



Te Ope Whakaora

Social Policy & Parliamentary Unit

Working for the eradication of poverty in New Zealand

CATCH 22: The Unattainable Basic Necessities of Reintegration

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*‘While men go to prison,
in and out, in and out,
as they do now, I’ll fight’*
—William Booth

Catch 22: an impossible situation where you are prevented from doing one thing until you have done another thing—that you cannot do until you have done the first thing.

INTRODUCTION

The history of The Salvation Army is rooted in our mission of caring for people, transforming lives and reforming society by God’s power. Over the years, our commitment to prisoner reintegration has remained steadfast since establishing the Prison Gate Brigade homes in 1883 in New Zealand. We continue to provide vital support services through Reintegration Services for many leaving prison, to help them rebuild their lives and avoid reoffending.

Collaboration with the Department of Corrections has been an essential aspect of our work, aiming to improve outcomes for those leaving prison and reduce reoffending rates. Furthermore, through our Social Policy and Parliamentary Unit, we advocate for systemic and structural changes that promote better outcomes for people incarcerated.

Whilst progress has been made, challenges remain in addressing the concerning trends within the prison population. The overrepresentation of Māori, high rates of recidivism and the growing remand population highlight the need for continued efforts to support successful reintegration.

Access to basic necessities to function in society, such as identification, bank accounts and driver licences poses significant challenges for individuals leaving prison and finds them in a catch-22 cycle. The lack of proper identification can hinder the process of reintegrating into society, while limited access to banking services and driver licences, affects employment opportunities and financial stability.

This paper aims to shed light on the challenges faced by people leaving prison and transitioning back into society, and proposes practical improvements that can make a tangible difference in the reintegration process. Recommendations include streamlining the process for obtaining identification documents, promoting initiatives for immediate access to banking services, revising the Steps to Freedom grant to provide more comprehensive support and collaborating with driver education programmes to facilitate obtaining driver licences.

During the election campaign, the topic of crime and punishment once again gained significant attention, with a focus on a tough stance on crime appealing to many members of the public. Regardless of the various perspectives presented, regarding New Zealand's approach to addressing crime, it is a fact that individuals will continue to be incarcerated and released from prisons. To break the cycle of reoffending, we must improve the support provided to individuals upon their release. The Salvation Army advocates for all who come through our doors, including many walking out of the prison gates. We believe in offering the necessary support to ensure individuals have the resources and guidance they need for successful reintegration into society.

We urge government departments, including Corrections and the Ministry of Social Development, to implement these recommendations and address identified challenges. Collaboration with private sector banking, community organisations and non-profits can enhance the reintegration process, improve outcomes for people leaving prison and reduce the likelihood of reoffending. Our commitment remains steadfast in restoring people to society, advocating for systemic changes and providing necessary support for successful reintegration.

