

VULNERABILITY SPEAKER SERIES

Understanding vulnerability in children and young people

RioTinto

20 March 2018



Commissioner for Children and Young People Western Australia



Winthrop Professor Stephen Zubrick

Research Focus Area Head, Brain and Behaviour, Telethon Kids Institute



Vulnerability: Risks, predictions and outcomes

Stephen R Zubrick

Vulnerability Speaker Series Commissioner for Children and Young People, Western Australia Perth 20 March 2018













Overview of talk

A story about:

Part 1: VulnerabilityPart 2: Developmental circumstancesPart 3: Risks and predictionPart 4: Outcomes across time and in place







Part 1



Vulnerability

How has this concept been built upon since its inception in the 1980's?





A relatively modern notion – developed through the 1980's and 1990's

Large inputs from the child protection sector – how is statutory intervention legitimatised?

Gave rise to dis-satisfactions: Very negative, overly focussed on parental acts, ignored ecological/structural realities external to the parent and child

Gradual introduction of the notion of "adversities" through by 2000









About vulnerability

The challenge for CCYP

"A working definition of vulnerability"









About vulnerability

The challenge for CCYP

"A working definition of vulnerability"

Working for what or who?







Is vulnerability a status or a process?

Children in out-of-home care; with disability; in youth justice settings; experiencing homelessness

These children have a vulnerable status – now and into future

Focus of this talk is on the processes leading to vulnerability







About vulnerability

A focus on the *processes* that result in vulnerability

What are the *developmental circumstances* required to encourage or discourage such outcomes?





Part 2

Developmental circumstances







Prompts — things that "drive" development (may be +'ive or -'ive)

- Biology
- Expectations
- Opportunities

Facilitators — things that protect development

- Temperament plus "average" intellectual ability
- Good language development
- Emotional support

Risk circumstances — things that "hinder" development

- Multiple, accumulative stress (allostatic load)
- Developmental chaos (frenetic activity, lack of structure, unpredictability)
- Social inequality (concentrates developmental resources for some, not others)
- Social exclusion (limits expectations and opportunities for some)

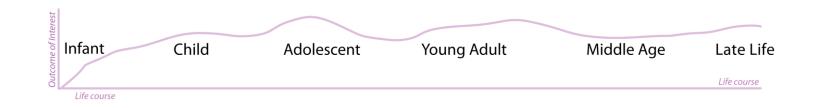






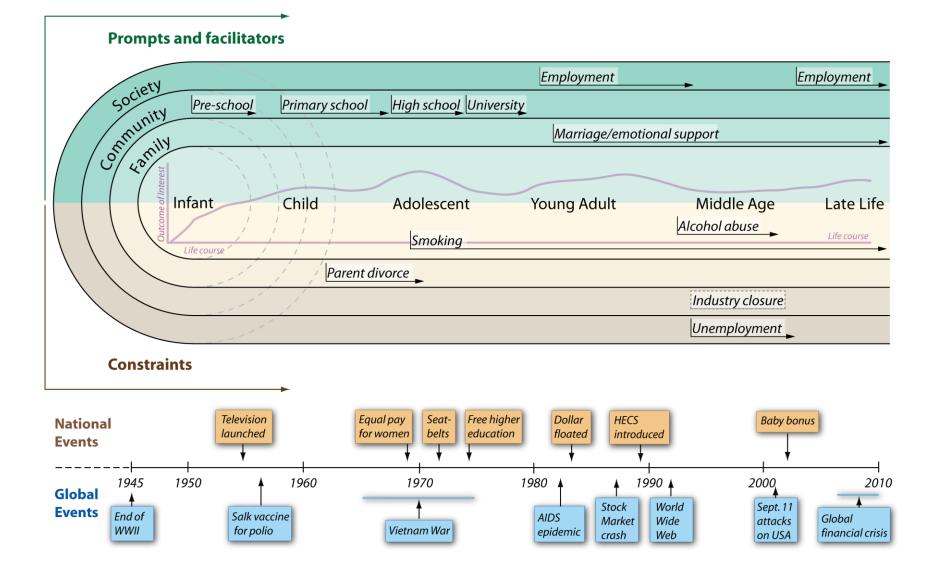


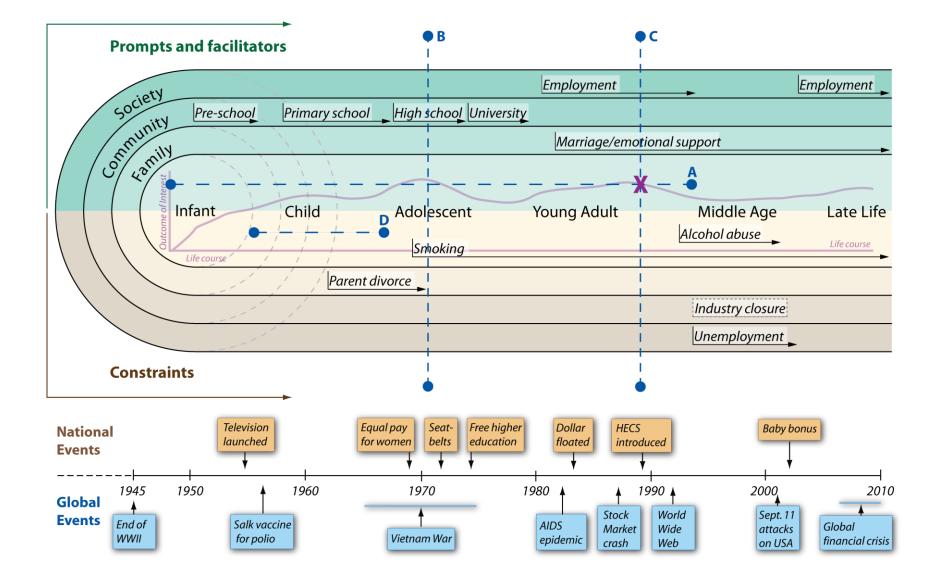




Soci	ety Inity				
San i	amity amily amily Infant		Varia a divit		
	Infant Child	Adolescent	Young Adult	Middle Age	Late Life

