Justice Sector Projections

Legal Aid Projection 2021-2027

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Executive summary

Each year, the Ministry of Justice looks at long-term trends to project what may occur across the criminal justice system over the next ten years. The legal aid projection forms part of this suite of projections across the justice sector. As with the other justice sector projections, the future trends are projected based on the latest data, legislation, policy and operational settings. The projection only includes the impact of changes to legislation, policy and practice that have been formally approved, funded and have a clear implementation plan.

This projection represents only one possible future – not *the* future. The projection provides a starting point against which the impacts of any future changes can be assessed and evaluated. A number of significant changes in the criminal and family justice systems have been implemented and will be taking effect in the next few years. These include working in partnership with Māori to embed te ao Māori approaches into how key justice sector agencies operate to address the harm Māori communities experience through crime and criminal justice. These changes have the potential to create a very different future over the long-term and expenditure on legal aid will be affected accordingly.

The projection uses data for the fiscal year ending 30 June 2022. It was finalised in November 2022, and, like all projections, is based on expert views and expectations of system settings and behaviours at the time.

The COVID-19 virus and the lockdowns associated with it have produced substantial and continuing changes in those settings and behaviours that are difficult to project into the future. Nonetheless, the projection offers a baseline view of what is expected at a particular point in time, against which subsequent change can be measured. Subsequent projections will take stock of ongoing developments and deliver an evolving views of future trends.

The two national COVID-19 lockdowns in 2020 and 2021 affected legal aid expenditure in different ways, and it remains unclear how trends will respond. In particular, expenditure for 2021-22 was substantially lower than stated in the last projection. This shortfall occurred particularly in the criminal jurisdiction and reflected a fall in numbers applying for legal aid. This is unlikely to be repeated in future years, and therefore has not been projected to continue in this projection. One key observation is that, as a consequence, this year's projection is starting at a lower level than was anticipated last year.

A significant factor in this year's projection is the decision in Budget 2022 to provide greater funding for legal aid over the next few years (see Appendix 1). The decision affects both remuneration rates for providers (which will increase the cost of cases) and eligibility thresholds for applicants (which will increase the number of applications). This delivers a significant upward pressure on expenditure, although this is somewhat offset by starting from the lower level resulting from the impact of COVID-19.

Under the present settings, legal aid expenditure is projected to reach \$310.9m by 2026-27. This is 47% above the actual expenditure of \$210.9m for 2021-22, compared to a 46% increase over the preceding five-year period.

The principal contributor to this increase is expenditure on private providers of legal aid in the criminal jurisdiction, which is projected to rise by 41% (or \$49.6m) by 2026-27, compared to a 74% increase over the preceding five-year period. This increase is mainly driven by the increase in remuneration. Changes in eligibility are not expected to affect the criminal jurisdiction as most applicants qualify on other grounds. It is expected that numbers of court events in criminal proceedings will continue to increase, but by a lower amount than in past years.

The legal aid projection also covers family and civil legal aid, each of which is subject to distinct changes to legislation, policy and practice. The projections for these jurisdictions only include changes that have been formally approved, funded and have a clear implementation plan. Remuneration and eligibility changes affect both the family and civil jurisdictions.

Legal aid in the family jurisdiction is projected to increase by 31.2% (or \$17.3m) from 2021-22 to 2026-27. This is the result of both extra cases due to eligibility changes and increased costs due to remuneration changes.

Legal aid in the civil jurisdiction is projected to increase by 48.7% (or \$3.6m) from 2021-22 to 2026-27. This is the result of both extra cases due to eligibility changes and increased costs due to remuneration changes.

Expenditure on private providers of legal aid for Waitangi Tribunal claims is projected to rise by 22.0% (or \$4.0m) by 2026-27. This increase is driven by the ongoing programme of Kaupapa enquiries.

The other components of legal aid expenditure – Duty Lawyer services, and Police Detention Legal Assistance – are projected to remain broadly stable.

The Legal Aid Projection Overview

This document presents a projection of legal aid expenditure for the years 2022-23 to 2026-27. It is part of the suite of projections linked to the main Justice Sector Projection.

