

Imprisonment & Family Structure

What is the evidence telling us?

Report to Family First New Zealand 2018





ABOUT FAMILY FIRST NZ

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- to promote and advance research and policy regarding family and marriage
- to participate in social analysis and debate surrounding issues relating to and affecting the family
- to educate the public in their understanding of the institutional, legal and moral framework that makes a just and democratic society possible
- to produce and publish relevant and stimulating material in newspapers, magazines, and other media relating to issues affecting families
- to speak up about issues relating to families that are in the public domain

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR



LINDSAY MITCHELL has been researching and commenting on welfare since 2001. Many of her articles have been published in mainstream media and she has appeared on radio, television and before select committees discussing issues relating to welfare.

In 2009 her paper, *Maori and Welfare*, was published by the *New Zealand Business Roundtable*. She mentored beneficiary families during the 2000s and is currently volunteering at Rimutaka Prison. *"I decided to contact the Howard League after hearing a British prison reformer say that to reduce prison populations we desperately need to get more of the public in there and more of the prisoners out! Teaching English to a non-English speaker, and following him through to successful parole, has been one of the most rewarding experiences of my life."*

She has also kept a blog since 2005 and counts herself as a rarity in blog survival rates. When she isn't writing and researching, Lindsay paints and exhibits, specialising in Maori portraiture. Her previous reports *Child Poverty & Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us?* and *Child Abuse & Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us?* were published in 2016.

ENDORSEMENTS

"Lindsay Mitchell has assembled a formidable assortment of data having to do with the relationship between incarceration rates and dysfunctional families, in particular those in which a father is nowhere to be seen. It's an incredibly timely work. New Zealand already has one of the developed world's highest prison musters. We also have one of the developed world's longest-running public discussions about how this has come to pass — a discussion that will only be amplified as New Zealand proceeds with a three-year-long royal commission of inquiry into our lamentable history of state-run youth institutions. For those who want to cut to the empirical chase and see what most researchers (not to mention many inmates) already acknowledge, Ms Mitchell delivers the goods."

DAVID COHEN – author, journalist and commentator. *Little Criminals: The Story of a New Zealand Boys' Home* (Random House), a book drawing on his own personal experience as an adolescent, explores the history of state-run residential care and at-risk youth.

"The correlation between family structure and the trifecta of significant societal harms of child poverty, child abuse and imprisonment has been an incoming tide for forty years that has swamped our nation. There are no surprises in Lindsay Mitchell's latest study, Imprisonment and Family Structure. What she has done is skilfully craft a compelling case for our nation to urgently address this undeniable correlation. Few politicians will have an appetite for this; however the underlying causes of those issues have been left in the 'too hard basket' for far too long. What is needed is bi-partisan political will and commitment to invest in public policy and funding to address 'the elephant in the room'. It is for all of society to do so; but must be led by Government. The NZ Police "Turning of the Tide" Maori responsiveness strategy has had limited impact over the last 25 years without all of government and societal support and commitment. Can we as a nation turn this tide? With sustained political will, determination, commitment and funding at the coal face I believe we can; however it is no five minute fix. It could take the next two generations. We owe that to our tamariki, mokopuna and future generations."

DAVE PIZZINI – spent over thirty years investigating serious crime as a NZ police detective based in South Auckland. He led many investigations into high profile crimes including the fatal shooting of Navtej Singh in his Manurewa Liquor store in 2008. Today he is Director of Veritas Investigations, a private investigation company in Manukau City, and is a member of the Manurewa Local Board.

"This is the third of a trilogy by Lindsay Mitchell, its two predecessors having looked at child poverty and family structure, and child abuse and family structure. It is with this background that Ms Mitchell now examines the problem of imprisonment and its links with poverty, child abuse and family structure and dynamics.

"As a person who has been researching and commenting on welfare and family related matters for the past 17 years, Ms Mitchell has a firm background in empirical, evidence-based analysis, which is strongly apparent in this latest work. Ms Mitchell has reviewed a wealth of available evidence, not only from New Zealand but also from many other countries around the world, which relates to the likelihood of a person ending up in prison. Her 50-page report contains four pages of references, themselves testament to the depths of the inquiry she has plumbed in order to produce this report.

"Many of the author's findings will of course be familiar to the informed reader: that incarceration correlates highly with single-parent (particularly mother-only) families, with serial parenting, with growing up in state care, with step-parenting, with teenage pregnancy, with having had a parent (especially a father) in prison, with having witnessed repeated parental violence or other disruption, with having a parent who is substance-dependent, and with having a history of abuse or neglect as a child. More often than not, these factors are intergenerational. The fact that Maori are over-represented in all of the above categories accounts largely for why over 50 percent of inmates are Maori while only representing 15 percent of the overall population.

"What makes this study particularly powerful is its use of recent available statistics, thus quantifying various risk elements and demonstrating that the same factors seen at play in New Zealand also apply to many other countries around the world. Notwithstanding this, not all of the findings are entirely predictable. I was slightly surprised, for example, to read that evidence (albeit limited) shows father-only families to produce no greater risk of offspring incarceration than normal two-parent families, and that children with a step-parent (normally a step-father) are even more likely to end up in prison than children raised by a solo mother. There was a useful explanation for both situations. Interesting too, given the government's current obsession with eradicating 'child poverty', was the suggestion that being brought up in poverty on its own is not a great predictor of adult incarceration. Rather, the mediating factors that lead to poverty (eg chronic adult unemployment, criminality, drug and alcohol abuse, single-mother parenting and so on) may be the real culprits when children's life chances are damaged. I personally was not surprised by this, but I suspect many would be.

"The future, it seems, offers a glimmer of hope. Teenage birth rates are declining, permanent child placement is replacing back-and-forth whanau to foster care, and there are moves to improve parental guidance training for at-risk mothers and fathers. However, to me, these minor developments seem nowhere near enough to neutralise the many potent correlates of incarceration that remain.

"Overall, I found the 'Imprisonment and Family Structure' project to have been comprehensively researched, intelligently analysed and compellingly written. The logic of its structure and argument reinforced its conclusions, underlining its importance as a reliable guide to future policy. Its wealth of figures and data, concisely encapsulated in text as well as in its many graph and tables, makes it essential reading for anyone seeking a solution to New Zealand's burgeoning prison crisis."

GREG NEWBOLD – Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Canterbury, high-profile criminologist, and the author of a number of books, including most recently *Crime, Law and Justice in New Zealand* (2016).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A wealth of research has investigated associations between family structure and adverse outcomes, but surprisingly little has investigated prisoners' childhood family backgrounds.

At September 2017, New Zealand prisons held a total of 10,470 individuals. This is an historic high. The imprisonment rate has grown steeply in the last 40 years.

If people were locked up today for those crimes worthy of imprisonment in the first half of last century (drunkenness and vagrancy for instance) our current rate would be significantly higher. In most respects (a notable exception being family violence) it has become much harder to get into prison but the numbers who do continue to escalate.

Māori make up around half of the current prison population but only 15 percent of the general population. This over-representation is however a relatively recent development influenced by rapid urbanisation and the loss of whanau support systems. Urbanisation also gave rise to gangs, which account for 30 percent of the prison population and whose members have higher recidivism rates.



A sharp increase in unmarried births during the 1960s correlates markedly with a later rise in the imprisonment rate. Ex-nuptial births made up 79 percent of total Māori births in 2017. For non-Maori, the corresponding figure was 34 percent.

Prison over-representation of indigenous and non-indigenous minorities occurs in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia. African-American, Canadian native, Afro-Caribbean and Australian Aboriginal populations all feature high rates of one-parent families.

New Zealand does not routinely collect data about the childhood backgrounds of prison inmates. But data from other developed nations shows a majority of prisoners are raised by one parent, one-parent and

step-parent(s), grand-parent(s) or in state care. A minority grew up with both natural parents.

A number of studies have found that growing up with a step-parent (or serial step-parents) is a particular risk factor for later incarceration. Biological parents appear to provide a protective role which replacement parents do not.

The strongest predictor for imprisonment is growing up in state care.

Several researchers have shown that family factors – in particular, family structure – have greater impact on future risk of criminal offending than socio-economic factors, albeit the two are closely intertwined.

New Zealand birth cohort data shows a strong flow from being known to Child, Youth and Family (CYF) as a child to becoming a Department of Corrections 'client' later in life. Analysis of two 1980s birth cohorts found 69 percent of incarcerated adults and 83 percent of teenage prisoners had a CYF record.

One of the strongest correlates for substantiated findings of child abuse or neglect by CYF, second only to having spent more than 80% of time on a welfare benefit, is being born to a single mother. Prison studies repeatedly find high incidence of childhood maltreatment amongst inmates, especially female.

A pronounced risk factor for becoming a prisoner is having a family member who is or has been incarcerated; especially a father. Inter-generational imprisonment has been identified in New Zealand, more strongly among Māori. Coincidental to this is the documented increased likelihood that very young Māori men will also be fathers, anecdotally, to multiple children. Further, female multi partner fertility is also associated with father imprisonment.

It has become much harder to get into prison but the numbers who do continue to escalate.

A sharp increase in unmarried births during the 1960s correlates markedly with a later rise in the imprisonment rate.

Biological parents appear to provide a protective role which replacement parents do not.

Evidence of bias against Māori in the justice system is not disputed. Māori over-representation in prison is also a facet of ethnic self-identification and/or identification by prison administration.

Institutionalisation, or habituation and dependence on the prison environment, is a surrogate for a properly functioning family that transforms children into adults able to cope in the real world.

The short term outlook for reducing prison numbers is not promising. While there is growing activist and academic clamour for the new government to stop the Waikeria prison build, a 'softening' of policy to ease prisoner numbers as serious, violent crime worsens is politically difficult.



The long term outlook is mixed. If New Zealand does not want to keep building more prisons it needs to look to the children who are potentially tomorrow's offenders, and eventually, inmates. This includes acknowledging the role family plays.

Campaigns are fought against obesity, tobacco, road speed, child poverty – to name a few. But there is no public messaging about the critical importance of parental commitment to each other and their child. The community is a poor substitute for caring, committed parents.

In 2017, no parental relationship details were recorded in 17 percent of registered births. For Māori children, the figure more than doubles to 35 percent.

Government departments such as Treasury, Justice and the Ministry of Social Development have repeatedly pointed to the known trajectory from birth to prison which is commonly characterised by birth to a young, poorly educated, isolated mother; exposure to multiple 'step-parents'; parental substance abuse and protracted benefit dependence.

Even without specific New Zealand data relating to the childhood family structure of prisoners, Corrections has identified that the pathway to prison inevitably involves a mother who is young, has little education, is from a disadvantaged family of origin where she received little care and affection, is, or has been, substance dependent, is socially isolated and without family connections, and finally has a number of male partners in a serial fashion.

Thereafter key risk factors include, "... social isolation of the child, harsh and erratic discipline, changes of father figure, and changes of dwelling place. By primary school entry the child on a trajectory to adult offending will show conduct disorder – which is a pattern of regular breaking of major rules in all settings, school, home and community – and frequent defiance of authority."

The trajectory description grimly continues through the life stages eventually concluding with, "Many serious adult offenders will be supported in institutions or on welfare for the greater part of their adult lives..." though optimistically notes that the prospects of rehabilitation "never reach zero."

There are some positive developments though. The sharply declining Māori and non-Māori teenage birth rates since 2008 offer cause for optimism.

A trend towards permanent child placement as opposed to moving children back and forth between birth whanau and foster care should also yield positive results, though the approach remains controversial.

Home visitation programmes to young mothers show improved outcomes for at-risk children (though this may be too late for babies suffering foetal neurological damage due to maternal substance or alcohol abuse.)

Prison studies repeatedly find high incidence of childhood maltreatment amongst inmates, especially female.

If New Zealand does not want to keep building more prisons it needs to look to the children who are potentially tomorrow's offenders, and eventually, inmates. This includes acknowledging the role family plays.

There is no public messaging about the critical importance of parental commitment to each other and their child. The community is a poor substitute for caring, committed parents.

Internationally, specialised male prison units focused on family and fathering are not only reducing recidivism but producing other positive outcomes such as climbing school attendance rates amongst the children of inmates. There is also New Zealand evidence mother-with-baby prison facilities and Māori Focus Units lower reoffending rates.

This paper draws conclusions from the available evidence, much of it international. Ideally New Zealand would collect actual data regarding inmates' childhood family backgrounds. However, the wealth of statistical information now being assembled by Treasury makes such an undertaking somewhat redundant. Without personal testimony we know that most prisoners, as children, have been abused or neglected, were born to single parents (probably with subsequent partners), were heavily reliant on welfare incomes and had poorly educated mothers. Often little, or nothing, is known about their fathers.

This report is not an attack on single mothers. Strong parental attachment generally mitigates the many disadvantages their children face.

But while too many children continue to be born into high-risk circumstances – to unstable, uneducated and unsupported single parents – there is little prospect, all else being equal, of a diminishing imprisonment rate any time soon.

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Why choose ‘imprisonment’?

This paper is the third in a series examining the effect of family structure on various outcomes. The first looked at child poverty,¹ the second at child abuse.² As the third is written, New Zealand is grappling with a prison crisis. Specifically, more people are being sent to prison than facilities can house. A decision to build more prisons must be made, or alternative policies sought. The current crisis does not appear to be driven by an increasing rate of crime, though historically, imprisonment rates are linked to crime rates.

So why not conduct an examination of family structure and crime rates?



The simple answer is crime rates (general, property, violent, etc.) can be measured in many ways: through recorded offending, prosecutions, convictions, and sentencing; from reports to police or to victimisation surveyors. Additionally, the changing nature of crime, police and court responses, ever-evolving legislation, ongoing variations in statistical methodology, and shifting demographics make meaningfully plotting crime over a long period prohibitive. As an imperfect proxy for the crime rates, prison populations and imprisonment rates can, on the other hand, be accurately depicted from first existence.

A wealth of research has investigated associations between family structure and adverse outcomes, but surprisingly little has investigated prisoners' childhood family backgrounds.

This paper presents what is known in New Zealand and internationally. It then considers other factors associated with imprisonment. It begins by tracing the changing imprisonment rate and changing family type. The period covered is the past century, the reason being the significant change in Māori imprisonment over that time.

Prison statistics

At September 2017, New Zealand prisons held a total of 10,470 individuals.³ This is an historic high. For every 100,000 of the general population, 217 are imprisoned – also an historic high.⁴ Females account for 7.6% of the total prison population, with their numbers growing proportionally faster than males. Māori account for 50.7 percent,⁵ a large over-representation of their general population share at 15 percent. The Pacific prison population is slightly higher than their population share; the Asian and European share is lower.



New Zealand's imprisonment rate is relatively high internationally. When compared to other OECD countries, New Zealand rated 7th highest in 2017.⁶ The imprisonment rate has grown steeply in the last 40 years.

1 Child Poverty and Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us? Family First, 2016

<https://www.familyfirst.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Child-Poverty-and-Family-Structure-FULL-REPORT-1.pdf> (accessed February 20, 2018)

2 Child Abuse and Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us? Family First, 2016

<https://www.familyfirst.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Child-Abuse-and-Family-Structure-FULL-REPORT.pdf> (accessed February 20, 2018)

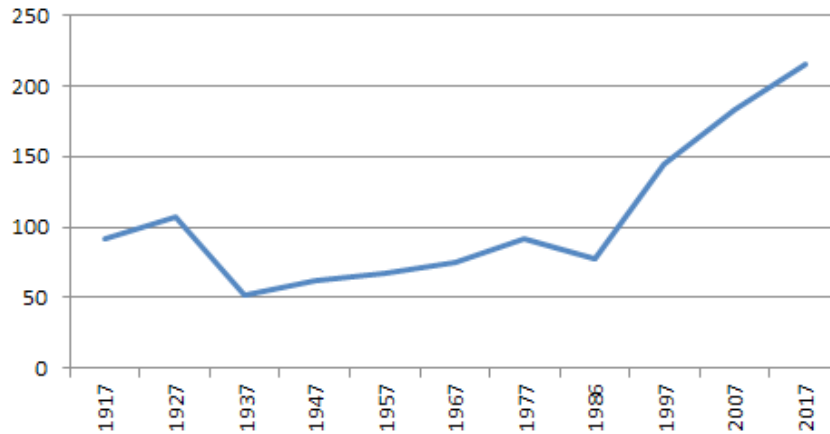
3 Prison facts and statistics – September 2017, Corrections, New Zealand, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/quarterly_prison_statistics/prison_stats_september_2017.html#prison (accessed February 20, 2018)

4 World Prison Brief, Institute for Criminal Policy Research, Birkbeck University, London, <http://www.prisonstudies.org/country/new-zealand> (accessed February 20, 2018)

5 Prison facts and statistics – September 2017, Corrections, New Zealand, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/quarterly_prison_statistics/prison_stats_september_2017.html#prison (accessed February 20, 2018)

6 Statista, Incarceration rates in OECD countries as of 2017, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/300986/incarceration-rates-in-oecd-countries/> (accessed April 11, 2018)

Imprisonment Rate per 100,000 – 1917 to 2017



Data source: New Zealand Yearbooks
(Note: Imprisonment rate for 1987 is unavailable from yearbooks)

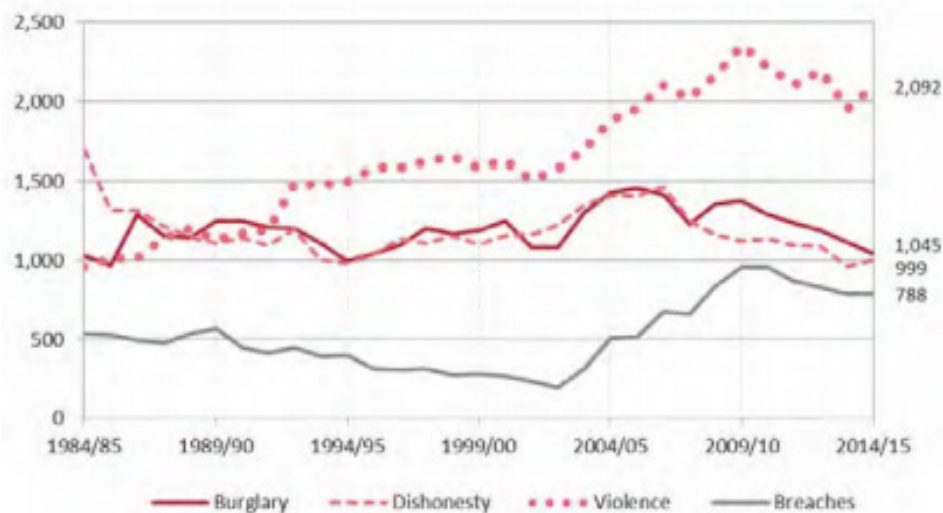
In the first half of last century, convicted individuals were imprisoned for lesser offences than today. 'Drunkenness' was the most common offence for imprisonment in 1917, followed by 'theft and property offences'. A substantial number were thrown in prison for 'vagrancy'.⁷ By 1957 'vagrancy and drunkenness' still accounted for almost 21 percent of prison admissions. Thirty two percent were for 'burglary, theft and fraud'. 'Assaults' made up just five percent of admissions.⁸

Moving on to 1977, 'assaults' (re-named 'violent offences') made up 13% of admissions; 'drunkenness' just 6.5% and 'burglary, theft and fraud, 38%.⁹

A pattern of increasing severity of crime was established.

In the latter part of the century, violent offending became more prevalent. This is reflected in 'offence type for new prison sentences' shown below:

Trends in the offender population



Source: Trends in the offender population, Corrections, 2014/15

7 New Zealand Yearbook 1918, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1918/NZOYB_1918.html?ga=2.226778909.1892991563.1519069202-1089331741.1517422461#idsect2_1_34420 (accessed March 23, 2018)

8 New Zealand Yearbook 1959, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1959/NZOYB_1959.html?ga=2.255711880.1410108215.1522003938-1089331741.1517422461&gac=1.195875422.1522004862.Cj0KCQjwkd3VBRDzARIsAAdGzMDmvGcCWyTnlOAPtnvrFOLsEp_t8HP_zjFlnGYgjlBjqTAUk69lKAYaAuFwEALw_wcB (accessed March 27, 2018)

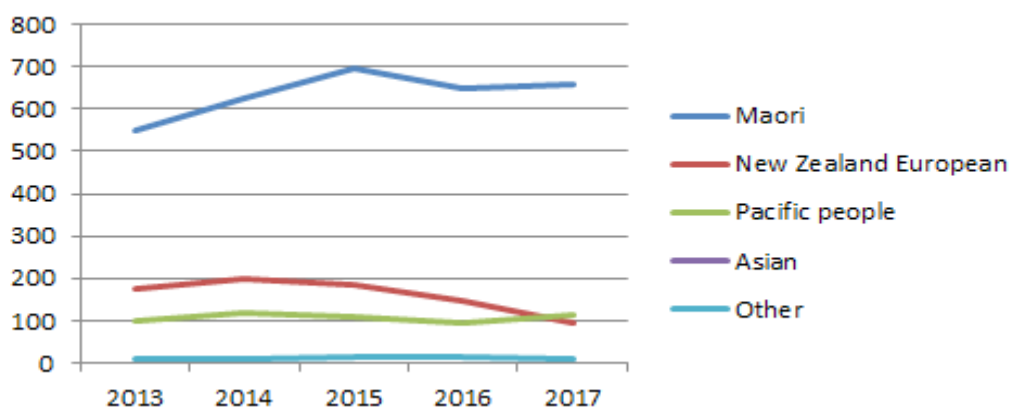
9 New Zealand Yearbook 1979, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1979/NZOYB_1979.html?ga=2.189273899.1410108215.1522003938-1089331741.1517422461&gac=1.81310821.1522004862.Cj0KCQjwkd3VBRDzARIsAAdGzMDmvGcCWyTnlOAPtnvrFOLsEp_t8HP_zjFlnGYgjlBjqTAUk69lKAYaAuFwEALw_wcB (accessed March 27, 2018)

While sentencing for violent offending fell between 2010 and 2015, the Principal Youth Court Judge John Walker recently warned, "... the nature of offending that reaches the Youth Court is becoming more serious and complex. We are seeing more violent offending, particularly in high-density, high-deprivation areas, and increasingly by girls."¹⁰

Young violent offenders will first be remanded in secure youth justice 'residences', a stepping stone to prison for many. Of these residences, Children's Commissioner, Andrew Becroft says, "While these institutions are called 'residences', the name is very misleading. Make no mistake: the youth justice residences look like prisons - youth prisons."¹¹

It is impossible to meaningfully chart historic youth detention due to significant changes in New Zealand's youth justice approach, but recent statistics show a large over-representation of Māori:

Admissions to youth justice residences 2013 to 2017

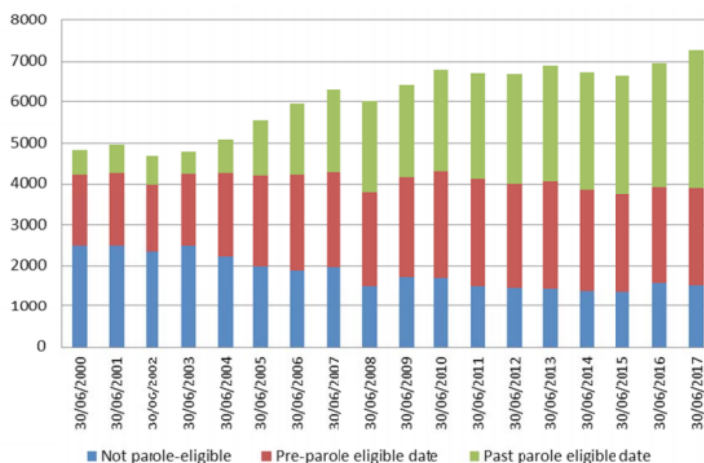


Data source: CYF statistics

(Note: Due to being very low the Asian admission numbers are 'suppressed')

Returning to the growth in the adult imprisonment rate, a number of factors influence beyond crime rates. For instance, legislative changes that affect how parole is granted have created an upsurge in the *sentenced* prison muster.

