, however, the level of mutual understanding desired as an outcome appears to be absent from the prisoner's side, and that access to needed services remained elusive.

In answer to questions raised in the interview schedule, many participants noted that gaining access to services and programmes was often difficult and frustrating inside the prison. Although sentence and release plans frequently require participation in programmes, many complained that little had been done to actually ensure that they had been put on these programmes, even when the prisoner themselves requested them. As one respondent explained, this was often related to a lack of communication between different bodies:

> Parole says "do this" but then you aren't put on it. Frustrating. Corrections ignores the parole board. The guards do one thing, they psychs are doing something else, the parole board says this… Nobody is on the same page. Corrections mucked around a potential employer for 3 months… unacceptable. Fix a plan and stick to it.

One participant said that although his parole board had recommended counselling, he had not heard any more on the subject for eighteen months.

Another respondent also noted that the lack of communication extended to the prisoners themselves, who were often left out of the loop or given conflicting information:

> There needs to be more contact between Corrections and prisoners – we get told different things by different people. [We] need a clear timeline of how things are going to happen, less hot air and pipe dreams. Programmes also need to begin earlier in the sentence.

Many prisoners reported feeling that they had to make the effort themselves to be placed in programmes. There appears to be a general lack of awareness about what programmes were available and how to engage with them. Most heard about available programmes primarily through word of mouth from other prisoners (see s. 4.6 below). As one respondent noted, "you've got to do it all yourself; it's a real uphill battle achieving it by yourself". Without access to the required programmes, one respondent complained, he would likely have to spend another two and a half years inside, despite having asked to be put on them.

Ironically, given the case management and Right Track systems now in place, many prisoners felt that Corrections staff deliberately attempted to keep them from their courses until later in their sentences. A number of participants said that prisoners were often kept from doing courses until a parole board recommended them, and that if they had done them earlier there was a chance that the board might have released them.

Further complicating matters, as will be noted in 4.9 below, many felt that the programmes they were placed on were not suitable and that prisoner input in what they felt would be useful was not sought or taken into account: '[It's either] their way or the highway'.

The participants in general appeared at least partially unaware of the systemic changes that had taken place in prisons over the past couple of years. In the Corrections interviews for this project, a concern was raised that some longer-term prisoners were confused about the changes. The findings of this study appear to indicate that few prisoners understand the new model and, more importantly, that the system does not yet appear to have delivered more choices, options, access or services to the participants in this study.

4.6 Sources of information

As noted in the previous section, of those that answered the questions around sources of information for programmes and services, the majority received their information from other prisoners by word of mouth, rather than from case officers or other formal processes.

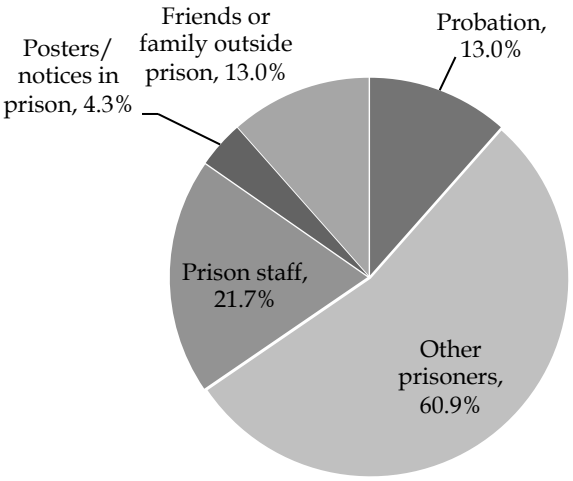


Fig. 9. Sources of information about services and programmes

Word of mouth as a key method of receiving information is of concern. It can be both unreliable and inconsistent, and does not necessarily reflect the actual needs of the prisoner who receives the information. Also, word of mouth is not very useful within a fast-changing context, where new developments are occurring.

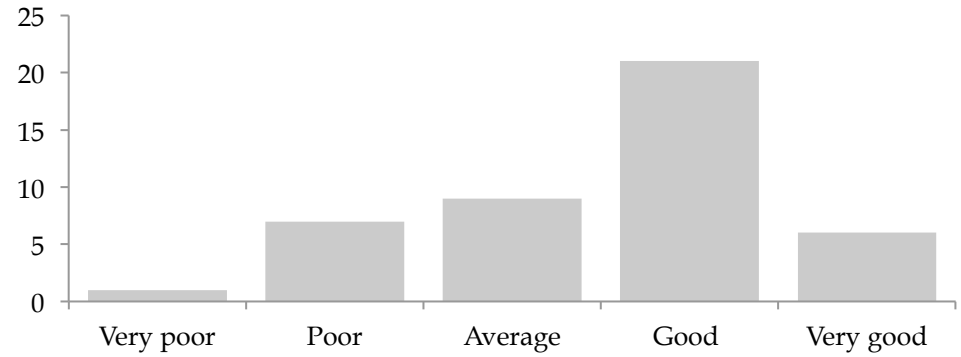
This issue relates to be services offered within prisons – both prison and NGO run programmes - and also what may be available to assist prisoners on release into the community. It raises the question or whether case officers and managers are ill-informed about opportunities, or whether there are communication problems, or again whether the complex systems in the prison setting militate against good quality engagement.

4.7 The case management and case officer systems

Participants in the prison survey were asked to identify their case officers and case managers by name. Forty of the 46 participants were able to name their case officer, a good result, but only 19 were able to name their case manager. Respondents in Christchurch Women's Prison were significantly more likely to be able to identify the names of both, with 100 percent of the ten able to name their case officer and 7 able to name their case manager. The ability to name case staff was considered as a baseline indicator of the existence of a working relationship, although other factors (such as changes of staff) may also be relevant. The findings of this question appear to be in line with the reported lack of access to programmes, as these are expected to emerge from the planning and facilitation process of the case management role. If this relationship is weak, the programmes and services function cannot readily be delivered.

Respondents were asked to rate the quality of their relationship with their case officer on a scale from very poor to very good. Responses were generally positive, with almost half (n=21) of respondents rating their relationship as good, and a further 14 percent (n=6) rating

Fig. 10. Reported relationship with case officer

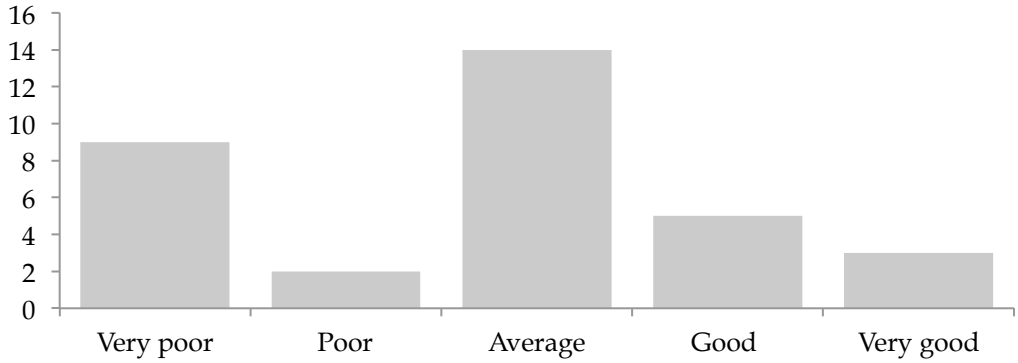


it as excellent. When asked why they gave this rating, the most common answers were that respondents' case officers were helpful (n=21) and that they were friendly (n=15).

More negative responses tended to be related to case officers who were unavailable and unhelpful. Responses in this vein included that they had rarely met their case officer (n=10) that the officers are uninterested or generally unhelpful (n=7) or that they can't get hold of them (n=6). Some respondents noted that their case officer's level of knowledge was low – one noted that their officer "hasn't got any real clue" about programmes and services in the prison and that they had to suggest things themselves, and another noted that their case officer was "ignorant", and did not provide helpful answers to questions. When asked what their case officer did, a large majority of participants were able to correctly identify the general aspects of the case officer's role, but 20 percent of the sample responded that they believed their case officer did nothing at all.