Legal aid¹ is an important part of New Zealand's justice system, ensuring that people are not denied justice because they cannot afford a lawyer. It is demand-driven and there is a legislative requirement for aid to be granted if someone is eligible. If more eligible people become involved in court proceedings in any jurisdiction, then legal aid must be supplied and expenditure increases as a result. Legal aid expenditure is effectively not capped, and a reliable projection is needed to understand the impacts of this.

The 2022 Budget increased thresholds for eligibility for the first time in several years. There was also an increase in some remuneration rates for legal aid providers. See Appendix 1 for details. Both changes are reflected in this year's projection.

The funding for legal aid is part of the funding for the Ministry of Justice as a whole and includes two components: the actual aid for applicants, and the administrative costs associated with administering the system. Most legal aid, including all aid in the family and civil jurisdictions, and in support of Waitangi Tribunal claims, is paid to private providers. The Public Defence Service (PDS), which operates in the criminal jurisdiction in most large centres, is a separate allocation within overall funding for Justice.

The projection covers the amount, in dollars, of expenditure on private providers of legal aid in the following areas:

- Criminal jurisdiction;
- Family jurisdiction (including the Family Legal Advice Service);
- Civil jurisdiction;
- Waitangi Tribunal claims;
- Duty Lawyer scheme; and
- Police Detention Legal Assistance scheme.

¹ Further details about legal aid can be found on the Ministry's website: https://www.justice.govt.nz/courts/going-to-court/legal-aid/

Orders of costs in the family and civil jurisdictions (under section 41 of the Legal Services Act 2011) are included in the totals for the relevant jurisdiction. Expenditure on cases handled by the PDS is not within the scope of the projection.

Legal aid is essentially a grant, and a proportion of those receiving it are expected to pay some or all of it back, meaning that there is an amount of legal aid debt to be recovered. This quantity is also not within the scope of the projection.

The criminal jurisdiction, Duty Lawyer and Police Detention Legal Assistance scheme sections of this projection are aligned with the assumptions used in the prison population projection.

The future trends for the justice sector are projected based on the latest data, legislation, policy and operational settings. The projection only includes the impact of changes to legislation, policy and practice that have been formally approved, funded and have a clear implementation plan.

The 2021 projection was developed using data for the fiscal year ending 30 June 2021. The later months of 2021 saw further restrictions and local and national COVID-19 lockdowns. In addition, a major protest outside Parliament saw significant diversion of Police resources, also leading to a drop in court inflow into the criminal jurisdiction.

The 2022 projection has taken stock of these recent developments and delivers a refreshed view of future trends based on data to 30 June 2022. The 2021-22 fiscal year showed a fall in expenditure from the previous year as many flows into the system dropped during COVID-19 lockdowns, depressing the demand for legal aid. In many cases, it remains to be seen how the system will respond.

The period has also seen a continuation of the increase in the rate of election for jury trial. This arrangement is thought to be affecting legal aid because defendants are choosing jury trials over judge-alone trials at an increased rate. Cases on the jury trial tracks require more than twice the number of court events than judge-alone cases, and therefore increase the cost of legal aid. If all suspended proceedings take place once trials have fully resumed, there is likely to be a substantial increase in legal aid costs.

It is also known that suspended court cases often resume with new legal representatives. Cases where responsibilities are transferred also attract additional expenditure because the new lawyer needs time to become familiar with the details.

The projection of legal aid expenditure is based on the expenditure recorded in Ministry of Justice financial records – that is, it also reflects how rapidly lawyers submit invoices for payment after provision of service. Different lawyers do so on different timescales. December 2020 saw 35% more invoices presented for payment than December 2019, and it is conjectured that lawyers – at the end of a difficult year – chose to submit invoices more promptly than usual to assist with their cash flow. This was reflected in accruals, which are a measure of the implied liabilities of unfinished or yet-to-be-invoiced cases – the accrual balance for 2020-21 was well below projection, suggesting that lawyers were taking the opportunity to access money to which they were entitled on a more prompt basis. The impact

on accruals continued into 2021-22, although the increase in remuneration rates has changed the trend in recent months.