Prompts and facilitators				
· atV		Employment	>	Employment
Society Pre-school Primary school	High school Univers	ity		
Connunity Pre-school Primary school	Marriage/emotional support			
uniterest interest interest				
Infant Child	Adolescent	Young Adult	Middle Age	Late Life
Star Life course	Smoking		Alcohol abuse	Life course
Parent di	ivorce			
			Industry closure	
			Unemployment	-
Constraints				







Part 3

Risks and prediction









About risk

Do not get distracted by a list of *individual* risks

A risk is a probability: It is a chance that an exposure to an adversity will produce an outcome of interest









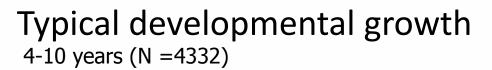
About risk

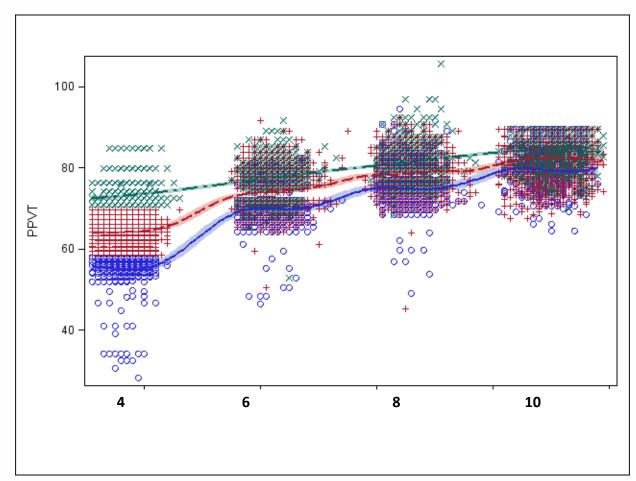
What happens when you focus on individual risks?

An example using the risk of poor language development



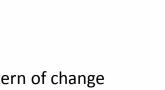












A typical pattern of change in child development over time – this uses growth in language

