SUBMISSION TO THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT GREEN PAPER WHICH WAY HOME? A NEW APPROACH TO HOMELESSNESS

A JOINT SUBMISSION FROM THE NSW COMMISSIONER FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE WA COMMISSIONER FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

NSW COMMISSION FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

The NSW Commission for Children and Young People (the Commission) promotes the safety, welfare and well-being of children and young people in NSW.

The Commission was established by the *Commission for Children and Young People Act 1998 (NSW)* ("the NSW Act"). Section 10 of the Commission's Act lays down three statutory principles which govern the work of the Commission:

- a. The safety, welfare and well-being of children are the paramount considerations;
- b. The views of children are to be given serious consideration and taken into account; and
- c. A co-operative relationship between children and their families and community is important to the safety, welfare and well-being of children.

Section 12 of the Commission's Act requires the Commission to give priority to the interests and needs of vulnerable children. Children are defined in the Act as all people under the age of 18 years.

Section 11(d) of the Act provides that one of the principal functions of the Commission is to make recommendations to government and non-government agencies on legislation, policies, practices and services affecting children.

The Commission has wide-reaching powers to undertake special inquiries, consult, research, advise and report independently to Parliament about the issues that concern children and young people. Section 13 of the Act directs the Commission to listen to and take seriously the views of children and young people, to develop mechanisms to facilitate participation and to promote the importance of participation.

WA COMMISSIONER FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

The WA Commissioner for Children and Young People (the Commissioner) promotes the best interests of children and young people in WA by:

- a. Advocating on their behalf;
- b. Encouraging their participation in decision making; and
- c. Promoting community awareness about their well-being.

The Commissioner is established by the *Commissioner for Children and Young People Act WA (2006)* ("the WA Act"). Under the WA Act, the best interests of children and young people are paramount.

There are four guiding principles:

- a. Children and young people are entitled to live in a caring and nurturing environment and be protected from harm and exploitation;
- b. Their contributions to the community should be recognised and valued;
- c. Their views on all matters affecting them should be considered seriously and taken into account; and
- d. Parents, families and communities have the primary role in safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of children and young people.

The Act directs the Commissioner to give priority to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people; and children and young people who are vulnerable or disadvantaged for any reason.

The Commissioner has wide-reaching powers so that the position can consult, investigate, research, advise and report independently to the Parliament about the issues that concern children and young people and those supporting them. The Commissioner must actively consult with children in a way that is appropriate to their age and maturity.

INTRODUCTION

A complex, diverse and cumulative set of social, economic and personal factors are often at play in rendering individuals, families, children and young people homeless. Homelessness is an outcome, a symptom of a significant set of vulnerabilities which vary according to individual experience and circumstances. Homelessness is an indicator that our sophisticated systems of rights, protections, social and economic safety nets are failing significant groups in our community.

For some families, homelessness is a temporary episode in their lives. For many families, children and young people, homelessness is episodic or 'generational'. For many it is a 'manifestation of a continuing poverty of personal and social resources'¹. In some jurisdictions, homelessness is coming to be recognised as 'the most extreme form of social exclusion'². For families in circumstances such as these, the lack of affordable, secure housing, whilst significant, is but one factor that contributes to their homelessness. In Australia, there is a growing understanding of the diversity and dynamics of homelessness. There is increasing recognition of the 'continuum of causes' that cross both structural and individual factors. There is a more nuanced understanding of the interaction of these multiple precipitating factors. There are many reasons and a great diversity in the combination of circumstances that render families, children and young people homeless. *Which Way Home?* documents some of the evidence of risk factors associated with homelessness. These include a wide range of structural, personal and life event vulnerabilities.

Of great concern to the Commissioners is the large representation of children and young people who experience homelessness. We know that children and young people who have experienced homelessness are more likely to become homeless as adults thus repeating a cycle of disadvantage that has enormous social and economic costs to the individual and the community as a whole. International longitudinal research suggests other long term impacts for children who have

experienced childhood homelessness including developmental delays, behavioural problems, poor educational outcomes and lower performance in health, social and emotional domains.

