

Research on the New Life Akoranga Programme of the Mahi Tahī Trust

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with

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Foreword

Tēnā koutou katoa

The publication of this research is the culmination of a long collaboration between the Mahi Tahi Trust, the Ministry of Justice, the Department of Corrections and Te Puni Kōkiri. The possibility of the Ministry of Justice working with the Mahi Tahi Trust to develop research on the New Life Akoranga programme was first raised by the Trust with the agreement of the Minister of Justice at a hui looking at a culturally based approach to prison reform held in 1998. Since then an advisory group has worked together on the vision for the research, which was developed to meet the needs of both the Mahi Tahi Trust and the justice sector agencies who fund and support the work in our prisons.

Three main purposes were identified for the research. First, there was a need to document the value of this indigenous approach to the rehabilitation of inmates and their whānau. Secondly, the Trust needed on-going information and feedback so that they could plan and make improvements and changes to their activities and directions. Thirdly, because reducing re-offending is an important goal for justice sector agencies, there was a need to establish the magnitude of the programme's impact on offending behaviour.

We are grateful to the researchers who, in their relationship with the Mahi Tahi Trust, inmates, whānau, and prison staff, embraced the kaupapa of the research. They worked with research processes which respected the tikanga of the New Life Akoranga programme, which respected and acknowledged mauri and wairua, and which reinforced self-reflection by inmates, as encouraged by the programme.

There is much that we can learn from this research. It will inform the way we integrate culturally based programmes within the whole rehabilitation effort within our prisons. And there is a great deal that we can all learn from the kaupapa of this programme which is well documented in this research and which emphasises the rediscovery of our cultural values and identity.

Belinda Clark
Secretary for Justice

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*Tēnei au tēnei au ko te hōkai nei tāku tapu wai
Ko te hōkai nuku ko te hōkai rangi
Ko te hōkai a tō tātou tipuna a Tāne-nui-ā-rangi
I pikitia ai ki ngā Rangitūhaha ki te tibi o Manōno
I rokobanga atu ra ko Io matua kore anake
I riro iho ai ki ngā kete o te wānanga.
Ko te kete tuauri, ko te kete tuatea, ko te kete aronui
Ka titiria ka poupoua
Ko Papatuānuku ka puta te ira tangata
Ki te w'hei ao ki te ao mārāma
Tibei mauri ora!
E ngā mana e ngā reo e ngā karangatanga maha.
He maioha atu, ki a koutou katoa i an'hi nei i a maua mo tēnei rangahau.
No reira tēna koutou tēna koutou tēna koutou katoa.*

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Finally, and most importantly, we would like to acknowledge and thank wānanga participants. Your willingness to share personal stories and reflections has brought a unique and rich perspective to this research.

Heoi ano, ma te atua i te runga rawa e manaaki e tiaki i a koutou me o koutou whānau katoa, no reira tēna koutou, tēna koutou, tēna rawa atu ki a koutou katoa.

Ka huri!

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Introduction

The Mahi Tahi Trust works with prison inmates and their whānau, helping them to change their hearts and minds by discovering and recovering traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. The work is centred on four day, sleep-in New Life Akoranga (NLA) wānanga that are held in New Zealand prisons. The programme also involves contact with and support from hapū and iwi, mentoring inmates, and the involvement and support of inmates' whānau.

The concept and the programme have developed over many years, following the example of leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and John Rangihau, and more recently building on the findings of the Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Violence in 1987, led by Sir Clinton Roper. The programme receives a major part of its funding through a contract with the Department of Corrections.

The possibility of the Ministry of Justice working with the Mahi Tahi Trust to develop research on the programme was first raised by the Trust with the agreement of the Minister of Justice at a hui looking at a culture-based approach to prison reform held at Awataha Marae in 1998. The Mahi Tahi Trust, the Ministry of Justice, the Department of Corrections, and Te Puni Kōkiri identified several needs for the research:

- To document the value of this indigenous approach to prison reform and to the rehabilitation of inmates and their whānau, as a basis for continued support and possible extension.
- To provide the Trust with on-going information and feedback so that it could plan and make improvements and changes to its activities and directions.
- To establish the magnitude of the programme's impact on offending behaviour. Reducing re-offending is a primary aim of the Department of Corrections.

Two types of research were developed to meet these needs. The first type of research was a qualitative study, which aimed to document how far the programme achieved its aim of helping prison inmates and their whānau to change their hearts and minds, outlook, behaviour and relationships. It also aimed to document the indigenous message of the programme by describing the underlying philosophies, methods and processes. Between October 2000 and May 2002, the researchers, Nan Wehipeihana and Laurie Porima, attended programme meetings and hui, observed and participated in wānanga, reviewed documentation, interviewed Trust personnel, interviewed 23 New Life Akoranga participants in prison, and conducted post-release interviews with 14 of those participants. The research was conducted primarily with wānanga participants in Māori Focus Units, which supported and reinforced the tikanga as shared in the wānanga.

The second type of research aimed to examine the programme's impact on participants' subsequent offending behaviour. Completed within the Ministry of Justice, it was a quantitative study of the reconviction and reimprisonment rates following release from prison for a sample of NLA participants compared with a matched sample of inmates who had not completed NLA while in prison. The samples were drawn from inmates in prison between July 1997 and December 1998 and were followed up for at least one year following release.

It is important to understand the limitations of each study before moving on to consider their findings. In the quantitative study, reconviction and reimprisonment rates were used as a proxy for the unknown actual level of reoffending. The study was limited by being unable to isolate the impact of NLA when combined with other programmes completed, and by covering a time period early in the development of the NLA programme. In the qualitative study, the findings reflect the experiences of a small non-random sample, and caution should be taken in generalising the findings to all NLA participants.

Part A of this report presents the qualitative study "Research into the New Life Akoranga Programme", including an introduction, programme description, a section on wānanga philosophy and rationale, a section on research approach and methodology, the study findings, researcher reflections, and a summary and conclusions.

Part B of this report presents the reoffending study, "Reconviction analysis for inmates who have completed the New Life Akoranga Programme", including an introduction, a section outlining the methodology employed, the study findings, and a summary and conclusions.

Part C of this report presents an "Overview of Research on the New Life Akoranga Programme of the Mahi Tahi Trust", including a prologue, summary of the findings of the two reports, a section on what we can learn from the research, and an epilogue.

Part A: Research into the New Life Akoranga Programme

Nan Wehipeihana and Laurie Porima

A1 Introduction

The Mahi Tahi Trust works with prison inmates and their whānau, helping them to discover and recover traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. The New Life Akoranga (NLA) Programme seeks to address criminal behaviour from within a Māori cultural worldview. The main component of the programme is a four-day residential wānanga run mainly in North Island prisons. The programme involves the mentoring of inmates before and after release, the involvement and support of inmates' whānau, and contact and support from hapū and iwi. Emphasis is also placed on reintegrating inmates with their whānau whilst the inmate is in prison and post release.

Mahi Tahi Trust and the Ministry of Justice commissioned Nan Wehipeihana and Laurie Porima to undertake this research into the NLA Programme.

A1.1 Research Aims

The broad aims of the research were:

- To document the value of this indigenous approach to prison reform and to the rehabilitation of inmates and their whānau, as a basis for continued support and possible extension.
- To provide on-going information and feedback to the Trust so that it can plan and make improvements and changes to its activities and directions.
- To establish the magnitude of the programme's impact on offending behaviour¹.

The specific aims of the research were:

- To document how the indigenous message of the programme achieves its aims by describing the underlying philosophies, methods and processes.
- To describe how the programme achieves its aim of helping prison inmates and their whānau to change their behaviour, outlook, relationships and their hearts and minds.

¹ A separate study, conducted by the Ministry of Justice, explores the programme's impact on offending behaviour.

A1.2 Research Objectives

To address the research aims, the following objectives were jointly developed with Mahi Tahi Trust and the Ministry of Justice:

- To describe and document the programme in a detailed and clear manner, for example, what is being done, how, when and by whom?
- To explore participants' perceptions of the programme, namely programme participants and their whānau, Mahi Tahi Trust and prison officers directly involved with programme participants.
- To review the extent to which the stated objectives of the programme are being met and what factors affect this. In particular:
 - In what way/how does the programme help inmates and whānau achieve personal changes – emotional, spiritual, social, attitudinal and behavioural change – as articulated in the programme?
 - What affect does the programme have on participants' attitudes and behaviour? For example, a description of the behaviour changes from the perspective of participants, whānau, prison staff and mentors.

From the perspective of the Trust, along with documenting and describing the programme approach, an important aspect of the research was that it focuses on capturing and reporting participants' perceptions of the programme, namely, that it gives voice to participants' thoughts, feelings and experience of the programme and the perceived benefits for them.

A1.3 Research Design and Approach (summary)

The research commenced in April 2000 with fieldwork completed in May 2002 and was conducted in three distinct stages.

There were two components to stage one of the research. Firstly, a series of research activities were undertaken to contribute to the development of the research proposal and the documentation of the NLA Programme. Secondly, these same activities were also used to begin the process of building relationships with the Trust and programme personnel.

Stage two of the research focused on capturing participants' perceptions and views of the NLA Programme and the perceived impact of the programme on them whilst still in prison.

Stage three of the research focused on capturing participants' perceptions and views of the NLA Programme after release and the extent to which they felt the programme assisted them to not re-offend.

The principle of whanaungatanga (developing relationships) was the primary principle that underpinned the research approach employed. From the outset, the importance of establishing good relationships with the Trust, with the mentors, with prison personnel and with participants guided the research approach employed. Other key principles included a research approach that was guided and informed by tikanga Māori (cultural principles and practices) and research practices and processes that were mana enhancing (the process of acknowledging and respecting a person's self worth).

A more detailed discussion of the research approach and methodology employed is provided in section four.

A2 Programme Description

This section of the report provides a brief overview of Mahi Tahi Trust, its personnel and the New Life Akoranga (NLA) Programme. In addition, it describes in general terms, the different components that comprise the wānanga and identifies the indigenous principles within each session, as noted by the researchers. For the purposes of describing the wānanga the researchers have presented the content of each session of the wānanga as distinct components. In practice, however, sessions are often more fluid and, in some wānanga, some sessions are mixed with others, at the discretion of the mentors.

In accordance with the terms of reference for the research and in the interests of the intellectual property rights of Mahi Tahi Trust (the Trust) the researchers have refrained from providing detailed descriptions of the programme content. This undertaking was given to the Trust at the outset of the research.

A2.1 Mahi Tahi Trust

Mahi Tahi Trust is a not-for-profit organisation that has been contracted since 1995 by the Department of Corrections to deliver the NLA Programme to prison inmates².

Sir Norman Perry is Chairman of the Trust and other trustees include Sir Rodney Gallen, Professor Wharehuia Milroy, and Mr Ian McLean. Dame Joan Metge and Mr David Oughton are advisers to the Trust. Mr Herewini Jones is the Director of the NLA programme and, with his wife Rose, is responsible for the programme administration. The programme is delivered by Mr Jones and a team of programme mentors. At the outset of this research in April 2000, the Trust employed five mentors and this had increased to seven at the conclusion of the research fieldwork in May 2002.

² From time to time the Trust also run wānanga for prison staff to foster an appreciation of tikanga Māori to support the programme implementation and ongoing application of wānanga principles by inmates on a day-to-day basis.

A2.1.1 Programme Director

Mr Jones was responsible for the programme development and from 1995 until 1999 conducted all of the wānanga because the programme was still in a developmental stage and the Trust had not identified suitable people able to take on the role of mentors.

The depth of knowledge possessed by Mr Jones in terms of mātauranga Māori has been acknowledged by respected kaumātua.³ Although quietly spoken, Mr Jones has a charismatic presentation style, in part related to his ability to transfer knowledge in a way that is easily absorbed by participants and in part related to his extensive knowledge of tikanga, which he recalls with confidence and ease. For example, his ability to recite lengthy whakapapa, both his own and that of many other iwi, means that he is held in high regard by both his team of mentors and the participants he works with.

A2.1.2 Programme monitoring

Mr Jones is responsible for the overall content and delivery of the wānanga. Monthly staff meetings are held where feedback on wānanga is given as well as an opportunity for mentors to seek clarification on content or for Mr Jones to revise the wānanga content.

A2.1.3 Mentors

Mentors are selected based on a number of criteria. However, the main criterion that guides selection is that prospective mentors must adhere to the tikanga as articulated in the wānanga, for example, not smoke or drink. Mr Jones is insistent that if people (mentors) are going to deliver kōrero, such as that presented in the wānanga, then that person must be an example of what they are trying to profess. As a result prospective mentors tend to be “hand picked” and watched over a period of time before they are invited to become a mentor. Adherence to this principle means that mentors are powerful role models for participants, showcasing the benefits of taking on the tikanga shared in the wānanga.

Most of the mentors have either served time in prisons and/or had affiliations with gangs. As a result, most have an affinity with participants and an understanding of what participants are experiencing during the wānanga and the obstacles they face in terms of taking on the tikanga shared in the wānanga (i.e. not re-offending).

A2.1.4 Administration

The Programme Director and his wife undertake most of the administrative tasks of the Trust and are responsible for carrying out the logistical side of organising wānanga within the respective prisons. This includes confirming dates for wānanga and allocating mentors to conduct the wānanga. Other tasks include the review of pre-wānanga interview forms and the collation and analysis of the Trust’s post wānanga evaluation/feedback forms completed by participants.

³ Bird, R. (1998) Report on the Review of the New Life Akoranga Programme Run in Prisons by Mahi Tahi Trust p 15

A2.1.5 Prison Liaison

As the wānanga have been operating for a number of years, the Trust and mentors have established good relationships with most prison staff and at times the mentors have advised some staff on tikanga related matters. Sometimes relationships can become tense when new prison staff overseeing the wānanga are not familiar with the programme or mentors, or are sceptical about the use of former inmates in a programme facilitation role. This appears to be particularly so when mentors return to prisons where they were formerly an inmate. For the most part the mentors have minimal contact with the prison staff, with any contact being primarily administrative in nature. When necessary, the mentors inform the Programme Director of any difficulties encountered with prison staff⁴.

A2.2 Programme Overview

The NLA Programme operates primarily as a four-day residential programme in prisons, throughout New Zealand⁵. The programme also involves the mentoring of inmates before and after release, the involvement and support of inmates' whānau as well as contact and support from hapū and iwi. The programme therefore is made up of a number of components. These are:

- **Initial Notification.** An initial interview is carried out with potential participants, outlining the structure of the four-day wānanga. Particular emphasis is given to the rāhui (a set of formal prohibitions) and the consequences of breaking the rāhui.
- **The wānanga.** A four-day residential wānanga that introduces participants to traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. Within the wānanga time is allocated for whānau to take part.
- **Post wānanga follow-up.** Follow-up interviews that aim to reinforce any attitudinal and behavioural changes made by inmates as a result of learnings from the wānanga. In addition, the follow-up interviews provide an opportunity for mentors to go over or further clarify aspects of the wānanga.
- **Whānau hui.** The Trust also run a number of hui for whānau of inmates. Firstly, these hui provide an insight for whānau into what participants have experienced and learnt in the wānanga. Secondly, they provide a way to elicit ongoing support from whānau for inmates and thirdly, they encourage changes in the attitudes and behaviour of whānau, if necessary.

To provide an understanding of what is presented in the NLA programme, Trust staff also conduct management wānanga for Corrections and Prison staff. It is envisaged that these wānanga will better enable staff to support the programme and the participants.

⁴ Issues that arose during the course of the research were men being withdrawn from the wānanga to attend other programmes run by Public Prisons and some delays in mentors being able to enter some prison units, particularly units where they had been an inmate and/or when their release from prison was relatively recent.

⁵ Since 1995 Mahi Tahī Trust have delivered the NLA Programme in the following prisons: Arohata, Mangarua, Papanui, Paremōre, Rangipo, Rimutaka, Rolleston and Waikeria.

A2.3 Notification of Wānanga

Inmates entering a Māori Focus Unit (MFU) are usually required to have attended a NLA Programme as a prerequisite for entry to the unit, or to attend the next available wānanga, following entry. The NLA Programme is also run in non-MFU/mainstream prison units. Notification of wānanga is communicated to inmates via unit notice boards, case managers and by word-of-mouth from other inmates. Application to participate in wānanga is made through unit management.

A week prior to the wānanga, two of the mentors undertake pre-wānanga interviews with likely participants. The mentors describe what is to take place during the four-day wānanga and what is expected of each participant. Participants also get an opportunity to outline their expectations of the wānanga. It is at this point that participants are informed that a rāhui⁶ will be in place for the duration of the wānanga.

A2.4 The Wānanga

Tikanga is presented as a set of values and principles that participants can apply in their day-to-day lives. The four-day wānanga draws on key themes to illustrate these principles. The themes as identified by the researchers are:

- Te kawa o te wānanga
- Te āhua
- Te mātauranga
- Te tipuna whare
- Te tangata
- Te mana o te wahine

The themes are delivered using a range of methods such as haka, karakia, kōrero-ā-iwi, kōrero-ā-rohe, waiata, whakaahua and whakataukāki.

Generally, two or three mentors present each wānanga. While the content of each wānanga is substantively the same, the combination of different mentors, their individual presentation styles and the personal stories they share, create variety in the presentation of the wānanga.

An important aspect of the presentation style in the wānanga is that participants are never directed or told what to do by the mentors. Rather, they are shown a range of positive alternatives to consider. For example, in one session, well-known Māori rangatira (chiefs) are showcased as role models for participants. Stories are recounted, which describe their leadership qualities, the role these rangatira played in whānau, hapū and iwi and the responsibilities that came with their position. Through these messages participants are presented with the option of continuing with their current lifestyle or choosing to make changes.

⁶ A *rāhui* is a form of restriction that the participants are asked to abide by during the four-day wānanga. The restriction is on the taking of drugs, alcohol, cigarette smoking and the use of profane language (swearing).

A2.4.1 Key Theme: Te Kawa o te Wānanga (rules and housekeeping)

This session is primarily an introduction/overview of the wānanga and details the format of the wānanga. Each wānanga begins with a pōwhiri to the Mahi Tahi mentors, normally given by the inmates of the unit in which the wānanga is to be held. Following the pōwhiri the mentors then commence the wānanga by re-arranging a room into a meetinghouse setting and then outlining rules that are to govern the wānanga.

The pōwhiri serves two purposes. Firstly in accordance with tikanga Māori it gives the tangata whenua (the inmates) an opportunity to welcome their manuhiri (the mentors) into their environment. Secondly, it accords the mentors tangata whenua status; passing to them control of subsequent proceedings and permits them to come into the prison to share their knowledge.

Everywhere we go we are prepared for, and most times we expect to be given, a pōwhiri. It just makes everything tika and it shows the bro's that we come in peace. The wairua will tell us whether things are all right or not. (Mahi Tahi mentor)

The pōwhiri and the passing of control over to the mentors allow the mentors to lay down the kawa (rules) governing the wānanga for its duration. As mentioned previously, this involves the placing of a rāhui on the wānanga and its participants, including the mentors and any other persons that may come on the wānanga, such as whānau and other visiting people. The mentors forewarn the participants that if the rāhui is broken the participants risk the possibility of the wānanga being stopped and the mentors leaving.

Tikanga will not be compromised...If the tikanga is broken then we will close down the wānanga. (Mahi Tahi mentor)

The rāhui is enacted by way of karakia. Breaking of the rāhui in wānanga has seen participants receive strong rebuke from the mentors and in some instances the termination of the wānanga.⁷ As a result the rāhui forces the participants to modify their behaviour for the duration of the wānanga if they want to remain in the wānanga and not be responsible for its premature closure.

The rāhui serves two main purposes: firstly, through the prohibition on the use of profanity and the intake of substances such as alcohol, cigarettes and illegal drugs, it conveys to participants the message that the knowledge they are to receive in the wānanga is tapu and, in accordance with tikanga, requires the participant to be mentally, physically and spiritually prepared to receive it. Secondly, participants are told that the rāhui is an opportunity for them to experience a form of social control used in Te Ao Māori that can be applied today.

⁷ In three of the six wānanga attended by the researchers wānanga participants were held to account for some participants allegedly breaking the rāhui. Although no wānanga in which the researchers attended was brought to an early closure due to severe transgressions of the rāhui, there were accounts given to the researchers of previous wānanga being shut down.

Key messages

- Showing respect
- Practising self control
- Accepting responsibility
- Sharing
- Learning

Indigenous principles

- Tikanga
- Manaakitanga
- Aroha
- Mātauranga

A2.4.2 Key Theme: Te Āhua (Identity)

This is normally the first session of the wānanga and explores the concept of Māori identity, by describing whakapapa to participants in a broad sense. It takes participants on a personal journey, affirming their identity as Māori by linking them to their whānau, hapū, iwi, and to tribal focal points such as awa, maunga and tīpuna whare. Qualities of leadership, individual responsibility and social accountability (to whānau, hapū and iwi) are also presented. The session culminates with named tīpuna being presented as role models of their time, but also as strongly relevant role models for participants today.

Key Messages

- Identity and uniqueness as Māori
- Importance of whānau
- Leaders as role models
- Practising self-control
- Nurturing self-esteem
- Accepting personal responsibility

Indigenous principles

- Whanaungatanga
- Manaakitanga
- Rangatiratanga
- Aroha

A2.4.3 Key Theme: Te Mātauranga (Māori knowledge)

The theme of mātauranga Māori is covered in this and subsequent sessions of the wānanga. As participants become more focused on their identity, they are given knowledge of how the world is viewed within the context of tikanga to assist them in understanding what it is to be Māori. If participants accept the challenge of identifying as Māori, they are subsequently reminded of the inherent responsibilities which accompany the receipt and the sharing of that knowledge. Throughout the wānanga the participants are told that they are being given “*food to fill their basket of knowledge.*” Some of the sessions include an explanation of the different kura wānanga (schools of learning), descriptive explanation of a meeting house, a pictorial description of famous Māori chiefs from the 19th century and a discussion of the impact wairua has on the way Māori live and behave.

Key messages

- Value of knowledge
- Accepting responsibility
- Showing respect for knowledge and for people
- Achieving balance in life
- Developing the right attitude
- Addressing offending behaviour

Indigenous principles

- Wairua
- Rangatiratanga
- Mātauranga
- Orangatanga
- Whanaungatanga

A2.4.4 Key Theme: Te Tipuna Whare (Ancestral house)

This session discusses the central role of the whare tipuna within Te Ao Māori and its significance to Māori within a cultural and spiritual context. The session uses the structural features and physical surroundings of the whare tipuna, to explain tikanga pertaining to birth, life, death, protocol and how these concepts are manifested in normal daily living.

Key messages

- Showing respect for people and things
- Exercising self-control
- Recognising positive and negative values and actions
- Increase in knowledge
- Relationship building and interaction

Indigenous principles

- Rangatiratanga
- Mātauranga
- Whanaungatanga

A2.4.5 Key Theme: *Te Tangata (Individual behaviour/actions)*

The theme of personal responsibility is covered in this and several subsequent sessions throughout the wānanga. This session describes traditional Māori society in the mid to late 1800s and focuses on traditional leadership, values and principles that governed Māori society at that time. For example, participants are taught a number of waiata and haka that describe the traditional role of parenting, the importance of children and the significance of their role to the survival of the iwi. The main aim of the session is to present traditional Māori values and social structures as both credible and relevant examples by which participants can live their lives today.

Key messages

- Importance of whānau
- Good parenting
- Relationship building
- Effects on whānau of offending behaviour

Indigenous principles

- Whanaungatanga
- Tikanga
- Manaakitanga
- Wairua Poke (Things evil – offending)

A2.4.6 Key Theme: *Te Mana o te Wahine (The strength of women)*

This session is the culmination of the formal teaching in the wānanga. From the researchers' perspective the wānanga builds towards this topic. On the face of it the session is about conception, childbirth, personal and whānau relationships. However, within a Māori context it gives a powerful and insightful interpretation of the importance of women in the continuation and maintenance of whakapapa, their physical strength during childbirth, and their role in nurturing the whānau. The persuasiveness of the messages conveyed in the kōrero compels participants to examine their own behaviour and acknowledge the impact of their offending on their whānau, particularly their wahine.

This session also provides for whānau to visit participants during the wānanga. As participants begin to understand the interpretation of Māori identity through the wānanga, they are then given an opportunity to share some of that learning with whānau.

Key messages

- Personal responsibility (for offending behaviour)
- Family values
- Relationship building
- Showing respect
- Developing leadership capacity
- Increase in knowledge
- Parenting skills

Indigenous principles

- Mana
- Tino rangatiratanga
- Whanaungatanga
- Wairua
- Aroha
- Manaakitanga
- Tikanga

A2.4.7 Informal Sessions

Throughout the course of the wānanga, participants take part in a number of informal activities run by the mentors, such as waiata, kapa-haka, sport sessions, extended breaks and evening feedback sessions. These sessions, in particular the evening sessions, assist participants to reflect on what they have learnt from the wānanga.

Participants are given an opportunity to raise any issue that is important to them. Typically participants reflect on how the wānanga has made them consciously think about personal issues, and in some cases their offending, what they have learnt during the wānanga, and the impact of their offending on their whānau.

Another aspect of some of these sessions is that, in accordance with tikanga, participants are required to stand and speak in an open forum. For many participants, this is a new experience that requires them to 'step out of their comfort zones.' From the perspective of the mentors, doing this is viewed as an important tohu (sign/behavioural change) as it indicates that participants are beginning to reflect on their actions, attitudes and lifestyles.

Key messages

- Showing respect
- Accepting responsibility
- Experiencing remorse

- Developing leadership capacity
- Family values

Indigenous principles

- Mana
- Aroha
- Whanaungatanga
- Rangatiratanga

A3 Wānanga Philosophy and Rationale

This section of the report provides an overview of the indigenous principles and tikanga presented throughout the wānanga. This report does not attempt to offer a definitive description of tikanga Māori; rather, the explanation of the principles and indigenous messages are as observed by the researchers during the wānanga and presented primarily by the mentors (and to a lesser extent the Programme Director). At the request of the Programme Director, the wānanga content is described at a general level by the researchers to protect the intellectual property rights of the Trust.

A3.1 Indigenous principles and tikanga

The programme's approach uses a methodology that seeks to address criminal behaviour from within a Māori cultural worldview. The Chairman of the Mahi Tahi Trust, Sir Norman Perry, describes the methodology as:

A cultural based approach to reform as it relates to inmates and their whānau.