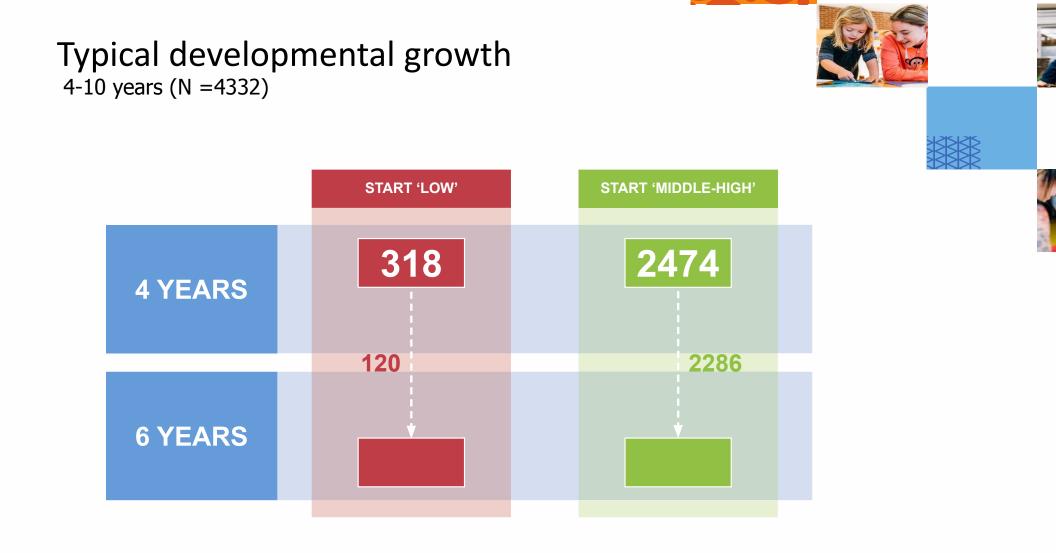






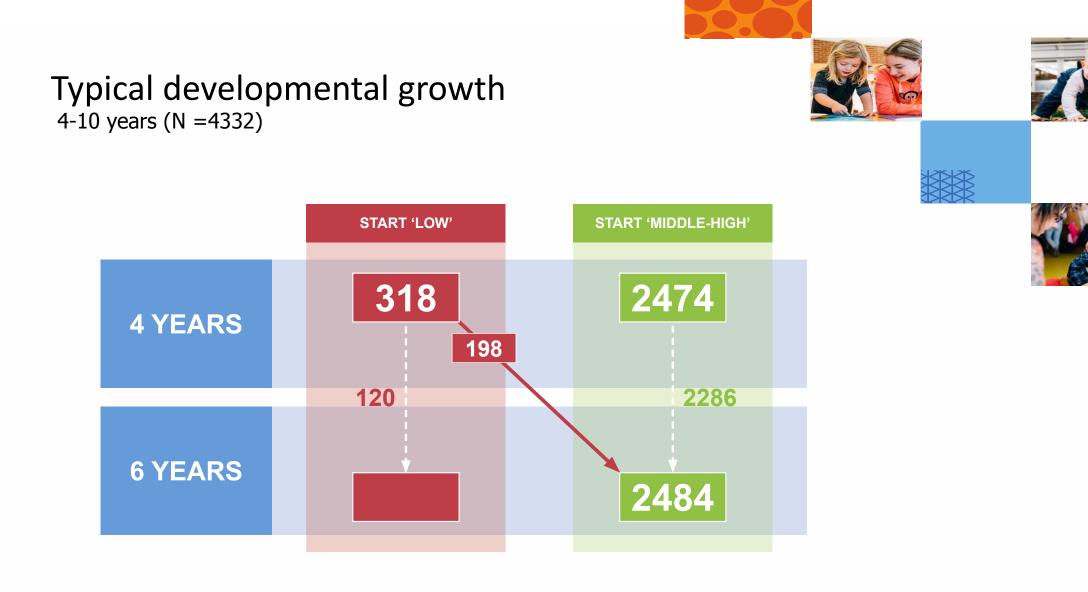






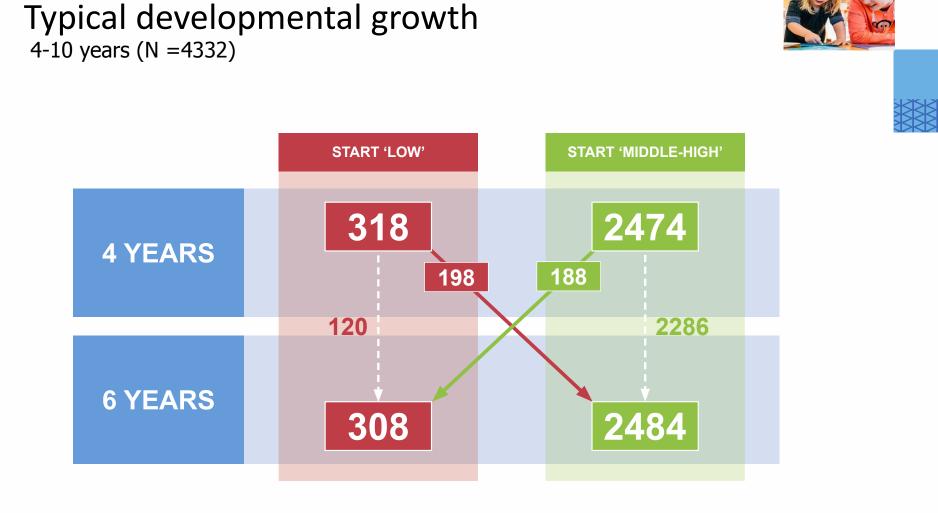


















Typical developmental growth 4-10 years (N =4332)

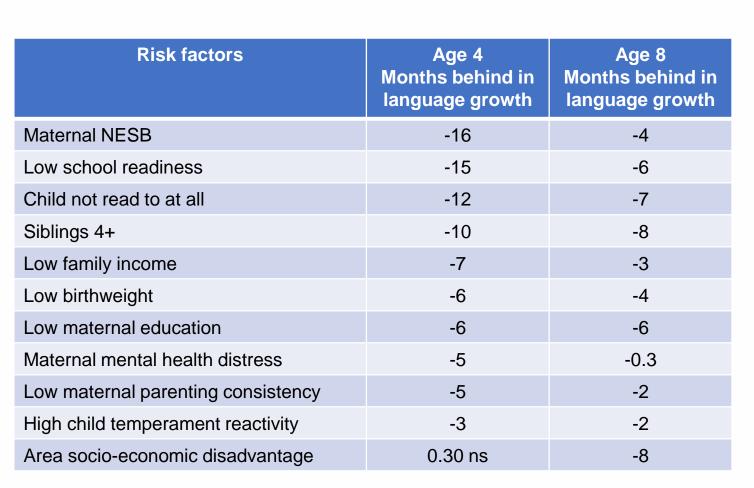
START 'MIDDLE-HIGH' START 'LOW' 4 YEARS 6 YEARS 8 YEARS **10 YEARS FINISH 'MIDDLE-HIGH'** FINISH 'LOW'







What happens if you try to predict who will go on to be vulnerable to low language?













What happens if you try to predict who will go on to be vulnerable?

Predicted at age 8 Low PPVT at 8 years Not Low PPVT at 8 years Total to be: Low at 8 years 279 804 1083 (true positives) 69.4% sensitivity Not Low at 8 years 123 1975 2098 (false negatives) 3181 Total 402 2779

Actual





What happens if you try to predict who will go on to be vulnerable?

There is no practical utility in this model

We cannot reliably predict at age 4 the children who will be behind in their development at age 8

25.8% positive predictive value









What happens if you try to predict who will go on to be vulnerable?

When we focus on individual risks of children *becoming* vulnerable:

- It doesn't take you very far in policy terms!
- It doesn't allow service design or redevelopment
- It rarely matches what people experiencing adversity and poor outcomes actually talk about
- It aims too firmly at individuals and leaves out "system" and structural approaches















Part 4

Outcomes across time and in place







Outcomes across time and in place

Children and their families are exposed to varying numbers of risks that affect the level and the rate of child development

These can produce higher rates of poorer development in children – this can lead to vulnerability outcomes







So

What happens when we look at risk as a *developmental circumstance*?

Across time Place-based In populations of children







There are known risks for poorer child development

- They don't occur "one at a time"
- These risks occur in "batches"

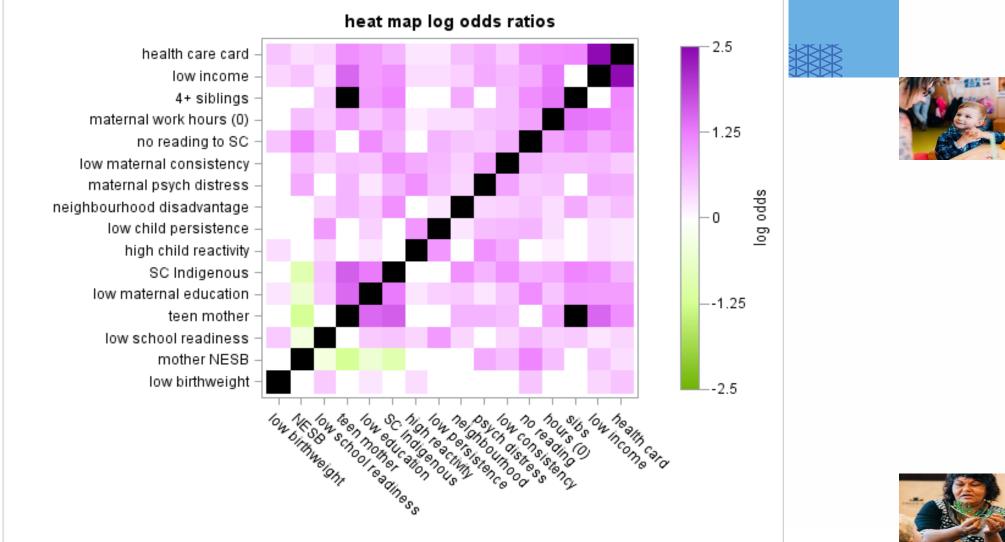
They vary in length, intensity and duration