THE SALVATION ARMY HISTORY

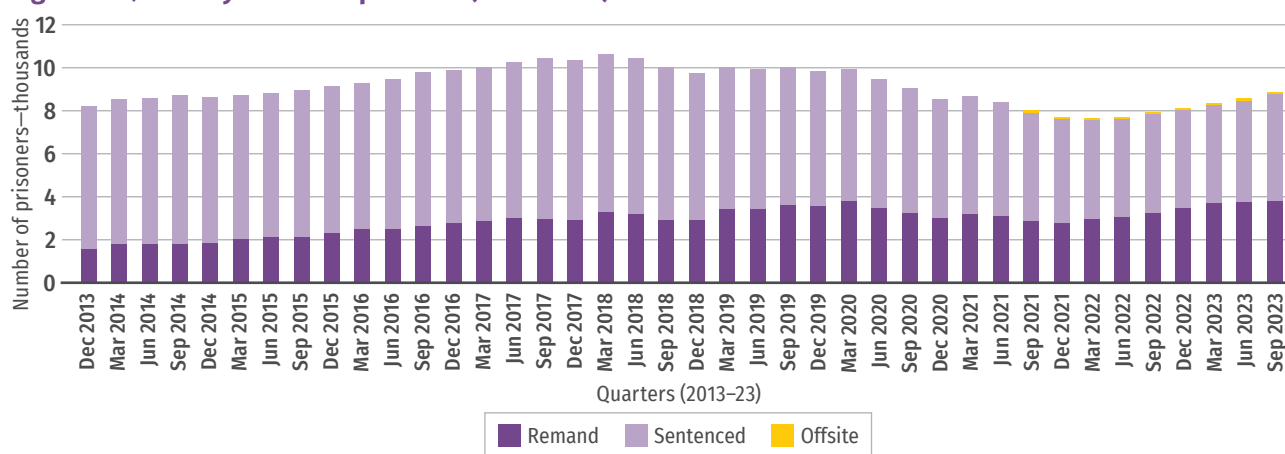
In 1883, The Salvation Army started supporting men upon their prison release in Melbourne, Australia, through the 'Prison Gate Brigade'. This programme aimed to help them build a new life and avoid reoffending. It was the world's first of its kind and later expanded globally. Our co-founder William Booth outlined measures for successful reintegration, including opening homes near prisons, assisting first-time offenders and providing ongoing support. These measures continue to be crucial in our efforts to reintegrate offenders into society. In 2022, our Reintegration Services and Bail Houses assisted around 900 people with housing, employment and welfare, resulting in significantly reduced reoffending rates of 75–80 percent.¹ Our broader services, like corps (churches), Community Ministries (welfare) and addiction programmes also support those coming out of prison. As we adapt to changing contexts, our goal remains to provide restoration to individuals leaving prison and returning to society.

The Salvation Army has a memorandum of understanding with Corrections to work in partnership to improve outcomes for those who leave prison and reduce reoffending. Our Social Policy and Parliamentary Unit advocates for systemic changes to enhance outcomes in our prison systems. This report builds on our previous work, especially 'Beyond the Prison Gate: Reoffending and Reintegration in Aotearoa New Zealand' (2016), which highlights the system's failure for prisoners and the public.²

WHERE ARE WE NOW?

As of September 2023, there were 8893 people incarcerated in our prisons, a 16.5 percent decrease from the highest recorded population of 10,649 in March 2018 (Figure 1). Despite this decline, concerning trends persist in the demographics. Māori account for 52 percent of the prison population, followed by European at 30 percent and Pasifika at 11.9 percent. Compared to other OECD countries, New Zealand has the 16th highest imprisonment rate. While the overall incarceration rate dropped from 214 adults per 100,000 population in 2018 to 149 per 100,000 in 2022, it's important to note that there are notable disparities between the Māori and non-Māori populations. The Māori incarceration rate (720) remains seven times higher than that for non-Māori (108) over the past five years, showing little change.

Figure 1: Quarterly Prison Population (2013–2023)³



The most common offence leading to imprisonment is sexual assault (21.3%), followed by acts intended to cause injury (19.8%) and unlawful entry with intent/burglary (10.5%). The largest age group in prison is 30 to 39 years old (36%), followed by 40 to 49 years old (20.9%). The prison population is divided into five security classifications: maximum (1.5%), high (15.2%), low medium (26%), low (20.8%) and minimum (34.3%).

Traditionally, prisons were designed for a 15 percent remand population. However, from 2014 to 2020, there was a significant increase in people remanded in custody. The Justice Sector Long-Term Insights Briefing on imprisonment revealed that those meeting the threshold for ‘offending on bail’ reverse onus cases more than doubled from 706 in January 2015 to 1490 in January 2020, attributed to technological advances and improved data capture by police. Prolonged court progress led to extended custody periods, providing more opportunities for defendants on bail to breach conditions and reach the remand threshold. For men, remanded individuals make up 37 percent of the total prison population, while for women, it’s 53 percent. Trends in this report anticipate that over half of the prison population could be held on remand in 2030 to 2050. Remanded custody creates disruptions to employment, education, housing and accessing support services.