The live-in wānanga is structured around Māori cultural (indigenous) principles and activities that assist in facilitating learning and self-examination. Some of these principles include:

- Aroha
- Karakia
- Mana
- Manaakitanga
- Mātauranga
- Orangatanga
- Rangatiratanga
- Tikanga
- Wairua
- Whakapapa
- Whanaungatanga

A brief explanation of these terms and other Māori words is contained in the glossary⁸ in Appendix 3. Although simple in appearance these principles take on major complexities when used in the Māori worldview. As reported in previous research undertaken with Mahi Tahi the wānanga is more than just a cultural programme, it is a programme that targets participants' offending behaviour from the perspective of tikanga Māori.⁹

A3.1.1 Aroha

The principle of aroha is about unselfish love. In the wānanga aroha is presented firstly as loving oneself, then one's whānau and then extending out to the wider community. One of the methods used to illustrate the principle of aroha in the wānanga is the commitment and passion shown by the staff of Mahi Tahi towards the course participants. The mentors share with the participants some of their life experiences, including gang and prison time, to show to the men that changes can be made if they make the choice to change. Another illustration of how the principle of aroha is shown is through messages in some of the content of the wānanga. The participants are given an explanation of the strength and tapu status of women (mana wahine) and told/shown that if participants are to have any chance of meaningful relationships then they need to ensure that their relationships are underpinned by aroha.

A3.1.2 Karakia

The use of karakia (prayer) is an integral part of the wānanga. Participants are shown how Māori use karakia in their everyday lives and how participants could use karakia to help with difficulties in their lives or just to give thanks for changes that they have been able to make. Participants are given opportunities to learn and practice karakia during the wānanga.

A3.1.3 Mana

The discussion of mana is intended to leave the participants with the message that mana is something that is given to them by their whānau. The nature of actions or behaviours that are mana enhancing and mana diminishing are also explored. For example, for participants to receive mana they have to enhance the mana of others by acting and behaving in a way that is respectful to them. To not do this is to diminish not only their mana but also the collective mana of the whānau.

A3.1.4 Manaakitanga

The principle of manaakitanga as presented in the wānanga is about caring for the well-being of people, in particular for members of one's whānau. The underlying message is that while participants are in prison, the responsibility of caring for their whānau, which should be theirs, is either left to others or not carried out at all.

⁸ For more detailed exploration of these terms see Ministry of Justice (2001) *He Hinatore ki te Ao Māori A Glimpse into the Māori World*. Wellington, NZ.

⁹ Bird, R. (1998) op. cit. p 2 & 4

A3.1.5 Mātauranga

Mātauranga is the body of knowledge developed by generations of Māori ancestors. Within the wānanga it is explained to the participants that in Māori culture certain types of knowledge were restricted to certain people determined by rank or whakapapa, or chosen by current holders. When knowledge was given, the recipient accepted the inherent responsibility that accompanied receipt.

A3.1.6 Orangatanga

Ora pertains to health in all its manifestations; physical, mental and spiritual – body, mind and spirit. Orangatanga is the principle of all-round health and well-being.

A3.1.7 Rangatiratanga

Rangatira is accepted within Māoridom as a leader marked out for leadership by senior descent and/or special ability. Rangatiratanga, as expressed within the wānanga, is the leadership qualities that exist within all the participants and the responsibility they have to show those qualities by taking better care of their partners and families.

A3.1.8 Tikanga

Tikanga is a way of acting which is correct and fair. Within the wānanga it relates to how and why practices are allowed to take place and why any deviation from that procedure constitutes a transgression.

A3.1.9 Wairua

Within the wānanga the wairua is described as that *which feels right*. Without reference to logic or scientific rationale, wairua appears to be an unexplained phenomenon or spirit that causes participants and/or their surrounding environments to move and behave in a way that “feels right” to the person, with positive benefits.

You have to walk the talk. Māori are wairua people, you can fix anything with the wairua but you must walk the talk...you must get rid of your paru (dirty) ways... If you don't change your ways you will never get out of here (prison). (Mahi Tahi Staff)

Within the wānanga the willingness to change is attributed to the wairua. However, what appears to be a contradiction is that in order for the wairua to be present, participants need to be willing to change. Wairua is the catalyst for change but without wairua one cannot change.

When questioned as to why participants felt the way they do during and after the wānanga the most common reply was that it was the wairua, the spirit of the wānanga, that led them to consider changing their behaviours and to bring them face-to-face with their offending.

A3.1.10 Whakapapa

The principle of whakapapa (genealogical lines) as presented in the wānanga is about knowing your own identity, and having pride in your identity because of the links to tīpuna. Essentially the whakapapa session is about the maintenance of the whānau structure. It covers healthy relationships, genealogical lines, and the impact of broken families when knowledge of whakapapa and links to immediate and wider whānau are lost. In a contemporary sense the session challenges the practice of de-facto partners, indiscriminate sex and unwanted pregnancies, as these practices can undermine the whānau structure and knowledge and maintenance of links to a wider kinship group.

A3.1.11 Whanaungatanga

The principle of whanaungatanga, similar to whakapapa, is about the relationships with immediate and extended whānau members, and relationships modelled thereon. Participants are continually reminded that for some the causes of their offending could be attributed to a breakdown in their relationships with whānau. Participants are firstly shown how important the whānau is to the well-being of Māori and then they are shown ways in which they can attempt to begin to re-establish bonds that may have been broken as a result of their offending.

A4 Research Approach and Methodology

A4.1 Guiding principles

The principle of whanaungatanga – establishing and maintaining relationships – was the primary tenet that underpinned the research approach employed. From the outset, the importance of establishing good relationships with the Trust, with the mentors, with prison personnel and particularly with participants, guided the research approach employed. Other key principles included a research approach that was guided and informed by tikanga Māori and research practices and processes that were mana enhancing.

The research tender process, employed by the Ministry of Justice and Mahi Tahi Trust, modelled a range of cultural practices such as mihimihi, karakia and the use of te reo and English as part of the interview selection process for researchers. As the final part of the selection process, the Ministry of Justice set up a face-to-face meeting between the researchers and the Programme Director. The purpose of this meeting was for the Programme Director to determine whether he believed that the researchers could work alongside the Trust in a respectful and appropriate manner. Importantly, from the observations of the researchers, this decision, for the Programme Director, needed to be guided by wairua.

A.4.2 Informed Consent

The basis of informed consent is the rule that information has been gathered with the full knowledge of the respondent from whence the information originates. This ensures that the mana and rangatiratanga of the respondent is upheld. Two levels of informed consent operated in the research.

A4.2.1 Collective Consent

Firstly, tikanga such as pōwhiri, whaikōrero and mihimihi were used to inform those present (participants, whānau, Trust personnel, mentors, and prison officers) of the presence of the researchers and their purpose for being there. In accordance with tikanga, when a person stands to speak he or she is given the opportunity to speak his or her mind. Some speakers also have the added responsibility of being the representative to speak on behalf of their people. This gives them opportunities to voice their own or their people's consent or non-consent to taking part in the research. This process enabled the researchers to work under the umbrella of Mahi Tahi Trust, thereby creating a form of collective consent to observe, describe and document the wānanga.

A4.2.2 Individual Consent

A secondary process was employed by the researchers to gain individual consent for participants to be interviewed. An information sheet and an interview consent form were developed by the researchers (see Appendix 2), which outlined the purposes of the research, detailed the rights of respondents, and introduced the researchers, noting their obligations.

All interviews were conducted kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face). All interviews began and concluded with karakia and, at the discretion of the participant, might also include a mihi.

In accordance with tikanga one aspect of maintaining and enhancing mana means employing the process of reciprocity. This is loosely referred to as koha, but should not be confused with the research term 'respondent incentive'. For this reason, koha employed in the research was generally in the form of kai (food) or gifts such as Māori textbooks and/or stationery. Participants interviewed in the post release phase received \$50 koha. However, this was not made known to participants at the time of setting up the appointment.

Similarly, the researchers took kai to all interviews. The researchers took confectionery and biscuits to interviews conducted in the prison, and to interviews conducted outside of prisons the researchers took biscuits and food to contribute to lunch or an evening meal.

A4.2.3 Access to Prison Inmates and Staff

Access to wānanga participants whilst in prison

Researcher access to programme participants while they were attending wānanga was managed by the Trust. The researchers were added to the list of people participating in the wānanga as part of the Trust, and except at Paremōremo, where additional clearance was needed, the process went smoothly. As these hui were held within the confines of the

prison, all participants, including the researchers and mentors, were monitored either by cameras or a prison officer being located within the teaching area.

Arrangements to interview participants post wānanga, whilst they were still in prison, were managed through the respective unit managers of the prison visited and proceeded without issue. These interviews were monitored using the normal prison surveillance mechanisms.

From the researchers' perspective, this process was aided by the relationships developed with unit managers and prison officers during the wānanga by way of informal discussion about prison/unit operations and the NLA Programme and through the conduct of formal interviews with unit managers and some prison officers. In particular, the researchers were allowed "free" access to the compound and were able to undertake interviews with participants either in the compound area or in the designated visitor areas. Being able to conduct some interviews in the compound area meant that participants were often able to show researchers examples of written work, study or art directly related to or reported by participants as arising out of the wānanga, such as research on their personal whakapapa. Being able to move freely in the compound also increased the visibility of the researchers generally.

On a day-to-day basis Yew Aik Tan, Senior Business Analyst with the Department of Corrections facilitated access to prisons by directly liaising with prison and unit management on behalf of the researchers, when necessary.

Prior to the commencement of the post release interviews, Alison Chetwin, Principal Adviser (Research) with the Ministry of Justice sent a letter to Ann Clark, General Manager, Community Probation Service introducing the researchers and outlining the purpose of the research, to facilitate researcher contact with probation officers.

Access to wānanga participants post release

The Department of Corrections and the Community Probation Service provided contact details of participants on release and this was supplemented with participant and whānau contact details collected by researchers.

The researchers sent letters to all participants interviewed whilst in prison to set up an appointment to be interviewed. No responses were received to these letters. This was followed by telephone calls to participants (and/or their whānau). Many of these numbers were disconnected or the participant (or their whānau) was no longer at that address and had left no forwarding address or telephone number. In a small number of cases where there were no telephone details the researchers went to the last known address. (See section A4.3.3 for more details.)

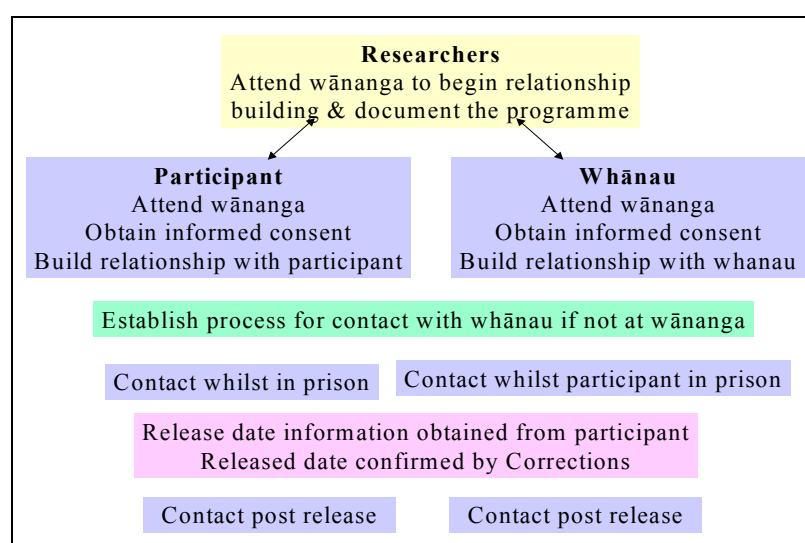
A4.2.4 Researcher Safety

As stated previously, interviews conducted with participants whilst they were in prison were subject to the normal security and surveillance measures utilised in the respective prisons.

In the interest of researcher safety, Nan Wehipeihana and Laurie Porima jointly undertook all¹⁰ but one of the interviews conducted with participants post release. Other safeguards included providing details to a third party about the time, location and expected duration of interviews and both researchers taking a cell-phone.

A4.3 Research Design

The overall research design, as stated previously, was premised on the need to build relationships, particularly with programme participants to aid the data collection process and to increase the likelihood that they would be willing to be interviewed once released from prison. The process as envisaged at the outset of the research is outlined in the following diagram.



For the most part, the research proceeded as outlined above, although there were some deviations from this process. These are discussed in the relevant sections.

The research commenced in April 2000 with fieldwork concluding in May 2002 and was conducted in three distinct stages.

A4.3.1 Stage One

There were two components to stage one of the research. Firstly, a series of research activities were undertaken to contribute to the development of the research proposal and the documentation of the NLA Programme. Secondly, these same activities were also used to begin the process of building relationships with the Trust and programme personnel. The research activities undertaken by the researchers from April 2000 to December 2000 included:

¹⁰ Laurie Porima conducted one interview by himself. The interview was undertaken at the premises of a social service agency working with the participant at the time.

- Attending a monthly Mahi Tahi staff meeting;
- Attending a hui with the Mangaroa Māori Focus Unit Rūnanga and Mahi Tahi Trustees;
- Participant-observers at two rounds of initial interviews for wānanga participants;
- Participant-observers in two four-day wānanga; and
- An initial review of the Trust's programme documentation held in Opotiki and meeting with the Programme Director.

A series of discussions and meetings were also held with:

- Mr Charlie Tawhiao, National Advisor Māori (Prisons), Department of Corrections;
- Sir Norman Perry, Executive Chairman, Mahi Tahi;
- Mr Bert Mackie, Te Puni Kōkiri representative; and
- Mr Richard Bird, Consultant.¹¹

Following the acceptance and sign off of the research proposal, from mid December 2000 to the March 2001 the researchers attended three wānanga.

It was envisaged that the wānanga would provide an opportunity for the researchers to introduce themselves, the research and the possibility of following up with whānau members post the wānanga. Due to the small number of whānau able to attend the wānanga whānau session, and the desire on the part of participants to spend as much time as possible with their whānau, in practice the researchers were mostly only able to introduce themselves and to “touch” on the research. As a consequence the anticipated researcher contact with whānau, while participants were still in prison, did not eventuate and impacted on the number of whānau interviews conducted in the post release stage.

A4.3.2 Stage Two

Stage two of the research focused on capturing participants' perceptions and views of the NLA Programme and the perceived impact of the programme on them whilst still in prison.

A list of potential research participants to interview was developed from four of the five wānanga attended by the researchers¹². The cancellation (by prison management) of one wānanga that the researchers had expected to attend, and the relatively small numbers of participants attending earlier wānanga, meant that the potential research sample totalled only seventy-two.

¹¹ In 1998, Mr Bird undertook a review of the New Life Akoranga Programme for the Department of Corrections.

¹² None of the participants who attended the wānanga in Paremoremo Prison were eligible for release within the timeframe of the research.

The actual sample size was reduced to 53 participants with the exclusion of wānanga participants expected to be still in prison in the post release follow-up period of the research. Factors that impacted on the number of interviews completed in stage two of the research included:

- Official release information for participants who attended May through to December wānanga was requested and received in January and February 2001. During this time, some wānanga participants had been released from prison.
- In contrast to other wānanga, one third of the men who attended the Waikeria wānanga in February 2001 were released in March and April 2001, with the researchers being advised after they had been released or with release imminent. As a consequence, there was insufficient time to arrange an interview with these participants.
- Some participants were not available to be interviewed. Reasons given for the non-availability of participants to be interviewed included: on a training course, involved in an employment activity (often off-site) and “in the pound.”

From May to July 2001 a total of 23 interviews were conducted with wānanga participants whilst still in prison (as outlined in Table 1).

Table 1: Stage Two Post Wānanga Interviews Completed

Description	Total
Total number of participants attending wānanga	72
Less those not due for release in the research timeframe	19
Actual research sample	53
Less those released prior to follow up contact	15
Less those not available – on a course, employment activities, etc	15
Post wānanga (pre-release) interviews completed	23

(See Appendix 9 for a breakdown of participant numbers by wānanga and by prison.)

The number of participants’ interviews completed in this stage of the research was lower than the 30 envisaged in the research design. This had implications for the number of interviews likely to be achieved in stage three (the post release stage) of the research.

The original research plan envisaged post wānanga interviews (i.e. interviews with participants whilst still in prison) would be completed soon after the wānanga, from October to December 2000. This timetable proved to be unrealistic as the task of attending the four-day wānanga, documenting the programme, developing relationships and programme knowledge consumed the allocated research resource.

As a consequence the majority of interviews were conducted with participants five to seven months after the wānanga¹³. In hindsight, however, this contributed to the reduction in potential participants able to be interviewed, as some had been released, or release was imminent, by the time official release data was sought and made available in February 2001.

Interviews tended to be about an hour in duration, with the majority of interviews being carried out between May and July 2001. To aid the next stage of the research, participants were asked during the interview for their likely contact details post release and /or the contact details of a close whānau member. In most cases, participants were happy to provide this information.

A4.3.3 Stage Three

Stage three of the research focused on capturing participants' perceptions and views of the NLA Programme and the extent to which they felt the programme assisted them following release from prison.

A minimum timeframe of three months and preferably six months was established as a reasonable period to have elapsed between participants being released from prison and being interviewed by the researchers. At the outset, it was also recognised that the longer the period elapsed between release and contact, the greater the likelihood that participants contact details would be out-of-date and participants potentially lost to the research.

Determining when participants would actually be released was more challenging than anticipated by the researchers. Actual release dates varied according to decisions made by the respective parole boards, as some participants were granted parole earlier than expected and some later than expected.

Locating participants also proved to be challenging. The Department of Corrections provided the researchers with the contact details of participants on exit from prison, as well as providing the researchers with the names of their respective probation officers. There were some delays in receiving these lists that delayed the researchers initial post release contact with participants.

The initial contact process followed (once having been advised of their release) was:

1. To write a letter to each participant reminding them of the research and our intention (desire) to interview them.¹⁴
2. Telephoning participants, where possible, to remind them of the research and our intention (desire) to interview them.

No responses to the letters were received.

¹³ Two were completed 3 months after completion of the wānanga due to participant availability.

¹⁴ The researchers sent letters to the addresses provided by the Department of Corrections and those collected during the post wānanga / pre release interviews with participants.

The second phase of the contact process was to re-establish contact with participants and set up an interview appointment time. A list of participant contact details was developed combining information from Community Probation Service with the contact details collected by the researchers. With the permission of participants, the Trust provided the contact details of two participants.

When attempting to re-establish contact, the contact details provided by participants were often out-of-date. Telephone numbers had been disconnected and many had moved from their initial residence following release, leaving no forwarding address.

Participants, once interviewed, were often a useful source of information about the location of other participants. What emerged was a snowball approach whereby one interview would provide information about one or two wānanga participants. Sometimes the details were for wānanga participants that we had interviewed at stage two (i.e. in our sample) and sometimes they were for wānanga participants we had met but not interviewed at that stage (i.e. not in our sample). In the latter case, because of the relationships that the researchers had built up over time through attending the wānanga¹⁵ the researchers were known to these men, who gave the researchers contact details that they could follow up.

In addition to trying to make contact via letter or telephone, the researchers took a “pot luck approach” on a number of occasions and made unannounced visits to the last known address of participants.

Two participants declined on contact to be interviewed. One of these was an unannounced visit, with the participant indicating that they “*had moved on from their time in prison*” and did not want to talk about the wānanga or any other aspect of their time in prison. The second participant, contacted by phone, declined to be interviewed without offering a reason.

A total of 14 interviews were conducted with participants post release, as outlined in the table below.

¹⁵ During this period of time, the researchers undertook an evaluation of the Māori Therapeutic Programmes for the Department of Corrections (delivered in Mangarua and Rimutaka Prisons). As a result, the researchers had contact with some participants outside of the wānanga environment.

Table 2: Stage Three Post Release Interviews

Description	Total
Pre-release interviews completed	23
Plus two additional interviews picked up	2
Revised interviews completed	25
Less	
Declined	1
Not contactable	5
Returned to prison	1
Not released from prison (as expected)	4
Post wānanga (pre-release) interviews completed	14

(See Appendix 10, for a breakdown of participant numbers by wānanga and by prison.)

Generally these interviews were undertaken four to eight months following participants' release from prison, using the guide at Appendix 7. Interviews varied in length but were generally one to two hours in duration (the shortest was 45 minutes and the longest (which included refreshments) lasted about three hours. Interviewing commenced in August 2001 and the last interview was completed in May 2002.

A4.4 Research Analysis

Interviews were conducted using interview guides appended to this report. The researchers took notes of each interview, and when permitted, also taped the interviews. On completion of the interviews, the researchers developed an initial analysis framework using the broad question areas taken from the research objectives. The question areas for the post wānanga interviews were:

- Expectations of the programme
- Programme operation
- Satisfaction
- Whānau involvement
- Outcomes
- Other comments

For the post release interviews these were:

- Personal circumstances since release (includes relationships, employment and housing situation)
- Overall perceptions of the wānanga
- Impact of the NLA Programme and changes made (if any) whilst in prison

- Impact of the NLA Programme and changes made / sustained (if any) post-release
- Re-offending since release
- Future plans

Each interview was summarised and data transferred to an individual summary grid. Further sub-categories and new categories were added in the data transfer process, where necessary. Each of the categories and sub-categories were then analysed for common themes and/or differences.

This qualitative research employed a non-random sample selection process. For this reason it is not appropriate to quantify information and present findings in statistical terms or percentages. However, to provide a “sense” of the sample in terms of participant responses, the following descriptive terms have been used:

- A few – less than one-quarter
- Some – one-quarter to one-half
- Many – one-half to three-quarters
- Most – more than three-quarters

The majority of the research participants interviewed were from Māori Focus Unit prisons. It was therefore not possible to draw comparisons from the research data between participant perceptions in the MFU and participant perceptions in mainstream prison units. Discussions about perceived differences in the operation of the wānanga in these units are therefore based on researcher observations only.

During the course of this research the researchers were contracted by the Department of Corrections to undertake a process evaluation of the Māori Therapeutic Programmes. As a result, the researchers met and interviewed many of the participants on the wānanga who had also completed some or all of the Māori Therapeutic Programmes and gained first hand knowledge of the programme content and format of these programmes.

A4.4.1 Research Limitations

This research was conducted with wānanga participants primarily resident in Māori Focus Units. The kaupapa of these units, particularly the activities organised by the inmate rūnanga, supported and reinforced the tikanga as shared in the wānanga. The impact of the NLA Programme on MFU participants, compared to participants not resident in MFU, is likely to be different – particularly in terms of maintenance and retention of changes whilst still in prison.

All participants interviewed in this research had also attended a range of Māori and non-Māori programmes. While participants were overwhelmingly positive about the NLA Programme, it is not possible to determine the extent to which other programmes supported or hindered the changes and outcomes achieved by participants.

This research employed a qualitative methodology and employed a non-random sample selection method. The findings as reported reflect the sample population, but caution should be taken when extrapolating the findings to the wider prison population.

A5 Participant perceptions of the NLA Programme while in prison

This section presents participant perceptions of the wānanga while still in prison, including their reasons for attending, expectations of the programme, positive and negative perceptions and the perceived impact of the programme on participants. Individual interviews (and one group discussion with 3 participants) were undertaken with 24 participants. The researchers were participant observers¹⁶ on the same wānanga as the men and informal discussions and rapport/relationship building occurred at this stage. The interviews proper were conducted with participants five to seven months after the respective wānanga¹⁷ using the guide at Appendix 5.

A5.1 Reasons for attending the wānanga

Participants attend the NLA Programme for a number of reasons: as a requirement of entry into a MFU; as a requirement of their case management plan; and for personal and cultural development reasons. As a result, expectations of the wānanga varied amongst participants depending on their reasons for attendance.

A5.1.1 Required to attend

One of the requirements for inmates entering Māori Focus Units (MFU)¹⁸ visited by the researchers is that they complete a NLA wānanga even if they have completed a wānanga elsewhere.

Everyone that comes into the unit (MFU) has to do a Mahi Tabi wānanga. That's the rules if you want to come here. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

The reason given to the researchers was that the wānanga would enable the new participants to be more receptive to the kaupapa that the units were attempting to espouse.

Mahi Tabi sets the foundation in terms of using tikanga as a means of addressing criminal behaviour (Prison Officer)

In terms of fulfilling case management requirements, participants said that, along with other reasons for attending the wānanga, it would 'look good' if and when they went before the parole board. The interviewees said that this was the case for most other courses they were

¹⁶ The researchers were present for the duration of the wānanga; from the powhiri (commencement of the wānanga) to the poroporoakī (closure/farewell), including residing overnight with the participants and mentors and eating all meals with the mentors and participants. The exception to this was the wānanga conducted at Paremoremo Prison where it was not possible for Nan Wehipeihana to stay overnight.

¹⁷ Two were conducted after three months.

¹⁸ The two MFU's the researchers visited were Hawkes Bay (Mangaroa) and Rimutaka Prisons. The researchers also attended wānanga in Paremoremo Prison and in Waikeria Prison prior to the establishment of a MFU there.

required to attend such as ‘Straight Thinking’, Alcohol and Drug Counselling and other educational courses provided by the Prison.

*Bro’ you have to do all the courses they set you, otherwise it isn’t good when you go before the Board.
(Parole Board) (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)*

Despite being required to attend, many participants had positive expectations of learning about tikanga from the wānanga and indicated they approached the course with an open mind so that they would at least get the benefits from their attendance.

A5.1.2 Personal and cultural reasons

Personal and cultural reasons for attending the wānanga, as reported by participants, included spending time with whānau, search for mātauranga Māori, the opportunity to be around the wānanga mentors and the fact that the wānanga ‘sounded’ interesting, based on the recommendation of other participants. Of these, the opportunity to spend time with whānau and a hunger for mātauranga Māori appear to be the two main motivations.

Whānau contact

The opportunity in the wānanga to spend time with whānau was one of the primary motivations for attending the wānanga. This was particularly so for participants in units where the prison regulations stipulated that visits were to be non-contact and conducted behind screens. The wānanga therefore provided them with the opportunity to share time with their whānau and allowed them to be affectionate with their children and partner.

