



MINISTRY OF
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Te Manatū Whakahiato Ora

**Crossover between child protection and
youth justice, and transition to the adult
system**

**Centre for Social Research and Evaluation
Te Pokapū Rangahau Arotake Hapori**

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Introduction

This document summarises research into New Zealand's adult offenders, seeking to identify what proportion of adult offenders with sentences managed by the Department of Corrections¹ have had any degree of contact with Child, Youth and Family² for care and protection and/or youth justice concerns.

The purpose of the work is to identify the degree of crossover between the care and protection system, youth justice, and the adult justice system. It provides evidence of what has generally been anecdotally understood – that the risk factors for children and young people that attract the attention of child protection services overlap with those risk factors that indicate poor outcomes as an adult.

The rate of child maltreatment findings in New Zealand is going down for physical abuse, sexual abuse and neglect. Despite this, notifications of concern – and the associated demand placed on Child, Youth and Family resources – continue to rise.

At the same time, data collection and analysis capability amongst social services and the justice sector has become increasingly sophisticated, allowing agencies to more effectively interrogate their records in order to inform future work.

Through comparing records for the adult offending population held by the Department of Corrections against those for children and young people previously known to Child, Youth and Family, there is the opportunity to understand where further analysis can inform early intervention models that will enable agencies to help change the path of those at risk of a life of offending.

Benefits of such an approach are manifold. A life of offending is obviously costly for the Government. That cost is addressed in this document. What cannot be accurately measured is the cost to society. A young person exhibiting sustained, chronic, antisocial, criminogenic behaviour that extends into adulthood harms their victims, their victims' families, their own family, their peers and sometimes entire communities. The potential to be a positive, contributing part of the community is lost, both to them and the country.

This research quantifies adult offenders who were known to Child, Youth and Family through Care and Protection (C&P) or Youth Justice (YJ). It identifies the disproportionate cost to the Department of Corrections of adult offenders that have come to the attention of Child, Youth and Family as children and young people; and indicates the potential value of early intervention. It also identifies some early warning indicators that are associated with a transition to adult offending.

¹ The Department of Corrections enforces the sentences and orders of the criminal courts and parole board. Corrections improves public safety by ensuring sentence compliance and works to reduce re-offending by providing offenders with rehabilitation programmes, education and job training. <http://www.corrections.govt.nz/>

² The two key roles of the Department of Child, Youth and Family are: to be a provider of high-quality services to children who need care and protection or who offend and to support and assist their families to keep their children safe; and to facilitate and collaborate in the delivery of high-quality services by other service providers to children and young people who are living in circumstances where they are at risk of being in need of care and protection or committing offences. <http://www.cyf.govt.nz/>

Background

Children and young people included in this work

The primary data which underpin this research reflect contact by one or both agencies with people born in 1989³. 'Client' is used throughout this report in the generic sense that the relevant agency "delivered services or interventions to this person; has a record for this person".

Notably, the data describe contact with clients rather than details of the underlying reasons for that contact⁴. Research and evaluation work undertaken generally which includes case-notes analysis identifies that there are typically multiple background issues within the family's situation for investigated cases. Issues include mental health, crime and family violence, substance abuse, alcohol and drug issues. Very few case-notes identify solely physical or sexual abuse issues occurring without a range of stressors also present. Most child abuse is observed to be occurring with the context of high stress conditions.

Child, Youth and Family is routinely alerted to vulnerable children who may face a number of risks in addition to maltreatment e.g. family criminality, poor parenting skills, educational disengagement, mental health, drugs and alcohol, antisocial peers. Thus 'contact' and 'client' are defined in a broad sense for Child, Youth and Family. Records for children and young people are held by the agency, even where an investigation or intervention was not required. For example, a single, unsubstantiated concern around neglect would still constitute – for the purposes of the measures used in this research - a child being referred to as a client. At the other end of the spectrum is the most serious of abuse. Caution must be exercised as to interpreting a client as being subject to active intervention from child protection services.

Child, Youth and Family is the lead agency with responsibility for child protection and youth justice from 0 to 16 years. At least a quarter of the children and young people in New Zealand come to Child, Youth and Family's attention over concerns about neglect, abuse or offending.

The Department of Corrections deals mostly with people aged 17 years or over. For very serious offences, those as young as 14 can be transferred from the Child, Youth and Family youth justice system to receive a Corrections-managed sentence⁵.

Most children and young people known to Child, Youth and Family do not go on to a Corrections-managed sentence, however over half of young people under 20 years old in prisons have had prior contact with the agency.

