

Justice Reinvestment in the ACT:

A preliminary assessment
of the RR25by25 plan

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Executive Summary

In 2023, the ACT held the highest rate of prior imprisoned inmates across Australia at 80%. At this time - and to a lesser extent, to this day - imprisonment and recidivism rates remain high, requiring an expansion of the Alexander Maconochie Centre if left unaddressed.

Justice Reinvestment is a criminal justice approach that has been adopted by the ACT to address high imprisonment and recidivism rates. The approach is evidence-based and aims to reduce imprisonment, offending and reoffending through the redirection of prison spending into place-based programs that strengthen communities.

In the ACT, Justice Reinvestment is led by the Reducing Recidivism in the ACT by 25% by 2025 (RR25by25) Plan. The aim of this plan is as the name suggests, to reduce recidivism in the ACT by 25% by 2025. This research report offers an interim assessment of the RR25by25 plan while awaiting the 2025-26 Report on Government Services data, set to be released in 2027.

This report offers a holistic overview of the plan's progress thus far by consolidating the findings of all publicly available RR25by25 program evaluations, as well as assessing the plan's success indicators.

Findings from this report indicate that the nine RR25by25 success indicators are partly met (three met, two partially met, two unmet and two unknown due to data unavailability). The consolidation of nine Justice Reinvestment program evaluations supported under the RR25by25 plan revealed common outcomes, challenges and recommendations. Outcomes included reduced reoffending, costs saved and a plethora of qualitative benefits for participants, families and communities. Challenges identified by the programs are most commonly a result of wider social issues restricting participant involvement, such as lack of housing. Evaluator recommendations consistently called for increased resources and the improvement of, and refining of data collection practices. There were also less than desired results for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants, indicating the need for culturally appropriate and self-determined approaches made by Indigenous people, for Indigenous people.

Three fictitious offending pipeline visualisations consolidate the reports main findings in that they are informed by both the program evaluations and the results of the RR25by25's success indicators. The offending pipelines demonstrate a link between positive program outcomes and positive territory level outcomes to mitigate barriers of direct attribution between the two. The offending pipelines also communicate the tangible effects Justice Reinvestment can have on individual lives.

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Similarly, I recognise this report would not have been possible without the support of my family who helped me navigate every stump and pothole, nor possible without my wonderful partner who was my leading advisor on all things maths, numbers and programming. It is amazing how much can be stored in your mind at any one time and how vital verbalising those thoughts are to make progress. So, for all who endured my many ramblings, I thank you.

This report has become much more than just a university assessment; it has enlightened me to a new criminal justice approach that has resonated with me deeply. I can comfortably say that my exploration of Justice Reinvestment will not be bound to this report alone.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	II
Acknowledgements	III
Table of Contents	IV
List of Acronyms	V
List of Figures and Tables	V
Review of Justice Reinvestment and Related Issues	1
<i>Prisons</i>	3
<i>Justice Reinvestment</i>	4
<i>The RR25by25 Plan</i>	5
<i>The Importance of Evaluation</i>	6
Objective	7
Justice Reinvestment Evaluation at a Program Level	7
<i>Outcomes – a program analysis</i>	10
<i>Challenges – a program analysis</i>	11
<i>Recommendations – a program analysis</i>	12
Justice Reinvestment Evaluation on a Territory Level	14
Addressing a Lack of Attribution	17
The Offending Pipeline: A Revolving Door	18
<i>Jacob</i>	19
<i>Amanda</i>	21
<i>Owen</i>	23
Conclusions and Recommendations	25
Bibliography	27
Appendix	
<i>Appendix A: Program Outcome Tables</i>	31
<i>Appendix B: Outcome Category Justification Table</i>	37
<i>Appendix C: Program Recommendations and Challenges Tables</i>	37
<i>Appendix D: Success Indicators Calculations and Sources Tables</i>	43
<i>Appendix E: Offender Pipeline Additional Context and Disclosers</i>	45
<i>Appendix F: Offender Pipeline Sources, Costs, Calculations and Justification Tables</i>	46
<i>Appendix G: Other Calculations Tables</i>	50
<i>Appendix H: Other Notes</i>	50

List of Acronyms

Alcohol and Other Drugs (AOD)	
Alexander Maconochie Centre (AMC)	
Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS)	
Australian Capital Territory (ACT)	
Australian Institute Criminology (AIC)	
Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW)	
Benefit Cost Ratio (BCR)	
Centre for Social Policy Research (POLIS)	
Criminal justice system (CJS)	
Domestic family and sexual violence (DFSV)	
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List (DASL)	
Drug and Alcohol Treatment Orders (DATO)	
Justice and Community Safety Directorate (JACS)	
Justice Reinvestment (JR)	
Net present value (NPV)	
Police Citizens Youth Club (PCYC)	
Reducing Recidivism in the ACT by 25% by 2025 Plan (RR25by25)	
Report on Government Services (RoGS)	
Restorative Justice Unit (RJU)	
Standing Council of Attorneys-General (SCAG)	
United States (US)	

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1. ACT recidivism rates	2
Figure 2. Known prior imprisonment in the ACT	2
Table 1. RR25by25 program descriptions	8
Table 2. RR25by25 indicator assessment	14
Figure 3. Jacob	19
Figure 4. Amanda	21
Figure 5. Owen	25

Review of Justice Reinvestment and Related Issues

“The era of mass imprisonment has taken over corrections even though nobody has had a firm idea of whether placing offenders behind bars makes them more or less likely to recidivate”¹

In 2017-18, the ACT's recidivism rate peaked at 44.2% (see figure 1).² This means that, approximately, for every 5 people leaving prison, 2 will return within two years. At the same time, inmate prior imprisonment was growing, with 75% of ACT inmates imprisoned previously (see figure 2).³ This later peaked at 80% in 2023.⁴ The Australian average was 60.2% this same year.⁵ Since their peaks in 2017-18 and 2023 respectively, these measures have been, on the whole, declining. Unfortunately, these declines are shrouded in methodological changes for the ACT, which have rendered measures incomparable to previous years. With these limitations in mind, recidivism (37.1% in 2025) and prior imprisonment (46.7% in 2025)⁶ remain higher than desired.

In 2025, 1.44% of those sentenced in the ACT received a life sentence, indicating the remaining 98.56% will return to the community.⁷ This indicates that, at the very least, 98.56% of the ACT's prison population should be invested in for their return to community.

¹ Francis Cullen, Cheryl Jonson, and Daniel Nagin, “Prisons Do Not Reduce Recidivism: The High Cost of Ignoring Science,” *The Prison Journal* 91, no. 3 (July 19, 2011): 59, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032885511415224>.

² Australian Government Productivity Commission, “rogs-2026-partc-sector-overview-justice-data-tables_0”, *Table CA.4 Adults released from prison who returned to prison or to corrective services with a new correctional sanction within two years* (2026), https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-sector-overview-justice-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=BEofDoHSXTpf7xPtOMIAUIzdi7NRpdUE.

³ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” *Table 16, Prisoners, State/territory by selected characteristics, 2016-2025* (2025), <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/prisoners-australia/2025/2.%20Prisoner%20characteristics%2C%20States%20and%20territories%20%28Tables%2015%E2%80%93335%29.xlsx>.

⁴ ABS, “Table 16, Prisoners, State/territory by selected characteristics, 2016-2025”.

⁵ ABS, “Table 16, Prisoners, State/territory by selected characteristics, 2016-2025”.

⁶ ABS, “Table 16, Prisoners, State/territory by selected characteristics, 2016-2025”.

⁷ Australian Bureau of Statistics. “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” *Table 28, Sentenced prisoners, Indigenous status and expected time to serve by state/territory, 2025*, 2025. <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/crime-and-justice/prisoners-australia/2025/2.%20Prisoner%20characteristics%2C%20States%20and%20territories%20%28Tables%2015%E2%80%93335%29.xlsx>.

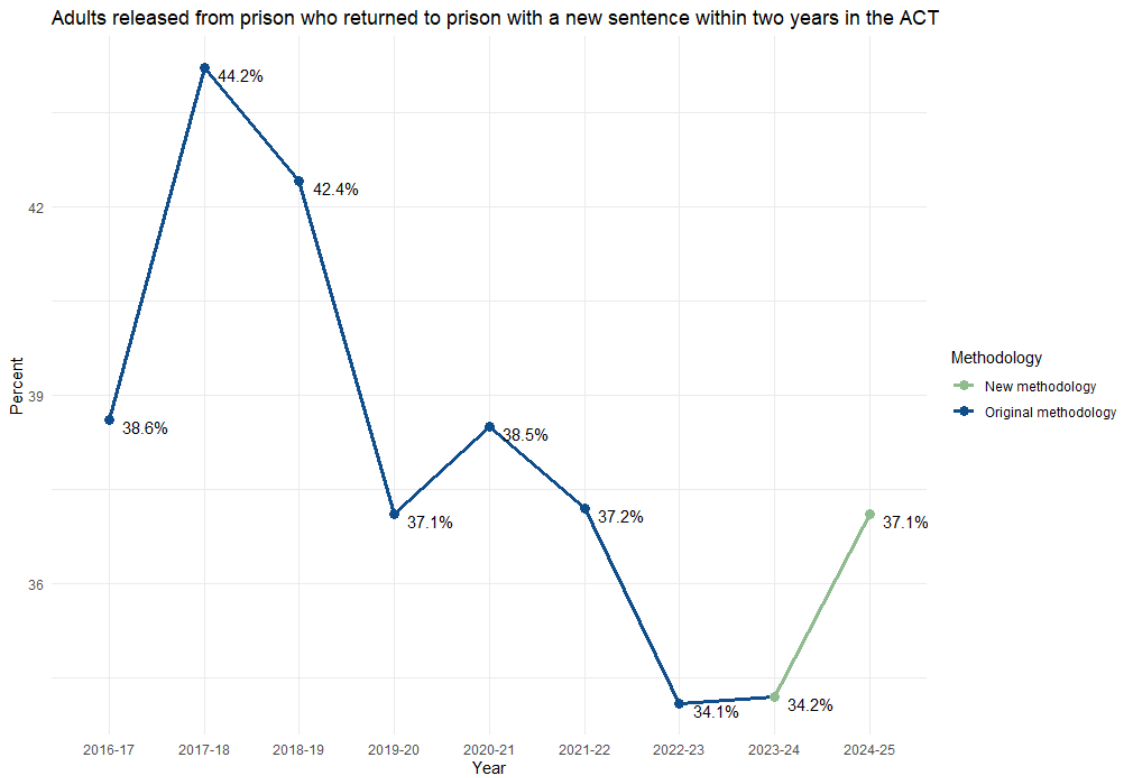


Figure 1. ACT recidivism rates, RoGS data.

Note: The 2024-25 recidivism measure underwent a methodology change, rendering this and future data points incomparable to previous years.

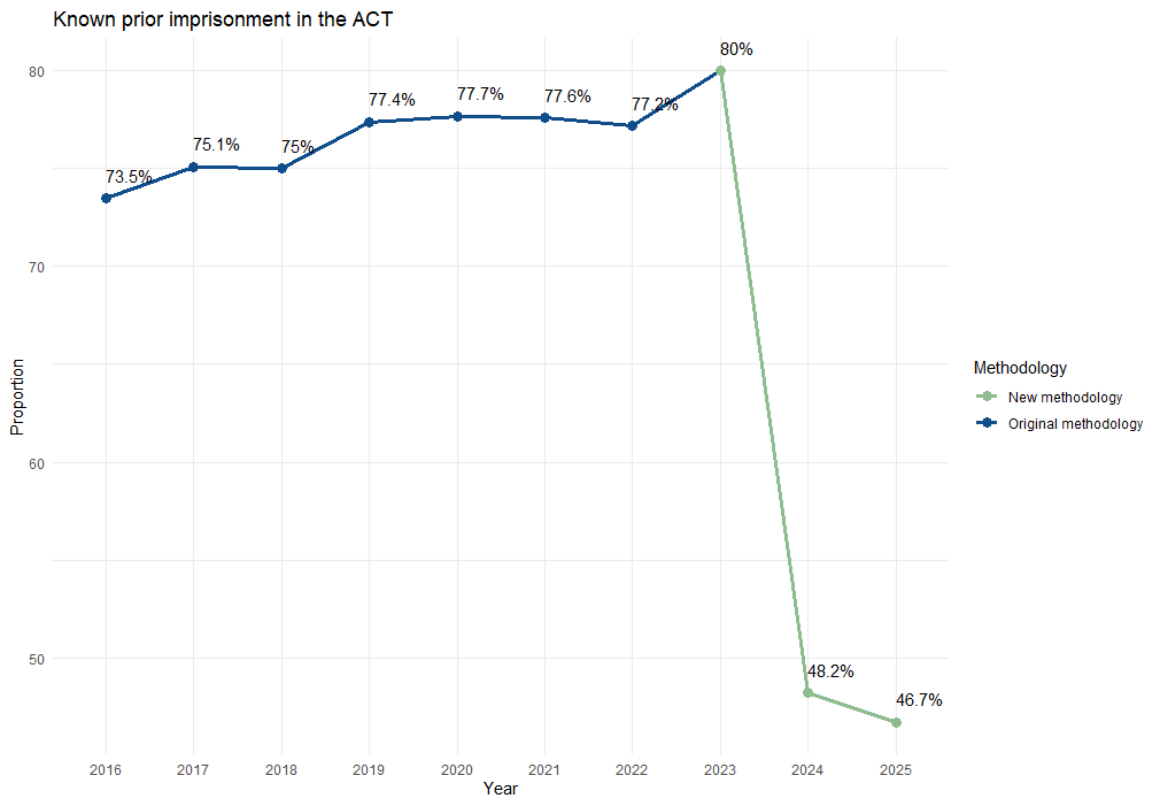


Figure 2. Known prior imprisonment in the ACT, ABS data.

Note: In 2024, prior imprisonment changed to exclude periods of unsentenced detention (ABS methodology, 2025).