When asked to rate their case manager on a scale of 1 to 5 (Fig. 11), responses were generally more ambivalent, reflecting the lesser degree of awareness that respondents had of their case managers, as shown earlier. Forty percent (n=14) of respondents rated their relationship as average, while 28 percent (n=10) reported a positive relationship and 32 percent (n=11) reported a negative one. The response rate was only around 75% for this question, which is further indication of a disconnect between case managers and prisoners: a number felt they

Fig. 11. Reported relationship with case manager



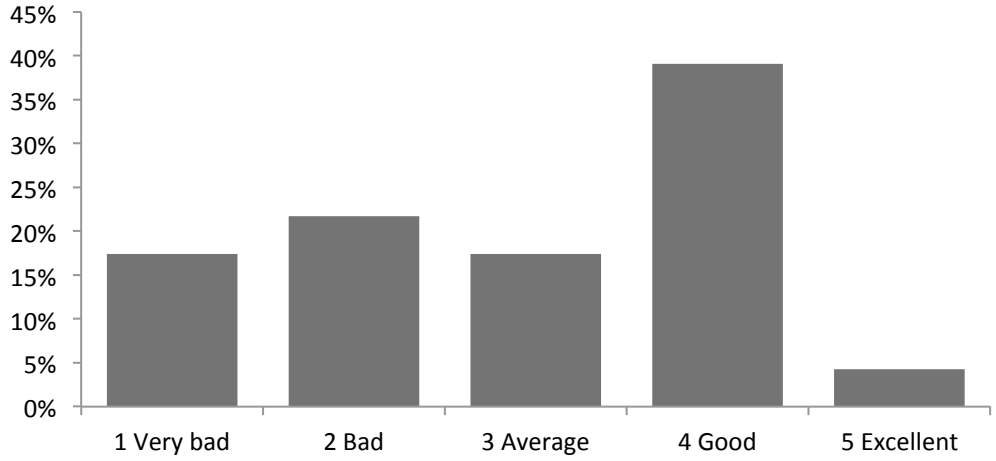
could not answer the question.

Of those who responded negatively, just over half indicated that this was because they did not know their case manager, while a further 40 percent were not sure if they had a case manager at all. Five respondents noted that they could not get hold of their case manager when they needed to.
As case managers represent the primary connection between prisoners and services of any kind, and are responsible for the planning of the prisoner's time in prison and beyond, these results show poor relationships that may hinder participants access to the services that they need. There is also evidence from the prisoner perspective of a lack of engagement in general:. Even though many participants were gaining access to programmes and services, they often felt that they were doing so alone, rather in spite of the system than in partnership with it; a potentially oppositional approach that case managers are intended to alleviate.

4.8 Probation officers

Fifty one percent (n=23) of respondents indicated that they had a probation officer. These respondents were asked to rate their experience with that probation officer on a scale of 1 to 5. Responses were positive and negative in roughly equal measure, indicating a wide range of differing experiences with probation. The most common rating was good with 39 percent (n=9) although only 4 percent (n=1) rated their probation officer as being excellent. Conversely a significant 18 percent (n=4) rated their relationship with their probation officer as very bad.

Fig. 12. Reported relationship with probation officer



Participants liked their probation officer because they were either friendly or helpful, which were identified by 42.8 and 38 percent of respondents respectively. Often these were both identified by the same respondent. A third of respondents identified that they felt that they could not trust their probation officers with details of their lives, even if they needed help, because if they did the officer would press charges or have them recalled to prison. There is evidence of a strong conflict of motivation here: respondents were unable to reconcile the difference between their parole officers' responsibilities to support their reintegration and their role as an enforcer or monitor.

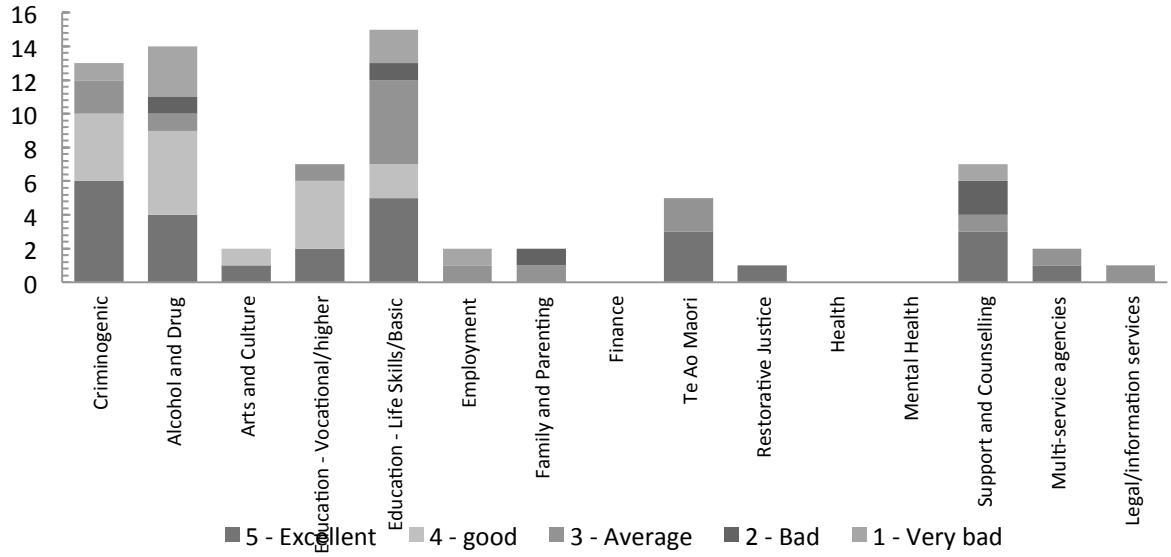
One respondent noted that when he asked his probation officer for help with drugs (which is identified throughout this report as a significant cause of recidivism), the officer instead called the courts and had the respondent's children taken away. Five respondents also noted

that they felt that their probation officer had filed unjustified negative reports about them that either did not reflect the truth or misrepresented small errors such as being slightly late to a meeting. A smaller group responded that they did not like their probation officer because they were simply either unfriendly/negative or didn't care/weren't helpful.

4.9 Services in prison and community – a prisoner perspective

Participant prisoners were asked to talk about services they have used in the prison, those they have not used but wish to, and those they intend to use in the community on their release. Figure 13 demonstrates that a wide range of programmes have been accessed by participants in the survey, but they have varied in their usefulness. Ratings given to these services were mixed, but more positive than negative. Alcohol and drug and criminogenic programmes were also commonly used, and while both were rated as being excellent by a large proportion of respondents, a significant proportion of those who used alcohol and drug programmes also reported negative experiences.

Fig. 13. Services and programmes used within the prison and their usefulness to participants



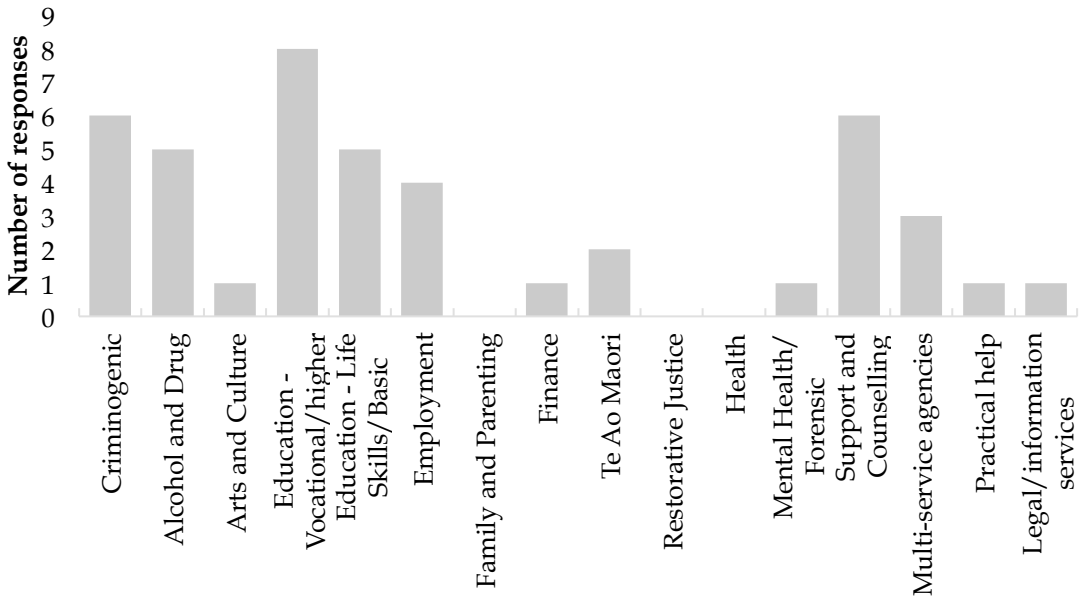
While most prisoners that reported undertaking programmes and services found them to be of at least some value, a number of prisoners reported them to be transformative. For example one prisoner noted that Kia Marama and STERP had fundamentally changed his life, while another described Sycamore Tree as opening his eyes to the plight of his victims, something that he had never before considered and found wholly affecting. However a lack of understanding of what was available and the eligibility criteria was widely reported:

> I'd like services to prepare for the real world, and then help getting work when released. But I'm not sure if anything like that is available.

Some of the requests appeared basic in nature, but were nevertheless important, for example one prisoner said "it would be good to have someone come in here to tell us how to get a job, you know, steer us in the right direction". Often prisoners found that programmes did not fit their needs, and that there was little consultation: "there needs to be more flexibility – not just their way or the highway".