Number of sentenced prisoners by stage of parole eligibility



This shift to prisoners spending more of their sentence in prison resulted from the Parole Act 2002. The Act removed provisions allowing for the automatic release of long serving prisoners at two thirds of their sentence, and replaced it with a system of discretionary release, based on risk, administered by the Parole Board.

Source: Briefing to Incoming Minister for Corrections, 2017

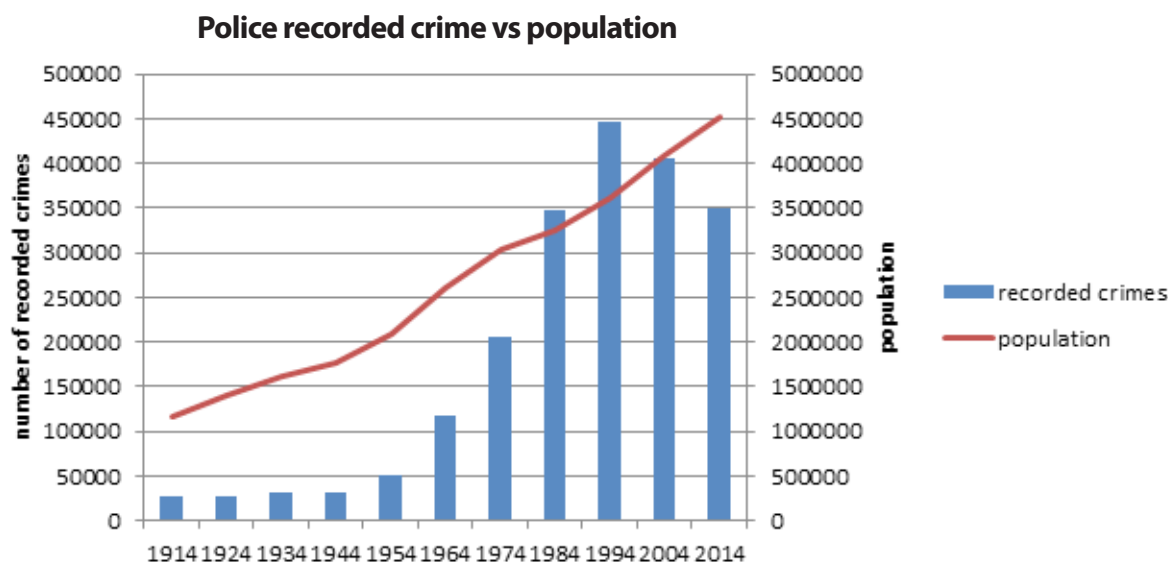
10 Whose fault is it when the young and vulnerable offend? Principal Youth Court Judge John Walker, Radio New Zealand, 21 March 2018, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/352934/whose-fault-is-it-when-the-young-and-vulnerable-offend> (accessed March 29, 2018)

11 State of care 2017, A focus on Oranga Tamariki's secure residences, Office Of The Children's Commissioner, May 2017, <http://www.occ.org.nz/assets/State-of-Care.pdf> (accessed March 29, 2018)

The *remand* population is also growing disproportionately.¹²

One further factor warrants acknowledgement – the high incidence of mental ill-health among inmates. In the words of Corrections staff, "Over time, the shift away from institutional facilities to non-residential community based care has brought more people with mental health needs into contact with the justice system."¹³

However, over a longer period the largest contributor to the rising imprisonment rate and prison population has been an increase in the incidence and severity of crime. For instance, between 1954 and 1994, recorded crime grew nine-fold. The population didn't even double over the same period.



Data source: Statistics New Zealand Infoshare: Police recorded crime, Population Estimates/New Zealand Yearbooks

(As mentioned at the outset, past data is not always comparable. For instance, the data in the table above included traffic-related offences until 1992.)

In summary, the current imprisonment rate is unprecedented. More recently, this seems to be a result of policy. Over the long-term, however, the imprisonment rate reflects growth in volume and severity of offending. It is also true that if people were locked up today for those crimes worthy of imprisonment in the first half of last century, our current rate would be significantly higher. In most respects, a notable exception being family violence, it has become much harder to get into prison but the numbers who do continue to escalate.

Family structure statistics

In 1916, only four in 100 children were born to an unmarried mother.¹⁴ During the year 1917, 282 divorces were filed, while 6,417 marriages took place. Before the disruptions caused by WW1, the marriage rate was around eight per 1,000 of the population. This remained the case 50 years later. In 1967, 23,515 marriages took place producing a rate of 8.62 per 1,000 of the population.¹⁵ Unmarried births had risen to 7,783 or 13 in every 100.

From the middle of last century, unmarried births began to increase in number. Though many occurred within de

12 Briefing to Incoming Minister, Corrections, 2017, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/901518/Briefing_to_the_Incoming_Minister_-_2017.pdf (accessed March 26, 2018)

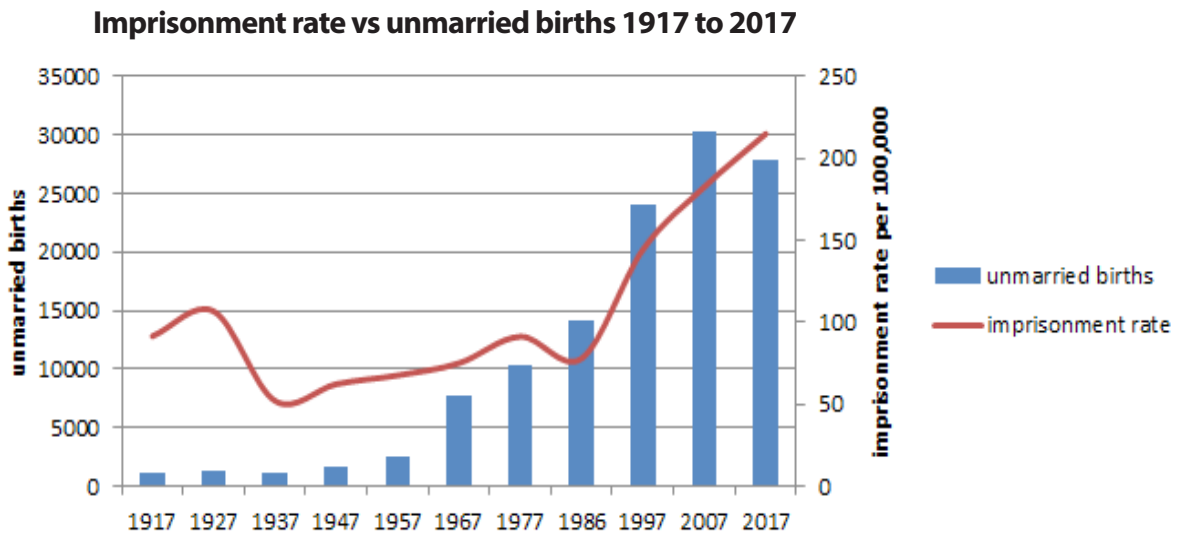
13 State of mind: mental health services in New Zealand prisons, Kate Frame-Reid and Joshua Thurston, Practice: the New Zealand Corrections Journal, Vol 4, Issue 2, December 2016, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/journal/volume_4_issue_2_december_2016/state_of_mind_mental_health_services_in_new_zealand_prisons.html (accessed April 20, 2018)

14 New Zealand Yearbook 1918, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1918/NZOYB_1918.html?ga=2.226778909.1892991563.1519069202-1089331741.1517422461#idsect2_1_34420 (accessed February 20, 2018)

15 New Zealand Yearbook 1968, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1968/NZOYB_1968.html?ga=2.246881156.1892991563.1519069202-1089331741.1517422461#idsect1_1_40155 (accessed February 20, 2018)

facto partnerships the numbers of single parent families also accelerated. Many children no longer lived with both natural parents; many lived with a step or adoptive parent(s).

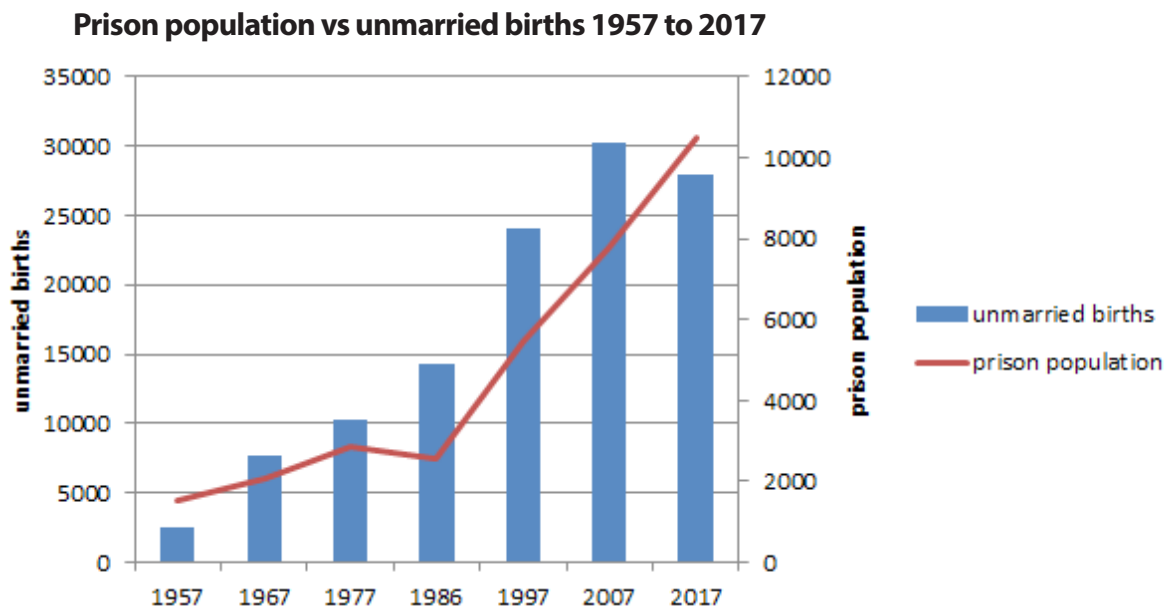
Plotted together, the two easily measurable markers – imprisonment rate and unmarried births – look like this:



Data source: New Zealand Yearbooks, Statistics New Zealand Infoshare, Births: Live births by nuptiality (Maori and total population)

In the latter part of last century, a sudden, sharp increase in the imprisonment rate begins about 20 years after the accelerated growth in unmarried births from the 1960s.

The next chart plots the prison population against unmarried births in the second half of the century. Naturally the same correlation appears.

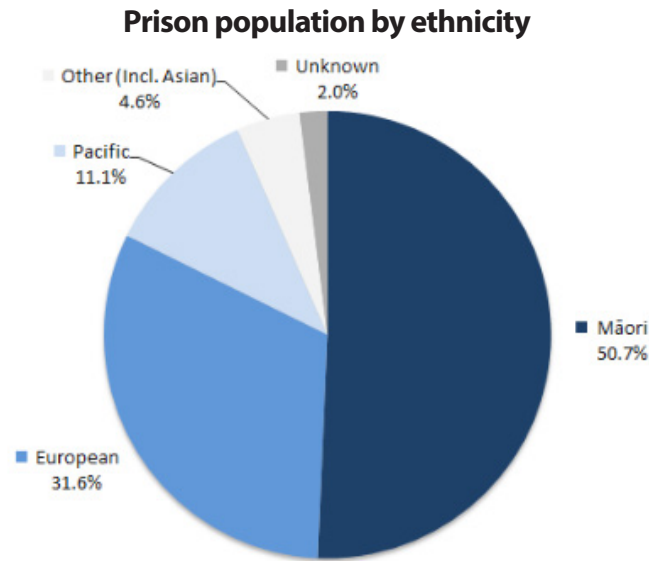


Data source: New Zealand Yearbooks, Statistics New Zealand Infoshare, Births: Live births by nuptiality (Maori and total population)

It may be that the correlation is no more than coincidence. Further evidence to establish any causal link is required.

Māori

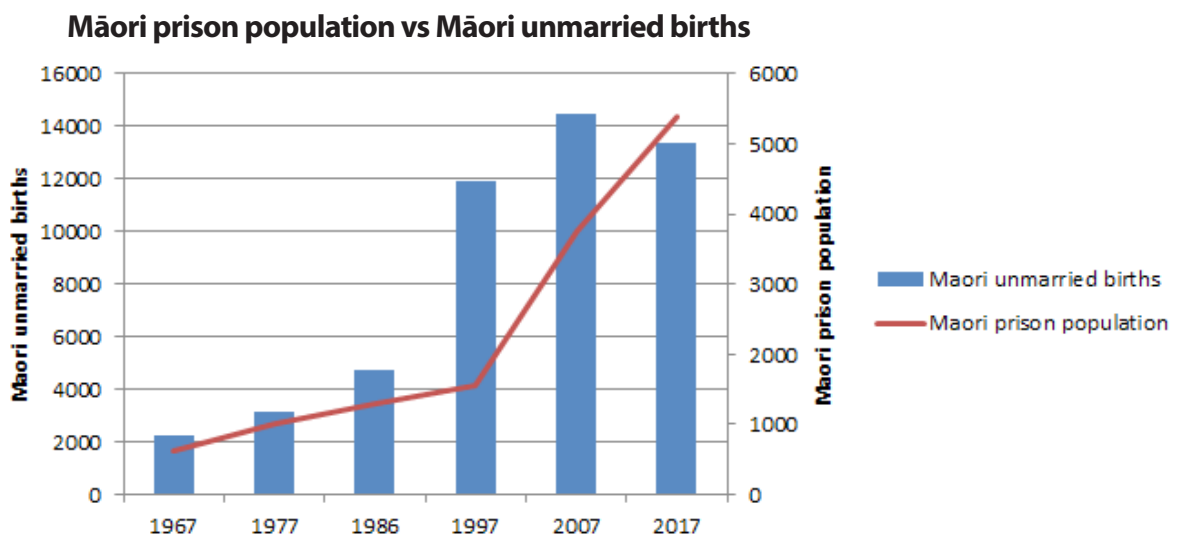
Māori over-representation in prison merits a separate look at their family structure statistics.



Source: *Prison facts and statistics, September 2017, Corrections, New Zealand*

The Māori unmarried birth rate is much higher than non-Māori. Current statistics are generally (though not entirely) unrelated to current imprisonment rates (though may relate to future rates). For the purposes of comparison though, ex-nuptial Māori births made up 79 percent of total Māori births in 2017. For non-Māori, the corresponding figure was 34 percent.¹⁶

The number of Māori ex-nuptial births grew strongly from first measurement in the late 1960s almost trebling between 1986 and 1997. (With reference to the graph below, there was a slight drop in the number of unmarried births between 2007 and 2017 as the total number of Māori births fell, but the *percentage* that is unmarried continues to rise.)



Data source: *New Zealand Yearbooks, Statistics New Zealand Infoshare, Births: Live births by nuptiality (Māori and total population)*

In addition to a high rate of unmarried births, Māori have a relatively high rate of teenage births, albeit falling quite rapidly since 2008.¹⁷

Māori have not, however, always been over-represented in prisons.

¹⁶ Statistics New Zealand, Infoshare, Births: Live births by nuptiality (Māori and total population), <http://archive.stats.govt.nz/infoshare/SelectVariables.aspx?pxID=f4aa63ce-61f0-44dc-9948-7f732a019486> (accessed March 15, 2018)

¹⁷ Statistics New Zealand, Infoshare, Births: Live births by ethnicity and age of mother, <http://archive.stats.govt.nz/infoshare/SelectVariables.aspx?pxID=ee47e185-cb0c-4f26-8171-b424ea270571> (accessed March 22, 2018)

According to the 1918 New Zealand Yearbook, on 31 December 1917, the prison population was 1,007. This represented 91.6 per 100,000 of the general population – less than half of today’s rate.¹⁸ The Māori percentage is not specified. However, further data shows that of the 2,468 convicted prisoners received throughout 1917, only 69 – less than three percent – were Māori.

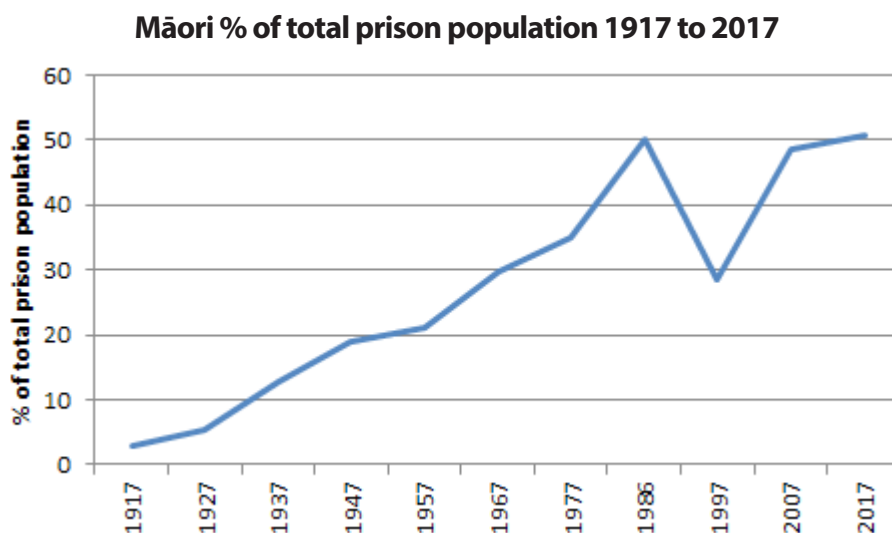
Twenty years on, the situation had changed slightly but raised no cause for concern:

*"The total number of Maoris convicted and sentenced in the Supreme Court during the last five years [1932-37] is only 216, indicating that serious crime amongst the Native race is far from prevalent...The number of distinct Maoris received into prison under sentence during 1937 was 257 (including 7 women), as compared with 199 in 1936."*¹⁹

Commentary from 1947-49 however heralds change:

*"The increase in serious crime among Maoris in recent years, while regrettable, is partly explained by the youthfulness of the Maori population, and the noticeable drift to the cities and towns, where temptation to crime is relatively greater."*²⁰

Over the following four decades the proportion rose sharply. In 1986 the Māori percentage of the prison population reached the halfway mark. It has remained there since. Clearly the over-representation of Māori in New Zealand prisons is contributing markedly to the country’s relatively high imprisonment rate.



Data source: New Zealand Yearbooks
(Note: 1997 data is a count of those self-identifying as Maori only)

From the viewpoint of establishing a link between unmarried births and imprisonment rates, this poses an important question. What was happening in Māori families before the 1960s – when the first unmarried birth statistics were recorded? Was marriage the norm for Māori (as it was for non-Māori) in the first half of the twentieth century? If so, was it providing some degree of protection against developing criminality?

Māori marriages are difficult to measure because they were not necessarily or routinely registered. According to demographer Ian Pool, "...by terms of the Maori Land Act (1909), when both partners were Maoris, weddings performed before an ordained Minister were to be registered...in other respects such a marriage ceremony did not have to fulfil the requirements of the act pertaining to non-Maoris."²¹

But from the time that Māori began filling out census forms, or talking to a census taker, women provided information

18 New Zealand Yearbook 1918, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1918/NZOYB_1918.html?ga=2.226778909.1892991563.1519069202-1089331741.1517422461#idsect2_1_87654 (accessed February, 2018)

19 New Zealand Yearbook 1939, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1939/NZOYB_1939.html?ga=2.24598842.1892991563.1519069202-1089331741.1517422461#idsect1_1_75757 (accessed February 20, 2018)

20 New Zealand Yearbook 1947/49, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1947-49/NZOYB_1947-49.html?ga=2.81736727.1892991563.1519069202-1089331741.1517422461 (accessed February 20, 2018)

21 The Māori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971, D Ian Pool, University of Auckland, 1977, p69

on their marital status. Ian Pool published the following table in his work, *The Māori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971*. The percentages are reasonably consistent across the period 1926 to 1961. By age 24, a majority of Māori women were, or had been, married. By age 54, a large majority (between 94 and 97 percent at various censuses) had been married.

Proportion of Māori women never married by age-group 1926-1961

Age-groups	1926	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961
15-19 ¹	83.8	86.1	89.5	88.6	85.9	83.6
29-24	29.5	34.5	43.4	38.5	38.9	36.5
25-29					15.1	13.5
30-34	19.6	12.6	12.1	13.3	9.1	9.0
35-39					6.1	6.5
40-44	3.9	5.3	5.5	6.0	4.8	6.0
45-49					5.4	5.3
50-54	3.2	4.5	3.1	3.5	2.9	5.3

Note: 1. From 1951, 16-19 years.

Source: *The Maori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971*

Māori women considered themselves married whether or not their marriage conformed to non-Māori legal requirements. By today's standards that would satisfy. For instance, in contemporary society, the individual identifies his own ethnicity free from state-mandated definitions. If he identifies as Māori that is sufficient.

Did they stay married? Pool (citing anthropologist Joan Metge) reports:

*"...the Māoris as a whole had a low divorce rate, but intimate knowledge of most Māori communities revealed a high incidence of what were popularly known as 'Māori Marriages'...most of the unions [so described] involved spouses who were parties, to an undissolved legal marriage; they were, in short, invalid... [Māoris] did not discriminate against those involved in such marriages, except in cases where they disapproved for reasons other than the legal status of the union. Sanctions were applied only against some unions which were temporary or which 'offend the Māori sense of propriety'."*²²

Higher Māori mortality rates may have been an influencing aspect. Suffice to say, for the period 1926 to 1961, most Māori women married.²³ Their children would have been the issue of married parents.