The only reason I’m doing the wānanga bro’ is to see my wahine and my baby. I haven’t touched her for eight months. Bro’ I’ll do anything in the wānanga just to see them. (Participant Paremoro Prison)

I can’t wait to see the whānau; they are the ones that keep me sane in this place. Apart from the kaupapa of the ‘Whare’ (MFU) my whānau is it for me! (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Quest for mātauranga Māori

Many of the participants were on a personal journey in terms of discovering their own identity as Māori. Searching for anything Māori, particularly tikanga, te reo and whakapapa was a common reason participants attended the wānanga.

Some participants had attended other prison courses that had elements of tikanga Māori as part of the course content. Their belief was that attending the NLA Programme would allow them to build on their previous learning in relation to tikanga Māori.

I did some Māori stuff in Pare (Auckland Prison Paremoro) and wanted to do some more with Mahi Tahi. I just heard from the boys that it was the bomb...plus the brothers (mentors) were doing the teaching. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Kaupapa Māori framework

The attraction of attending the wānanga for some participants was because it was based and taught from within a kaupapa Māori framework. Although Public Prisons offers a range of programmes most were in the main facilitated by Pākehā presenters and from a Pākehā cultural perspective.

I'd rather go and sit in the chapel than do a baldhead course...the Māori courses work on your wairua, they take me back to when I was with my whānau. They (Mabi Tabi) make us face Tūmatanenga and all the crap we have done...I get suspicious of Pākehā courses run by the Department; they're only there to get a tick in the box and make the Department look good... (Participant Paremoremo Prison)

Mabi Tabi ignites a desire to learn te reo Māori, to learn about my (ivi)...tikanga takes me back to when I was a child learning off my kuia...I can handle myself with my fists but these courses (Māori), it just makes me more relaxed. (Participant Paremoremo Prison)

Programme Director

Participants were particularly keen to attend wānanga run by the Programme Director whom they regarded as an expert in tikanga Māori. The opportunity to have access to someone with this depth of knowledge further added to the appeal of attending his wānanga. As mentioned previously, Mr Jones has a charismatic presentation style and his ability to explain tikanga and to recite whakapapa, both his own and that of other iwi, explains why he is held in high regard by participants.

You have to do one of Herewini's wānanga...nothing wrong with the brothers (mentors) but Herewini's is something different...you can feel the wairua, you can see it in him...he doesn't eat for the whole time, he just feeds off the wairua... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Mentors

All of the mentors have either served time in prisons and/or had affiliations with gangs. As a result, participants feel they can relate to the mentors who have had similar life experiences to their own. This similarity of experiences means that mentors have credibility with participants, are familiar with the issues of prison life, and have empathy towards inmates. These reasons contributed greatly to why participants choose to participate in wānanga.

The brothers of Mabi Tabi walk the talk. They've been inside and they know what the screws are like, they know what we go through, so I know they're not talking crap. (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

Mentors also act as role models for participants. Participants stated that they could see the changes the mentors had made in their lives and they wanted to learn from the mentors who have an understanding of the challenges faced by participants in terms of taking on the tikanga shared in the wānanga (i.e. not re-offending).

In addition, the mentors presented themselves in such a way as to model what they teach in the wānanga and they (participants) admired and respected this level of commitment shown by the mentors.

A5.2 Participants' expectations of their first wānanga

In the main, participants' expectations varied according to whether the participant was attending their first or subsequent wānanga. Of those participants attending a wānanga for the first time, most had little or no expectations of the wānanga. This was the case for many of the participants who were attending the wānanga as a requirement of entering a MFU or as part of their case-management plan.

I had no expectations. I was the new boy on the block...just did it. (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

Fears about participating in the wānanga

Some participants recalled having an idea that it was about “things Māori.” Participants who had no previous involvement in, or limited knowledge of Māori cultural activities had varying degrees of uncertainty and trepidation. In the main, their fears related to feelings of insecurity and embarrassment about their lack of knowledge in terms of Māori protocols and procedures.

I knew nothing about tikanga, man I was too afraid to say kia ora, just was never taught...wasn't my scene. Now it's changed me. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

For some their fears cloaked feelings of embarrassment about a lack of knowledge and an inability to be able to understand or speak te reo.

I thought it was going to be in the te reo so I really didn't want to do it...not even ...it was easy; most of it was in Pākehā. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

For those participants who had spoken to participants who had completed other wānanga, their expectations were more about their capacity to cope with the rāhui and the teaching of tikanga Māori.

I heard about it from one of the boys; they said it (wānanga) was bad because you weren't allowed to smoke, and you had to learn Māori... (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

Again, participants who had heard of the wānanga from other participants had expectations about what they would learn in terms of tikanga and te reo. For these participants there was a definite desire to learn about Māori culture. However, most of these participants had attended other prison courses that had elements of tikanga Māori as part of the course content. Their belief was that attending the NLA Programme would allow them to extend and build on what they had learnt from previous wānanga.

A5.2.1 Participants' expectations of subsequent wānanga

Those participants who completed subsequent wānanga said that their expectations differed slightly from when they first attended a wānanga. Most participants took full advantage of the opportunity of the whānau visit programmed in the wānanga and restated that this was one of the reasons for attending. In subsequent wānanga participants stated that they were more focused on the content and building on the information from previous wānanga.

With the large volume of information presented in wānanga, participants stated that they needed to attend more than one wānanga to grasp the information presented, and secondly, to appreciate the messages contained in the korero.

The first time is like a blur but the next time I was able to understand clearly what they were saying, plus you get to take on more. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

The next time around I was able to think more clearly about what I'd done and all the shit I'd caused my whānau. (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

The first time I didn't last the distance; we broke the rāhui and Herewini shut down the wānanga. Couldn't handle the rāhui. I've done six wānanga and every one is different, you always learn something new...my whānau have seen the changes in me and now they are making changes...no more drinking, dacking (smoking cannabis) swearing...just awesome and all because of Mabi Tabi. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Many participants wanted to continue to satisfy their overall desire to learn things Māori and to immerse themselves within their own culture. Therefore their expectation of the wānanga was one of learning, becoming more in tune with the messages being shared in the wānanga and a genuine desire to apply some of the teachings. In line with participants' desire to learn things Māori there were some participants who had a genuine desire to take on more information and were 'bitten by the bug' to learn Māori tikanga. These participants had high expectations of the wānanga and in most cases took a full and active part in all the sessions of the wānanga.

The wānanga for me is about togetherness and te reo...I want to see Mabi Tabi more often...I couldn't speak Māori, but now I know a little bit...I had the courage to lead a haka...to be the kaea (leader) was a buzz...awesome feeling when I saw my whānau walking in the door. (Participant Paremoremo Prison)

A5.3 Positive perceptions

A5.3.1 Kaupapa Māori basis of the programme

One of the positive factors identified by participants was the fact that the wānanga is a kaupapa Māori driven programme, facilitated by, with, and for Māori. This enabled participants to feel relaxed and open-minded about the information that was being shared and therefore more responsive to the key messages.

The tikanga and the wairua make you see what you have done and if you're strong enough you will change...Whenever I feel I'm slipping all I do is karakia...that's the kaupapa that Mahi Tahi bring... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A5.3.2 New Knowledge

The opportunity to learn new information was seen by participants as another positive aspect of the programme. Most participants who were interviewed for the research stated that they had never had the opportunity before to learn anything about Māori culture and that if they were given the information when they were younger it may have made a difference in their lives, especially with regards to their behaviour and treatment of whānau.

The wānanga made me realise the things I'd done were wrong...I thought women were only for one thing (sex), but mana wahine makes you see different. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Aligned to these sentiments was the expression that the wānanga presented positive images of Māori lifestyle and culture to participants, for example, the sessions that described well-known Māori chiefs of the 18th and 19th centuries. Participants described these rangatira as awesome ancestors, warriors, tacticians, devoted to their people; these rangatira were not reliant on gang lifestyles.

I am a rangatira in the eyes of the gang but I don't want that anymore...I see by the kōrero of our tipuna what it really means to be a chief...Mahi Tahi taught me to be humble for what I have... (Participant Paremoremo Prison)

A5.3.3 Identity

Participants were also positive about the opportunity to reclaim their own identity. The wānanga describes how participants are intimately linked to other tribal members and traditional landmarks and therefore now know that they have a responsibility to look after all their whānau.

The wānanga shows who you are, where you come from, and makes you feel a part of something...I have to go back and start fresh with my whānau. (Participant Waikeria Prison)

(The wānanga) brings us back to our people, our iwi, whenua, hapū and marae...it builds strength with whānau links especially respect for women. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

For most participants the session on Mana Wahine provided the most poignant and positive memory of the wānanga. Participants said that this session alone helped them realise how important whānau were in being a part of their rehabilitation.

When I heard the kōrero on mana wahine I realised that my wahine is a rangatira and so I treat her as such...by doing this, our relationship has changed...it's awesome now. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A5.3.4 Mentors

The most consistent response in regards to the Mahi Tahi mentors, from wānanga participants is that they were better able to relate to the mentors than other presenters of

programmes being conducted in prisons. Participants said that they felt more comfortable with the mentors because the mentors were Māori, the mentors were giving with their knowledge of tikanga. Some of the mentors had served time in a prison and were acutely aware of the difficulties participants face when in prison, which made it easier for the participants to accept the mentors. Some participants considered the mentors as role models to follow because the mentors had come from the same backgrounds as the participants and were proof that changes could be made.

I look up to those guys because they know where we come from and we know where they've come from. (Participant Paremoremo Prison)

Nowhere bro' where you can get a nigger (Black Power) and a dog (Mongrel Mob) together who are working together to help the brothers...Mabi Tabi does it...it's the wairua bro'. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

The mentors were good coz they were straight up... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

The kōrero from the mentors never changes... you know then that what they tell you isn't shit, not like the Pākehā courses. (Feedback on other courses conducted in prisons was outside the scope of the project.) (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

The mentors were awesome...they came across as easy-going and willing to help... I love them all...they have good wairua...and you can just feel that they're there for the brothers. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A5.3.5 Mana Wahine

As stated previously, the wānanga builds to the mana wāhine session. It is this session, which has the most marked impact on participants.

A5.4 Negative perceptions

A5.4.1 Volume of Information

As stated previously, a large amount of information is presented in the wānanga and participants typically identified their own inability to cope with the volume as a reflection on themselves, as opposed to a negative aspect of the wānanga. For example, participants often mentioned their lack of schooling, their inability to concentrate for long periods, the duration of some sessions, together with the stress of the rāhui, as reasons why they found the volume of information, at times, overwhelming.

A5.4.2 Religion

Two participants expressed concern about what they saw as the religious content within the wānanga. One participant objected to what he perceived as Christian themes within certain sessions, in particular parallels made between tipuna and key figures from the Christian faith.

Similarly, a second participant viewed much of the behaviour of the mentors during the wānanga as promoting the Mormon faith. During wānanga attended by the researchers there

was no evidence to suggest that the mentors were promoting any form of religion. The similarities, if any, of the wānanga to the Mormon faith is the promotion of living healthy lifestyles. For example, key messages delivered in the wānanga of tīpuna not smoking, swearing, drinking or taking drugs were equated by the participant as a promotion of Mormonism. This perception was further reinforced, as most of the mentors are followers of the Mormon church.

A6 Participant perceptions of the NLA Programme post release

A6.1 General description and profile of post release participants

Fourteen post-release interviews were conducted with participants who attended wānanga. Twelve interviews were scheduled and two were unscheduled. A breakdown of the process involved in arranging the interviews is contained in the methodology section.

Of the 14 participants, seven were in some type of employment (full time, part-time, seasonal or voluntary employment) and two were unemployed. Of the two unemployed participants one had only recently been laid off work after securing employment soon after release, and the other participant was in receipt of a sickness benefit due to a physical ailment.

Three participants were undertaking secondary and tertiary studies, which all included subjects in te reo Māori and two of those participants had been asked to take on tutoring roles.

The final two participants were interviewed in prison. One of these participants had committed a minor offence but, due to the fact that he was still serving a parole sentence, he was required to serve the remainder of that sentence in prison. The other participant was still a serving inmate. Details of this participant indicated he had been released, however on interview, it became apparent that he had only been transferred from the prison where he attended the wānanga with the researchers and had in fact never been released.

A6.1.1 Focus on Relationships

For all the participants who were interviewed in this stage of the research, their main focus on release was working through the process of re-establishing relationships with whānau, especially with partners and/or their children. For some this included custody arrangements and for others this meant a return back to home marae.

I needed to get home with my whānau and regain my strength... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

In other situations, however, participants said that they needed to undertake a process to bring closure to previously irreconcilable relationships. This included informing ex-partners that they had been released and had no intentions of resuming contact with them and often shifting to another location.

I made contact with my ex's lawyer to try and get visits with my daughter...I said to him I didn't need to have contact with my ex... I just told him that I was sorry for what I did and I hoped one day she would forgive me. (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

A6.1.2 Living Arrangements

In terms of accommodation arrangements, participants stated that they had little or no difficulty in finding a place to live once they had been released. Typically this was with whānau: parents, siblings, cousins, their wife or partner and/or in-laws. However, these were generally short term arrangements, for a few weeks to assist participants to adjust to life outside of prison e.g. re-establish key relationships, find a job, register for the unemployment benefit and/or identify training courses/options. Participants then generally sought alternative accommodation either as a matter of choice to be closer to children, whānau and/or employment or because their current accommodation was only ever intended to be a short term option. For example, one participant boarded temporarily with whānau while attending an alcohol and drug course almost immediately on release from prison. Once the course had finished and he had obtained some temporary employment he found new accommodation.

I had to do an alcohol and drug course as part of my parole conditions and there was one being run here by [name of organisation]. I'd been on one of their courses that they ran in [name of prison] and they had a space for me. I needed to do it, so it seemed better to do it here and then go back home to settle once I had finished the course. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Participants said that the wānanga had helped them to refocus on the important things in their lives, particularly whānau, and the need to be more accountable for their actions and more considerate of the impact of the actions on whānau. As a consequence, in planning for their release, most participants stated that they had made greater efforts to consider the needs of whānau as opposed to just assuming they could automatically stay with whānau as of right.

Before I got out I asked my mum if I could come home...I told her it would only be for a little while, while I sorted out my stuff...she cried and said she was waiting for my call to come home and be with whānau again...Before I would've just bowled up there and just taken her for granted...soon I'll have my own flat and a place so my kids can visit... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A6.1.3 Employment

In terms of employment, most participants found jobs by way of WINZ Case Managers, whānau and personal contacts. The types of jobs taken on by participants were: engineering, interior decorating, labouring, youth and seasonal work. Seasonal work was seen as particularly attractive because it provided immediate access to income, it was flexible and allowed them to fulfil other personal priorities (e.g. custody arrangements) and their previous criminal convictions did not preclude them from gaining seasonal work.

Two participants interviewed post release had found part-time employment as a tutor in te reo for local education providers. Whilst these positions were not full-time, they were relatively well paid (\$20 per hour), allowed participants to access further education at reduced rates, kept them within a positive learning environment and were flexible in that they allowed

participants to meet other commitments that they needed to attend to, particularly in the initial period post release.

Participants also felt that job prospects were greater for them if they were located in larger urban centres, as there appeared to be more opportunities available. Interviews for the post-release phase were conducted in Auckland, Tauranga, Rotorua, Napier, Hastings and Wellington.

A6.2 Overall perceptions of wānanga

A6.2.1 Reflections on the impact of wānanga while in prison

Rebuilding relationships

Participants tended to identify many aspects of change when reflecting on the impact of the wānanga on them personally while in prison. Rebuilding relationships was one area where participants stated that the wānanga helped them begin to address some of the hurt they had caused, perpetuated, and received. Most of the relationships participants spoke of were with partners (current and previous), their children and their immediate whānau.

Whānau are the most important thing to me especially my wife and my kids and my moko...I had to make it right with them...I don't hang out with the crowd I used to before I went inside, coz I know that's what sent me away and I know that'd break my wahine...(Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

In terms of changes made, participants stated that kōrero from the mana wāhine session, where participants are given a new perspective of the strength and beauty of women, had made them face up to the abuse and pain that they had inflicted on their whole whānau. Participants said that they felt that they were in a much better position to control their emotions and therefore think about their whānau in a more respectful manner.

Mana wāhine was it bro...it made me look at people, my Mrs, my kids with aroha and respect...I love them and I'm not ashamed to say it out loud to anyone. (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

Reclaiming identity

All of the participants interviewed said that the wānanga had helped them to find out more about themselves as Māori and to reclaim their identity as Māori. It did this by showing them how they fitted into te ao Māori (the Māori world) by way of their parents, grandparents and ancestors (whakapapa) and by linking them back to their marae, hapū and iwi. This reclaiming and rediscovery of identity led to nearly all participants seeking out further information and knowledge of their own tribal history by way of further study or by writing to whānau members asking for assistance.

After the wānanga I just wanted to learn more about my own people so I wrote back to my Dad and asked him for our whakapapa...he said he'd been waiting for me to ask for it...now I have to learn it ... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

In addition participants were more committed to undertaking other educational studies. Most participants took classes in te reo Māori. Participants also said that knowing their identity gave them a sense of pride and confidence with the resulting effect of making them less aggressive and more tolerant of others.

I left school when I was 13 years old...didn't know how to read or write properly ...but I got over 90% for School C Māori ...now I'm going to sit 6th Form Māori if they let me...Mahi Tabi and this place (MFU) helped me. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Receptiveness to learning

Most participants said that the wānanga left them with an overwhelming compulsion to seek further information. Participants stated that the kōrero about identity, tīpuna and pōwhiri had made them want to find out about their own iwi practices. For some participants the wānanga helped them appreciate other courses such as anger management programmes, alcohol and drug programmes and the various cognitive and educational courses offered in prison and post release.

Mahi Tabi (wānanga) was too short so I went for something that would force me to look at myself...Mahi Tabi opened my eyes and I needed something else. I got it...if it wasn't for the bro's of Mahi Tabi I would have just slipped back... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

It was the kōrero about our tīpuna; they had nothing to do with drugs and alcohol. That was when it hit me. It was the drugs and the alcohol that got me here and I needed to do something about it or I was going to be back. I went on the (name of course/organisation) and it's good so far. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Leading healthier lifestyle

Most participants said that after the wānanga and for as long as they were in the MFU they continued with the rāhui. For some participants it was a conscious decision to continue to abide by the rāhui because of the reasons given to them by the mentors, and for other participants they had become excited that they had lasted the whole wānanga and wanted to continue on for as long as they could. For those participants who chose to give up smoking they said that they could feel and enjoy the changes in their body.

Self improvement

Hand in hand with the desire to seek further courses, most participants said that they actively sought to improve their lives while in prison with the hope that this change in attitude would help them plan for a better life when they were released. This included active involvement in kapa-haka and te reo classes, saying and giving karakia, keeping their huts tidy and actively looking at other courses offered by the prisons.

A6.2.2 Impact of Mahi Tabi wānanga post-release

As previously mentioned in this section the immediate needs of participants on release from prison were to see whānau and/or find suitable accommodation, if that had not already been

arranged pre-release. Securing employment and finding sources of income were the next priorities for participants. It was not until these needs had been addressed that participants said that they began to reflect on their time in prison and realise the impact the wānanga had made on their lives.

Te Reo Māori

Most participants who were interviewed in this stage of the research said that they continued with their learning of te reo and tikanga Māori and most were actively using karakia in some aspects of their lives. For example, two of the participants interviewed had gained part-time employment as tutors in te reo and nearly all of the remaining participants were either enrolled in part-time studies, had sought or were actively seeking more information about their own whānau, hapū, iwi or marae.

I go to kura (school) at (name) marae, for three hours on a Sunday. I'm tutoring at the local tech for six hours per week at \$20 per hour and then I've got some part-time work at a local pack house.
(Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

For some participants the level of their te reo Māori and knowledge of tikanga Māori was recognised as being an asset by more and more whānau members. For example, those with greater levels of fluency in te reo were being asked to take on speaking roles for their own, and in one case, on other local marae. This had further encouraged participants to continue with their pursuit of tikanga and te reo Māori.

One of my cousins died and the tangi was back home. One of my uncles asked me to sit on the pae. My old lady, she was blown away to see me there. Just proud of me you know none of my other brothers can speak te reo, so she was just stoked. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Relationships

All the participants interviewed stated that the mana wāhine session in the wānanga continued to have a significant influence in relation to their attitudes and thoughts concerning women, children and other whānau members. In particular, participants said that their whole perspective on whānau had changed from one of taking family for granted, especially their women, to one of being more responsive and respectful of their needs. The significance of this impact was that most of the participants said that they did not and should not expect anything in return, such as the expectation that partners would love them back. Ironically, however, they were saying that the less pressure they placed on their partners, more often than not, participants sensed a renewed bond between them and their partners – this was also the case for their wider whānau.

Bro' I wasn't expecting anything, the more I thought of my whānau as tapu and treated them like that they just wanted more of me...it all comes from mana wāhine... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Goal setting

Planning for the future and setting goals was a skill that many of the participants practised post release, as a result of what they had learnt in the wānanga and, for some, what had been

supported and promoted in the MFU. Participants said that the wānanga had ‘opened up their eyes’ and made them see what the priorities were in their lives. The impact of this was that participants realised that they needed to make plans and work towards them. These included: going back to school, getting employment, arranging custody details, seeking out kaumātua, joining a sports team and taking on a much greater role in the upbringing of their children.

I know what I have to do...in the next 12 months I'll get my own place, my independence, then I'll have a place for my son...a safe environment for him. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Everything started for me in the unit (MFU) after the wānanga¹⁹...Herewini just made it obvious what we had to do if I ever wanted to be with my kids again...I had to sort my stuff out, make sure I was 'sussed' before I could get back into my son's life...(Participant Rimutaka Prison)

Lifestyle changes

Participants who had given up smoking, for the most part, did not take up smoking again following their release. The main reason participants gave was that they had stopped while in prison and they could see no reason why they should resume.

Nearly all of the participants interviewed in the post release stage stated they did not drink alcohol while in prison. A few participants indicated that they had given it up completely, whereas most participants stated that it was not as readily available as cigarettes and drugs.

Following their release from prison most participants indicated that they had started drinking again, although they drank less frequently, and not to the excesses they had typically drunk prior to going to prison. The reasons they started drinking again were either because they did not feel that alcohol consumption was an issue for them and/or because they found themselves in social situations where they wanted to have a drink or they felt they should have a drink. Those participants for whom not drinking whilst in prison was a considered decision had not started drinking following their release. The reasons they gave for not drinking was that they knew it was a major factor that had contributed to them going to prison in the first instance and/or they were committed to following the tikanga that had been shared with them in the wānanga.

Still don't take the tarutaru (drugs), don't smoke, if I drink maybe once in a blue moon, just not into it. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Participants were less forthcoming about the consumption or use of drugs post release. Some participants clearly stated they were not using/taking drugs. One participant indicated that he had access to and was taking cannabis. However, most participants stated that they had been offered, and at times consumed, drugs in a social setting.

Participants were aware of the need to stay away from the negative influences that had contributed to their previous criminal behaviour, in particular, friends and some whānau members. While they typically said they wanted to or had “moved-on” from their previous

¹⁹ The wānanga referred to in this quote is a 60-man wānanga facilitated by Herewini Jones. The researchers did not attend this one.

life/activities, in practice they found it difficult to separate themselves from these negative influences unless they moved to a new area.

A strategy used by one participant who did not want to get “offside” with his friends and whānau was to plan to do something else or be at another location when a party or situation he did not want to be associated with was going to take place.

I can be the sober driver, I can walk away from the smokes and dac at a party. But it's better to not go there, you know. My mates came around and I said no. My son needs to be my focus, so I just make a plan to be doing other things.

Participants attribute this behaviour to the wānanga, stating that the messages in the wānanga of alcohol and drugs not being a part of old Māori society were still as strong for them now as they were when they were participating in the wānanga.

A6.2.3 Maintaining changes

Most participants, despite saying they had made changes and that they wanted to start afresh, did acknowledge that they had difficulties trying to sustain the changes. For example, some participants on release were being met by previous acquaintances, especially old gang members, and there was a realisation that if they wanted to make the ‘break’ from the past, it included severing ties with some of those old friends. In these cases participants said that they had simply moved on from their friends.

I will always love the brothers in the mob but my Mrs doesn't like them...she knows what they're like.
(Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Finance, particularly the lack of money to provide immediate needs, such as daily living expenses, employment and transport costs, is a critical stress factor.

Around Christmas time, and not having much money for my kids, I was tempted and thought about how easy it would be to make a quick buck... but I didn't. Thinking about my wahine kept me staunch. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Some participants used karakia as a way of coping with the stress. Using karakia as a coping strategy for many was as a result of what participants had learnt in the wānanga and for some had been reinforced in the MFU.

Personal responsibility

Participants at all stages of the research talked about the wānanga bringing them face-to-face with their offending and the need to be personally responsible for their future actions. Typically this was about how the wānanga had “forced” them to face up to their actions (or inactions) and the impact of this on whānau. Having recognised the negative impact of their actions, particularly on whānau, the wānanga challenged them to change their outlook, and to take greater responsibility.

I can only progress through me. I am holding myself back. It is my attitude that will allow me to go forward and progress. (Participant Rimutaka Prison)

I need to do it for me, because I want to and because it's the right thing to do. Stop for my sake, for the sake of the whānau and for the sake of the system. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A6.3 Re-offending

Most participants interviewed in this stage were adamant that they would not re-offend causing a possible return to prison. However, they were also realistic that re-offending was always a possibility and, at the end of the day, it was up to the individual to take responsibility for their actions.

I'd like to say I'd never go [back to prison]. Pretty confident I won't. I'm able to walk away now. At least for now, I have no thoughts of going back.

There was also an awareness that unless they led completely crime free lives they ran the risk of potentially re-offending and returning to prison.

Very unlikely to offend big time, I'm talking crime like wheeling and dealing, thieving, robbing. [I] smoke a weed every now and then, that's risky.

A6.3.1 The importance of employment

Participants valued the knowledge and tikanga shared with them in the wānanga and many continued to apply those tikanga once they were released from prison. Whilst the principles of the wānanga helped them to live their lives, participants were realistic in their understanding that this did not provide the necessities of day-to-day living. Therefore, employment was seen as an important factor in stopping or reducing the likelihood of re-offending.

Having a job is everything. If you get a job you can do it all. You've got real money and you've earned it. Your head's held high and it makes you proud. When you don't have a job like my mate [name] then you get into trouble...too much time on your hands, you get bored and frustrated having no money.