The question about services that are not available, but which the prisoner would like to have, produced a wide range of responses. The number of services identified overall was low, with an average of less than one service per respondent. This may indicate either a low level of awareness of services or that prisoners' needs are largely being met well. The most common reasons cited for being unable to access programmes with the prisons were their unavailability in prison and generally being too busy. Four participants also complained that they had put their names on lists but had not heard back for a number of months. Perhaps the most interesting outcome from this was that most of the requests for services were related to educational or personal development needs. During the period of this study, we have often been told by participants that a much strong educational focus was coming for the prisons, to try and provide pathways to qualifications for prisoners who had left school early. It is possible that there may be a strong demand for such services. Basic literacy and numeracy programmes (beyond the assessment) were unavailable in Christchurch women's prison, which likely explains the popularity of that category, and a number of prisoners in all locations complained about an inability to access the computers required for more advanced distance learning courses. One respondent in the women's prison also noted that where there was previously a computer course available, it had been shut down part way through because the programme's suppliers had lost their contract in favour of another company that did not provide computer education. Respondents also complained that work skills and other courses were not available to prisoners with short sentences, and that access to some criminogenic programmes was perceived to be "put off" until after prisoners' first parole hearings. It was also noted by some that one-on-one counselling services were not available, which was an issue for one respondent who was not comfortable in groups, and for another who complained that sensitive information had been disclosed by other group members.

Fig. 14. Services and programmes that participants would like to use but cannot or have not

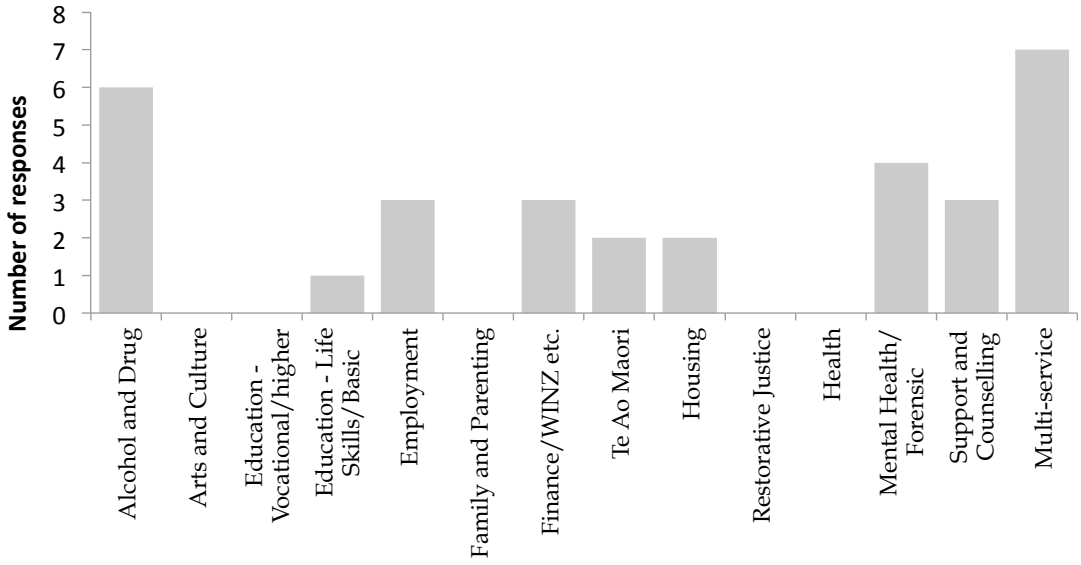


Access to services outside of prison is important because the break between prison life and the outside world is often profound and confusing. As such, it is during the first months of release that a significant amount of reoffending occurs. Many of the respondents to this survey were recidivists, and many identified the period directly after release as being problematic. One respondent noted that it was a well-known issue among prisoners that the $350 "steps to freedom" payment that prisoners receive on release was never sufficient to

meet their needs, while another stated clearly that this, in combination with the inability to access Work and Income benefits for the cost of living, was the reason he reoffended. A number of respondents observed that the discomfort of leaving prison is significantly exacerbated by their inability to organise things like benefits and accommodation until the day of their departure. Even simple matters such as finding transport to a Work and Income office or finding a temporary place to stay often meant reconnecting with old criminal friends. One participant noted that although Corrections provided the Out of Gate service, which meets many of these needs, it was not well known among prisoners and therefore underutilised.

Respondents were asked whether they planned to make use of any services or programmes after their release. Responses to this question were low, Only half of participants answering that they intended to make use of programmes and those who were cited an average of 1.3 programmes each. Considering that more than three quarters of this cohort admitted to needing help to avoid recidivism, this result is indicative of a low level of awareness of, or engagement with, programmes outside of prison. As nearly two thirds of this cohort expected to be released within six months, this lack of awareness is of concern.

Fig. 15. Intended use of services after release



The most popular category (n=7) was multi-service agencies, which include the services like Pathway Charitable Group, the Salvation Army, Out of Gate, which offer a range of support and reintegration packages that may include services from other categories like accommodation and employment help. Alcohol and drug support was similarly popular (n=6), although the numbers for all responses remain low.

4.10 Complex roles in a time of change

The interviews with prisoners throw up an interesting contrast to the discourse of effective change to reduce recidivism outlined by the Corrections senior regional staff. The senior staff interviewed recognise an unevenness in implementation deriving from a significant change in policies and practices in a large and complex organisation. This is strongly reinforced by interviews with prisoners, who seem to have little idea that there has been a

significant shift in prison policies and practices. In particular, they do not appear to be aware of a focus on reducing re-offending by offering close-in support.

Prisoners do appear to be developing more positive relationships with prison staff, and in the women's prison, in particular, a number of prisoners commented that they much preferred the officers to the other prisoners. One woman related how, while she was having massive panic attacks on first entering prison, one officer sat with her and talked to her. A number of other kindnesses were noted.

However, there is a clear clash between the more supportive roles of Right Track and the primary focus that needs to remain on safety and security. This is seen both within the prison, where it was reasonably evident that those with higher security ratings received much less support towards reintegration than others, and in the community, where there was sometimes an overt clash between the supportive and facilitative role of probation officers and the requirements for compliance with conditions.

In the prisons, both work and course options are withdrawn from prisoners who are given higher security ratings as a result of poor behaviour. There is a Matthew Effect in operation, where the prisoners with fewer problems get more services. This was also commented on by the Prison Manager, who noted he was concerned about the situation of high risk prisoners.

Overall, prisoners' understanding of the changed model is relatively poor. It appears to be filtered through two specific aspects. The first is the relatively equivocal and even fractured context of the prisons, where a range of views and skill levels exist among staff in relation to the recent policies. The second is that nowhere are prisoners explicitly taught the vision of prison as on ongoing 'transition', with the opportunity to learn new skills, gain new opportunities and garner new resources for life beyond the barbed wire. There are clear misconceptions among prisoners that the prison system is eager to keep them there, punish them and indeed send them back. In terms of all these factors, and especially the last one, the truth differs greatly from the perception.

5. NGO services in prison and community

This section is in two parts. The first reports on the findings of a series of interviews undertaken with NGO and community stakeholders between November 2013 and February 2014. These interviews probed into the relationships between NGOs and the Department of Corrections, with a focus on the prison-to-community relationships. Participants reported good relationships generally with the Department of Corrections, and had little trouble working with the prisons. However, an unmet need for services, and significant discontinuities between prison and community, were problems they faced in their work. The second part of the section categorises and discusses available services in the region.

5.1 Introduction

Most organisations were of the view that reintegration needed to commence at the start of the sentence, and involve partnerships with agencies:

> Reintegration should be a partnership between the Department of Corrections and the community. Prisoner reintegration should begin at the beginning of the sentence, not the end. It should involve family/whanau and other support people who should be accepted by the prison with open arms. These people are key to the Department's success in reintegrating prisoners back into the community.

And:

> I believe that planning for release should ideally start from the day the prisoner enters into prison. It should be in full partnership with the prisoner and their wider family.

The need for a long-term reintegrative approach was echoed by prisoners, as was the need for family support within the prison. From the perspective of alcohol and drug services, reintegration is crucial as "an integral part of recovery":

> It is pretty important as without support the person is likely to return to abuse and be back in prison pretty quickly. We provide opportunities for people for reintegration, but taking these up is the client's decision. Sometimes people aren't ready.

The period immediately following prison entry can be a time when change can be usefully addressed:

> It should be built around a shared understanding of what made the offending look like a good idea in the first place and what we will work on into the future to ensure that these actions no longer look or feel like a good idea. It should also include some aspect of being able to restore themselves back to the community.

Some agencies define reintegration more literally as the point at which the person returns into the community. At that point:

> All clients being released from prison should have support given to them to address/ find/ connect with the things that will best help them better their future.

Whether reintegration starts from the beginning of the sentence or at the end, a range of services are required to support the person. It is not the view of most agencies that prisoners can generally go back into the community with no help or no support. They need:

> Social work support, planning, A & D supports, mentors, accommodation, medical care, employment options, family support, the possibility of restorative justice and someone to talk to.

They also need to relearn some skills:

> Shopping, budgeting, building relationships, getting a job, training and education, meals in the community, socialising, after hours care.

These points echo those identified by prisoners both as causes of previous reoffending and as desired services. The goal of these kinds of services is to "reduce the challenges" faced by prisoners returning to the community, to strengthen relationships and meet individual needs.