The Commissioners recognise that children and young people's experience of homelessness is significantly connected to their experiences and relationships with their families and to their family circumstances. Domestic and family violence and breakdown of family relationships are the major reasons why children present at homelessness services.

Homelessness is now recognised as a major social issue in most developed countries. The persistence of homelessness in a developed and prosperous nation such as Australia is a signal that we need to do things differently if our objective is to significantly reduce the rate of homelessness, as the Prime Minister has indicated is the Australian Government's intent. A twenty first century reform of Australia's response to homelessness needs to lead transformational change. Our aspiration should be the elimination of homelessness and the goals of the 2020 reform process should guide significant achievement of milestones on this journey. Incremental reform to the existing tertiary service system will not and cannot be expected to achieve this end.

To give children the opportunity to grow up to be healthy and happy and protected from adverse circumstances such as homelessness, Australia needs to develop an appropriate prevention approach based on the accumulating evidence and experience world-wide in the field of child well-being. There is irrefutable economic and social evidence that demonstrates the major benefits for countries where governments make investment in children's well-being a priority.

Approaching system reform from the child perspective of well-being³ means looking beyond material deprivation and social exclusion, to a more comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing children's lives. It implies a shift of focus from responding primarily to vulnerability and crises, to promoting positive standards for children throughout their lives across policies and services.

In talking with 126 children and young people between the ages of 8 and 15 years from across New South Wales about what well-being means to them⁴, the New South Wales Commission for Children and Young People found that well-being is about children's emotional life. Children's relationships and connections with others are central to how they understand well-being. Like well-being for adults, well-being for children is complex and multi-faceted; covering both negative and positive dimensions, and is understood in a holistic way. It is about more than just being healthy or staying out of trouble. The Commission found that while there are nine themes that make up children's picture of wellbeing, three are fundamental:

- **Agency**: having agency or power to take independent action, leading to some control and capacity to act independently in everyday life;
- **Security**: having a sense of security to be able to engage fully with life and do the things that one needs to do. Children's sense of security and safety

- increases when they have the protection of parents, a personal safe place to be, or trusted people around them; and
- **Positive sense of self**: having a positive sense of self, that is feeling that you are an okay or good person, and being recognised as such by those around you—for who you are, as well as what you do.

These three facets inform other areas of children's lives and their perception of their well-being, including the activities they are involved in, how they respond to adversity, how they feel about and use the material resources they and their families have at their disposal, how they interact with their environment, their physical health and their moral lives.

Integrating a concern for the well-being of children into all relevant areas of policy making, is coming to be understood as the approach to successfully prevent and tackle child poverty and exclusion and their many manifestations such as children experiencing homelessness⁵.

CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S UNDERSTANDING AND VIEWS ABOUT THEIR HOMELESS EXPERIENCES

We know too little about children's experience of homelessness, the responses and support they need and the ways to build resilience and mediate their disadvantage⁶. The success of a preventative approach will rely on a greater knowledge and understanding of children's experiences of homelessness and the risk factors that precipitate family homelessness. The Commissioners firmly believe that knowledge and understanding of homelessness in Australia needs to be substantially informed by the views of children.

Like children's broader experiences of poverty, children's experiences of homelessness are often subsumed into the experience of their families, the assumption being that findings for adult family members are synonymous with those for their children. The Commissioner's experience and commitment to children and young people affirms the emerging understanding that children and young people are competent interpreters of their social worlds and their perspectives and responses are unique to themselves. A well-being approach recognises children as active in their lives, recognises that they have a voice and a right to be heard⁷.