The Māori share of the prison population nevertheless grew from around 5% to 21% over the same period. It appears generally accepted the rapid move from rural to urban settings disrupted families – whanau and hapu – and the positive influence elders had on younger family members. Historian James Belich notes:

*"People avoid crime, not primarily because it is illegal, but because of the disapproval of those that matter to them – in the traditional, rural Māori case, the kin group."*²⁴

But more on urbanisation shortly.

From 1968, authorities started to record ex-nuptial Māori births. Thereafter, ever-increasing numbers of children would no longer grow up within a married family unit – although the Māori family unit would typically be more encompassing than the European. The upward trend of unmarried births is the same for non-Māori but to a lesser degree.

Of course, many unmarried births occur in de facto relationships. But the rate of single parenthood, due to either having a child outside of a relationship or subsequent parental separation, is highest for Māori.

According to the Law Commission:

²² The Māori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971, D Ian Pool, University of Auckland, 1977, p87

²³ The Māori Population of New Zealand 1769-1971, D Ian Pool, University of Auckland, 1977, p84

²⁴ Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1800s to the year 2000, James Belich, Allen Lane: Penguin Press, Auckland, 2001, p482

*"The 2014 Household Labour Force Survey identified that 27.5% of all Māori women and 21.6% of all Pacific women aged 25–49 identified themselves as a single parent, compared to just 10.1% of all European and 6.3% of all Asian women."*²⁵

Urbanisation

To appreciate the effects of urbanisation, the Māori view of children must be taken into account:

*"The child is not the child of the birth parents, but of the family, and the family was not a nuclear unit in space, but an integral part of a tribal whole, bound by reciprocal obligations to all whose future was prescribed by the past fact of common descent. Children were best placed with those in the hapu or community best able to provide, usually older persons relieved from the exigencies of daily demands, but related in blood so that contact was not denied. Whakapapa (recited genealogies) were maintained to affirm birth lines, but placements were arranged to secure lasting bonds, commitments among relatives, the benefit of children for the childless, or those whose children had been weaned from the home, and relief for those under stress. Placements were not permanent. There is no property in children. Māori children know many homes, but still, one whanau. 'Adopted' children knew birth parents and adoptive parents alike and had recourse to many in times of need. But it follows too that the children had not so much rights, as duties to their elders and community. The community in turn had duties to train and control its children. It was a community responsibility. Discipline might be imposed on a child by a distant relative, and it was a strange parent who took umbrage."*²⁶

This view was expressed in 1988.

Just 14 years later, a Māori multi-authored paper exploring concepts of child guardianship, custody and access for the Ministry of Justice noted that, *"even though the majority of Māori conform closely to the model of the nuclear family in their living arrangements many of them nevertheless have members of the wider whānau staying with them for differing periods of time."*²⁷

And, *"... for some Māori the family unit has come to be synonymous with the single-parent or nuclear family rather than with the extended family."*²⁸

Cultural and structural differences aside, family and whanau both seek to provide stability, security, nurturing and discipline. But when the family is disrupted – nuclear family or extended whanau – there are negative consequences for the children.

According to lawyer Donna Durie-Hall and anthropologist Joan Metge, *"When children have only one parent for any reason, the lack is supplied by other whānau members; as long as the whānau is functioning effectively, they have no lack of role models."*²⁹

Yet, according to John Tamihere in 2003, then Associate Minister for Māori Affairs, *"Too many whanau in New Zealand are dysfunctional."*³⁰

Historian Michael King writes of the Māori urban drift to cities, *"Some families, removed from social and cultural structures that had given their life meaning and direction for generations, and lacking any alternative structures to substitute or compensate for these changes, collapsed into dysfunction, alcohol and drug abuse, physical and emotional health problems, violence and crime."*³¹

In *The Power of Mothers*, author and ex-prison officer Celia Lashlie made the point (though not specifically about Māori) that the world is now a place where, *"... too many fathers are absent in the lives of their sons, if not physically then*

25 Relationships And Families In Contemporary New Zealand, The Law Commission, October 2017, Wellington, New Zealand, p58, <http://www.lawcom.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publicationAttachments/Study%20Paper%20-%20FINAL.pdf> (accessed March 24, 2018)

26 PUAO-TE-ATA-TU (day break) The Report Of The Ministerial Advisory Committee On A Māori Perspective For The Department Of Social Welfare, September 1988, <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/archive/1988-puoteatatu.pdf> (accessed April 10, 2018)

27 Guardianship, Custody and Access: Māori Perspectives and Experiences, Di Pitama, George Ririnui, Ani Mikaere, Ministry of Justice, 2002, p37, <https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/guardianship-custody-access-Māori.pdf> (accessed April 16, 2018)

28 Guardianship, Custody and Access: Māori Perspectives and Experiences, Di Pitama, George Ririnui, Ani Mikaere, Ministry of Justice, 2002, p36, <https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/guardianship-custody-access-Māori.pdf> (accessed April 16, 2108)

29 Guardianship, Custody and Access: Māori Perspectives and Experiences, Di Pitama, George Ririnui, Ani Mikaere, Ministry of Justice, 2002, Accredited to Donna Durie-Hall & Joan Metge (1992) 64, <https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/guardianship-custody-access-Māori.pdf> (accessed April 16, 2018)

30 The Myth of Whanau? John Tamihere, New Zealand Herald, 10 Dec, 2003, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?id=350&objectid=3538641> (accessed April 30, 2018)

31 The Penguin History of New Zealand, Michael King, Penguin Books, 2003, p470

emotionally: and where many women are raising boys alone, disconnected from a wider family/whanau base."³²

John Tamihere echoes this:

"In an ideal world, the whanau has two committed parents in a loving relationship, who are devoted to the care and upbringing of their children, who have a connectedness with their cousins and uncles and aunts and grandparents around them. But for many Māori in urban areas, this is not the reality... Where are the caring and supportive fathers in our idyllic whanau?"³³



The Department of Corrections notes having 'very young mothers' as a risk factor for development of criminality and explains why urbanisation has exacerbated that:

"Arguably, traditional models of Māori family which were not solely focused on the biological parents alone may well have been better able to support young mothers. Nevertheless, in contemporary New Zealand society the social circumstances of young mothers tend to feature poor educational attainment, reliance on welfare support, exclusion from paid employment, and disrupted home environments. These in turn contribute to a chain of adversities which can affect the child's development, resulting in behavioural and learning problems, and ultimately delinquency and crime."³⁴

Although blame for the over-representation of Māori in prison is repeatedly pinned on historic colonisation,³⁵ the trend to disproportionality did not begin until the process of urbanisation started. According to Te Puni Kokiri, New Zealand's Māori policy ministry:

"The overrepresentation of Māori in prison is a relatively recent phenomenon, dating from the period of increased urbanisation. Changing values, family breakdown, lack of education and social competencies and social and economic inequality all feature as explanations of the current situation."³⁶

Further, from Corrections exploring the same subject:

"Based on a thesis analysing records of arrests and charges amongst Māori and Pacific people in Auckland in 1966, Duncan (1971) concluded that higher rates of offending resulted from effect of migration (Māori from rural areas to urban, Pacific from their home island nations to New Zealand). His expectation was that the differences would disappear in the next generation as 'assimilation' occurred, a view which now seems sadly optimistic."³⁷

The Justice department clearly judged urbanisation to be an important factor in the "dramatic increase in Māori imprisonment" – the Māori imprisonment rate being 11 times higher than the non-Māori rate by 1990 – producing the following graph:

32 The Power of Mothers: Releasing our children, Celia Lashlie, Harper Collins Publishers, 2010, p18

33 The Myth of Whanau? John Tamihere, New Zealand Herald, 10 Dec, 2003, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?id=350&objectid=3538641> (accessed April 30, 2018)

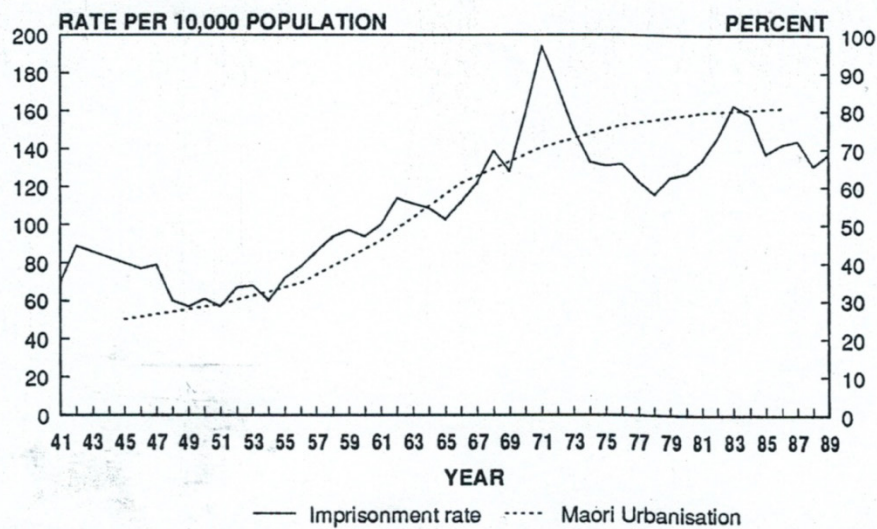
34 Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system, An exploratory report, Policy, Strategy and Research Group, Department of Corrections, September 2007, p29, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf (accessed April 30, 2018)

35 Prison should never be the only answer, Moana Jackson, E-Tangata, 15 Oct 2017, <https://e-tangata.co.nz/news/moana-jackson-prison-should-never-be-the-only-answer> (accessed April 30, 2018)

36 A study of the children of prisoners: findings from Māori data, Te Puni Kokiri, June 2011, p12, <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/115/tpk-childrenofprisonersdata-2011.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2018)

37 Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system, An exploratory report Policy, Strategy and Research Group, Department of Corrections, September 2007, p8, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf (accessed March 22, 2018)

Māori urbanisation and sentenced admissions to New Zealand prisons 1941-1986



Source: Justice Statistics 1990 (Note the 'imprisonment rate' represents 'Maori prisoners received per 10,000 mean Maori population aged 15+ years'.)

The accompanying observations are made:

*"Although the comparison between Māori urbanisation and imprisonment is close, it offers no explanation as to the actual influences that have fuelled the rise in imprisonment. There is a large body of research which shows that migration, of which urbanisation is a particular form, disrupts family and community structures and weakens support systems available to families and individuals."*³⁸

An unavoidable point: Asians have also migrated to New Zealand in large numbers but thus far have largely avoided featuring as prison statistics, representing only 2.8% of the prison population in 2012.³⁹ With respect to family structure, both Asian and Pacific cultures consider the extended family to be as important as the nuclear family⁴⁰ but the incidence of Asian single parenting is the lowest in New Zealand.⁴¹ According to the New Zealand Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (Superu), Asian single parent families are, "... less likely to have family and community connections but they have better results for health and education indicators. This may place them in a slightly better position for finding employment and for effective family functioning"⁴²

Pacific people – another substantial migratory group – also have significantly lower rates of imprisonment than Māori, and particularly, lower rates of reconviction and reimprisonment which Corrections speculates may result from a practice of sending young offenders back to the islands to "straighten them out".⁴³ Perhaps Pacific families maintain stronger ties. For instance it is common for Pacific single parents to live within the wider family, evidenced by their much lower rate of welfare reliance when compared to Māori single parents.

Nevertheless, Bradford Haami, author of *Urban Māori: The Second Great Migration* insists on a link between Māori urbanisation and increasing criminal offending thus:

*"A new mobile generation, now living outside the confines of their elders, tribal boundaries, and their religious mentors, found freedom in the city, but were ill-equipped to handle the independence. Soon, moral standards dropped and the children came into conflict with the law, and its consequences. The Māori male offending rate (3.5%) in 1958 was three times higher than Pakeha (1.5%). By 1968, 40.1% of Māori boys and 16.7% of Māori girls had appeared in the court system."*⁴⁴

38 Trends in imprisonment, Justice Statistics, 1990, p23

39 New Zealand's prison population, NZ Official Yearbook 2012, Statistics New Zealand,

http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/yearbook/society/crime/corrections.aspx (accessed April 20, 2018)

40 Families and Whanau Status Report, Superu, 2016, p83, http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/F%26W%20Status%20Report%202016_2.pdf (accessed April 23, 2018)

41 Child Poverty and Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us, Family First, 2006, p33, <https://www.familyfirst.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Child-Poverty-and-Family-Structure-FULL-REPORT-1.pdf> (accessed April 18, 2018)

42 Families and Whanau Status Report, Superu, 2016, p6, http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/F%26W%20Status%20Report%202016_2.pdf (accessed April 23, 2018)

43 Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system, An exploratory report, Policy, Strategy and Research Group, Department of Corrections, September 2007, p39, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf (accessed March 26, 2018)

44 Urban Māori: The Second Great Migration, Bradford Haami for Waipareira Trust, Oratia Books, 2018, p85

Similarly, Melissa Matutina Williams, in *Panguru and the City: An urban migration history* references the 1961 Hunn Report which, "...attributed the 'Māori youth problem' to an insecurity with modern urban life, separation from 'traditional' home and parents, and the negative influences of bad company and drink."⁴⁵

Superu quotes first-hand evidence of urbanisation effect from Connie Hanna, Waitangi Tribunal Wai 414, 1998:

"Around 1975 and 1977 what we were beginning to see was the emergence of gangs like Black Power, Mongrel Mob and Headhunters...These gang members were the children of those Māori who came from the rural areas to the cities in the early 1960s. They were the product of the breakdown of the whanau links in those early years."⁴⁶

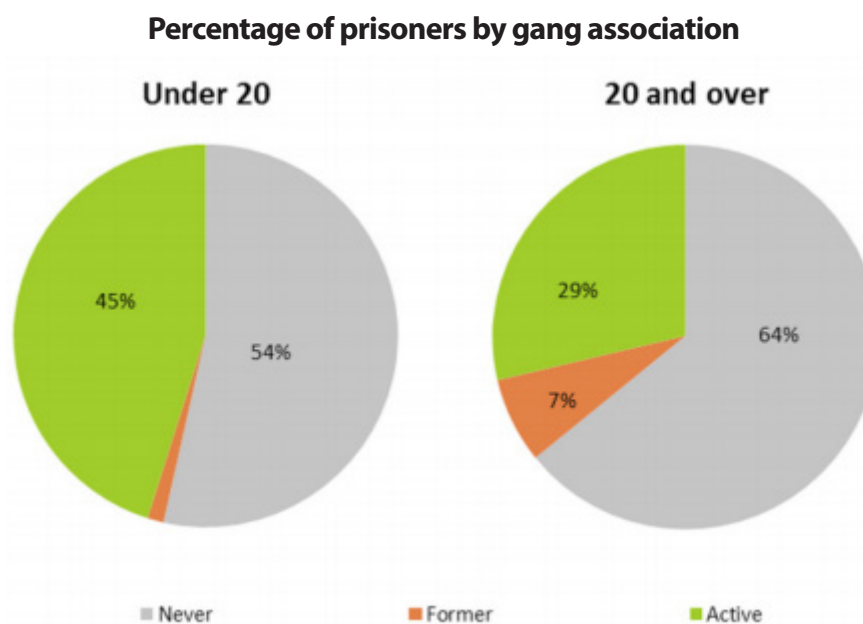
"Many Maori gang members who were children in the 1960s told me of growing up in households of heavy drinking and weekend-long parties often leading to child neglect and abuse."

The Rise and Development of New Zealand gangs, Dr Jarrod Gilbert, 2010

Gangs

New Zealand police estimate there are 32 gangs and 4,000 patched members.⁴⁷ In 2015 gang members and affiliates made up 29 percent of the prison population with Black Power and Mongrel Mob predominating as the most common gangs.⁴⁸ Of children and young people held in secure youth justice facilities in 2012, 31 percent had gang-related offences.⁴⁹

The percentage of prisoners (2015) by gang association is shown below:



Source: *Young Offenders, Corrections, April 2015*

Corrections states that, "Almost half of all young prisoners are gang members. This is significantly higher than the 20 years and over prison population, amongst whom 29 percent of prisoners are gang members, with a further 7 percent recorded as 'former' gang members."⁵⁰ This coincides with Māori making up 65 percent of all prisoners under twenty.

45 *Panguru and the City: An urban migration history*, Melissa Matutina Williams, Bridget Williams Books, 2015, p125

46 Improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents, Superu, June 2015, p10, <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Children%20of%20Gang-Involved%20Parents.pdf> (accessed March 19, 2018)

47 Improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents, Superu, June 2015, p2, <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Children%20of%20Gang-Involved%20Parents.pdf> (accessed March 19, 2018)

48 Trends in the offender population 2014/15, Corrections, p112, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/835693/Trends_in_the_Offender_Population_201415.pdf (accessed March 26, 2018)

49 Youth Justice Secure Residences: A report on the international evidence to guide best practice and service delivery, Associate Professor Ian Lambie, Clinical Psychologist (Registered), MSD, May 2016, p22, <http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/research/youth-justice/youth-justice-report-secure-residences-11-fa.pdf> (accessed March 27, 2018)

50 Young Offenders, Topic Series, Department of Corrections, April 2015, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/798346/Young_Offenders_topic_series_report.pdf (accessed April 12, 2018)

By April 2017 gangs were reported to make up 30 percent of the prison population with Māori accounting for 70 percent of those members.⁵¹

Superu described the level of gang offending:

*"... in the first quarter of 2014, these individuals [with gang connections] were responsible for 25 percent of homicide charges, 34 percent of class A/B drug offences, 36 percent of kidnapping and abduction offences, 25 percent of aggravated robbery / robbery offences, and 26 percent of grievous assault offences... although overall crime was trending downwards, serious offending by New Zealand adult gang members increased by 15 percent in 2013 and almost half of the serious offences committed by gang members and prospects over their lifetime were family-violence related."*⁵²

Sentencing reflects the seriousness of gang crime with imprisoned members accounting for 14 percent of all 'life' and eight percent of all 'preventive detention' sentences.⁵³

According to Armon Tamatea, Senior lecturer in Psychology at the University of Waikato:

*"The relationship between gang members and crime has been well-documented, with the general picture of identified gang members tending to commit crimes more frequently than other offenders ... gang members are nearly three times more likely than non-gang-affiliated offenders to be reconvicted and re-imprisoned following release."*⁵⁴

Most recently the *Briefing to the Incoming Minister for Corrections 2017* stated:

*"The current reimprisonment rate for Māori (within 12 months) is 36.5%, compared to 25.3% for NZ Europeans. The high level of involvement of Māori in gangs is one factor that strongly influences these rates."*⁵⁵

In 2015, Superu reviewed what is known about childhood backgrounds of gang members:

*"The literature suggests that family factors are a major influence on gang membership. A commonly held view in the gang membership literature is that children from dysfunctional or troubled families join gangs to fill a void and become part of a surrogate family that gives them a sense of belonging, identity, status and protection. Indeed, there is a large body of research that suggests a range of family factors, including poor home socialisation, lack of parental control and weak familial ties, fatherlessness and lack of male role models, parental alcohol and substance abuse, domestic violence, and multigenerational gang membership and familial criminality push young people into gang culture. However, the role of the family or family dysfunction as a major category of risk factors in encouraging gang membership and criminality is a widely debated and contentious topic in the literature."*⁵⁶

"Approximately 5,900 children can be linked to adult gang members via a parent child type relationship in the Child, Youth and Family computer system. 60% of these children had a substantiated finding of abuse or neglect by Child, Youth and Family. Moreover, multiple substantiated findings of abuse or neglect of these children were common."

Improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents, Superu, New Zealand, 2015

New Zealand gang researcher Dr Jarrod Gilbert reports American academic Walter Miller who, "...saw different demographic features within lower class culture that were also crucial to the rise of gangs, namely single (maternal) parent families which lead to male peer groups providing the 'first real opportunity to learn essential aspects of the

51 Waitangi Tribunal finds Corrections failing Māori on reoffending rates, 11 April 2017, Radio New Zealand, <https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/328603/corrections-'open-to-any-ideas'-over-Māori-reoffending> (accessed May 16, 2018)

52 Improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents, Superu, June 2015, p3, <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Children%20of%20Gang-Involved%20Parents.pdf> (accessed March 19, 2018)

53 Offenders on indeterminate sentences, Topic Series, Department of Corrections, 2013, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/767647/TOPIC_SERIES_Indeterminate_sentences.pdf (accessed April 12, 2018)

54 The last defence against gang crime: Exploring community approaches to gang member reintegration - part I, Armon J. Tamatea, Senior Lecturer, School of Psychology, University of Waikato, Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal, Vol 5, Issue 2, Nov 2017, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/journal/volume_5_issue_2_november_2017/the_last_defence_against_gang_crime_exploring_community_approaches_to_gang_member_reintegration_-_part_i.html (accessed March 16, 2018)

55 Briefing to the Incoming Minister, Corrections, 2017, p17, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/901518/Briefing_to_the_Incoming_Minister_-_2017.pdf (accessed March 16, 2018)

56 Improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents, Superu, June 2015, p4, <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Children%20of%20Gang-Involved%20Parents.pdf> (accessed March 19, 2018)

male role model' (W. B. Miller, 1958/1969: p.343)."⁵⁷

Introducing a further family-related angle, Tamatea writes:

"...others [gang members] have actively promoted an explicit antisocial ideology in support of violent behaviour with the intent of shocking and rejecting a society that was perceived to have been ultimately responsible for the abuse and harm of young people in state care (Gerbes, personal communication, 2010)."⁵⁸

Children are generally taken into state care as the ultimate consequence of immediate or extended family's inability to look after them.

Gangs are both a direct and indirect outcome of the failure of the family. Tamatea notes, "US gang researcher George Knox asserted that 'the last defence against gang crime is the community itself if we cannot rely on the family as an effective agency of socialisation'."⁵⁹

In his thesis, *The Rise and Development of Gangs in New Zealand*, Dr Jarrod Gilbert writes, "I believe one of the reasons that intra-gang bonds are so strong is that many members are attempting to create common family attachments that they never experienced, have lost or found unsatisfactory."⁶⁰

Support for this sentiment comes from John Tamihere who remarked on 200 gang members performing a haka at the funeral of a colleague, "...gangs have replaced whanau and hapu for those gang members."⁶¹

Some children are born into gangs, others recruited. Some evidence points to male gang members having multiple partners and children by them. In 2010 New Zealand Herald reporter Simon Collins travelled to what he described as the DPB (domestic purposes benefit) capital of New Zealand – Kawerau – where sole parents made up almost half of families with children. Collins quotes a pregnant 15 year-old, Maraia Enoka, saying "We are breeders."⁶² (By the end of 2017 the town's level of benefit dependence had barely changed).⁶³

Superu describes what is known about the lives of violence led by gang women:

"Research suggests that women associated with gangs experience high levels of sexual violence, including coercive sexual practices, unprotected sex with multiple partners and rape. A recent review of the literature, including some New Zealand studies, show that these women are at greater risk of intimate partner violence, dating violence and relationship abuse."⁶⁴

Childhood witness of parental violence is increasingly included in official statistical measurement of abuse. Witnessing violence can lead to its psychological normalisation. Initiation into a gang commonly requires an act of violence.