Prisons

Prisons, as they traditionally operate, do not address underlying factors that contribute to an individual's offending.⁸ They are actually quite polar to this, with extensive literature finding prisons themselves are “criminogenic”.⁹ The criminogenic factors of prison include association with and learning from other offenders, victimisation, social isolation, lack of prosocial contacts and a reshaping to inmate identity.¹⁰

Prisons exacerbate underlying structural factors, with disadvantaged groups more likely to already be experiencing stressors that restrict legitimate living.¹¹ This increases their risk of contact with the criminal justice system (CJS).¹² These disadvantaged groups are overrepresented in the CJS and include Indigenous people, those experiencing mental ill-health or disability, the impoverished, people of colour and LGBTQ+ people.¹³

Underlying factors associated with CJS contact have been coined the social determinants of justice and include experience of out-of-home care, poor school education, being Indigenous, early police contact, unsupported mental health and cognitive disability, Alcohol and Other Drug (AOD) use, homelessness/unstable housing and disadvantaged

⁸ Andrew Groves and Katherine McLachlan, “Community Corrections and Community- Based Sanctions,” in *Crime and Justice: A Guide to Criminology* (Lawbook Co., 2017).

Cullen et al. “Prisons Do Not Reduce Recidivism”.

⁹ Groves and McLachlan, “Community Corrections and Community- Based Sanctions,” 5.

Cullen et al. “Prisons Do Not Reduce Recidivism”.

Ruth McCausland and Eileen Baldry, “Who Does Australia Lock Up? The Social Determinants of Justice,” *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 12, no. 3 (2023): 37–53, <https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcisd.2504>.

¹⁰ Cullen et al. “Prisons Do Not Reduce Recidivism”.

¹¹ Standing Council of Attorneys-General (SCAG), “Bail and Remand Reform Working Group Final Report”.

McCausland and Baldry, “Who does Australia Lock Up?”.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Eileen Baldry, “Disability at the Margins: Limits of the Law,” *Griffith Law Review* 23, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 370–88, <https://doi.org/doi-org.virtual.anu.edu.au/10.1080/10383441.2014.1000218>.

McCausland and Baldry, “Who does Australia Lock Up?”.

Ellen Moore, “Sentencing ‘Crimmigrants’: How Migration Law Creates a Different Criminal Law for Non-Citizens,” *University of New South Wales Law Journal* 43, no. 4 (November 2020): 1271–1308, <https://www.unsw.edu.au/content/dam/pdfs/law/unsw-law-journal/2020-2029/2020/Issue-43-4-Moore.pdf>.

Sarah Lamble, “Transforming Carceral Logics: 10 Reasons to Dismantle the Prison Industrial Complex Using a Queer/Trans Analysis,” in *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex*, ed. Eric Stanley and Nat Smith (Oakland: AK Press, 2011), 235–65, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291820404_Transforming_carceral_logics_10_reasons_to_dismantle_the_prison_industrial_complex_using_a_queertrans_analysis.

David Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice: In Search of Social Justice,” in *Justice Reinvestment Winding Back Imprisonment* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 141–88, https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137449115_5.

Penny Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia” (2013).

https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Legal_and_Constitutional_Affairs/Completed_inquiries/2010-13/justicereinvestment/report/~/media/wopapub/senate/committee/legcon_ctte/completed_inquiries/2010-13/justice_reinvestment/report/report.ashx

location.¹⁴ Other factors include poverty, unemployment, low literacy¹⁵ social exclusion and systemic discrimination.¹⁶

This empirical backing illustrates an ongoing cycle of incarceration. Underlying structural factors create barriers to legitimate living that push individuals towards criminality. Then, once imprisoned, these very same factors are exacerbated by the prison system, creating a revolving door of offenders.

In comparison to prison, which worsens criminogenic factors, Justice Reinvestment (JR) is built to address them. Leading up to 2019, JR was adopted as a response to the ACT's rising imprisonment and recidivism rates. If allowed to continue, the ACT's jail, the Alexander Maconochie Centre (AMC), would require expansion.

Justice Reinvestment

“JR is not a static concept or set of prescriptive measures – it is an evolving process developed from communities engaging with solutions to the justice issues they face.”¹⁷

JR is an “evidence-based”¹⁸ criminal justice approach that aims to reduce imprisonment and offending through the redirection of prison spending into place-based programs that strengthen communities.¹⁹ The approach aims to “curb exorbitant state spending on corrections”²⁰ by instead investing in communities.

JR's began in 2000s Texas.²¹ In 2007, Texas' prisoner population “exceeded capacity”.²² They faced a dilemma: either spend half a billion dollars on new prisons, or explore alternatives.²³ JR was their alternative.

¹⁴ McCausland and Baldry, “Who does Australia Lock Up?”.

¹⁵ Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice”.

¹⁶ Penny Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia” (2013), https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Legal_and_Constitutional_Affairs/Completed_inquiries/2010-13/justicereinvestment/report/~media/wopapub/senate/committee/legcon_ctte/completed_inquiries/2010-13/justice_reinvestment/report/report.ashx.

¹⁷ Fiona Allison and Chris Cunneen, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia a Review of Progress and Key Issues” (Jumbunna Institute for Indigenous Education and Research, 2022), 38, https://justicereinvestment.net.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/national-report_jr.pdf.

¹⁸ Richard Wentling, “A Retrospective Review of the Pennsylvania Justice Reinvestment Initiative,” *The Prison Journal* 105, no. 3 (April 13, 2025): 376, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00328855251328873>.

¹⁹ Matthew Willis and Madeline Kapira, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia: A Review of the Literature” (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2018), https://www.aic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-05/rr09_justice_reinvestment_in_australia_160518_0.pdf.

Allison and Cunneen, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia a Review of Progress and Key Issues”.

Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”.

William Sabol and Miranda Baumann, “Justice Reinvestment: Vision and Practice,” *Annual Review of Criminology* 3, no. 1 (2020): 317–39, <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.1146/annurev-criminol-011419-041407>.

²⁰ Wentling, “A Retrospective Review of the Pennsylvania Justice Reinvestment Initiative,” 388.

²¹ Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”.

²² Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”, 50.

Council of State Government Justice Center, “Assessing the Impact of the 2007 Justice Reinvestment Initiative” (Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2009), https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Texas_Bulletin.pdf.

²³ Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”.

JR was introduced to Australia in 2011.²⁴ When introduced, potential was seen in the approaches' ability to address the over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the CJS.²⁵ Addressing Indigenous people's over-representation has become a tenet of the JR approach in Australia.²⁶

JR programs, which action the approach, seek to reduce contact with the CJS. It does this through preventative measures (before an offence occurs) and interventive measures, offering rehabilitative support once an individual is already in the system.²⁷

In essence, JR is built on the idea that if communities have the support they need, if there are employment and education opportunities, adequate housing, healthcare services and other necessary support, individuals will be less likely to offend. This perspective is supported by the underlying factors of crime.

The RR25by25 Plan

The Reducing Recidivism in the ACT by 25% by 2025 (RR25by25) Plan, which supports 22 JR programs, has lead JR in the ACT since its inception in 2020.²⁸ As the name suggests, the plan holds the ambitious goal of a 25% reduction of recidivism in the ACT by 2025. This measure will remain unknown until 2027 when the Productivity Commission releases their Report on Government Services (RoGS) for the 2025-26 period.

On top of a 25% recidivism reduction, phase two²⁹ of the plan expanded its success indicators following criticisms of recidivism as a restrictive measure.³⁰ Recidivism, as it is currently measured, invisibilises nuances of reoffending³¹ in that it only captures people who have reoffended and returned to prison or community corrections within two years post release.³² What is lost here is offence seriousness, frequency, type and outcome. In other

Council of State Government Justice Center, "Assessing the Impact of the 2007 Justice Reinvestment Initiative".

²⁴ Willis and Kapira, "Justice Reinvestment in Australia: A Review of the Literature".

²⁵ Willis and Kapira, "Justice Reinvestment in Australia: A Review of the Literature".

Wright et al. "Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia".

Allison and Cunneen, "Justice Reinvestment in Australia a Review of Progress and Key Issues".

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Attorney-General's Department. "Justice Reinvestment." (Australian Government, 2024) <https://www.ag.gov.au/legal-system/justice-reinvestment#about-justice-reinvestment-funding>.

Wright et al. "Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia".

²⁸ Justice and Community Safety Directorate. "Reducing Recidivism in the ACT by 25% by 2025." ACT Government, 2020. https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/2543646/RR25by25-Plan-Reducing-Recidivism-in-the-ACT-by-25-by-2025-2020-to-2023.pdf.

²⁹ Justice and Community Safety Directorate. "RR25by25 and Beyond: A Justice Reinvestment Strategy for the ACT." ACT Government, 2024. RR25by25 and Beyond: A Justice Reinvestment Strategy for the ACT.

³⁰ Ben Edwards, Helen Taylor, and Lorana Bartels, "Reducing Recidivism by 25% by 2025 Plan Evaluation Framework" (Australian National University Centre for Social Research & Methods, 2022).

³¹ Brown et al. "Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice".

³² Australian Government Productivity Commission. "Table CA.4 Adults released from prison who returned to prison or to corrective services with a new correctional sanction within two years".

words, the measure provides “little detail about the characteristics of recidivists or factors associated with reoffending”.³³

Recidivism does not account for an individual who was first convicted of aggravated burglary, engages in a program and is then convicted of a victimless crime, such as personal drug use. The measure hides very real improvements in an individual's trajectory. Recidivism outcomes alone would indicate no improvement in offending apart from cases of complete desistance. Asking for complete desistance in highly disadvantaged groups,³⁴ whose identity is now likely inseparable to that of a criminal or prisoner,³⁵ is reductive and inconsiderate of individual progress. By expanding the plan's measures, phase two now considers some of these nuances.

The importance of evaluation

Ongoing evaluation and robust success indicators are critical to JR's success.³⁶ Without evaluation, projected results, benefits, and monetary savings are unrealised, need for additional resources or supports within programs are unknown and savings cannot be redirected into communities that need it most.³⁷

ACT communities are ever adapting – with new members, evolving needs, political climate and policy changes. JR programs must adapt with communities to be effective. JR programs are not one size fits all, they are place-based,³⁸ meaning a program that works in one place one year, may not be effective the following year, just as a program effective in one community may be ineffective in another.

³³ Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice”, 156.

³⁴ Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice”.

³⁵ Cullen et al. “Prisons Do Not Reduce Recidivism”.

³⁶ Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”.

Willis and Kapira, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia: A Review of the Literature”.

Allison and Cunneen, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia a Review of Progress and Key Issues”.

³⁷ Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”.

³⁸ Willis and Kapira, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia: A Review of the Literature”.

Allison and Cunneen, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia a Review of Progress and Key Issues”.

Objective

This report offers an interim assessment of the RR25by25 plan by assessing its success indicators and compiling program outcomes, challenges and recommendations to show where ACT JR programs are doing well and where they can be improved. This consolidation offers policy makers and other relevant bodies to be able to determine, in one report, program outcomes, recommendations and additional supports needed to continue program development.

To address the longstanding criticism of JR in which program outcomes are close to unattributable to success at a macro level, three offending pipelines have been created to fill the gaps by demonstrating the person by person impacts JR has on the ACT community.

Justice Reinvestment evaluation on a program level

*“I didn’t need to steal, I didn’t need to sell drugs in order to make money, I didn’t have to do any of that stuff. It felt good. Once you overcome that initial shame and that for asking for help, it got easier and easier each time”*³⁹ Extended Throughcare participant.

Measuring outcomes is “crucial” for demonstrating program impact.⁴⁰ It is a necessary step in ensuring program effectiveness through the identification of inefficiency and, from an administrative perspective, is a requirement in securing ongoing funding.⁴¹

The RR25by25 plan supports 22 programs. Of these 22 programs, there are nine publicly available evaluations, some of which have evaluated the same program twice. These nine evaluations, their outcomes, recommendations and challenges have been consolidated in this report (see figure 2). Before this report, these findings were separate, untethered entities. This report draws the findings of the nine evaluations together to assess RR25by25’s success (or lack thereof) across multiple programs. See appendix A-C for full consolidation of outcomes, challenges and recommendations.

³⁹ Andrew Griffiths, Fredrick Zmudzki, and Shona Bates, “Evaluation of ACT Extended Throughcare Pilot Program Final Report” (Social Policy Research Centre, 2017), 60, https://www.unsw.edu.au/content/dam/pdfs/ada/sprc/research-reports/2021-06-research/2021-06-Evaluation_of_ACT_Extended_Throughcare_Pilot_Program.pdf.

⁴⁰ Hayley Boxall, Sophie Yates, and Lorana Bartels, “Criminal Justice Evaluation and Performance Monitoring Guideline 6: Measuring Outcomes” (Canberra: Centre for Social Policy and Research, 2026), 5, https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/2992020/Guideline-6-Measuring-outcomes.pdf.

⁴¹ Boxall et al. “Criminal Justice Evaluation and Performance Monitoring Guideline 6”.

Table 1. RR25by25 program descriptions.