Australian children's direct experiences of homelessness were studied for the first time in 2006-07 by the Institute of Child Protection Studies, Australian Catholic University⁸. The Commissioners commend this work and are very appreciative of the insightful and comprehensive views of the twenty five children and young people articulating their homeless experiences and their opinions about how they would like to be supported. While acknowledging that there are limitations to generalising from a qualitative research sample, these twenty five children and young people, eight of whom identify as being of Aboriginal descent, had spent an average period of 30 months being homeless while in the care of their parents. Their voices and experiences are extremely important in providing children and young people's views about their personal well-being in circumstances of significant adversity, to inform the building of a new approach to homelessness. Relevant key findings include:

 Children and young people defined being 'housed' more by the level of connectedness to family and community and the absence of fear, instability and insecurity, than by their housing status.

As one young man said

'Living with my mum has been when I am happiest (home) is more about the people there than the house'

- Their parent's capacity to protect and care for them mitigated the effects of homelessness on their lives to some extent.
- When housed (in temporary and longer term housing), children stressed the importance of having adequate space, having adequate control over their environment and their special things around them.
- Housing stability and predictability were important. Many of the children had experienced high levels of mobility and having a 'home' was associated with permanency, stability, security.
- Children didn't necessarily feel safer and more secure in crisis accommodation than they did in the often difficult family circumstances that precipitated their homelessness.
- The most difficult aspect of moving for many was having to leave their schools, friends and local communities. An important part of 'Home' for many children was a place where they could have pets. Maintaining these connections mitigates their sense of loss.⁹

The fundamental importance of sustaining safe and secure relationships, family preservation and wider community connectedness, to mitigate the effect of the experiences of adversity, is a consistent theme. The researchers conclude that this remains an important set of priorities even after children are housed in order for them to feel that they have a 'home'.

If we want to improve children's lives it is important that we routinely include their understandings in what is studied, counted and acted on in policy and practice. Focussing on children's own perspectives of well-being complements and challenges existing policy and research on children. It contributes to the possibilities for making policy and research agendas more sensitive to what children say is important to their well-being rather than being constrained by current research and policy agendas that largely rely on adult perspectives on children's well-being 10. In developing a new national approach to homelessness, the Commissioners urge the Australian Government to give voice to children and young peoples' views and perspectives at a national level and to embed children and young people's self definition of well-being in the strategy design principles and in ongoing program and strategy evaluation.

A REFORMED HOMELESSNESS SERVICE MODEL THAT WOULD SERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Which Way Home? A New Approach to Homelessness identifies the aim of a reformed homelessness service model as being:

'contact with crisis services, offers a swift and secure **gateway** into safe, appropriate accommodation; and a **pathway** to the longer term goals of personal security, self development, and social and economic participation'

The Commissioners agree with the thrust of the long term goals and believe that these are not inconsistent with a model that puts children's well-being at the centre. Positioning the homelessness service model at the point of 'contact with crisis services' is however a replication of the exiting tertiary focused service system. The homelessness service model should represent the translation of the 10 Principles into action. If Principle 2, 'Preventing the causes of homelessness' is indeed the main focus of the new approach to homelessness, a service model needs to be conceptualised that gives effect to the Goals and Principles in *Which Way Home?* and invests in a comprehensive suite of well-being focused prevention strategies. The Commissioners believe the emphasis needs to be on upstream prevention initiatives which aim to keep children, young people and their families living in secure, affordable and appropriate housing where children and young people are protected and supported by competent families.

The current conceptual framework and primary response to homelessness in Australia is a tertiary service response assisting people through the crisis of homelessness and transitioning them back to mainstream housing options. Delivery has primarily been through the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program and more recent strategic initiatives at Commonwealth and State levels. Because of the definition and nature of homelessness, SAAP service usage, one of the primary sources of data on homelessness, may inadequately reflect the scope and complexity of homelessness in Australia.