The Commissioner for Children conducted qualitative research with children who grew up in gang families, finding they subsequently felt their own gang membership was inevitable and unavoidable. (An interesting 'positive' aspect

"Every Mongrel Mob man creates a line – that is the number of children they can produce. So they will have a couple of girlfriends and they might have a wife, and they will have mistresses, and they will be in on-and-off relationships."

Anonymous community leader, Kawerau, 2010

57 The Rise And Development Of Gangs In New Zealand, A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology at the University of Canterbury, Jarrod Gilbert, 2010, p143, https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/9400/gilbert_thesis.pdf;jsessionid=68EF69DB74C83AB05F7DFA788F9D6D28?sequence=1 (accessed March 16, 2018)

58 The last defence against gang crime: Exploring community approaches to gang member reintegration - part I, Armon J. Tamatea, Senior Lecturer, School of Psychology, University of Waikato, Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal, Vol 5, Issue 2, Nov 2017, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/journal/volume_5_issue_2_november_2017/the_last_defence_against_gang_crime_exploring_community_approaches_to_gang_member_reintegration_-_part_i.html (accessed March 16, 2018)

59 The last defence against gang crime: Exploring community approaches to gang member reintegration - part I, Armon J. Tamatea, Senior Lecturer, School of Psychology, University of Waikato, Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal, Vol 5, Issue 2, Nov 2017, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/journal/volume_5_issue_2_november_2017/the_last_defence_against_gang_crime_exploring_community_approaches_to_gang_member_reintegration_-_part_i.html (accessed March 16, 2018)

60 The Rise And Development Of Gangs In New Zealand, A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology at the University of Canterbury, Jarrod Gilbert, 2010, p436, https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/9400/gilbert_thesis.pdf;jsessionid=68EF69DB74C83AB05F7DFA788F9D6D28?sequence=1 (accessed March 16, 2018)

61 The Myth of Whanau? John Tamihere, New Zealand Herald, 10 Dec, 2003, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/treaty-of-waitangi/news/article.cfm?c_id=350&objectid=3538641 (accessed April 30, 2018)

62 NZ's DPB capital where one in seven is on solo benefit, Simon Collins, NZ Herald, 7 August, 2010, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10664247 (accessed March 19, 2018)

63 Quarterly benefit statistics, Service Centres, MSD, 2017, <http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/statistics/benefit/2017/quarterly-benefit-fact-sheets-service-centre-tables-dec-2017.xlsx> (accessed March 19, 2018)

64 Improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents, Superu, June 2015, p6, <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Children%20of%20Gang-Involved%20Parents.pdf> (accessed May 7, 2018)

for some gang children was "...not living in poverty."⁶⁵ Gangs have illicit incomes supplemented by welfare benefits.⁶⁶ This is just one of several exceptions to the commonly-advanced theoretical association between socio-economic deprivation and criminality.)

With gangs the desirable protective roles of biological parents vanish – unless either maternal (or paternal) instinct is strong enough to impel the parent away from the gang. That instinct may not kick in until the parent becomes a grandparent, by which time it may be too late, though Corrections has worked intensively with grandparents (not specified as gang members in the literature) who expressed a desire to prevent their grandchildren following in theirs, and their children's, footsteps.⁶⁷

Disproportional imprisonment rates: Indigenous and non-indigenous minorities

Te Puni Kokiri states that while New Zealand's overall imprisonment rate is still well behind the United States', the Māori rate is up around 700 per 100,000 – in line with America. They described this rate as 'mass' imprisonment.⁶⁸

African-Americans are the most over-represented minority in US prisons;

*"In 2014, 6% of all black males ages 30 to 39 were in prison, compared to 2% of Hispanic and 1% of white males in the same age group."*⁶⁹

Over half a million (516,900) African-American males were in state or federal prison at the end of 2014, accounting for 37% of the male prison population.⁷⁰ At that time African-Americans accounted for 13.2 % of the US population.

In Australia, 59% of young people held in detention are indigenous.⁷¹ According to Statistics Australia:

*"Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners accounted for just over a quarter (27% or 11,307 prisoners) of the total Australian prisoner population. The total Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population aged 18 years and over in 2017 was approximately 2% of the Australian population aged 18 years and over."*⁷²

In the United Kingdom, circa 2000, "...nineteen percent of male prisoners and 25 percent of female prisoners are members of ethnic minorities, two-thirds of them Afro-Caribbean. If foreign nationals and children under 16 years are excluded from the analysis, black residents are imprisoned at roughly eight times the rate of white residents..."⁷³

(A further point made by the same writer is that, "...persons of South Asian origin are incarcerated at roughly the same rate as whites." This mimics the under-representation of Asians in New Zealand prisons and those of other developed nations.)

Native Canadians are also strongly over-represented in the prison population. In 2015/2016, Aboriginal adults accounted for 26% of all admissions while representing about 3% of the Canadian adult population.⁷⁴

Substantive indigenous and non-indigenous minorities (but by no means all) tend to be over-represented in prisons. Simultaneously, children from the same population groups are less likely to have intact, two-parent families.

65 'This is how I see it' Children, young people and young adults' views and experiences of poverty, Children's Commissioner, Michelle Egan-Bitran, Senior Advisor Office of the Children's Commissioner, p20, January 2010, <http://www.occ.org.nz/assets/Uploads/Reports/Poverty/This-is-how-I-see-it.pdf> (accessed March 19, 2018)

66 Superu cites unpublished Ministry of Social Development data showing approximately 7,000 children were dependants of gang member parents receiving benefits, Improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents, Superu, June 2015, p3, <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Children%20of%20Gang-Involved%20Parents.pdf> (accessed March 19, 2018)

67 Te Kupenga: An approach to working with offending families, Jill Bowman, Principal Research Adviser, Department of Corrections, Practice: the New Zealand Corrections Journal, Vol 3, Issue 2, December 2015, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/newsletters_and_brochures/journal/volume_3_issue_2_december_2015_-_evidence_based_practice/te_kupenga_an_approach_to_working_with_offending_families.html (accessed April 23, 2018)

68 A study of the children of prisoners: findings from Māori data, Te Puni Kokiri, June 2011, p13, <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/115/tpk-childrenofprisonersdata-2011.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2018)

69 Prisoners in 2014, E. Ann Carson, Ph.D., Bureau of Justice Statics Statistician, September 2015, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/p14.pdf> (accessed March 20, 2018)

70 Prisoners in 2014, E. Ann Carson, Ph.D., Bureau of Justice Statics Statistician, September 2015, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/p14.pdf> (accessed March 20, 2018)

71 Youth justice in Australia 2015–16, Bulletin 139, March 2017, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, p8, <https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/b85be60c-9fef-436d-85df-82d8e5c5f566/20705.pdf.aspx?inline=true> (accessed March 28, 2018)

72 Prisoner characteristics, Australia, Snapshot, At 30 June 2017, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/4517.0~2017~Main%20Features~Prisoner%20characteristics,%20Australia~4> (accessed March 28, 2018)

73 The Oxford Handbook of Criminology, Third Edition, edited by Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan and Robert Reiner, Oxford University Press, 2002, p1133

74 Adult correctional statistics in Canada, 2015/2016, Julie Reitano, Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2017001/article/14700-eng.htm> (accessed March 22, 2018)

In Australia, in 2016, 46 percent of Aboriginal families with children were one parent.⁷⁵ Thirty four percent of Canadian Aboriginal children aged 0-4 lived with a sole parent in 2016 (compared to 13% in the non-Aboriginal population).⁷⁶ In the United Kingdom, Afro- Caribbean fathers are the most likely to report not living with their children (32%).⁷⁷ In the United States, 2012, 55 percent of African-American children lived with one parent.⁷⁸ In New Zealand, 32 percent of Māori babies under one year-old lived with a sole mother in 2006.⁷⁹

In 2016, the percentage of non-Hispanic black births that were non-marital was 69.8 percent.⁸⁰ For Māori births in 2017 the non-marital share was 78.8 percent.⁸¹

These facts represent a mere smattering of what is known about the childhood backgrounds of individuals in the general population, but what about those in prison?

New Zealand statistical evidence

New Zealand has not recently surveyed prisoners about their childhood family backgrounds.⁸² The last dedicated prison census was conducted in 2003⁸³, but even that publication (and earlier versions) did not feature questions relating to childhood background or circumstances. There are multiple data sources for marital and parental status on entry to prison but none current that relate to family structure during childhood.

Writing in the mid-2000s, however, criminologist Greg Newbold makes reference to a 1986 prison census which did include questions about family backgrounds:

*"All 120 females in prison at the time, plus a random sample of 879 males (a third of the total male, sentenced, population) completed the questionnaire. The survey found that 11 per cent of prisoners either did not know their parents or their parents' marital status. Thirty-eight per cent had parents they knew were married. The remaining parents were unmarried as a result of death, divorce, separation or their parents never having lived together."*⁸⁴

That information is now unfortunately over 30 years old.

International statistical evidence

UNITED STATES

The most recent data from the United States is 2004. The same information was collected in 2016 but is not yet publicly available.⁸⁵ The following unweighted data relates to state and federal prisoners and who they *mostly* lived with growing up. Fewer than half lived with both parents:

75 2016 Census: Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Peoples QuickStats, Australian Bureau of Statistics, http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/IS315 (accessed March 18, 2018)

76 Diverse family characteristics of Aboriginal children aged 0 to 4, Statistics Canada, October 25, 2017, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016020/98-200-x2016020-eng.cfm> (accessed March 28, 2018)

77 What do we know about non-resident fathers? Authors: Eloise Poole, Svetlana Speight, Margaret O'Brien, Sara Connolly and Matthew Aldrich, Modern Fatherhood, 2013, <http://www.modernfatherhood.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Briefing-paper-Non-resident-fathers.pdf> (accessed April 18, 2018)

78 America's Families and Living Arrangements: 2012, United States Census Bureau, <https://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-570.pdf> (accessed March 28, 2018)

79 Economic Wellbeing of Sole-Parent Families, ISSUES PAPER 03 | NOVEMBER 2010, Families Commission, <http://thehub.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Economic-Wellbeing-of-sole-parent-families.pdf> (accessed March 28, 2018)

80 National Vital Statistics Reports Volume 67, Number 1, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, January 3, 2018, https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr67/nvsr67_01.pdf (accessed March 20, 2018)

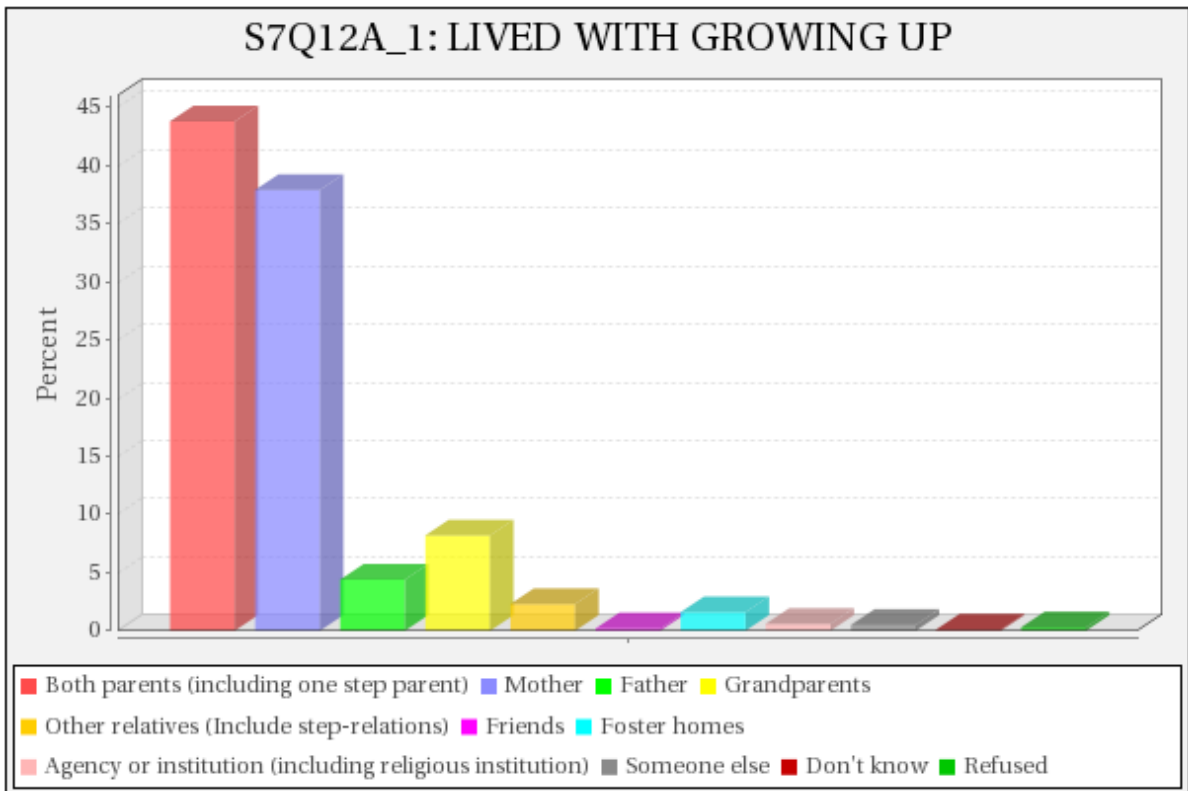
81 Statistics New Zealand, Infoshare, Births: Live Births by Nuptiality (Māori and total population), <http://archive.stats.govt.nz/infoshare/SelectVariables.aspx?pxID=a51043c5-8256-4ea3-adf9-9d6c2ac78577> (accessed March 28, 2018)

82 "Corrections has not undertaken any research that relates specifically to the childhood backgrounds/characteristics of individuals held in New Zealand prisons," OIA response to L Mitchell, 3 May, 2018

83 In 2007 Corrections said, "For a range of reasons, a decision has been taken to discontinue the biennial prison census format. It is to be replaced with an annual Offender Volumes Report which will provide census-type (snapshot) data for both prisoners and community sentence offenders," OIA response to L Mitchell February 28, 2007.

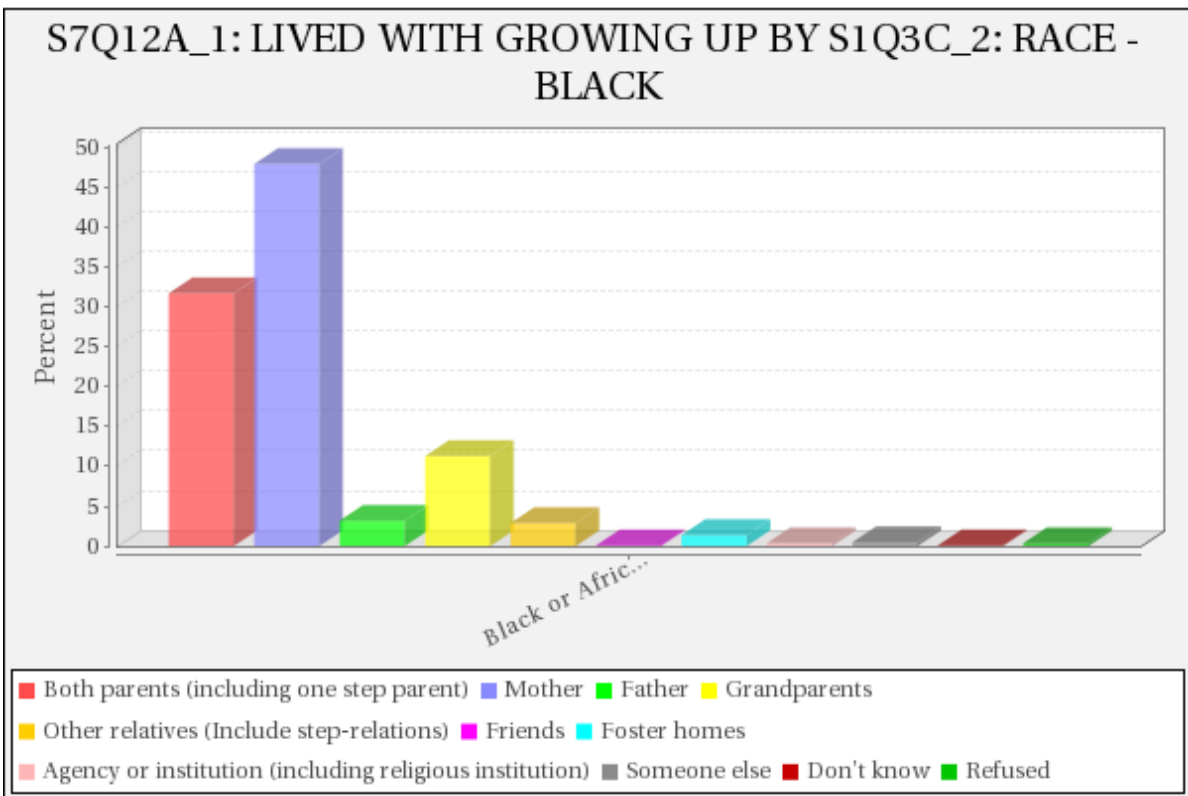
84 The Problem of Prisons: Corrections Reform in New Zealand Since 1840, Greg Newbold, Dunmore Publishing Ltd, 2007, p307

85 "The 2004 data are the most recent data available for public use. We did conduct another round of the prisoner survey in 2016 (changed the name to the Survey of Prison Inmates, 2016) but the data have not yet been archived for public use. We did collect similar information on the family background of prisoners in the 2016 survey." Lauren Glaze, Statistician, Bureau of Justice Statistics (U.S.), correspondence with L Mitchell, March 22, 2018



Data source: Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities, 2004, State Numeric Data. Analysis ran on 2018-03-21 (05:48 PM EDT) using SDA 3.5: Tables.

The next chart shows childhood background for African-Americans. Only a third lived mostly with two parents:



Data Source: Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities, 2004, State Numeric Data. Analysis ran on 2018-03-25 (04:26 PM EDT) using SDA 3.5: Tables.

Unfortunately, a difficulty US researchers have noted is 'both parents' can include a step-parent. Given findings that the presence of a step-parent increases risk of incarceration, a separation of the two family types would be useful. Such a separation is made in US official child maltreatment statistics and finds children in 'single parent with partner' families are at the greatest risk of harm.⁸⁶

The next table represents data from a 2002 survey of jail inmates (as opposed to state and federal prisoners). While essentially a survey about substance abuse the data is nevertheless useable for present purposes. It can be aggregated from this data, for instance, that 44 percent of the inmates lived with one parent growing up, very similar to the state and federal figure of 42.3 percent.

It also contains other useful data (reported elsewhere in this paper) regarding experience of abuse growing up, living in state care and incarceration of a parent.

Family background of jail inmates, by substance dependence or abuse, 2002

Characteristic	Percent of jail inmates	
	Dependence or abuse	Other inmates
Homeless in past year	16.5%	9.1%
Employed in month before admission to jail	71.1%	72.5%
Ever physically or sexually abused	21.1%	12.5%
Physically abused	17.6	9.8
Sexually abused	9.0	5.2
While growing up —		
Ever received public assistance*	40.8%	33.2%
Ever lived in foster home, agency or institution	13.9	6.6
Lived most of the time with —		
Both parents	42.1%	48.5%
One parent	46.4	40.3
Someone else	11.5	11.1
Parents or guardians ever abused —	36.8%	17.4%
Alcohol	23.6	11.8
Drugs	2.3	1.7
Both alcohol and drugs	10.9	3.9
Neither	63.2	82.6
Family member ever incarcerated —	50.3%	37.9%
Mother	8.0	5.6
Father	20.7	13.9
Brother	33.9	26.6
Sister	10.6	5.7
Spouse	2.1	1.4
Number of jail inmates	415,242	195,054

*Public assistance includes public housing, AFDC, food stamps, Medicaid, WIC, and other welfare programs.

Source: Substance Dependence, Abuse, and Treatment of Jail Inmates, 2002, Bureau of Justice Statistics

In 1987 a survey of youth in custody found, "More than half (54%) reported having primarily lived in a single parent family."⁸⁷

A 2012 report collected background data about the childhoods of almost 1,600 'juvenile lifers' – those sentenced to life without parole for crimes committed under the age of 18 – and found,

*"Of those living with a close adult relative, for more than half of them (59.7%), it was a single-parent home; fewer than one in four lived with both parents. Just over 15% were being raised by a grandparent. Thirty-five (2.2%) juvenile lifers were living in foster care."*⁸⁸

86 Child Abuse and Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us? Family First, 2016, p31.

<https://www.familyfirst.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Child-Abuse-and-Family-Structure-FULL-REPORT.pdf> (accessed March 26, 2018)

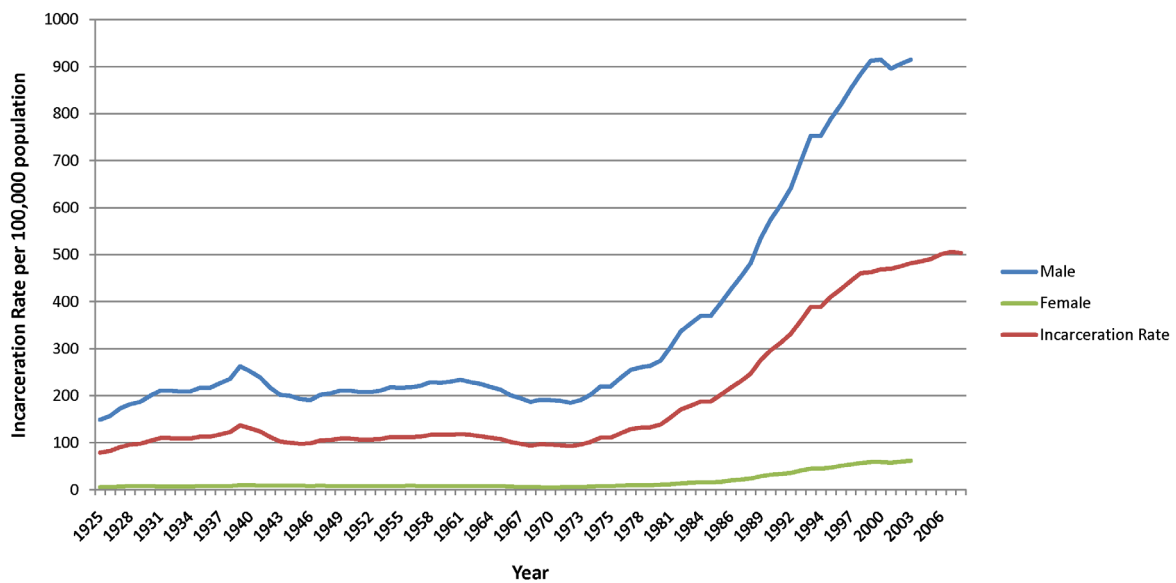
87 Survey of Youth in Custody, 1987, Allan J. Beck, Ph.D., Susan A Kilne, Lawrence A Greenfeld, Bureau of Justice Statisticians, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/syc87.pdf> (accessed March 26, 2018)

88 The Lives of Juvenile Lifers: Findings from a National Survey, Ashley Nellis, Ph.D. March, 2012, p9, <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/The-Lives-of-Juvenile-Lifers.pdf> (accessed April 20, 2018)

Some historic evidence of family backgrounds is contained in a study by Fred Otto Erbe who interviewed 150 'lifers' at the Iowa State Penitentiary in the late 1930s.⁸⁹ Forty three percent had lost a parent by death before 'coming of age'; 29% before they were 10 years old. This led to one in 10 having to live in homes other than their own. Nineteen percent had parents who were divorced or separated. A quarter had parents who were in constant conflict and "a spirit of cruelty, fault-finding or indifference was manifested by one or both parents to the lifer."