A6.3.2 The role of relationships

For most participants who were interviewed post release the need to have some kind of stable relationship was seen as a major contributing factor to their rehabilitation. For some participants this was with their former partner or wife or with newly formed relationships. Participants explained that the learning they gained from the wānanga had made them realise the importance of the whānau structure in the Māori world, and in particular with their partner.

There were some participants interviewed who felt they could not reconcile with their former partners because of the hurt they had caused them. These men were resigned to this fact and some of the teachings from the wānanga helped participants to deal with this prospect.

Bro' I hurt her bad...we won't be getting back together but I have said sorry...I still say karakia for her too though... (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Participants talked about the importance of rebuilding their relationship with their children following their release from prison. A combination of the time spent away from their children and the notion of parental responsibility as explained in the wānanga, especially regarding the passage of knowledge from one generation to another, were important drivers in terms of not wanting to re-offend (i.e. return to prison).

My kids are my life that's why I'm moving away from here...I have custody of my kids and we're able to sit up down with my sister...It's my job to teach them and I have to do it properly. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A common theme among nearly all participants interviewed post release was the importance placed on supportive relationships. In some cases this was with a wife or partner, in other cases this included whānau and/or community organisations. Participants said that it was these types of relationships that gave them a purpose and reason for starting over again.

Re-offend. Don't want to, not even a thought. If I do then I lose everything. I've got someone beside me now, loves me. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Participants were realistic enough to express that they had to put a lot of work into maintaining their new lifestyle but the pleasing aspect was that they had made the conscious effort to do this. All of the participants attributed this change in attitude to what they had experienced on the wānanga, particularly the impact of the mana wāhine session.

I'm a hard man and you go the wānanga and then you get hit with Mana Wāhine. It just hits you and makes you look at the past. Everything I had done bad in my life brought out... now, I look at women from a different perspective. I used to look at them as a piece of meat, now I appreciate them and what they go through (childbirth). (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A6.3.3 Environmental factors

Hand-in-hand with renewing old relationships or establishing new ones, participants found that keeping a positive and active lifestyle helped them to occupy their time as well as overcome times of boredom where they felt that in the past they would have reverted back to a life of crime. In one example, a former participant worked a 12-hour shift, played rugby and touch rugby, as well as coaching a junior boys rugby team. He was also being asked to help out his whānau marae, as he was the oldest male from his whānau. This participant said that for him the real meaning of whānau was only made clear to him during his attendance on the wānanga.

You have to keep yourself busy...if you don't your mind starts to wander and you end up wanting to go out and do a number (burglary)...it's the boredom...I'm busy, I'm active I feel good, my whānau comes to my games and I like myself. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

The influence of former friends and associates was one aspect that many participants had to struggle with in order to stay out of trouble. Most participants were aware that this influence would be a contributing factor should they ever contemplate re-offending again. Therefore what most participants tended to do was try to not associate with these people, use excuses of being too busy to go out with them, and in some extreme cases, relocate to another location – for some this meant relocating to different parts of the country.

They say you can re-establish yourself in your neighbourhood but I fail to see how you can. (Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A7 Perspectives of Whānau

A7.1 Methodology

Opportunities to interview whānau of wānanga participants for the purposes of the research were confined to brief informal conversations during the whānau visits in the wānanga and interviews during the post release phase of the research. Interviews during the whānau visits were kept brief, as the researchers were conscious that the visits were primarily for the participants to share with their whānau what they had learnt in the wānanga. Interviews carried out during the post release phase were as part of the main interview with the released participant. Whānau were present during these interviews at the discretion of the participant. In all cases, interviews were carried out with the knowledge of the wānanga participant and focused on how well the participant was coping with life after prison and the extent to which they had observed changes in attitudes and behaviour. The interviews did not explore the wider whānau context in terms of functionality and environment.

A7.2 The Impact of the Wānanga

A7.2.1 Overall Impact

Whānau who were interviewed for the research said that the NLA Programme or “Mahi Tahī”, as referred to by most respondents, gave whānau hope that changes in behaviour and lifestyle were possible for participants and that the learning participants had gained from the wānanga would eventually benefit all of them. They saw this as the major positive of the programme.

Observed changes

Perceptions of the impact of the NLA programme on participants as observed by whānau were one of optimism and hope that changes could be possible for their menfolk. Whānau were pleasantly surprised to see participants stand before them in a pōwhiri and deliver a whaikōrero – something that they had never expected. Whānau also said that they had felt and seen a certain level of calmness from the participants. This had been expressed by openness and sharing in conversations with each other.

Some whānau attributed some of the credit of participants showing signs of change to the MFU. One daughter said that they had noticed changes in their father since he had moved from a mainstream unit into a MFU. These changes included being more open with his feelings, less intimidating in his demeanour and showing a willingness to begin sharing his knowledge of Māoritanga with his whānau.

During the post-release phase whānau still saw the maintenance of the changes they had observed of the participants, such as the participants’ desire to continue their education in te reo Māori, but there were some concerns about sustaining those changes. Whānau were

aware that normal everyday pressures such as finding employment, making ends meet and contact with old acquaintances could easily influence participants to revert back to their old behaviours.

He was good when he first got out. Got a job and that was good; kept him busy. Then he got into a fight and lost his job and hasn't been able to get another one. Now some of his old mates come knocking on the door. I think he'll get into trouble again, like his brothers. They went back inside.
(Mother of a Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Positive behaviour change

The most noticeable change reported by whānau was a change in the behaviour of participants when amongst whānau. Participants were generally more relaxed, less likely to show anger or act violently and were more inclined to talk about how they were feeling. There was a sense that participants were taking more responsibility for their actions and behaviours.

Dad is more into his Māoritanga now. Starting to talk to us about our whakapapa – he never really had time for that before. He talks to us more, he's less aggro and he's less stressed although he worries about money. (Daughter of a Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Increased receptiveness to learning

Whānau had also noted that participants had taken a keen interest in their Māoritanga and, as a result of what they had learnt in the wānanga and the support received in the MFU around teachings in tikanga Māori, some participants had taken on some speaking roles in marae settings. This was so for one whānau interviewed when a participant, as the eldest son in the whānau, spoke on behalf of his immediate whānau at their father's tangi.

When our bro' got up and spoke at the old man's tangi he just blew everyone away. We knew he had it but this was the first time anyone had seen it. (Brother of a Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Another whānau had seen their son come out of prison and actually gone as far as to see kaumātua of their marae accept what this participant had learnt and to invite him to sit on the paepae. Whānau said that this behaviour indicated that something had made an impact on the participant.

Stop smoking, drinking and/or taking drugs

One whānau member interviewed during the post-release phase suspected her son was an occasional smoker of marijuana but could not be certain. She, however, maintains that when her son had a job not long after release he did not get into trouble nor was he smoking "dope". It was only when he lost his job that she noticed he tended to become restless and showed signs of having been "stoned." For many whānau their belief is that times are difficult when ex-inmates are forced to deal with pressures they are not used to, pressures that most people take for granted but which, nonetheless, are likely to lead some participants to transgress what they were taught in wānanga.

A7.2.2 Positive benefit of the NLA Programme for whānau

Having the opportunity to participate in the wānanga by way of the whānau visit was seen by whānau as a positive benefit of the NLA Programme. Most whānau said that this session was important for them because they were given the opportunity (albeit limited) to share in the knowledge being gained by participants and this gave them some understanding of the changes that participants were making.

He started practising (making) many of the changes before he got out of prison. He's walking the talk. What's happened before is history and he's trying to change that history (Partner of a Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

Whānau members said that the changes they had seen from their sons/partners as a result of attendance in wānanga gave them hope and confidence that their lives would become better. Partners had begun to realise that their children would be able to see a better side of their father and that changes would be longer lasting. Some of these changes included participants spending more quality time with children, partners having meaningful dialogue with each other and more interaction with their wider whānau.

A7.2.3 Weaknesses

A perceived weakness of the NLA Programme as identified by some whānau was the uncertainty about how long this new behaviour in participants would last. Whānau were concerned about the extent to which participants would continue with what they had learnt in wānanga and while they were in prison. Some whānau were only too aware that without adequate follow-up or support, particularly post release, it was likely that some participants would revert back to some or all of their old behaviours.

He's getting into trouble again. I've told him he's got to move out because he's smoking hooch again. He doesn't listen to me, he just goes his own way. He was good when he first got out, but that didn't last. (Mother of a Participant Hawkes Bay Prison)

A8 Perspectives of Prison Staff

A8.1 Methodology

The opportunities to interview prison staff for the purposes of the research were limited, mainly due to the rostering requirements of the respective prison units. Interviews were conducted with a small number of prison officers²⁰ who were on duty at the time of the wānanga and pre-release interviews. In most cases these were unstructured interviews conducted over a protracted time period while the officers carried out their duties. In-depth interviews were carried out with the unit managers of Hawkes Bay Prison MFU and Waikeria Prison Tōtara Unit. The researchers also interviewed the prison officer who was on duty for the duration of the wānanga in Paremoro Prison.

²⁰ A total of six interviews were carried out with prison officers: four in Mangaroa and two in Rimutaka.

A8.2 The Impact of the Wānanga

A8.2.1 Overall Impact

Observed changes

Prison officers' perceptions of the impact of the NLA programme are based on the changes they have observed in participants before and after the wānanga and those changes being attributed to the wānanga. Their perceptions of the impact of the programme therefore may be overstated, as they do not necessarily take account of other potential or causal influences on participant attitudes and behaviour e.g. counselling and/or the MFU itself.

The unit managers interviewed were of the view that the NLA Programme helped set a foundation of learning for inmates and increased participants overall receptiveness to other education, cultural and rehabilitative programmes and courses.

Mahi Tahi sets the foundation in terms of using tikanga as a means of addressing criminal behaviour.
(Prison Officer)

Whilst acknowledging the platform provided by the NLA Programme, unit managers were of the view that the wānanga should not operate in isolation from other programmes, rather, it should be part of a suite of options offered to assist inmates to address the underlying causes of their offending e.g. drug and alcohol counselling and anger management sessions. Prison personnel reported the following changes in participants' attitudes and behaviour, which they attributed to the wānanga.

Positive behaviour change

Prison officers commented on the improved overall change in participant behaviour and demeanour. Participants were reported as more courteous and respectful to prison officers, less aggressive and less confrontational with officers and other inmates and generally more tolerant and willing to listen and/or take direction.

Increased receptiveness to learning

As a result of the wānanga, participants were generally said to be more receptive to other courses and programmes, particularly Māori programmes or programmes with significant Māori content.

I can see men becoming more receptive [to other programmes]. (Prison Officer Hawkes Bay Prison)

Improved communication skills

Prison officers identified improved communication skills as one of the impacts of the wānanga. They described participants as growing in confidence in terms of communicating with officers generally and about their plans and aspirations in case management sessions.

The difference is clear. You can have a conversation with them now. You can talk to them about their plans for the future and it's a two way conversation... A lot of it's to do with the fact that they are more willing to listen. (Prison Officer Hawkes Bay Prison)

Stop smoking, drinking and/or taking drugs

Prison officers also commented that the rāhui enforced during the wānanga resulted in participants temporarily stopping smoking, drinking or taking drugs. For some participants, these changes were maintained post wānanga and for some the temporary cessation marked the beginning of an ongoing process to overcome these addictions. For others, however, the changes were not maintained beyond the duration of the wānanga.

Maintenance of tikanga

Prison officers identified the use of karakia, pursuit of te reo and mātauranga Māori as changes arising out of the wānanga²¹.

I see some major changes from them (participants) when Mahi Tabi is here. Even when they leave the guys in the unit still carry the tikanga on.... they have karakia in the morning, lunch and at tea and you notice the changes... (Prison Officer Hawkes Bay Prison)

Pursuit of cultural identity

From the perspective of prison officers, the wānanga both creates and fulfils a desire in participants to find out more about what it means to be Māori. After the wānanga participants actively pursue knowledge in relation to personal whakapapa, tribal history as well as tikanga and te reo.

There's a yearning for anything Māori. For most of them, it's the first time they've been interested in finding out about who they are, where they come from... and they go at it with a passion. Over time they lose some of the intensity, but the passion remains. (Prison Officer Hawkes Bay Prison)

A8.2.2 Positive benefit of the NLA Programme for prison officers

These changes were also seen to impact positively on the work of prison officers. Their work was made easier because the inmates, compared to other units, were generally better behaved, and a lower level of intervention or disciplinary action was required by prison officers. As a result, MFU units were seen as a particularly attractive place to work in by some prison officers.

Compared to other units, this one (MFU) is so easy and more relaxed. You can feel the tension in the other units...this one is peaceful...that's why you won't see many transfers! (Prison Officer Hawkes Bay Prison)

²¹ Within MFU tikanga is an integral part of the kaupapa of the unit, particularly around activities organised by the inmate rūnanga. Changes identified (or tikanga continued), such as karakia at meal times, waiata, mau rakau and kapa-haka may be a personal response maintained by the individual or may be a response maintained as a result of the social norms operating within the MFU.

A8.2.3 Strengths of the NLA Programme

Similar to participants, prison staff identified the kaupapa Māori framework, the credibility of the Programme Director and the mentors as key strengths of the programme.

Kaupapa Māori Framework

Most prison staff acknowledged that the kaupapa Māori framework of the wānanga appealed to participants as many were on a personal journey in terms of re-discovering their identity as Māori. As a result participants were positively disposed towards the wānanga and the kōrero (messages) it conveyed.

Programme Director

The depth of knowledge in terms of tikanga of the Programme Director further adds to the overall appeal of the wānanga.

Programme Mentors

Mentors are seen as credible role models, who, because of their previous life experiences, have a strong empathy with inmates as well as demonstrating the positive benefits of “taking on” the tikanga presented in the wānanga

Having “name 1” and “name 2” as mentors helps because the inmates can relate to them... (Prison Officer Rimutaka Prison)

A8.2.4 Weaknesses

One perceived weakness of the NLA Programme identified by prison staff was that the time between wānanga was seen as too long. Officers commented that some participants had difficulty sustaining changes made or maintaining their personal motivation in terms of further learning. They felt that participants needed ongoing follow-ups to ensure that information is continually reinforced and to aid the overall retention of knowledge.

I see some of the men slipping if they don't carry on with the Mahi Tahi stuff...the gap between courses for some are too long. (Prison Officer Hawkes Bay Prison)

Some comments made by prison staff concerned departmental issues where they had seen Mahi Tahi taking precedence over some of the local initiatives that some prison officers were involved with. This comment, however, was not a reflection on the programme but on strategy for working with Māori providers.

A8.2.5 Suggested changes

Most prison staff had not participated in a four-day wānanga and had only a general knowledge of its format and structure. They were therefore reluctant to comment on content and the operation of the wānanga or to suggest changes.

A9 Researcher Reflections

The research objectives as agreed and developed in consultation with the Trust focused on describing and documenting the programme and exploring participant perceptions of the programme. The Trust emphasised that the project was not an evaluation of the NLA Programme. As a result, the researchers were constrained in terms of feedback about the programme's operation.

Following a review of the initial research report, the Trust suggested that the researchers give a personal perspective of the programme's operation drawing on the unique insights gained as participant observers over the 25 month period of the research²².

A9.1 Key Strengths

A9.1.1 Programme Design

The wānanga is a well-developed programme, facilitated by people who are committed and passionate about the messages contained within the wānanga and who are intent on supporting inmates to follow a path of rehabilitation. The content of the wānanga is both comprehensive and intensive. At a surface level the wānanga is simply an opportunity for participants to learn about Māori cultural practices and to gain an insight into some of the cultural norms practiced by pre-20th century Māori. However, in practice the wānanga presents key themes and messages that are intended to challenge the belief systems of the participants. The programme assumes that participants have a limited understanding of tikanga Māori principles and that by imparting knowledge of tikanga, participants are then "forced" to make a decision about whether to continue with their present lifestyle of offending or, through their new found knowledge, make changes.

A9.1.2 Imparting key messages

Some of the key themes and messages presented in the wānanga are anger and relationship management; alcohol and substance abuse; parenting; and culture. Each of these areas is discussed within a cultural context, drawing firstly from the historical application and then using examples to illustrate the relevance and applicability of tikanga in today's society. For example, the mana wāhine session explains the birthing process from within a cultural context. Although only verbal, the descriptions of childbirth are graphic and participants poignantly feel the physical pain of childbirth. Through this illustration participants become aware of the importance of women and their role in the continuation of whakapapa, as a partner, mother, sister or daughter. Participants are brought face to face with the pain they have inflicted on the women in their lives - physical, verbal or sexual – or simply the pain caused by their absence. The participants then have an opportunity to reflect on their own relationships with the key women in their lives, typically their partner, mother or daughter(s).

²² Over the 25 month period of the research the researchers attended five NLA wānanga, one inmate rūnanga wānanga and one management /mentor training hui. In addition the researchers conducted formal and informal interviews with the Programme Director and mentors. The researchers also reviewed Trust documentation in relation to the NLA Programme and conducted interviews with the Trust Chaplain and had a series of discussions with Trust representatives.

Similarly, the topic of alcohol and substance consumption is covered in part during the introduction of the rāhui at the beginning of the wānanga. Giving participants reasons for not taking any substances during the wānanga and explaining how these substances were not a part of the Māori culture appeared to have an effect on most participants. Admittedly not all participants responded to rāhui; however, in the main most participants respected the imposition, because the rāhui related to tikanga rather than a form of enforced control.

The same process is used repeatedly throughout the wānanga. Namely, the presentation of tikanga within a historical context, and an illustration that demonstrates the application and relevance of tikanga for participants. Any attitudinal, behavioural or lifestyle changes are for the participants to make – although there is a clear message about what it means in practice for participants to follow tikanga.

Overall, the wānanga creates an environment where participants become vulnerable to seeing the effects of their behaviour on themselves and their whānau. By doing this, the wānanga makes participants more receptive to learning more about tikanga Māori, about themselves and therefore open to making efforts towards change. As a result participants are also receptive to other programmes that will help them to address issues which have contributed to their offending.

At surface level participants are presented with many reasons for making changes – family, freedom, self-esteem, and new beginnings. However, on a deeper level the wānanga creates an environment for participants to become conscious of their actions through the application of tikanga in their lives. Participants begin to respect and value the information that is shared with them in the wānanga.

Changes in attitude and behaviour vary between participants and typically participants require more than one wānanga to fully grasp the concepts presented in the wānanga. The wānanga “sows the seed” for change. Nevertheless, participants need to be in a position of readiness to take on the information, be willing to accept the notion of change and be committed to maintaining any changes made.

A9.1.3 Programme Personnel

Programme Director

The Programme Director has a wealth of knowledge relating to tikanga Māori. This was acknowledged by a number of kaumātua outside of this project in conversations with the researchers.

Time spent with Mr Jones both in wānanga and at his home has provided the researchers with some insights into what motivates him to deliver this programme. Mr Jones has an unquestionable passion and belief in tikanga Māori, in particular the belief in wairua having the ability to influence how Māori behave. Central to his commitment to the NLA programme and the wānanga is the fundamental belief that inmates, by following tikanga, are able to change their behaviour. It is this belief that further drives his commitment to give inmates knowledge that could effect positive change for participants and for their whānau.

The passion Mr Jones has for the NLA Programme is clearly portrayed in the way he presents his wānanga and the attentiveness of most participants.

During the course of the research Mr Jones was described by a small number of people as arrogant. These comments did not come from wānanga participants; rather they were typically from people who had never attended wānanga or who knew Mr Jones by reputation only. In contrast participants held Mr Jones in very high regard and positions on wānanga conducted by him were keenly sought.

Whilst Mr Jones is at times introspective and contemplative in nature, comments about the perceived arrogance of the Programme Director are from people whom the researchers would describe as uninformed observers and who are possibly envious and/or sceptical of Mr Jones' knowledge of tikanga.

The Programme Director is committed and passionate about helping prison inmates change their behaviour through tikanga. This is both a strength and a risk for Mahi Tahi. Mr Jones provides the wānanga content and the overall quality assurance. The risk is the dependence on Mr Jones by the Trust and the need to, at least, consider some strategy for succession planning. Mr Jones has reduced his level of involvement in the four-day wānanga and increasing the numbers of mentors delivering the programme is addressing this in some part.

Programme Mentors

One of the key strengths of the NLA Programme is the employment of former prison inmates as mentors and facilitators. The mentors bring their own unique style of delivery to the wānanga and are able to “connect” with participants by virtue of having had similar life experiences. This gives them credibility with participants who feel that the mentors “know where they are coming from” and understand their history or situation, with the mentors having “been there themselves”. Not surprisingly, the mentors are able to empathise with participants and are also able to detect when participants are “having-them-on.”

One key role that mentors fulfil is that of a role model. The mentors model tikanga presented in the wānanga. That is, they follow or live by the tikanga they espouse and are therefore seen to “practice what they preach”. This not only enhances their personal credibility with participants but also strengthens the “power” of the messages within the wānanga. For example, participants who had attended Alcohol and Drug courses were somewhat scathing of presenters who were smokers. However, the most critical aspect of employing former inmates is that they represent hope for participants; they are the practical example of tikanga in operation and tangible evidence that change is possible.

A9.2 Areas for consideration

A9.2.1 Resource allocation

The following areas concerning resource allocation as observed by the researchers require some consideration not only by the Mahi Tahi Trust Board but also by the Department of Corrections. These areas are:

- Location of wānanga
- Management of Mahi Tahi mentors
- Relationship with the Public Prisons Service and Community Probation Service
- Gender imbalance
- Post release support

A9.2.2 Location of wānanga

Funding for the NLA Programme is likely to be an ongoing concern for both the Mahi Tahi Trust and the Department of Corrections. Given the scarcity of the resource, (programme funding and staff) some consideration about the allocation of wānanga resources and where it is likely to be most effective is warranted. In particular, which prisons and prison units the wānanga is run in.

The researchers attended a wānanga in Paremoro Prison, where the majority of participants were not due for release for at least another 10 years. As was consistent with other wānanga attended most participants responded favourably to the wānanga environment. A significant part of participant receptivity was linked to the whānau day as it permitted physical contact with whānau, whereas no physical contact was permitted during normal visitor sessions.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the wānanga from one visit, as the researchers had no further contact with Paremoro participants, as they were not due for release within the timeframe of the research. However, our observations suggest that the attitudes and views of Paremoro participants were more entrenched than participants on other wānanga and the prison environment less able to support the programme. It is likely therefore that inmates within a maximum-security prison environment would need more intensive support or follow-up. The extent to which this is feasible or possible within the existing resource, and the extent to which this is warranted in terms of the likely benefits from conducting the programme in other prisons also need to be considered.

Letters provided to the Trust and made available to the researchers indicate some change in attitudes on the part of one or two Paremoro participants – typically from wānanga attended a year or two years previously.

Further, our observations of the programme operation indicate that the programme is ideally supported when delivered within a Māori Focus Unit environment. Key questions that remain therefore are:

- Where should the NLA programme be delivered?
- To what extent is it useful to consider length of sentence as a determinant or criterion for eligibility or attendance on the NLA Programme?

A9.2.3 Mentors

Like the Programme Director, the mentors are critical to the ongoing delivery of the NLA Programme. The Programme Director selects his mentors very carefully, although the researchers did not fully explore his recruitment policy. Succession planning, in practice, is therefore difficult to achieve as new mentors typically emerge over time. It is important therefore to effectively manage the existing pool of mentors.

Mentors are required to spend significant periods of time away from their families and partners. Not only is the time away from families difficult, any changes to the scheduled 12-month timetable also impact on partners and family. Mentors are responsive to any changes and accommodate them willingly.

Our time with the mentors would suggest that some thought needs to be given to the workload of mentors, in particular the amount of time away from home, the number of wānanga or interviews mentors facilitate, and the time between wānanga or other programme activities. The role of mentor as we have observed is not that of a job, rather it is more akin to a “calling.” It is unlikely that mentors will raise the workload issue themselves because of their loyalty to the Programme Director and their commitment to the wānanga.

Without overstating the fact, the Programme Director and mentors are critical to the continuation of the NLA Programme and represent the most significant risk in terms of ongoing programme delivery. Given that “new” mentors emerge as opposed to being recruited, management of the current pool of mentors should be a key focus for the Trust.

A9.2.4 Gender Imbalance

A minor area for consideration by the Trust is the obvious gender imbalance of the mentor group. Is there a need for a female mentor, or for a female presence within the wānanga? This was a question the researchers frequently asked of each other. In previous wānanga (not attended by the researchers) the mentors had been supported by the attendance of a kuia. While not essential, the presence of a woman or women as part of the programme, but particularly the wānanga, would be beneficial to the programme because they provide an alternative perspective and typically have a different presentation style or approach. For example, Nan Wehipeihana as a participant observer at one wānanga was asked to comment or join in discussions. On one particular occasion her comments relating to the cost and pain for wives, partners and children of husbands and fathers being in prison, brought tears to the eyes of some participants. The poignancy of her comments hit home the message of the impact of participant behaviour on their whānau.

There are also logistical implications for Public Prisons Service (PPS) and to a lesser extent the Trust to consider should it decide to employ a female mentor who would be part of the mentor team working in men's prisons.

A9.2.5 Relationship with Public Prison Service

Another area considered by the researchers as important for the NLA Programme is the relationships with prison staff. Overall the relationship between the mentors and the staff of PPS is good. However, on one or two occasions less than positive or supportive behaviour from prison staff towards the mentors was observed. Our only conclusion is the perceived scepticism from some prison staff because of the presence of former inmates facilitating the programme.

One strategy to overcome some of these tensions would be to increase the number of staff wānanga so that staff of PPS had a greater understanding about what was being presented in wānanga. The researchers acknowledge there will be resource implications to consider for both Mahi Tahi and PPS.

A9.2.6 Supporting the New Life Akoranga Programme

Notwithstanding the current level of support provided by PPS for the NLA Programme, the researchers feel that PPS could provide more support to the Programme. This can be undertaken by way of: ensuring the kaupapa of Māori Focus Units are supported; increased support to the inmate rūnanga within the Māori Focus Units; and recognition to those inmates who provide some kind of positive leadership role within the unit, especially in relation to gains attributable in some part to the NLA Programme.

There was some evidence that the Māori Focus Units do support some of the teachings of the wānanga, for example the use of karakia within the unit. Without compromising the integrity of unit operations, PPS staff could adhere to some of the tikanga that inmates are trying to implement, such as only smoking in designated areas or out of view of the inmates. Further, the development of a closer relationship with the Trust and a commitment to exploring aspects of the programme (tikanga) that PPS staff within Māori Focus Units could conceivably adhere to would further reinforce the intentions of the wānanga on an ongoing basis.