Program supported by RR25by25	Commencement date	Program description
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List (DASL)	2019	<p>The DASL is an alternative court referral pathway offered to offenders who are dependent on alcohol and illicit drugs. The program is voluntary, offering a therapeutic justice approach to address their substance abuse through targeted intervention (KPMG, 2024).</p> <p>The average program length is 1.75 years and utilises a therapeutic jurisprudence approach (Rossner et al. 2022).</p>
Galambany Circle Sentencing Court	2012	<p>Galambany Circle Sentencing Court is a specialised Court set up to address the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders. It only accepts those who have pleaded guilty and operates within the ACT Magistrates Court.</p> <p>The program incorporates Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander “elders, community leaders and practices” (Daly et al. 2020, 4).</p>
Justice Housing Program (JHP)	May, 2020	<p>The JHP provides 10 transitional accommodation houses to alleged offenders, offenders eligible for parole and offenders exiting the AMC (Taylor et al. 2023). Formerly incarcerated people must be deemed eligible for independent living to access this program, which lasts 3 months (Taylor et al. 2023; Taylor & Bartels, 2025). During this time, clients are provided access to services and are supported in finding more permanent accommodation (Sotiri & Schetzer, 2024).</p>
Restorative Justice Unit Conferencing (RJU)	2001	<p>Restorative Justice in the criminal justice setting provides the opportunity for offenders who caused harm and victims who experienced harm to come together, converse, discuss wrongdoing and determine desired outcomes and next steps. It is a voluntary process that encourages individual responsibility and accountability and empowers the victim in the resolution process. (Lawler et al. 2025; ACT Government, 2026).</p>
Police Community Youth Club Solid Ground program	May, 2023	<p>The Solid Ground program is a short-term intervention program made to support young people (11-18) in the Canberra area who have been affected by domestic, family and sexual violence (DFSV). The program offers a holistic approach, through learning sessions, mentoring and casework (Williams et al. 2025).</p>
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	2008	<p>The Strong Connected Neighbourhoods program seeks to prevent crime and antisocial behaviour at Ainslie Avenue, a public housing area in the ACT (Morgan et al. 2018, VIII). The program applies community development approaches which is led largely by the on-the-ground-manager who maintains a continuing presence at the site and coordinates services and events for residents (Morgan et al. 2018).</p>
Extended Throughcare Program	June, 2013	<p>The Extended Throughcare Program is a voluntary program that supports ex-detainees return to the community at the end of their AMC sentence (Griffiths et al. 2017). The program is tailored to each individual, focusing on support in accommodation, health, basic needs, income and community connections. (Griffiths et al. 2017). The program commences pre-release and lasts 12 months post-release (Griffiths et al. 2017). The program is unique from other Throughcare programs in that it (1) supports people for a 12-month period and (2) offers services to ex-detainees without ongoing supervision orders (Griffiths et al. 2017, 1).</p>

Program outcomes have been sorted into eight categories. These categories are primarily informed by JR literature but are also dependent on findings available in the evaluations (see appendix B for justification). The eight categories include monetary outcomes (benefit cost ratios, net present values, costs saved), impact on recidivism/reoffending, impacts for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants, satisfaction rates and qualitative benefits.

While the outcome categories used in this report are appropriate given available content, their findings are inconsistent, restricting program cross-comparison. Future evaluations of JR programs, therefore, should utilise the recently released guidelines made by the ANU's Centre for Social Policy Research (POLIS) to ensure outcomes are comparable across programs.

The POLIS guidelines assist in the measurement of short and medium-term program outcomes and were made in consideration of the RR25by25 plan.⁴² The outcome guidelines (guideline 6) identify seven outcome domains. These outcomes are empirically backed and if used for future evaluations, ensures consistency in program assessment. The seven outcome domains are as follows:

1. Health and wellbeing
2. Drug and alcohol use
3. Community and family relationships
4. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural identity
5. Housing
6. Education and employment
7. Contact with the criminal justice system

The categories used for this report are limited in that they depend upon the varying outcomes measured in the evaluations. For example, three of the seven calculated a benefit cost ratio (BCR) meaning the remaining four are incomparable on this measure. There were also limitations and variability in how/if evaluators could determine impacts on recidivism and only two measured participant satisfaction. The diversity in evaluation outcomes problematises comparison and destabilises cohesive assessment of the RR25by25 plan more

⁴² Boxall et al. "Criminal Justice Evaluation and Performance Monitoring Guideline 6".

broadly. The guidelines put forth by POLIS should therefore be utilised in all future evaluations to ensure consistency. Consistency aids Government in assessing programs which increases the likelihood of a program receiving funding, resources and/or other supports. JR is, after all, an evidence-based approach.⁴³

Outcomes - a program analysis

The consolidation of the nine program evaluations indicates that, on the whole, JR programs are performing well across the five outcome areas (monetary savings, recidivism/reoffending, Indigenous supports, satisfaction rates and qualitative benefits).

Five of the seven evaluations identified costs saved in diversion away from the CJS and/or offending, including an estimated \$14 million saved on avoided prison time for the DASL.⁴⁴ The programs that recorded satisfaction rates indicated moderate to high program satisfaction. Five of the seven indicated reductions in recidivism/reoffending with an estimated 71 assaults prevented by the Strong Connected Neighbourhood's program. Alongside this, were multitudes of unquantifiable qualitative benefits for program participants, families and communities and included the following:

- Social and community engagement (DASL; Strong Connected Neighbourhoods; PCYC)
- Better employment and education outcomes (DASL; Galambany; PCYC; Strong Connected Neighbourhoods)
- Rekindling of family ties (DASL; Restorative Justice; Extended Throughcare Program)
- Improved physical and mental health (DASL, Galambany; Extended Throughcare Program; PCYC)
- Decreased victimisation (DASL; PCYC)

⁴³ Brown et al. "Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice".

Wright et al. "Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia".

⁴⁴ Meredith Rossner et al. "ACT Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List: Process and Outcome Evaluation Final Report" (Australian National University, Centre for Social Research Methods, 2022), 142, https://www.courts.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/2054640/ACT-Drug-and-Alcohol-Sentencing-List-Final-Report.pdf.

Anthony Morgan et al. "Reducing Crime in Public Housing Areas through Community Development: An Evaluation of the High Density Housing Program in the ACT" (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2018), X, https://www.aic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-05/rr06_300418_0.pdf.

Challenges - a program analysis

Two key challenge areas were identified during consolidation: (1) structural barriers to participant success and involvement and (2) resource and data concerns.

Firstly, reoccurring program challenges were attributed to wider structural issues that restricted the involvement of potential participants, namely, lack of housing.⁴⁵ Ex-detainees and others with frequent CJS contact are already vulnerable⁴⁶ and are less likely than the average Australian to be able to secure accommodation.⁴⁷ These barriers, in accumulation with three of the seven programs requiring stable housing for participant involvement, immediately restricts a large portion of people who would benefit from program services, arguably more so than those with stable housing.

Secondly, limited resources place strain on program staff who struggle to manage caseloads.⁴⁸ Referral quantity is becoming unsustainable⁴⁹ and there are challenges in “catering to a client base with a variety of needs”.⁵⁰ These challenges form the basis of evaluator recommendations.

⁴⁵ Rossner et al. “ACT Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List: Process and Outcome Evaluation Final Report”. Helen Taylor and Lorana Bartels, “‘Somewhere We Can Call Home And...Be Normal’: Findings from the Justice Housing Programme Evaluation,” *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 61, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajs4.70025>. Griffiths et al. “Evaluation of ACT Extended Throughcare Pilot Program Final Report”.

⁴⁶ Baldry, “Disability at the Margins: Limits of the Law”.

⁴⁷ Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice”.

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), “The Health of People in Australia’s Prisons” (Canberra, 2022), <https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/e2245d01-07d1-4b8d-81b3-60d14bf007f/aihw-phe-33-health-of-people-in-australias-prisons-2022.pdf?v=20231108163318&inline=true>.

⁴⁸ Rossner et al. “ACT Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List: Process and Outcome Evaluation Final Report”.

⁴⁹ Griffiths et al. “Evaluation of ACT Extended Throughcare Pilot Program Final Report”.

⁵⁰ Helen Taylor et al. “Process Evaluation of the Justice Housing Program” (Australian National University, Centre for Social Research Methods, 2023), 8, https://polis.cass.anu.edu.au/files/docs/2025/6/JHP_Process_Evaluation_Final_Report.pdf.

Recommendations - a program analysis

Recommendations across programs were majorly consistent with a call for increased resources⁵¹ to enable prolonged program duration, additional activities and/or participant intake,⁵² as well as improving data collection practices.⁵³ Of the six programs that provided recommendations, five called for improved data collection practices.

Overall, the nine JR programs are generating positive outcomes in line with JR goals as informed by the literature. However, the consolidation of these evaluations is limited due to the variability in outcome type and methodology. Future JR programs will benefit from consistency when applying the POLIS guidelines.

Beyond the recommendations made in the evaluations, this report wants to place particular focus on the shortcomings in addressing the needs of First Nations participants. Besides Galambany, which was made for First Nations participants⁵⁴, just one program considered outcomes of Indigenous clients. Rossner et al., (2022) found the DASL “does not appear to be working for Indigenous participants”⁵⁵ with only one Indigenous person having graduated by the report's release. A lack of data assessing Indigenous people's outcomes specifically risks the invisibilisation of what is already a vulnerable cohort.⁵⁶ This prevents program designs that could otherwise address unique needs that are a product of intergenerational trauma. As Shire Halls Creek explains, intergenerational trauma is “experienced at significantly higher rates than for the non-Indigenous population”.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Morgan et al. “Reducing Crime in Public Housing Areas through Community Development”.
Siobhan Lawler, Hayley Boxall, and Christopher Dowling, “Restorative Justice Conferencing for Domestic and Family Violence and Sexual Violence: Evaluation of Phase Three of the ACT Restorative Justice Scheme” (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2025), https://www.aic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2025-01/rr33_restorative_justice_conferencing_for_dfv_and_sv.pdf.

⁵² Morgan et al. “Reducing Crime in Public Housing Areas through Community Development”.

Griffiths et al. “Evaluation of ACT Extended Throughcare Pilot Program Final Report”.

Imogen Williams et al., “Evaluation of the PCYC Solid Ground Pilot Program” (Canberra: ARTD Consultants, 2025),

https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/2927404/Solid-Ground-Evaluation-Report-2025.pdf.

Lawler et al. “Restorative Justice Conferencing for Domestic and Family Violence and Sexual Violence”.

Taylor et al. “Process Evaluation of the Justice Housing Program”.

Taylor and Bartels, “‘Somewhere We Can Call Home And...Be Normal’”.

Rossner et al. “ACT Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List: Process and Outcome Evaluation Final Report”.

⁵³ KPMG, “Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List” (KPMG, 2024),

https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0012/2568378/Cost-Benefit-Analysis-Report-of-the-Drug-and-Alcohol-Sentencing-List.pdf.

Rossner et al. “ACT Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List: Process and Outcome Evaluation Final Report”.

Taylor et al. “Process Evaluation of the Justice Housing Program”.

Lawler et al. “Restorative Justice Conferencing for Domestic and Family Violence and Sexual Violence”.

Williams et al. “Evaluation of the PCYC Solid Ground Pilot Program”.

Morgan et al. “Reducing Crime in Public Housing Areas through Community Development”.

⁵⁴ Daly, Ann, Barrett, Greg, and Williams, Rhiân, (2020) “Cost Benefit Analysis of Galambany Court.” Justice and Community Safety Directorate. https://www.courts.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0012/1769457/Galambany-CBA.pdf.

⁵⁵ Rossner et al. “ACT Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List: Process and Outcome Evaluation Final Report”, 114.

⁵⁶ Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice”.

⁵⁷ Shire of Halls Creek, “Smart Justice in the Heart of the Kimberley,” 2019, 6, https://www.olabuddogethu.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/prospectus-booklet-olabud_WEB.pdf.

The program recommendations relevant to this matter (appendix C), and the application of the POLIS framework to all future evaluations, can act as a starting point to offering tailored support to First Nation’s participants.

To express this further, JR is built on partnership with community.⁵⁸ In practice, this would see programs created and led by community actors.⁵⁹ In the ACT however, Government introduced JR to the community in response to mounting pressures on the AMC. This has left the ACT operating the “only government-operated, jurisdiction wide JR programs”⁶⁰ in Australia. With not-for-profit organisations pushing JR towards “community-led prevention approaches”⁶¹ and avoiding “top-down decision-making”, the ACT’s community involvement in the JR process should be recognised as a growth area. Now that the community is aware and engaged, future efforts should be taken for community partnership, not just consultation. If there is any chance in meeting the *ACT Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Agreement 2019-2028*,⁶² First Nation’s people must be listened to. The answers are in the community; they just need to be actioned.

⁵⁸ Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”.

⁵⁹ Justice Reinvestment Network Australia, “What Is Justice Reinvestment?,” Justice Reinvestment Network Australia, May 2024, <https://justicereinvestment.net.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/intro-to-jr-one-pager-1.pdf>.

⁶⁰ Allison and Cunneen, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia a Review of Progress and Key Issues”, 5.

⁶¹ Paul Ramsay Foundation, “Justice Reinvestment Portfolio Review,” June 2025, 1, https://cdn.prod.website-files.com/661f556bbce30a1afe4ad03c/689d20d1d1be33c97be40961_JR-Portfolio-Review.pdf.

⁶² ACT Government, “ACT Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Agreement 2019-2028,” July 2022, https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/2381329/ACT-Aboriginal-and-Torres-Strait-Islander-Agreement-2019-2028-Phase-2-Focus-Area-Action-Plan-Justice.pdf.

Fiona Allison and Chris Cunneen, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia a Review of Progress and Key Issues” (Jumbunna Institute for Indigenous Education and Research, 2022), 38, https://justicereinvestment.net.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/national-report_jr.pdf.

Justice Reinvestment evaluation on a territory level

Phase 2 of RR25by25 plan sets out nine success indicators. These new indicators (refer to table 2) address the limitations of recidivism by expanding the plan's scope. Their creation acts as a starting point in that they are less about strictly assessing outcomes and instead as a gauge to determine future focus areas of the RR25by25 plan.

Table 2. RR25by25 indicator assessment.

Indicators to measure health of criminal justice system	Indicator assessment		
	Key:		
	<i>Met or currently met</i>	<i>Unmet</i>	<i>Pending</i>
Recidivism rate - return to incarceration Decrease by 25% by 2025. From end 2025, in line with, or below, national average	37.1% of adults released from prison returned to prison with a new sentence within two years in the 2024-25 period. This is below the national average of 44.5%. A 25% decrease in recidivism by 2025 will only be measurable in the 2026-27 RoGS report.		
Recidivism rate - return to community corrections In line with, or below, national average	8.2% of adults discharged from community corrections orders in the ACT returned to community corrections in the 2024-25 period. This is below the national average of 15.4%.		
Rate of reoffending - without return to incarceration Rate and frequency: In line with, or below, national average Seriousness of reoffending: In line with, or below, national average	Data combining recidivism with rate, frequency and seriousness is uncollected and/or unreleased to the public.		
Rate of incarceration of First Nations population vs non-Indigenous population Parity with the rate of non-Indigenous people by 2031	In the ACT, the crude imprisonment rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults in 2025 was 1,939.1 per 100,000 Indigenous residents, compared with 78.8 per 100,000 non-Indigenous residents.		
Rate of incarceration of women In line with, or below, national average	3.7% of ACT prisoners were female in 2025 (417 males and 16 females). 8.2% of Australian prisoners were female in 2025 (43,169 males and 3,831 females*)		
Percentage of individuals referred to specific non-criminal justice supports/diversions Year on year increases measured across a sample of early intervention and diversionary programs	SupportLink data on individuals referred to non-criminal justice supports/diversions is uncollected and/or unreleased to the public.		