The legal aid process

Legal Aid Services (LAS) contributes to justice sector outcomes by designing and delivering legal services and enhancing access for those people who need those services but cannot afford them. LAS aims to deliver these legal services in a way that is sustainable, dynamic, straightforward and responsive to the needs of its primary customer (the legally aided person).

LAS receives and assesses applications for legal aid and administers the resulting grants of aid. Legal aid is available in all jurisdictions of the court (criminal, family and civil) as well as for claims before the Waitangi Tribunal. Legal aid also supports the Duty Lawyer scheme (which provides a lawyer at court for those criminal defendants without legal representation) and the Police Detention Legal Assistance scheme (which provides initial legal advice for persons detained by the Police).

LAS is part of the wider Operations and Service Delivery Group in the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry of Justice also oversees the PDS which provides professional, independent criminal legal aid representation to clients throughout New Zealand. This projection does not cover the PDS.

Pressures on legal aid may arise when new legislation changes either operational procedure or introduces new categories of offence. At any given time, there are policy and legislative items under consideration that are likely to affect expenditure on legal aid during the lifetime of the projection, but which are still unknown as regards amount or timing. This projection does not include such items. This report does, however, comment on these items and their potential impact on legal aid expenditure at the appropriate points. Subsequent projections will include new developments as they become clear.

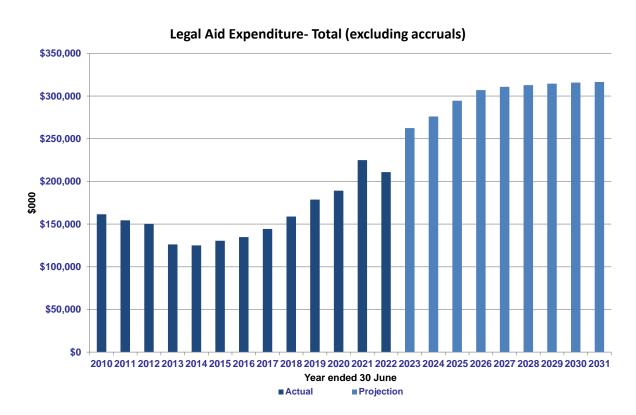
The eligibility criteria for people accessing legal aid vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and are considered on an individual case basis. Maximum levels of income for the receipt of legal aid across all jurisdictions have been increased from January 2023 as a result of decisions from Budget 2022, meaning that a greater number of people can apply for and be granted legal aid. Remuneration rates for non-fixed-fee items have been increased in all jurisdictions meaning that providers will be able to claim larger amounts. Fuller details of these changes are given in Appendix 1.

Other changes might affect the type of legal assistance supported. For example, lawyers in Care of Children Act proceedings in the Family Court were reintroduced in July 2020 after an absence of six years. Those eligible for family legal aid resumed using this service, leading to a spike in applications, which has now been absorbed into the projection.

Total legal aid expenditure is projected to increase, driven by changes in eligibility and increases in remuneration

Figure 1 shows that expenditure on legal aid covering all jurisdictions and schemes (but excluding accruals) is projected to increase from \$210.9m in 2021-22 to \$310.9m in 2026-27 (a 47.4% increase). This compares to an increase of 46.2% between 2016-17 and 2021-22.

Figure 1: Total legal aid expenditure



Total legal aid expenditure is projected to rise over the projection period. The principal drivers is the increase are the increase in eligibility and the increase in non-fixed fees.

Table 1 summarises the expenditure on each component, excluding accruals.