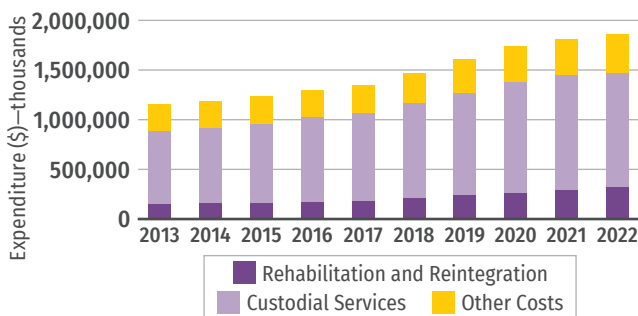
The composition of the prison population has experienced significant transformations over the past 60 years. According to the Justice Sector Long-Term Insights Briefing on imprisonment, there is an aging prisoner demographic, a reduced proportion of individuals incarcerated for property crimes, and a rising number of people serving sentences for serious sexual and violent offences.⁴ The briefing provides a detailed overview of imprisonment patterns since 1960 and how New Zealand’s prisons have evolved to their current state. It helps us understand why these changes occurred and what has been effective, guiding us towards better imprisonment practices in the future.

THE COST OF PRISON

Prisons are increasingly faced with the daunting task of addressing a myriad of issues that have already taken root in individuals' lives before they even enter through their doors. Prisons also play a crucial role in ensuring the safety of the community, but their influence extends beyond individuals, as they also have significant economic implications for the wider society.

In 2022, the Department of Corrections was allocated a budget of \$1,865,558,000 (Figure 2), representing a significant increase of 58.5 percent over the past decade. Similar to previous years, the cost of custodial operations accounted for 62 percent of the total budget, reflecting a consistent allocation towards managing prisons. In line with the overall budget increase, funding for rehabilitation and reintegration initiatives saw a substantial rise in the past decade of 110 percent, amounting to \$322,229,000. The increase in funds for rehabilitation and reintegration initiatives in prisons shows a commitment to reducing reoffending rates.

Figure 2: Annual Corrections Expenditure (2013–2023)⁵



The number of individuals under the care of the corrections system, encompassing both incarcerated and carrying out community sentences, has declined by 44.2 percent since 2012. Additionally, the average cost per day for a sentenced prisoner is \$531 for 585 days on average, while a remand prisoner costs \$408 per day for an average remand duration of 78 days.

Each week, about 150–200 individuals are released from prison in New Zealand. The release process varies based on their circumstances. Those sentenced to two years or more are eligible for parole, which allows them to be released under specific conditions. In 2022, 1578 prisoners were released on parole, showing a 26.7 percent increase over the past five years. However, if parolees don't follow the conditions or pose a risk to the community, they can be recalled to serve the rest of their sentence in prison. Approximately 24 percent of those released on parole end up being recalled for non-compliance or posing a threat to the community.

Another challenge arises from the increasing remand population, as one in five individuals on remand are eventually released on 'time-served'. Individuals on remand often face limited options and resources while in prison, which can impact their ability to access support or rehabilitation programmes.

These dynamics reflect the complexities involved in managing the release and reintegration of individuals from the prison system in New Zealand. It highlights the importance of effective supervision, support and access to resources to facilitate successful community reintegration and to reduce the likelihood of reoffending.

RECIDIVISM RATES

The Recidivism Index (RI) measures the percentage of individuals within a specific cohort who, within a 12- to 24-month period, have been re-convicted and received either a prison sentence or another sentence administered by Corrections. This is used to track the reoffending rates of recent cohorts released from prison or starting a community sentence. Corrections records the RI in their annual reports to monitor changes over time.

In 2022, the Recidivism Index (**Table 1**) showed that 22 percent of individuals leaving prison returned within 12 months, increasing to 35.8 percent within 24 months. Additionally, 35.8 percent of released individuals were reconvicted for a new offence within the first year, with the percentage rising to 56.5 percent within the first two years. These rates were particularly higher among the Māori population (**Table 2**).