Inmate rūnanga established within the Māori Focus Units play an important role in reinforcing tikanga taught within the programme. Current operational procedures which see some inmates entering the unit without sufficient knowledge of, and commitment to, the kaupapa of the unit, potentially, and in practice, undermine the unit's operation and within that the role of the rūnanga. The understanding of some participants and Mahi Tahi personnel was that prospective inmates to the unit would be "screened" by unit management prior to entry and, where practicable, be "briefed" by the rūnanga. This would ensure that the new inmates would be fully aware of the kaupapa of the unit, the role of the rūnanga and have a clear understanding of what was expected of them, for example, only smoking within designated areas and taking part in karakia sessions held in the unit. Where practicable, it would be beneficial to the overall running of Māori Focus Units, the functioning of inmate rūnanga and continued reinforcement of tikanga taught within the NLA Programme, for

prospective inmates to be more fully screened and /or briefed prior to entry into that type of unit.

One of the outcomes of the NLA Programme is that it engenders a strong desire on the part of many participants to learn te reo Māori (as well as tikanga Māori). As a consequence, many of the inmates who were proficient in te reo Māori were constantly being asked by other inmates to share some of that knowledge. In some units, inmates were running te reo classes (this was not confined to the Māori Focus Units). However, from the perspective of participants, the role of kaiako (teacher) and learning te reo Maori was seen to be of little or lesser value to PPS, compared to other activities such as work parties that inmates might be involved in. Importantly, involvement in further education in terms of te reo or tikanga Māori was a common activity for participants interviewed post release – either as students learning te reo or as tutors or teaching assistants. Irrespective of any acknowledged social, psychological or cultural benefits that accrue from learning or teaching te reo and tikanga Maori, at a basic level there are employment opportunities for inmates proficient in te reo and we therefore suggest that PPS should look to give more credence and weight to the learning and teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori within the current rehabilitation frameworks.

A9.2.7 Relationship with Community Probation Service

During the course of the research the researchers' only contact with Community Probation Service (CPS) was during the search for participants during the recruitment of the post release interviews. The researchers were also informed by some of the mentors that there was limited interaction between them and the CPS, yet they were hopeful that some relationship could be established given a desire by Mahi Tahi to work with participants post-release. If Mahi Tahi chooses to continue to work with participants and their whānau post-release then a relationship with CPS would not only seem logical but, in the opinion of the researchers, would benefit both Mahi Tahi and the Service. Notwithstanding resource implications, Mahi Tahi would have greater access to recently released offenders who were participants on the wānanga and any support that Mahi Tahi was able to provide to participants is likely to be beneficial or complementary to the work of the CPS.

A9.2.8 Post-release support

Where possible, mentors try to maintain or establish contact with participants post release to assist them to adjust to life outside of prison and to reconnect with family where possible. Where contact could be established, mentors typically reported positive feedback from participants although a small number did not want to be involved with anyone having a connection to their time in prison.

The findings from our post-release interviews indicate that one of the common factors that participants identified as helping them to successfully adapt to life outside of the prison environment was the presence of positive support, such as whānau or through more formal services, such as the Salvation Army, PARS (Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Society) or Mahi Tahi. Potentially the Trust has much to offer in terms of working with participants post release.

The Programme Director and mentors are known to participants, they enjoy a prior relationship and the Trust can build on the goals or progress made in the wānanga and in the wānanga follow-up sessions conducted whilst participants were still in prison.

During the period of research Mahi Tahi Trust has reduced its involvement with inmates and whānau post-release because of limited resources. This is also exacerbated by the difficulty of finding participants once they were released. Feedback from mentors was that for the most part locating participants post release was irregular and at times haphazard. As mentioned earlier should there be a need or desire for Mahi Tahi Trust to work more intensely post release then not only do they need to consider the resource implications for the Trust but discussions need to take place to develop some kind of formal process with PPS and CPS.

Key questions to be considered by the Trust, PPS and CPS are:

- To what extent should the Trust be involved in supporting participants post release?
- What are the resource implications for the Trust, PPS and CPS?

A9.2.9 The religious content in the New Life Akoranga Programme

Throughout the course of the research, the researchers have been questioned by interested parties about the role of religion in the programme and specifically whether the programme and/or the wānanga promotes Mormonism or teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints. Our participation in, and observation of, the wānanga is that the NLA Programme does not promote, advocate or teach Mormonism. However, most of the mentors are of the Mormon faith and aspects of the lifestyle promoted to participants e.g. not smoking or drinking, have some obvious parallels with what is commonly known about the Mormon faith. It is important to remember, however, that despite the parallels with the Mormon faith and no doubt other religions, the lifestyle, values and principles as presented within the wānanga and from the researchers' observations are based on tikanga Maori.

A10 Summary and Conclusions

A10.1 Summary

A10.1.1 Objectives

The primary research objectives were to document and describe the programme approach and to give voice to participants' thoughts, feelings and experience of the programme. A further objective was to describe the effect of the programme on participants' attitudes and behaviour and to review the extent to which stated objectives of the programme are being met and what factors affect this.

A10.1.2 Programme Description

The NLA Programme works with inmates helping them to discover and recover traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. The programme seeks to address criminal behaviour

from within a Māori cultural worldview and targets participants' offending behaviour from the perspective of tikanga Māori²³. The four-day residential wānanga are structured around Māori cultural (indigenous) principles and include kōrero and activities that assist in facilitating learning and self-examination.

The programme is made up of four main components: initial notification where the programme content, structure and rules are outlined to participants; a four-day residential wānanga that introduces participants to traditional Māori principles and values and includes time allocated for whānau involvement; post wānanga follow-up interviews that aim to reinforce any attitudinal and behavioural changes arising out of the wānanga; and whānau hui which share what participants have learnt in the wānanga and elicit the assistance of whānau to encourage and support behavioural and attitudinal changes.

Key themes covered in the wānanga include: Te Āhua (identity), which affirms participants' identity as Māori through the exploration of whakapapa; Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), which explores what it means to be Māori within the context of tikanga; Te Tangata (individual responsibility), which presents Māori values and social structures as credible and relevant examples on which participants can model their lives; and Te Mana o te Wahine, which looks at the critical role of women within the whānau structure, and explores male–female relationships. Te Mana o te Wahine is the culmination of the formal teaching and compels participants to examine their own behaviour and the impact of their offending on whānau, particularly their spouse or partner.

A10.1.3 The Wānanga

The wānanga is the core component of the programme and, in the opinion of the researchers, is well structured incorporating a range of active, passive and interactive “teaching” methods such as haka, waiata, kōrero (both formal and informal discussions/presentations), mihimihi and debate. In the main, participants have a strong affinity with the programme presenters/mentors, most of whom have a similar background to that of the participants and are therefore seen as credible in terms of understanding participants' life history, as well as understanding their prison experience. The messages conveyed by the mentors are therefore more palatable and more convincing because of this shared understanding and because the mentors model their teachings.

Whānau involvement is a key component of the wānanga and it is timed to occur at such a point in the programme whereby it reinforces key messages in relation to the effect of offending behaviour on participants' spouse/partner and whānau. From the perspective of whānau one of the key benefits of the programme was that it gave them hope that participants were able to make positive behaviour and attitudinal change, particularly as they saw evidence of change during the wānanga and post the wānanga. However, they were concerned that without ongoing support while in prison, and particularly post release, the maintenance of changes in the face of day-to-day realities would be difficult to maintain long term.

²³ Bird, R. (1998) op. cit. p 2 & 4

Receptivity to the wānanga and its messages is enhanced because many participants are keen to find out more about “things Māori” and from the outset, therefore, are positively disposed towards the programme.

Some participants find the volume of information covered in the wānanga and the often intense and lengthy sessions difficult to cope with. This is particularly so for those participants who are also coping with the effects of not being able to smoke, drink or take drugs during the wānanga. However, from the perspective of the researchers, the perceived information overload also needs to be balanced against the experiential and poignant environment created through the intensity of delivery. There is also a sense that participants will take on as much information as they are able to, or more importantly as much as they are ready for, and participation in future wānanga will reinforce and build on initial messages and foundations developed in previous wānanga.

Participants are “hungry” for courses or programmes that support them on their journey of self-identity and self-development. As a result participants would like more wānanga and/or more programmes that are developed from a tikanga Māori base and are presented by Māori providers. The main criticism that participants have therefore is the length of time between wānanga and the lack of other Māori programmes.

A10.1.4 Participant perceptions

Overall, participants, whānau and prison staff commented very positively about the benefits of the wānanga. The main benefits described by participants related to:

- Reclamation of their identity as Māori and an increased sense of pride in being Māori;
- Increased knowledge about themselves in terms of whakapapa (identity);
- Increased knowledge of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) particularly relating to tikanga; and
- Participants being brought face-to-face with their offending and the impact of the offending on their spouse/partner and whānau.

A10.1.5 Programme impact on participant behaviours and attitudes

From the outset of the wānanga participants, prison officers, and programme mentors note a range of changes in participant behaviour and attitudes. The most obvious changes included abiding by the rāhui, that is, temporarily stopping smoking, drinking and taking drugs, as well as not swearing for the duration of the wānanga, with some participants maintaining these changes post wānanga and/or post release. The use of karakia as a form of spiritual expression and also as a tool for managing personal behaviour was also evident.

The importance of these changes as described by the mentors was that it signified a commitment to uphold the tikanga of the programme and was tangible proof to participants of their ability to change. In addition, for those who maintained these changes, it was evidence of their understanding and commitment to the traditional Māori principles and practices presented in the wānanga, which do not include the consumption of cigarettes, alcohol or drugs.

Participants interviewed while still in prison identified a number of changes arising out of the wānanga. These primarily related to their search for their identity as Māori, personal self-development and improved relationships with their wahine and whānau. Specific changes included:

- A focus on rebuilding relationships – particularly with their spouse/partner and whānau. Another change noted by whānau and prison officers (and observed by the researchers) was the more respectful attitude and behaviour to women, particularly their partner/spouse, mother, and to women generally.
- Reclaiming their identity as Māori – primarily through study of their own tribal history and/or by asking/writing to whānau members. Other changes included learning te reo Māori, participating in kapa-haka, mau rakau or waiata, personal study in relation to whakapapa and tikanga.
- Enhanced desire to find out more about themselves through personal study as well as participation in anger management, drug and alcohol, and other cognitive educational courses.
- Leading a healthier lifestyle by not consuming cigarettes and/or alcohol and/or drugs.

In the main, participants interviewed post release identified a continued commitment to rebuilding relationships with their partner and whānau, and to reclaiming their identity as Māori, through learning te reo and ongoing study in relation to whakapapa and tribal history, as the most lasting impact of their participation on the NLA Programme. The other key benefit identified by participants was an increased personal commitment to planning and goal setting, thus making them more aware of their priorities. Some participants continued to maintain the lifestyle changes begun in prison (e.g. not smoking, drinking or taking drugs).

The extent to which these changes were maintained post release varied amongst participants. Despite being desirous of wanting to maintain the changes begun in prison and wanting to start afresh, participants identified money, particularly the lack of it, and associating with previous acquaintances, particularly gang members, as being key factors which made the maintenance of changes difficult to sustain.

In the view of the researchers, those participants interviewed post release who were able to maintain some or all of the changes that were attributed to the wānanga had some or all of the following factors in common:

- Had settled or were resolving past issues with ex-partners.
- Had negotiated, or were in the process of negotiating, access or custody arrangements with respect to their children.
- Were receiving support (emotional, financial, physical e.g. shelter) from their partner/spouse and/or their whānau.
- Were in employment.

- Were continuing to build on the knowledge gained in the wānanga through pursuing further studies, particularly te reo and tikanga Māori, participating in cultural groups, involvement in marae and reintegration back with whānau.

A10.2 Conclusions

“Sowing a seed in the soil.”

Throughout the research, the Chairman of Mahi Tahi Trust, Sir Norman Perry, likened the themes and indigenous principles conveyed in the wānanga to that of “sowing a seed in the soil.” The NLA Programme introduces participants to traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. The mana, prestige and responsibilities inherent in these principles present participants with the option of behaviour and lifestyle changes. Herein begins the process of sowing a seed for change.

Related to the analogy of “sowing a seed” are concepts of nurturing and growth. In a practical sense this is about how messages within the wānanga are reinforced and supported by PPS, Mahi Tahi Trust and whānau whilst participants are in prison. It is also about how well the messages are supported and reinforced post release.

During the wānanga and whilst in prison participants take on and maintain a number of attitudinal and behaviour changes arising out of the programme. The MFU environment, ongoing wānanga, and attendance on other kaupapa Māori programmes further reinforces and supports the maintenance of these changes. Like all programmes the challenge of maintaining behavioural and attitudinal changes arising out of the NLA Programme is tested post release in a real world context.

Throughout the project the researchers have observed that for some participants the seed takes root immediately, whilst for other participants this is a more lengthy process, and in some cases the seed fails to germinate. Within that real world context the researchers believe that inmates need to participate in the programme in order that a seed can be sown. However the programme of itself is not, and should not be seen as, the sole solution to addressing issues of Māori re-offending. To do this would place unfair expectations on this programme – particularly when these same expectations are not placed on other programmes run in public prisons.

What is important in terms of contributing to reducing Māori re-offending behaviour through the NLA Programme is the realisation and understanding that the seeds that are being sowed by the programme need to be nurtured and maintained in order for the roots to take hold and grow. In other words, the progress made in the wānanga needs to be actively continued, maintained and supported by PPS, whānau as well as the participants. In particular, exploration of how participants can be supported to maintain the behaviour and attitudinal changes arising out of the programme, whilst still in prison, but particularly post release, should be a priority.

Part B: Reconviction analysis for inmates who have completed the New Life Akoranga Programme

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B1 Introduction

The Mahi Tahi Trust operates a four day residential programme in prisons throughout New Zealand. The New Life Akoranga (NLA) Programme helps inmates to discover and recover traditional Māori principles, values, and disciplines. It also involves contact and support from hapū and iwi, mentoring of inmates before and after release, and the involvement and support of inmates' whānau.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to an evaluation of the programme, and in particular to examine the programme's impact on inmates' offending behaviour. The paper examines reconviction and reimprisonment rates following release from prison for a sample of inmates who have completed the NLA Programme. This sample is referred to throughout the paper as the "Mahi Tahi sample".

For comparison purposes, a matched sample of inmates who had not completed the NLA Programme was found (the "Control Group sample"), and reconviction and reimprisonment rates were compared to those of the inmates who had undergone the programme.

One important problem with trying to identify whether a particular programme has had an impact on recidivism is that inmates often undertake more than one type of programme during their sentence. This means that for inmates who complete multiple types of programmes it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the effects of individual programmes.

Information on programme attendance (other than for NLA) was not available at the time the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples were selected. Therefore, it was not possible to take this into account when selecting the samples. However, an attempt was made to collect this information manually from prison files subsequent to the two samples being identified.

B2 Methodology

To be selected for the Mahi Tahi sample, inmates not only had to have completed the NLA Programme²⁴, but they had to have been released from prison by mid-May 2000 to allow reconvictions to be measured for at least one year following release (as conviction histories were being extracted in mid-May 2001).

All male inmates²⁵ who had completed the NLA Programme in the 18 month period between 1 July 1997 and 31 December 1998, and who were released from prison by mid-May 2000 were included in the analysis. In Rimutaka Prison, the programme only commenced in 1999, and it was decided to include in the sample all male inmates from this prison who completed the programme in the first six months of 1999, and who were released by mid-May 2000. This resulted in a total sample of 224 inmates for whom recidivism information would be examined.

Table 3 summarises the characteristics of the Mahi Tahi sample²⁶:

- all were male;
- almost all (95%) were Māori;
- over half (57%) were in their twenties, and over a third (37%) were aged at least 30 (including 10% who were aged at least 40);
- over half (57%) had been imprisoned for a violent offence (most commonly aggravated robbery or grievous assault), 15% had been imprisoned for burglary, and 10% for a serious traffic offence;
- half (50%) had been imprisoned for more than two years (including 12% who had been imprisoned for more than five years), and 30% had been imprisoned for between one and two years;
- over half (51%) had been convicted on ten or more occasions prior to being imprisoned; and
- the vast majority (72%) had been imprisoned previously.

Complete conviction histories for the Mahi Tahi sample were extracted from the Criminal Conviction History and Traffic Conviction History Subsystems on the Law Enforcement System in mid-May 2001. This data included information on all convictions prior to their prison sentence of interest, as well as all convictions recorded against the offender between their release from prison and mid-May 2001.

It can be seen from Table 3 that the inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample have a number of differences from the general prison population. Specifically inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample were more likely to: be Māori, be slightly older, have been imprisoned for a violent offence,

²⁴ Fourteen (6%) of the inmates completed the programme twice during their sentence, and one inmate (0.4%) completed the programme three times during his sentence.

²⁵ The programme has generally only been run in male institutions, so the analysis was limited to male inmates.

²⁶ Characteristics as recorded on the Law Enforcement System (formerly known as the Wanganui Computer). Gender, ethnicity, and the date of birth of offenders are usually recorded by the prosecuting authority (mostly the Police) at, for instance, the time of arrest. Official police policy is for ethnicity to be self-identified by the offender. However, in practice, ethnicity is likely to be recorded by a mixture of self-identification and recorder judgement. Also, no allowance is made for people wanting to specify more than one ethnic group.

have been imprisoned for a longer period, and have previously been to prison more often than the general prison population.

We wanted to answer the question of whether inmates who had completed the NLA Programme had lower post-release recidivism rates than inmates who had not completed the programme. Therefore, a comparison was made between a group of inmates who completed the programme (the “Mahi Tahi sample”), and a group of inmates who did not complete the programme (the “Control Group sample”). Two fundamental assumptions of such a comparison are that the two samples being compared are independent, and that the subjects are matched in the two samples in order to reduce the effect of extraneous factors. Research on post-release recidivism rates for inmates²⁷ has shown that reconviction and reimprisonment rates vary significantly according to a number of factors relating to inmates, but in particular, are strongly associated with the age of the inmate when released, and the offending history of the inmate. Therefore, it was vital that the two samples were closely matched on these and other available factors.

Data were readily available from the Custody Supervision Subsystem of the Law Enforcement System on all inmates released from prison in the period 1995 to 1998. Criminal and traffic conviction histories were also available for all these inmates. A matched “Control Group sample” of inmates was found from this data. The SURVEYSELECT procedure in SAS²⁸ was used to select a probability-based random sample, with the data stratified on: gender, ethnicity, age group, major offence, sentence length imposed, number of previous convictions, and number of previous prison sentences (as per the groupings shown in Table 3). Where an exact match could not be found on all variables, a random selection was made from inmates with as many characteristics in common as possible.

Table 3 shows that the characteristics of the Control Group sample match those of the Mahi Tahi sample very closely.

A small number of the inmates initially selected in the Control Group sample were found to have undergone the NLA Programme (from a list of programme participants that had been provided to the Ministry of Justice), so were removed from the sample, and replaced with another randomly selected inmate with similar characteristics.

Statistical tests of the difference in the proportion of the Mahi Tahi sample and the Control Group sample who were either reconvicted or reimprisoned within particular time periods were conducted. Given that the two samples were sufficiently large, the difference between the proportions can be taken to be approximately normally distributed, and hence a test statistic Z can be calculated to test the likelihood of the difference in proportions being due to chance.

The number of days to reconviction or reimprisonment for the two samples was analysed using a survival analysis technique – Cox’s proportional hazards regression using the PHREG procedure in SAS.

²⁷ Spier, P. (2002) *Reconviction and reimprisonment rates for released prisoners*, Ministry of Justice, Wellington.

²⁸ SAS is an integrated system of software produced by SAS Institute Inc., Cary, NC, USA.

Table 3: Characteristics of the Mahi Tahi sample, Control Group sample, and General Prison Population¹

	Mahi Tahi		Control Group		General Prison Population ²	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>Gender</u>						
Male	224	100.0	224	100.0	20869	93.4
Female	0	0.0	0	0.0	1467	6.6
<u>Ethnicity</u>						
Māori	212	94.6	212	94.6	11351	51.4
European	7	3.1	7	3.1	9089	41.1
Pacific	4	1.8	4	1.8	1427	6.5
Other	1	0.4	1	0.4	234	1.1
<u>Age</u>						
17-19	14	6.3	13	5.8	3083	13.9
20-24	73	32.6	73	32.6	5693	25.7
25-29	54	24.1	55	24.6	4706	21.2
30+	83	37.1	83	37.1	8708	39.2
<u>Major offence imprisoned for</u>						
Murder	3	1.3	3	1.3	51	0.2
Manslaughter	6	2.7	6	2.7	98	0.4
Kidnap/abduct	7	3.1	7	3.1	107	0.5
Rape	13	5.8	13	5.8	349	1.6
Unlawful sexual connection	4	1.8	4	1.8	409	1.8
Aggravated burglary	3	1.3	3	1.3	77	0.3
Aggravated robbery	39	17.4	39	17.4	794	3.6
Robbery	8	3.6	8	3.6	311	1.4
Grievous assault	30	13.4	30	13.4	1191	5.4
Serious assault	5	2.2	5	2.2	813	3.7
Male assaults female	7	3.1	7	3.1	1157	5.2
Other violence	3	1.3	3	1.3	1163	5.3
Burglary	33	14.7	33	14.7	3211	14.5
Other property	13	5.8	13	5.8	3124	14.1
Deal in cannabis	11	4.9	11	4.9	1176	5.3
Deal in other drug	8	3.6	8	3.6	360	1.6
Against justice	5	2.2	5	2.2	1786	8.1
Drive causing death or injury	5	2.2	5	2.2	193	0.9
Drive while disqualified	18	8.0	18	8.0	3267	14.8
Other	3	1.3	3	1.3	2503	11.3
<u>Sentence length imposed</u>						
<=12 months	41	18.3	42	18.8	15487	69.3
>1 to 2 years	68	30.4	70	31.3	3827	17.1
>2 years	112	50.0	109	48.7	2981	13.3
Life imprisonment	3	1.3	3	1.3	43	0.2
<u>Previous convicted cases</u>						
0 to 4	46	20.5	50	22.3	5541	24.8
5 to 9	63	28.1	61	27.2	5227	23.4
10 to 19	59	26.3	62	27.7	6816	30.5
20+	56	25.0	51	22.8	4756	21.3
<u>Previous distinct prison sentences</u>						
0	63	28.1	65	29.0	8547	38.3
1 to 2	62	27.7	60	26.8	6200	27.8
3 to 5	54	24.1	50	22.3	3949	17.7
6+	45	20.1	49	21.9	3644	16.3

Notes:

1. Characteristics as recorded on the Law Enforcement System.
2. Characteristics of all inmates released from prison between 1995 and 1998.

As noted earlier, information on programmes completed during the prison sentence was not available at the time the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples were selected. However, an attempt was made to collect this information manually from prison files subsequent to the two samples being identified. Staff in the prisons were provided with a form to enter information from prison files on programmes completed during the two samples' sentences (see Appendix 1). Unfortunately information was not able to be located for a significant proportion of the samples (33% for the Mahi Tahi sample and 51% for the Control Group sample). This restricted the use that could be made of the information.

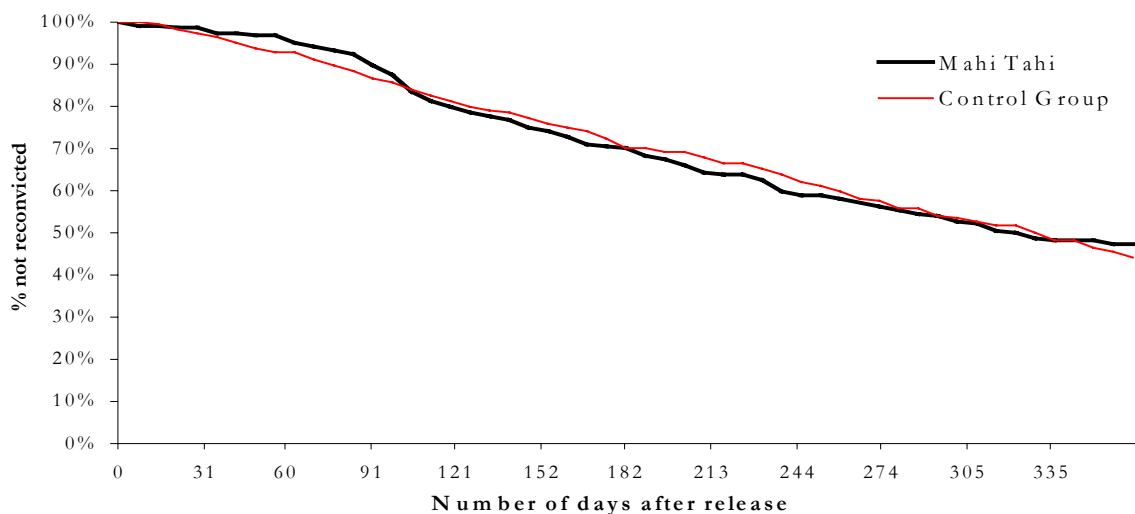
B3 Reconviction rates

Table 4 presents information on reconvictions²⁹ in the six months, one year, and two years after the two samples of inmates were released from prison.

Nearly one-third (30%) of the Mahi Tahi sample were reconvicted of an offence within six months of their release, just over half (53%) were reconvicted within a year, and a little over three-quarters (78%) were reconvicted within two years. The reconviction rates were very similar for the Control Group sample, with there being no statistically significant difference in the reconviction rates between the two samples.

Figure 1 shows reconviction “survival” rates within one year of release for the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples. The graph shows that the two samples were reconvicted at similar rates over the one year period, with the difference not being statistically significant.

Figure 1 Proportion of the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples who have not been reconvicted over time



²⁹ Reconviction for any type of offence, including both traffic and non-traffic offences.