These circumstances may offer different ways of thinking about how to design intervention strategies









172,871 children in WA aged 0-4 as at 30 June 2016

9% = 15,558

7% = 12,101

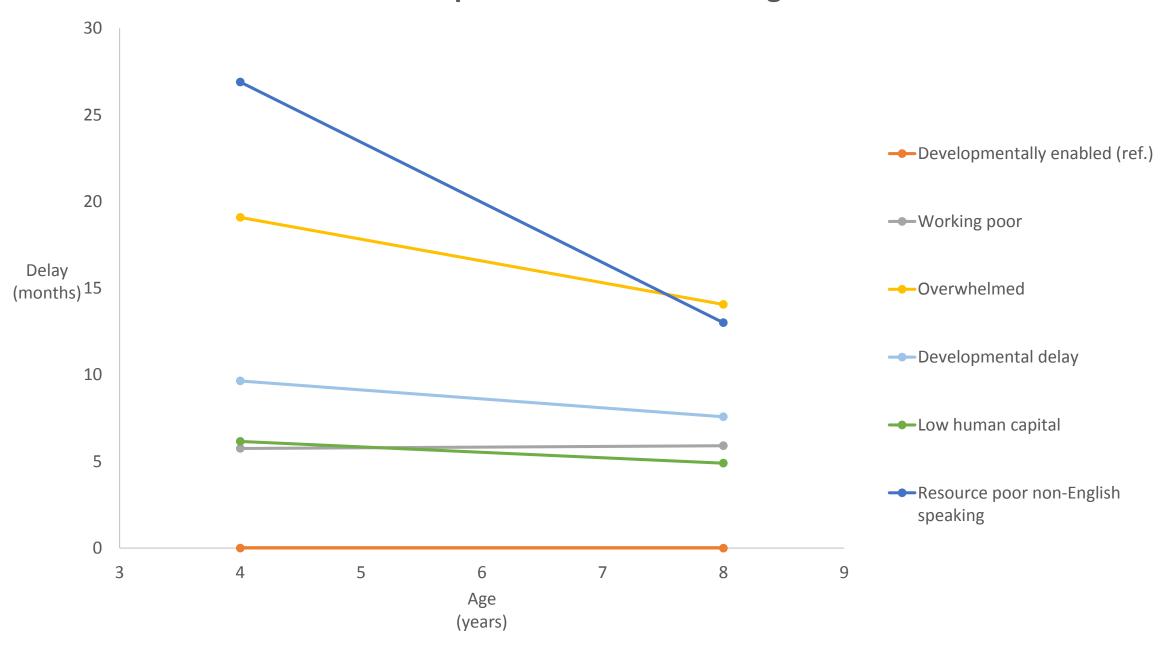
- Developmentally enabled (ref.) 46% = 79,520
- Working poor 20% = 34,574
- Overwhelmed 10% = 17,288
- Developmental delay
- Low human capital 8% = 13,830
- Resource poor NESB

(~36,300 births per year)









This is what their development looks like from age 4 to 8

46% of children are Developmentally Enabled

N = 79,520 WA children 0-4 years

Typical circumstance

Older mothers, more educated, smaller families, no multiple stresses

Prevalent book reading

Child development is on time and robust

Policy prerogative

Maintain developmental encouragements and opportunities

Monitor population progress

Provide light-touch universal interventions







20% of children are in Working Poor families

N = 34,574 WA children 0-4 years

Typical circumstance

Cash poor-time poor families, parent(s) are employed, 45% in 4th quintile of income (\$600-999 per week)

Larger families, Low maternal education, disadvantaged areas

Child development is 6 months late and stays that way

Policy prerogative

Family benefit increases/better pay/parent education, training Enriched early education and child care Family friendly workplace arrangements and services







10% of children are in Overwhelmed families

N = 17,288 WA children 0-4 years

Typical circumstance

Very low school readiness

Maternal mental health distress, Very low maternal education, unemployment Low income, health care card, area poverty

Child development is 19 months late closing to 14 months late

Policy prerogative

- These families are readily identifiable
- They have diminished capabilities to use existing services
- They require early, repeated, sustained developmental support delivered

differently (e.g. Child and Family Centres)











9% of children have Developmental Delay

N = 15,558 WA children 0-4 years

Typical circumstance

low school readiness, high reactive temperament and low persistence

low parenting consistency, maternal psychological distress

low maternal education

Child development is 10 months late closing to 7 months late

Policy prerogative

Will enter services at any age Require regular monitoring, support services over extended time







8% of children in families with Low Human Capital

N = 13,830 WA children 0-4 years

Typical circumstance

Lowest income quintile exclusively – deep, persistent disadvantage

Teenage mothers, low maternal education, unemployed

Healthcare card

Child development is 6 months late and stays that way

Policy prerogative

Family planning Maternal education/training opportunities linked with enriched early education and child care





7% of children in families in poorer NESB families

N = 12,101 WA children 0-4 years

Typical circumstance

Migrant and refugee background Maternal mental health distress, Low employment, low income, Area disadvantage, low book reading Child development is 27 months late and catch-up is rapid

Policy prerogative

Monitor progress Provide family support and pathways to child development services Culturally appropriate servies