<p>Remand rate Year on year decrease in rate of prisoners held on remand</p>	<p>ACT Remand rates: 2019 = 40.1 2020 = 37.0 2021 = 34.0 2022 = 40.9 (156 remandees) 2023 = 46.4 (174 remandees) 2024 = 50.1 (211 remandees) 2025 = 32.1 (138 remandees)</p> <p>This indicates a decrease of 73 remandees between 2024 and 2025 but a 55 remandee increase between 2022 and 2024.</p>
<p>Youth and young adults related justice indicators** • Imprisonment rate of young adults aged 18-24 (by sex, Indigenous status) In line with, or below, national average</p>	<p>In 2025, there were 2,325.5 18-year-old male Indigenous prisoners per 100,000 people in this same population. The Australian imprisonment rate of the same population was 1,376.5 per 100,000. Comparatively, there were zero 18-year-old non-Indigenous prisoners in 2025.</p> <p>In 2025, there were 3,100.7 19-year-old male Indigenous prisoners per 100,000 people in this same population. The Australian imprisonment rate of the same population was 2,573.3 per 100,000. Comparatively, there were 88 per 100,000 19-year-old non-Indigenous prisoners in 2025.</p> <p>In 2025, there were 477.7 20-24-year-old female Indigenous prisoners per 100,000 people in this same population. The Australian imprisonment rate of the same population was 166.0 per 100,000. Comparatively, there were zero non-Indigenous female prisoners in 2025 aged 20-24.</p> <p>In 2025, there were 2,821.3 20-24-year-old male Indigenous prisoners per 100,000 people in this same population. The Australian imprisonment rate of the same population is 4,447.7 per 100,000. Comparatively, there were 147 per 100,000 20-24-year-old non-Indigenous prisoners in 2025.</p> <p>In 2025, there were zero 18-19-year-old female prisoners.</p>
<p>Perceptions of community safety Upward trend year on year</p>	<p>Perception of safety average across situation where 5 is very safe and 1 is very unsafe: 2023-24 = 3.89 2024-25 = 3.94*</p>

*Refer to appendix D for calculations and section sources.

**The indicative measure, 'detention rate of young people aged 10-17 (by sex, Indigenous status)' was removed given the reports focus on adults.

By applying the most recent ABS and RoGS data, it can be determined that of the nine known success indicators, they are partly met. Of the nine, three are met, two are partially met, two are unmet and two are, at this stage, unknown due to pending data.

The two unmet success indicators, remand rates and rate of incarceration for First Nation's people should be an area of focus in the ACT's future efforts in reducing imprisonment rates. The disproportionate rate of First Nation's prisoners per 100,000 is

deeply concerning and sets the ACT well behind objectives laid out in the *ACT Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Agreement 2019-2028*.⁶³ Similarly, imprisonment rates of young adults is only partially met because 18-19-year-old male Indigenous people and 20-24-year-old female Indigenous people's imprisonment rate per 100,000 are substantially higher than the Australian average for these cohorts. These two results reflect concerns at the program level in relation First Nations participant outcomes, reaffirming a need for action.

The ACT's remand rates, the second unmet indicator, are pertinent in relation to reoffending rates. "Time spent on remand results in the loss of employment", lack of access to essential programs, "loss of stable housing [...] family separation", resulting in "disruption to a person's cultural, social and emotional wellbeing".⁶⁴ These factors increase the risk of someone's offending (or reoffending) and the stigma attached to incarceration – whether the individual is later acquitted or not – creates societal barriers which increases an individual's propensity to offend.⁶⁵

Three indicators are currently unknown which points to the ongoing struggle of JR in that adequate and reliable data is "essential to justice reinvestment".⁶⁶ The primary success indicator, *recidivism rate decrease by 25% by 2025*, is understandably unavailable given 2025-26 data cannot be released until 2027. Similar can be said for the SupportLink data. However, the recidivism measure has been complicated by a methodology change. The methodology change is described as occurring due to a "review in how recidivism results were derived", which saw a "transition to a new offender management system and development of a revised method using the automated data model".⁶⁷ This level of detail is unsatisfactory in that it obscures necessary data, which should be a measure of "rigour" that is "required to demonstrate effectiveness of JR strategies and interventions".⁶⁸ As a result, the ACT recidivism measure now has questions surrounding its reliability, especially given it is now "not comparable to previous financial years".⁶⁹ Whether a 25% reduction in recidivism is even measurable in the ACT given this methodology change, now comes into question.

⁶³ ACT Government, "ACT Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Agreement 2019-2028."

⁶⁴ Standing Council of Attorneys-General (SCAG), "Bail and Remand Reform Working Group Final Report," July 2025, 17, https://www.ag.gov.au/sites/default/files/2025-11/scag_bail-and-remand-reform-working-group-final-report.PDF.

⁶⁵ SCAG, "Bail and Remand Reform Working Group Final Report". Cullen et al. "Prisons Do Not Reduce Recidivism".

⁶⁶ Brown et al. "Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice", 154.

⁶⁷ Australian Government Productivity Commission. "Table CA.4 Adults released from prison who returned to prison or to corrective services with a new correctional sanction within two years".

⁶⁸ Willis and Kapira, "Justice Reinvestment in Australia: A Review of the Literature", vii.

⁶⁹ Australian Government Productivity Commission. "Table CA.4 Adults released from prison who returned to prison or to corrective services with a new correctional sanction within two years".

Public facing transparency in methodology changes in key data sources should be prioritised. Further, effort should be taken to maintain detailed methodology changes to a level that would enable a researcher to backcast data to the previous standard. Of course, all of this must be placed in the context of limited resources and employee capacity, whereby these additional tasks may be unachievable at present. Wherever possible, however, efforts should be taken to ensure data transparency.

Robust evaluation is not possible when data is not present or publicly available, not reliable and/or not consistent.⁷⁰ *Rate of reoffending - without return to incarceration* is not present and/or publicly available. This indicator attempts to mitigate the limitations of the recidivist measure, in that it considers rate, frequency and seriousness of offending. However, without dataset linkage, measuring the rate, frequency and seriousness of offending is not possible. Currently in Australia, linked reoffending data remains limited and would require cross-agency data sharing, merging and recalibration. There is great value in linked datasets, such as in relation to the over-representation of people with disability in the CJS. In this setting, data linkage enables the exploration of disabled individuals pathways into the CJS to implement early interventions.⁷¹ Unfortunately, “in Australia such datasets are not routinely available”⁷² as evidenced by the unavailability of this specific success indicator. Future efforts should be taken to link ABS seriousness of offending data with RoGS recidivism data.

Addressing a lack of attribution

Attributing macro level success to program level outcomes has been an ongoing criticism and challenge in the JR space.⁷³ Despite data availability on a program level, it's extrapolation to territory level successes is an improbable feat.

So, while there may be face-value correlation between the positive outcomes seen at a program level – reductions in crime and reoffending, for example – they cannot be directly attributed to the reductions in recidivism seen at a territory level (see figure 1).

In light of the recognised barriers, this report pivots, now assisting in the understanding of tangible affects these programs have on individual lives within the ACT

⁷⁰ Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice”.

Wright et al. “Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia”.

⁷¹ Baldry, “Disability at the Margins: Limits of the Law”.

⁷² Brown et al. “Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice”, 157.

⁷³ Willis and Kapira, “Justice Reinvestment in Australia: A Review of the Literature”.

Erika Parks et al. “Local Justice Reinvestment Strategies, Outcomes, and Keys to Success” (Urban Institute, 2016),

https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/83546/2000903-3-local-justice-reinvestment-strategies-outcomes-and-keys-to-success_1.pdf.

community. This is done through the creation and analysis of three fictitious case studies referred to as 'offender pipelines'. These offender pipelines visualise realistic points of contact within the ACT CJS. Most importantly, it also considers pathways out, as informed by the program evaluations. Importantly, by applying the findings of the nine program evaluations, the offending pipeline highlights *why* process and outcome evaluations are so vital, because they enable program successes and areas of improvement to be shown.

The visualisations act to mitigate some of the disconnect between JR programs and macro scale benefits by presenting program outcomes in an accessible way that highlights their reflection of territory level trends. It also acts to demonstrate the mechanisms and potentiality JR programs present in cost saving. Please refer to appendix E-F for necessary disclosures and additional information.

The offending pipeline: A revolving door

“Governments, politicians, and corporate media continually reinvent images of prisoners as violent, pathological, and morally depraved people, but the vast majority are imprisoned for crimes related to poverty, social exclusion, and systemic oppression. Indeed, communities that are most criminalized tend also to be most victimized”⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Lamble, “Transforming Carceral Logics”, 240.

Jacob

Jacob is a second-generation immigrant who suffered abuse as a child. He begun using drugs at a young age to cope with the lasting trauma of his abuse. He was going well, he had a job, he had connections. He still had his dark days, but, overall, he was managing. That changed when he lost his home. The fear and uncertainty was too similar to the emotions he felt as a young boy. During this period, Jacob turns to a group of friends who introduce him to heroin, sparking his addiction and criminality to feed this addiction.

Jacob's case exemplifies the social determinants of crime. Instead of receiving help as a child, he fell through the cracks of societies' care net. Then, without adequate public housing that would provide Jacob some relief after losing his home, he spiralled further. As a second-generation immigrant, Jacob lacks the familial and social connections that have been linked to desistance.⁷⁵

Also of note in Jacob's story is the limitations of JR and other programs. For example, if Jacob's offence was not elevated to the Supreme court, he would not have been able to partake in the DASL.⁷⁶ If Jacob was a woman, he would be unable to partake in the Extended Throughcare program, nor the EQUIPs program.⁷⁷ These limitations, highlighted by the offending pipeline, give indication of future growth areas for the ACT's RR25by25 plan.

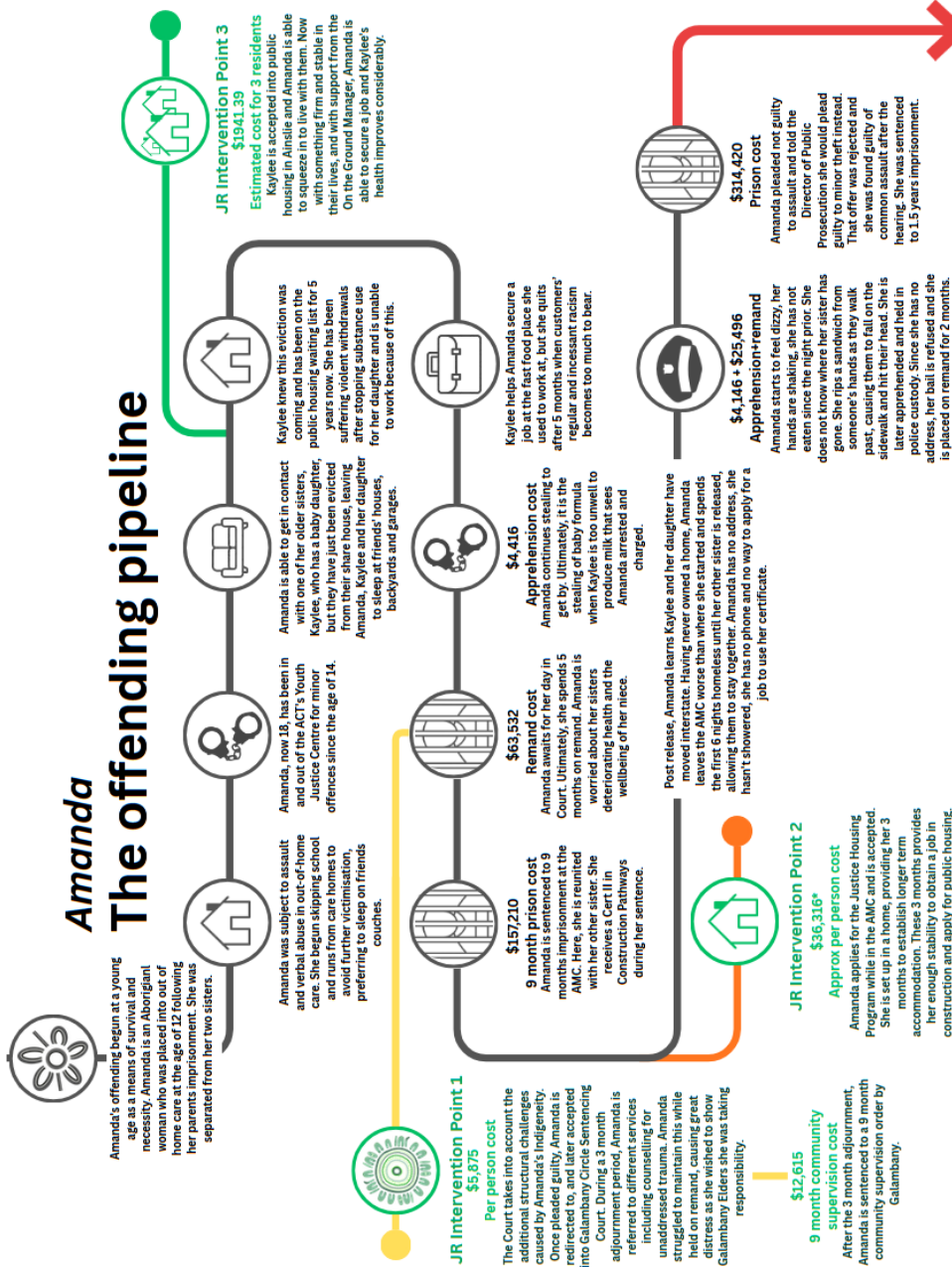
⁷⁵ Shadd Maruna, *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives* (Washington, D.C American Psychological Association, 2001).

Thomas Ugelvik, "The Kindness of Strangers: Trust, Recognition, and the Co-Production of Desistance," *Theoretical Criminology* 29, no. 4 (December 16, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.1177/13624806241295692>.