Table 4: Reconviction rates for Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples

Number of reconvictions (charges)	Mahi Tahi		Control Group		p-value ¹
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
<u>Number of reconvictions in 6 months after release</u>					
None	157	70.1	160	71.4	0.755
One or more	67	29.9	64	28.6	
<i>1</i>	29	12.9	31	13.8	
<i>2-5</i>	32	14.3	21	9.4	
<i>6-10</i>	5	2.2	11	4.9	
<i>11+</i>	1	0.4	1	0.4	
Total	224	100.0	224	100.0	
<u>Number of reconvictions in 12 months after release</u>					
None	106	47.3	99	44.2	0.507
One or more	118	52.7	125	55.8	
<i>1</i>	37	16.5	33	14.7	
<i>2-5</i>	51	22.8	58	25.9	
<i>6-10</i>	21	9.4	25	11.2	
<i>11+</i>	9	4.0	9	4.0	
Total	224	100.0	224	100.0	
<u>Number of reconvictions in 24 months after release²</u>					
None	33	22.0	32	21.3	0.889
One or more	117	78.0	118	78.7	
<i>1</i>	19	12.7	19	12.7	
<i>2-5</i>	48	32.0	51	34.0	
<i>6-10</i>	31	20.7	29	19.3	
<i>11+</i>	19	12.7	19	12.7	
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	

Notes:

1. A statistical test was carried out to compare the proportion of inmates who were reconvicted for the two samples. The p-value is the significance probability. This measures the likelihood of the difference being due to chance. A value very close to zero (e.g. 0.05 or less) represents a statistically significant result, which means there is a very small likelihood of the difference being due to chance.
2. Two year reconviction rates were not available for 74 (33%) of the inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample, as they were released from prison less than two years before the conviction histories data were extracted in mid-May 2001. Information is shown for the 150 inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample for whom two year reconviction rates were available, together with the 150 matched inmates from the Control Group sample. This is the case in all tables where 24 month reconviction or reimprisonment rates are shown.

Table 5 shows reconviction rates for the two samples according to the age of the inmates when they were released. Older inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample were much less likely to be reconvicted than younger inmates. However, this result is not surprising as past research³⁰ has shown reconviction rates to be strongly associated with the age of inmates when released – with older inmates being much less likely to be reconvicted than younger inmates. This was also found to be the case for the Control Group sample, although the relationship appears to be a little stronger for the Control Group sample, as 25 to 29 year olds in the Mahi Tahi sample were in fact a little more likely than 20 to 24 year olds in the Mahi Tahi sample to be reconvicted.

³⁰Spier, op. cit.

The table shows that 20 to 24 year olds in the Mahi Tahi sample were slightly less likely to be reconvicted than 20 to 24 year olds in the Control Group sample within all three time periods. However, none of the differences in reconviction rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples at each age level reached statistical significance.

A statistical test of “reconviction survival” confirmed the results described above. That is, no significant difference between the two samples overall, but a significant relationship between reconviction and age – with older offenders being significantly less likely to be reconvicted than younger offenders³¹.

Table 5: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reconvicted within specified time periods, by age when released

Age when released	% reconvicted for any offence within 6 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 12 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
17-19 ¹	42.9	53.8	71.4	76.9	100.0	90.9
20-24	31.5	38.4	56.2	64.4	82.2	84.8
25-29	40.7	29.1	63.0	56.4	83.8	83.8
30+	19.3	15.7	39.8	44.6	66.1	67.9

Notes:

1. The number of teenage inmates in the samples was relatively small, so caution should be taken interpreting the figures provided for these inmates.
2. None of the differences in reconviction rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

Table 6 shows reconviction rates for the two samples according to the major offence inmates had been imprisoned for. Mahi Tahi sample inmates released after serving a sentence for a violent offence were much less likely to be reconvicted than inmates released after serving a sentence for a property offence. However, this was also found to be the case for the Control Group sample.

Mahi Tahi sample inmates who had been imprisoned for a property offence were a little less likely than the Control Group sample inmates who had been imprisoned for a property offence to be reconvicted within all three periods. However, none of the differences in reconviction rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples, controlling for type of offence, seen in the table reached statistical significance.

A statistical test of “reconviction survival” confirmed the results described above. That is, no significant difference between the two samples overall, but offenders released after serving a

³¹ Tested using the PHREG procedure in SAS (which uses Cox’s proportional hazards regression model). Variables included in the model were: sample group, age when released, seriousness of the offence the inmate was imprisoned for, ethnicity, number of prior convictions, number of prior prison sentences, and length/type of sentence. Programme attendance could not be included because of the large proportion of the samples for which this information was not available. See Table A2.1 in Appendix 2 for more detailed information on the results of the survival analysis test.

sentence for a property offence were significantly more likely to be reconvicted than offenders released after serving a sentence for some other type of offence³².

Table 6: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reconvicted within specified time periods, by major offence

Type of offence imprisoned for	% reconvicted for any offence within 6 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 12 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
Violent	27.3	24.2	42.2	50.0	72.2	75.9
Property	39.1	54.3	71.7	80.4	82.9	91.4
Other	28.0	16.0	62.0	48.0	86.1	72.2

Note: None of the differences in reconviction rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

Table 7 shows reconviction rates for the two samples according to the number of previous convicted cases of inmates.

Table 7: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reconvicted within specified time periods, by number of previous convicted cases

No. of prior convicted cases	% reconvicted for any offence within 6 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 12 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
0-4	26.1	24.0	37.0	48.0	60.0	68.6
5-9	25.4	29.5	55.6	54.1	76.7	79.5
10-19	39.0	29.0	57.6	58.1	88.6	84.6
20+	28.6	31.4	57.1	62.7	83.3	81.1

Note: None of the differences in reconviction rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

Mahi Tahi sample inmates with no or a small number of prior convictions were less likely to be reconvicted than inmates with a greater number of past convictions. However, this result is not unexpected as past research³³ has shown the number of previous convicted cases to be strongly associated with future reconviction rates, with the likelihood of reconviction increasing with an increasing number of previous convictions. Control Group sample inmates with no or a small number of prior convictions were also less likely to be reconvicted than inmates with a greater number of past convictions. None of the differences in reconviction rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples, controlling for number of prior convictions, seen in the table reached statistical significance.

³² See Table A2.1 in Appendix 2 for more detailed information on the results of the survival analysis test.

³³ Spier, op. cit.

A statistical test of “reconviction survival” confirmed the results described above. That is, no significant difference between the two samples overall, but a significant relationship between reconviction rates and number of prior convictions³⁴.

Table 8 shows reconviction rates for the two samples according to the number of previous prison sentences of inmates. Mahi Tahi sample inmates who had not been to prison previously were less likely than those who had been to prison before to be reconvicted. However, this was also found to be the case for the Control Group sample.

Table 8: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reconvicted within specified time periods, by number of previous prison sentences

No. of prior prison sentences	% reconvicted for any offence within 6 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 12 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
0	15.9	23.1	36.5	43.1	65.1	69.8
1-2	35.5	28.3	62.9	60.0	73.2	78.6
3-5	37.0	26.0	57.4	52.0	88.9	77.4
6+	33.3	38.8	55.6	71.4	90.0	91.2

Note: None of the differences in reconviction rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

Mahi Tahi sample inmates who had not been to prison previously were a little less likely than the Control Group sample inmates who had not been to prison previously to be reconvicted within all three periods, although the differences did not reach statistical significance. The same was also true for the inmates with more than six prior prison sentences. On the other hand, Mahi Tahi sample inmates with three to five previous prison sentences were a little more likely than the Control Group sample inmates with three to five previous prison sentences to be reconvicted within all three periods, although the differences did not reach statistical significance.

Table 9 shows reconviction rates for the two samples according to the length of the prison sentence inmates had received. Mahi Tahi sample inmates with longer sentences were less likely to be reconvicted than inmates with shorter sentences. However, this was also found to be the case for the Control Group sample. None of the differences in reconviction rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples, controlling for imposed sentence length, seen in the table reached statistical significance.

³⁴ See Table A2.1 in Appendix 2 for more detailed information on the results of the survival analysis test.

Table 9: Percentage of Mahi Tahī and Control Group inmates who were reconvicted within specified time periods, by imposed sentence length¹

Sentence length imposed	% reconvicted for any offence within 6 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 12 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahī	Control	Mahi Tahī	Control	Mahi Tahī	Control
<=12 months	36.6	35.7	70.7	64.3	86.1	83.3
>1-2 years	29.4	31.4	60.3	61.4	79.2	83.3
>2 years	27.7	24.8	42.0	49.5	70.7	71.9

Notes:

1. Table excludes the three inmates in each sample released from a life imprisonment sentence, as this small number of inmates makes interpretation of differences meaningless.
2. None of the differences in reconviction rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

B4 Seriousness of reconvictions

Table 10 presents information on the average seriousness³⁵ of convictions both before and after release for the two samples. If an inmate had no convictions prior to being imprisoned, or post release, then their seriousness score for that period would be zero.

Table 10: Comparison of average seriousness of all reconvictions for Mahi Tahī and Control Group samples

Period for which average seriousness is measured	Mahi Tahī		Control Group		p-value
	Average seriousness (n=224)	Std dev ¹	Average seriousness (n=224)	Std dev ¹	
Before imprisonment ²	40.6	54.7	43.0	73.6	0.700
Imprisonment ³	645.3	746.7	630.2	750.1	0.831
Imprisonment & before ⁴	142.6	278.1	135.8	256.2	0.788
6 months after release	10.6	55.1	17.0	86.8	0.352
12 months after release	18.1	64.9	30.4	98.2	0.117
24 months after release	42.6	118.2	48.8	115.1	0.645

Notes:

1. Standard deviation of average seriousness scores. The standard error of the mean is the standard deviation divided by \sqrt{n} .
2. Average seriousness of all offences prior to, but not including, the current prison sentence they were released from.
3. Seriousness score of the major offence for the current prison sentence they were released from.
4. Average seriousness of all offences prior to, and including, the current prison sentence they were released from.

³⁵ Each offence is assigned a seriousness score based on how seriously the courts determined an offence to be based on the use of custodial sentences over a recent five year period (1995 to 1999). The seriousness score for an offence is the average number of days of imprisonment imposed on every offender convicted of that offence, where the average is taken over both imprisoned and non-imprisoned offenders. Non-imprisonable offences are assigned a seriousness score of zero.

Inmates in the Control Group sample were matched to those in the Mahi Tahī sample based on a number of variables, including the number of convictions and prison sentences prior to the current imprisonment sentence, and the major offence they were imprisoned for. It is, therefore, not surprising that Table 10 shows that the average seriousness of convictions prior to imprisonment and the seriousness of the major offence they were imprisoned for, were very similar for both samples.

The average seriousness of the offences committed by the Mahi Tahī sample inmates post release was lower than that for the Control Group sample within all three time periods – although the differences failed to reach statistical significance.

As time passed after release, there was an escalation in the average seriousness of the offences resulting in conviction for the Mahi Tahī sample (from 11 within six months to 43 within 24 months) and for the Control Group sample (from 17 within six months to 49 within 24 months). However, for both samples, the average seriousness of reconvictions within 24 months of release was much lower than the average seriousness of all prior convictions (43 compared with 143 for the Mahi Tahī sample, and 49 compared with 136 for the Control Group sample). Interestingly, for both samples, the average seriousness of reconvictions returned to a level similar to that before the inmates were imprisoned (i.e. not including the offence they were imprisoned for in this study) within 24 months of release.

Compared with the average seriousness of all prior convictions (including the offence they were imprisoned for), only the minority of the Mahi Tahī sample were reconvicted for more serious offences, on average, after their release (see Table 11). The table shows that within two years of their release, the convictions for just under a quarter (22%) of the Mahi Tahī sample were, on average, more serious than those prior to their release. Similar results were also true for the Control Group sample.

Table 11: Comparison of average seriousness before and after release for the Mahi Tahī and Control Group samples

Comparison of average seriousness of reconvictions with average seriousness of all convictions prior to release (including current imprisonment)	Mahi Tahī		Control Group	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>6 months after release</u>				
Reconvictions less serious than before	208	92.9	206	92.0
Reconvictions more serious than before	16	7.1	18	8.0
Total	224	100.0	224	100.0
<u>12 months after release</u>				
Reconvictions less serious than before	191	85.3	190	84.8
Reconvictions more serious than before	33	14.7	34	15.2
Total	224	100.0	224	100.0
<u>24 months after release</u>				
Reconvictions less serious than before	117	78.0	110	73.3
Reconvictions more serious than before	33	22.0	40	26.7
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0

B5 Reimprisonment rates

Table 12 shows that 8% of the Mahi Tahi sample were reimprisoned within six months of their release, one-fifth (20%) were reimprisoned within a year, and a little over a third (37%) were reimprisoned within two years. While the reimprisonment rates were slightly higher for the Control Group sample, there was no statistically significant difference in the rates between the two samples.

Table 12: Reimprisonment rates for Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples

	Mahi Tahi		Control Group		p-value
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
<u>Number of prison sentences in 6 months after release</u>					
None	206	92.0	201	89.7	0.413
One or more	18	8.0	23	10.3	
1	7	3.1	10	4.5	
2-5	9	4.0	9	4.0	
6-10	1	0.4	4	1.8	
11+	1	0.4	0	0.0	
Total	224	100.0	224	100.0	
<u>Number of prison sentences in 12 months after release</u>					
None	180	80.4	171	76.3	0.302
One or more	44	19.6	53	23.7	
1	11	4.9	12	5.4	
2-5	25	11.2	30	13.4	
6-10	7	3.1	8	3.6	
11+	1	0.4	3	1.3	
Total	224	100.0	224	100.0	
<u>Number of prison sentences in 24 months after release¹</u>					
None	94	62.7	87	58.0	0.409
One or more	56	37.3	63	42.0	
1	7	4.7	15	10.0	
2-5	31	20.7	31	20.7	
6-10	13	8.7	10	6.7	
11+	5	3.3	7	4.7	
Total	150	100.0	150	100.0	

Figure 2 shows reimprisonment “survival” rates within one year of release for the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples. The two samples were reimprisoned at similar rates over the one year period, with a small, although not statistically significant, divergence occurring four to five months after release.

Figure 2 Proportion of the Mahi Tahī and Control Group samples who have not been reimprisoned over time

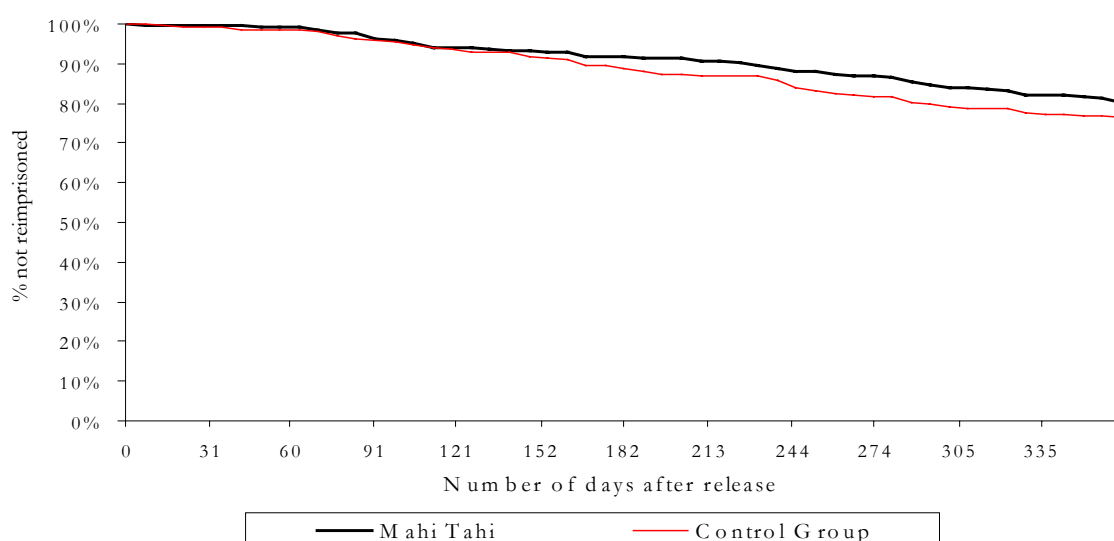


Table 13 shows reimprisonment rates for the two samples according to the age of the inmates when they were released. Past research³⁶ has shown the age of the inmate to be strongly associated with future reimprisonment rates, with the likelihood of reimprisonment decreasing with the increased age of inmates. However, age was not found to be a significant effect when testing reimprisonment survival for the Mahi Tahī and Control Group samples³⁷. None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the Mahi Tahī and Control Group samples at each level of age seen in the table reached statistical significance.

Table 13: Percentage of Mahi Tahī and Control Group inmates who were reimprisoned within specified time periods, by age when released

Age when released	% reimprisoned within 6 months		% reimprisoned within 12 months		% reimprisoned within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahī	Control	Mahi Tahī	Control	Mahi Tahī	Control
17-19 ¹	0.0	15.4	14.3	38.5	58.3	45.5
20-24	8.2	15.1	19.2	27.4	40.0	50.0
25-29	9.3	12.7	24.1	21.8	43.2	43.2
30+	8.4	3.6	18.1	19.3	26.8	33.9

Notes:

1. The number of teenage inmates in the samples was relatively small, so caution should be taken interpreting the figures provided for these inmates.
2. None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

³⁶ Spier, op. cit.

³⁷ See Table A2.2 in Appendix 2 for more detailed information on the results of the survival analysis test.

Table 14 shows reimprisonment rates for the two samples according to the major offence inmates were imprisoned for. Mahi Tahi sample inmates released after serving a sentence for a violent offence were much less likely to be reimprisoned than inmates released after serving a sentence for a property offence. However, this was also found to be the case for the Control Group sample.

Table 14: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reimprisoned within specified time periods, by major offence

Type of offence	% reimprisoned within 6 months		% reimprisoned within 12 months		% reimprisoned within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
Violent	5.5	7.8	12.5	16.4	25.3	31.6
Property	6.5	17.4	28.3*	45.7*	54.3	68.6
Other**	16.0	10.0	30.0	22.0	47.2	38.9

Notes:

* Difference was statistically significant at the 10% level, although not at the 5% level.

** Most commonly dealing in cannabis or other drugs, or driving while disqualified.

Mahi Tahi sample inmates who had been imprisoned for a violent or property offence were a little less likely than the Control Group sample inmates who had been imprisoned for similar offences to be reimprisoned within all three periods. However, only the difference in reimprisonment rates over one year for property offenders reached statistical significance (at the 10% level).

Table 15 shows reimprisonment rates for the two samples according to the number of previous convicted cases against inmates. The likelihood of reimprisonment for the Mahi Tahi sample generally increased with an increased number of previous convictions, although inmates with 10 to 19 prior convictions generally had similar reimprisonment rates to inmates with 20 or more prior convictions. A similar result was also found for the Control Group sample.

Table 15: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reimprisoned within specified time periods, by number of previous convicted cases

No. of prior convicted cases	% reimprisoned within 6 months		% reimprisoned within 12 months		% reimprisoned within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
0-4	2.2	4.0	10.9	16.0	33.3	25.7
5-9	3.2*	11.5*	11.1	18.0	25.6	33.3
10-19	15.3	12.9	23.7	30.6	45.7	61.5
20+	10.7	11.8	32.1	29.4	45.2	45.9

Note:

* Difference was statistically significant at the 10% level, although not at the 5% level.

Mahi Tahi sample inmates with 5 to 9 prior convictions were significantly less likely than the Control Group sample inmates with 5 to 9 previous convictions to be reimprisoned within six months. However, the differences between the two samples for this group of inmates did not reach statistical significance within 12 months or 24 months. None of the other differences in reimprisonment rates between the two samples reached statistical significance.

Table 16 shows reimprisonment rates for the two samples according to the number of previous prison sentences inmates had served.

Table 16: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reimprisoned within specified time periods, by number of previous prison sentences

No. of prior prison sentences	% reimprisoned within 6 months		% reimprisoned within 12 months		% reimprisoned within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
0	1.6	3.1	9.5	10.8	23.3	20.9
1-2	9.7	13.3	16.1	25.0	36.6	35.7
3-5	7.4	6.0	25.9	22.0	41.7	58.1
6+	15.6	20.4	31.1	40.8	53.3	61.8

Note: None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

The likelihood of Mahi Tahi inmates being reimprisoned was strongly associated with the number of times they had previously been imprisoned. However, this result is not unexpected as past research³⁸ has shown the number of previous imprisonment sentences to be strongly associated with future reimprisonment rates, with the likelihood of reimprisonment increasing with an increasing number of previous imprisonment sentences. The Control Group sample inmates showed a similar relationship between likelihood of reimprisonment and number of past prison sentences. None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples, controlling for number of prior prison sentences, seen in the table reached statistical significance.

A statistical test of “reimprisonment survival” confirmed the results described above. That is, no significant difference between the two samples overall, but a significant relationship between reimprisonment rates and number of prior prison sentences³⁹.

Table 17 shows reimprisonment rates for the two samples according to the length of the prison sentence inmates had received. Mahi Tahi sample inmates with longer sentences were less likely to be reimprisoned than inmates with shorter sentences. However, this was also found to be the case for the Control Group sample. None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples seen in the table reached statistical significance.

³⁸ Spier, op. cit.

³⁹ See Table A2.2 in Appendix 2 for more detailed information on the results of the survival analysis test.

Table 17: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reimprisoned within specified time periods, by imposed sentence length¹

Sentence length imposed	% reimprisoned within 6 months		% reimprisoned within 12 months		% reimprisoned within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
<=12 months	12.2	19.0	31.7	33.3	44.4	47.2
>1-2 years	7.4	11.4	22.1	31.4	47.2	50.0
>2 years	7.1	6.4	14.3	15.6	25.9	33.3

Notes:

1. Table excludes the three inmates in each sample released from a life imprisonment sentence, as this small number of inmates makes interpretation of differences meaningless.
2. None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

A statistical test of “reimprisonment survival” showed no significant difference between the two samples overall, but revealed that people released from serving longer prison sentences (>2 years) were significantly less likely to be reimprisoned than people released from serving shorter sentences (<=12 months)⁴⁰.

B6 Programme completion

Table 18 examines reconviction rates for the Mahi Tahi sample according to the length of time between completion of the NLA Programme and the inmates’ release. Half of the Mahi Tahi sample completed the NLA Programme within six months of their release, including 31% who completed the programme within three months of their release. Over a quarter (27%) of the sample completed the programme more than a year before they were released.

Interestingly, there is some evidence in the table that inmates who completed the NLA Programme close to their release were slightly more likely to be reconvicted upon release than inmates who completed the programme some time before release.

⁴⁰ See Table A2.2 in Appendix 2 for more detailed information on the results of the survival analysis test.

Table 18: Percentage of Mahi Tahi inmates who were reconvicted within specified time periods, by length of time before release the New Life Akoranga Programme was completed

Length of time before release	Number	% reconvicted for any offence within 6 months	% reconvicted for any offence within 12 months	% reconvicted for any offence within 24 months ³
<=3 months ¹	69	30.4	66.7	79.4
>3-6 months	44	34.1	52.3	85.0
>6-12 months	51	21.6	39.2	74.2
>12 months ²	60	33.3	48.3	62.5

Notes:

1. Twelve inmates (5%) completed the programme within the last month of their sentence.
2. Nine inmates (4%) completed the programme more than two years before they were released.
3. Two year reconviction rates were available for the following number of inmates: <=3 months (63), >3-6 months (40), >6-12 months (31), >12 months (16). The 24 month reconviction figure for the “>12 months” category needs to be treated with some caution because of the relatively small number of inmates that information was available for (16).

Table 19 examines reimprisonment rates for the Mahi Tahi sample according to the length of time between completion of the NLA Programme and the inmates’ release.

Table 19: Percentage of Mahi Tahi inmates who were reimprisoned within specified time periods, by length of time before release the New Life Akoranga Programme was completed

Length of time before release	Number	% reimprisoned within 6 months	% reimprisoned within 12 months	% reimprisoned within 24 months ¹
<=3 months	69	8.7	24.6	47.6
>3-6 months	44	11.4	25.0	40.0
>6-12 months	51	7.8	13.7	29.0
>12 months	60	5.0	15.0	6.3

Note:

1. Two year reimprisonment rates were available for the following number of inmates: <=3 months (63), >3-6 months (40), >6-12 months (31), >12 months (16). The 24 month reimprisonment figure for the “>12 months” category needs to be treated with some caution because of the relatively small number of inmates that information was available for (16).

Similarly to the result found above, there is some evidence in the table that inmates who completed the NLA Programme close to their release were slightly more likely to be reimprisoned upon release than inmates who completed the programme some time before release.

Information on programmes completed (other than NLA) during the prison sentence was not available at the time the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples were selected. However, an attempt was made by prison staff to collect this information manually from prison files subsequent to the two samples being identified. Unfortunately information was not able to be located for a significant proportion of the samples (33% for Mahi Tahi sample and 51%

for the Control Group sample). This means that the information presented below on programmes completed must be interpreted with caution.

Table 20 summarises the programmes completed during their sentences for the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples, excluding the NLA Programme completed by all of the Mahi Tahi sample.

Table 20: Types of programmes completed during the prison sentences of the Mahi Tahi and Control samples¹

Type of programme completed	Mahi Tahi (n=151)		Control Group (n=109)	
	Number	Percent ²	Number	Percent ²
Drug and alcohol treatment	47	31.1	33	30.3
Violence prevention/anger management	51	33.8	33	30.3
Educational skills	27	17.9	21	19.3
Straight Thinking (cognitive skills)	8	5.3	2	1.8
Sexual offending	1	0.7	0	0.0
Māori offending	9	6.0	3	2.8
Parenting/family functioning	26	17.2	14	12.8
Financial management	8	5.3	4	3.7
Traffic offending	16	10.6	8	7.3
Cultural skills (e.g. Te Reo)	22	14.6	16	14.7
Life and social skills	22	14.6	22	20.2
Preparation for release	17	11.3	5	4.6
Spiritual well-being	5	3.3	6	5.5
Creative arts/crafts	5	3.3	5	4.6
Structured recreation	5	3.3	4	3.7
Conservation corps	1	0.7	2	1.8
Other	24	15.9	20	18.3
No programmes ³	59	39.1	53	48.6

Notes:

1. Caution must be taken with the information presented on programme completion as information was not available for 33% of the Mahi Tahi sample and 51% of the Control Group sample.
2. The table includes all the programmes completed by the inmates (excluding the NLA Programme completed by all the Mahi Tahi sample). As some inmates completed more than one programme, the percentages do not total to 100%.
3. For the Mahi Tahi sample, “no programmes” means that the NLA Programme was the only programme that the inmates completed during their sentence.

Just over 60% of the Mahi Tahi sample and just over 50% of the Control Group sample completed a programme other than NLA during their sentence, with the most common programmes being: drug/alcohol treatment, violence prevention/anger management, educational skills, parenting/family functioning, cultural skills, and life/social skills.