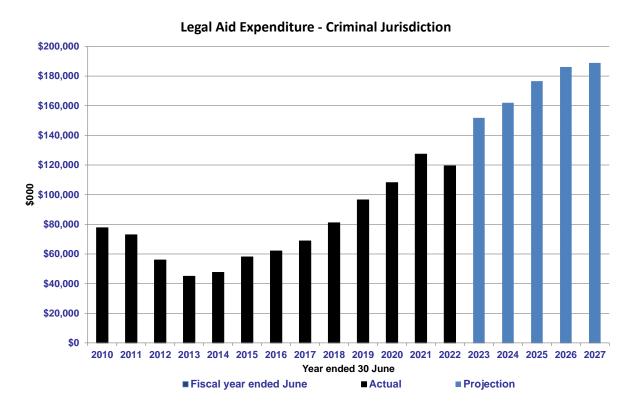
Table 1: Projected expenditure on legal aid to 2026-27

Fiscal year	Criminal	Family	Civil	Waitangi	Duty lawyer	PDLA	Total
2022-2023	\$154.9m	\$65.6m	\$9.2m	\$20.0m	\$11.7m	\$1.0m	\$262.4m
2023-2024	\$159.0m	\$74.0m	\$10.5m	\$20.0m	\$11.7m	\$1.0m	\$276.1m
2024-2025	\$171.9m	\$77.1m	\$11.8m	\$20.9m	\$11.8m	\$1.0m	\$294.5m
2025-2026	\$182.5m	\$78.2m	\$11.9m	\$21.4m	\$11.8m	\$1.0m	\$306.9m
2026-2027	\$184.6m	\$79.0m	\$12.1m	\$22.2m	\$11.9m	\$1.0m	\$310.9m

Criminal legal aid will rise because of increased remuneration and higher numbers of court events

Figure 2 shows that expenditure on privately-provided legal aid in the criminal jurisdiction is projected to increase from \$119.4m in 2021-22 to \$188.8m in 2026-27 (a 58% increase). This compares to an increase of 74% between 2016-17 and 2021-22.

Figure 2: Legal aid expenditure in the criminal jurisdiction



The criminal jurisdiction is comprised primarily of high volume, relatively low-cost cases. The projection for the criminal jurisdiction incorporates the relevant features of the same trends in prosecutions that are used in the other parts of the Justice Sector Projection related to criminal courts. Activity in the criminal court system is also a useful basis for projecting demand for the Duty Lawyer and Police Detention Legal Assistance schemes.

The principal cause of the drop observed in 2021-22 was a drop in legally-aided cases entering the system as a result of national and local COVID-19 lockdowns. The assumption for last year had been that the flow of cases into the criminal jurisdiction would remain flat. That assumption

still applies for 2022-23 and outyears now that case numbers are recovering to pre-COVID levels. The number of category 3 cases is now expected to remain flat, while the number of category 2 cases is expected to fall. However, the proportion of category 2 cases attracting legal aid has been increasing in recent years, offsetting the fall in numbers.

The proportion of more serious cases has continued to increase. These more serious cases require substantially more effort and court events² as they progress. There is also a continuing trend of guilty pleas occurring later in the process which further increases the number of court events. This in turn increases the cost of a case and therefore the amount of legal aid required.

While the inflow of more serious cases has stabilised, legal aid expenditure has continued to grow. The number of court events per case has also continued to increase. This has led to the current projection including a focus on trends in the number of court events to drive expenditure projections. Work is continuing in the Criminal Process Improvement Programme to develop court processes that involve fewer court events. If this work is successful, legal aid expenditure will not grow as projected.

Court events (rolling average)

5

4

3

2

1

0

2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022

Figure 3: Average number of court events in Category 2 and Category 3 criminal proceedings

The average number of court events across Category 2 and Category 3 criminal proceedings (which account for the bulk of legal aid) increased from 2.8 in January 2010 to 4.1 in December 2020 (50%) and has remained at that level since. Court events have increased in both the review and trial stages of individual cases, while the ongoing increase in late guilty pleas means that more cases are reaching these stages. The increase in average event numbers between June 2019 and June 2020 alone was 3.7 to 4.1 (12%) and was a far clearer driver of legal aid expenditure than the numbers of serious cases.

² A court event is frequently a hearing, but legal aid is also used to fund out-of-court work such as preparation or the costs of specialist evidence. We use 'event' here to cover all the variety of legally aided work.