The full costs and benefits of a tertiary response to homelessness have been identified by researchers such as Paul Flatau, who has demonstrated the significant costs to government of homeless adults prior to any crisis and supported housing assistance being provided. The immediate cost effectiveness of intervention by a SAAP response, at the tertiary end of the continuum, has also been quantified. There are clearly significant social and economic benefits accrued to the community in responding to and assisting people out of their homeless crisis in comparison to a cost benefit analysis of doing nothing¹¹.

Emerging 'good practice' in the homelessness service sector is underpinned by an understanding of the dynamics of homelessness, focuses on responding to the new diversity of homeless groups, attends to the accommodation, social and psychological needs of clients, works to increase their independence through capacity building and strives to integrate across programs ¹². In this way, good practice at a service or local level is informed by a 'social inclusion' framework. Good practice assistance in responding to those in crisis or at risk of homelessness is an important part of a comprehensive response to addressing homelessness. As suggested in *Which Way Home?*, building practice capacity and the body of knowledge of what works to prevent further homeless episodes, stabilise families and assist them to move into long term housing options will continue to be an important component of a comprehensive homelessness strategy.

A Child Centred focus in services

Which Way Home? A New Approach to Homelessness features a number of good practice models which target families, children and young people. The Commissioners believe that a 'child centred' focus in delivering services to homeless families, children and young people could be enhanced across the homeless service system. A 'child centred' focus in service delivery would place children and young people's needs and well-being at the centre of service planning. Children's views about their homeless experience as documented in the research undertaken by the Institute for Child Protection Studies 13 provide insight into what a 'child centred' approach to service delivery might entail. 'Child centred' crisis services would be designed to:

- Prioritise service and support models that maintain families with children in their own homes wherever safe and possible to do so
- Develop service models that accommodate families immediately in long term housing and provide the wrap around support they need. Crisis services should be a last resort for families with children
- Design family, children and young people's crisis homeless accommodation to provide adequate personal and family space to sustain family relationships, provide a sense of security and control and enable children and young people to maintain normal activities such as having places to do their homework, bring their pets and have their special possessions with them
- Respond to children and young people's needs and expressed needs as individuals within the family context
- Enable family preservation when ever this is in the best interests of the child or young person
- Sustain community connectedness including schools, friends, networks, activities and extended family
- Provide children and young people with choice as to who will support them
- Build models of support that aim to build trusting relationships that can move with the child or young person thus minimising the number of support workers over time. A 'key worker' model is an example
- Deliver programs, activities and supports that are developmentally appropriate
- Provide children and young people with information, enable their voices and wishes to be heard and provide opportunities to facilitate discussions between children and adults to influence the support children and young people receive and help them express their feelings and needs
- Ensure service staff have the knowledge and skills to support children and young people in developmentally appropriate ways
- Recognize that there are residual impacts of homelessness and that children
 may not be able to deal with the impacts of their homelessness until they feel
 safe. This may require appropriate levels of aftercare to be built into the
 service model.

A Public Health Approach

Homelessness has enormous social impacts and we are yet to fully understand the extent to which tertiary interventions are able to affect lasting change in people's

lives. On the other hand, sufficient evidence does show that those people who have experienced homelessness, particularly those for whom episodes of homelessness have been frequent, have ongoing and deeply challenging issues to sustain a stable and fulfilling life¹⁴. Maintaining a capacity to respond to homelessness crises will remain a reality into the future. Significant investment in prevention strategies are long term investment strategies that may take a generation to fully deliver planned outcomes. The Commissioners are concerned about what we currently know about children and young people who experience homelessness in Australia and the long term impacts on their life opportunities. Unless we start to invest in prevention, we are accepting long term negative outcomes for children and young people well into the future. Building a homelessness service model which intervenes early will have lower long term economic and social costs.