What and for who





Policy prerogative	Enabled	Overwhelmed	Low human capital	Working poor	Child developmental delay	NESB	XXX
Provide and promote light-touch universal	*	*	*	*	*	*	
interventions ^a							
Provide family support and navigation pathways to	*	*	*	*	*	*	
child development services							
Monitor population progress ^b	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Early, repeated, sustained developmental support –		*					
delivered differently (e.g. Child and Family Centres)							
Mental health treatment and support		*				*	
Family planning			*	*			
Optimise maternal education			*	*			
Parental occupational training opportunities			*				
Family benefit increases/better pay				*			
Enriched early education and child care			*	*			
Family friendly workplace arrangements and services				*			
Maintain diagnostic, treatment, management, and					*		
support services: health, home, school, lifecourse							
Culturally appropriate support						*	



a. Parenting programs, local mother's groups, play groups, community development aimed at quality opportunities for children/families, recreation facilities, safety and area enhancements, library programs (book sharing), uptake of preschool and K provision, social marketing

b. Decennial child development surveys, broad-based child development report-card based on administrative data, census estimates, AEDC, NAPLAN



Some children are vulnerable by virtue of the status they occupy

Abused, homeless, in remand, etc.

Services for these children are taken up by demands and requirements for their management and treatment

There are challenges in devoting service time towards prevention







Reducing child vulnerability requires complimentary approach to treatment and management

Policies and practices that address:

developmental characteristics of children (who we aim prevention at) applying a mix of policy prerogatives (what we actually do) governance for local priorities/action zones (where & how we do it)













Reducing child vulnerability requires deliberate focus:

Be sure people/agencies/leaders/users actually know the developmental circumstances of their local child population (how many children are in this area, zone, community, place?)

The numbers of children you are targeting really matter – scale, effort, impact!

Think about the size of the population of children 0-4 years before you design intervention strategies

Universal services are important – quality and reach









Reducing child vulnerability requires deliberate focus:

The research evidence firmly establishes what works in providing early prevention and child development opportunities –

Most intervention effects are very small – No silver bullets!

We don't know how to get these opportunities nearer to the individuals that want or need them – it's about effectiveness

We talk too much about client access rather than service reach

Place-based initiatives are intuitively sensible - can governance arrangements change how things get arranged, located, and close to "wants and needs"?