To address the overrepresentation of Māori in prisons and reduce Māori recidivism rates, Corrections has implemented the Hokai Rangī strategy (2019–2024). This strategy emphasises culturally responsive and holistic approaches for Māori offenders, recognising their unique needs, experiences and strengths.⁶

Table 1: Recidivism Rates for all Cohorts⁷

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Reimprisonment										
12 Month	26.70%	25.90%	28.10%	29.70%	31.70%	32.20%	29.80%	25.60%	24.00%	22.00%
24 Month	37.30%	36.80%	36.50%	39.60%	42.20%	43.20%	43.30%	41.20%	39.60%	35.80%
Reconvicted										
12 Month	44.20%	41.70%	43.70%	44.20%	45.50%	46.80%	45.00%	38.30%	38.80%	35.80%
24 Month	58.80%	58.90%	57.00%	59.00%	59.70%	60.90%	62.10%	60.80%	58.10%	56.50%

Table 2: Recidivism Rates for Māori

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Reimprisonment										
12 Month	30.10%	29.30%	32.10%	33.00%	36.50%	34.90%	33.60%	29.20%	27.50%	24.80%
24 Month	41.80%	41.20%	41.30%	44.80%	47.00%	49.60%	47.60%	45.80%	44.80%	41.00%
Reconvicted										
12 Month	48.40%	46.20%	49.00%	48.70%	51.40%	50.40%	49.80%	42.60%	43.10%	39.30%
24 Month	63.50%	64.40%	63.20%	65.50%	65.80%	67.70%	67.70%	65.80%	63.90%	62.40%

The recidivism rate varies based on multiple factors. Gang-affiliated individuals have a significantly higher chance of reoffending compared to others. Theft shows a consistently high recidivism rate, raising concerns about rehabilitating theft-related offenders. Maximum-security prison inmates face a 70–90 percent chance of reoffending. However, longer prison stays seem to have lower recidivism rates in comparison to those who have shorter prison stays. For example, those spending six months in prison have a 70 percent chance of reoffending within two years, while it drops to less than 40 percent for those imprisoned for two or more years. Currently, 77.5 percent of those imprisoned receive sentences of less than two years.⁸

The differences in recidivism rates cannot be simply linked to one specific cause. Instead, they show the complexity of understanding reoffending, influenced by various factors like the type of offence, sentence duration and individual circumstances. These findings underscore the intricate nature of recidivism and emphasise the importance of considering multiple factors when developing strategies to reduce reoffending rates and support successful reintegration into society.

The challenge of avoiding reoffending becomes more pronounced the longer someone remains out of prison. Limited access to employment opportunities, stable housing, social support networks and ongoing rehabilitative programmes can hinder successful reintegration and increase the risk of relapse into criminal behaviour. Although there has been a gradual decline in recidivism rates over the past decade, progress has been slow. Despite efforts to address the underlying factors contributing to reoffending and improve rehabilitation programmes, significant and rapid decreases in recidivism have remained elusive.

While our papers would usually advocate for policy changes to enhance prisoner reintegration and reduce recidivism levels, this paper highlights frontline challenges. We try to propose policy solutions to address the myriad of complex challenges for reducing recidivism, however, in this paper we are focusing on changes we believe would be straightforward and achievable on an operational level.

Specifically, we aim to shed light on the lack of basic necessities for successful reintegration into society. Addressing these issues through practical operational changes can significantly improve individuals' transition back into society. Although broader policy shifts are essential, focusing on tangible improvements related to basic necessities such as bank accounts and identification can make a real difference in the reintegration process.

BASIC NECESSITIES OF SOCIETY

William Booth emphasised the importance of housing, employment, training, and education for successful reintegration into society. However, in leaving prison, many of those we support face a frustrating catch-22: they need housing but require proof of income, they are applying for a jobseeker benefit for income but need a bank account, and to get a bank account, they need identification and proof of address. Without the basic necessities, they find themselves back at square one, trapped in a predicament that hinders their reintegration into society.

A report by Corrections called 'What Happens Beyond the Gate? Findings from the Post-Release Employment Study' (2016) conducted 127 interviews with prisoners, which showed that over half of the participants lacked firm release plans within a month of their scheduled release. A quarter had no approved accommodation, and a third had limited social support. Three quarters had no employment organised, and many were unsure about benefit entitlements, leading to delays in accessing benefits. Many left prison without identification, qualifications, job references or operational bank accounts.⁹ These seemingly ordinary elements are essential for functioning in society, and the lack thereof can lead to numerous issues and obstacles for people that strive to rebuild their lives and successfully transition back into the community.