⁷⁶ Rossner et al. "ACT Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List: Process and Outcome Evaluation Final Report".

⁷⁷ Griffiths et al. "Evaluation of ACT Extended Throughcare Pilot Program Final Report".

Justice and Community Safety Directorate (JACS), "Annual Report 2024–25" (ACT Government, 2025), https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/2931347/Report-Justice-and-Community-Safety-2024-25-Annual-Report.PDF.



JR Pathway 1:	
\$1941.39	Strong Connected Neighbourhoods Program
\$1941.39	Total monetary costs

JR Pathway 2	
\$4,146	Apprehension cost
\$63,532	Remand cost
\$157,210	9 month prison cost
\$56,316*	Justice Housing cost
\$261,204	Total monetary costs

Without intervention	
\$4,146	Apprehension cost
\$63,532	Remand cost
\$157,210	9 month prison cost
\$24,496	Apprehension cost
\$34,420	2 month remand cost
\$568,900	2 year imprisonment for assault
\$568,900	Total monetary costs

Figure 4. Amanda.

Amanda

Amanda is an Aboriginal woman placed into out-of-home care following her parent's incarceration. Her offending begun at a young age as a means of necessity and consisted of petty crimes such as theft. These acts led her into youth detention and saw her 'graduation' into the adult system. Cumulative structural disadvantage and racism have shaped Amanda's criminal trajectory.

Similar to Jacob, Amanda highlights the structural barriers, and adverse life effects caused by CJS contact. Amanda, however, is unique to Jacob, in that structural racism and colonialism is the overarching factor contributing, first to her abuse and disadvantage, and second to her entry into criminal behaviour.

Amanda's story reflects the very real statistics of female prisoner populations. Almost 80% (76.9%) of incarcerated women who had not reported using violence, had been victims of violence by family or a partner.⁷⁸ Of the same sample, 57.7% had experienced parental incarceration and 46.2% had experienced juvenile incarceration,⁷⁹ which describes this 'graduation' into the adult system.

Illicit drugs, for many, including Jacob and Kaylee (Amanda's sister), is a form of self-medication.⁸⁰ Intergenerational trauma, abuse, family and partner violence are associated with self-medication behaviours in the form of drug use.⁸¹ Again, it is the cumulation of adverse factors that lead to the over-incarceration of the most vulnerable.⁸²

⁷⁸ Mandy Wilson et al. "Violence in the Lives of Incarcerated Aboriginal Mothers in Western Australia," *SAGE Open* 7, no. 1 (January 2017): 215824401668681, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016686814>.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Bruce Western and Jessica Simes, "Drug Use in the Year after Prison," *Social Science & Medicine* 235 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.112357>.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Baldry, "People with Multiple and Complex Support Needs, Disadvantage and Criminal Justice Systems: 40 Years after the Sackville Report," in *Law and Poverty in Australia 40 Years after the Sackville Report*, ed. Andrea Durbach, Brendan Edgeworth, and Vicki Sentas (Sydney: UNSW, 2017), <https://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/entities/publication/9d4c3040-f41e-427d-a79a-775a5a26727c>.

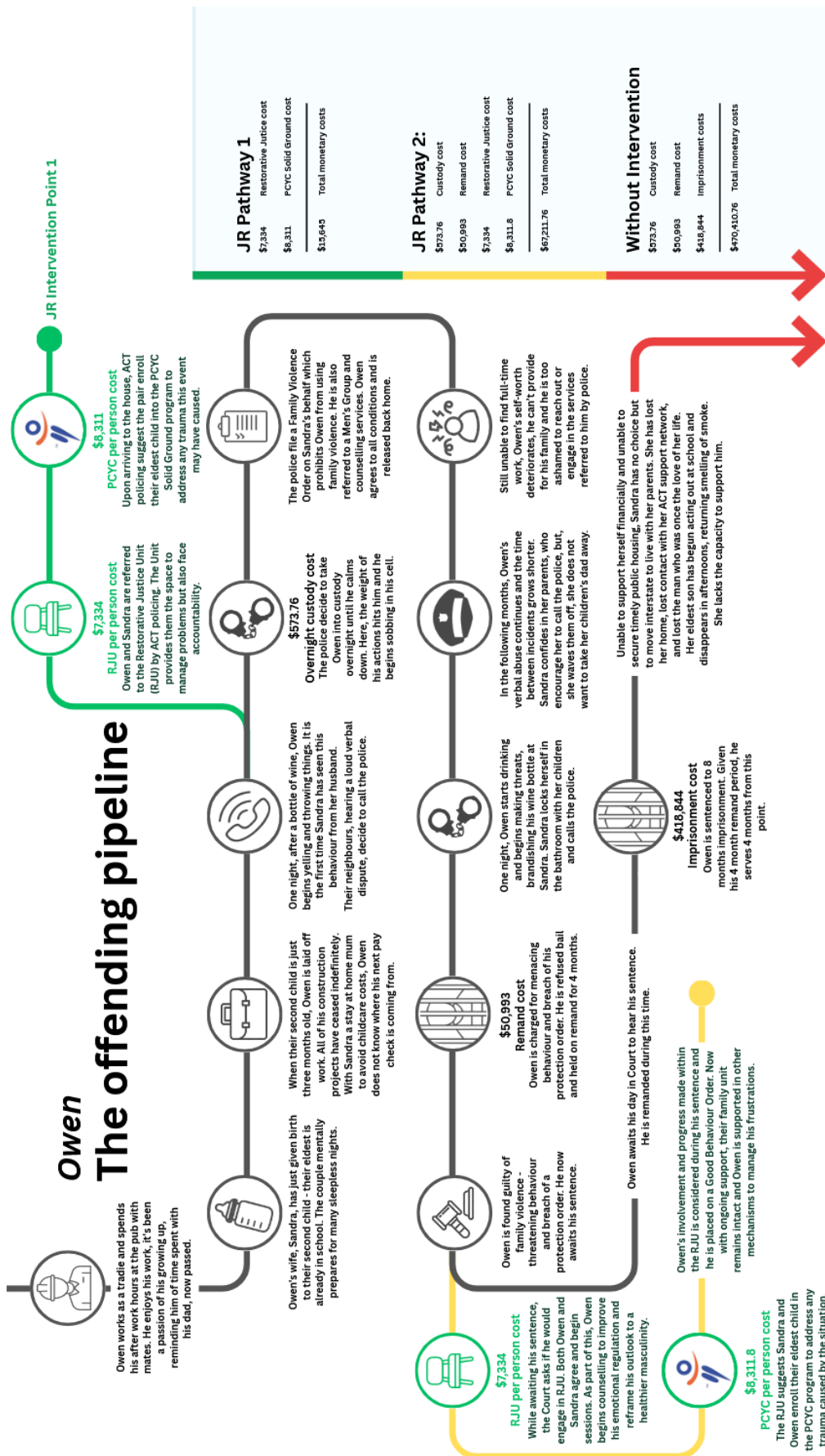


Figure 5. Owen.

Owen

Owen is a hardworking tradie who struggles with healthy emotional regulation. His offending behaviour began as a response to financial stressors and a deeply embedded internalisation of what it means to be a 'good man'. Now failing his role of a 'good man' – unable to provide for the household – his mental health suffers and he responds by lashing out at his wife and children.

In Australia, Owen is taught what an 'ideal man' should be through school, media and family. When he loses his job, Owen faces discrepancy stress as he no longer meets this ideal masculinity.⁸³ He can no longer provide for his family in a way he believes he should. Internalised shame of his own ineptitude leads Owen to respond violently, because he has not been taught to regulate his emotions in a healthy way.⁸⁴

Without support, the family unit breaks down. Sandra's eldest is exhibiting problematic behaviours, that, left unsupported, may lead to criminality. Again, this reflects the adverse life effects and underlying social determinants of crime, which includes unaddressed trauma, mental ill-health and disrupted childhoods.⁸⁵ Intergenerational incarceration is a plausible risk for this family and was also reflected in Amanda's story. The Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) found in 2023 that just over half of young people in NSW youth detention (52.6%) had at least one imprisoned parent.⁸⁶ Further, 1 in 4 prison entrants reported one or more of their parents or carers were imprisoned during their childhood.⁸⁷ Adverse life events, trauma, substance use, compiled with structural disadvantage, worsens the family's position, which exacerbates criminogenic risk factors.

In each of these pipelines, early intervention results in the best outcomes. It is the most cost effective in the long-term. It has the potential to save relationships and maintain positive personal wellbeing.

⁸³ Joseph Pleck, "The Gender Role Strain Paradigm: An Update," in *A New Psychology of Men*, ed. Ronald Levant and William Pollack (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 11–32.

⁸⁴ Dennis Reidy et al., "Man Enough? Masculine Discrepancy Stress and Intimate Partner Violence," *Personality and Individual Differences* 68, no. 1 (October 2014): 160–64, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2014.04.021>.

⁸⁵ McCausland and Baldry, "Who does Australia Lock Up?"

Wright et al. "Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice in Australia".

Brown et al. "Justice Reinvestment, Evidence-Based Policy and Practice".

⁸⁶ Marc Rémond et al., "Intergenerational Incarceration in New South Wales: Characteristics of People in Prison Experiencing Parental Imprisonment" (Australian Institute of Criminology, February 2023), https://www.aic.gov.au/sites/default/files/2023-02/ti663_intergenerational_incarceration_in_new_south_wales.pdf.

⁸⁷ (AIHW), "The Health of People in Australia's Prisons".

The three offending pipelines highlight empirical findings, reflect Australian statistics and consolidates the challenges, recommendations and outcomes of the nine program evaluations.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The criminogenic nature of prisons is well documented. They are not equipped, as it currently stands, to rehabilitate. In attempting to do so, the already \$112 million per annum going towards prison spending in the ACT would increase tremendously.⁸⁸ Instead, personal trajectories can change immensely by addressing underlying issues and through early intervention and prevention.

Before a methodology change in 2025, the ACT had the highest rate of prior imprisonment across Australia (noting limitations in comparing data cross-jurisdictionally).⁸⁹ In 2017-18, the ACT's recidivism rate reached 44.2%, or 2 in 5 people returning to prison within two years.⁹⁰ Together, these statistics paint a picture of the ACT prison as a revolving door for offenders.

JR was introduced as an attempt to break this cycle. Despite challenges in data collection and attribution, positive outcomes are evident. Continual evaluation of JR is essential to the approach's success. This report is one such point of evaluation and now offers nine recommendations derived from its consolidation and analysis.

Program related recommendations

1. Explore whether there is an applicable model of DASL extension for the Magistrates Court to provide earlier intervention. By addressing concerns early on in an offender's pathway, greater benefits will be reaped.
2. Expand Extended Throughcare and EQUIPS to include women if said programs continue demonstrating positive outcomes for male participants.

⁸⁸ Australian Government Productivity Commission, "rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective services-data-tables_0", *Table 8A.1 Recurrent expenditure, 2024-25 dollars*, (2026), https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective-services-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=PoEHeONr8t8cZb1UIG_A2eWXqeOXhtGa.

⁸⁹ ABS, "Table 16, Prisoners, State/territory by selected characteristics, 2016-2025".

⁹⁰ Australian Government Productivity Commission. "Table CA.4 Adults released from prison who returned to prison or to corrective services with a new correctional sanction within two years".

3. Expand beyond the restrictive recidivist measure currently used to include consideration of offence type, seriousness and frequency of offending. This will assist in accounting for the relevant nuances of reoffending.
4. Future criminal justice programs, specifically those supported under the RR25by25 plan, should follow the seven POLIS guidelines when undergoing evaluation. A consistent standard of empirically backed evaluation outcomes enables cross-program comparisons and assists in the realisation of program success.

Data related recommendations

5. Ensure transparency in methodological changes to the extent that datasets can be backcast. This will be particularly important in determining whether the 25% reduction of recidivism in the ACT was successful.
6. Pursue data linking, specifically between RoGS recidivist data and ABS offender characteristic data. This will be required to meet recommendation 3.
7. Work towards cross-jurisdictional consistency to allow for accurate comparisons across states and territories.

Broader recommendations

8. Go to the community, ask what they want in need. Continue implementing community-led initiatives and partnership – not just consultation.
9. Continue investing in and exploring desistance research to gauge factors that contribute to an individual's desistance from crime.

If there is no intervention, no support, if we do not address the underlying causes, do not break that cycle, it will continue, not just for the individual, but intergenerationally.

Supporting the disadvantaged, the structurally restricted, the intergenerationally traumatised is not just about protecting those who offend, but making everyone in our ACT community safer.

Think of the Amandas, the Jacobs and the Owens of our ACT community and think of how different their journey would have been if they received support when it was needed most. No model will be perfect in addressing the individual complexities of lived experience, systemic oppression and ongoing colonialism, but with each evaluation and each discussion where community members lead, we get closer to it. This is what Justice Reinvestment offers; this is what the ACT needs to strive for.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Program Outcome Tables

The program tables are derived from the nine publicly available RR25by25 program evaluations.

- Green cells indicate positive outcomes.
- Yellow cells indicate a positive but unsubstantial outcome.
- Red cells indicate a negative or undesired outcome.
- Blank and/or grey cells indicate the program did not measure that specific outcome.