Most of the reintegration organisations interviewed for the project offered services from the time of sentence through to release, although some worked only in the pre-release period.

The organisations all agreed there was an unmet demand for certain services. A big one in Christchurch currently is accommodation in the post-earthquake period. Most agreed there was a shortage there, as did prisoners. A perennial shortage is for residential places for A & D treatment services: "there is a waiting list in most areas of our work". However, upcoming new DHB contracts were expected to ease these shortages and provide better access to services in the community. The new contract was of interest because it was multi-sectoral, combining the work of a number of complementary services already working in the Canterbury community. Other shortages noted were for youth, women and those people who were parents of children.

5.2 Difficulties in working with Corrections

Organisations were aware that contracting their services could distort their core work. One held a contract with Corrections for the provision of employment support, but "we are very clear that we are a reintegration services and employment is a subset of what we do. This can be difficult when asked to report only on employment outcomes for the contract. We have to work a bit harder to remind ourselves of our actual services, rather than just our contracted services". The issue of 'goal distortion' is a recognised hazard for NGOs receiving government funding, and is discussed in section 5.3.

One agency talked about a relatively large reintegration project they had held for six years, and which received a positive evaluation. "It was pulled from us anyway and the resources went into reintegration services in the prison itself. It still leaves us mystified that the powers that be thought a community programme can be delivered in a Corrections environment".

Others could see that contractual relations could make the overall organisation less effective: "… and for this reason, we have only taken on contracts which allow us to work in the manner which we consider best practice. This has meant turning down some contracts and funding options and has held back our potential growth and development".

Sometimes, agencies have found it difficult to work in the prison environment:

> We are managing paid staff and volunteers in a prison environment with its own rules and security and not our own. This can become difficult at times. Diplomatic relationships with Department staff are a key and clashes in the workplace culture need to be juggled sensitively.

This mirrors the findings of international research, which has concluded that top-down policies of departmental integration with NGOs, along with shared and standardised training, are important to avoid conflict and keep 'institutional inconvenience' to a minimum.

The participants all enjoyed working with Corrections, but several noted that they would like "More input with the development of new contracts", or "include the NGO in the planning and contract development process". One person noted that they "quite enjoyed negotiating with the Department", but:

> My main concern is that the Department at times is not aware of its environment and what services really work. There is not enough consultation with the community around what contracts would be effective. They could learn a lot from what NGOs offer. I often think that the Department does not recognise the expertise that NGOs hold. Charities play a vital role in the criminal justice sector. They are innovative, independent and responsive where the Department often lacks in this area.

The need for consultation and the lack of recognition of services or expertise were almost universally cited as problems to be overcome in improving the contracting experience.

5.3 Reducing re-offending

The participant organisations all thought that their interventions reduce re-offending:

> Yes we can. Our research has shown that men supported by [organisation] are 43% less likely to return to prison (after 12months) than those not supported by us. We would like to grow and take on another social worker and have been asking for Corrections support in this for the last 12 months. This would allow us to expand from working with 20-25 men a year to 35-40 men a year.

Reoffending can be reduced by resolving problems, especially around alcohol and drug use. The building of relationships between organisations and individuals is also viewed as an important step in reducing reoffending. This is especially true when the organisation provides services in prison, and prisoners "learn to trust our organisation and connect with it at a later date".

Most organisations thought that reintegration services in the community are currently under-resourced. Some organisations "need more resources to meet the prison demand":

> Timing is important. The ability to send people directly from prison to residential services, for example.

Others also agreed that resources were important, but also pointed to the quality of decision-making:

> … it is about identifying movers and shakers in the Department and NGOs and developing services together.

This person noted that recently there was a meeting held in the DoC National Office about a particular service area in which her organisation is a national leader, but that neither she nor any other NGOs were invited: "Why were we not invited with 25 years or experience in the field?"

While there is generally quite good communication between the organisations interviews and Corrections staff, there are also some gaps in understanding at times:

> Yes. It has taken years to build a trusting, professional relationship with the Department. We have had to work hard at it. Often the management are more supportive than the ground floor staff.
>
> I think it is the culture of the prison staff that they see NGOs as do-gooders.

One participant thought that the most important thing was to be able to communicate the needs of Corrections to staff and volunteers, and that the organisation was small enough to allow for that. Another recognised the prison as a contested space, where there is, in essence, a rite of passage:

> There are no tensions now, as we have become known. But you have to prove your worth. It is a difficult environment, hierarchical, you need to be respectful. Once you know them, things are fine. Issues are with general officers, not case managers.

In final comments, several organisations mulled on the possibilities for Corrections to become stronger by working more effectively with other agencies. One person believed the Department was beginning to work more closely with other statutory agencies such as MSD, and though there might be value in that. Others were more interested in "how we could partner with Corrections on achieving shared goals, such as reducing offending".

5.4 Stocktake of reintegration services in Canterbury

This stocktake of services is based on a search undertaken between November 2013 and January 2014. During the period, it became obvious that changes were occurring constantly. For example, one new provider moved into the region to provide a programme called Storybook Dads, another provider shut its doors after a failure of the funding model and there was some evidence of change in education provision in at least the women's prison.

There are three main sources of funding for reintegration services. The Department of Corrections runs a range of services internally and contracts NGOs to provide services within the prison and in the community. The Canterbury District Health Board funds it own services and NGOs to provide health, mental health and addictions services in the region. Finally, other services are funded by NGOs who may themselves have received funding from a range of sources to carry out this work, or who deploy volunteers on reintegration programmes.

The stocktake also begs the question of what is a reintegration service. This simple (but rather circular) answer is 'anything that helps prisoners reintegrate into the community'. Using the 'transitions' model described above, reintegration services ease the transition from prison to community and make a successful transition more likely. Both are very broad definitions, but, if a narrower model is used, many effective services may be overlooked.

Sometimes quite unusual programmes may have reintegrative effects. For example, in 2013, Christchurch Women's Prison implemented the Puppies in Prison programmes, which had as its goals "to develop pro-social behaviours, building a sense of self-esteem and instilling… responsibility through the absolute care of the animal" (DoC annual plan 2014 p. 27). For this reason, little is excluded from this review.

Another aspect of reintegration that is important relates to the quality of the environment in prison. It is evident that, due to a range of policies (in particular, the Right Track programme), there has been a planned change in the within-prison environment in the region, reflecting new expectations around the goal of a period of incarceration. As noted in a previous section of this report, the switch from the concept of reintegration, to that of 'transitions', provides a philosophical focus for that change.

Under the new model of service delivery developed since 2011, case managers are responsible for helping prisoners to navigate and participate in programmes, as part of sentence planning and the pathway development processes. From our interviews with prisoners, it did not appear that this part of the service was well-developed at present. Prisoners did not often seem aware of the options available to them. Another concern, also mentioned above, is that high or medium high security prisoners, who often have the most needs, are usually not able to participate either in prison work or in reintegrative programmes. Not all of these prisoners have long sentences. It seemed clear that Corrections needed to find a way to deliver effective programmes to these groups.

In developing the model for this section, we have conceived of reintegration as occurring during five 'stages' of the prisoner's journey: on entering prison or on remand; during the sentence; pre-release; on release and in the community. The focus here is on programmes and services available, which necessarily omits the kind of environmental changes that may also facilitate improved reintegration through the building of self-esteem and confidence in prisoners.

5.5 Education

Education courses have had relatively low priority in prisons in recent years. Where there are courses, the focus tends to be on assessment and then literacy and numeracy. Courses tend to be relatively short term and offer a narrow range of skills. There are some issues around delivery – for example, the prisons regionally have not yet been able to work out how to provide internet access for IT courses; there remains a complete ban on internet within the prison sites.

In its recent (December 2013) report, the OAG notes that a gap exists between strategy and practice in relation to education and training. The gap occurs both at the regional and prison level, where no staff specifically oversee learning pathways, and in prisons, where "prison staff and offenders were often not aware of what education and training options were available" (4.3). This is similar to findings in this report.

During our interviews with Corrections regional staff, we were informed that no-one had yet been appointed to head the regional education strategy, although it was intended that this would occur shortly. So while there is now a national strategy and a national education co-ordinator for the prisons, regionally it appears that delivery is relatively sparse.

On entry to prison, literacy and numeracy assessments are given to every sentenced prisoner. These are delivered by Workforce Development as part of a national contract.

Literacy and numeracy skills are seen by Corrections as crucial for participation in a range of other programmes, including in-house, vocational and other education. No other specific assessment pathways exist, for example working with educational institutions where a prisoner is currently enrolled. The programme is described in the box below.

Numeracy and literacy skills
This is learner centred foundation learning delivery based on the adult learning progressions; on attaining sufficient LLN skills, learners progress within the contract to the Numeracy and Literacy unit standards required for achieving NCEA and/or work focussed learning incorporating unit standard study at foundation level. Anticipated tutor hours for 2013 are - CMP 3026; Rolleston 1890; CWP 188. We deliver to groups of 6-8 learners per class.