In recent months numbers of events per case appear to have stabilised. This may not be the true picture of the trend. The impact of various stages of COVID-19 lockdown in different parts of the country has limited the ability of the system to handle longer trials consistently. As a result, the current case mix lacks a significant number of cases with large numbers of court events being resolved, depressing the observed average. It has therefore been assumed that event numbers will continue to increase, driving up average case cost.

Legal aid fixed fees for private providers in the criminal jurisdiction were increased in three annual stages from July 2016, contributing to increases in expenditure in those years. The most recent expenditure increase, of 10% from 2018-19 to 2019-20, has been mainly driven by the increased numbers of court events within individual cases. The 2022 Budget increased non-fixed fee payments for criminal providers and certain fixed fees for hourly rates, which will increase case costs. It is not expected that the increase in eligibility will increase the number of legally-aided criminal cases, as nearly all those that qualify by virtue of the severity of the potential sentence.

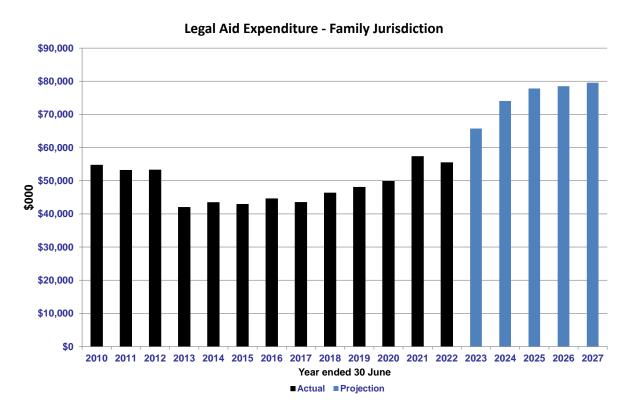
To summarise, in future years, numbers of more serious cases are expected to remain broadly stable. Numbers of court events in cases are expected to continue increasing, which will add to criminal legal aid costs. It is expected that therapeutic courts will involve greater numbers of events as judges monitor interventions, while events before conviction will be longer to accommodate a greater focus on the needs of the defendant. Both changes will increase legal aid costs. Remuneration increases will add to the upward trend.

The number of cases taken by the PDS is expected to remain constant. Any extra cases will therefore be managed by private providers, resulting in an upward pressure on non-departmental expenditure.

Family Court legal aid will increase due to increased eligibility and remuneration for providers

Figure 4 shows that expenditure on legal aid in the family jurisdiction is projected to increase from \$55.5m in 2021-22 to \$79.6m in 2026-27 (a 43.4% increase).

Figure 4: Legal aid expenditure in the family jurisdiction



The 2022 Budget increased the maximum levels of income for the receipt of legal aid, meaning that a greater number of people could apply for and be granted aid. These changes followed similar changes in Family Court eligibility from 2016. The 2022 Budget also increased non-fixed-fee payments for legal aid providers in the Family Court. These changes are the principal drivers of the increased expenditure on Family Court legal aid.

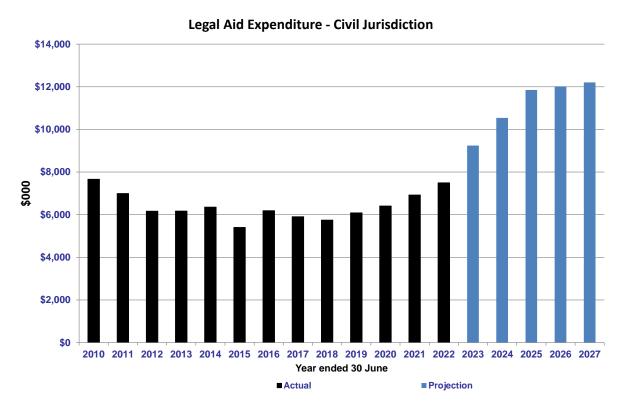
From July 2020, lawyers were readmitted to Family Court proceedings involving the Care of Children Act 2004. This led to a short-term spike in inflow and expenditure.

This year, both inflows and average case cost are higher for Family Court legal aid. Both trends rise throughout the projection period after an initial step upwards.