A public health approach to homelessness captures the simultaneous levels and focus of intervention required to tackle homelessness in a comprehensive way while shifting the balance of effort towards prevention. Based on whole populations or sub groups of a population, a public health approach intervenes early in the known risk factors and 'causal pathways' of a problem. A public health approach to designing a homelessness service model would focus on primary, secondary and tertiary prevention strategies¹⁵. It needs to be a 'joined up model' reflecting the complexity and diversity of the systems and drivers across the homelessness continuum 16. Mechanisms which foster cross sector shared responsibility will be required to deliver a significant prevention effort and to achieve significant reductions in homelessness over the medium term. To be effective and deliver outcomes, a public health approach involving interventions at primary, secondary and tertiary levels requires significant national commitment and roll out. Service pilots should be the means of determining effectiveness and application, not one off, short term projects. Interventions need to integrate at local, state and national levels and effective models, once trialled, should be rolled out nation-wide.

Figure 1 below applies the principles of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention and intervention to the homelessness risk factors identified in *Which Way Home?* It is probable that additional meta-research is required to identify the full range of risk factors that reflect contemporary understandings of the dynamics and diversity of homelessness for families, children and young people. A number of service providers and academics told us they thought that a number of risk factors were not sufficiently recognised in *Which Way Home?*, consistent with their experience of working with homeless people or researching homelessness. Factors such as mental health, drug and alcohol issues and child protection issues were thought to be understated as exacerbating factors rather than risk factors in their own right. Figure 2 applies the principles of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention and intervention to classify current and proposed models and good practice ideas raised in interviews by key informants.

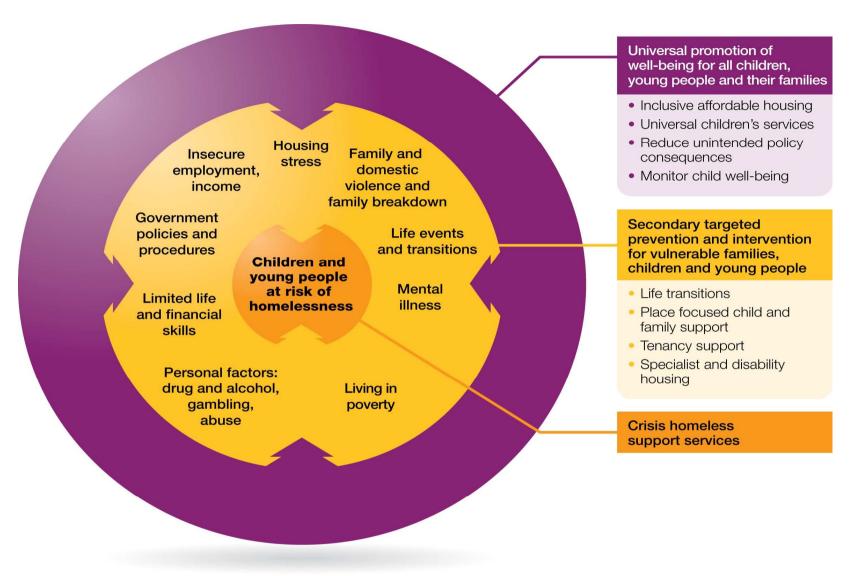


Figure 1: Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Prevention and Intervention of Homelessness (adapted from Morrison (2006) and O'Donnell, Scott and Stanley (2008) in Cashmore et al (2008))

Figure 2: Implementing a Public Health Approach to Homelessness – Examples of Good Practice Focused on Children and Young People

Examples of good practice from the literature and from our key informant interviews are:

	Primary Prevention Strategies	Secondary Prevention Strategies	Tertiary Prevention Strategies
Families	 Inclusive Affordable Housing across all tenures, incomes, life stages Domestic and family violence and family relationships community education strategy Employment strategies 	 Affordable Rental Housing initiatives in private and social housing Tenancy Support Programs such as WA Supported Housing Assistance Program (SHAP) providing intensive support to maintain families in public housing; HOME Advice Program for private renters; HASI for people with mental illness at risk of homelessness Individual Support Plans for families at risk Fax Back and Safe at Home responses to domestic violence including supporting women and children to remain in their homes 	 SAAP good practice models with flexible funding arrangements Homeless to Home Intensive Case Management