Cost of crime

In addition to imposing wide social costs, crime has a direct impact on cost to the Government and thus the taxpayer. In 2003/2004, Treasury (Roper & Thompson, 2006) estimated that crime cost New Zealand \$9.1 billion annually. Of this, \$2.1

³ In the chapter on cost of high-risk clients there are supplementary results for the cohort born in 1985.

⁴ Underlying reasons may be captured in unstructured case notes, but these are not analysed here.

⁵ In the extreme case of murder or manslaughter legislation allows for those as young as 10 to receive a prison sentence.

billion was carried by the Crown. Communities carry the bulk of the crime costs. Financial costs are a proxy for the considerable harm crime causes within society.

Life-course persistent offenders dominate offender costs

The cost of harm and crime is unevenly spread amongst offenders (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972). A small proportion of offenders (5%-6%) commit disproportionate amounts of all offences (50%-60%). These high-volume offenders start their careers early and stay in the justice system for a long time. The median cost (across all government) of a chronic antisocial male⁶ over his lifetime in New Zealand is estimated at \$3 million⁷ (Scott, 2003).

Teenage prisoners dominate Corrections' costs

A small proportion of males consistently display antisocial behaviour throughout their life (Moffitt, 1993). They show antisocial behaviour as a child, and offend both as a youth and an adult. High-cost offenders are noticeable in their later years as their offending has outlasted that of their peers (Harpham, 2008).

As background to this work, an analysis of Corrections' clients born in 1960 confirmed that imprisonment of a young person under twenty years old is a likely indicator of life long, persistent offending. The costs for Corrections' clients born in 1960 were tracked through to 2009 when they were aged 48 or 49. Over this period the group who started a Corrections-managed sentence while they were teenagers cost Corrections on average:

- five times more than the group starting in their late twenties
- ten times more than the group starting in their late thirties.

Clients who enter prison under 20 typically go on to have long and expensive Corrections' intervention.

Effectiveness of interventions at different life stages

The effectiveness of interventions appears to be age dependent. Two time-sensitive windows have been identified in which to address a child or young person's criminogenic behaviour:

- before age seven, and the earlier the better⁸ (Advisory Group on Conduct Problems, 2009)
- after age 30 (Bakker & Riley, 1996).

Interventions during the intense offending years (under 20 to mid/late 20s) can still be effective, but it can be more difficult or costly to achieve the same level of behaviour change.

⁶ Chronic antisocial adolescent males were defined as those male offenders who had their first adult court conviction before 17 years and at least one offence after the age of 45 years.

⁷ Lifetime costs varied from \$1.0 million to \$6.1 million. This costing did not cover costs within Child, Youth and Family.

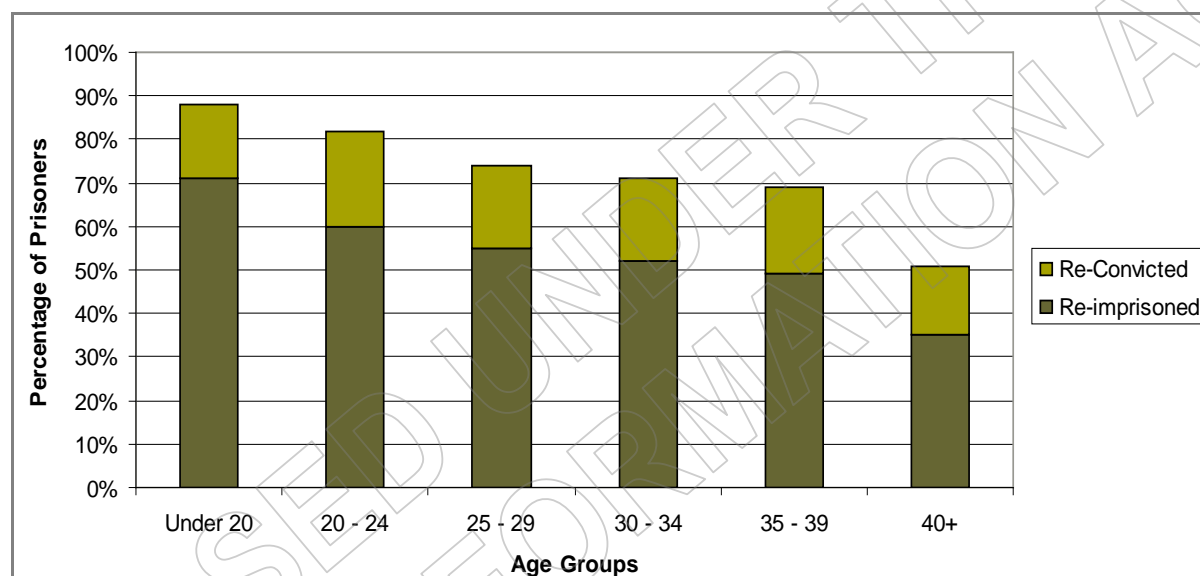
⁸ Interventions between the ages of 8 and 12 were found to be more complex and less effective.