Civil Court legal aid is projected to increase due to increased eligibility and remuneration for providers

Figure 5 shows that expenditure on legal aid in the civil jurisdiction is projected to rise from \$7.5m in 2021-22 to \$12.2m in 2026-27 (a 62.3% increase).

Figure 5: Legal aid expenditure in the civil jurisdiction



Budget 2022 increases in both eligibility and remuneration mean that, after a relatively level period, legal aid expenditure in the civil jurisdiction will increase significantly. While this is a large percentage increase, it is founded on a low baseline – the civil jurisdiction accounts for only 5% of total legal aid expenditure.

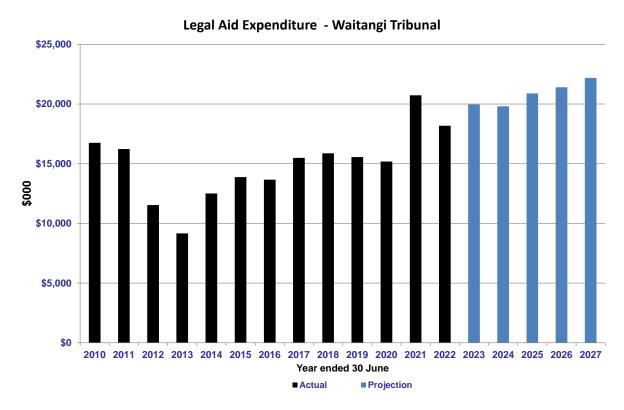
COVID-19 and the many impacts of this may give rise to increased civil court activity in certain areas, particularly bankruptcy and insolvency matters. As some of these may require legal aid it is possible that expenditure on civil legal aid will rise if this eventuates.

A further complicating factor is the ongoing coronial enquiry into the Christchurch masjid attacks. This is leading to a few very large legal aid claims, which are substantial enough to hide the underlying trend. It is not possible to accommodate its impact with any confidence.

Waitangi Tribunal legal aid is projected to increase due to Kaupapa enquiries

Figure 6 shows that expenditure on legal aid for Waitangi Tribunal claims is projected to increase from \$18.2m in 2021-22 to \$22.2m in 2026-27 (a 22.1% increase).

Figure 6: Legal aid expenditure on Waitangi Tribunal claims



Legal aid for Waitangi Tribunal cases is subject to a different set of drivers from the other jurisdictions. At any given time, there are only a small number of complex and high-cost grants of legal aid for cases before the Tribunal. This is also an area where issues concerning legal aid are decided by evolving case law. There are, however, relatively few historic claims still under consideration, and they are being steadily resolved. As they have completed, the Tribunal's work has shifted to contemporary claims (such as those relating to water and geothermal resources).

A further strand is the increasing impact of the Kaupapa inquiry programme. This is expected to generate work over several years covering up to thirteen themes dealing with nationally significant issues affecting Māori as whole. Current inquiries include Health, Mana Wahine and

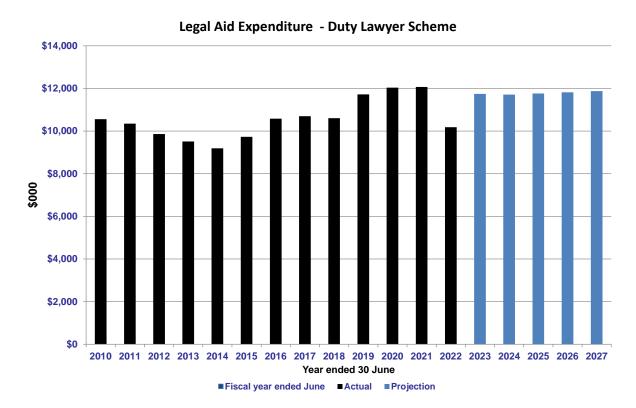
Housing, while the Justice Kaupapa inquiry itself was launched in August 2021. The Justice Kaupapa inquiry will look at the provision of legal aid in all jurisdictions.

The increase seen in 2020-21 did not carry over into 2021-22, probably because of COVID-19 limitations. After consultation with the Operations and Service Delivery Group within the Ministry of Justice, the various factors have been accommodated by assuming a continuing increase in Waitangi Tribunal legal aid expenditure to a higher level, though below last year's projection. Nevertheless, this part of the projection is subject to a high degree of uncertainty.