Apart from the loss of a parent being due to death rather than abandonment (significant), the backgrounds are a familiar story. Like New Zealand, the incarceration rate at that time was, however, far lower, as was the incidence of family malformation or breakdown. See below:

Rate of inmates incarcerated under state and federal jurisdiction per 100,000 population 1925-2008



Source: US Bureau of Justice Statistics

UNITED KINGDOM

In 2012, the United Kingdom's Ministry of Justice published a survey of 1,465 prisoners newly sentenced and incarcerated during 2005 and 2006.⁹⁰ When asked who they had lived with most of the time until aged 17 the responses were:

Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds

Lived with	Number	Per cent
Both natural parents	675	47
One natural parent	483	34
One step-parent and one natural parent	90	6
A step-parent only	2	*
Adopted parents	10	*
Grandparent(s)	40	3
Other relatives	20	1
Foster parents	27	2
In an institution (such as a children's home, borstal or young offenders unit)	70	5
Other	11	1
Total	1,428	100

Source: Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds, Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners

89 A Study of the Social Backgrounds of Life Inmates at Fort Madison Penitentiary, Fred Otto Erbe, Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, Volume 31, Issue 2, July-August, 1940, <https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2950&context=jclc> (accessed April 11, 2018)

90 Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds, Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners, Ministry of Justice, March 2012, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278837/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf (accessed March 20, 2018)

Like the US, a minority – albeit large – grew up with both parents. This data set does distinguish between 'both natural parents' and 'one step-parent and one natural parent'. For whatever reason, the survey designers thought the distinction important. In addition to the data shown above, 24 percent overall stated, "... they lived with foster parents or in an institution, or had been taken into care [long or short-term] at some point when they were a child." (our emphasis added)

The percentage of inmates living with one parent had increased from 19 percent in 1991⁹¹ to 34 percent in 2005/06.

CANADA

Statistics Canada does not keep information regarding the childhood backgrounds of prisoners.⁹² Corrections Canada collects data relating to quality of prisoners' childhood relationships with parent and attachment to family unit, but not specifically family structure.⁹³

A project launched in 2000 provides some relevant data from a sample of 322 male and female, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal inmates.⁹⁴

The following table details who their 'primary caregivers' were (with the final column measuring any statistical difference between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal respondents):

The effect of family disruption on Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal inmates

All Respondents Primary Caregiver	Total		Aboriginal		Non-Aboriginal		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Total	322	100%	175	100%	147	100%	
Birth Mother	146	45%	60	34%	86	59%	****
Birth Father	19	6%	9	5%	10	7%	NS
Both Birth Parents	39	12%	18	10%	21	14%	NS
Parent(s)	204	63%	87	50%	117	80%	****
Sibling	14	4%	12	7%	2	1%	**
Grandparent(s)	39	12%	29	17%	10	7%	**
Other Birth Relative	10	3%	9	5%	1	1%	**
Other Relative	63	20%	50	29%	13	9%	****
Self	24	7%	17	10%	7	5%	NS
Child Welfare System	24	7%	17	10%	7	5%	NS
Other Non-Family	7	2%	4	2%	3	2%	NS

Source: *The Effect Of Family Disruption On Aboriginal And Non-Aboriginal Inmates*. Shelley Trevethan, Sarah Auger & John-Patrick Moore, Correctional Service Canada. Michael MacDonald, Department of Justice Canada, Jennifer Sinclair, Assembly of First Nations, September 2001

There was some ambiguity about the term 'primary caregiver' with the researchers commenting that while the definition was the person "who took care of you the most" it may have been interpreted as the person the inmate cared about the most.

"Almost two-thirds (63%) of inmates said that their primary caregiver during their childhood was a biological parent, most often their birth mother (45%)."

Only twelve percent of the sample reported having both birth parents as their primary caregivers.

91 Profile of Inmates in the United States and in England and Wales, 1991, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994, p16, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/Walesus.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2018)

92 Statistics Canada email to author March 24, 2018. 'We have received an inquiry regarding your interest with data regarding "childhood family backgrounds of prisoners." Unfortunately, we do not collect this type of information,' Camille Deduque.

93 Reliability and Validity of the Dynamic Factors Identification and Analysis - 2017 N° R-395, Corrections Service, Canada

94 *The Effect Of Family Disruption On Aboriginal And Non-Aboriginal Inmates*. Shelley Trevethan, Sarah Auger & John-Patrick Moore, Correctional Service Canada. Michael MacDonald, Department of Justice Canada, Jennifer Sinclair, Assembly of First Nations, September 2001 <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/r113-eng.shtml> (accessed April 10, 2018)

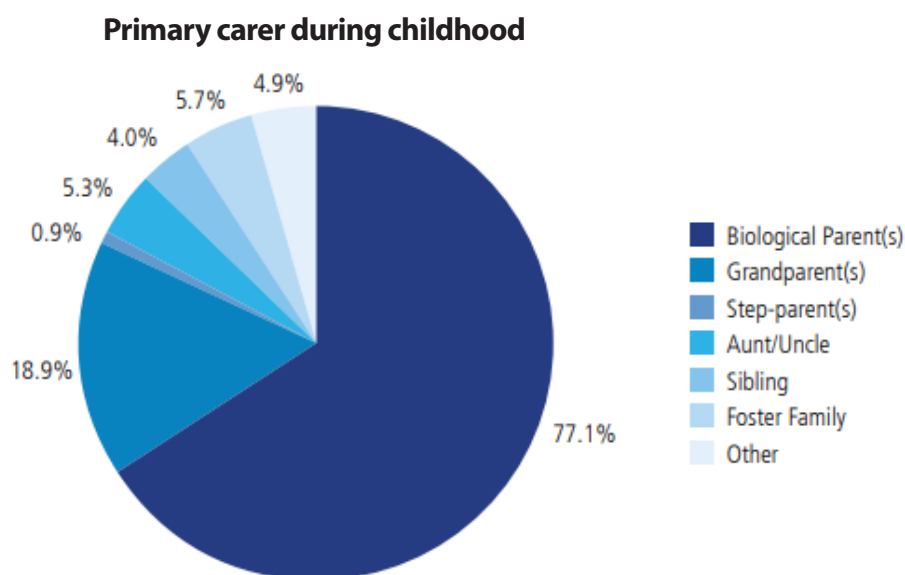
AUSTRALIA

Like Canada, Australia's statistical agency also holds no relevant data.⁹⁵

However, New South Wales, with the largest prison population in Australia, has recorded information regarding prisoner childhood family backgrounds:

*"Only 56.6% of participants reported that they had been raised by both biological parents for their entire childhood (defined for this purpose as birth to 16 years of age), with women (45.6%) less likely to report this than men (57.3%). Conversely, 32.9% of participants reported not having been raised by either of their biological parents for any of their childhood. This is consistent with research which indicates that a history of being raised outside of the family unit is a key predictor of anti-social behaviour across the lifespan."*⁹⁶

Further data is available via a 2015 New South Wales survey of young people in custody aged 17 or under and their family structure growing up:



Source: 2015 Young People in Custody Health Survey: Full Report Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network and Juvenile Justice NSW

These responses seem initially to indicate surprisingly intact family backgrounds. However, the 'biological parent(s)' category is further broken down to show:

Status of biological parents

	Males (n=207) %	Females (n=19) %	Aboriginal (n=125) %	Non-Aboriginal (n=102) %	Total (N=227) %
Living together	24.6	22.2	21.8	27.5	24.3
Separated/divorced	55.1	77.8	54.8	59.8	57.1
Never lived together	4.3	0.0	4.8	2.9	4.0
One or both parents deceased	14.5	0.0	16.9	8.8	13.3
Parents unknown	1.4	0.0	1.6	1.0	1.3

Source: 2015 Young People in Custody Health Survey: Full Report Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network and Juvenile Justice NSW

⁹⁵ Email to author, March 28, 2018: "Thank you for your recent enquiry to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Unfortunately the information you have requested is not available from the ABS. Narelle Bretherton".

⁹⁶ 2015 Network Patient Health Survey Report, Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network, http://www.justicehealth.nsw.gov.au/publications/2015_NHPS_FINALREPORT.pdf (accessed April 25, 2018)

The accompanying text is worth including as it draws a comparison with the general population regarding loss of a parent (imperfect though the comparison is):

*"When asked about the status of their biological parents, more than half (57.1%) of participants reported that their parents were separated or divorced (Table 15). In 13.3% of cases, one or both of the young person's parents had died: 8.4% had lost their father, 4.0% their mother, and 1.3% both parents. In comparison, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2012–13 Family Characteristics and Transitions Survey found that 6% of 18–24-year-olds in the general population had lost one or both parents in childhood."*⁹⁷

AUSTRIA

Due to the paucity of statistics relating to childhood family backgrounds of prisoners, the following data has been included.

An Austrian study reported in 2010 relates to juvenile delinquency – not specifically imprisonment, though 40 percent of the referred offenders were being held in confinement:

*"This study investigated risk factors for juvenile delinquency within family structure, personality, and diagnostic variables in 75 juvenile delinquents referred for forensic assessment. A considerable amount of detrimental family characteristics were demonstrated: 66% of all juveniles had experienced father deprivation, 20% had never been living with the father, and 25% had an alcoholic father. The most negative effects were registered in 32 juvenile delinquents growing up without a father and also reporting a negative relationship to their mother. Here, conduct disorder, alcohol abuse as comorbidity, and paternal alcoholism were diagnosed more often as compared to juveniles experiencing father deprivation but who reported a positive relationship with their mothers. In a comparison between violent and nonviolent offender subgroups, a significantly higher frequency of substance abuse was obtained in the violent offenders. Moreover, trends towards more father deprivation and conduct disorder were registered in the violent offenders."*⁹⁸

ROMANIA

A 2015 study of 136 female inmates conducted in Romania reported broad characteristics of childhood backgrounds:

*"The results of the research showed that these mothers' childhood was characterized by: instability within family life (with recurrent residence changes), very early confrontation with a life among strangers, being often witness to family violence (fights, abuse relationships between parents), knowing the hardships of having several step-parents, living through rejection and abuse from their peer-group."*⁹⁹

Growing up in state care

Placement in state care is the ultimate consequence of family disruption. Statistically, spending time in or growing up in care carries heightened risks for later incarceration. The following data shows considerable variation which may reflect the way in which the question is framed or that country's care and protection practices. But all of the proportions are high compared to the general population.

From the United Kingdom:

*"The 1991 National Prison Survey reported 26% of prisoners had been cared for by a local authority at some point in their childhood, compared to just 2% of the general population."*¹⁰⁰

97 2015 Young People in Custody Health Survey: Full Report, Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network and Juvenile Justice NSW, <http://www.justicehealth.nsw.gov.au/publications/2015YPICHSReportwebreadyversion.PDF> (accessed April 25, 2018)

98 Juvenile Delinquency: Father Absence, Conduct Disorder, and Substance Abuse as Risk Factor Triad International Journal of Forensic Mental Health 9(1):33-43 · February 2010, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/244889270_Juvenile_Delinquency_Father_Absence_Conduct_Disorder_and_Substance_Abuse_as_Risk_Factor_Triad (accessed March 20, 2018)

99 Main Characteristics of Inmate Mothers – Emphasized on their Psycho-socio-educational Status, Andrea Muller-Fabian, Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences, Volume 209, 3 December 2015, Pages 344-350, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042815055949> (accessed March 22, 2018)

100 Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds, Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners, Ministry of Justice, March 2012, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278837/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf (accessed March 20, 2018)

Further from a later survey of prisoners incarcerated in 2005/06:

*"Those who had been in care were of a lower average age when they were arrested for the first time (median = 13 years) than those who had never been in care (median = 16 years). Prisoners who had been in care as a child were more likely to be reconvicted following release from their current sentence than those who had not (61% compared to 49%)."*¹⁰¹

"Prisoners are ... 13 times as likely to have been in care as a child..."

The Prince's Trust, United Kingdom, 2007

From a recent Scottish survey:

*"Of the 327 young men under 21 in HMYOI [Her Majesty's Young Offender Institute] Polmont who responded to the Scottish Prison Service 2015 Prisoner Survey, a third (33%) reported being in care as a child and a quarter were in care at the age of 16. To set these figures in context, fewer than 2% of Scotland's children (15 317) were being looked after on 31 July 2016."*¹⁰²

In 2002, in the United States, jail inmates were asked if they had 'ever lived in a foster home, agency or institution.' 11.6% responded positively.¹⁰³ In 2004 12.7% of state and federal prisoners said they had lived in a foster home agency or institution at some time while growing up.¹⁰⁴

In Canada, 51 percent of a sample of federal prisoners reported that they had, "... been involved in the child welfare system at some point in their childhood, including adoption, foster care and group home placements."¹⁰⁵

Closer to home, in New South Wales, a survey of 227 young people in custody found:

*"One in five participants (21.1%) reported that they had been placed in out-of-home care before the age of 16 years and 38.1% had been placed in care three or more times. Rates of out-of-home care among young people in custody far exceed those among the general population, especially for young females."*¹⁰⁶

Among the NSW adult prison population 14.3% "... reported that they had been placed in care at some time before the age of 16."¹⁰⁷ Of those, the largest majority had spent the longest time in care:

Time spent in care before the age of 16

	Males	Females	Total
less than 6 months	8.4%	18.5%	8.5%
6 - <12 months	6.0%	6.2%	7.5%
1 - < 2 years	15.8%	6.9%	16.1%
2 - < 5 years	27.3%	30.5%	27.7%
5+ years	42.5%	37.9%	40.2%

Source: 2015 Network Patient Health Survey Report, Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network, NSW

Spending time or growing up in state care is generally thought to be 'unavoidable' or the last resort. The child may be saved from a worse fate. There is mixed evidence regarding outcomes for children placed in care though it appears that entering stable foster care at a younger age and avoiding multiple placements has better outcomes than

101 Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds, Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners, Ministry of Justice, March 2012, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278837/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf (accessed March 20, 2018)

102 Children And Young People In Custody In Scotland: Looking Behind The Data, Youth Justice Improvement Board, Scottish Government, October 2017, <http://www.cycj.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Young-People-in-Custody-October-2017.pdf> (accessed April 9, 2018)

103 Substance Dependence, Abuse, and Treatment of Jail Inmates, 2002, Jennifer C. Karberg and Doris J. James Bureau of Justice Statisticians, July 2005, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/sdatji02.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2018)

104 Survey of Inmates in State and Federal Correctional Facilities, 2004, State Numeric Data. Analysis ran on 2018-03-21 (05:38 PM EDT) using SDA 3.5: Tables.

105 The Effect Of Family Disruption On Aboriginal And Non-Aboriginal Inmates, Shelley Treveltham, Sarah Auger & John-Patrick Moore, Correctional Service Canada, Michael MacDonald, Department of Justice Canada, Jennifer Sinclair, Assembly of First Nations, September 2001

<http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/r113-eng.shtml> (accessed April 9, 2018)

106 2015 Young People in Custody Health Survey: Full Report Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network and Juvenile Justice NSW, p xx, <http://www.justicehealth.nsw.gov.au/publications/2015YPICHSReportwebradyversion.PDF> (accessed April 25, 2018)

107 2015 Network Patient Health Survey Report, Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network, NSW, p24, http://www.justicehealth.nsw.gov.au/publications/2015_NHPS_FINALREPORT.pdf (accessed April 25, 2018)

placement when older, having already experienced early childhood hardship.¹⁰⁸

But the quality of state care (or lack thereof) must also be acknowledged. Kim Workman, well-known advocate for prison reform, describes the historic treatment of children in state institutions as "shocking". He details the statistical contribution of state care to Māori imprisonment:

*"As a senior manager in the Department of Māori Affairs in the late 80s, I realised that most Māori gang members had been in state care as children, a pattern that repeated itself over several generations. As head of prisons between 1989 and 1993, I found that around 80% of all the Māori prisoners under 20 had a state care background."*¹⁰⁹

"Unfortunately, and for often complex reasons, not all whānau are safe places for children in their care and Māori whānau are overrepresented in the welfare system, including child-removal statistics."

Safety of Subsequent Children, Fiona Cram, for the Families Commission, 2012

Data challenges

There is ample factual evidence that, typically, more than half of prisoners did not grow up with both natural parents. But is this so very different from the non-prison population?

For instance, according to the Ministry of Social Development, *"Spending at least some time in a sole-parent family is a relatively common experience. The most recent estimates are that around one in two mothers have spent some time as a sole parent by the time they reach 50, and that a third of children have lived with a sole mother for some time by age 17."*¹¹⁰

Who, then, provides a satisfactory control group? Who can we compare prisoners to when examining commonalities or differences in their family backgrounds? A US study of youth held in correctional facilities tried with, *"Seven of every 10 juveniles and young adults primarily grew up in a household without both parents ... In contrast to the incarcerated youth, 73.9% of the 62.8 million children in the Nation's resident population in 1986 were living with both parents."*¹¹¹

The problem here is the prison cohort was aged 11-21 years but the control group was all children.

One option, perhaps the only, is to use longitudinal studies and compare the outcomes of children born in the same year (or other period). Unfortunately, for our purposes, the Christchurch and Dunedin longitudinal studies from the 1970s under-represented Māori, though that does not preclude them from producing Māori data. These studies have provided a rich source of knowledge about children's progression to adulthood, and are drawn on internationally.

The greater concern must be that longitudinal studies always feature a degree of drop-out. The recently initiated *Growing up in New Zealand* study has around 10 percent attrition at age four.¹¹² It is not unlikely that those lost respondents are from transient, disrupted and/or dysfunctional families – those most likely to feature children who are at risk of criminal offending and eventual incarceration. For instance, having a parent who is incarcerated is a strong risk factor for the offspring to also serve prison time. An incarcerated parent – or partner of – is hardly likely to prioritise the requests of researchers. Our subject of interest has been lost.

To further highlight the point, for argument's sake, a longitudinal study may show that two percent of the children born to a single parent spent time in prison while only one percent of children born to two parents had the same outcome (both groups being theoretically the same size). Therefore, the likelihood of becoming a prisoner doubled if the child was born to single parent. But inclusion of the missing respondents could conceivably raise the first percentage to three or four. Relative risks would then treble or quadruple.

108 The Effect Of Family Disruption On Aboriginal And Non-Aboriginal Inmates, Shelley Trevethan, Sarah Auger & John-Patrick Moore, Correctional Service Canada, Michael MacDonald, Department of Justice Canada, Jennifer Sinclair, Assembly of First Nations, September 2001, <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/r113-eng.shtml> (accessed May 7, 2018)

109 I was part of NZ's history of abuse in state care, and I'm in no doubt an inquiry is crucial, Kim Workman, The Spinoff, March 2017, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/21-03-2017/i-was-part-of-nzs-history-of-abuse-in-state-care-and-im-in-no-doubt-an-inquiry-is-crucial/> (accessed May 2, 2018)

110 Sole parenting in New Zealand: An update on key trends and what helps reduce disadvantage, Centre for Social Research and Evaluation, Te Pokapū Rangahau Arotake Hapori, July 2010, <http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/research/sole-parenting/sole-parenting-in-nz-an-update-on-key-trends-and-what-helps-reduce-disadvantage.doc> (last accessed March 27, 2018)

111 Survey of Youth in Custody, 1987, Allan J. Beck, Ph.D., Susan A Kilne, Lawrence A Greenfeld, Bureau of Justice Statisticians, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/syc87.pdf> (accessed March 26, 2018)

112 Growing Up in New Zealand Now We Are Four: Describing the preschool years 2017, Morton, S.M.B, Grant, C.C., Berry, S.D., Walker, C.G., Corkin, M., Ly, K., de Castro, T.G., Atatoa Carr, P.E., Bandara, D.K., Mohal, J., Bird, A., Underwood, L., Fa'alili-Fidow, J, p8, https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/growingup/research-findings-impact/GUINZ_Now%20we%20are%20four%20report.pdf (accessed March 19, 2018)

That may be mere conjecture but the *Growing up in New Zealand* study already contains data relating to single parents that doesn't match that gathered from other sources.

So where does this leave us?

Child maltreatment and imprisonment

The second in our series about family structure, *Child Abuse and Family Structure*, showed emphatically, using government data, that family structure and the incidence of child maltreatment are strongly related. Over three quarters of children born in 2010 who had a substantiated finding of abuse by age two were born into single-parent families.¹¹³ The incidence of child abuse or neglect among Māori single-parent families is higher still. However, the incidence falls dramatically where the families are not single-parent – for both Māori and non-Māori.

In New Zealand, child maltreatment is identified from reports to Child, Youth and Family (CYF). These notifications can come from family, neighbours, schools, health professionals or police.

In 2013, writing in *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal*, Glen Kilgour noted:

*"Recent New Zealand research by the Centre for Social Research and Evaluation (CSRE) and the Department of Corrections examined the 'flow rates' from Child, Youth and Family (CYF) to Corrections, identifying that within two birth cohort samples (from 1985 and 1989) those who had CYF child or youth records were heavily over-represented among Corrections' clients. Almost 60 percent of Corrections' clients in this research sample had a prior CYF record with this increasing to 69 percent for incarcerated adults and 83 percent for teenage prisoners."*¹¹⁴ (our emphasis added)

Again we see this correlation between single-parent families and heightened risk of imprisonment. Children born to single parents were the most likely to be maltreated and the most likely to go on to become prisoners.