Effectiveness of adult interventions

One reason that young people whose behaviour has led to a prison sentence go on to dominate Corrections' costs is that they are difficult to rehabilitate.

Figure 1 shows that in the five years after release from prison those aged under 20 years (at the time of their release from prison) are the highest reoffenders of any age group (Nadesu, 2009).

Figure 1: Reconviction and reimprisonment rates by age at release from prison (Nadesu, 2009)



Targeting earlier intervention would require earlier identification

Targeted intervention for the most at risk children and young people requires tools that support accurate early identification of risks and needs. This research tests the extent to which Child, Youth and Family data provide an opportunity to identify and intervene with those most at risk of becoming chronically antisocial, prior to referral for formal Youth Justice processes, and prior to imprisonment.

This report covers the:

- degree of overlap between Care and Protection and Youth Justice jurisdictions
- linking of data from Child, Youth and Family and Corrections
- identification of clients known to both agencies
- impact of high-cost clients.

Data

The Centre for Social Research and Evaluation (CSRE) and Department of Corrections cooperated to conduct research on the crossover from Care and Protection into Youth Justice and on to Corrections-managed sentences⁹ for two birth cohorts: those born in 1985 and in 1989. The two agencies extracted and exchanged the data that form the basis for this work in May 2009; unless otherwise indicated results in this paper are as at May 2009.

Crossover between Care and Protection and Youth Justice clients

The term crossover client denotes children and young people known to both the Care and Protection and Youth Justice systems. In the last decade, international interest in crossover clients has been growing (Ryan & Testa, 2005; Bilchik & Nash, 2008; Herz & Ryan 2008; Herz, 2010).

At a national level, New Zealand has simple jurisdictions, making research into crossover clients comparatively easy to conduct. Within New Zealand, Child, Youth and Family is ideally placed to identify crossover clients.

Child, Youth and Family is not notified of all offences committed by children and young people. The emphasis within the New Zealand youth justice system is to divert young offenders away from formal youth justice processes where possible.

Around 20 percent of youth offenders are referred for formal¹⁰ Child, Youth and Family Youth Justice processes, while the remainder are dealt with informally¹¹. This research only contains results for clients with referrals to Child, Youth and Family for formal Youth Justice processes¹² and so does not consider those who received alternative action.

Child, Youth and Family and Corrections client ages overlap

While Child, Youth and Family primarily deals with children and young people aged 16 or under and Corrections primarily deal with those aged 17 or over, there is a small age overlap. Child, Youth and Family can hold care and protection records from conception to age 16 years¹³ and formal youth justice records from age 10 to 17 years.

Only the adult court system may impose a Corrections-managed sentence, such as community work or imprisonment. Court cases to do with young people aged 14 to 16 (or in the case of murder or manslaughter, those as young as 10) are heard, at

⁹ Matching with Corrections' data means the study does not consider lesser sanctions open to Police (eg warning, caution or alternative action) or the Courts (eg fine and discharge without conviction). Questions on the overlap between CYF clients and offenders identified and dealt with in these other ways would require data matching exercises with Police and the Ministry of Justice, which were outside the scope of this work.

¹⁰ Through family group conference (FGC) and/or Youth Court.

¹¹ Through alternative action, such as warning or diversion.

¹² Answering the question about care and protection clients with informal Youth Justice contact would require a separate data match between CYF and Police. Official Police records do not capture the full extent of offending by individuals, as some crimes are unreported, unrecorded or unsolved.

¹³ A small number of clients (e.g. those with high needs such as severe disabilities) have guardianship arrangements until age 20.

least initially, outside of the adult justice system in the Youth Court. The Youth Court cannot impose a Corrections-managed sentence, but it is able to transfer the most serious cases to the District or High Courts which can. Of those born in 1989 and later sentenced to imprisonment, only 30 (less than 5%) were aged 16 or younger at the time they committed the offence leading to that sentence.

Incomplete birth cohort data

This work uses data from Child, Youth and Family's current recording system which was introduced in 1996. Records prior to 1996 exist, but it was not feasible to merge them with the newer data. For children born in 1989 this means the data used in this work do not contain records for their first six years of life; for those born in 1985 the gap spans their first ten years. Child, Youth and Family will have the first set of complete single-system client data for a birth cohort in 2014, when those born in 1996 turn 18.