Expenditure on the Duty Lawyer scheme will remain broadly stable

Figure 7 shows that expenditure on legal aid for the Duty Lawyer scheme is projected to remain close to flat: \$12.1m in 2020-21 through to \$11.5m in 2025-26.

Figure 7: Legal aid expenditure on the Duty Lawyer scheme



Payments for the Duty Lawyer scheme increased steadily from 2014 and stepped up more sharply in the 2018-19 year. While the numbers entering the criminal courts are falling, courts are still sitting for roughly the same number of hours and Duty Lawyers' expenditure is driven by the number of hours of service provided rather than the absolute number of cases. The drop in 2021-22 is COVID-related – as an essential service, courts remained open very much as usual, but with fewer courtrooms in use, and therefore fewer Duty Lawyers were needed.

It is expected that Duty Lawyer operations will return to normal in 2022-23 so the projection returns to recent levels and remains flat into the future.

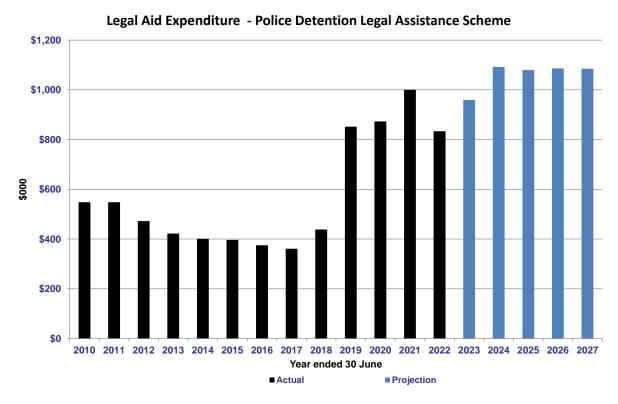
Initiatives being trialled by the Criminal Process Improvement Programme (CPIP) may lead to significant changes in the work of Duty Lawyers. The impacts of CPIP initiatives are not yet known in sufficient detail to allow the projection to take account of them.

A further issue that causes some variance in private provision is the capacity of PDS to provide a specific level of cover. There may also be issues around private provider coverage in certain locations.

Expenditure on Police Detention Legal Assistance will remain broadly stable after a step up due to drugdriving offences

Figure shows that expenditure on legal aid for the Police Detention Legal Assistance scheme is projected to increase from \$0.8m in 2021- to \$1.1m in 2025-26 (an increase of 30%).

Figure 8: Legal aid expenditure on the Police Detention Legal Assistance scheme



The large step up in expenditure on the Police Detention Legal Assistance scheme followed an increase in the remuneration rates from 30 April 2018. The increase reflected both the new rates and a greater use of them – it appears that the improved rates encouraged more lawyers to provide the service. However, there remain some concerns regarding the availability of providers of this service.

To address some of these concerns, a pilot scheme to improve availability of lawyers offering this service was run at Christmas and New Year 2020-21, producing unusually high expenditure for two quarters of the year, and a spike in the annual total for 2020-21.

From March 2023, it is expected that numbers of drivers charged with being under the influence of drugs will require PDLA services at Police stations. This is expected to cost an extra \$16,000 per month, leading to an increase on expenditure on the Police Detention Legal Assistance in later years.

Appendix 1: Budget 2022 impacts

The Government is investing \$148.7 million over the next four years to make adjustments to legal aid settings. This comprises two components.

Increasing the hourly rates of legal aid lawyers

The funding will provide a one-off 12 per cent increase to the hourly rates for legal aid lawyers. This 12 per cent increase will be available for grants made after 1 July 2022, and for work completed after this date on existing grants. This will also apply to the series of fees available for hearing and waiting time in the fixed fees schedules across all jurisdictions.

The rates for the Duty Lawyer Service are not included in this increase. It is anticipated that there will be a review of the Duty Lawyer Service in the next year. This review will explore existing coverage and rostering issues, particularly on weekends and public holidays.