Treasury data (2016) showed that children with four indicators comprising: 1) a finding of abuse or neglect; 2) spending most of their lifetime supported by benefits; 3) having a parent who'd received a community or custodial sentence; and 4) a mother with no formal qualifications; were ten times more likely to spend time in jail before the age of 21 than those with none of these indicators. Then,

*"Compared to those with none of the four indicators, children aged 0 to 5 years with two or more of the four indicators are nine times more likely to have a mother who was single at their birth (71% compared to 8%)."*¹¹⁵

For the children aged 0-5 years who had two or more indicators, there were key differences between girls and boys, with the boys much more likely to serve a community or custodial sentence, and the girls more likely to be long-term welfare recipients, including as sole parents. It could be hypothesised that these individuals 'partner up', thus supporting the pattern of intergenerational incarceration discussed shortly. Of those children aged 0-5 years with all four indicators, 72.3% were Māori, also synonymous with over-representation in imprisonment rates.

A majority of New Zealand prisoners have been subjected to child maltreatment. Discussing young offenders who are 'persisters' – those who do not grow out of offending and inevitably go to prison – Children's Commissioner Andrew Becroft and Lawyer Sacha Norrie write, "... up to 76 per cent, have some history of abuse and neglect, and previous involvement with Child, Youth and Family... Most experience family dysfunction and disadvantage, and lack positive male role models."¹¹⁶

"...many young people in youth justice secure residences have histories of childhood maltreatment (i.e., care and protection-related histories)."

Youth Justice Secure Residences Report, Dr Ian Lambie, Associate Professor of Clinical Psychology Auckland University, 2016

"Too many children in Aotearoa face unacceptable levels of abuse, neglect, violence and racial bias."

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child Monitoring Group, 2017

113 Child Abuse and Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us? Family First, 2016, p26, <https://www.familyfirst.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Child-Abuse-and-Family-Structure-FULL-REPORT.pdf> (accessed March 19, 2018)

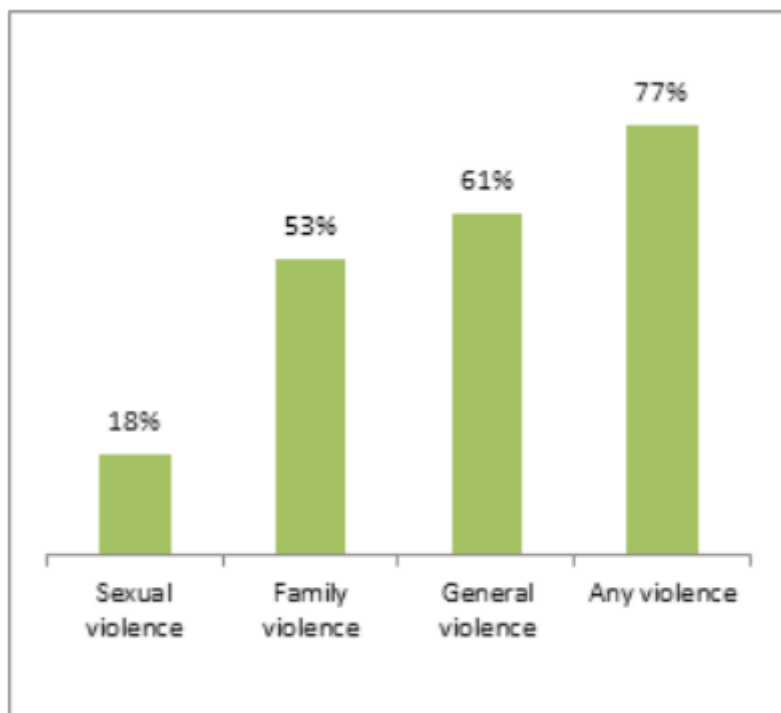
114 An introduction to offending by youth - Glen Kilgour, *Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal*, Volume 1, Issue 2: November 2013 – Youth, P28, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/707673/COR-Practice-Journal-Cover-Vol1-Iss2-WEB.pdf (accessed March 16, 2018)

115 Characteristics of Children at Greater Risk of Poor Outcomes as Adults, Prepared by the Analytics and Insights team at the Treasury, Analytical Paper 16/01, February 2016, <http://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/research-policy/ap/2016/16-01/ap16-01.pdf> (accessed March 28, 2018)

116 Criminal Justice: A New Zealand Introduction, edited by Greg Newbold and Jarrod Gilbert, Auckland University Press, December 2017, excerpt, p253, https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/press/all-books/pdfs/2017/Gilbert_criminal%20Justice_blad.pdf (accessed April 24, 2018)

In 2015, a study based on a representative sample of 1,209 randomly selected New Zealand prisoners recently received into prison found the following levels of exposure to violence:

NZ prisoners' exposure to violence (2015)



Source: Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal, July 2017

'Family violence' was defined as, "... being badly beaten up by parents or the people who raised you; witnessing serious physical fights at home; or being badly beaten up by a spouse or romantic partner."

While not all of the 'exposure' pertained to childhood, the author of the study nevertheless considered the rate of family violence experience to be an "under-representation" due to some types of family violence not being included "...such as childhood neglect..."¹¹⁷

In 2012, a United Kingdom study into the childhood backgrounds of prisoners found 29 percent had experienced abuse (not including neglect) as a child.¹¹⁸ A United States survey of jail inmates in 2002 found 18.3 percent had been physically or sexually abused growing up.¹¹⁹ Other researchers find:

*"People inside prison have above-average rates of childhood and adult victimization... Childhood abuse is reported by 25% to 50% of incarcerated women and by 6% to 24% of their male counterparts."*¹²⁰

In Canada, 35.5 percent of all federal male prisoners and 56.2 percent of all female prisoners said they were abused during childhood. For indigenous prisoners, the percentages rose respectively to 54.1 and 71.5%.¹²¹

"...inmates tend to come from a background steeped in disadvantage with histories of familial disruption; abuse and neglect; low participation in education as well as considerably lower literacy than is found in the general community; drug and alcohol abuse; and previous incarceration as a juvenile as well as in adulthood."

NSW prisoner health survey, 2015

117 New Zealand prisoners' prior exposure to trauma, Marianne Bevan, Research Adviser, Department of Corrections, Practice: The New Zealand Corrections Journal, Vol 5, Issue 1, July 2017, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/journal/volume_5_issue_1_july_2017/new_zealand_prisoners_prior_exposure_to_trauma.html (accessed April 24, 2018)

118 Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds, Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners, Ministry of Justice, March 2012, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278837/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf (accessed March 20, 2018)

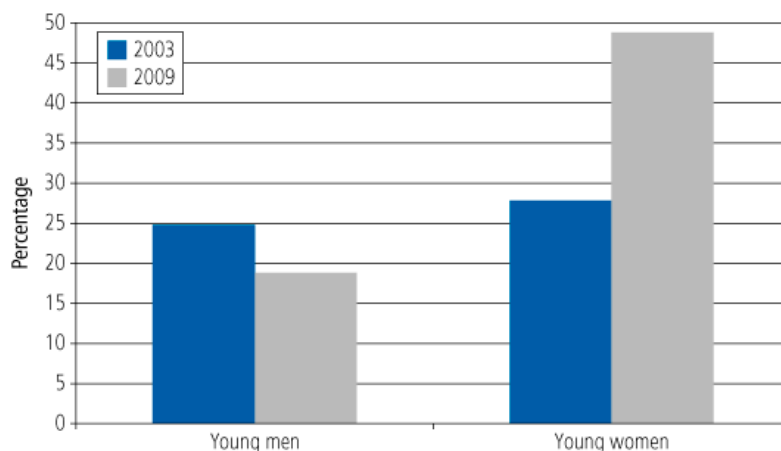
119 Substance Dependence, Abuse, and Treatment of Jail Inmates, 2002, Jennifer C. Karberg and Doris J. James Bureau of Justice Statisticians, July 2005, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/sdatji02.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2018)

120 Patterns of Victimization Among Male and Female Inmates: Evidence of an Enduring Legacy Nancy Wolff, PhD, Jing Shi, MS, and Jane A. Siegel, PhD, 2009, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3793850/> (accessed March 21, 2018)

121 Reliability and Validity of the Dynamic Factors Identification and Analysis - 2017 N° R-395, Corrections Service, Canada

Data from New South Wales shows similar trends:

Proportion of young people in NSW juvenile justice detention who report experiencing any serious childhood abuse or neglect, by gender



Source: *The link between child maltreatment and adolescent offending*, Australian Institute of Family Studies

Staying in Australia, the 2002 Queensland Women Prisoner's Health Survey found:

- 42.5% of women reported being the victim of non-consensual sexual activity before the age of 16;
- 37.7% reported having been physically or emotionally abused before the age of 16; and
- 36.5% experienced actual or attempted intercourse on one or more occasions before the age of 10¹²²

A Brazilian study of women prisoners conducted in 2004 found:

*"Among 219 prisoners, 190 accepted to join the research; 149 were young women (23-27 years) with severe educational deficiency. Living in poor socioeconomical conditions with problematic and violent familiar relations, 116 (61 per cent) left home at the end of their adolescence and the same number reported having been abused."*¹²³

A history of childhood abuse – particularly sexual – is a recurring theme for female prisoners.

Jurisdictions are increasingly including witnessing violence as a form of child abuse. An examination of the childhoods of young Americans sentenced to life without parole for crimes committed before aged 18 found that 79 percent reported witnessing violence in their homes; 77.3% of girls reported histories of sexual abuse.¹²⁴

In the United Kingdom, those prisoners who reported experiencing abuse or observing violence as a child were more likely to be reconvicted in the year after release than those who did not.¹²⁵ A review of children held in secure youth justice facilities in New Zealand found that 39 percent had witnessed violence between adults at home on more than three occasions in the past year.¹²⁶ Principal Youth Court Judge John Walker says, "About 80 percent of children and young people who offend are estimated to have experienced family violence, either directly or indirectly."¹²⁷

"In addition to feeling considerable pain and suffering themselves, abused and neglected children are at increased risk of becoming aggressive and inflicting pain and suffering on others, often perpetrating crime and violence."

Burden and consequences of child maltreatment in high-income countries, Professor David Fergusson et al, 2008

122 Women in Prison in Queensland, Anti-discrimination Commission, Queensland, March 2006, <https://www.adcq.qld.gov.au/human-rights/women-in-prison-report/women-in-prison-contents/women-qld#Link3> (accessed April 9, 2018)

123 Incidence of child and adolescent abuse among incarcerated females in the northeast of Brazil.

Falbo G1, Caminha F, Aguiar F, Albuquerque J, de Chacon Lourdes M, Miranda S, Marques S. October 2004, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/15510761> (accessed April 9, 2018)

124 The Lives of Juvenile Lifers: Findings from a National Survey, Ashley Nellis, Ph.D. March, 2012, p2, <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/The-Lives-of-Juvenile-Lifers.pdf> (accessed April 20, 2018)

125 Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds, Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners, Ministry of Justice, March 2012, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278837/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf (accessed March 20, 2018)

126 Youth Justice Secure Residences: A report on the international evidence to guide best practice and service delivery, Associate Professor Ian Lambie Clinical Psychologist (Registered), MSD, May 2016, <http://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/research/youth-justice/youth-justice-report-secure-residences-11-fa.pdf> (accessed March 27, 2018)

127 Whose fault is it when the young and vulnerable offend? Principal Youth Court Judge, John Walker, Radio New Zealand, 21 March 2018, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/352934/whose-fault-is-it-when-the-young-and-vulnerable-offend> (accessed March 29, 2018)

More recently, 'neglect' is also receiving new attention:

*"Child maltreatment substantially contributes to child mortality and morbidity and has long lasting effects on mental health, drug and alcohol misuse (especially in girls), risky sexual behaviour, obesity, and criminal behaviour, which persist into adulthood. Neglect is at least as damaging as physical or sexual abuse in the long term but has received the least scientific and public attention."*¹²⁸

Criminologist Greg Newbold comments in *The Problem of Prisons*:

*"Not all people with bad family backgrounds become criminals, and not all criminals have bad family backgrounds, but a history of parental neglect is highly predictive of maladjustment later in life."*¹²⁹

An examination of the childhoods of 43 American death row inmates conducted through psychologist, psychiatrist and social worker reports; interviews with inmates, family members, acquaintances, and former teachers; along with school, medical, military and other records, found that 95 percent had been physically abused and 100 percent had been neglected.¹³⁰

"Often I finish reading a psychological report detailing the tumultuous background of a young offender and the question I ask is: 'So why is anyone surprised about what has happened?'"

A 14-year-old boy with the same underlying issues that as a 10-year-old made him vulnerable is now considered criminal; a dangerous teen on his way to becoming a dangerous adult.

The behaviours and coping mechanisms, the delayed development and disengagement from school and community are well entrenched. Deprived of a safe and nourishing environment to grow up in, teens like him are on a path to prison."

Whose fault is it when the young and vulnerable offend?, Principal Youth Court Judge John Walker, 2018

Poverty and imprisonment

The first in our series about family structure, *Child Poverty and Family Structure: What is the evidence telling us?* showed that family structure is strongly associated with child poverty – or, more accurately, impoverished parents. The strongest correlation for low family income is single parenthood.

Criminologists argue a strong association between crime and poverty:

*"One of the most ubiquitous findings of criminology has been that of consistent linkages between measures of socio-economic deprivation or disadvantage and elevated rates of crime."*¹³¹

Yet when Professor David Fergusson *et al* attempted to separate socio-economic disadvantage from other mediating factors affecting risk of property or violent criminal offending, they found:

*"Examination of the effects of statistical control on risk ratio estimates suggested that family factors made the greatest contribution to the association, with other factors making smaller but still significant contributions."*¹³²

Family factors included experiencing regular and severe physical punishment, a low level of maternal care or parental attachment, and a high level of family change.

Summarised by Corrections, yet another of the Christchurch longitudinal study papers found:

128 Burden and consequences of child maltreatment in high-income countries, Ruth Gilbert, Cathy Spatz Widom, Kevin Browne, David Fergusson, Elspeth Webb, Staffan Janson, published Lancet, 2009, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/David_Fergusson/publication/23571058_Child_Maltreatment_1_Burden_and_consequences_of_child_maltreatment_in_high-income_countries/links/59e68a174585151e545ce146/Child-Maltreatment-1-Burden-and-consequences-of-child-maltreatment-in-high-income-countries.pdf (accessed March 19, 2018)

129 *The Problem of Prisons: Corrections Reform in New Zealand Since 1840*, Greg Newbold, Dunmore Publishing Ltd, 2007, p308

130 *The Cycle of Violence: The Life Histories of 43 Death Row Inmates* David Lisak and Sara Beszterczey University of Massachusetts, Boston, *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 2007, Vol. 8, No. 2, 118–128, <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7c7c/e4fdec0746b14bf361bb57f6a934a50721d9.pdf> (accessed March 23, 2018)

131 How does childhood economic disadvantage lead to crime? David Fergusson, Nicola Swain-Campbell, and John Horwood, *Christchurch Health and Development Study, Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 45:5 (2004), pp 956–966

132 How does childhood economic disadvantage lead to crime? David Fergusson, Nicola Swain-Campbell, and John Horwood, *Christchurch Health and Development Study, Christchurch School of Medicine*, 2004

"... when the specific influences of social and family factors were examined, ethnicity of the young person ceased to function as a significant explanatory variable. In other words, family circumstances (parents' history of problems with alcohol, family history of offending, multiple family problems) and parenting behaviours (use of physical punishment, level of parental care) emerged as the key factors which accounted for the violence in these adolescents. Wherever such factors were recorded in a family - irrespective of ethnicity, **or indeed even socioeconomic status** - the risk of offending amongst children in those families increased sharply."¹³³ (our emphasis added)

A further Corrections literature review described how Leschied et al looked at family factors that predicted adult criminality. Leschied went a step further and separated out family structure.

Family predictors of adult criminality for all outcomes across time points and overall (adapted from Leschied et al 2008:454)

Variable	Time-point	Effect size (ES)	Total ES
Family structure	Early childhood	0.16	0.48
	Mid-childhood	0.26	
	Adolescence	0.67	
Parent management	Early childhood	-	0.24
	Mid-childhood	0.41	
	Adolescence	0.12	
Adverse family environment	Early childhood	0.16	0.23
	Mid-childhood	0.17	
	Adolescence	0.38	
Static – family variables	Early childhood	0.19	0.15
	Mid-childhood	0.24	
	Adolescence	0.11	
Overall (all risk factors combined)	Early childhood	0.13	0.25
	Mid-childhood	0.39	
	Adolescence	0.31	

Source: *Youth Therapeutic Programmes, A Literature Review, Department of Corrections, 2012*

Here, 'family structure' had the largest effect size (especially in adolescence) and comprised factors such as child welfare involvement, parental separation and marital status. Other variables were coercive, inconsistent or neglectful supervision (parent management); witnessing violence or experiencing maltreatment (adverse family environment); and parental criminal history, age of mother at birth and birth complications (static - family variables).¹³⁴ The same literature review cites a Cambridge study which listed 15 environmental risk factors. Only three related to poverty: low income, poor housing, and socio-economic static.

Of course, it is also true that disruption in families can be both the cause and result of economic disadvantage. Being income-poor puts stress on relationships. But the dissolution of parental relationships also – at least temporarily – reduces household income. Single parenthood and poverty correlate strongly but it would appear that the disruption to the family has more negative impact on the child than the resulting economic disadvantage.

In the 1990s, two American researchers, Cynthia Harper and Sara McLanahan, set out to extricate the role of father-absence from other risk factors for imprisonment such as poverty.¹³⁵

Data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, "...one of the few longitudinal data sets with individual-level information on both family life and incarceration," was used. The sample consisted of 6,403 males aged 14-22 in 1979. The information was gathered from annual interviews.

The research oversampled disadvantaged groups, "...to try to determine whether father absence is an accurate predictor of incarceration during adolescence and young adulthood, or whether it is merely a correlate of other difficulties leading to

¹³³ Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system, An exploratory report, Policy, Strategy and Research Group, Department of Corrections, September 2007, p37, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf (accessed April 12, 2018)

¹³⁴ Youth Therapeutic Programmes, A Literature Review, Maria Ludbrook, Psychological Services, Department of Corrections, 2012, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0008/673028/COR_Youth_Therapeutic_Program_WEB.pdf (accessed April 12, 2018)

¹³⁵ Father Absence And Youth Incarceration, Cynthia C. Harper, Ph.D. Sara S. McLanahan, Ph.D, Center for Research on Child Wellbeing Working Paper #99-03, <http://www.sharedparentinginc.org/WP99-03-HarperFatherAbsence.pdf> (accessed March 20, 2018)

incarceration." They found:

"Results from longitudinal event history analysis show that while certain unfavourable circumstances, such as teen motherhood, low parent education, urban residence, racial inequalities and poverty, are associated with incarceration among father-absent youths, net of these factors, these youths still face double the odds of their peers."

"13 percent of those who lived in non-intact families during adolescence experienced incarceration, as compared to five percent of those in intact families."

Harper and McLanahan, Father Absence and Youth Incarceration, 2003

Interestingly, youths who lived with a single father were no more at risk than those who lived with both parents but the researchers note that their numbers were very small and *"single fathers may represent special situations, in which the fathers are particularly suited to caring for their children."* Other study findings that relate specifically to 'delinquency' have not evidenced a difference between the gender of the single parent.

Perhaps more importantly, however, is the next finding, replicated in other studies and referenced earlier:

"... youths from step-parent families are even more vulnerable to the risk of incarceration, especially those in father-stepmother households, which suggests that the re-marriage may present even greater difficulties for male children than father absence."

Their 'discussion' emphasises these findings:

"Results show that while children in single-mother households, particularly those born to single mothers, have higher chances of incarceration, those in step-parent families fare even worse. These findings suggest that while father absence may be problematic for children, marriage does not necessarily represent improved chances for children. Indeed, having grandparents in the household, rather than step-parents, may prove more helpful in protecting against youth incarceration. Marriage is frequently held as a preferred state for children in father-absent households, but these results show marriage does not help to prevent incarceration unless it is between the two parents of the child; otherwise, children in single-parent households fare relatively better."

This could be framed as a positive finding for biological parents but not replacement parents.

The study does not differentiate between marriage and other means whereby a step-parent may be acquired, for instance, non-marital cohabitation but does note, *"Most likely, step-parent situations work in different ways, depending on the family."* A step-father who has married a mother and adopted her children, and a step-father who is non-committal and one in a series, present quite different circumstances. Some research finds the *"...number of [family structure] transitions is negatively associated with children's behaviour."*¹³⁶

A thesis exploring the relationship between juvenile delinquency and family structure cites a study by Joseph H Rankin:

*"Rankin compared various broken homes and runaway offenses and found that children from a single parent home (no step-parent) are 1.8 times as likely to run than a child living in an intact home. The odds increase to 2.7 for children living with one biological parent and a step-parent and increase to 4.0 for a child living with neither biological parent regardless of the sex or age of the child (Rankin, 1983)."*¹³⁷

According to Corrections:

*"... Māori children are twice as likely as New Zealand European to be raised in a family situation where unrelated persons - such as a new partner to the mother - are resident."*¹³⁸

But there are also implications here for the poverty-causes-crime theory. The heightened risk of incarceration for those growing up with a step parent conflicts with the poverty-causes-crime theory as these families tend to have higher incomes than single parents.

So while socio-economic disadvantage contributes to the risk of incarceration – and it would be daft to argue it doesn't – other factors carry more weight.

136 Family Instability and Child Well-Being, Paula Fomby and Andrew J. Cherlin, April 2007, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3171291/> (accessed May 15, 2018)

137 "The Relationship Between Juvenile Delinquency and Family Unit Structure" Mullens, Angela D., (2004), p8, Theses, Dissertations and Capstones. Paper 750. <http://mds.marshall.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1743&context=etd> (accessed March 23, 2018)

138 Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system An exploratory report Policy, Strategy and Research Group Department of Corrections September 2007, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf (accessed March 22, 2018)

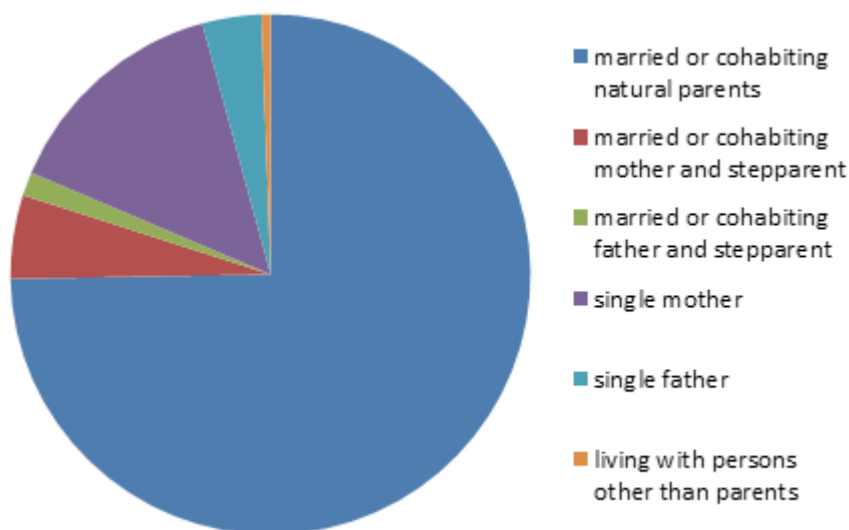
In passing, a number of observers have pointed out too that periods of economic depression do not coincide with sharp rises in the prison population. In fact, in New Zealand at least, the 1930s Great Depression saw the reverse.