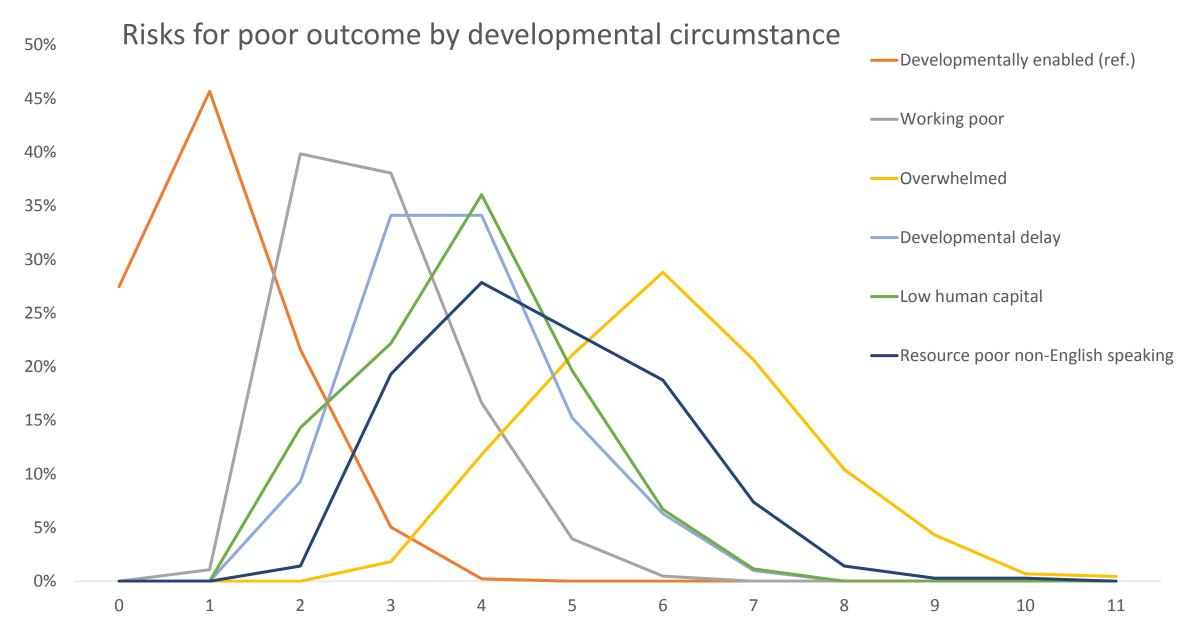






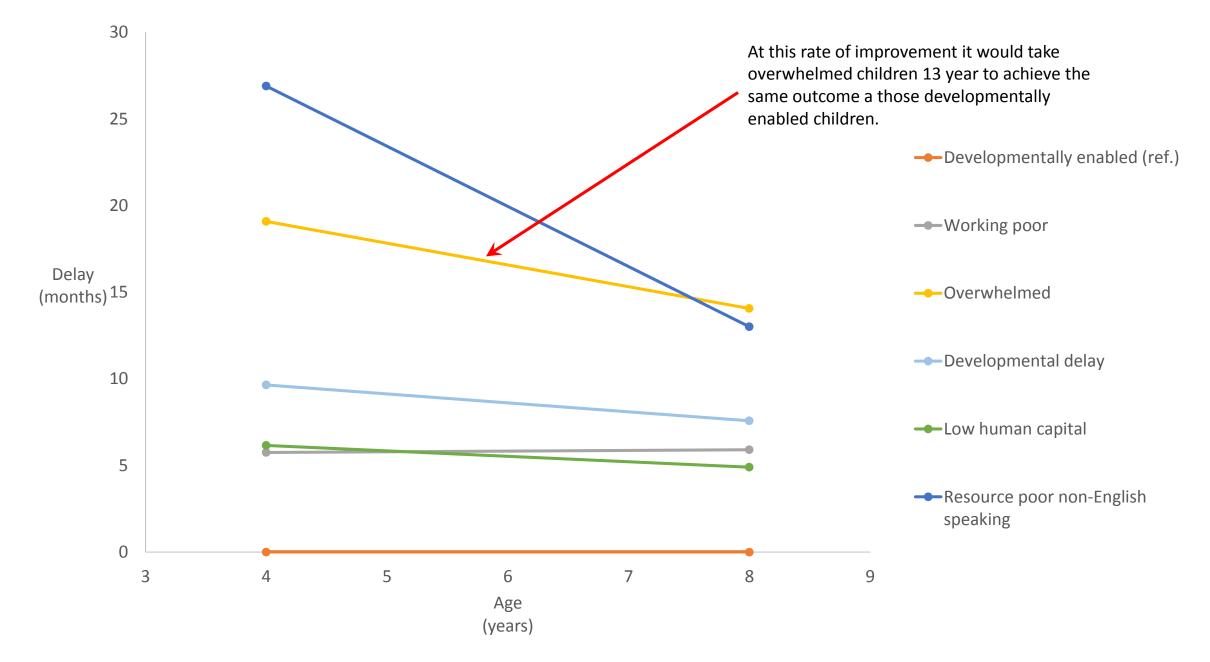






Number of risks

Child development delay (months) by developmental circumstance





Commissioner for Children and Young People Western Australia

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Winthrop Professor Donna Cross

Head, Health Promotion and Education Research; Director, Early Childhood Development and Learning Collaboration, Telethon Kids Institute

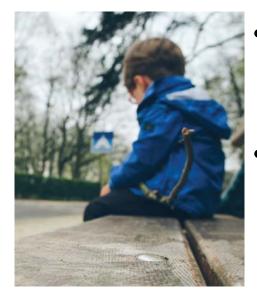




The Lived Experience of Poverty among Children



Poverty and the developing child



- 2014 child poverty rate in Australia was 17.4%, affecting > 730,000 children (ACOSS, 2016)
- Poverty early in the life course can have far-reaching impacts on children's
 - health
 - development and
 - educational success, well into adulthood.



Poverty and educational trajectories

- The learning and achievement gap between poor children and their more advantaged peers first appears in early childhood, and can widen over time.
- Children from the most socioeconomically disadvantaged areas in Australia are over 4 times more likely to be developmentally vulnerable compared to children in the least disadvantaged areas.





Poverty and executive function skills

- Experiences of adversity can inhibit the brain's development of core capacities, known as **executive function**.
- This "air traffic control system" for the brain is the foundation for later skill development and enables children to:
 - remember and follow instructions
 - focus their attention
 - switch between tasks
 - solve problems
 - learn from mistakes
 - self-regulate emotions and behaviour.





How poverty gets 'under the skin'

- Elevated cortisol levels, high blood pressure and impaired immune function, have all been reported among disadvantaged children compared to those children who aren't living in poverty.
- Higher risk of adverse health outcomes for poor children in adulthood, including CV disease, respiratory disease, diabetes, obesity, certain cancers, digestive system diseases and mental health disorders.





Poverty and the family environment

- It is not economic hardship per se but the accompanying poverty of relationships and experiences in early childhood that dramatically shapes health and developmental outcomes.
- Poverty can limit parents' ability to provide consistent and responsive care, and a stimulating learning environment for their child.
- Less time or capacity for crucial "serve and return" activities.





The value of understanding children's 'lived experience' of poverty



"Without a research agenda that is open to understanding and acknowledging children's different perceptions and meanings, we risk overlooking or obscuring the very real and subjective experience of what it is like to be poor as a child." (Ridge, 2003)



The value of understanding children's 'lived experience' of poverty

- Going '**beyond the statistics**' of child poverty greater appreciation of the complexities of the children's day-to-day experience.
- This approach values children as competent social actors, rather than just passive recipients of their experience.





The value of understanding children's 'lived experience' of poverty

Central **themes of children's lived experience** of poverty include:

- o economic insecurity
- $\circ~$ emotional and psychological wellbeing
- o friendships, leisure and social participation
- schooling and aspirations for the future
- o family functioning
- o housing, neighbourhood and community
- coping strategies and pathways out of poverty.





Economic insecurity



 Children living in poverty can be acutely aware of their family's struggle to meet their basic needs.

e.g. children report having to "go easy on everything" when money runs out towards the end of the month – the refrigerator being empty, and having to wait for new (or second-hand) clothes and shoes.



Economic insecurity



As well as being deprived of life's basic necessities such as food and clothes, poverty can **restrict children's capacity to participate fully in important aspects of childhood** that are often taken for granted (e.g. holidays, toys, birthday celebrations, pocket money).



VIDEO: My Name is Isha



Source: Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK (PSE: UK) research project http://www.poverty.ac.uk/





Emotional and psychological wellbeing

- Poverty can have serious emotional and psychological effects, including feelings of worthlessness, failure, and lack of belief in oneself.
- Children **experience considerable stigma** as related to their economic situation.





Friendships, leisure and social participation



- Children from low-income families can have difficulty fitting in, and are made to feel inferior and different from others, being isolated from peers who wouldn't play with them because they were poor.
- Even at preschool, children can have the cognitive capacity to be aware of social stereotypes about poor people, and recognise that they are viewed as members of a stigmatised group.



Friendships, leisure and social participation



- Children in poverty often miss out on social opportunities because they can't afford to participate.
- Some children keep their economic situation secret from friends to avoid admitting they can't do things that cost money.



Schooling and aspirations for the future

- Growing up in poverty can limit children's enjoyment of school and their ability to participate fully in the various aspects of school life.
- Children can experience difficulty in school because they can't afford the proper school uniform, essential items for school, such as technology, internet, stationery and books, and school trips.