We submitted an Official Information Act request to Corrections, seeking data on individuals leaving prison with or without bank accounts, identification and driver licences. This data would help us examine the extent of the challenges related to these fundamental necessities for transitioning into the community which we already see in our services. Attempts to gather the data that they had access to provided no conclusive evidence of these challenges. Corrections informed us that centralised recording of this information is lacking, requiring manual file reviews for each released individual within the given timeframe and they are currently working towards centralised repository.

IDENTIFICATION

'Elijah has been released from prison, but he has no driver licence, birth certificate or any form of ID. He needs ID for his bank account and for his MSD set up. He is going to go and get his Kiwi Access Card, but he needs to book an absence with EM bail before he leaves the house. It has been a struggle for Elijah to get through to EM bail, but he eventually does. Elijah was able to sort his access card and we have also sent a form away for his birth certificate.'*

The initial three weeks following release from prison are pivotal for individuals as they strive to establish a new life outside the confines of incarceration. During this crucial period, securing stability, such as finding suitable housing, employment, applying for social welfare benefits and opening a bank account, becomes paramount. Identification documents serve as an indispensable lifeline in this process, facilitating these tasks. Without proper identification, these endeavours become significantly more challenging, presenting substantial barriers to meaningful reintegration into society and potentially increasing the risk of reoffending.

Having a form of formal identification is a given for the majority of society; however, this is not the case for many we support that leave prison. The lack of proper identification can have significant consequences for individuals involved in the criminal justice system, both during their incarceration and after their release. Formal identification is a requirement for many things, such as opening a bank account, applying for a benefit, and seeking employment and accommodation. Without adequate identification, these basic necessities needed to reintegrate back into society become harder to attain.

The lack of identification amongst those that leave prison is a widely documented challenge that many are facing. While there are no figures to illustrate the extent of the issue, there are initiatives in correction facilities across the globe that are dedicated to ensuring when prisoners leave, they have the necessary identification. Securing prisoner identification documents prior to release is an ideal solution, but unfortunately, it is not the current practice. However, there are two primary forms of identification that many individuals in our services obtain: the Kiwi Access Card (formerly known as the 18+ card) and an official birth certificate. Both of these documents can be applied for online, but they take approximately two to three weeks to arrive. The Kiwi Access Card carries a cost of \$60, while the birth certificate costs \$33. Sorting out these identification documents while individuals are incarcerated can help mitigate the barriers they face upon leaving prison.

* All names have been changed to protect the privacy of these individuals.

BANK ACCOUNTS AND DEBT

'We have been trying to find Collin accommodation; it has been a challenge because Collin is unable to receive his benefit until he is able to get a bank account, so his benefit will go into his mother's bank account.'*

'Joy has tried to go into WINZ to set up her benefit—unable to do so until she has a bank account. Joy went to the bank, but she didn't have ID or proof of address. Joy has ordered her birth certificate and will go and get a Kiwi Access Card. Hopefully when she has her ID sorted, she will be able to open a bank account.'*

The significance of bank accounts in facilitating financial functionality and economic participation in society is well-established, with approximately 98 percent of New Zealanders having them. However, prisoners continue to face challenges and financial exclusion in this regard. A report titled 'Paying the Price—A report into Issues Prisoners Face Around Access to Banking'¹⁰ by Victoria University and FinCap sheds light on the financial consequences of incarceration. The report emphasises the importance of identification for prisoners and suggests that addressing these issues while individuals are still in prison could be beneficial. It delves into the various challenges prisoners encounter, such as difficulties with court proceedings and the inability to establish or manage their finances before and during incarceration. The report also highlights the accumulation of debt among prisoners, which can lead to overdrafts and eventual closure of their bank accounts by financial institutions.