Education programmes in prison range from those provided by prison staff, those provided by contracted staff such as Workforce Development and those provided by volunteers.

At CMP, there are ongoing literacy and numeracy programmes, art courses, fitness and dance, guitar and a driver's licence programme. Volunteers deliver Storybook Dads.

Rolleston has a number of these programmes: art, fitness and dance, drivers licence and Storybook Dads. CWP is a much smaller prison with fewer programmes, with drivers licence and weaving. The literacy and numeracy course was reported as being minimal.

The driver's licence programme, computing and first aid courses are offered in all the Canterbury prisons and are considered 'vocational' courses. However, it does appear that the contract to provide computer courses at CWP has been altered: one person interviewed noted that the Workforce Development computing course had been abruptly curtailed. There is no internet access available to facilitate such courses.

The CML trade training workshops at Rolleston provide vocational education to prepare offenders for working on the Christchurch rebuild. These workshops are the 'star' of the education/ workforce development nexus in the region, but are able to take only a small minority of prisoners –less than 100 per year.

There is no systematic attempt by prison tutors or case managers to engage prisoners into education courses at the point of release from prison. Some of the multi-service support agencies, and in particular the Salvation Army, offer support and help to enter courses at local education providers. One such provider who also works within the prisons is Te Runanga o Nga Maata Waka. This Runanga, formed as a confederation of urban M□ori from non-local iwi, is a social service and training provider. Courses offered including carving, music creation, diploma in social services and other programmes that draw on the strengths of the local M□ori community. Courses are offered at the Nga Hau e Wha Marae. The services began as a response to unmet needs:

> The beginnings were tough going. The Runanga had to take the people that not many other providers or groups wanted to deal with (e.g. ex-inmates, rebellious rangatahi, homeless and ill people).

Other organisations, such as the Pathway Trust and the Out of Gate service can also support released prisoners into education and training programmes. Probation officers also have a role in assisting access to programmes in the community.

5.6 Employment

Only a very small proportion of prisoners have a clear employment pathway from sentence to release and beyond. Around 40% are employed at time of sentence, but most do not have a job to return to. The OAG report notes:

> Research shows that offenders who find stable employment after leaving prison are less likely to reoffend in the 12 months after their release.

The DoC is therefore focusing on increasing employability and employment within the prison system. There are three kinds of employment that prisoners may engage in while in prison:

- Working within the prison, in the grounds, kitchen, facilities, library or other areas;
- Working within a prison on external jobs (also called a 'working prison'); or
- Participating in a 'release to work' programme.

Most of the low and medium security prisoners interviewed for this project had a job within the prison, and mainly enjoyed working. None mentioned that they were also working towards a qualification relevant to their work experience. The main value of the work in prison appears to be (a) give prisoners something to do (b) reduce the need for ancillary staff (e.g. cleaners) and (c) provide a small amount of money to the prisoner's trust fund (usually 30 cents per hour).

Those who have or gain a high or medium high security ranking are not usually able to hold a prison job. The reasons for this are security-related (some of those categorised as high security have been involved in violent incidents in the prison) but it does mean that those with mental health or behavioural difficulties are unlikely to be able to work. To the extent that the employment programme is therapeutic, by adding some goals, structured work and a small amount of pay into the prison life, the neediest are missing out.

The working prison model exists in Canterbury through the workshops at Rolleston. The OAG report had some interesting observations on this model, and work in prison more generally:

> A working prison means that offenders participate in a 40-hour structured week to replicate what it would be like to work full-time in the community. This includes being engaged in rehabilitation programmes, education or training programmes, employment opportunities, or structured physical activity.
>
> The Department (DoC) intends that all prisons will move towards the working prison model. The other prisons that we visited already recognise the importance of keeping offenders occupied. In general, offenders told us that they enjoyed doing programmes and being kept busy.
>
> The working prison model reinforces the need for a scheduling system that will support offenders attending multiple programmes[5].

[5] http://www.oag.govt.nz/2013/reducing-reoffending/part4

The prisons are moving toward schedules that will support more prisoner activities. Just prior to our interviews at CWP in January 2014, lockdown had been extended from 4.30 to 8.30 pm in one of the blocks, providing four more hours each day for activities. We understand that this will be slowly rolled out across all the prisons in the region.

A small number of prisoners already work on a daily basis at jobs outside the prison, but little is known about them.

A number of organisations offer assistance and support for prisoners to get work upon release. Kingdom Resources provides pre-employment support, the Salvation Army and Pathway Trust support people into work (usually as part of a wrap-around support arrangement), and, before its demise, PART helped people into work through its linkages with individual employers. Nga Maata Waka does not have formal employment support, but its courses have a vocational focus (e.g. social services, carving) that can assist transition into work. He Waka Tapu has job placement staff to help clients into employment.

All jobseekers are in principle able to get support through Work and Income, though there is no information available on how much assistance that agency is able to provide to ex-prisoners. There is also little information overall on the work status of people in the post-prison period. This is an area of priority for further New Zealand study.

5.7 Health

The health services described in this section cover health and mental health needs. Addiction services are described separately. The need for prisoners to be healthy underpins other reintegration services. In recent years there has been a significant focus on prisoner health. A major report released in 2010 by the National Health Committee (shortly before it was disbanded) noted:

> Prison is an opportunity to protect, promote, and improve the health of prisoners and the community. But the NHC has found that the experience of imprisonment has negative health effects on those incarcerated and unintended consequences for the health and well-being of their family and wh□nau. Furthermore, the health effects of imprisonment fall most heavily on already disadvantaged communities – further undermining their resilience and increasing inequalities. It is a tragedy that M□ori make up half the prison population. There are significant consequences for wh□nau ora and hauora M□ori overall (2010 p. viii).

The NHC report found that the poor health and high mental health needs of prisoners contributed to their offending and made rehabilitation more difficult. The NHC argued that prison-run health services needed to be transferred to the Ministry of Health, as significant health challenges needed a more expert approach than available through Corrections' health services.

Prison mental health services in Canterbury are largely run by the Canterbury District Health Board. As such services are highly individualised, it was not possible to assess the effectiveness of such services. The DHB offers a wide range of forensic mental health services, including assessments, treatment and, if required in-patient care for violent, mentally-ill prisoners.

All prisoners receive a health assessment on entry to prison. For those with clear health or mental health needs, treatment services are provided. The prison nursing service has

recently improved its professional service through links with the CDHB. Services in the prison are expected to be of the quality of hospital nursing services.

Prisoners lose access to their community health providers on entry to prison in nearly all cases. The choice of health providers is replaced with access only to providers that work in the prisons. This is potentially a source of difficulties, especially where providers are chosen in the community on the basis of gender or cultural characteristics. As well, high mobility rates within the prison system may mean that the prisoner has to deal with a wide and inconsistent range of health providers. It was not clear to us in undertaking this stocktake that health services followed good practice at all times.

One important area is the continuity of care related to medications required by prisoners. Roger Brooking[6] notes that the DoC has a poor record in ensuring that needed medication is available in a timely manner, and notes instances in the past of withdrawal from medication or treatment being used as a form of punishment.

The aim of prison health services is that "the person gets the same level of health care in prison as in the community". In interviews with Corrections regional staff, we were told that, in reality, most prisoners receive better health care in prison than they would in the community. This was echoed by a small number of prisoner participants, who thought that they were better off in prison at the present time, although not always for health or mental health reasons. Often, but not always, such comments were linked to drug and alcohol addictions, but some related that their general and mental health had improved in the prisons. Much of what goes on in health service provision is not available for assessment (we recommend an evaluation study of this area in the context of the reintegration potential of health services).

Those who are under the forensic DHB team, in the high needs unit (that deals with people with severe mental illness and some with intellectual disabilities) or otherwise with DHB mental or physical health links, may encounter a reasonably smooth transition back into the community. For the rest, there is a post-release engagement or re-engagement that must occur with health services in the community. Before its demise, this was a core role of the Prisoner's Aid (PART) organisation. They "often used to take people to health appointments". It is clearly within the role of the Out of Gate service for short-term offenders, but there is no comparable service for longer-term offenders.

The other omnibus services, Salvation Army and Pathway Trust, also assist with engagement in community-based health services. These services, plus the Christchurch City Mission and other organisations provide services for people with health and mental health problems. The Mahi Tahi Trust is a kaupapa M□ori organisation that provides a range of courses for men, women and youth at Canterbury prisons and also in the community. It has a strong mental health focus.

There are a number of health providers for M□ori including He Oranga Pounamu (services for Ngai Tahu), He Waka Tapu (health and social service hauora), Kakakura mental health services (and Te Pito Ora short term residential service), Te Purapura Whetu trust (mental health and advocacy), Te Awa o te Ora Trust (mental illness/ day services) and Te Puna Oranga (holistic healing).