As well as the NLA Programme, the Mahi Tahi sample completed an average of 2.5 (and median of two) additional programmes while in prison, with the maximum number of additional programmes being twelve. For the Control Group sample, the average number of programmes completed in prison was 2.6 (and median of one), with the maximum being 19 programmes. This suggests that the two samples are roughly equivalent on programmes

completed, other than the additional NLA Programme completed by inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample (although noting, once again, the earlier discussion about the need to exercise caution when interpreting information on programme completion).

Table 21 shows reconviction rates for the two samples according to the number of programmes completed during their sentence. Inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample who completed one or more programmes in addition to the NLA Programme were less likely to be reconvicted than inmates who did not complete additional programmes. Similarly, inmates in the Control Group sample who completed one or more programmes were less likely to be reconvicted than inmates who did not complete a programme.

Table 21: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reconvicted within specified time periods, by number of programmes completed

Number of programmes (excluding New Life Akoranga)	% reconvicted for any offence within 6 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 12 months		% reconvicted for any offence within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
0	32.2	30.2	55.9	58.5	78.0	78.4
1 or more	21.7	25.0	43.5	50.0	67.3	72.2

Note: None of the differences in reconviction rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

None of the differences in reconviction rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples seen in the table reached statistical significance. Of particular note is that inmates who completed the NLA Programme and no other programmes during their sentence, were just as likely to be reconvicted as inmates from the Control Group sample who did not complete any programmes during their sentence.

Table 22 shows reimprisonment rates for the two samples according to the number of programmes completed during their sentence. Inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample who completed one or more programmes in addition to the NLA Programme were less likely to be reimprisoned than inmates who did not complete additional programmes. Similarly, inmates in the Control Group sample who completed one or more programmes were less likely to be reimprisoned than inmates who did not complete a programme.

None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples seen in the table reached statistical significance. Of particular note is that inmates who completed the NLA Programme and no other programmes during their sentence, were just as likely to be reimprisoned as inmates from the Control Group sample who did not complete any programmes during their sentence.

Table 22: Percentage of Mahi Tahi and Control Group inmates who were reimprisoned within specified time periods, by number of programmes completed

Number of programmes (excluding New Life Akoranga)	% reimprisoned within 6 months		% reimprisoned within 12 months		% reimprisoned within 24 months	
	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control	Mahi Tahi	Control
0	6.8	11.3	30.5	24.5	39.0	43.2
1 or more	5.4	5.4	10.9	12.5	22.4	25.0

Note: None of the differences in reimprisonment rates between the two samples reached statistical significance at the 10% level.

B7 Summary and Conclusions

This paper examined reconviction and reimprisonment rates following release from prison for a sample of inmates who had completed the Mahi Tahi Trust's New Life Akoranga Programme between 1 July 1997 and 31 December 1998 (the "Mahi Tahi sample"), and compared them to rates for a matched sample of inmates who had not completed the programme (the "Control Group sample").

The inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample had the following characteristics:

- all were male;
- almost all (95%) were Māori;
- over half (57%) were in their twenties, and over a third (37%) were aged at least 30;
- over half (57%) had been imprisoned for a violent offence (most commonly aggravated robbery or grievous assault), 15% had been imprisoned for burglary, and 10% for a serious traffic offence;
- half (50%) had been imprisoned for more than two years, and 30% had been imprisoned for between one and two years;
- over half (51%) had been convicted on ten or more occasions prior to being imprisoned; and
- the vast majority (72%) had been imprisoned previously.

Half of the Mahi Tahi sample completed the NLA Programme within six months of their release, including 31% who completed the programme within three months of their release. Over a quarter (27%) of the sample completed the programme more than a year before they were released.

Nearly one-third (30%) of the Mahi Tahi sample were reconvicted of an offence within six months of their release, just over half (53%) were reconvicted within a year, and a little over three-quarters (78%) were reconvicted within two years. The reconviction rates were very similar for the Control Group sample, with there being no significant difference in the reconviction rates between the two samples.

“Reconviction survival”, for both samples, was found to be strongly associated with:

- age when released (i.e. older inmates being less likely to be reconvicted than younger inmates);
- number of prior convictions (i.e. inmates with a large number of prior convictions being more likely to be reconvicted than inmates with no or only a few prior convictions); and
- whether the inmate had been imprisoned for a property offence (i.e. inmates imprisoned for a property offence were more likely to be reconvicted than inmates imprisoned for other types of offences).

The average seriousness of the offences committed by the Mahi Tahi sample inmates post release was lower than that for the Control Group sample within all three time periods – although the differences failed to reach statistical significance.

As time passed after release, there was an escalation in the average seriousness of the offences resulting in conviction for the Mahi Tahi sample (from 11 within six months to 43 within 24 months) and for the Control Group sample (from 17 within six months to 49 within 24 months). However, for both samples, the average seriousness of reconvictions within 24 months of release was much lower than the average seriousness of all prior convictions (43 compared with 143 for the Mahi Tahi sample, and 49 compared with 136 for the Control Group sample). Interestingly, for both samples, the average seriousness of reconvictions returned to a level similar to that before the inmates were imprisoned (i.e. not including the offence they were imprisoned for in this study) within 24 months of release.

Eight percent of the Mahi Tahi sample were reimprisoned within six months of their release, one-fifth (20%) were reimprisoned within a year, and a little over a third (37%) were reimprisoned within two years. The reimprisonment rates were very similar for the Control Group sample, with there being no significant difference in the reimprisonment rates between the two samples.

There was some evidence that inmates who completed the NLA Programme close to their release were slightly more likely to be both reconvicted and reimprisoned upon release than inmates who completed the programme some time before release.

“Reimprisonment survival”, for both samples, was found to be strongly associated with:

- the number of prior prison sentences an inmate had served (i.e. inmates with more than five prior prison sentences being more likely to be reimprisoned than inmates with no prior prison sentences); and
- the length of the prison sentence the inmate had received (i.e. inmates who received sentences of more than two years in length were less likely to be reimprisoned than inmates who received sentences of one year or less).

Information on programme attendance was not available at the time the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples were selected. However, an attempt was made to collect this information manually from prison files subsequent to the two samples being identified. Unfortunately information was not able to be located for a significant proportion of the

samples (33% for Mahi Tahi sample and 51% for the Control Group sample) – meaning that the information had to be interpreted with caution.

Just over 60% of the Mahi Tahi sample and just over 50% of the Control Group sample (for the inmates for whom programme completion information was available) completed a programme other than NLA during their sentence. The most common programmes were drug/alcohol treatment, violence prevention/anger management, educational skills, parenting/family functioning, cultural skills, and life/social skills.

Inmates who completed the NLA Programme and no other programmes during their sentence, were just as likely to be both reconvicted and reimprisoned as inmates from the Control Group sample who did not complete any programmes during their sentence.

Inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample who completed one or more programmes (other than the NLA Programme) had lower reconviction and reimprisonment rates than inmates who did not complete other programmes.

In conclusion, the data available indicates that the post-release offending behaviour of inmates who completed the Mahi Tahi Trust's New Life Akoranga Programme was not significantly different from a matched sample of inmates who did not complete the programme.

Part C: Overview: Research on the New Life Akoranga Programme of the Mahi Tahī Trust

C1 Prologue

The Mahi Tahī Trust works with prison inmates and their whānau, helping them to change their hearts and minds by discovering and recovering traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. The work is centred on four day, sleep-in New Life Akoranga (NLA) wānanga which are held in New Zealand prisons. The programme also involves contact with and support from hapū and iwi, mentoring inmates, and the involvement and support of inmates' whānau.

The concept and the programme have developed over many years, following the example of leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and John Rangihau, and more recently building on the findings of the Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Violence in 1987, led by Sir Clinton Roper. The programme receives a major part of its funding through a contract with the Department of Corrections.

The possibility of the Ministry of Justice working with the Mahi Tahī Trust to develop research on the programme was first raised by the Trust with the agreement of the Minister of Justice at a hui looking at a culture-based approach to prison reform held at Awataha Marae in 1998. The Mahi Tahī Trust, the Ministry of Justice, the Department of Corrections, and Te Puni Kōkiri identified several needs for the research:

- To document the value of this indigenous approach to prison reform and to the rehabilitation of inmates and their whānau, as a basis for continued support and possible extension.
- To provide the Trust with on-going information and feedback so that it could plan and make improvements and changes to its activities and directions.
- To establish the magnitude of the programme's impact on offending behaviour. Reducing re-offending is a primary aim of the Department of Corrections.

Two types of research were developed to meet these needs. The first type of research was a qualitative study, which aimed to document how far the programme achieved its aim of helping prison inmates and their whānau to change their hearts and minds, outlook, behaviour and relationships. It also aimed to document the indigenous message of the programme by describing the underlying philosophies, methods and processes. Between October 2000 and May 2002, the researchers, Nan Wehipeihana and Laurie Porima, attended programme meetings and hui, observed and participated in wānanga, reviewed

documentation, interviewed Trust personnel, interviewed 23 NLA participants in prison, and conducted post-release interviews with 14 of those participants. The research was conducted primarily with wānanga participants in Māori Focus Units, which supported and reinforced the tikanga as shared in the wānanga.

The second type of research aimed to examine the programme's impact on participants' subsequent offending behaviour. Completed within the Ministry of Justice, it was a quantitative study of the reconviction and reimprisonment rates following release from prison for a sample of NLA participants compared with a matched sample of inmates who had not completed NLA while in prison. The samples were drawn from inmates in prison between July 1997 and December 1998 and were followed up for at least one year following release.

It is important to understand the limitations of each study before moving on to consider their findings. In the quantitative study, reconviction and reimprisonment rates are used as a proxy for the unknown actual level of reoffending. The study was limited by being unable to isolate the impact of NLA when combined with other programmes completed and by covering a time period early in the development of the NLA Programme. In the qualitative study, the findings reflect the experiences of a small non-random sample, and caution should be taken in generalising the findings to all NLA participants.

Summaries and conclusions from the findings of the two studies are presented below, followed by a section outlining what can be learnt from this research as a whole, followed by an 'epilogue' which makes some overall observations relating to the studies taken together.

C2 Research into the New Life Akoranga Programme: Summary and Conclusions

C2.1 Objectives

The primary objectives of this part of the research were to document and describe the programme approach and to give voice to participants' thoughts, feelings and experience of the programme. A further objective was to describe the effect of the programme on participants' attitudes and behaviour and to review the extent to which stated objectives of the programme are being met and what factors affect this.

C2.2 Programme Description

The New Life Akoranga Programme works with inmates helping them to discover and recover traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. The programme seeks to address criminal behaviour from within a Māori cultural worldview and targets participants' offending behaviour from the perspective of tikanga Māori⁴¹. The four-day residential wānanga are structured around Māori cultural (indigenous) principles and include kōrero and activities that assist in facilitating learning and self-examination.

⁴¹ Bird, R. (1998) Report on the Review of the New Life Akoranga Programme Run in Prisons by Mahi Tahi Trust p 2 & 4

The programme is made up of four main components: initial notification where the programme content, structure and rules are outlined to participants; a four-day residential wānanga that introduces participants to traditional Māori principles and values, and includes time allocated for whānau involvement; post wānanga follow-up interviews that aim to reinforce any attitudinal and behavioural changes arising out of the wānanga; and whānau hui which share what participants have learnt in the wānanga and elicit the assistance of whānau to encourage and support behavioural and attitudinal changes.

Key themes covered in the wānanga include: Te Āhua (identity), which affirms participants' identity as Māori through the exploration of whakapapa; Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), which explores what it means to be Māori within the context of tikanga; Te Tangata (individual responsibility), which presents Māori values and social structures as credible and relevant examples on which participants can model their lives; and Te Mana o te Wahine, which looks at the critical role of women within the whānau structure, and explores male–female relationships. Te Mana o te Wahine is the culmination of the formal teaching and compels participants to examine their own behaviour and the impact of their offending on whānau, particularly their spouse or partner.

C2.3 The Wānanga

The wānanga is the core component of the programme and in the opinion of the researchers is well structured, incorporating a range of active, passive and interactive “teaching” methods such as haka, waiata, kōrero (both formal and informal discussions/presentations), mihimihi and debate. In the main, participants have a strong affinity with the programme presenters/mentors, most of whom have a similar background to that of the participants and are therefore seen as credible in terms of understanding participants' life history, as well as understanding their prison experience. The messages conveyed by the mentors are therefore more palatable and more convincing because of this shared understanding and because the mentors model their teachings.

Whānau involvement is a key component of the wānanga and is timed to occur at such a point in the programme whereby it reinforces key messages in relation to the effect of offending behaviour on participants' spouse/partner and whānau. From the perspective of whānau, one of the key benefits of the programme was that it gave them hope that participants were able to make positive behaviour and attitudinal change, particularly as they saw evidence of change during the wānanga and following the wānanga. However, they were concerned that without ongoing support while in prison and particularly post release the maintenance of changes in the face of day-to-day realities would be difficult to maintain long term.

Receptivity to the wānanga and its messages is enhanced because many participants are keen to find out more about “things Māori” and from the outset, therefore, are positively disposed towards the programme.

Some participants find the volume of information covered in the wānanga and, the often intense and lengthy sessions, difficult to cope with. This is particularly so for those participants who are also coping with the effects of not being able to smoke, drink or take drugs during the wānanga. However, from the perspective of the researchers, the perceived

information overload needs to be balanced against the experiential and poignant environment created through the intensity of delivery. There is also a sense that participants will take on as much information as they are able to or, more importantly, as much as they are ready for, and participation in future wānanga will reinforce and build on initial messages and foundations developed in previous wānanga.

Participants are “hungry” for courses or programmes that support them on their journey of self-identity and self-development. As a result participants would like more wānanga and/or more programmes which are developed from a tikanga Māori base and are presented by Māori providers. The main criticism that participants have is the length of time between wānanga and the lack of other Māori programmes.

C2.4 Participant perceptions

Overall, participants, whānau and prison staff commented very positively about the benefits of the wānanga. The main benefits described by participants related to:

- Reclamation of their identity as Māori and an increased sense of pride in being Māori.
- Increased knowledge about themselves in terms of whakapapa (identity).
- Increased knowledge of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) particularly relating to tikanga.
- Participants being brought face-to-face with their offending and the impact of the offending on their spouse/partner and whānau.

C2.5 Programme impact on participant behaviours and attitudes

From the outset of the wānanga, participants, prison officers and programme mentors note a range of changes in participant behaviour and attitudes. The most obvious changes included abiding by the rāhui, that is, temporarily stopping smoking, drinking and taking drugs, as well as not swearing for the duration of the wānanga. Some participants maintained these changes post wānanga and/or post release. The use of karakia as a form of spiritual expression and as a tool for managing personal behaviour was also evident.

The importance of these changes, as described by the mentors, was that it signified a commitment to uphold the tikanga of the programme and was tangible proof to participants of their ability to change. In addition, for those who maintained these changes it was evidence of their understanding and commitment to the traditional Māori principles and practices presented in the wānanga, which do not include the consumption of cigarettes, alcohol or drugs.

Participants interviewed while still in prison identified a number of changes arising out of the wānanga. These primarily related to their search for their identity as Māori, personal self-development and improved relationships with their wahine and whānau. Specific changes included:

- A focus on rebuilding relationships – particularly with their spouse/partner and whānau. Another change noted by whānau and prison officers (and observed by the researchers)

was the more respectful attitude and behaviour to women, particularly to their partner/spouse and mother, but also to women generally.

- Reclaiming their identity as Māori – primarily through study of their own tribal history and/or by asking/writing to whānau members. Other changes included learning te reo Māori, participating in kapa-haka, mau rakau or waiata, personal study in relation to whakapapa and tikanga.
- Enhanced desire to find out more about themselves through personal study as well as participation in anger management, drug and alcohol, and other cognitive educational courses.
- Leading a healthier lifestyle by not consuming cigarettes and/or alcohol and/or drugs.

In the main, participants interviewed post release identified a continued commitment to rebuilding relationships with their partner and whānau and to reclaiming their identity as Māori, through learning te reo and ongoing study in relation to whakapapa and tribal history, as the most lasting impact of their participation on the NLA Programme. The other key benefit identified by participants was an increased personal commitment to planning and goal setting, thus making them more aware of their priorities. Some participants continued to maintain the lifestyle changes begun in prison (e.g. not smoking, drinking or taking drugs).

The extent to which these changes were maintained post release varied amongst participants. Despite being desirous of wanting to maintain the changes begun in prison and wanting to start afresh, participants identified money, particularly the lack of it, and associating with previous acquaintances, particularly gang members, as being key factors which made the maintenance of changes difficult to sustain.

In the view of the researchers, those participants interviewed post release who were able to maintain some or all of the changes that were attributed to the wānanga had some or all of the following factors in common:

- Had settled or were resolving past issues with ex-partners;
- Had negotiated or were in the process of negotiating access or custody arrangements for their children;
- Were receiving support (emotional, financial, physical e.g. shelter) from their partner/spouse and/or their whānau;
- Were in employment; and
- Were continuing to build on the knowledge gained in the wānanga through pursuing further studies, particularly te reo and tikanga Māori, participating in cultural groups, involvement in marae and reintegration back with whānau.

C2.6 Conclusions

“Sowing a seed in the soil.”

Throughout the research, the Chairman of Mahi Tahi Trust, Sir Norman Perry, likened the themes and indigenous principles conveyed in the wānanga to that of “sowing a seed in the soil.” The NLA Programme introduces participants to traditional Māori principles, values and disciplines. The mana, prestige and responsibilities inherent in these principles present participants with the option of behaviour and lifestyle changes. Herein begins the process of sowing a seed for change.

Akin to the analogy of “sowing a seed” are concepts of nurturing and growth. In a practical sense this is about how messages within the wānanga are reinforced and supported by Public Prisons, Mahi Tahi Trust and whānau whilst participants are in prison. It is also about how well the messages are supported and reinforced post release.

During the wānanga and whilst in prison participants take on and maintain a number of attitudinal and behaviour changes arising out of the programme. The Māori Focus Unit environment, ongoing wānanga, and attendance on other kaupapa Māori programmes further reinforce and support the maintenance of these changes. Like all programmes the challenge of maintaining behavioural and attitudinal changes arising out of the NLA Programme is tested post release in a real world context.

Throughout the project the researchers have observed that for some participants the seed takes root immediately, whilst for other participants this is a more lengthy process, and in some cases the seed fails to germinate. Within that real world context the researchers believe that inmates need to participate in the programme in order that a seed can be sown. The programme of itself is not, and should not be seen as, the sole solution to addressing issues of Māori re-offending. To do this would place unfair expectations on this programme. However, the NLA Programme in combination with other criminogenic and cultural programmes, should be among the programme options available to Māori inmates.

What is important in terms of contributing to reducing Māori re-offending behaviour through the NLA Programme is the realisation and understanding that the seeds that are being sowed by the programme need to be nurtured and maintained in order for the roots to take hold and grow. In other words, the progress made in the wānanga needs to be actively continued, maintained and supported by Public Prisons, whānau as well as the participants. In particular, exploration of how participants can be supported to maintain the behaviour and attitudinal changes arising out of the programme, whilst still in prison but particularly post release, should be a priority.

C3 Reconviction analysis for inmates who have completed the New Life Akoranga Programme: Summary and Conclusions

C3.1 Summary

This paper examined reconviction and reimprisonment rates following release from prison for a sample of inmates who had completed the Mahi Tahi Trust's New Life Akoranga Programme between 1 July 1997 and 31 December 1998 (the "Mahi Tahi sample"), and compared them to rates for a matched sample of inmates who had not completed the programme (the "Control Group sample").

The inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample had the following characteristics:

- all were male;
- almost all (95%) were Māori;
- over half (57%) were in their twenties, and over a third (37%) were aged at least 30;
- over half (57%) had been imprisoned for a violent offence (most commonly aggravated robbery or grievous assault), 15% had been imprisoned for burglary, and 10% for a serious traffic offence;
- half (50%) had been imprisoned for more than two years, and 30% had been imprisoned for between one and two years;
- over half (51%) had been convicted on ten or more occasions prior to being imprisoned; and
- the vast majority (72%) had been imprisoned previously.

Half of the Mahi Tahi sample completed the NLA Programme within six months of their release, including 31% who completed the programme within three months of their release. Just over a quarter (27%) of the sample completed the programme more than a year before they were released.

Nearly one-third (30%) of the Mahi Tahi sample were reconvicted of an offence within six months of their release, just over half (53%) were reconvicted within a year, and a little over three-quarters (78%) were reconvicted within two years. The reconviction rates were very similar for the Control Group sample, with there being no statistically significant difference in the reconviction rates between the two samples.

"Reconviction survival", for both samples, was found to be strongly associated with:

- age when released (i.e. older inmates being less likely to be reconvicted than younger inmates);
- number of prior convictions (i.e. inmates with a large number of prior convictions being more likely to be reconvicted than inmates with no or only a few prior convictions); and
- whether the inmate had been imprisoned for a property offence (i.e. inmates imprisoned for a property offence were more likely to be reconvicted than inmates imprisoned for other types of offences).

These results were not unexpected given similar findings in previous research on reconviction rates for released inmates.⁴²

The average seriousness of the offences committed by the Mahi Tahi sample inmates post release was lower than that for the Control Group sample within all three time periods – although the differences failed to reach statistical significance.

As time passed after release, there was an escalation in the average seriousness of the offences resulting in conviction for both the Mahi Tahi sample and the Control Group sample. However, for both samples, the average seriousness of reconvictions within 24 months of release was much lower than the average seriousness of all prior convictions. Interestingly, for both samples, the average seriousness of reconvictions returned to a level similar to that before the inmates were imprisoned (i.e. not including the offence they were imprisoned for in this study) within 24 months of release.

Eight percent of the Mahi Tahi sample were reimprisoned within six months of their release, one-fifth (20%) were reimprisoned within a year, and a little over a third (37%) were reimprisoned within two years. The reimprisonment rates were very similar for the Control Group sample, with there being no statistically significant difference in the reimprisonment rates between the two samples.

There was some evidence that inmates who completed the NLA programme close to their release were slightly more likely to be both reconvicted and reimprisoned upon release than inmates who completed the programme some time before release. Of the inmates who completed the NLA Programme at most three months before their release, 67% were reconvicted and 25% were reimprisoned within one year of release. In contrast, for inmates who completed the NLA Programme more than 12 months before their release, 48% were reconvicted and 15% were reimprisoned within one year of release.

“Reimprisonment survival”, for both samples, was found to be strongly associated with:

- the number of prior prison sentences an inmate had served (i.e. inmates with more than five prior prison sentences being more likely to be reimprisoned than inmates with no prior prison sentences); and
- the length of the prison sentence the inmate had received (i.e. inmates who received sentences of more than two years in length were less likely to be reimprisoned than inmates who received sentences of one year or less).

Information on programme attendance was not available at the time the Mahi Tahi and Control Group samples were selected. However, an attempt was made to collect this information manually from prison files subsequent to the two samples being identified. Unfortunately information was not able to be located for a significant proportion of the samples (33% for Mahi Tahi sample and 51% for the Control Group sample), meaning that the information which was obtained had to be interpreted with caution.

⁴² Spier, op. cit.

Just over 60% of the Mahi Tahi sample and just over 50% of the Control Group sample (for the inmates for whom programme completion information was available) completed a programme other than NLA during their sentence. The most common programmes were: drug/alcohol treatment, violence prevention/anger management, educational skills, parenting/family functioning, cultural skills, and life/social skills.

Inmates who completed the NLA Programme and no other programmes during their sentence were just as likely to be both reconvicted and reimprisoned as inmates from the Control Group sample who did not complete any programmes during their sentence.

Inmates in the Mahi Tahi sample who completed one or more programmes (other than the NLA Programme) had lower reconviction and reimprisonment rates than inmates who did not complete other programmes.

C3.2 Conclusions

The data available indicate that for the period studied, the post-release offending behaviour of inmates who completed the Mahi Tahi Trust's New Life Akoranga Programme was not significantly different from a matched sample of inmates who did not complete the programme. However, there is some evidence that completing the NLA programme well before release may reduce inmates' post-release offending.

C4 What can we learn from the research?

The advisory group for this research considered the learnings from the research as a whole. It was generally agreed that the research has increased our understanding of the contribution of tikanga Māori programmes within a Corrections environment. The research also raises important issues for the Mahi Tahi Trust and the Department of Corrections.

C4.1 The nature of participants' learning

The research has increased our understanding of the nature of the learning process for the participants in the NLA. While the content of each wānanga is similar, for individual participants this represents a large volume of new information, and each participant absorbs what they can from their own starting point. Ideally, participants should have the opportunity to attend wānanga as many times as they wish, since each time there is earlier learning to be reinforced and new learning to be absorbed. However, providing the opportunity for participants to repeat wānanga should not mean that new inmates are denied the opportunity to attend wānanga for the first time.

It is also apparent that participants can have a range of motivations for the initial decision to take part in wānanga. Whether the motivation was self-interest or a genuine desire to change, most inmates who took part in interviews for this research showed they had been inspired by the wānanga to want to make changes to their lives and to learn more about their cultural values and identity. This suggests that 'genuine' motivation should not necessarily be a precondition of wānanga participation.

Overall the research highlights that rediscovering cultural values, developing a sense of identity, and understanding where they have come from, are important motivators for inmates in wanting to make changes to their lives. The advisory group observed that NLA meets human needs which are not specific to Māori or to prison inmates, but apply universally.

C4.2 The place of NLA within the Offender Management Process

The view that NLA on its own can reduce offending has not been supported by the evidence. The research findings in relation to the lack of impact of the programme on reconviction rates sound a caution both to Corrections and the Mahi Tahi Trust against overestimating the ability of this or any single programme to bring about change among this group of inmates.

The research suggests that an integrated range of programmes combined with post release follow-up would be essential to make it possible for the NLA participants to carry their motivation to change through into their life after prison. The Mahi Tahi Trust and Corrections need to find better ways of linking NLA to subsequent programmes which address criminogenic needs.

NLA needs to be seen within the broader context of the offender management process rather than as being separate from it. The research supports the view that NLA act as ‘rewena’ or a catalyst for change in the sense that it can motivate participants to attend further programmes which are designed to address their criminogenic needs. The wānanga provide participants with the reasons for change (‘the why’ or the motivation), and the criminogenic programmes, such as alcohol and drug treatment programmes, provide them with the means to effect that change (‘the how’). For the Trust, this means more actively encouraging NLA participants to go on to participate in programmes that address criminogenic needs.