Highlighting this need, Corrections started the Bank Accounts Upon Release (BAUR) scheme, also known as New Start with the Westpac Bank. This is a pioneering initiative in New Zealand that facilitates access to banking services for individuals upon their release from prison. This programme aims to simplify the process of reintegrating into the community by ensuring that individuals have immediate access to banking facilities.¹¹

Financial exclusion exacerbates the financial hardships faced by prisoners, making their reintegration more challenging. Accumulated debt, both prior to and during incarceration, significantly impacts the financial wellbeing and overall reintegration of prisoners. Besides personal debt, prisoners can also owe money to government agencies such as MSD (Ministry of Social Development) or IRD (Inland Revenue Department). In 2022, a total of 1695 prisoners owed MSD a combined amount of \$7,063,605, averaging to \$4167 per prisoner. Although the number of prisoners indebted to MSD has decreased over the past decade, the average debt per prisoner has increased by 33 percent (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Prisoners owing debt to the MSD



* All names have been changed to protect the privacy of these individuals.

Child support payments significantly contribute to prisoners' debt levels. Ideally, individuals in prison would be exempt from making these payments during their incarceration. However, temporary exemption from child support payments is only granted if the person is imprisoned for at least 13 weeks. While we acknowledge the importance of parental accountability and the impact of reduced income for the custodial parent and children, we have observed that many individuals we support accumulate substantial debt due to ongoing child support payments that were not exempted during their time in prison.

STEPS TO FREEDOM

'We went with Jake to the bank to withdraw his Steps to Freedom grant because Jake had accrued some debt to family members he wanted to pay back. After paying rent and paying some of his debt to family, Jake did not have much money left. We went to the food bank to get a food parcel and later went to the supermarket to purchase toiletry items.'*

'Ben was not eligible to get the Steps to Freedom grant, because Ben is engaged in the Release to Work programme run by the prisons. He will have to use his savings for rent, food and other purchases such as clothing.'*

The Ministry of Social Development provides a Steps to Freedom grant for people who have been in prison for 31 days or more. The maximum amount for the Steps to Freedom grant is \$350 and is aimed to help those leaving prison with initial set up costs such as housing, phone, and food costs.¹²

The Steps to Freedom grant was implemented in 1983, initially offering a minimum grant amount of \$116.92. Subsequently, in 1990, the grant was raised to \$369.14. It underwent further restructuring in 1991, establishing a fixed amount of \$350, which has remained unchanged since then.

According to the report by the Welfare Expert Advisory Group (WEAG) in 2019, it was found that the Steps to Freedom grant falls short of its objective of providing sufficient financial support to individuals upon their release from prison. The eligibility requirements and the maximum grant amount of \$350 were deemed inadequate.

The impact of arrest and remand, even for short periods, was identified as having significant consequences for individuals and their families. Immediate cessation of benefit payments often leads to the loss of housing and personal belongings, and leaves partners and children without financial resources. **WEAG Recommendation 18** addressed these shortfalls seen in the Steps to Freedom grant.¹³

Based on our extensive experience in supporting individuals transitioning from prison, we often find it necessary to rely on our food banks and Family Stores to meet their basic needs. This is due to the inadequacy of the Steps to Freedom grant, which has remained at \$350 for the past 30 years without accounting for the rising cost of living. An article by RNZ titled 'Steps to Freedom grant remains at \$350 for 30 years' shed light on the deficiencies of this grant, highlighting the challenges we face when supporting people leaving prison.¹⁴

Recommendation 18:

Enhance and improve the support for people exiting prisons, including increasing the Steps to Freedom grant, and ensuring that any person who leaves prison has appropriate identification and is engaged with specialised care and supportive housing initiatives. Move practices around prisoner integration out of the 'pilot' stage and draw on evaluation data to embed integrated support for these individuals.

* All names have been changed to protect the privacy of these individuals.