[6] http://brookingblog.com/2013/09/22/torture-in-new-zealand-2-pharmacological-torture/

5.8 Housing

There is no organisation that assists with housing disengagement at the point of entry to prison. For some, an abrupt or unexpected entry to prison may lead to a large amount of financial loss through bonds, the sale or giving away of furniture cheaply, or other losses. Many of those interviewed for this study were unable to exit their properties without loss, and those without family to fall back on were often unable to avoid leaving their property with criminal associates.

In prison, there are no courses that help people with matters related to accommodation on leaving prison. This is left to the transition period before release. A number of participants in this study considered housing to be the main area of difficulty in re-integrating prisoners in the Canterbury region, in the aftermath of the earthquakes.

Some organisations have a history of providing supported or transitional accommodation, often built around a programme. The Salisbury Street Foundation is perhaps the best-known of these. As the website notes:

> …it operates as a residential bridge between imprisonment and the community. Its objective is to assist clients to adjust to being back in the community and to live productive and crime-free lives.

The Salvation Army has a 70 bed complex at Addington that assists a range of people, including referrals from prison. This is for men only. There are a wide range of ancillary services offered, including budgeting, advocacy, networking, training and employment search.

Pathway Trust has a system of renting out fully furnished one bedroom flats for a 13 week tenancy on release from prison. During that time, the person will receive a significant amount of support, from shopping, like skills and budgeting, to counselling, building relationships, cultural needs and a range of other help, including a 24 hour support system.

The Christchurch City Mission offers a night shelter for men who do not have accommodation, plus meals and much other support. PART was an important facilitator of access to housing, and the Out of Gate programme (through Care NZ and Presbyterian Support) may take on that facilitation role for short-term prisoners. Spreydon Baptist Church and other church agencies may help with accommodation, including furnishings and other resources. Project Esther, out of the Baptist Church, is one of the few programmes to target assistance to women prisoners:

> Te Whare Atawhai is our emergency support accommodation offering short term relief from six weeks to six months. Women in situations of difficulty or crisis use the house as they transition to longer term accommodation. Women using this service have included those who have recently immigrated, are moving out of a mental health service or prison, are facing debt or who are leaving difficult relationships. There is a Family Worker attached to this service[7].

Social housing is often the best option for people leaving prison, through the Christchurch City Council or Housing New Zealand. However, since the Christchurch earthquakes, with so many units out of service, there has been a significant shortage of social housing in the

[7] http://www.swbc.org.nz/ministry/mens_and_womens/woman_at_risk

city. Issues that were discussed with us include safety in housing, poor quality and expensive accommodation, some ghettoisation occurring, some squatting and many people living in garages or insecure temporary accommodation.

The DoC is negotiating with several agencies to provide more affordable and supported housing for people leaving prison, and various schemes are in the planning stages.

Other residential programmes are available for those with mental health problems, addictions and so on. Comcare Trust offers both accommodation and a range of services to being coming out of mental health treatment. The Hoon Hay village is a staffed residential service with an individual rehabilitation programme. Pathways also provides residential support for people with mental illness. Various other services for mental health support can also be found[8].

5.9 Alcohol and drug services

The lack of adequate alcohol and drug assessments and treatment options has come under sustained criticism in recent years, in particular from Wellington-based alcohol and drug counsellor, Roger Brooking. In his book *Flying Blind*, Brooking argues that while around 80% of crimes are committed under the influence of drugs and alcohol, few prisoners receive a full assessment and fewer still adequate treatment. Most of those interviewed agreed in principle with this critique, but some noted that new contracts and services are becoming available through the CDHB, to cut waiting lists and offer an appropriate range of post-release programmes.

Alcohol and drug assessment services for the justice system in the Canterbury region are primarily carried out by ADAS (Alcohol and Drug Assessment Service), which is a separate service within Odyssey House. This service has two full time assessment staff, and also runs the *Driving Change* programme, for people with two or more driving-with-excess-alcohol charges or convictions (three staff work on this programme).

ADAS is funded by the Canterbury District Health Board. The pattern of assessments provided is interesting. The court system (where Brooking thinks services should be front-loaded) rarely asks for assessments, except when considering home detention or community service options. ADAS supplies around 50 such assessments per year.

There is no automatic assessment on entry to prison. Case managers do an initial assessment (this is a small questionnaire) and may request an ADAS assessment. In prison, the other opportunity for a full assessment is when a prisoner is coming up to their sentence release date (SRD). However, such assessments are fairly rare (less than one per week)

The main service provided by ADAS is therefore for the Parole Board. These number around 200 per year, and focus on finding community-based solutions for alcohol and drug problems.

There are beginning and intermediate alcohol and drug courses run within the Canterbury prisons, and a number of interviewees had attended these courses. These programmes are run internally. Drug Arm also runs programmes within CMP and CWP, and these are 'open' – prisoners can self-refer or be referred by case managers. Drug Arm also runs a range of youth justice-based programmes.

[8] http://mherc.org.nz/directory/accommodation-services

CareNZ runs a drug treatment unit at CMP. This involves an intensive programme to tackle drug and alcohol issues "in a supportive and caring environment". The DTU model is also offered in five other men's prisons.

Other in-prison services include the methadone programme. This is a supervised programme, administered in much the same way as the many medications prescribed for patients with mental health needs.

A number of services reported that the Department of Corrections was taking an increasingly pro-active approach to alcohol and drug services and addiction problems.

The Problem Gambling Foundation has had, until recently, a contract with the Ministry of

What do we do
in the Drug Treatment Unit?

The main focus of a DTU is group work and education. We first assess you and with your input we work on a treatment plan for the issues that impact on your life. We have community groups, group therapy and education groups throughout the week - some of the topics covered are:

- Anger management
- Healthy communication
- Healthy relationships
- Te Whare Tapa Wha model
- Recovery models

Health which includes visits and treatment in prison, but this has always taken place on a one-to-one basis, rather than as a programme. Case managers can organise for a counsellor to visit, assess and provide assistance to individual prisoners. The Salvation Army is taking over the contract, although it is not known whether this will include the services to prisoners.

As noted above, assessments increase in the period prior to release, and especially for Parole Board purposes. A number of agencies offer Alcohol and Drug treatment regimes in the community. A core goal is to get a seamless transition from prison. For example, if a person is to attend one of the residential courses, they should be able to enter straight from prison. However, due to waiting lists for many services, this goal is not usually met.

Drug Arm runs a Tuesday evening programme for recently-released prisoners, in conjunction with Pathway Trust. This course is not open to all. Other non-residential programmes are run by the City Mission and the Salvation Army. All services available in the region are available to released prisoners. The Pacific Trust has a focus on services to Pacific people as well as the wider community.

There are a number of residential programmes, including Odyssey House, Salvation Army Bridge Programme, He Waka Tapu and the Nova Trust. These services tend to have waiting lists, which means that the 'ideal' of direct movement from prison to treatment service is not often achieved.

There are also cross-over services for mental health and addictions, such as the Hereford Centre. A list of services is available online[9].

5.10 Family and parenting, arts and culture, community and spiritual

The role of families in preventing recidivism is reasonably well understood in the literature (e.g. Gordon 2009), but programmes to support families to maintain contact with prisoners, and plan an effective life beyond prison, have not generally been available. The work of Pillars Inc over several years has begun to lead to change within prisons in the region (and more widely).

The VIP family visiting centre at CMP offers a range of family-friendly visiting options for low security prisoners. This was established using the DoC innovations funding, and involves providing toys, books and games to ensure interaction between imprisoned fathers and their children. It has shown a number of signs of success, and is well-supported at the prison. The need now is to extend it to all parents in prisons in the region.

There are a range of parenting programmes in prisons in the region. These essentially provide knowledge and skills on parenting strategies to parents. The DoC has a contract with the Parents Centre, but we were unfortunately unable to find information online about these courses, and the organisation did not respond to our approach for information.

Stopping Violence Services, Relationships Aotearoa and He Waka Tapu Ltd offer domestic violence prevention services into the Canterbury prisons, and the Male Survivors of Sexual Abuse Trust also provides services as required.

Pillars also received a small amount of innovations funding to trial a family reintegration programme covering pre- and post-release periods, but this trial is not complete.

9 http://www.adanz.org.nz/Directory?ServiceFilter=alcohol&DHB=42&TownCity=7&ServiceName=&ServiceNameList=&ServiceCategory=7&ServiceType=

PART offered a range of services to families, including funding for children living in other regions to visit their imprisoned parent. It is not known at this stage whether this funding will be continued with another provider.

In CWP, the Family Help Trust offers services to the Mothers and Babies unit:

New Start Plus is a one on one programme, focussing on the following key service objectives:

- To provide mothers with information, guidance and support through the pre-natal period.
- To provide mothers with support to have an enjoyable breastfeeding experience.
- To encourage mothers to express warmth and affection towards their growing child.
- To encourage mothers to recognise and respond to their child's needs and behaviours.
- To encourage mothers to initiate positive social interactions and play with their child.
- To encourage the use of positive child rearing methods.
- To encourage mothers to provide consistent and predictable daily routines for their child.
- To encourage mothers to seek appropriate medical treatment and growth and development checks.
- To encourage mothers to provide nutritious first foods and monitor their child's teeth care.
- To provide mothers with information that will ensure a safe environment for their child, including safety from family violence and abusive parenting.