The Department of Corrections needs to consider how to get more people to the point of wanting to engage in behaviour change interventions that it has on offer. For Māori offenders this means increasing the numbers who are able to access a tikanga Māori programme and who may be subsequently motivated to attend a behaviour change programme. This means promoting tikanga Māori programmes and scheduling them into an individual’s sentence plan.

The Department of Corrections also needs to consider how it can actively support the learnings achieved by inmates who attend NLA wānanga so that these new behaviours are reinforced and embedded in everyday behaviour. The researchers believe that the staff of the Public Prisons Service could demonstrate more support for the NLA by observing some of the teachings of the wānanga, by adhering to some of the tikanga that inmates are trying to implement and by valuing further education in te reo or tikanga Māori within the units. The Māori Focus Units have an important role in reinforcing and providing a nurturing environment for the development of behavioural and attitudinal change. Given resourcing, the Trust in turn could increase the number of prison staff wānanga so that staff had a greater understanding of the NLA programme.

C4.3 The need for post-release follow-up

The interviews with NLA participants following their release show the need for ongoing support post-release and for continuing to share the tikanga principles once inmates have returned to their communities. Currently there are significant barriers to developing the programme in this area. Because Corrections do not contract the Mahi Tahi Trust to provide this, there are few resources for this aspect of the work. It is also highly problematic for the Trust to obtain information such as the date of release and address of inmates. This would seem to indicate that the relationship of the Community Probation Service with the Trust is an area needing further development.

C5 Epilogue

Taken together, the two studies provide rich and complementary views of the experience and impact of NLA. The research overall is strengthened by the diversity of the methods and findings of the studies. On the one hand, we have a qualitative and holistic account which reflects the voices of the men and whānau who have participated in NLA and the changes and challenges they experience in the important transition from prison back to the community. On the other hand, we look at that same transition from the particular perspective of whether those men have ongoing contact with the justice system following their release.

The studies, both together and separately, have certain limitations, which must be considered in drawing any conclusions from this research. Primarily, it must be remembered that each study depicts the operation of NLA in a different time period. The reconviction study needed to draw its samples from an earlier time period, 1997–1998, in order to allow sufficient time for follow-up post release. In this period of its development, NLA was in a learning phase of its operation in general prisons and few participants would have had the opportunity to complete more than one wānanga. The qualitative study drew its samples from NLA participants in 2000–2001. By this time, the Māori Focus Units were well established in Hawkes Bay and Wellington, providing a culturally safe environment that encouraged and confirmed the learnings from NLA, which was a recognised part of the programme of the Māori Focus Units.

Reconviction studies will always reflect an earlier period than is needed for immediate policy and operational purposes. It would be useful to conduct a further reconviction study which reflects the NLA at a more consolidated stage of its operation in prisons. Such a study would be enhanced if the data on programme completions in prisons were more accessible and complete.

It is clear from both studies that many of the men who undertake the programme have had a long history of abuse and serious offending. The NLA can be seen as ‘sowing a seed’, which is the beginning of changing many years of conditioning, a process which inevitably takes time. A range of further processes are needed alongside the NLA to give participants ongoing help in changing their hearts and minds and actions. The finding that NLA participants who completed wānanga some time before their release were less likely to be reconvicted than participants completing wānanga close to release may reflect this.

Some processes identified in this research which made a positive contribution alongside NLA, included the opportunity to participate in more than one wānanga over the period of imprisonment, the opportunity to complete other programmes offered within the prison, placement in a Māori Focus Unit environment, and follow-up and support for inmates and whānau on their return to the community. In this light, the NLA can be seen as a foundation on which to build.

The two studies show that there can be a gulf between the intentions of NLA participants and their behaviour in the long term. Most NLA participants said that NLA led to changes in their thinking and attitudes and that they wanted to change their behaviour. Participants and prison staff confirmed that there were behavioural changes in the shorter-term prison environment. The challenge is to discover how to extend that desire for change to the long term, in the face of the pressures on participants post release. The responsibility for meeting this challenge needs to be spread broadly. As well as resting with participants, it rests with their whānau, hapū and iwi, the Mahi Tahi Trust, those providing other Department of Corrections programmes and services, and, importantly, with other sectors such as health, employment, and education.

This research partnership between the researchers, the Mahi Tahi Trust, the Ministry of Justice, the Department of Corrections, and Te Puni Kōkiri has increased our understanding of the value of this indigenous approach to prison reform. It has provided a rich source of information to help the Mahi Tahi Trust, the Department of Corrections, and the Ministry of Justice together and separately, to identify points of growth in working with those within our prisons.

Appendix 1 Glossary of Māori terms

Aroha	Noun = love, compassion, sorrow Vb. To be in/ to give/ to have love, to be or show concern, to have/feel compassion, to feel, know, see sorrow
Awa	River
Hapū	Sub-tribe. A collection of whānau descended from a common ancestor
Hōhā	Annoyed, bored, uninterested
Iwi	Tribe. A collection of hapū descended from a common ancestor
Kanohi ki te Kanohi	Face to face meeting
Kapa-haka	Action songs
Karakia	Incantation, prayer, ritual
Kaumātua	Respected elder. Can be male or female
Kaupapa	Agenda, goal, philosophy, strategy, theme, topic
Kaupapa Māori	A philosophy promoting specifically Māori beliefs and goals ⁴³
Kōrero	Talk, discussion, conversation, includes interviews
Kōrero-ā-iwi	Dialectal differences
Kōrero-ā-rohe	Stories specific to an area
Koroua, koro	Male elder
Kuia	Female elder
Mana	Prestige, power, authority
Manaakitanga	Show hospitality, respect, or kindness
Māoritanga	Māori perspective or culture
Mātauranga	Education, knowledge
Maunga	Tribal mountain
Mau rakau	Traditional weapon training
Mōhio	Have knowledge, to know
Orangatanga	Healthy living, wellness
Pakeke	One's senior in status
Pōwhiri	Formal welcome
Rāhui	Reserve, restrict, preserve
Rangatahi	Youth, young people
Rangatiratanga	Leadership qualities
Rōpū	Group, organisation

⁴³ A theory and an analysis of the context which involves Māori and of the approaches to research with, by and for Māori but does not exclude Western models.

Rūnanga	Council
Tāngata	Man, person, people
Tāngata whenua	Indigenous people of Aotearoa. The tribe or people belonging to a particular area
Taonga	Treasures, things of great value
Teina	The younger or junior in relationship of two people
Tikanga	Principles and values, customs, customary practice
Tīpuna whare	Ancestral house
Tohu	Sign, change
Waiata	Song, sing
Wairua	Spirit, spirituality
Wānanga	Place or process of learning, event where learning takes place
Whakaahua	Picture
Whakapapa	Geneology
Whakatauaākī	Proverb
Whānau	Family, especially extended family
Whanaungatanga	Process of establishing relationships. Having and nurturing kinship ties.

Appendix 2 Information Sheet and Individual Consent Form

RESEARCH OF THE MAHI TAHI WĀNANGA

NEW LIFE AKORANGA PROGRAMME

Information Sheet

The Ministry of Justice in conjunction with the Department of Corrections and Te Puni Kōkiri have initiated a research study of the Mahi Tahī Wānanga (New Life Akoranga Programme.) The research is being undertaken to see how the wānanga assists inmates in addressing their offending through the use of teachings based on Māori tikanga (indigenous principles.)

Nan Wehipeihana and Laurie Porima have been contracted to do the research.

The findings of the research will be used to assist Mahi Tahī together with government departments in making decisions about the effectiveness of the wānanga and to improve it where needed. The information will also be used to meet report-back requirements to government.

This interview is one part of the research. Either Nan or Laurie will carry out the interviews.

What you will be asked

You will be asked your views about the wānanga and what effect, if any, the wānanga has had on you. For whānau members who choose to take part in the research they will be asked to describe any notable changes they have seen in their whanaunga since attending a wānanga.

How it will be done

Nan or Laurie will arrange to interview you kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face). If you agree to do this interview, you can withdraw from the interview at any time. You can refuse to answer any question. With your permission, we'd like to take notes so that we remember what you've said. Again with your permission we may wish to record your interview in case we need to check our notes.

Confidentiality

- What you say will be confidential to Nan and Laurie
- No details which identify you will be written up or passed on

For further information about this interview, please contact Nan Wehipeihana (04) 2323531 or Laurie Porima (025) 272 1656.

NEW LIFE AKORANGA PROGRAMME

Interview Consent Form

I understand the interview I am about to do is part of the research of the Mahi Tahi Wānanga (New Life Akoranga Programme) being conducted by Nan Wehipeihana and Laurie Porima. The purpose of the interview and the research has been explained to me and I have had a chance to have any questions answered. I am completing this interview voluntarily and know that I can stop at any time. I understand that I will not be identified in any report.

My signature below indicates that I have read and understood this consent form and that I have agreed to complete the interview.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3 Participant Interview Guide – Post Wānanga

Participant Interview Guide

Post wānanga (still in prison)

Introduction

Mihimihi, karakia

Explanation of the purpose of the research and interview confidentiality

Obtain consent

Information Sheet, Interview consent form

1. To explore participants' perceptions of the programme

Expectations of the programme

- How did you find out about the programme?
- What did you expect? What did you think it would involve?
- To what extent has the programme met your expectations? How come it has or hasn't?
- How has the programme brought you face-to-face with your offending?

Perceptions in relation to the operation of the programme

- What did you like/dislike about the programme? How come?
- What aspects/parts of the programme did you like the most/least? For what reasons?
- What one part of the programme do you feel had the most/least impact on you? Why do you say that?

[Note – most recent wānanga if attended more than one. Confirm number of days and format in this section of the question].

How did you find the:

- Format of the wānanga – the number of days, the timeframes, different parts of the wānanga
- The material covered – was sufficient, understandable, relevant
- Mentors – were knowledgeable, able to present information, approachable, able to relate to, well organised
- What, if anything, made it difficult for you to fully participate in the programme?
- What changes, if any, would you suggest improving the programme?

[**Note** – Where applicable, these questions will be asked of each component of the programme and where participants have done more than one wānanga then comparisons between wānanga will be sought].

Satisfaction with the programme

- What are all the things you like about the programme? What did you like best? How come?
 - What are all the things you dislike about the programme? What did you dislike the most? How come?
 - How do you feel about the mentors? Like? Dislike?
 - How would you feel if the programme were stopped and no longer available? What would you miss most? What wouldn't you miss?
 - If you could change one thing about the programme what would it be? Other suggestions?
2. To describe and document the programme in a detailed and clear manner, for example, what is being done, how, when and with whom?

Whānau involvement

- How do you feel about whānau involvement? Likes/dislikes?
 - What do you feel is the purpose of involving whānau?
 - What makes it difficult for whānau to participate? What can be done to help whānau to participate?
 - How would you feel if the whānau component were withdrawn from the wānanga? What difference would it make to the wānanga? What difference would it make to you?
3. To review the extent to which the stated programme objectives are being met and what factors impact on this? To what extent does the programme help inmates and their whānau to achieve emotional, spiritual, social, attitudinal and behavioural change – as articulated in the programme; and to what extent does the programme impact on offending behaviour?

Perceptions in relation to the outcomes of the programme

- What difference do you believe the programme has made in your life?
- What changes – spiritual, emotional, social, attitudinal, behavioural – have you made as a result of the programme? [**Note** specific examples?]
- What were your reasons for making those changes?
- How easy/difficult is it to maintain those changes whilst in prison?
- How likely do you think you will be able to maintain those changes once released? What will make it difficult/easy to maintain the changes?
- How likely do you feel you will re-offend once you get out of prison? Do you think MT will help you not to re-offend? In what way?

Appendix 4 Letter – Request to undertake follow up interview (post release)

[Address and phone numbers]

August 17 2001

Kia ora e hoa

Ko ngā mihi nui ki a koe

I'm not quite sure if you remember me, my name is Laurie Porima and we met while you attended a Mahi Tahi Wānanga. My colleague, Nan Wehipeihana and I, were doing research on the wānanga for the Ministry of Justice. We were the two observers that sat in the wānanga with the mentors.

A couple of months after the wānanga Nan and I came back and interviewed you about what you thought of the wānanga. We also asked if we could talk with you after your release. This letter is to firstly ask if we can come and talk with you and then if possible to arrange a time and place to meet.

As with all our previous interviews, this interview is not compulsory and you are not obliged to meet with us if you choose not to. However the information we seek from you will be of great use to our research.

If you would like to be interviewed for our research can you call either Nan or I collect on Nan Wehipeihana 04 2323531 or Laurie 04 2355864. If we are not available please leave a contact phone number so we can return your call.

If you wish you can have whānau with you as support during the interview.

Na Maua

Laurie Porima and Nan Wehipeihana
Researchers

Appendix 5 Participant Interview Guide – Post Release

Participant Interview Guide Post Release

Introduction

Mihimihi, karakia

Explanation of the purpose of the research and interview confidentiality

Obtain consent

Information Sheet, Interview consent form

Participant situational profile

Can you tell me about what you've been doing since you got out of prison?

- When did you get released?
- Date of release _____
- What have you been doing since then?
- First month after being released?
- And since then?

Living

- Where?
- With who?
- Number of shifts? _____ Reasons for shift?

Relationships

- How have things been with:
- Partner (if applicable)
- Children (if applicable)
- Whānau – parents
- Whānau – other
- Going Well? Not well? For what reasons?

Courses/Employment

- Are you currently working in paid employment?
- Yes: How did you find the job?

- How's it going?
- Like/dislike
- No: Have you been looking for a job? Yes/no, how come?
- What have you been doing?
- How's that going?

Impact of Mahi Tahi wānanga (in prison)

- Looking back now, what are your thoughts on the Mahi Tahi wānanga.
- What impact did the wānanga have on you while in prison?
- What changes did you make?
- Note specific examples?
- What were your reasons for making those changes?

OR

When we spoke to you in _____ this year you said that you had or intended to make a number of changes:

- (to be completed from notes from first interview)
- changed...
- changed...
- stopped....
- stopped....
- started....
- etc

Are you still doing those things now?

- Which ones do you still follow? Not follow? How come?
- What's made it easy or difficult to maintain those changes?
- (probe for each of the changes mentioned previously)

You also talked about some goals and plans (check notes from first interview)

- Have you been able to pursue those plans?

Impact of Mahi Tahi wānanga (post release)

Now that you're no longer in prison, what are your thoughts on the Mahi Tahi wānanga?

- You mentioned (before) that you made a number of changes while in prison?
- Have you been able to maintain those changes?

-
- How come you have/haven't maintained those changes?
 - What's made it easy or difficult to stick to those changes?
 - How useful/relevant are the wānanga teachings in your day-to-day life now?
 - (probe all, part/some, none plus explanation).

Other Programmes

- What other programmes did you complete while in prison?
- What impact, if any, did they have on you at the time?
- What about now, how useful were those programmes since you've been out of prison?
- How do they compare (individually and as a group) to Mahi Tahi wānanga?

Re-offending

- How likely do you feel you will re-offend? Why, why not?
- How likely do you feel you will go back to prison?
- Do you think Mahi Tahi wānanga will help you not to re-offend? In what way?
- What would most help you not re-offend?

Future plans

- What are your plans for the next 6 months?
- Personal, relationship, whānau, not offending?
- Next 12 months?
- How realistic do you think it is that you will achieve those goals/plans?

Final comments

- Is there anything you would like to say about the Mahi Tahi wānanga? Mentors?
- Final comments?

Closure

Thank

Reassure about confidentiality

Koha

Description	Maintained in prison (Y/N)	Maintained post release (Y/N)	Comment
Stopped smoking			
Stopped drinking			
Stopped “dakking”			
Stopped swearing			
Stopped stand over treatment			
Karakia			
Learning te reo			
Learning tikanga			
Other changes			

Appendix 6 Schedule of main research activity

Date	Prison	Event
May 2000	Mangaroa	Hui with Mahi Tahi Trustees and MFU Rūnanga (inmates) overnight session
May 2000	Mangaroa	4 day wānanga
October 2000	Rimutaka Prison	4 day wānanga
November 2000	Paremoremo Prison	4 day wānanga
December 2000	Mangaroa Prison	2 day wānanga
January 2001	Paparoa Prison	4 day wānanga cancelled by Prison management
February 2001	Waikeria Prison	4 day wānanga
May – July 2001	All prisons	Post wānanga interviews
December 2001 – March 2002	Auckland, Rotorua, Tauranga, Napier, Hastings and Wellington	Post release interviews

Appendix 7 Stage Two (post wānanga) research sample response rate

Response rate: Pre release interviews	Total	Wānanga Attended			
		Mangaroa May 2000	Rimutaka Oct 2000	Mangaroa Dec 2000	Waikeria Feb 2001
Participant numbers on wānanga ^{note 1}	72	10	11	32	19
Less:					
- Not due for release within research timeframe ^{note 2}	19	6	3	2	8
Actual research sample	53	4	8	30	11
Less:					
- Released prior to follow up contact ^{note 3}	15	1	2	6	6
- Not available ^{note 4}	15	1	1	9	4
Pre-release interviews completed	23	2	5	16	0
Response rate (of actual research sample)	43%				

Note 1

The researchers also attended a four-day wānanga at Paremoremo Prison. However none of the participants who attended were due to be released within the timeframe of the research and therefore could not be included in later stages of the research.

In total 74 participants attended the four wānanga. However two participants from the first wānanga in May 2000 also attended the November 2000 wānanga.

The cancellation by Paparoa Prison Management of the wānanga scheduled for January 2001 reduced overall participant numbers and impacted on the size of the potential research sample.

Note 2

The research was originally scheduled for fieldwork to be completed in June 2001. This timeframe was extended to October 2001 to increase the potential sample size at stage two – post wānanga interviews with participants whilst still in prison. Even with the extension to the research timeframe, of the original 72 participants who attended wānanga only 53 could be considered for stage two (and as a consequence stage three) of the research.

In addition, the original research plan envisaged post wānanga interviews (i.e. interviews with participants whilst still in prison) would be completed soon after the wānanga, from October to December 2000. This timetable proved to be unrealistic as the task of attending the four-day wānanga, documenting the programme, developing relationships and programme knowledge consumed the allocated research resource.

The Waikeria wānanga was added to hopefully increase potential participant numbers for stage two of the research as a result of the cancellation of the Paparoa wānanga and to compensate for there being no participants from the Paremoremo wānanga scheduled to be released within the timeframes of the research.

Note 3

Official release information for participants who attended May through to December wānanga was requested and received in January and February 2001. During this time, some wānanga participants had been released from prison.

In contrast to other wānanga where there was a reasonable period of time between attending the wānanga and expected release date, one third of the men who attended the Waikeria wānanga in February 2001 were released in March and April 2001, with the researchers being advised after they had been released or were pending release. There was insufficient time therefore to arrange an interview with these participants.

Note 4

Reasons given for the non-availability of participants to be interviewed included: on a training course, involved in an employment activity (often off-site) and “in the pound.”

Appendix 8 Stage Three (post release) research sample response rate

Response rate: Post-release interviews	Total	Wānanga Attended			
		Mangaroa May 2000	Rimutaka Oct 2000	Mangaroa Dec 2000	Waikeria Feb 2001
Pre-release interviews completed	23	2	5	16	0
Plus two additional interviews ^{note 1}	2			1	1
Revised total	25	2	5	17	1
Less					
Declined	1	1			
Not contactable ^{note 2}	5		2	3	
Returned to prison	1		1		
Not released from prison (as expected)	4			4	
Post-release interviews completed	14	1	2	10	1
Response rate (as a % of pre-release interviews)	56%				

Note 1

The researchers made contact with two participants not able to be interviewed at the post wānanga stage who agreed to be interviewed at the post release stage. Their interviews were longer than average in order to cover their perceptions of the wānanga pre release.

Note 2

Not contactable – the researchers were not able to make contact with participants for the following reasons:

- Phone number disconnected
- Moved from last known address – no forwarding address
- Next of kin details no longer current
- Did not respond to telephone message

Appendix 9 Programme Completion Form

PROGRAMME COMPLETION INFORMATION

1. Inmate name: _____
2. PRN: _____
3. Prison: _____
4. Sentence Commencement Date: _____ Release date: _____
5. Please tick (✓) this box if **no** programmes were completed by the inmate in the 3 years before the release date

Otherwise, for all programmes **completed** by the inmate up to 3 years before the Release Date, please enter the date that the programme was completed in the table below next to the type of programme completed.

Programme type	Date programme completed			
Drug and alcohol treatment				
Violence Prevention/Anger Management				
Educational skills				
Straight Thinking (cognitive skills)				
Sexual offending				
Māori offending eg <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mita Mohi – Mau Rakau 				
Parenting/family functioning				
Financial management				
Traffic offending				
Cultural skills, eg kapa-haka, te reo				
Life and social skills				
Preparation for release				
Spiritual well-being				
Creative arts/crafts				
Structured recreation				
Conservation corps				
Other _____ (please state)				

Please send the completed Forms and List to: Yew-Aik Tan, National Office, Public Prisons Service, Department of Corrections, Private Box 1206, Wellington.

Appendix 10 Survival analysis test

The number of days to reconviction or reimprisonment for the two samples was analysed using a survival analysis technique – Cox’s proportional hazards regression using the PHREG procedure in SAS. In terms of reconviction, 47% of the Mahi Tahi sample and 44% of the Control group sample were censored⁴⁴ at one year. In terms of reimprisonment, 80% of the Mahi Tahi sample and 76% of the Control group sample were censored at one year.

Table A2.1 Cox’s proportional hazards model of time to reconviction (censored at one year), Mahi Tahi sample versus Control Group sample

Variable ¹	DF	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Chi-square	p	Hazard ratio
Mahi Tahi vs. Control	1	-0.063	0.129	0.235	0.628	0.939
Aged 20-24 vs. Aged 17-19	1	-0.303	0.284	1.141	0.286	0.739
Aged 25-29 vs. Aged 17-19	1	-0.515	0.302	2.918	0.088	0.597
Aged 30+ vs. Aged 17-19	1	-1.168	0.309	14.318	<0.001	0.311
Violent vs. other offence	1	0.056	0.184	0.092	0.762	1.057
Property vs. other offence	1	0.560	0.193	8.441	0.004	1.750
Māori vs. non-Māori	1	0.466	0.369	1.598	0.206	1.594
5-9 Priors vs. 0-4 prior convictions	1	0.720	0.325	4.912	0.027	2.055
10-19 Priors vs. 0-4 prior convictions	1	0.530	0.322	2.700	0.100	1.699
20+ Priors vs. 0-4 prior convictions	1	0.877	0.370	5.612	0.018	2.404
1-2 Prior prison vs. 0 prior prison	1	0.418	0.250	2.791	0.095	1.520
3-5 Prior prison vs. 0 prior prison	1	0.056	0.273	0.042	0.838	1.057
6+ Prior prison vs. 0 prior prison	1	0.375	0.245	2.351	0.125	1.456
Sentence >1-2 years vs. ≤1 year ²	1	-0.191	0.179	1.134	0.287	0.826
Sentence >2 years vs. ≤1 year ²	1	-0.288	0.194	2.213	0.137	0.750
Life sentence vs. ≤1 year ²	1	-0.339	0.746	0.207	0.649	0.712

Notes:

1. All inmates in the samples were male, hence no gender variable was included in the analysis.
2. Length of imposed prison sentence.
3. Variables found to be statistically significant in the model have been bolded in the table.

Table A2.1 shows that the comparison of reconviction rates between the Mahi Tahi sample and Control Group sample was not significant. The table shows that inmates aged 30 or more were significantly less likely to be reconvicted within a year than inmates aged 17 to 19 years. A hazard ratio of 0.311 implies that, when controlling for other available factors, inmates aged 30 or more were 68.9% ($[1 - 0.311] * 100$) less likely to be reconvicted within a year than inmates aged 17 to 19 years.

Inmates with 5 to 9, or 20+ prior convictions were, when controlling for other available factors, more than twice as likely to be reconvicted within a year than inmates with 0 to 4 prior convictions.

⁴⁴ The data was “right censored” i.e. at the end of the time period of measurement (one year) the event of interest (i.e. a reconviction) had not yet occurred. Therefore, for these people the number of days to reconviction is taken to be “greater than 365”.

Table A2.2 shows that the comparison of reimprisonment rates between the Mahi Tahi sample and Control Group sample was not significant. The table shows that when controlling for other available factors, inmates with six or more prior prison sentences were nearly three times more likely to be reimprisoned within a year than inmates who had not been imprisoned previously.

Table A2.2 Cox's proportional hazards model of time to reimprisonment (censored at one year), Mahi Tahi sample versus Control Group sample

Variable	DF	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Chi-square	p	Hazard ratio
Mahi Tahi vs. Control	1	-0.248	0.205	1.460	0.227	0.780
Aged 20-24 vs. Aged 17-19	1	0.306	0.456	0.450	0.502	1.358
Aged 25-29 vs. Aged 17-19	1	-0.006	0.481	0.000	0.990	0.994
Aged 30+ vs. Aged 17-19	1	-0.291	0.481	0.365	0.546	0.748
Violent vs. other offence	1	-0.313	0.289	1.172	0.279	0.731
Property vs. other offence	1	0.336	0.276	1.480	0.224	1.399
Māori vs. non-Māori	1	-0.401	0.479	0.701	0.403	0.669
5-9 Priors vs. 0-4 prior convictions	1	1.513	0.782	3.737	0.053	4.538
10-19 Priors vs. 0-4 prior convictions	1	0.970	0.806	1.450	0.229	2.638
20+ Priors vs. 0-4 prior convictions	1	1.197	0.846	2.001	0.157	3.309
1-2 Prior prison vs. 0 prior prison	1	0.274	0.489	0.314	0.576	1.315
3-5 Prior prison vs. 0 prior prison	1	0.393	0.477	0.680	0.410	1.482
6+ Prior prison vs. 0 prior prison	1	1.026	0.440	5.426	0.020	2.789
Sentence >1-2 years vs. <=1 year	1	-0.294	0.262	1.252	0.263	0.746
Sentence >2 years vs. <=1 year	1	-0.609	0.301	4.109	0.043	0.544
Life sentence vs. <=1 year	1	-12.672	605.006	0.000	0.983	0.000

Inmates who had received prison sentences of more than two years were, when controlling for other available factors, only half as likely to be reimprisoned than inmates who had received prison sentences of one year or less.