Intact families protect

If population groups with low levels of intact families correlate to higher imprisonment rates the reverse should also be true.

By way of example, Sweden has a low rate of imprisonment with just 57 per 100,000 of population incarcerated in 2016¹³⁹ (compared to New Zealand's 217). Sweden also has a relatively large percentage of children – three quarters – living with both natural parents.

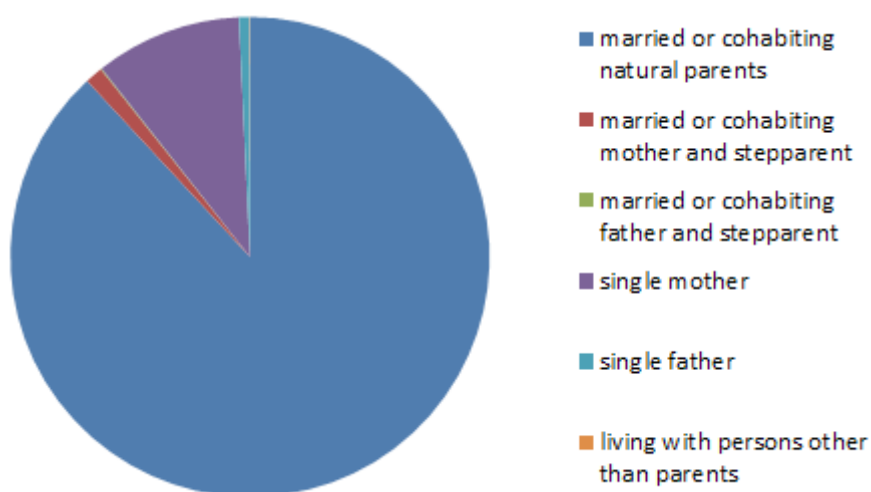
Family type of Swedish children aged 0-17 years, 2016



Data source: Statistics Sweden, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__LE__LE0102__LE0102B/LE0102T17/table/tableViewLayout1?rxid=oeaf871b-3e24-4e8c-b171-cfa2a9baf22d

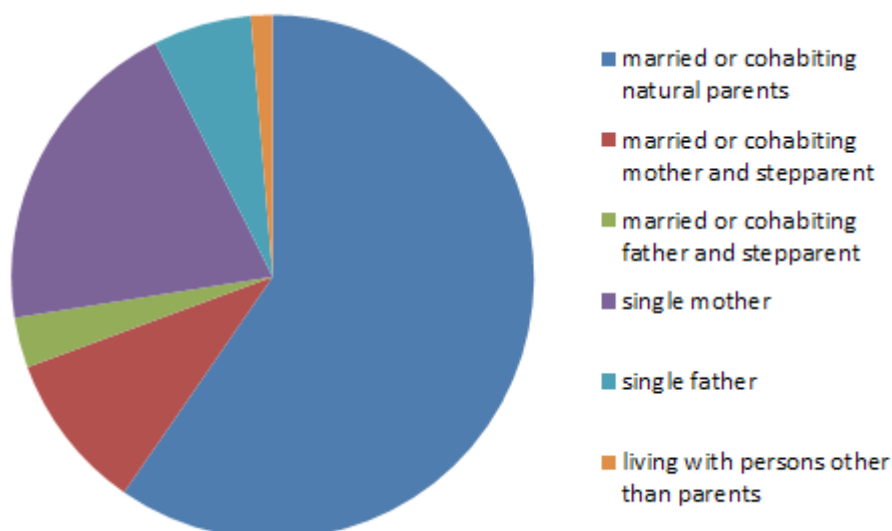
But this fact alone doesn't tell us how family type alters over a child's lifetime. A further breakdown provides greater information about changing family structure:

Family type of Swedish children at birth, 2016



Data source: Statistics Sweden, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__LE__LE0102__LE0102B/LE0102T17/table/tableViewLayout1?rxid=oeaf871b-3e24-4e8c-b171-cfa2a9baf22d

Family type of Swedish children aged 17, 2016



Data source: Statistics Sweden, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__LE__LE0102__LE0102B/LE0102T17/table/tableViewLayout1?rxid=oeaf871b-3e24-4e8c-b171-cfa2a9baf22d

Now we can see that by age 17 the proportion of children living with both biological parents has fallen to 60 percent.

It is impossible to directly compare these statistics to New Zealand where the status of parents' biological relationship to dependent children is not recorded. The Law Commission recently put together an extensive compendium of data relating to contemporary New Zealand families and commented, "...little is known about re-partnering and stepfamilies in New Zealand."¹⁴⁰

However they point to a recent non-representative study derived from the Dunedin longitudinal data. Researchers studied 209 *offspring* of the Dunedin study cohort. The participants were born between 1991 and 1995 - 22 percent identified as Maori. By age 15:

"A third of the participants spent all 180 months living with both biological parents, although only 20% lived with both parents in the same house: the others (12%) remained in shared parental care after parents separated."¹⁴¹

These are extraordinarily low numbers when viewed against the Swedish child experience. It must be stressed that the sample is not representative. However, as the researchers observe, "*The complexity of New Zealand families and children's living arrangements are not captured with standard measures ...*" It is the only recent data we have.

The Swedish data pertains to children born around 1999; the New Zealand data to children born between 1991 and 1995. Relatively speaking the Swedish child experience appears considerably more stable.

(An earlier 1995 study showed, "*29% of Māori children lived in a stepfamily before age 17, compared to 18% of non-Māori.*"¹⁴² That data is now over twenty years old with birth cohorts from the 1970s.)

Of possibly greater significance though, 10.5 percent of Swedish babies were born into a single parent family in 2016. Last year, in New Zealand, 17 percent of all registered babies had parents with no relationship details recorded; for NZ Māori babies, the proportion more than doubles to 35 percent. It is not unreasonable to speculate that this discrepancy lies at the heart of the large difference between Sweden and New Zealand's imprisonment rates.

140 Relationships and families in contemporary New Zealand, The Law Commission, October 2017, Wellington, New Zealand, p30, <http://www.lawcom.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publicationAttachments/Study%20Paper%20-%20FINAL.pdf> (accessed May 24, 2018)

141 "The dynamic, complex and diverse living and care arrangements of young New Zealanders: implications for policy", Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences, J.L. Sligo and others, July 2016, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1177083X.2016.1196715> (accessed May 24, 2018)

142 Relationships and families in contemporary New Zealand, The Law Commission, October 2017, Wellington, New Zealand, p32, <http://www.lawcom.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publicationAttachments/Study%20Paper%20-%20FINAL.pdf> (accessed May 24, 2018)

Intergenerational imprisonment

This paper has focused on the childhood backgrounds of prisoners. However, current family status – a topic more popularly studied in recent years – is also an important consideration when assessing the future bearing of broken families on prison populations.

One of the most striking risk factors for imprisonment is having a family member who is in, or has been to, prison.

A 2002 survey of jail inmates in the United States showed that 26 percent had a parent who had been to prison; 46 percent had a family member who had been to prison.¹⁴³ In 1988, according to the Bureau of Justice, "A quarter of the residents reported that their fathers had been incarcerated at some time in the past."¹⁴⁴

A survey of the New South Wales adult prison population found:

Either or both parents ever incarcerated

	Male	Female	Total
Mother incarcerated	11.0%	23.1%	15.6%
Father incarcerated	78.7%	59.0%	71.2%
Both parents incarcerated	10.2%	17.9%	13.2%

Source: 2015 Network Patient Health Survey Report, Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network, NSW

These particularly high rates of paternal incarceration appear driven by the Aboriginal ratio. When 227 young people in custody were surveyed over half (53.6%) "... had at least one parent who had been incarcerated, with Aboriginal young people more than twice as likely to have a parent who had been incarcerated (67.5% vs. 36.6%)."¹⁴⁵

Similar percentages show up repeatedly across jurisdictions.

In New Zealand, Te Puni Kokiri examined data about Māori prisoners collected in 2011. The sample comprised 129 males and 88 females.

*"There were strong signs of intergenerational recidivism among the Māori sample. Two-thirds of that sample had seen someone they lived with as a child go to prison, compared to one third of the non-Māori. The most likely relatives to have been imprisoned were, in order, father, uncle, brother, cousin and mother. Around half of the sample had visited prison as children, most on multiple occasions."*¹⁴⁶

According to British prison researchers, "The transmission of criminality from parents to offspring has been found to be stronger when the parents are imprisoned as opposed to just having a conviction ... when a parent is imprisoned for a longer sentence, or when a parent is imprisoned in their children's lifetime."¹⁴⁷

Consider this alongside the fact that young male prisoners are more likely to be fathers than their non-imprisoned counterparts. In 2007, the Prince's Trust, in association with the London School of Economics, produced research that found:

*"Compared with the general population, prisoners are... 6 times as likely to have been a young father."*¹⁴⁸

This increased likelihood is almost certainly so for Māori. From the Dunedin Longitudinal Study:

"...respondents having a sole Māori cultural identity had odds of early pregnancy and parenthood that were

143 Substance Dependence, Abuse, and Treatment of Jail Inmates, 2002, Jennifer C. Karberg and Doris J. James Bureau of Justice Statisticians, July 2005, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/sdatj02.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2018)

144 Survey of Youth in Custody, 1987, Allan J. Beck, Ph.D., Susan A Kline, Lawrence A Greenfeld, Bureau of Justice Statisticians, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/syc87.pdf> (accessed April 11, 2018)

145 2015 Young People in Custody Health Survey: Full Report Justice Health & Forensic Mental Health Network and Juvenile Justice NSW, <http://www.justicehealth.nsw.gov.au/publications/2015YPICHSReportwebreadyversion.PDF> (accessed April 25, 2018)

146 A study of the children of prisoners: findings from Māori data, June 2011, Te Puni Kokiri, <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/115/tpk-childrenofprisonersdata-2011.pdf> (accessed March 21, 2018)

147 Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds, Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) longitudinal cohort study of prisoners, Ministry of Justice, March 2012, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278837/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf (accessed March 21, 2018)

148 The Cost of Exclusion: Counting the cost of youth disadvantage in the UK, Prince's Trust, 2007, p 32, <https://intouniversity.org/sites/all/files/userfiles/files/Prince's%20Trust%20Cost%20of%20youth%20exclusion.pdf> (accessed March 22, 2018)

over seven times higher than those of non-Māori, while those of Māori/other cultural identity had odds of early pregnancy and parenthood that were over three times higher than non-Māori. These results were evident for both males and females.”¹⁴⁹

Early parenthood was defined as prior to age 20. A Te Puni Kokiri study found:

“From a whānau perspective, a young man being in and out of prison affects his ability to parent, and anecdotally we were often told by prisoners that they had children by more than one mother, reflecting sometimes multiple broken relationships.”¹⁵⁰

And:

“...Māori prisoners who were parents averaged 3.4 children per parent...”¹⁵¹

Some had more than six.

The 2013 New Zealand Census analysis of women in prisons found:

“These women were more likely than those in the general population to have given birth to children. They were also more than twice as likely to have given birth to four or more children, compared with the general population.”¹⁵²

This reflects the high proportion of female prisoners (63%) that are Māori.¹⁵³ This pattern of early and sometimes prolific parenting, coupled with a disproportionately high incarceration rate, sets up a vicious cycle. There is anecdotal evidence of this fertility pattern applying to gangs.

In Wisconsin, a study using longitudinal administrative data was conducted into the effect of father imprisonment on female multiple partner fertility (MPF):

“This study builds on the literature on incarceration and MPF and provides new empirical evidence of a causal relationship between father’s incarceration and mother’s MPF, also distinguishing between MPF during imprisonment and after release.”¹⁵⁴

The authors of this work point out the implications for policy. Are the additional imposed costs (social and economic) of encouraging MPF considered by bureaucrats?

Females tend to interact with males from a similar background to their own, and males with a similar background to each other.

However necessary imprisonment is judged to be, the effect on their partners – vulnerable, newly-single mothers – cannot be ignored. It is entirely probable that the process of father-imprisonment inadvertently adds to increased intergenerational imprisonment through the encouragement of multi-partnered mothering and fathering, producing more high-risk children. *Imprisonment* ends relationships and *release* leads to rapidly-formed new liaisons – especially for those with a pattern of brief bouts of freedom.

“The relationship between incarceration and father absence runs both ways and is arguably cyclical.”

Doing Time on the Outside: Incarceration and Family Life in Urban America, Donald Braman, 2007

149 Cultural identity and pregnancy/parenthood by age 20: evidence from a New Zealand birth cohort, Dannette Marie, Department of Psychology, University of Otago, Dunedin and School of Psychology, University of Aberdeen, UK, David M. Fergusson, Joseph M. Boden, Department of Psychological Medicine, University of Otago Christchurch School of Medicine and Health Sciences, June 2011, Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, Issue 37, <https://www.msdc.govt.nz/about-msdc-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj37/37-cultural-identity-and-pregnancy-parenthood-by-age-20.html> (accessed March 23, 2018)

150 A study of the children of prisoners - Findings from Māori data, Te Puni Kokiri, 2011, p 15, <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/115/tpk-childrenofprisonersdata-2011.pdf> (accessed February 22, 2018)

151 A study of the children of prisoners - Findings from Māori data, Te Puni Kokiri, 2011, p19, <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/documents/download/115/tpk-childrenofprisonersdata-2011.pdf> (accessed February 22, 2018)

152 Living outside the norm: An analysis of people living in temporary and communal dwellings, 2013 Census, <http://archive.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/outside-norm/prison.aspx> (accessed March 26, 2018)

153 Briefing to the Incoming Minister 2017, Corrections, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/901518/Briefing_to_the_Incoming_Minister_-_2017.pdf (accessed April 9, 2018)

154 Fathers’ Imprisonment and Mothers’ Multiple-Partner Fertility, Maria Cancian & Yiyoon Chung & Daniel R. Meyer, 18 October 2016, <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs13524-016-0511-9.pdf> (accessed April 9, 2018)

Institutionalisation

A discussion of imprisonment and family structure also needs to briefly touch on the phenomena of institutionalisation. This process has been described to me by a prisoner who called jail a form of 'kindergarten'.

Prison relieves individuals of day-to-day decision-making and survival in the real world, but can provide a structure that has never before occurred in their lives. Bearing in mind perpetrators of crime are also often victims of crime, it might be a respite from fearful chaos.

British prisoner, Carl Cattermole speaks:

*"After being fed, clothed, given a place to sleep and a rigid structure, you can't help but be institutionalised. Jail takes your responsibilities, or lack of them, away from you – I guess that's what people who have an addiction problem or have grown up without family subconsciously find reassuring about that shitty environment."*¹⁵⁵

Criminologist Greg Newbold, who has direct experience of prison, writes:

*"While few if any would exchange liberty for life inside, [for] men and women with long histories of incarceration, who find the pressures of the outside world difficult, who often go without food or a roof over their head, the quality of freedom may not be much better than that of captivity. Consciously or unconsciously, therefore, some released prisoners, who struggle with life at large, are drawn back to the prison's protective womb."*¹⁵⁶

The same prisoner who told me jail is a form of kindergarten also remarked, "... it's a mental, not physical prison..." because prisoners are typically locked in their cells for very long periods every day, essentially, in solitary confinement.

The public looks at high recidivism rates and conclude prison isn't tough enough. But those who experience this mentally sapping environment, yet are not averse to returning, must surely be experiencing institutionalisation. This is a surrogate for a properly functioning family from birth, one which would deliver a child to adulthood capable of coping in the 'real' world.

Mixed ethnicity

New Zealand has many mixed-race individuals. In particular, a mutual attraction exists between Māori and Europeans who have intermarried since their first historic encounter.

*"In 2013, children were ten times more likely to identify with more than one ethnic group compared to older New Zealanders (22.8% of children aged under 15 compared with 2.6% of adults aged 65 and over)."*¹⁵⁷

Māori who identify with other major ethnic groups 2001, 2006, and 2013 Censuses

Ethnic group(1)	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
	Percent of Māori identifying with ethnic grouping		
European	40.5	42.2	48.9
Pacific peoples	6.0	7.0	8.2
Asian	1.4	1.5	1.7
Middle Eastern/Latin American/African(2)	0.2	0.2	0.3
Other ethnicity(3)	0.0	2.3	0.4

1. Includes all people who stated each ethnic group, whether as their only ethnic group or as one of several. Where a person reported more than one ethnic group, they have been counted in each applicable group.
2. Middle Eastern/Latin American/African was introduced as a new category for the 2006 Census. Previously, Middle Eastern/Latin American/African responses were allocated to the 'other ethnicity' category.
3. Consists of responses for a number of small ethnic groups and for New Zealander. New Zealander was included as a new category for the 2006 Census. In 2001 New Zealander was counted in the European category.
Source: Statistics New Zealand

Source: 2013 Census QuickStats about culture and identity, Ethnic groups in New Zealand

155 How to survive a British prison, Carl Cattermole, Dazed, May 2015, <http://www.dazeddigital.com/artsandculture/article/24722/1/how-to-survive-a-british-prison> (accessed April 23, 2018)

156 The Problem of Prisons: Corrections Reform in New Zealand Since 1840, Greg Newbold, Dunmore Publishing Ltd, 2007, p310

157 Relationships And Families In Contemporary New Zealand, Law Commission, October 2017, p9, <http://www.lawcom.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publicationAttachments/Study%20Paper%20-%20FINAL.pdf> (accessed March 27, 2018)

The rate of mixed ethnicity appears to be accelerating:

*"Two-thirds (66 per cent) of the 17,300 babies born in New Zealand last year [2013] with Māori ethnicity were also registered with at least one other ethnicity."*¹⁵⁸

What is the significance of multiple ethnicities for the reported imprisonment rate?

Of 5,095 sentenced inmates in 2003, 25 percent identified with more than one ethnicity. This is apparently an 'undercount' however. The prison census – the last held – notes the inadequacy of the ethnic information presented, stating, *"This format masks much of the cultural diversity recorded by the inmates."*

That Māori make up half of the prison population is also a facet of preferred or prioritised ethnicity by self-identification.

Discrimination in the justice system

A discussion that includes the subject of minority over-representation in the prisons must at least acknowledge the possibility that a bias exists against certain groups.

The Ministry of Justice canvassed particular disadvantages Māori might experience in a 1990 article. They cite research that found, *"...once apprehended, Māori offenders fare less well in the judicial process than their Pakeha counterparts. They are more likely to be prosecuted, proportionately more are convicted, and among those who are convicted a higher proportion of Māori offenders receive severe sentences than is the case for Pakeha offenders."*

Other deficits, like lack of knowledge about their rights and comprehension of legal proceedings, were advanced, plus, *"...cross-cultural differences in the interpretation of expressions and behaviours which have adversely affected the position of Māori in court."*¹⁵⁹

It is unlikely these handicaps have ceased to apply in 2018.

A later investigation into the over-representation of Māori in the prison system had Corrections concluding:

*"In summary, this brief review of apprehensions figures, and relevant research, offers a mixed picture. Evidence does exist to indicate that apprehension rates do not simply reflect actual offending behaviour of persons in the community. Instead there is some support for the notion that the interactions between Police and Māori on the 'front-line', as well as social interactions within families or communities, lead to an increased probability of Māori offenders being subject to criminal apprehension, independently of rates of actual offending. Some form of bias appears to be occurring – the precise magnitude of the effect, however, is less clear."*¹⁶⁰

Certainly there is a chance that some police officers carry personal prejudices which affect their response to perceived potential or actual offending. Certainly the socio-economic disadvantage of minorities can stymie effective representation in courts. Certainly there's a chance some judges hold views which influence their sentencing decisions. To deny any of this would be to deny human nature. How big the part discrimination plays – differential treatment on the basis of race or ethnicity – is however, probably unknowable.



158 Closing the gaps: Melting pot offers hope, Simon Collins, NZ Herald, March 20, 2014, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11222665 (accessed March 26, 2018)

159 Trends in imprisonment, Justice Statistics, 1990, p23

160 Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system, An exploratory report, Policy, Strategy and Research Group, Department of Corrections, September 2007, p17, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf (accessed April 18, 2018)

Short-term outlook

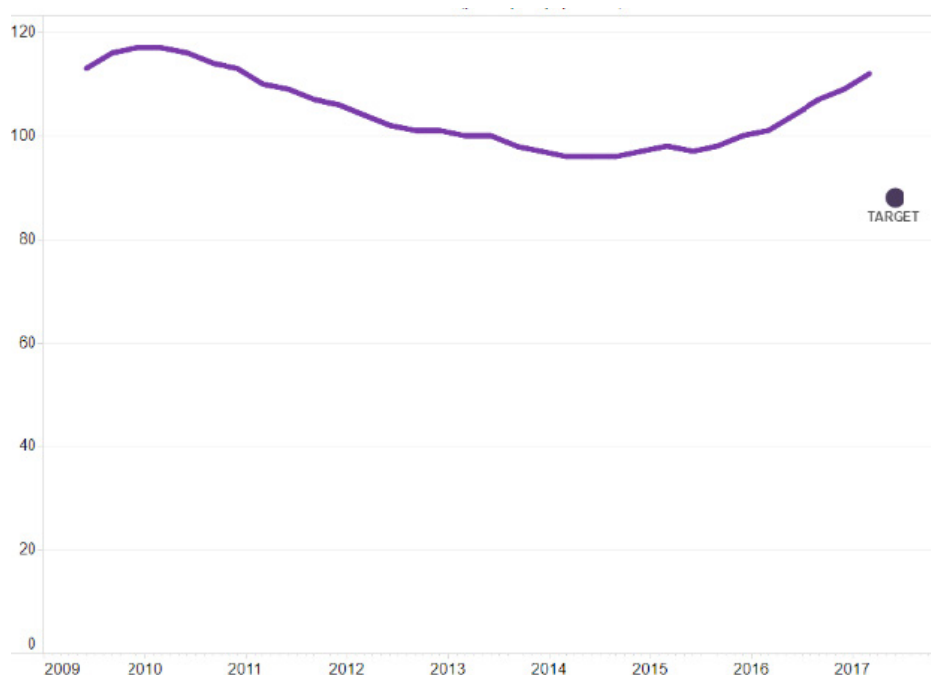
Unfortunately, the short-term outlook for a diminishing prison population does not look promising.