At the time data was extracted and matched in 2009:

- the cohort born in 1989 was turning 20 years of age. The records available for this research do not include care and protection data from conception to 6 years old; an estimated¹⁴ 50 percent of lifetime Child, Youth and Family referrals.
- the 1985 birth cohort was turning 24 years of age. The records available for this research do not include records from conception to 10 years old; an estimated 68 percent of lifetime Child, Youth and Family referrals (mostly care and protection).

As the Child, Youth and Family records for the 1985 cohort are less complete, unless otherwise stated the results in this report are for the 1989 birth cohort.

The change between recording systems results in an under-estimation of the crossover from Care and Protection to Youth Justice. Some clients who appear to have youth justice records only, will have had care and protection records in the earlier recording system. When complete single-system data is available for a later birth cohort the crossover may appear to increase.

Data and identity match

In accordance with the Privacy Act 1993, the Ministry of Social Development¹⁵ and Corrections developed an interagency agreement to exchange data for research purposes.

Child, Youth and Family and Corrections records were matched on first name, middle name, family name and date of birth. Exact, equal or soundex¹⁶ matches on first name, family name and date of birth constituted the bulk of the matches. Further

¹⁴ The estimate of missing records was based on the distribution of referrals by age of subject in 2007. Care and Protection referrals are heavily skewed towards the beginning of a person's life (aged 0-1 years) and decrease from there onwards. Referrals increase again slightly with youth justice referrals which increase towards their peak at the opposite end of Child, Youth and Family jurisdiction (16 years of age).

¹⁵ The Ministry of Social Development (MSD) is the government's lead provider of policy advice and services in respect of children and young people, working age people, older people, families, whānau and communities. Child, Youth and Family are one of the service lines within the Ministry. <http://www.msd.govt.nz/>

¹⁶ Soundex is an algorithm that produces a suggested match on the basis that the names sound the same, e.g. "Christine" and "Krystene".

matches were then identified using algorithms that check for common variations and errors in the way that identities are recorded e.g. transposed characters, mismatched date formats, hyphenated surnames.

At each stage the peer reviewers made conservative judgments about the data match. Multiple identities (and their attributes) were merged into single identities before the results were analysed.

Statistics New Zealand estimates were used to establish the base for the 1989 birth cohort. From the 58,091 people born in 1989, the data used in this study included:

- 13,676 records for individuals held by Child, Youth and Family
- 4,259 records for individuals held by the Department of Corrections

There were 2,510 matches accepted between Child, Youth and Family and Corrections records for the 1989 birth cohort.

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Crossover rates

Crossover Clients: Care and Protection to Youth Justice

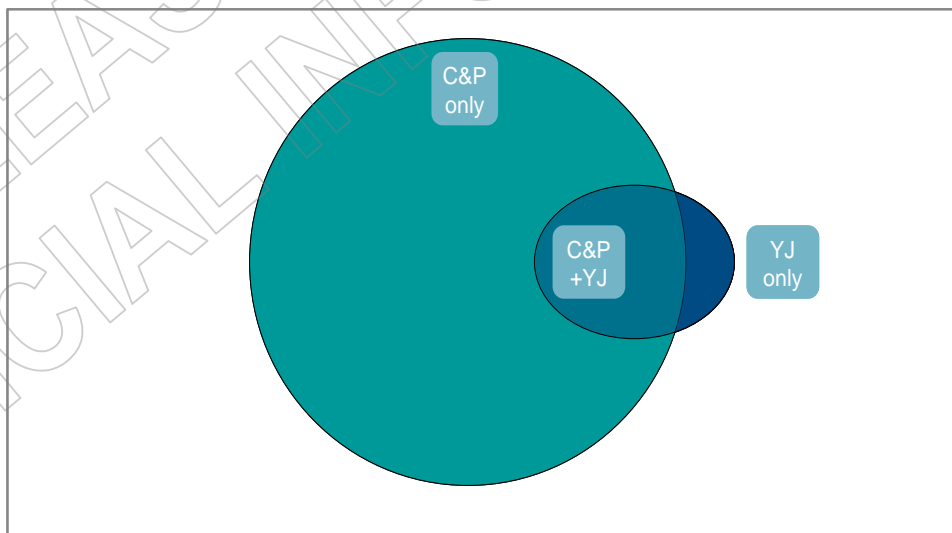
Child, Youth and Family records show that three-quarters (73%) of youth justice clients are also known for care and protection concerns (Table 1)¹⁷. To reduce the effect of incomplete records before 1996, the data in this table are sourced from a range of birth years. Data for this table were extracted in July 2010.