Program supported under RR25by25	Benefit Cost Ratio (BCR)	NPV	Costs saved
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List	<p>\$0.87 return for every dollar spent (2019-2023 period)</p> <p>Projected \$1.39 return for every dollar spent by 2023 (KPMG, 2024)</p>	-3.5M (KPMG, 2024)	<p>\$22.7M avoided cost of custody \$0.01M avoided cost of crime \$0.6M saved in reduced recidivism Total benefits: 23.3M (KPMG, 2024)</p> <p>\$14 million estimated to have been saved on avoided prison time. This is more than the \$13.3 million allocated by Government to continue to run DASL for over two years (Rossner et al. 2022, 142).</p>
Galambany Circle Sentencing Court	<p>\$3.25 return for every dollar spent (2017) (Daly et al. 2020)</p>	<p>\$7.4 million over 10 years (2017 dollars) (Daly et al. 2020)</p>	<p>\$5,332,000 avoided justice system costs \$180,000 avoided health costs \$135,000 avoided education costs \$135,000 avoided child protection costs \$117,000 avoided accommodation costs \$111,000 avoided violence against women costs Total benefits: \$11,182,000. 2017-2026 period (Daly et al. 2020, 86)</p>
JHP			
RJU			
Police Community Youth Club Solid Ground program			<p>“There is also evidence that it is a cost-effective way to provide support to young people” (Williams et al. 2025, 55).</p> <p>Participant case study: projected cost <i>with</i> completing Solid Ground program \$5,172.05 Projected cost <i>without</i> completing Solid Ground program \$101,212.10 (Williams et al. 2025, 47-48).</p>
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	<p>\$0.42 return for every dollar spent assuming</p>		<p>\$412,695 estimated savings from reduced assault offences (2014-2015)</p>

	displacement (2014-2015) \$0.51 return for every dollar spent assuming no displacement (2014-2015) (Morgan et al. 2018).		\$75,801 estimated savings from reduced property offences (2014-2015) \$19,556 estimated savings from reduced disturbance incidents (2014-2015) (Morgan et al., 2018, 62).
Extended Throughcare Program			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Based on an estimated cost of keeping a person in prison of around \$120,000 per year, the estimated cost offset for each ten prisoners who do not return to prison for just one year in direct costs alone is over \$1 million” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 86). • “Substantial cost offsets may result across interrelated government sectors including justice, physical and mental healthcare, homelessness, education and employment” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 4). • “Where community reintegration and reduced recidivism are sustained, these community costs represent potentially substantial ongoing cost offsets over extended lifetime pathways.” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 5).

Program supported under RR25by25	Impact on recidivism/reoffending
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List	<p>\$0.6M saved in reduced recidivism (KPMG, 2024).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An “effective program to reduce re-offending” (Rossner et al. 2022, 172) • Reductions in participants’ self-reported offending and victimisation (Rossner et al. 2022, XVII) • Robbery and assault reducing by 100% (Rossner et al. 2022, XIX) • “Where participants who were no longer on their orders continued to offend, this was generally less serious offending than prior to their entry on the program” (Rossner et al. 2022, XIX) • No DASL graduates have returned to court since graduation as of 2022 (Rossner et al. 2022, 172). • Complete cessation in offending for those who complete their DATO effectively (at least over the reports follow-up period) (Rossner et al. 2022,165) • 41% reduction in offences during DASL and an 81% reduction in offences post-DASL (Rossner et al. 2022).
Galambany Circle Sentencing Court	“The ACTCS [ACT Corrective Services] data reveals an imprisonment rate (for Galambany sentenced offenders) of 10% in 2014/15, falling to 8% for reimprisonment in the following two years” (Daly et al. 2020, 79)

Justice Housing Program	<p>The data did not enable the evaluators to determine the program's effects on recidivism but can see the program “is seeking to address a number of factors associated with recidivism, including some factors identified in the RR25by25 Plan” (Taylor et al. 2023, 101).</p> <p>While the data did not enable the ACT evaluation to determine effect on recidivism rates, South Australia's largely equivalent, Aspire Social Impact Bond program was evaluated and found the program resulted in less interaction with justice services and saw a 60% reduction in average annual number of offences (Coram et al. 2022).</p>
Restorative Justice Unit Conferencing	Found that adult persons responsible had a “ lower rate of DFV [domestic and family violence] reoffending ” (Lawler et al. 2025, xvi).
PCYC Solid Ground	
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “An estimated 71 assaults being prevented by the program” (Morgan et al. 2018, X). • Many residents believed the program had a “positive impact and had led to a reduction in crime” (Morgan et al. 2018, 44). • “Some residents also suggested that crime had fallen because residents were looking out for one another and were now more likely to report crime to the police” (Morgan et al. 2018, 46).
Extended Throughcare Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Found the program contributed to a 22.6% reduction in recidivism (Griffiths et al. 2017, 3). • “Those returning to custody are remaining in the community for longer periods on average” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 3) • “Reduced recidivism rate of 20% of Program clients not returning to custody as a result of the program support services” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 89).

Program supported under RR25by25	Impacts for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Participants
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List	<p>As of 2022 evaluation, the program seems to be ineffective for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants. No First Nations DASL clients completed the program and remained AOD free (Rossner et al. 2022).</p> <p>KPMG (2024) found one program outcome was the “reconnection with cultural heritage and values” (45). However, they lacked specific outcomes and considerations for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants.</p>
Galambany Circle Sentencing Court	<p>Improvements in: “imprisonment, criminal justice proceedings, unemployment, family life for offenders, emergency accommodation use, educational outcomes, foster care, and health care use” (Daly et al. 2020, 15)</p> <p>Offenders gain: “a voice in the justice system; increased confidence, self-esteem, dignity, respect, independence, choice and control; a more positive self-identity; empowerment and personal development; raised expectations about what is possible; improved health and wellbeing; reduced mental</p>

	distress; increased ability to access and use information and services; and networks and support to build relationships” (Daly et al. 2020, 16)
Justice Housing Program	Evaluators are unable to assess outcomes for Aboriginal participants specifically, they are unable to “assess the extent to which the services they receive is trauma-informed, gender-informed and/or culturally-safe.” (Taylor et al. 2023, 98)
Restorative Justice Unit Conferencing	Considered more engaging and “culturally appropriate” than traditional CJS approaches, resulting in positive experiences and increased engagement of First Nations people (Lawler et al. 2025, 85)
Police Community Youth Club Solid Ground program	Evaluation records Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status but does not consider outcomes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants specifically.
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	Evaluation does not consider record Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status nor outcomes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants specifically.
Extended Throughcare Program	<p>“The Program has had a particularly positive outcome for female Aboriginal clients, showing that this target group has been provided high levels of Program access and has achieved relatively lower rates of returning to custody in comparison to National and ACT reported figures.” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 4).</p> <p>The returns to custody for Indigenous clients remained relatively high for males (57.4%) but lower proportion of returns to custody for females (28.6%) (Griffiths et al. 2017, 67).</p>

Program supported under RR25by25	Satisfaction rates
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List	<p>85% of participants completely or somewhat satisfied with experience of DASL</p> <p>95% of participants completely or somewhat satisfied with the judge (Rossner et al. 2022)</p>
Galambany	
Justice Housing Program	<p>53% of participants surveyed were completely satisfied with housing. 24% were somewhat satisfied (Taylor et al. 2023).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Clients were also unanimous in their satisfaction with the proximity to transport and shops” (Taylor & Bartels, 2025, 228) • Participants positive about the quality and location of housing, support provided immediately post-release from custody and were <i>mostly</i> positive about support provided throughout the program. However, participants did note the houses were old (Taylor & Bartels, 2025)
Restorative Justice Unit Conferencing	<p>80% of persons harmed said that they felt heard and were able to say what they wanted to say.</p> <p>90% of persons harmed said that they felt supported and that they were treated fairly and respectfully during the conference.</p> <p>Participants reported positive experiences engaging with the Scheme (Lawler et al. 2025).</p>

Police Community Youth Club Solid Ground program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Young people who participate in the program appear to value the experience of attending” (Williams et al. 2025, VIII). • “Young people told the evaluation team they enjoy attending the program and the activities, they’ve made friends and extended their social circle” (Williams et al. 2025, 52).
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Residents said that participating in the program had made them happier and given them a more positive outlook” (Morgan et al. 2018, 55). • “The majority of residents believed that the program had little or no impact on drug use at Ainslie Avenue” (Morgan et al. 2018, 56).
Extended Throughcare Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Program has achieved high uptake rates, given participation is voluntary” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 3). • Throughcare offers drug and alcohol rehabilitation treatment with participants who received drug and alcohol rehabilitation treatment reporting “positive outcomes from this treatment or from associated support” (Griffiths et al. 2017,4).

Program supported under RR25by25	Misc. qualitative benefits
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social and community engagement (Rossner et al. 2022; KPMG, 2024) • Health and wellbeing outcomes (Rossner et al. 2022) • Education and employment outcomes (Rossner et al. 2022, KPMG, 2024) • Reductions in transport in ambulance and hospital attendance (Rossner et al. 2022) • Less likely to be a victim of violence (Rossner et al. 2022) • Reduced criminal activity (KPMG, 2024) • Reduced health costs (Rossner et al. 2022) • Reduced trauma (Rossner et al. 2022) • Reduced drug use and AOD dependency (KPMG, 2024) • Reduced family conflict (Rossner et al. 2022) • Psychosocial benefits (Rossner et al. 2022) • Improved family relationships including the return of children (Rossner et al. 2022; KPMG, 2024) • Reconnection with cultural heritage and values (KPMG, 2024) • Securing stable accommodation and access to housing supports (KPMG, 2024)
Galambany Circle Sentencing Court	<p>“Improves physical and mental health, academic achievement, and reduces violence, suicide, and substance abuse” (Daly et al. 2020, 86)</p> <p>“Assists Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander offenders to engage more fully in the workforce” as well as “[improving] offender's workforce outcomes” (Daly et al. 2020, 86)</p>
Justice Housing Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Positive experiences” through connection with service providers (Taylor et al. 2023, 86) <p>Qualitative benefits vary greatly for participants, dependent on their roommates, case managers and which service providers they are put into contact with (Taylor et al. 2023).</p>

	<p>Qualitative benefits for the JHP evaluations specifically are not explored in depth, however, a largely equivalent South Australia program (Aspire Social Impact Bond) found reductions in substance use and suicide risk, improved personal wellbeing, “enhanced personal wellbeing, improved employment prospects, stronger family relationships and community connections, and better mental and physical health” (Coram et al. 2022, x)</p>
Restorative Justice Unit Conferencing	<p>An integral part in people's recovery journey. Conference outcomes for persons harmed included “repairing relationship with family members and improved understanding of the violence” (Lawler et al. 2025, XVI)</p>
Police Community Youth Club Solid Ground program	<p>“The program design and delivery are meeting the needs of young people in Canberra who are affected by DFSV” (Williams et al. 2025, 52). “There is strong evidence across qualitative data sources that the Solid Ground program is likely to benefit the young people participating in the program, their families and the broader community more widely with unquantifiable direct and indirect benefits that result from program participation” (Williams et al. 2025, 46).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people have improved understanding of healthy and respectful relationships • Young people have improved positive relationships with staff and their peers • Young people learnt to identify their emotions • Young people and their families have improved access to supports and services • Young people are reengaging in education (63% of students in 2024 attended school more since starting the program) • The Program assists young people develop protective factors that can prevent them using or experiencing violence <p>(Williams et al. 2025, VII-54).</p>
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	<p>For some residents, the program had a significant impact on their engagement in education and employment (Morgan et al. 2018, 56). The program has been recognised for its role in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reducing crime and reducing the opportunities for crime • Promoting a sense of community and willingness to assist other residents • Improving access to services <p>(Morgan et al. 2018, 66-68).</p>
Extended Throughcare Program	<p>“Participants generally felt that the support they had received through the Program had met their needs well. Participants with positive experiences of the Program described it as “fantastic”, “awesome”, “a major help”, and “really beneficial” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 32). “Some participants argued that Program support was crucial to preventing them from returning to their “old ways”, negative environments and negative influences” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 35). Overwhelmingly, participants recognised the benefits, with some highlighting areas where they felt their needs were not met or where the Program should be improved. Improved participant confidence, socialisation, community participation and reengaging with family members (Griffiths et al. 2017, 57-58).</p>

Appendix B: Outcome Category Justification Table

Outcome	Justification
Monetary Savings	JR was primarily built on cost saving incentives (Wright, 2013; Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2009). Monetary outcomes relate directly to JR's goal in “curbing spending on corrections and reinvesting savings from this reduced spending in strategies that can decrease crime and strengthen neighbourhoods” (Wright, 2013, 44; Willis & Kapira, 2018; Allison & Cunneen, 2022).
Recidivism/reoffending	JR, in the ACT especially, is privileged for its potential to reduce recidivism and reoffending (Wright, 2013; Justice and Community Safety Directorate, 2020; Justice and Community Safety Directorate, 2024).
Indigenous overrepresentation	JR in Australia has been privileged for its potential to address the over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander contact with the CJS, specifically in prisons (Willis & Kapira, 2018; Wright, 2013; Allison & Cunneen, 2022; David et al. 2016).
Satisfaction rates	JR works with community, its person-by-person outcomes are an important success indicator (Allison & Cunneen, 2022; Willis & Kapira; Paul Ramsay Foundation, 2025)
Qualitative benefits	JR is not restricted to what is easily measurable. JR's outputs are more than just monetary and quantitative values, they are person-by-person, there to improve lives and to “strengthen neighbourhoods” (Wright, 2013, 44; Allison & Cunneen, 2022; Paul Ramsay Foundation, 2025)

Appendix C: Program Recommendations and Challenges Tables

These recommendations are meant to provide a condensed overview of the highly detailed recommendations found in many of the reports. Where possible, page numbers have been provided to aid in identification.