DRIVER LICENCE

'This is the second time Lucas has come into our services; Lucas is determined to stay out this time. Lucas went for a job interview and was successful in the job, unfortunately because he did not have a driver licence, he was unable to get the job.'*

'Emily had her licence suspended before she was incarcerated—Emily was incarcerated for six months. Unfortunately, the suspension on her licence doesn't include the time that she has been in prison, so her licence is still suspended. Emily has four more months before the suspension on her licence is lifted. This has been a struggle for Emily as she was adamant that she was going to try and change things around when she was released, but now she is in limbo waiting.'*

Driver licences serve as a vital form of identification and a means of freedom and mobility, granting individuals the ability to drive based on their licence type. They also play a crucial role in employment opportunities, as approximately 85 percent of entry-level jobs require a valid driver licence. Employment is widely recognised as a significant factor in reducing recidivism rates, as highlighted in a report by Corrections.¹⁵

The Salvation Army Driver Programmes have, in the past year alone, provided support to over 700 individuals in obtaining their driver licences. Many of those who benefit from these programmes are individuals working towards reintegrating back into society. It is worth acknowledging the valuable contributions of organisations like the Howard League, which has played a role in assisting numerous individuals in obtaining their driver licences. Furthermore, it is important to note that there are other community organisations across the country dedicated to supporting individuals in obtaining their driver licences, further emphasising the collaborative effort required to address this critical need.

RECOMMENDATIONS

While we understand that reducing recidivism involves addressing a myriad of issues and complexities, we believe that tackling the catch-22 that prisoners face regarding identification, bank accounts, driver licensing and the Steps to Freedom grant is achievable. By focusing on these practical improvements, we can make significant strides in supporting successful reintegration for individuals leaving prison. Our goal is not to fix all the issues at once, but addressing these specific challenges can have a tangible impact on their journey to break free from the cycle of crime and transition back into society.

These recommendations are not new; rather, they serve as a reiterated stance based on our previous reports and those of other advocates, particularly recommendations of Fin Cap in 'Paying the Price—A Report into Issues Prisoners Face Around Access to Banking'. These challenges have persisted over time, posing obstacles for the individuals we support and demonstrating the need for concerted efforts to address them effectively.

1. Case managers should ensure that prisoners leaving prison have the necessary identification for banking, benefit applications, employment and accommodation.
2. Corrections should cover the cost of applications for identification while a prisoner is incarcerated.

* All names have been changed to protect the privacy of these individuals.

3. Corrections, in partnership with Westpac under the Bank Accounts Upon Release (BAUR) scheme, should ensure that all prisoners leave prison with an active bank account.
4. Case managers should ensure that all prisoners have their Steps to Freedom grant when released from prison (if eligible).
5. The Ministry of Social Development should cease debt repayments for prisoners whilst incarcerated.
6. The Ministry of Social Development should implement Recommendation 18 of the WEAG report to increase the Steps to Freedom grant.
7. There should be greater collaboration and information sharing between Corrections, Ministry of Social Development, Inland Revenue and Department of Internal Affairs to allow for seamless work towards prisoners with identification, benefits, MSD debt and child support payments.
8. Corrections should develop a repository to record the number of prisoners leaving with access to bank accounts, identification, driver licences and access to grants and benefits. This information is pivotal in ensuring that we can capture the reality of the issue and the ways in which we can work to address these challenges.
9. There should be a greater partnership between driver licence programmes and Corrections to allow prisoners to get a learner licence while incarcerated, or to engage in the programme for a driver licence once released.

Implementing these recommendations will address challenges related to identification, banking and driver licences for individuals leaving prison. These basic prerequisites can be addressed and fulfilled within the prison system itself, ensuring that individuals leaving prison aren't caught in the catch-22 that we are seeing today and face less obstacles to reintegrate into society. We are aware that these recommendations are feasible for Corrections, as case managers have successfully implemented them for many individuals we have supported. The challenge lies in providing adequate resources to enable case managers to streamline these processes for all prisoners leaving prison. By doing so, we can help prisoners move away from a life of crime and create a smoother transition to a law-abiding and productive life.

ENDNOTES

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Every effort is made to ensure the accuracy of facts and information in this report. Inaccuracies or errors in interpretation remain ours and we are happy to discuss any brought to our attention. The views are the authors', expressed in the name of The Salvation Army, Te Ope Whakaora.

***We welcome your comments.
Please contact the author at social.policy@salvationarmy.org.nz***