Table 1: Crossover between Youth Justice and Care and Protection by year of birth

Age in 2009	15/16	14/15	13/14	12/13	11/12	10/11	9/10	Total / Average
Year of Birth	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	
YJ Only	965	492	225	65	17	7	10	1,781
C&P to YJ	1,992	1,362	791	236	90	47	21	4,539
YJ to C&P	162	91	37	11	4	1	1	307
Total with YJ	3,119	1,945	1,053	312	111	55	32	6,627
% C&P & YJ	69%	75%	79%	79%	85%	87%	69%	73%

Figure 2 shows that rather than being separate groups, the Child, Youth and Family youth justice population is largely a subset of the Child, Youth and Family care and protection population. While the majority of Youth Justice clients come to attention for care and protection issues, the vast majority of care and protection clients do not go on to be involved with youth justice.

Figure 2: Overlap between Care and Protection and Youth Justice issues amongst CYF



At least one Care and Protection notification precedes the youth justice contact for over two-thirds (68%) of youth justice clients. Those without a care and protection record made up most of the remaining youth justice clients, with only 5% having a youth justice record that pre-dated their care and protection contact.

¹⁷ This table describes the previous history of youth justice clients -- children and young people with only a care and protection history are not included.

These crossover results are significant, as they confirm a common pattern of escalation within the Child, Youth and Family records. The results highlight that with further analysis of children or young persons' care and protection histories, we can proactively identify people at risk of future offending behaviour. With a strong evidence base now established, this work is being taken forward by the Ministry as outlined in the section below entitled *Building on the evidence*.

Transition: Child, Youth and Family to Corrections

Between the ages 6-16 years, 24 percent of the 1989 birth cohort had come to the attention of Child, Youth and Family (Table 2). By 2009, when the 1989 birth cohort turned 20, 7 percent of the total cohort had acquired a Corrections-managed community or prison sentence.

Over half of those under Corrections-managed sentences were known to Child, Youth and Family. Of those born in 1989 who had acquired a Corrections-managed sentence, either community-based or imprisonment, by May 2009, over half (59%) had prior contact with Child, Youth and Family (Table 2).

Table 2: Crossover between Child, Youth and Family and Corrections by age 19/20 (1989 birth cohort)

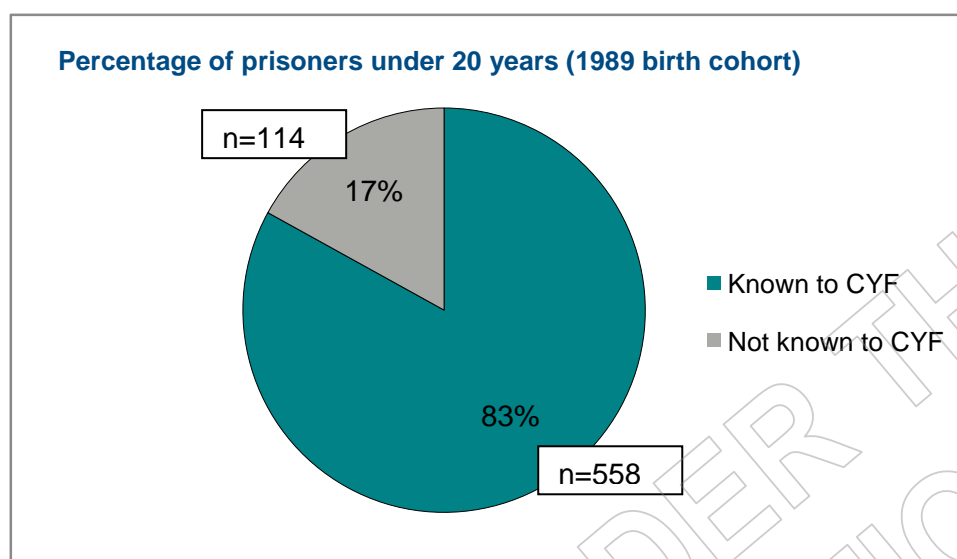
		Corrections' Record		Total
		Yes	No	
Known to CYF 6 – 16 years	Yes	2,510	11,166	13,676
	No	1,749	42,666	44,415
	Total	4,259	53,832	58,091

The issues faced by children and young people known to Child, Youth and Family mean they are five times more likely to have a Corrections' sentence by the year they turn 20 than the rest of the population. One in six (18%) of those born in 1989 known to Child, Youth and Family had started a Corrections-managed sentence by age 19/20, compared to one in 25 (4%) of the non-Child, Youth and Family population (Table 2).