Program supported under RR25by25	Recommendations
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Enhance DASL monitoring and measurement capability” • Build on the range of benefits by exploring options to expand DASL participant numbers, such as through an expansion to the Magistrates Court (KPMG, 2024:11). • Undertake activities to increase awareness of DASL • Revisit the eligibility criteria to ensure program is enrolling appropriate target cohort • Review referral pathways into DASL • Referrals to DASL judge should be made as early as possible • Allocation of more resources to the program given complexity of sentencing process • Consistent co-location of ACTCS and Health • Readjust the physical layout (seating positions) of case conferences • Involve a broader range of stakeholders where appropriate

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure the Aboriginal Liaison Officer is consulted for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants • As caseloads increase, allow sufficient time for in-depth discussions of each participant • Provide clearer guidance and structure to ACT Health staff for participant meetings across program phases • Increase number of treatment beds, including specialised options for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants • Expand resources including more sitting days and more time at court for DASL coordinator • Provide more time between case conferences and check-in hearings for preparation and consultation • Use open-ended questions in check-in hearings • Improve rituals surrounding progression hearings, graduations and those whose order ends before they complete the program • Consider both in-program and post-program outcomes when determining success. Success should not be contingent on completion of the programs three phases • Strengthen data collection, monitoring, evaluation and review regularly. Monitoring should be done in reference to drug court literature • Hold exit interviews with participants to measure experiences • Review and simplify the DATO legislative framework • Ensure consistency by having DASL judges deliver all DASL sentences • Clearly communicate DATO order lengths and requirements in accessible terms • The Court should consult with representatives from key Indigenous organisations • The use of culturally appropriate, interstate facilities should be prioritised for Indigenous participants where appropriate • The DASL team should liaise with A Gender Agenda • Address any misunderstanding about DASL's availability and suitability for people with mental illness and/or disability • Consider expanding DASL to support participants with significant mental illness and/or disability issues as well as participants serving sentences of between one and four years • Regularly hold strategic planning days • Ensure better integration between DASL and the AOD sector • Ensure the Court adopts a coordinated response to participants' compliance • Take on strengths-based and trauma-based approaches in relation to graduation ceremonies • Simplify legislation • Collect ongoing data about social integration during a participant's DATO • Undertake exit interviews with participants (Rossner et al. 2022, 195-202)
Galambany Circle Sentencing Court	The report did not make recommendations about the program.
Justice Housing Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve data collection practices. “Improved data collection is therefore required to document the types of service delivery/support offered to women, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and people with disability” (Taylor et al. 2023, 99) • Standardise the monthly report form • More intensive support to be provided to clients during their tenancy

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Greater emphasis be placed on providing opportunities for JHP clients to participate in structured activities on a daily and weekly basis” (Taylor et al. 2023, XI) • Greater opportunities offered to former JHP clients to maintain ongoing contact with their case manager including check-ins three months after exiting the program. “Several clients interviewed noted that they felt more support would have been beneficial in transitioning out of the program to other accommodation” (Taylor et al. 2023, 90) • Revise the language in the Occupancy Agreement form so that it is in line with the ACTCS Disability Action and Inclusion Plan • Consider including 1- or 2-bedroom dwellings. Consider single occupancy for those found unsuitable for shared living. • Consider more specialised support to people experiencing substance use and/or mental health issues <p>(Taylor et al. 2023, X-XII)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore securing a house in the Inner South area - particularly valuable given its proximity to Winnunga Nimmityjah Aboriginal Health & Community Services (Taylor et al. 2023, 92) • Greater focus on supporting clients (re-)enter the workforce (Taylor & Bartels, 2025)
<p>Restorative Justice Unit</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Additional resourcing to reduce delays • Education and information sharing to broader community • Improving referrals for under-serviced groups (ie first Nations) and at particular criminal justice system stages (ie post-sentence) (Lawler et al. 145) <p>Full list of recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Restorative Justice Unit should take steps to increase their capacity and shorten the wait times to access the service • Ongoing training should be provided to stakeholders involved in the delivery and operation of Phase three • Perceptions that RJ is 'soft justice' should be challenged and addressed among referring entities • The development of referral guidelines and eligibility criteria beyond offence type and stage of CJS should be considered • Clearer guidelines and training should be developed to improve understanding about the relationship between RJ and sentencing • The RJU should work with relevant criminal justice agencies to increase post-sentence referrals to Phase Three • Investigate options to work with communities to encourage buy-in to Phase Three from First Nations and other culturally diverse participants • The RJU should develop formal disengagement processes to support participants during the post-conference period • Clear guidance about how to work with clients where there is an intervention order should be provided to RJU staff • The RJU should continue to collect data to facilitate ongoing evaluation and improvement” (Lawler et al. 2025, 146-150)
<p>Police Community Youth Club Solid Ground program</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase the number of in-take periods a year • Increase case management resourcing • Provide access to therapeutic supports co-located with PCYC

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consolidate the current implementation of the program, with program length aligned to a semester (2 terms) and 4 days per week • Trial the addition of a part-time counsellor • Strengthen data collection processes to better record the number and type of external referrals made for young people <p>(Williams et al. 2025, 53-55)</p>
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Implement strategies involving ACT Policing and ACT Housing to reduce property crime and drug dealing” • “JACS and ReLink Australia should work together to encourage the active and sustained involvement of ACT Government partners represented on the working group” • Increase “the number and the diversity of regular activities and events delivered as part of the HDHP” • “Increases in program activity should be supported by adequate resourcing, and the potential of appointing additional community workers to support the OTGM in the delivery of an expanded program should be explored” • “Efforts to raise awareness of the program among new residents and residents who are not yet participating in the program should be continued, and consideration given to how future activities may be delivered to broaden the appeal of the program and ensure maximum engagement of residents” • “A review of services accessible to residents should be conducted to better understand and identify potential solutions to the service needs not being met due to issues outside the control of the HDHP” • “JACS may wish to consider drawing upon the latest research and methods for measuring social functioning to assess levels of social cohesion and collective efficacy prior to further investment in or the expansion of the program” <p>(Morgan et al., 2018:XI-XII)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement complementary strategies to reduce property crime and drug dealing • Reinvigorate the partnership approach • Increase program dosage and reach • Ensure there is adequate resourcing for a revised program model • Raise awareness and encourage other residents to become involved • Review, identify and respond to service gaps • Find better ways of measuring social functioning <p>(Morgan et al., 2018:71-73)</p>
Extended Throughcare Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement in “community sector collaboration” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 5) • Some clients felt the Program needed to be longer, lacked information on what services were on offer and should have had a greater emphasis on assisting with access to education and employment (Griffiths et al. 2017, 5-6) • Better communication between agencies (Griffiths et al. 2017, 44) • “A number of participants said that they would prefer if the Program offices were in a different location to the Probation and Parole and Corrective Services offices because of the negative associations they had with these services, or because they wanted to avoid seeing people with whom they had been in custody” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 77)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several participants felt the Program should be offered for longer than twelve months and/or continue for as long as their parole period. They also felt the intensive support period should be adjusted based on individual needs (Griffiths et al. 2017, 78) • Improve support and access to employment and education (Griffiths et al. 2017) • One client felt the program could be used to address stigma: “They [the program] should be promoting the fact that ‘they’ve done some bad things but they’ve also got some great skills’. There’s some untapped talent there and people need to give them a go. The Program could be the voice and advocate behind that. It’s a big factor towards people ending up back inside. They keep getting kicked in the guts and in their eyes not receiving a fair go and if someone was actively trying to take down those barriers, they might have a better chance” (Griffiths et al. 2017, 57)
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Program supported under RR25by25	Challenges
Drug and Alcohol Sentencing List	<p>The DASL is heavily impacted by a lack of housing given that to benefit from the program, people require stable accommodation (Rossner et al. 2022, 42). If potential participants are experiencing homelessness or housing insecurity therefore, they are unlikely to meet the suitability requirements (Rossner et al. 2022, 160). “The issues around the lack of housing in the ACT are impacting DASL participants’ ability for social integration and present a major challenge for both participants and the DASL team” (Rossner et al. 2022, 160).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges for participants include “the frequency of urinalysis, the requirements and obligations, the limited flexibility/availability of the urinalysis testing (one location and limited timeframe), residential rehabilitation, having to miss work because of DASL commitments, the lack of housing options, and the frequency of court” (Rossner et al. 2022, 120). • 15 cancelled cases (27%) “Both younger and Indigenous participants were disproportionately represented in cancelled cases, compared to graduations” (Rossner et al. 2022, XVII). • Some stakeholders believed a large population of people with less serious histories are being overlooked given that the DASL sits in the Supreme Court and does not extend to the Magistrates Court (Rossner et al. 2022, 26). • With limited resources, the DASL faces difficulties in managing caseloads (Rossner et al. 2022, XVI) • The DASL “does not appear to be working for Indigenous participants” with only one Indigenous person having graduated by the report's release in 2022 (Rossner et al. 2022, 114). • Participant relapses common and expected given the circumstances (32% of participants spent time in custody during DASL) (Rossner et al. 2022, 134).

<p>Justice Housing Program</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges in the “complexities associated with catering to a client base with a wide variety of needs, as well as the difficulties in ensuring the compliance with certain house rules” (Taylor et al. 2023, 98). • Challenges surrounding Rule 9 of the program, “Strictly no visitors permitted, overnight or at any time except staff of services attending in their official capacity”. Program needs to balance staff safety with the realistic needs of participants who have family members that would like to visit (Taylor & Bartels, 2025, 4). JHP participant: “Housing says you can't have people there, but I think you should be able to have some people there. You need some support, you can't just be by yourself all the time...” (Taylor & Bartels, 2025, 89). JHP participant: “The only thing I personally would want would be having a situation where you could actually have your kids come over to the house. That was really the only thing that I felt like I was let down with, I couldn't have my kids there” (Taylor & Bartels, 2025, 89) • Concerns in addressing the dynamics of household members (Taylor & Bartels, 2025). With up to 3 people sharing a home, there are opportunities for conflict to arise. But in other cases, clients shared they got 'lucky', “I was very lucky, because I did have a really good house, with ... people that are on my level of maturity and want the same things and are really going in the right direction” (Taylor & Bartels, 2025, 8) • The ACT's current housing crisis compounds upon the barriers faced by ex-detainees, making securing a home increasingly challenging (Taylor & Bartels, 2025)
<p>Extended Throughcare Program</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resource concerns - a few staff members worried the quantity of referrals was unsustainable (Griffiths et al. 2017, 40) • Challenges in obtaining housing for clients (Griffiths et al. 2017, 51) • Challenges in appropriately addressing the complex needs of participants (Griffiths et al. 2017, 52-53)

Appendix D: Success Indicators Calculations and Sources Tables

Indicator	Calculations
<p>Youth and young adults related justice indicators</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imprisonment rate of young adults aged 18-24 (by sex, Indigenous status) <p>In line with, or below, national average</p>	<p>Indigenous Males (2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 129 N 19 years = 151 N 20-24 years = (116+132+134+134+122) = 638</p> <p>Indigenous Imprisoned Males (2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 3 N 19 years = 4 N 20-24 years = 18</p> <p>Calculating imprisonment rates using ABS formula $\text{imprisonment rate per 100,000 persons} = \left(\frac{\text{no. of prisoners}}{\text{Estimated Resident Population}} \right) \times 100,000$ <i>18-year-olds</i> (3/129) x 100,000 = 2,325.5814 <i>19-year-olds</i> (4/129) x 100,000 = 3,100.7752 <i>20-24-year-olds</i> (18/638) x 100,000 = 2,821.3166</p>
	<p>Indigenous Females (2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 98 N 19 years = 126 N 20-24 years = (137+119+132+123+117) = 628</p> <p>Indigenous Imprisoned Females (2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 0 N 19 years = 0 N 20-24 years = 3</p> <p>Calculating imprisonment rates using ABS formula $\text{imprisonment rate per 100,000 persons} = \left(\frac{\text{no. of prisoners}}{\text{Estimated Resident Population}} \right) \times 100,000$ <i>18-year-olds</i> (0/98) x 100,000 = 0 <i>19-year-olds</i> (0/126) x 100,000 = 0 <i>20-24-year-olds</i> (3/628) x 100,000 = 477.707</p>
	<p>Males (Jun 2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 3083 N 19 years = 3544 N 20-24 years = (3573+4082+3967+3985) = 15607</p> <p>Estimating Non-Indigenous Males <i>All males - Indigenous males = estimated num. non-indigenous males</i> N 18 years = 3083 - 129 = 2954 N 19 years = 3544 - 151 = 3393 N 20-24 years = 15607 - 638 = 14969</p> <p>Non-Indigenous Imprisoned Males (2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 0 N 19 years = 3 N 20-24 years = 22</p> <p>Calculating imprisonment rates using ABS formula $\text{imprisonment rate per 100,000 persons} = \left(\frac{\text{no. of prisoners}}{\text{Estimated Resident Population}} \right) \times 100,000$ <i>18-year-olds</i> (0/2954) x 100,000 = 0 <i>19-year-olds</i> (3/3393) x 100,000 = 88.4173 <i>20-24-year-olds</i> (22/14969) x 100,000 = 146.9704</p>
	<p>Females (Jun 2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 2940 N 19 years = 3508</p>

	<p>N 20-24 years = (3559+3874+4309+4383+4124) =20249</p> <p>Estimating Non-Indigenous Females <i>All females - Indigenous females = estimated num. non-indigenous females</i> N 18 years = 2940 - 98 = 2842 N 19 years = 3508 - 126 = 3382 N 20-24 years = 20249 - 628 = 19621</p> <p>Non-Indigenous Imprisoned Females (2025) (ACT) N 18 years = 0 N 19 years = 0 N 20-24 years = 0</p> <p>Calculating imprisonment rates using ABS formula <i>imprisonment rate per 100,000 persons = $(\frac{\text{no. of prisoners}}{\text{Estimated Resident Population}}) \times 100,000$</i> 18-year-olds (0/2842) x 100,000 = 0 19-year-olds (0/3382) x 100,000 = 0 20-24-year-olds (0/19621) x 100,000 = 0</p>
Perceptions of community safety	<p>2024-25 Average level of perception (5 being very safe, 1 being very unsafe) At home alone during the night = 4.26 Walking alone in your neighbourhood during the day = 4.42 Walking alone in your neighbourhood during the night = 3.50 On public transport during the night =3.38</p> <p>4.26+4.42+3.50+3.38 = 15.56 15.56/4 = 3.89 2023-24 perception of safety average across situation where 5 is very safe and 1 is very unsafe = 3.89</p> <p>2023-24 Average level of perception (5 being very safe, 1 being very unsafe) At home alone during the night = 4.30 Walking alone in your neighbourhood during the day = 4.46 Walking alone in your neighbourhood during the night = 3.53 On public transport during the night = 3.48</p> <p>4.30+4.46+3.53+3.48 = 15.77 15.77/4 = 3.9425 2023-24 perception of safety average across situation where 5 is very safe and 1 is very unsafe = 3.94</p>

Indicator	Source
Recidivism rate - return to incarceration	Australian Government Productivity Commission, “rogs-2026-partc-sector-overview-justice-data-tables_0”, <i>Table CA.4 Adults released from prison who returned to prison or to corrective services with a new correctional sanction within two years, 2026.</i>
Recidivism rate - return to community corrections	Australian Government Productivity Commission, “rogs-2026-partc-sector-overview-justice-data-tables_0”, <i>Table CA.5 Adults discharged from community corrections orders who returned to corrective services with a new correctional sanction within two years, 2026.</i>
Rate of incarceration of First Nations population vs non-Indigenous population	Australian Bureau of Statistics. “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” <i>Table 18 Crude imprisonment rate, Indigenous status by state/territory, 2016-2025, 2025.</i>