Legal aid settings regarding eligibility and repayments to change

In addition to the increase in hourly rates, the investment will also allow the Ministry to implement changes to key policy settings. These changes include:

- Increasing eligibility thresholds by 15% on 1 January 2023 and increasing them by a further 1.9% per year (for three years) so that they keep pace with wage inflation, ensuring that a greater proportion of people will qualify for legal aid.
- Increasing the repayment thresholds by 16.5% on 1 January 2023 and likewise increasing them by a further 1.9% per year for three years thereafter, and no longer charging interest on legal aid debt. This will mean that more legal aid recipients will have a lesser repayment obligation.
- The removal of the \$50 user charge for civil and family legal aid from 1 January 2023.

Appendix 2: Accruals

The overall projection is based on expenditure recorded by the Finance division in the Ministry of Justice. The finance process includes a system of accruals, reflecting the presence of liabilities that have been incurred but not yet paid. The full projection takes accruals into account, so that the output matches the records of Finance division. However, the adjustment is small: most years accruals are around \$1-2m out of an overall expenditure of around \$200m.

Accruals arise because cases are inevitably still in progress at whatever point one examines the accounts. This means that that there will be amounts to pay to providers in the future – effectively, these are liabilities. Because it is not known precisely how long any specific case will take, the calculation of the liability is challenging and imprecise. The Ministry of Justice Finance Group uses a model to calculate the accruals for any given month, and the projection aims to forecast that model's output in the future.

There are two components to the accrual projection. One is the overall estimate of the accrual balance – the total amount of money the Ministry may be liable to pay. This quantity generally increases, reflecting increasing average case costs. The 2020 projection estimated the amount to increase far more than it did. It is believed that this discrepancy reflects lawyer behaviour in submitting invoices – at the end of a difficult year, many more invoices were handled in December 2020 then in 2019, suggesting that lawyers were taking the opportunity to access money to which they were entitled on a prompt basis.

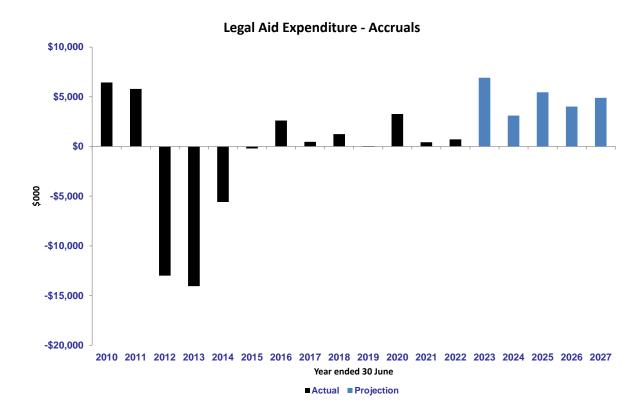
The second component to the accrual projection is the monthly change – whether the accrual balance rises or falls in a given month. This quantity can be negative. This situation may occur when a case finishes sooner – and hence more cheaply – than projected by the Finance model. Another cause is when the timescale for providers to submit invoices is adjusted.

Figure shows the annual change in accruals. Accruals vary according to a wide range of factors, including whether base expenditure is rising or falling, or if there are changes in the time allowed for the receipt of invoices. This results in a mix of positive and negative changes.

The 2022 Budget increased remuneration rates and eligibility thresholds, which implies an increase in average case costs. It also implies an increase in accruals – the cases still in progress are going to be more expensive when payment does come due. The pattern seen is a significant step up in accrual amounts, followed by a degree of stabilisation. The accruals estimated by the Finance Group model since July 2022 already imply a significant increase, particularly in the Criminal and Family jurisdictions.

Accruals for the criminal, family and civil jurisdictions are projected separately, although this report only considers the total. Accruals are expected to be a minimal component of Waitangi Tribunal expenditure. Waitangi Tribunal accruals are not formally projected but are included when calculating the total annual Waitangi legal aid expenditure. There are no accruals related to the Duty Lawyer or Police Detention Legal Assistance schemes.

Figure 9: Legal aid change in total accruals



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