Once the pregnant mother has been assessed by the prison as being appropriate for the infant to remain in the Mother and Baby Unit, a referral is made to Family Help Trust. It is possible for us to be visiting this mother for almost three years pre-release, and provided she is released into the Christchurch community area our service will continue beyond the wire until this target infant is 5 yrs old.

A range of art, pottery and weaving courses are available in the prisons, although there is no art course at CWP currently. Providers include:

- Corina Hazlett (painting)
- John Surfield (ukelele)
- The Weavers Collective (weaving)
- Margaret Higgs-Ryley (pottery)
- Petra Laskova (fitness and dance)

There are a wide range of Christian-based services to prisoners, from the prison chaplains, through a range of Christian-based organisations and many churches and churchgoers. There are five prison Chaplains in Canterbury, who provide denominational support to prisoners, often acting as counsellors and advisors. The involvement of other religions in prison visiting and services is not known.

5.11 Information services and restorative justice

The demise of PART has also left a hole in prison information services, especially for visitors. The new Prison Information Service, run by the Canterbury Howard League in all

three Christchurch prisons, has provided a new service to empower prisoners and provide information for them. Run by volunteers, mainly law students, and backed up by legal services, the PIS is a flexible and broad-ranging information service. Other personal development courses include Workforce Development's *Living Skills* course, which aims to provide the skills required on release from prison such as budgeting, employment, personal relationships and communication skills. This is offered in all three regional prisons.

Restorative justice services are offered through Edmund Rice Justice and Sycamore tree (through Prison Fellowship).

5.12 Te Ao Māori

There are a range of M□ori services in prison, offering tikanga, te reo M□ori and a range of cultural services, such as kapa haka. Kowhiritanga is a programme specifically directed at women, and focuses on their experiences of abuse, using a range of therapeutic interventions. The Mahi Tahi trust also offers a range of cultural courses in the regional prisons, with a strong mental health focus within a M□ori cultural perspective.

There are no M□ori focus units in the Canterbury region.

The M□ori view of reintegration differs from the p□keh□ perspective. Reintegration is not about getting back into the community, but about re-establishing one's roots in M□ori heritage, understanding the tikanga (culture/customs) and te reo M□ori and therein gaining the strength, skills and pride to live a crime free life in society.

There is little doubt that the p□keh□ dominant view of reintegration: of skills development, work focus, personal development and overcoming problems, is to an extent in conflict with the M□ori view. There is a significant voice within the Corrections community calling for a change towards a stronger tikanga focus for reintegration programmes[10]. At this point the evidence either way is anecdotal: there is a need for research into what works in reintegration services and approaches.

Several recidivist offenders noted during their interviews that the prisons had become 'more p□keh□' over time, and that there appeared to be few programmes for M□ori in the prisons currently. While acknowledging more 'engagement' through the case manager approach, some of these M□ori prisoners thought that prison was: "worse, to be honest – there's not much in the way of programmes now".

[10] http://artsaccess.org.nz/Tikanga+a+key+to+reducing+Maori+recidivism

6. Conclusion

This project initially aimed to document and provide a stocktake of reintegration services in the Canterbury region, and understand the institutional relationships that underpinned them. However, what we instead found was organisations and people operating within a period of enormous change. The areas of change noted in this report included:

- The philosophies and goals that underpin reintegration, including reconstructing the notion of 'reintegration' itself, including a reconsideration of what effective services would look like, and the development of the notion that reintegration should commence on the first day of sentence;
- Preliminary and fairly minor consideration of the role, operation and effectiveness of the case manager and case officer service, primarily from the point of view of prisoners;
- The service contracts and systems between NGOs and the Department of Corrections, and especially the increase in multi-service provider funding;
- The loss of the crucial but low-level PART contract during the period of the research; and
- The new increase in mental health and alcohol and drug service funding through the Canterbury District Health board, and consequent new services.

Like any system during a period of change, and especially in the complex triumvirate of institution, community and individuals that makes up the reintegration terrain, we found unevenness and contestation in understanding of the changes. In section three of this report we outlined the results of eight interviews with regional Corrections staff. While we presented these as a relatively coherent account, in fact the staff had divergent ways of describing the changes, including how widespread they were and what they consisted of. Was the new regime about meeting state sector targets or a significant philosophical shift to a more liberal regime?

We were nowhere, in public documents, able to find a clear statement of the shifts in reintegration that are occurring in prisons and beyond. We understand the difficulties in articulating new philosophies around Corrections in such a highly contested and political terrain. But the main implication is that the NGOs, as increasingly important partners in achieving the sector targets and philosophical goals, did not always share a good understanding with Corrections over the direction of policies and services. One area requiring more work

Then there are the prisoners who are incorporated into the new model of 'transitions', but may carry with them much older ideas of both the nature of the prison institution and of the transitional work they may have undertaken. During the period of this study, one wing at Christchurch Women's prison extended the nightly lockdown time from 4.30 pm to 8.30 pm. We assumed that this was part of the engagement strategy that was being promoted by regional staff, as a time to undertake more integrative programmes, but when we asked participants in the prison survey, they had no idea why the extension had taken place, and some noted that it was hard to adapt to longer hours unlocked with nothing to do. We think that a lot more can be done to educate prisoners about the new reintegration goals and how they might use their time in prison to create better lives outside.

We were concerned to find that higher security prisoners were usually unable to work or attend programmes within the prisons. It appears that a higher security rating upsets the

delicate balance between security and development that has developed in the prisons. For these prisoners, security trumps work or programmes. Yet the high security prisoners we interviewed also had high reintegrative needs, although a small number did not want to engage in programmes or support systems (this group was interesting: just as the prison system did not engage with them, neither did they wish for engagement). Is it possible to maintain more stringent security while providing useful and developmental activities for this high needs group? We are unable tell from our current research, but think that further work needs to be done on this.

There are other institutional complexities. If the work of the prison is to prepare the prisoner for a good transition, this needs to include adequate preparation for the Parole Board process which is so important for longer term prisoners. The main issue appears to be that, as a result of a prisoner's security status, or other reasons, the prisoner is not always able to be adequately prepared for parole, when otherwise they may be eligible. Corrections, through Probation Officers, has the responsibility of providing a report to the Parole Board, but there appears to be no specific responsibility from the prison 'side' to fully prepare the person for parole.

6.1 Gaps in reintegration services

Gaps were identified in most areas of reintegrative services, both inside and outside the prisons. The area of education services is one where services are likely to increase in the next period (and have already increased off a low base). In the Corrections education plan, goals are to assist prisoners to achieve NCEA level 2, especially if they are 18 or under, and to provide vocational pathways through trades and non-trades training. We found little evidence of an integrated pathway from prison to beyond in terms of education goals. We suggest that a regional education plan, along the lines being developed by COMET in Auckland, should be a priority in the Canterbury region, and that resources should already exist to do this work. A number of agencies – the Ministry of Education, the TEC, the Ministry of Social Development, Careers NZ and others – have an interest in fostering improved qualifications for life and work among disadvantaged populations, and should be able to assist in prison-to-community planning (once some institutional barriers – that the services offered by these organisations usually exclude services to prisoners – are removed)[11].

The area of health is an interesting one, with multiple funders, multiple players and a wide range of services. There is scope for prisoners to fall through the cracks on leaving prison, and we were unable to properly test the view of Corrections staff that generally speaking, people get better health care in prison that outside. There is a clear need for assistance to navigate the range of options on leaving prison. We think that a further research study needs to be undertaken covering the health and addiction service pathways for people in prison and beyond. We note that PART played an important role in re-engaging released prisoners with community health services.

Most respondents across sectors acknowledged that accommodation is a particular issue in Canterbury in the post-earthquake environment. There are a variety of schemes underway to try to alleviate the accommodation shortage, but these often involve temporary or crisis

[11] Dr Gordon is currently working on a parallel project looking at youth services among disadvantaged groups, and she has operated a transfer of knowledge from that project to this. We did not interview stakeholders from these agencies for this project, and the question of the education of prisoners came up only tangentially in the other project.

services, rather than good quality affordable housing. At this point it is too early to tell whether permanent solutions will emerge from current negotiations and discussions.

The final area to be highlighted here is that of employment. The working prison model at Rolleston is a worthwhile project, not only providing work opportunities but providing socially useful work and the chance of credentials that will lead to jobs on the outside. While our concern in this report is with prisons, we are also aware of the focus of Community probation in getting people on community sentences into work. While the provision of employment opportunities is only a solution to the problems of reintegration in those cases where other problems and issues are less severe, access to employment was the single biggest need expressed by participants in the prison survey.