Transition: teenagers in prison

The majority of teenage prisoners have Child, Youth and Family records. Although over 4,200 of those in the 1989 birth cohort have Corrections records, most had community-based sentences with only 672 (16%) imprisoned as teenagers. The majority (83%) of those imprisoned under 20 had a previous Child, Youth and Family record (Figure 3).

Figure 3: 1989 birth cohort imprisoned before age 20 years (n = 672)



Only a small number of teenagers go to prison. In terms of the total birth cohort of 58,091 only 672 (1.2%) have had a prison sentence by age 20. This represents 16 percent of the 4,259 in the cohort with a Corrections record (Table 3).

Within the 13,676 1989 birth cohort of Child, Youth and Family clients, the rate of future imprisonment as a teenager, although still low in absolute terms, was relatively higher at 4 percent.

While it is notable that young people whose behaviour results in prison have predominantly come to the attention of Child, Youth and Family, it is as significant to consider that the vast majority of children and young people known to Child, Youth and Family **do not** enter the adult justice system.

Table 3: Crossover between Child, Youth and Family and prison before age 20 (1989 birth cohort)

		Prison Record as a Teenager		Total
		Yes	No	
Known to CYF 6 – 16 years	Yes	558	13,118	13,676
	No	114	44,301	44,415
	Total	672	57,419	58,091

Transition to a Corrections sentence varies by Child, Youth and Family client type

This section looks at flow rates and the teenage prison population (n = 672) broken down by Child, Youth and Family client type:

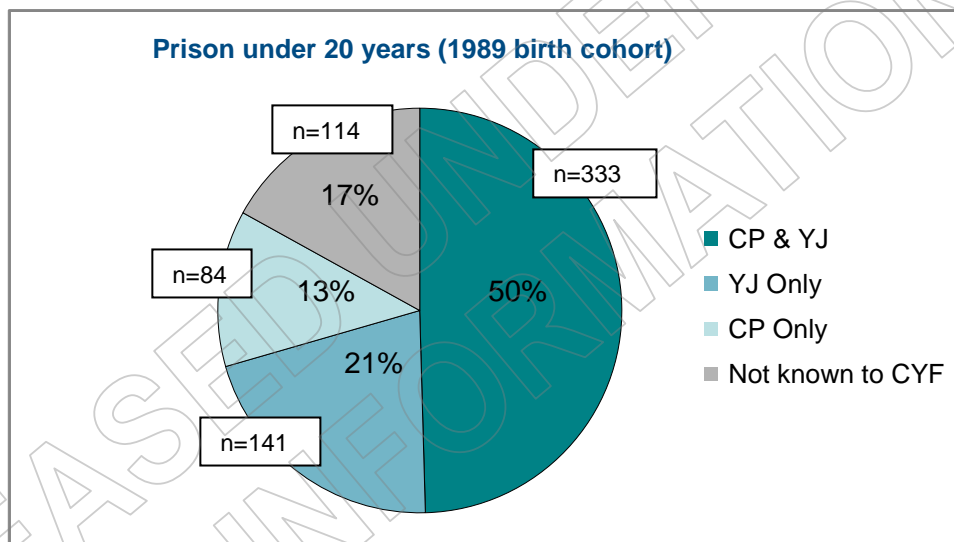
- Care and Protection only
- Youth Justice only

- crossover clients (those with both a care and protection and youth justice record).

The crossover client type is most at risk for receiving a future Corrections-managed sentence. Half (52%) of crossover clients have a Corrections record of some kind by age 19/20 and 18 percent are imprisoned under 20. This group accounts for half (50%) of all prisoners under 20 – see Figure 4. The group at next highest risk are those known to Youth Justice only; 40 percent of which have a subsequent Corrections record.

Clients with Care and Protection notifications that did not go on to engage with the Youth Justice system had distinctly better adult justice system outcomes than their crossover peers.