<p>Rate of incarceration of women</p>	<p>Australian Bureau of Statistics. “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” <i>Table 15 Prisoners, Selected Characteristics by State/Territory, 2025, 2025.</i></p>
<p>Remand rate</p>	<p>Australian Bureau of Statistics. “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” <i>Table 15 Prisoners, Selected Characteristics by State/Territory, 2025, 2025.</i></p> <p>Australian Bureau of Statistics. “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” <i>Table 15 Prisoners, Selected Characteristics by State/Territory, 2024.</i></p> <p>Australian Bureau of Statistics. “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” <i>Table 15 Prisoners, state/territory by selected characteristics 2013-2023, 2023.</i></p>
<p>Youth and young adults related justice indicators**</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imprisonment rate of young adults aged 18-24 (by sex, Indigenous status) 	<p>Projected resident population Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population by sex and age in the ACT: Australian Bureau of Statistics. “Estimated resident and projected Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, identification change series, sex and single year of age by states and territories and Australia—2021 to 2031”. <i>Table 8: Estimated resident and projected Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, identification change series, sex and single year of age by Australian Capital Territory—2021 to 2031, March 2025.</i></p> <p>Prisoners by Indigenous status by sex and age in the ACT: Australian Bureau of Statistics. “2. Prisoner Characteristics, States and Territories (Tables 15-35).” <i>Table 18 Crude imprisonment rate, Indigenous status by state/territory, 2016-2025, 2025.</i></p> <p>ABS formula for calculating imprisonment rate: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), “Prisoners in Australia Methodology, 2025,” Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2025.</p> <p>Estimated resident population by sex and age in the ACT: Australian Bureau of Statistics. “Population - Australian Capital Territory”. <i>TABLE 58. Estimated Resident Population By Single Year Of Age, Australian Capital Territory. March 2025.</i></p>
<p>Perceptions of community safety</p> <p>Note: data prior to 2023-24 not comparable to results from previous years.</p>	<p>Australian Government Productivity Commission, “rogs-2026-part-section6-police-services-data-tables_0”, <i>Perceptions of safety table 6A.23, 2026.</i></p>

Appendix E: Offender Pipeline Additional Context and Disclosers

Costs - Where possible, CJS costs of the 2024-25 period have been used. Where current costs are unavailable, the Criminal Justice Cost Model, developed by Justice and Community Safety, is used (Criminal Justice Cost Model, 2017). Where possible, RR25by25 program costs were determined by their evaluations. When evaluations have not indicated per person program costs, equivalent programs are used. Importantly, it should be noted that the true expanse of monetary crime costs would be almost impossible to determine, especially costs not borne by the criminal justice system. These visualisations vary in cost source and time period, meaning the monetary outcomes will not be an accurate depiction of exact costs of the 2025 period. The costs within these visualisations do not claim to be of complete accuracy in the 2025 period but it does indicate the relative costs associated with a traditional pathway versus an interventive, JR alternative. This is backdropped by the literature that

supports prison as criminogenic and highlights the benefits of interventive and preventative models that target underlying factors contributing to offending.

Lived experience disclosers – These are fictional case studies and are not based off any one person in particular. Instead, they were made following the reading of many lived experience CJS stories and in consultation with academics and other key stakeholders. They aim to be representative of the very real stories of people in the ACT prison system. Despite a careful consultation process, there is potential for these pipelines to be reductive of what are traumatic, unique experiences for those with lived experience. With this in mind, the pipelines offer depictions of the very real-world impact the programs supported under the RR25by25 plan can have on individuals.

Sentencing disclosers - Sentencing is an exercise of judicial discretion and depends on varying factors. The estimated penal response has been researched, but, again, given the variability in unique case circumstances, cannot claim to be an exact representation.

Appendix F: Offender Pipeline Sources, Costs, Calculations and Justification Tables

Jacob			
Contact Point	Cost	Source	Calculations & Notes
PCYC Solid Ground Program	\$8,311.8	Williams, Imogen, Mitchell Rice-Brading, Maia Grange, Moya Johansson, and Sue Bertram. 2025. "Evaluation of the PCYC Solid Ground Pilot Program." Canberra: ARTD Consultants. https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/2927404/Solid-Ground_Evaluation-Report-2025.pdf .	\$415.59 per week per completed participant for semester program. 20-week program Cost per week x amount of weeks in program = estimated cost for 20-week program \$415.59 x 20 = \$8,311.8
Burglary incident	\$4,015	Voce, Alexandra, and Anthony Morgan. 2025. "The Costs of Serious and Organised Crime in Australia, 2023-24." Australian Institute of Criminology. https://doi.org/10.52922/78113 .	Average cost per serious/organised crime burglary incident, 2023-24 values, serious and organised crimes
Police investigations interviews	\$20,607	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Apprehension	\$1,472	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Remand (60 days)	\$22,079	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Transport	\$2,713	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Court Attendance	\$5,228	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs

Drug and Alcohol Court (full program)*	\$42,307	Goodall, Stephen, Richard Norman, and Marion Haas. "The Costs of NSW Drug Court." NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 2008. https://bocsar.nsw.gov.au/documents/publications/cjb/cjb101-150/cjb122.pdf .	NSW drug and alcohol court 2008 costs
Prison (4 years)	\$837,689.6	Report on Government Services (RoGS). 2026. "8 Corrective Services Data Tables." https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective-services-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=PoEHeQNrbt8eZb1UIG_A2eWXqeOXhtGa .	ACT = \$573.76 per day Days in 4 years = 1460 days 1460 x 573.76 = \$837,689.6 2024-25 period
Extended Throughcare	\$1,500	Griffiths, Andrew, Fredrick Zmudzki, and Shona Bates. 2017. "Evaluation of ACT Extended Throughcare Pilot Program Final Report." Social Policy Research Centre. https://www.unsw.edu.au/content/dam/pdfs/ada/sprc/research-reports/2021-06-research/2021-06-Evaluation_of_ACT_Extended_Throughcare_Pilot_Program.pdf .	Costs from 2016 period
Prison (2 years)	\$418,844.8	Report on Government Services (RoGS). 2026. "8 Corrective Services Data Tables." https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective-services-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=PoEHeQNrbt8eZb1UIG_A2eWXqeOXhtGa .	ACT = \$573.76 per day Days in 2 years = 730 730 x 573.76 = \$418,844.8 2024-25 period

Amanda

Contact Point	Cost	Source	Calculations & Notes
Strong Connected Neighbourhoods	\$1941.39	Rattenbury, Shane. "RESPONSE to QUESTION on NOTICE Questions on Notice Paper No 4 23 April 2021 Question No. 197." Legislative Assembly, April 2021. https://questions.parliament.act.gov.au/questions/details/54c21bb6ece04d9587d384bd9f213e59/downloadattachment/9d55bd04-1709-4b23-94be-358758ed403d .	Total estimated program funding for 2022-23 period = \$541,000 Total num. residents (including dependents) = 836 A conservative estimate of per person cost is as follows: <i>Per year cost per annum / num. residents</i> \$541,000 / 836 = \$647.13 Amanda + Kaylee + Kaylee's daughter = \$1941.39
Apprehension	\$4,416	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Remand (9 months)	\$63,523	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Prison (9 months)	\$157,210	Report on Government Services (RoGS). 2026. "8 Corrective Services Data Tables."	ACT = \$573.76 per prisoner day Days in 9 months = 274

		https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective-services-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=PoEHeQNrbt8eZb1UIG_A2eWXqeOXhtGa .	274 x 573.76 = \$157,210.24 2024-25 period
Galambany Circle Sentencing	\$5,875	Daly, Ann, Barrett, Greg, and Williams, Rhiân. 2020. "Cost Benefit Analysis of Galambany Court." Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 29. https://www.courts.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0012/1769457/Galambany-CBA.pdf .	Galambany costs \$282,000 to run per year. There were 48 offenders sentenced in 2014/15. A conservative estimate of per person cost is as follows: <i>Per year cost / num. offenders</i> \$282,000 / 48 = \$5,875
Community Supervision (9 months)	\$12,615	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Justice Housing Program *	\$36,316	Sotiri, Mindy, Ruth McCausland, Rebecca Reeve, Lucy Phelan, and Terry Byrnes. 2021. "They're 'There to Support You and Help You, They're Not There to Judge You' Breaking the Cycle of Incarceration, Drug Use and Release: Evaluation of the Community Restorative Centre's AOD and Reintegration Programs." UNSW. https://humanrights.gov.au/_data/assets/file/0027/56646/Community_restorative_centre_attachment_redacted.pdf .	2021 NSW: "the average total cost per client of [the Extended Reintegration Service program] is \$36,316" p.113
Apprehension	\$4,146	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Remand (2 months)	\$25,496	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Prison (1.5 years)	\$314,420	Report on Government Services (RoGS). 2026. "8 Corrective Services Data Tables." https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective-services-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=PoEHeQNrbt8eZb1UIG_A2eWXqeOXhtGa .	ACT = \$573.76 per prisoner day Days in 1 year 6 months = 548 days \$573.76x548 = \$314,420.48 2024-25 period

Owen			
Contact Point	Final Cost	Source	Calculations & Notes
Restorative Justice Program	\$7,334	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
PCYC Solid Ground Program	\$8,311.8	Williams, Imogen, Mitchell Rice-Brading, Maia Grange, Moya Johansson, and Sue Bertram. 2025. "Evaluation of the PCYC Solid Ground Pilot Program." Canberra: ARTD Consultants. https://www.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/2927404/Solid-Ground_Evaluation-Report-2025.pdf .	\$415.59 per week per completed participant for semester program. 20-week program Cost per week x amount of weeks in program = estimated cost for 20-week program \$415.59 x 20 = \$8,311.8 2025 costs
Overnight Custody	\$573.76	Report on Government Services (RoGS). 2026. "8 Corrective Services Data Tables." https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective-services-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=PoEHeQNrbt8eZb1UIG_A2eWXqeOXhtGa .	ACT = \$573.76 per day
Remand	\$50,993	Justice and Community Safety Directorate. 2017. "Criminal Justice System Costing Model."	2017 data estimating 2026 costs
Imprisonment	\$418,844	Report on Government Services (RoGS). 2026. "8 Corrective Services Data Tables." https://assets.pc.gov.au/2026-01/rogs-2026-partc-section8-corrective-services-data-tables_0.xlsx?VersionId=PoEHeQNrbt8eZb1UIG_A2eWXqeOXhtGa .	ACT = \$573.76 per prisoner day Days in 2 years = 730 days 730 x 573.76 = \$418,844.80 2024-25 period

Offending pipeline choice	Justification
All individuals, (Amanda, Jacob and Owen) being placed on remand	<p>Remand rates are one of the two unmet RR25by25 success measures. The over-representation of unsentenced prisoners in the ACT were purposefully reflected in the offending pipelines. Each offender was remanded at some point during their trajectory and will likely be remanded again on the traditional pathway. Remand has seemed to become the default response, often not because the offender is too dangerous to re-enter society (although this is definitely the case in some instances) but due to unmet social needs including "unstable housing, mental health concerns or lack of support services" (SCAG, 2025, 34). It is therefore the already disadvantaged - those with disability, mental ill health, chronic physical health conditions, housing instability, homelessness (AIHW, 2022) or family and domestic violence that are "disproportionately represented among those refused bail" (SCAG, 2025, 34).</p> <p>Remand also disproportionately affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, increasing their rates of imprisonment (McDonald, McAlister & Bricknell, 2026). If the ACT's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Agreement 2019-2028 (ACT Government, 2022) targets are to be taken seriously, the disproportionate remand rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people needs</p>

	to be addressed. This is not a new issue. For example, in the Standing Council of Attorneys-General (SCAG) released a report detailing six recommendations to address the growing and disproportionate use of remand (SCAG, 2025). It is an ongoing issue driven by changes in bail laws (McDonald, McAlister & Bricknell, 2026; SCAG 2025) and access to housing (SCAG, 2025).
Interventions ceasing contact with the CJS	The report's empirical backdrop has informed the pipeline concept in which, after an intervention, it is assumed that individuals contact with the CJS ceases. This is not indicative of all cases: for many people, multiple interventions are required for 'complete' desistance, especially when contact with the CJS is frequent and extended. And even then, the person in question must be ready and willing to engage. However, the offending pipeline reflects literature that prison, for the majority of people, does not stop reoffending. The cost pathways, therefore are representations of what could occur for certain offenders who do wish to engage in supports but who are barred from doing so in their current circumstances. Despite the limitations associated with the cost pathways, JR programs are evidently more cost effective than the revolving door that is, increasingly, the ACT's traditional response.
Effects of remand	"Some research participants identified they had experienced delays in being able to access the appropriate support and services whilst in AMC and that this was particularly difficult for people held on remand. This was a concern for those interviewed as they felt that access to services was essential to addressing the causes of their offending behaviour and to ensuring the Galambany panel could see them taking active responsibility for their behaviour and seeking to change it." (Daly et al. 2020, 120-121)

Appendix G: Other Calculations Tables

Topic + page number	Calculations
Determining a ratio using ACT recidivism data p.1	$44.2\% * 5 = 2.21$ = Approximately for every 5 people leaving prison, 2 will return
Determining percentage of prisoners who received a life sentence in the ACT p.1	Prisoners sentenced to life in the ACT = 4 Prisoners sentenced in the ACT = 278 $4 / 278 = 1.44\%$ of people received a life sentence

Appendix H: Other Notes

- These statistics must be understood in relation to the ACT's unique characteristics. Due to the ACT's small size and low imprisonment relative to other states (430 prisoners in 2024-25 compared to 13,164 for NSW), small changes in inmate population causes great fluctuations at a data level (ABS, 2025, Table 15).
- This report limits its scope to the consideration of incarcerated adults.

To access report online or to view higher quality images of the offending pipelines, please visit <https://zoebellingham.com/anip/>