Recall that early in 2018, Principal Youth Court Judge John Walker said, "*There is little doubt that the nature of offending that reaches the Youth Court is becoming more serious and complex. We are seeing more violent offending, particularly in high-density, high-deprivation areas, and increasingly by girls.*"¹⁶¹

Arohata Women's prison has overflowed into Rimutaka, forced to reopen an old unit to accommodate the female prisoners.

Latest police data show that in the year to December 2017, victimisations were down 1%, but, "...serious assaults resulting in injury increased by 12.4% compared with the previous 12 months."¹⁶²

Violent crime rate (per 10,000 population)



Source: *Better Public Services: Reducing crime*, State Services Commission

While there is growing activist and academic clamour for the new government to, "...stop the prison build at Waikeria"¹⁶³ a 'softening' of policy to ease prisoner numbers as serious crime worsens is politically difficult.

Long-term outlook

If New Zealand does not want to keep building more prisons it needs to look to the children who are potentially tomorrow's offenders, and eventually, inmates. This includes acknowledging the role family plays.

Various agencies and advocates are relentless in their attempts to change undesirable behaviour. There are numerous, vigorous crusades being fought against smoking, obesity, and alcohol – by no means an exhaustive list.

But no concern is raised or voiced by government regarding the criticality of parental commitment to children. The lion's share of public messaging urges community responsibility for children. While inarguably the community plays

¹⁶¹ Whose fault is it when the young and vulnerable offend? Principal Youth Court Judge, John Walker, Radio New Zealand, 21 March 2018, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/352934/whose-fault-is-it-when-the-young-and-vulnerable-offend> (accessed March 29, 2018)

¹⁶² Crime In New Zealand At A Glance, Victimisations Recorded By Police For The Year Ending December 2017, New Zealand Police, <http://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/crime-at-a-glance-dec2017.pdf> (accessed May 2, 2018)

¹⁶³ Andrew Little: Longer sentences, more prisoners - it doesn't work and it has to stop', David Fisher, New Zealand Herald, February 22, 2018, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11999980 (accessed May 4, 2018)

an important role in ensuring child wellbeing, it is secondary to that of a loving, attentive, stable parent or parents.

Criminologist Greg Newbold maintains, "If you have to be told by a government agency how to treat your kids properly, you will never know."¹⁶⁴ In this, there is probably more than a grain of truth. But an 'agent of government' is conceivably a Whanau Ora-funded community group working alongside people it knows, people who are hard to reach, substituting for parents who failed to care for a child. Such attempts are preferable to a complete absence of remedial action.

In the certain event though that some children will continue to be born into grossly inadequate family circumstances with a virtual guarantee of abuse, neglect and exposure to violence, more removal to safer environments will be necessary.

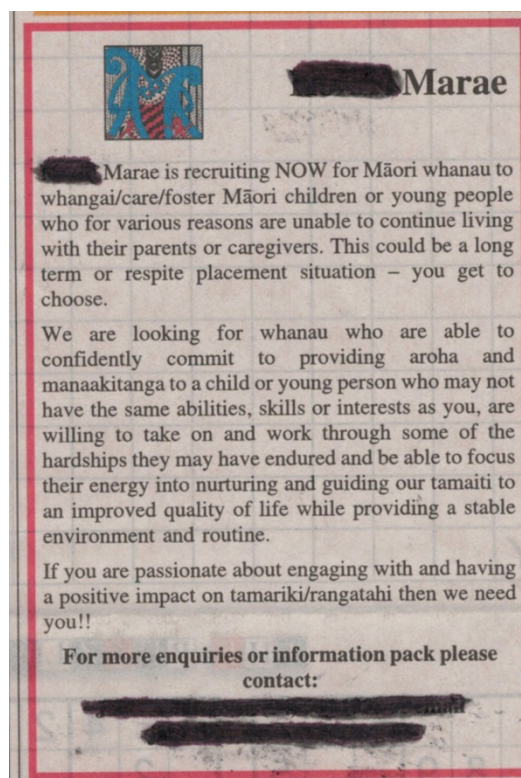
The adjacent advertisement (*Dominion Post*, March 24, 2018) highlights this necessity but prompts a response. Perhaps, given the high rate of partnering and cross-cultural acceptance between Māori and Pakeha at an individual level, some thought should be given to encouraging non-Māori families to step up as carers. This would significantly widen the pool of potential applicants.

A trend towards placement permanency has established, for example, the government's 'Home for Life' programme.¹⁶⁵ The preference for permanent placements over dogmatic determination to keep children with unsafe birth parents should ultimately improve child outcomes (by no means a unanimous view). The late Celia Lashlie was adamantly opposed to the concept of 'permanency', claiming, once old enough, children inevitably went looking for their birth parent(s) and took their 'rejection' as a personal failing. In *The Power of Mothers*, she argued, "...I will show you where many of those children end up – they come to prison."¹⁶⁶ It would seem that society takes a gamble either way.

As former Minister for Social Development Paula Bennett points out, "...hundreds of children are born to families every year who cannot or will not look after them."¹⁶⁷ Children cannot be left in high risk environments, and to return them repeatedly in the hope that a parent has 'reformed' cannot be in the child's best interests. Care and protection decision-makers do an unenviable job and not infrequently find themselves in 'damned if they do and damned if they don't' situations.

But in marginal cases where children are able to remain in less-than-ideal circumstances, early home visitation programmes have demonstrated success in improving parenting – though interventions may be fruitless if a child is damaged pre-birth. Researchers have pointed out that neurologically-damaged babies come into the world with higher needs than most. They are difficult to parent. Yet they go home with those caregivers least able to meet their elevated needs.

In-the-field gang researcher Dr Jarrod Gilbert said one of the worst experiences he had to stomach was watching a gang member's partner, "... consuming large amounts of liquor and drugs while pregnant."¹⁶⁸ In the first Australian study to assess and diagnose children in a youth custodial facility, "... preliminary findings suggested 30 to 40 per cent of the young people detained at Banksia Hill had FASD [foetal alcohol syndrome disorder]."¹⁶⁹



Source: *Dominion Post*, 24 March 2018

164 'It only takes two thinking people to break that cycle', Clare de Lore, *The Listener*, October 22, 2015, <https://www.noted.co.nz/archive/listener-nz-2015/it-only-takes-two-thinking-people-to-break-that-cycle/> (accessed April 24, 2018)

165 Home For Life, Paula Bennett, speech, Wednesday, 11 August 2010, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1008/S00193/paula-bennett-home-for-life.htm> (accessed April 28, 2018)

166 *The Power of Mothers*, Celia Lashlie, Harper Collins Publishers, 2010, p187

167 Home For Life, Paula Bennett, speech, Wednesday, 11 August 2010, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1008/S00193/paula-bennett-home-for-life.htm> (accessed April 28, 2018)

168 *The Rise And Development Of Gangs In New Zealand*, A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology at the University of Canterbury, Jarrod Gilbert, 2010, https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/9400/gilbert_thesis.pdf;jsessionid=68EF69DB74C83AB05F7DFA788F9D6D28?sequence=1 (accessed April 18, 2018)

169 'One in three in WA youth detention have foetal alcohol spectrum disorder, study finds', Charlotte Hamlyn, ABC News, March 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-03-03/one-in-three-young-people-in-prison-have-fasd-in-wa/8319724> (accessed April 28, 2018)

According to the Ministry of Social Development, an estimated 570 babies are born each year in New Zealand with FASD.¹⁷⁰ Greater resourcing of home visitation by nurses both pre and post- natal is vital, but the utmost care must be taken to ensure nurses are effective cross-culturally.

Overseas programmes that work intensively with criminal families are succeeding in lowering recidivism and intergenerational offending. One of Britain's largest privately-run prisons, Parc, has a 62-bed Family Interventions Unit for male prisoners, "... where the entire focus of the environment is upon repairing, enhancing and taking responsibility for relationships, parenting and family." The Family Unit unashamedly promotes six principles of being a 'family man' – for example, *The Family Man does not: Put crime before his children, his family or his freedom, and, The Family Man works, he saves and provides: Debt destroys families.*¹⁷¹ As well as reducing reoffending, other positive outcomes such as climbing school attendance rates amongst the children of inmates are occurring.¹⁷² Other prisons are replicating this initiative.

An Australian literature review of mother / child prison programmes found evidence that, "...nursery program participants were less likely to return to prison than mothers who were separated from their children."¹⁷³ In New Zealand, there are three 'Mothers with Babies Units' which allow eligible female inmates to parent their child until age two.¹⁷⁴ A Corrections evaluation undertaken in 2013 described, "... a growing body of evidence that mother with baby units can help reduce re-offending."¹⁷⁵

There are five Māori Focus Units (now re-named Te Tirohanga) in New Zealand prisons. These are 'tikanga-based, whānau-centric communities'. A recent Waitangi Tribunal claim against the Crown for failing to address Māori re-offending rates heard the 'director Māori' at Corrections, Neil Campbell, give evidence that, "... outcomes for Māori taking part in the Māori Focus Units in 2013/2014 showed 'statistically significant reductions' in reoffending..." and "...there is anecdotal support that Te Tirohanga is having the right effect on tāne and their whanau."¹⁷⁶



Outside of prisons, a further positive development is the falling teenage birth rate. Recent and much promoted knowledge about brain development and maturation provides new evidence that should further discourage premature parenting.

However, in 2017 there were still 2,316 teenage births of which 56 percent were Māori.¹⁷⁷ In the same year over 9,000 babies had no parental relationship details recorded on their birth certificates.¹⁷⁸

170 Official Information Act response from Ministry of Social Development, March 2017, <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/official-information-responses/2017/march/r-20170329-response-link-between-fetal-alcohol-syndrome-and-crime-in-nz.pdf> (accessed April 28, 2018)

171 HMP & YOI Parc, Family Interventions, 2015, https://hetccv.nl/fileadmin/Bestanden/Onderwerpen/Grote_steden/family-interventions-practice-wales.pdf (accessed April 27, 2018)

172 Family Focused Reform At Hm Prison Parc, G4S Media Centre, 12 Feb 2018, <http://www.g4s.com/en/media-centre/our-views/all-news/invisible-walls-wales> (accessed April 30, 2018)

173 Literature Review of Prison-based Mothers and Children Programs: Final Report Prepared for The Victorian Department of Justice and Regulation, Professor Aron Shlonsky, Dr. David Rose, The University of Melbourne, School of Health Sciences, Justine Harris, Bianca Albers, Dr. Robyn Mildon, Centre for Child Wellbeing, Save The Children Australia, Dr. Sandra Jo Wilson, Jennifer Norvell, Lauren Kissinger, Vanderbilt University, Peabody Research Institute, <http://assets.justice.vic.gov.au/corrections/resources/d389bb31-2358-4c7c-ad0b-1fa81c366848/mothersinprison.doc> (accessed May 10, 2018)

174 New Beginnings - Mothers with Babies, Resources, Corrections, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/newsletters_and_brochures/new_beginnings_-_mothers_with_babies_unit.html (accessed May 10, 2018)

175 Report On Phase Three Of The Formative Evaluation Of The Mothers With Babies Units, Research & Evaluation Team Department of Corrections, June, 2013, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0014/700313/Evaluation_of_the_implementation_of_the_Mothers_with_Babies_Policy_final_.pdf (accessed May 17, 2018)

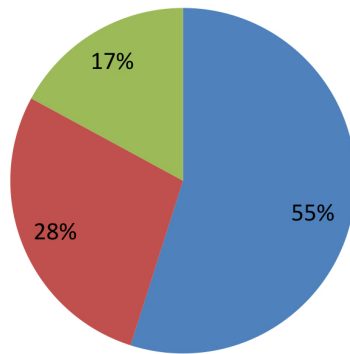
176 Tū Mai te Rangī! Report on the Crown and Disproportionate Reoffending Rates, Wai 2540, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2017, p41, https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_135986487/Tu%20Mai%20te%20Rangi%20W.pdf (accessed May 15, 2018)

177 Statistics New Zealand, Infoshare, Births: Live births by ethnicity and age of mother, <http://archive.stats.govt.nz/infoshare/SelectVariables.aspx?pxID=ee47e185-cb0c-4f26-8171-b424ea270571> (accessed April 28, 2018)

178 OIA response from Internal Affairs to L Mitchell, May 30, 2018

Relationship status of parents with registered 2017 births

■ married or civil union ■ de facto ■ relationship status not recorded

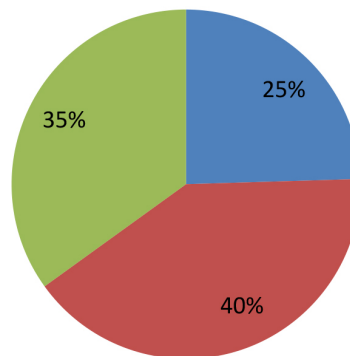


Data source: Internal Affairs OIA response

For babies recorded as New Zealand Māori, the picture changes quite dramatically:

Relationship status of parents with registered 2017 Māori births

■ married or civil union ■ de facto ■ relationship status not recorded



Data source: Internal Affairs OIA response

More than a third of babies registered as NZ Māori had no parental relationship details recorded.

Additionally, Internal Affairs estimates that approximately 2,600 babies born last year are yet to be registered. Statistics New Zealand has observed that the group most likely to late-register their child is young and Māori.¹⁷⁹ Given what is known about the high rate of young single parenting among Māori, these births are those most likely to remain unregistered and unidentified. This non-compliance has echoes for longitudinal study drop-out.

Combined with all prior information provided in this paper, these statistics suggest a continuing procession of undeserving children who will eventually revisit their hardship upon undeserving victims.

¹⁷⁹ Late birth registrations, Statistics New Zealand, 2010, <http://archive.stats.govt.nz/~media/Statistics/browse-categories/population/births/late-birth-registrations/lbr.pdf> (accessed March 29, 2018)

Closing comments

This report is not an attack on single mothers. Strong parental attachment generally mitigates the many disadvantages their children face. It should also be noted that families with two birth parents in high conflict, violent relationships present strongly increased risks for children developing behaviours which lead to offending and prison.

"*It goes without saying*" is an odd opener because it precedes that which precisely must and will be said. Even if the majority of prisoners come from father-absent families, they represent only a tiny proportion of all children who grow up with the same family structure.

That is true. It is also a little like saying most people who develop liver disease drank alcohol, even though the vast majority of drinkers did not. Yet from a health professional's perspective, this fact nevertheless warrants warning against the dangers of alcohol without compunction.

Where are the prison psychologists warning against the risks of single parenting, or against the casual abandonment of children by their fathers?

In 2012, Kay Hymowitz, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, summed up current knowledge:

"Researchers never prove causality but endeavour to eliminate alternative explanations by using more complex models and methods that allow them to rule out other possibilities."

Kevin N Wright, US Justice Department, 1994

"The bottom line is that there is a large body of literature showing that children of single mothers are more likely to commit crimes than children who grow up with their married parents. This is true not just in the United States, but wherever the issue has been researched. Few experts ... dispute this. Studies cannot prove conclusively that fatherlessness - or any other factor - actually causes people to commit crimes. For that, you'd have to do the impossible: take a large group of infants and raise each of them simultaneously in two precisely equivalent households - except one would be headed by a father and mother and the other by a lone mother. But by comparing criminals of the same race, education, income, and mother's education whose primary observable difference is family structure, social scientists have come as close as they can to making the causal case with the methodological tools available."¹⁸⁰

But we can look closer to home for a wrap – this from the Department of Corrections writing to Matt Robson, then Minister for Corrections in 2001:

"According to the results of the Christchurch Health and Development Study, each one of the risk factors on the list below increases the probability of antisocial behaviour as a young adult by between four times and ten times. Together they increase risk by hundreds of times. The key maternal risk factors are these, the mother:

- *is young*
- *has little education*
- *is from a disadvantaged family of origin where she received little care and affection*
- *is, or has been, substance dependent*
- *is socially isolated and without family connections*
- *has a number of male partners in a serial fashion.*

After the first year of life the key risk factors include social isolation of the child, harsh and erratic discipline, changes of father figure, and changes of dwelling place. By primary school entry the child on a trajectory to adult offending will show conduct disorder – which is a pattern of regular breaking of major rules in all settings, school, home and community – and frequent defiance of authority."¹⁸¹

The trajectory description grimly continues through the life stages, eventually concluding, "*Many serious adult*

¹⁸⁰ The Real, Complex Connection Between Single-Parent Families and Crime, Kay Hymowitz, Dec 3, 2012, The Atlantic, <https://www.theatlantic.com/saxes/archive/2012/12/the-real-complex-connection-between-single-parent-families-and-crime/265860/> (last accessed March 19, 2018)

¹⁸¹ About Time: Turning people away from a life of crime and reducing re-offending, Report from the Department of Corrections to the Minister of Corrections, May 2001, p35, http://www.corrections.govt.nz/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/666218/abouttime.pdf (accessed April 12, 2018)

offenders will be supported in institutions or on welfare for the greater part of their adult lives...“though optimistically notes that the prospects of rehabilitation “never reach zero.”

This paper has drawn conclusions from the available evidence, much of it international. Ideally, New Zealand would collect actual data regarding inmates’ childhood family backgrounds. However, the wealth of statistical information now being assembled by Treasury makes such an undertaking somewhat redundant. Without personal testimony, we know that most prisoners, as children, have been abused or neglected, were born to single parents (probably with subsequent partners), were heavily reliant on welfare incomes and had poorly educated mothers. Often little, or nothing, is known about their fathers.

The vast academic literature regarding crime, incarceration and criminological theory can be overwhelming and intimidating. But the protracted causation versus correlation arguments are ill-serving. Distractions about colonisation’s contribution to crime, while carrying validity for Māori, are backward-looking. Political obsessing about poverty and crime misses the more important contributor – the lack of both stable, natural parents and/or a properly functioning whanau. So much factual data now exists describing the trajectories of children from birth to prison that expensive investigative efforts to disentangle complicated causal factors could be reduced. Instead, available resources should focus on systemic remedies, notwithstanding the fact that the crucial driver will always be individuals taking responsibility for their actions.

While too many children continue to be born into high-risk circumstances – that is, to unstable, uneducated and unsupported single parents – there is little prospect, all else being equal, of a diminishing imprisonment rate any time soon.

“A boy doesn’t need parents who are especially civil to each other. He doesn’t need parents who particularly like each other. He simply needs parents who, for better or worse, stay together. And most of all he needs his father to be around – and he needs to be around his father. Yet not once, ever, during New Zealand’s long experiment with institutional childcare did any political or elected figure draw attention to the overwhelming data supporting this conclusion.”

David Cohen, author of Little Criminals: The Story of a NZ Boys’ Home, and past resident of the Epuni Boy’s Home.

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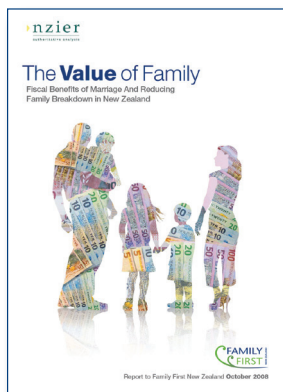
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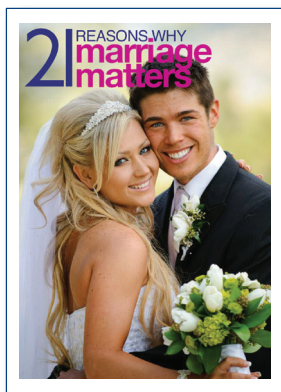
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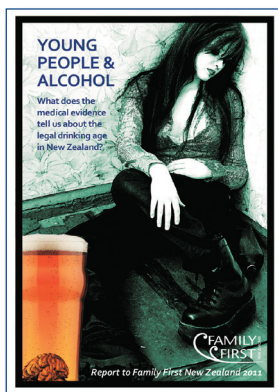
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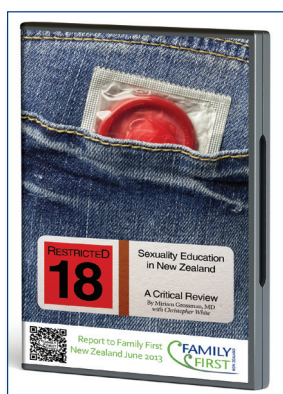
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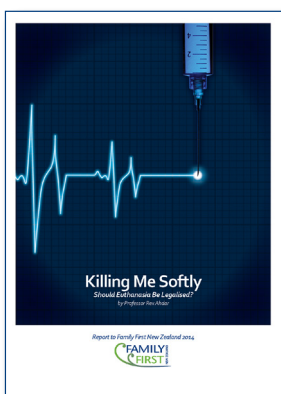
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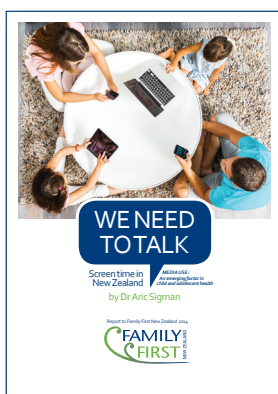
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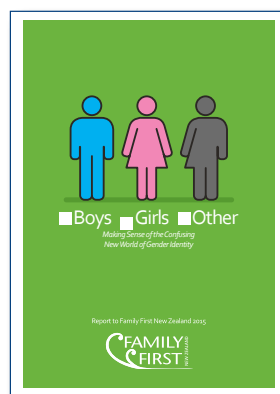
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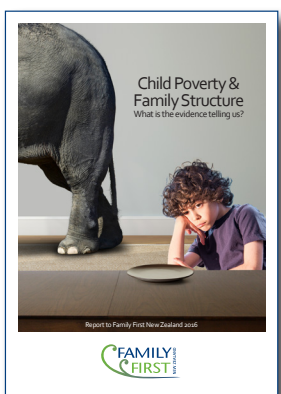
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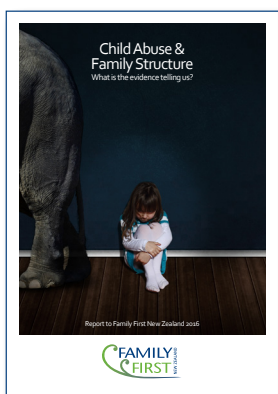
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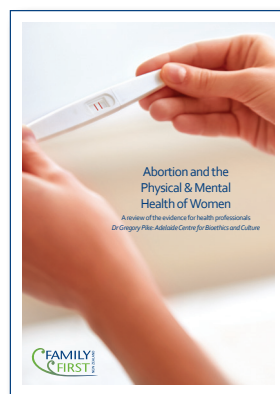
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