6.2 The last word

This study is the first of its kind to provide an overview of reintegration services in a given region in New Zealand. While a national focus is needed on the core questions around reintegration strategies, a regional focus provides the opportunity to work to the strengths in a given area. The Canterbury region faces both challenges and opportunities as a result of the 2010-11 earthquakes. While much has been achieved, both NGOs and the DoC recognise the opportunity for better services in the area. Many people imprisoned in this region want to come and live good lives here after prison, but face significant problems and barriers in doing so. To the extent that they have a successful transition from prison, they might be able to live peacefully and crime free as our neighbours.

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Appendix 1. Corrections interview schedule

In completing this interview schedule, you understand that all your rights to privacy and confidentiality are maintained. The research team may quote anonymously from your interview on the basis (a) that the material will be an accurate representation of your views and that (b) nothing in the quotation can identify you or your agency as the source of the quotation. Should the team wish to attribute any part of your responses to you or the agency you represent, or where the source of the quotation is clearly identifiable as you or your agency, the team will apply directly to you, by email, for permission to use such quotation(s) or information.
Please provide us with your name, agency and contact details. None of this information will be used without your express permission.

Name

Position

Agency

What philosophies do you think guide reintegration/transitions services in the Canterbury region at present?

Have these changed in recent years? if so, how?

We are interested in the ideas of CONTINUITY and CONSISTENCY in transition services. What do they mean and are they important factors?

What factors affect the relationships between Corrections services in the region and NGOs?

In your view, do NGOs work well in the prisons? If so why? Do prison staff enjoy interacting with NGOs? What can be done to improve relationships?

How would you describe the status of transition services in the region currently?

What is the relationship between case management and transition services?
e.g. case management is a transition service, case management is intended to facilitate transition, etc.

In the past it has been said that people go into prison 'bad' and come out 'worse', due to punitive regimes and environments. Do people come out worse, or better, now? Why?

Turning now to specific services offered: here is a list of types of services that are offered in this region. Which of these are the most important from your perspective and why?

A and D, Arts and culture, education, employment, family and parenting, finance, te ao Maori, housing, restoration, information, health, life skills, mental health, support and counselling

Do people get access to the transitions services they need in a timely manner? What do you think are the most important?
For example, we have heard that people are being denied parole because they cannot get into residential AOD services.

It has been suggested that some groups are more difficult to transition into the community than others. Who are these groups? What do they need?

Does the balance need to change between funds spent to maintain people in prison and those required to transition people into good lives in the community?

Planning programmes from day one to last day

At the regional level, is further planning and development of quality transitions services underway? What principles does it work by? What will happen as a result?

Do you have any other points you would like to make?

Appendix 2. Community interview schedule

In completing this interview schedule, you understand that all your rights to privacy and confidentiality are maintained. The research team may quote anonymously from your interview on the basis (a) that the material will be an accurate representation of your views and that (b) nothing in the quotation can identify you or your agency as the source of the quotation. Should the team wish to attribute any part of your responses to you or the agency you represent, or where the source of the quotation is clearly identifiable as you or your agency, the team will apply directly to you, by email, for permission to use such quotation(s) or information.
Please provide us with your name, agency and contact details. None of this information will be used without your express permission.

Name	
Position	
Agency	
Phone number	
Email address	

What is your philosophy of transition and reintegration services?
This may cover - when should assistance be provided, what should be the goals and how should these be achieved?

What services do you currently offer that assist prisoners in their transitions to and from prison?

What are the goals of those services?

At what points in the imprisonment process are your services offered?
Tick as many boxes as required

- ☐ While a person is on remand in prison
- ☐ On sentence
- ☐ In prison (prior to pre-release period)
- ☐ In prison (in last two months)
- ☐ At the point of release
- ☐ Post-sentence in community

Are your services offered to....

- ○ Men
- ○ Women
- ○ Both

And where are your services offered?
Tick as many boxes as required

- ☐ Christchurch Men's Prison
- ☐ Christchurch Women's Prison
- ☐ Rolleston Prison
- ☐ Youth justice facility
- ☐ In community
- ☐ Other, please specify... _____

In order to understand transition services, we have divided them up into a number of separate domains, listed below. Please tick the domains covered by your services

- ☐ Alcohol and/or drug treatment
- ☐ Arts and culture
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Employment
- ☐ Family and parenting
- ☐ Te Ao Maori
- ☐ Housing/accommodation
- ☐ Restoration
- ☐ Information
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Life skills
- ☐ Mental health/forensic
- ☐ Support and counselling

Do you have a contract with the Department of Corrections and/ or with other government agencies (e.g. DHB) to provide reintegration / transition services?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

- Have had in the past

What is/are the contract(s) for?

Have you seen any unmet demand for services or service approaches in the areas in which you work? If so, please describe

There is a literature that argues that the effects of having paid contracts distorts the work of NGOs, channelling services into areas that are paid and perhaps changing the role of the agency and its staff and volunteers. Do you have any views on that?

The literature also suggests that contracts can make agencies less effective in their overall goals, due to focus on only some areas of their work, a loss of independence and similar factors. What has been your experience?

Can you think of ways that the contracting experience can be improved?
We wonder whether you need more voice and empowerment, better consultation, different systems and so on...

You have indicated that you have had contracts to provide transitions-related services in the past. What were these for?

Why did the contracts end?

What effects did having, and then not having, contracts with the agency have on your organisation and services?

Is the work covered in your ex- contracts being undertaken by other agencies? If so, which ones? If not why not?

If you were offered a similar contract again, would you take it?

The Government's goal is to reduce re-offending. Can the services you offer assist that goal? If so, how? With the resources and reach that you have in the Canterbury Region, how much difference can you make?

Do you think the area of transitions/ reintegration services that you know of in the Canterbury Region is under-resourced? What resources are needed, that you know of?

It is suggested in the literature that there are often gaps in understanding between prison staff and NGOs. This may be caused by prison staff not knowing what NGOs are doing, or by NGOs not being familiar with the regime (including security in prisons). Do either of these situations apply to people in your organisation?

Please list all the sources of funding that you have for transitions or reintegration services

- ☐ Department of Corrections contracts
- ☐ CDHB contracts
- ☐ Other central or local government agencies
- ☐ Fundraising
- ☐ Donations
- ☐ Other, please specify... _____

Is there anything else you would like to say on this topic?

Appendix 3. Prison survey

Section one – Background information

Female

What prison are you in?
Christchurch Women's Prison

How old are you?
18-24 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-64 65+

How would you describe your Ethnicity?

European/Pakeha Maori Pacific Peoples Asian Other _____

Are you on remand or sentenced
Remand (go to question10)
Sentenced

What is your security classification?
Minimum Low Low-medium High Maximum

What is your RoC*RoI score?

How long is the sentence you are currently serving?
0-6 months 7 months to a year >1-2 years >2-5 years
>5-10 years >10-15 years >15 years or more

When do you expect to be released?
0-6 months 7 months to a year >1-2 years >2-5 years
>5-10 years >10-15 years >15 years or more

Life after prison?
Not seeking to change
Wanting to change a little
Wanting to change a lot

Have you been sentenced to prison before?
Yes No (if no proceed to question 11)

What reasons led you to reoffend, and how important do you consider them to be?
(1 Not important, 2 Somewhat important, 3 Very Important, 4 Critical)

_____ 1 2 3 4
_____ 1 2 3 4
_____ 1 2 3 4

If you have one, how would you rate your probation officer?
1-Very bad 2-Bad 3-Average 4-Good 5-Excellent

Why?

Do you feel you need assistance to help live a crime free life?
Yes No
If no, why not?

If yes, what assistance would you find helpful, and how important would you consider it to be?
(1 Not important, 2 Somewhat important, 3 Very Important, 4 Critical)

_____ 1 2 3 4
_____ 1 2 3 4
_____ 1 2 3 4
_____ 1 2 3 4
_____ 1 2 3 4

Section two – Services inside prison
When you entered prison either on remand or as sentenced prisoner what problems were caused by your sudden incarceration?

What services or programmes are you aware of that you can use while inside prison?
Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Are there any services that you would like to make use of but you have not, or cannot?
If yes, what are they?

b. Why are you not using them?

Which services or programmes inside the jail have you used, and how useful did you find them?
(1 Of no use, 2 Of little use, 3 Of some use, 4 Very useful 5 Extremely useful)

_____ 1 2 3 4 5
_____ 1 2 3 4 5
_____ 1 2 3 4 5

_____ 1 2 3 4 5
_____ 1 2 3 4 5

Section three – Services outside prison

What services or programmes are you aware of you can use when you leave prison?

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Service: _____
Provider: _____

Which services or programmes do you plan to make use of when you leave prison?

How did you find out about these services?

Section four – relationships/other

Who is your case officer? _____
Who is your case manager? _____

How would you rate your relationship with your case officer?

1-Very bad 2-Bad 3-Average 4-Good 5-Excellent

Why?

What does your case officer do?

How would you rate your relationship with your case manager?

1-Very bad 2-Bad 3-Average 4-Good 5-Excellent
Why?

What does your case manager do?

Is there anything else you would like to say about things or services that can help you in prison or in the community. What is it like here now? Have things got better in terms of helping prisoners?