		 Supported Housing and Early Years Programs for Indigenous mums Direct provision of independent long term affordable housing plus support Child centred, family focused approaches that enable family preservation and community connectedness Targeted mental health, drug and alcohol, financial management programs Joined up homelessness policy framework involving three levels of government, NGO's and business 	
Children	 Well-being focused early years strategy Transport to antenatal appointments Child care centres 'Communities for children' 	 School based hubs, outreach and other 'first to know' agency based support Full service schools 'Mind Matters' 'Portable' support workers 	 Specialist counselling and support models School and community connection model
Young People	Inclusive Affordable Housing across all tenures, incomes, life stages	Supported Transition from Care; juvenile detention such as YES model; Refugees with Temporary	 Long term case management Justice initiatives e.g. Homelessness Court, bail support

Education, training and accommodation models including in rural localities e.g. Foyer model	Protection Visas School based and other 'first to know' agency based support Living skills programs Reconnect Legislated responsibility e.g. UK model	 programs for young people Portable locational support model e.g. MOMO Wrap around models and one stop shops Priority focus on support programs for Indigenous young mums
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HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

Which Way Home? identifies Australia as the least affordable housing market in the world. Increasingly, young people, families and single adults are experiencing housing stress as a result of the lack of access to affordable housing across all tenures 17. In states such as Western Australia, where population growth and economic activity are particularly strong, this is most acute. Western Australian service providers told us that more families under severe housing stress are presenting to their services and being turned away. Support programs such as Reconnect told us that whereas once they were able to place young people in independent private rental accommodation, because of lack of housing availability and affordability, they were working with young people in primary homeless usina motels for emergency accommodation. situations Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) data affirms that in the last five years there is increasing demand from families requiring crisis housing, particularly in regional and outer suburban areas. This is perhaps an indicator of the interplay between housing affordability and homelessness, that new groups are experiencing homelessness with the major driver being housing affordability.

It is likely that housing affordability will continue to be a significant factor in the short to medium term and may contribute to increasing the rate of homelessness. The recent Senate Select Committee on Housing Affordability has identified significant housing stress and increased risks of poverty due to rising housing costs relative to income. The particular disadvantage of Indigenous families is highlighted as requiring significant and immediate action to overcome low levels of home ownership, low access to private rental and high levels of housing stress, overcrowding and homelessness. Specific programs and funding agreements delivering housing for Indigenous communities also need to be incorporated into this action plan. Linkages between overcrowding and health outcomes are raised as a concern. Concerns about the range and magnitude of impact of inadequate housing and homelessness on Indigenous children and young people's well-being have been extensively documented in other recent reports and inquiries¹⁸.

To be successful; a strategic national homelessness strategy requires strong linkages to a strategic national affordable housing strategy. An 'inclusive approach' to a national affordable housing strategy could 'improve the availability of affordable housing across a range of household incomes, across housing needs at different stages of life and across the full spectrum of ownership and rental tenures' 19. The linkage between a national homelessness strategy and an inclusive national affordable housing strategy is a critical pillar in a prevention focused approach to homelessness. Over the longer term it will reduce the risk of poor and low income families, children and young people becoming homeless as a result of structural factors in the housing market.

Other significant structural issues that impact housing affordability include access to employment, income support, taxation and welfare to work policies which will also need to be addressed to minimise unintended policy impacts and maximise policy integration. The Commissioners note that the Australian Government has a number of reform initiatives currently being scoped that have significant linkages to housing

and homelessness outcomes. These are in the main noted in *Which Way Home?* ¹. A notable exception is the Social Inclusion Board.