Figure 4: Prisoners under 20 by Child, Youth and Family client type (n = 672)



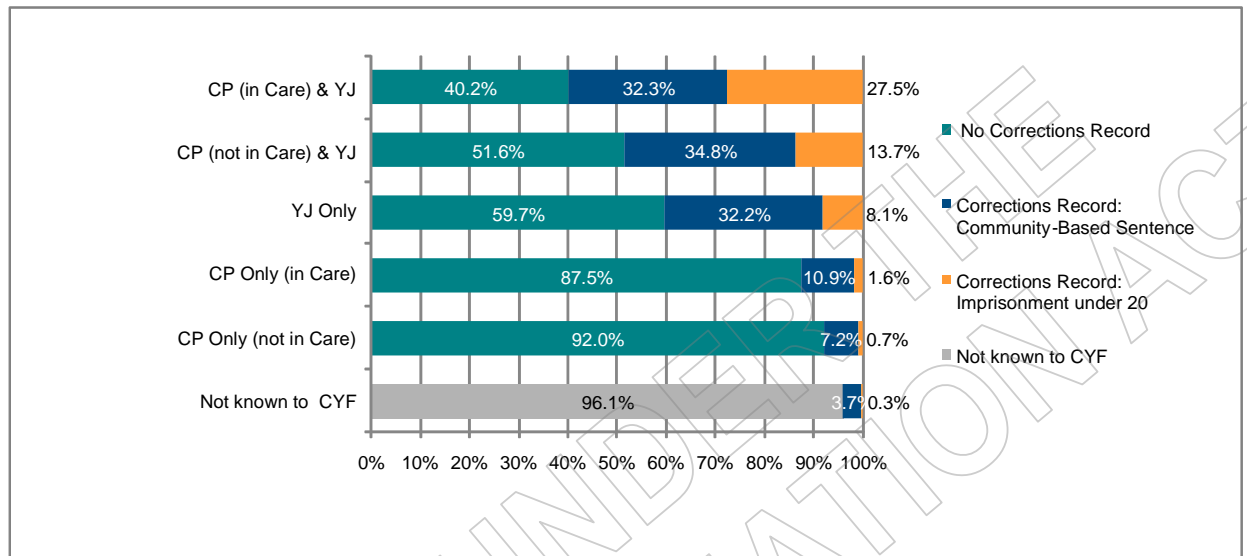
Children and young people come into the care of the Chief Executive of the Ministry of Social Development¹⁸ when there is no other way to ensure the safety and well-being of the child or young person.

Child, Youth and Family data shows that being placed in care is associated with a higher transition between Child, Youth and Family and Corrections. The need to be placed in care is likely to reflect the issues that the child or young person faced in their home situation.

The most at risk Child, Youth and Family client type is a crossover client that at some stage has been in care (Figure 5).

¹⁸ In care means that the child or young person is in the custody of the Chief Executive of the Ministry of Social Development through a Care Agreement or Court Order under the children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989. Placements may happen in group homes or the homes of foster carers. Foster carers often include family members (nieces, nephews, grandchildren) or where that is not possible, non-family members. Placements may last for a short time until the child returns to their parents or be a more permanent arrangement.

Figure 5: Community and prison sentences by 19/20 years, by Child, Youth and Family client type (1989 birth cohort)



Over half (60%) of crossover children and young people that have been in care had a Corrections' record by age 19/20. Over a quarter (28%) were imprisoned before 20 years of age.

Compared to those in the 1989 cohort without a CYF record, this high risk group was 15 times more likely to get a Corrections' record by the age of 19/20, and 107 times more likely to be imprisoned under 20.

The existence of a youth justice record makes a difference to the likelihood of a young person getting a future Corrections sentence. Where children and young people with a care and protection record do not crossover into youth justice, there are fewer and less serious Corrections-managed sentences.

Cost of high risk clients

During the preparation of this report, Child, Youth and Family and Corrections set out to estimate the costs of their clients.

Cost of crossover clients

Early indications from Child Youth and Family costings are that crossover care and protection and youth justice clients are more expensive than those with only care and protection records and those with only youth justice records.

Corrections cost of high risk clients

Corrections have completed their client costs, and are able to aggregate up the money spent on clients to the budget spent in each fiscal year.

Corrections accrued¹⁹ costs of more than \$77 million for people born in 1989 who had either a community based or prison sentence before 30 June 2009 (Table 4). Of this, \$64.2 million (83%) was spent on those who had a previous record with Child, Youth and Family. Within Child, Youth and Family clients, those with a crossover between care and protection and youth justice cost \$39 million; about half the total spend, across a quarter of the 1989 cohort with Corrections records.

While this report has concentrated on the 1989 cohort, analysis of the 1985 cohort shows that the costs continue to mount as clients return to Corrections-managed sentences at higher rates into their early twenties.

While only one person out of every 175 within the birth cohort (0.6%) have crossover from care and protection to youth justice as well as a prison record under 20, those people consumed around half of the money Corrections spent on the 1989 cohort by 2009. The crossover care and protection and youth justice client is also Corrections' most expensive client (Tables 4 and 5).