VIDEO: Hopes and Dreams



Source: Poverty and Social Exclusion in the UK (PSE: UK) research project <u>http://www.poverty.ac.uk/</u>



Schooling and aspirations for the future

- Education is one of the key means of escaping poverty.
- Children's **aspirations for the future remain high** - they want to earn enough to be able to give money to their parents to make their lives happier.
- Whilst children can identify ways to escape from poverty, such as education and employment, they also recognise the substantial obstacles they will face following these routes.





Family functioning



- Family relationships and conflicts at home can be a major source of stress and unhappiness for children living in a low-income household.
- Even at a young age, children can worry about their parents witnessing their distress about making ends meet and the need for extra expenditure like unexpected bills.



Family functioning



- Children may try to prevent their parents from worrying about money, and offer money from their own piggy banks to help.
- Some children **avoid asking their parents for money** because they know the answer is likely to be 'no' or because they don't want to put extra pressure on their parents.



Housing, neighbourhood and community

- For young people in poor neighbourhoods there can be a lack of safe places to play, violence and crime in the community, the risk of walking through dangerous areas, and intimidation by gangs.
- A lack of affordable and accessible transport can make young people feel trapped and bored due to the restricted space and resources available to them at home.





Coping strategies and pathways out of poverty



- Children find different ways to cope with the challenges of living in poverty, for example they might downplay their own needs and wants so there is less financial pressure on their parents.
- Support from relatives and friends can also help. This can be in the form of second hand clothing or attending social outings courtesy of a friend's parents. (Ridge T 2003; Van der Hoek, T. 2005)



Coping strategies and pathways out of poverty



- **Good friendships** can provide protection from being bullied.
 - Some children believe a lack of money helps them to value what is important in life and that it causes families and communities to pull together to support each other.



Coping strategies and pathways out of poverty

- Children believe more should be done to help young people to believe in themselves and their capabilities to succeed, and
- Provide better opportunities and education, and more support for families, including creating 'decent' jobs to help escape from poverty.





Implications for policy and practice



Children's views on their experiences of poverty need to be listened to and considered important in the development of any policies designed to address child poverty.

How children experience poverty in their everyday lives has important implications for definitions, measurement and actions to address poverty.



Future research directions

- Much research on children's lived experience of poverty was conducted in the UK.
- We know very little about how children in different communities of Australia experience poverty in their everyday lives.
- We have limited understanding of how children's lived experience of poverty intersects with other inequalities they may be facing related to race, gender and disability.





Engaging with children's voices on poverty



Policy makers and practitioners need to initiate their own consultations with children and young people, to recognise the valuable contribution of their perspective and engagement as partners in ongoing efforts to address the harmful impacts of child poverty.



Engaging with children's voices on poverty

- Consultations must be respectful and sensitive, and include a range of methods, including innovative ways of communicating findings.
- Children and young people have the capacity and the willingness to help find solutions to child poverty.
- They want to be listened to, supported and have their **opinions taken seriously.**





References

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Website - colab.telethonkids.org.au

Twitter - @CoLabForKids

Email - CoLab@telethonkids.org.au





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Morning tea





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VULNERABILITY SPEAKER SERIES

Professor Alan Duncan

Director of the Bankwest Curtin Economics Centre and Bankwest Professor of Economic Policy at Curtin Business School, Curtin University





EXPLORING THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF VULNERABILITY TO SOCIETY

Presentation to Commissioner for Children and Young People Roundtable, Understanding vulnerability in children and young people 20th March 2018

"No child shall live in poverty"...

- Bob Hawke committed 30 years ago to eradicate child poverty by 1990
- A strong statement of intent to promote improved financial security and resilience for families, reduce vulnerability among children and young people, and support better life outcomes
- So how far has Australia travelled in meeting this ambition?
- If not met, where do we go from here?



- Incidence and depth of poverty among children and young people
- Prevalence of poverty and vulnerabilities who is at highest risk?
- Do government transfers protect against poverty?
- Domains of vulnerability
- The economic and social impact of vulnerability
- The scarring effects of financial vulnerability in the family home





- A measure of the deficiency of income relative to a benchmark.
- 'Standard' income poverty measure is 50% median.
- More severe measure 30% median.
- Standardised to control for household needs, using *equivalised* disposable income *after housing costs*



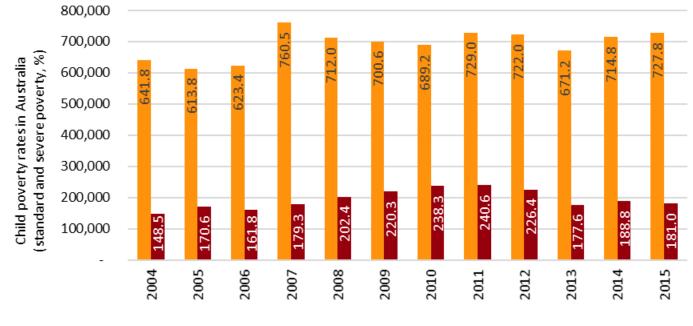
	Standard (50% medic	• •	-	Deep poverty (30% median income)		
Poverty base	Rate	Count	Rate	Count		
Households People Children	14.1% 11.1% 12.1%	1,253,982 2,580,601 727,822	5.3% 3.6% 3.0%	833,486		

Notes: Poverty rates are calculated as the percentage of children in households where real equivalised household disposable incomes (after housing costs) fall below 50 per cent of the median. Nil and negative incomes are excluded from all poverty calculations. Data are re-based to 2017 prices. Housing costs included mortgage repayments, rent and property rates. **Source**: BANKWEST CURTIN ECONOMICS CENTRE | Authors' calculations from HILDA longitudinal survey data, 2015