CONCLUSION

Our submission has outlined a broad, child well-being focused, prevention approach to significantly reducing the prevalence and impacts of homelessness in the long term. The Commissioners strongly believe that building a robust system for children's development and protection and promoting positive standards for children throughout their lives, across policies and services, will deliver the best long term outcomes for children and young people.

We have outlined what a public health approach to homelessness might look like. A homelessness strategy delivering primary, secondary and tertiary prevention has the potential to tackle homelessness in a comprehensive way while shifting the balance of effort towards prevention. Shifting the emphasis from tertiary responses to upstream prevention initiatives aims to keep children, young people and their families living in secure, affordable and appropriate housing where they are protected and supported by competent families.

A public health model needs to be a 'joined up model' reflecting the complexity and diversity of the systems and drivers across the homelessness continuum. The Commissioners believe that an inclusive national affordable housing strategy is a critical pillar in a prevention focused approach to homelessness. Over the longer term it will reduce the risk of poor and low income families, children and young people becoming homeless as a result of structural factors in the housing market.

In developing a new, national, prevention focused approach to homelessness, the Commissioners urge the Australian Government to give voice to children and young peoples' views and perspectives at a national level and embed children and young people's self definition of well-being in the homelessness strategy, service design principles and in ongoing program and strategy evaluation.

A new, national, prevention focused homelessness strategy will need to be supported by a comprehensive framework for setting targets, monitoring progress and outcomes of the multi-level and multi-dimensional strategy and tracking well-being over time. Achieving consensus across key stakeholders around the domains and indicators to be included will be an important early milestone to achieving long term success with the strategy.

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¹ Considered particularly relevant by the Commissioners are: Australia's Future Tax System; National Housing Initiatives; National Child Protection Framework; Employment Service Review; Supported Accommodation for People with Disabilities; Indigenous Housing Measures; National Council on Violence Against Women and Children; National Mental Health Reform.

ATTACHMENT 1

Key Informants

The NSW Commission for Children and Young People and the WA Commissioner for Children and Young People thank the following people for sharing their ideas and insights from practice, advocacy and research to contribute to our submission.

Family, Children and Youth Service Providers

Andrew Hall, General Manager Community Services Anglicare WA

Also participating were Mark Gurk, Manager Housing and Community Capacity; Denise Smith, Coordinator SAAP Family Housing; Liz Terry Metro & Regional Coordinator Supported Housing Assistance Program.

Anglicare is a multi service church agency providing state-wide services to families, young people and children.

Tony Pietropiccolo, Director Centrecare WA

Centrecare provides emergency and medium term accommodation and support services throughout WA, including a focus on family domestic violence; families and children and Indigenous families. Tony was Chair of the WA Homelessness Taskforce.

Youth Service Providers

 Kylie Wallace, Acting Chief Executive, Parkerville Children and Youth Care (Inc) WA

A multi service children and youth focused agency providing supported residential services and a broad range of outreach support and case management programs

 Elise Jorgenson, Employment & Training Services Team Manager, Joondalup Youth Support Services (Inc) WA

Community based crisis accommodation and multi service supports for young people homeless or at risk of homelessness

 Ms Narelle Clay, Chief Executive Officer, Southern Youth and Family Services NSW

Regionally based youth service. Narelle was a Commissioner on the Youth Homelessness Commission

Services for women experiencing Domestic Violence

Kedy Kristal, The Patricia Giles Centre WA

Accommodation and counselling for women and children affected by domestic violence and member of Women's Council for Family and Domestic Violence Services (WA)

Peak Bodies

- Craig Comrie, Senior Policy Officer Youth Affairs Council of Western Australia (YACWA)
- Andrew McCallum, CEO, Australian Association of Child Welfare

Academics

- Dr Paul Flatau, Senior Lecturer Economics, Murdoch Business School, Murdoch University, WA
- Tim Moore, Research Fellow, Institute of Child Protection Studies, Australian Catholic University, ACT

ENDNOTES

1 -

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