Table 4: Corrections cost for all sentences by CYF client type (as at 30 June 2009, 1989 cohort)

	Not known to CYF	C&P only	YJ only	C&P & YJ	Total
Number of people	1,749	853	699	958	4259
Average Cost to Date	\$7,630	\$10,200	\$23,200	\$41,000	\$18,200
Total Cost to Date	\$13,340,000	\$8,661,000	\$16,250,000	\$39,290,000	\$77,540,000

¹⁹ Those with Corrections' managed sentences have a future liability until their sentence ends.

Table 5: Corrections cost for prisoners under 20 by CYF client type (as at 30 June 2009, 1989 cohort)

	Not known to CYF	C&P only	YJ only	C&P & YJ	Total
Number of people	114	84	141	333	672
Average Cost to Date	\$61,000	\$61,500	\$90,000	\$105,000	\$88,800
Total Cost to Date	\$6,948,000	\$5,164,000	\$12,690,000	\$34,850,000	\$59,650,000

Whole of government cost

New Zealanders that are high cost to Child, Youth and Family and Corrections are almost certainly high cost to Police, Courts and the community. They are also likely to be high cost to Health, Education and to Work and Income. At present we have no assessment of the money spent on common clients over their lifetime, across government. In combination with accurate early identification tools, such costings could inform a prospective savings equation.

While comprehensive lifetime costings are unavailable, Scott (2003) estimated the median lifetime cost to society of life course persistent male offenders at \$3 million each²⁰.

In addition to the money that government spends negating the harm that high risk people cause, society loses the value of their potential pro-social contribution. People on this pathway are less likely to get an educational qualification – within the prison population, those with a Child Youth and Family record were more likely to have left school by or before Year 11. People on this pathway are also less likely to be employed, more likely to be on a benefit, and less likely to contribute to shared costs through taxed income.

Government spends disproportionate amounts of Corrections' budget on those previously known to Child, Youth and Family who become prisoners under 20. These prisoners have high reconviction and reimprisonment rates and carry a disproportionately large future Corrections liability. They are also likely to be expensive for other government agencies.

The majority of prisoners under 20 are known to Child, Youth and Family. Most make an earlier crossover from care and protection to youth justice. In addition to their high cost, people on this pathway make less positive contributions to society than they could.

²⁰ This estimate included costs such as Corrections, Courts, Police, Work and Income and victims, but not Child, Youth and Family.

Building on the evidence

Based on this research, it is clear that there are opportunities within Child, Youth and Family data to identify and target preventative services to potential high cost, high harm clients.

Modelling work is underway, which identifies the children and young people most at risk of making a transition into future offending. The modelling effort has been focused on the crossover from care and protection to youth justice, as the children and young people can be identified at a time when interventions are most effective. The models can identify future youth justice clients as early as age 6 to 7; up to ten years before they crossover.

Investments targeted to children and young people could provide government with significant value for money. The actual value will depend on how efficiently at-risk clients are diverted away from future offending and towards a pro-social life pathway.

Conclusion

Comparing records for offenders with sentences managed by Corrections against those for children and young people known to Child, Youth and Family clearly shows that:

- there is an overlap between those under Corrections management and youth offenders
- those most at risk of making the transition to the adult system have previously crossed over from Care and Protection to Youth Justice.

As time passes Child, Youth and Family will be able to collect more of each birth cohort's life records. Together with looking at crossover data from other areas such as the education sector, this should enable models and targeting to be more effective.

Given the potential to identify those who are at risk, if interventions can be targeted more efficiently it would assist the Government to help change the path of those at risk of a life of offending, and the gains are potentially very large. The gains include not only the financial savings to the criminal justice system because of reduced numbers of both youth and adult offenders, but also reduced harm to their victims, their victims families, their own family, their peers and sometimes entire communities.

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Appendix 1: Agency record types

This study matched all available agency records. Both Child, Youth and Family and Corrections administer services or interventions at different levels of intensity.

Child, Youth and Family Care and Protection

Child, Youth and Family Care and Protection interventions or services include:

- notification (screening or escalation)
- investigation
- family group conference
- family / whanau agreement
- family court order
- being placed in care.

Child, Youth and Family Youth Justice

Youth Justice interventions escalate from family group conference to court. Some people with Youth Justice records have been placed into Youth Justice residences.

Child, Youth and Family record types

Significant Child, Youth and Family record types considered in this report are:

- Care and Protection only
- Youth Justice only
- Care and Protection & Youth Justice (crossover clients)

Corrections record types

Corrections also administer a range of interventions, including:

- community work
- community supervision
- intensive supervision
- community detention (electronic curfew)
- home detention
- prison
- parole
- release on conditions
- release on extended supervision
- remand in custody