Child poverty numbers over time - national trends

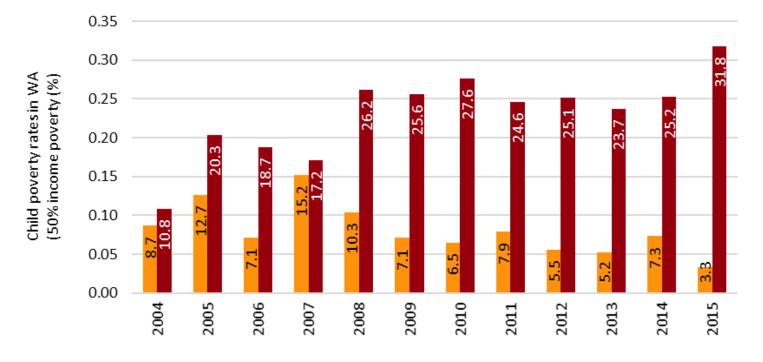


standard' poverty (50% median)

severe poverty (30% median)



Child poverty far more prevalent for single parents



Couple with kids

One parent with kids

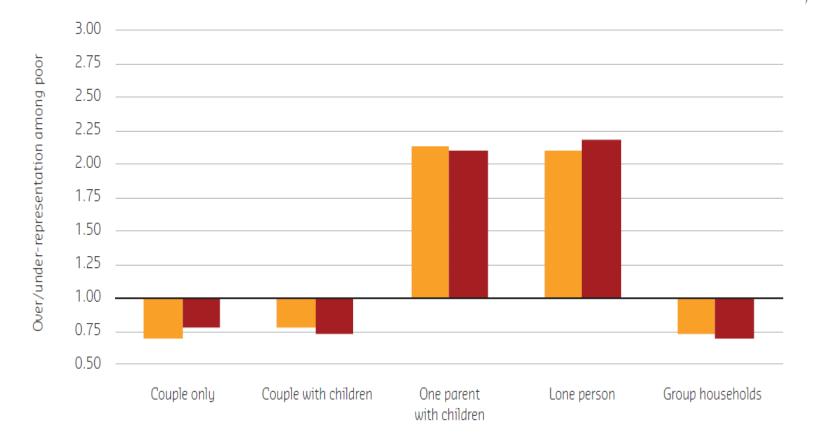
Heightened risk of poverty among young single families....

- Children in single parent families face a far higher risk of poverty
- More likely to experience financial hardship and material deprivation.
- Nearly **one in three** children in single parent households are in poverty and one in seven in severe poverty.
- Lone person \$145; single parent \$270 per week





Heightened risk of poverty among young single families....



- Single parents are far more likely to be in poverty for longer
- A **quarter of a million** (242,000) single parent families have been in poverty for at least five of the last ten years.
- Poverty rate for renters in Australia more than **twice** that for mortgage holders and **three times** the rate for owners without mortgages.





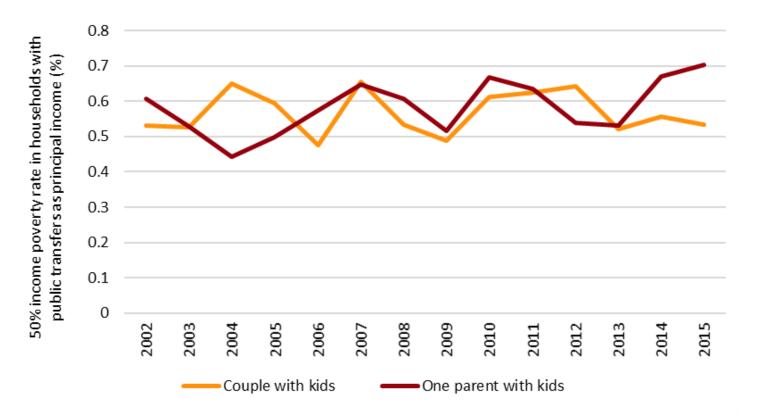
Issues for Western Australia

- 'Typical' disposable incomes in WA are higher than most other states and territories, **BUT**
- This has an effect on prices and the cost of living, which is demonstrably higher in WA than many other states.
- Government payments indexed to **national** CPI
- Hence, the real value of income for those on government payments or pensions is lower in WA than elsewhere.





Income poverty rates for those on welfare payments.....





- Alan Tudge recently challenged the role of increased welfare payments in reducing poverty
- He also challenged the use of income poverty to judge hardship
- What is the link between poverty, vulnerability and hardship?
- What is the economic impact of vulnerability on children
- Is there a scarring effect of vulnerability on young people?

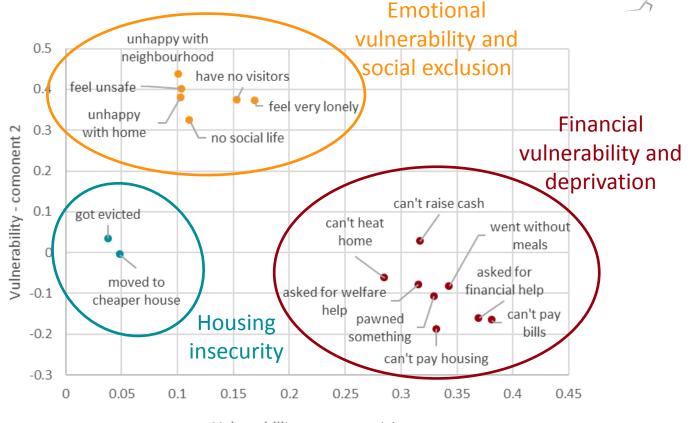


Information available in the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) longitudinal dataset

- can't pay bills
- can't pay housing
- can't raise cash
- pawned something
- went without meals
- can't heat home
- asked for financial help
- asked for welfare help

- moved to cheaper house
- got evicted from home
- feel very lonely
- feel unsafe
- have no visitors
- have no social life
- unhappy with home
- unhappy with neighbourhood

Domains of vulnerability – empirical insights

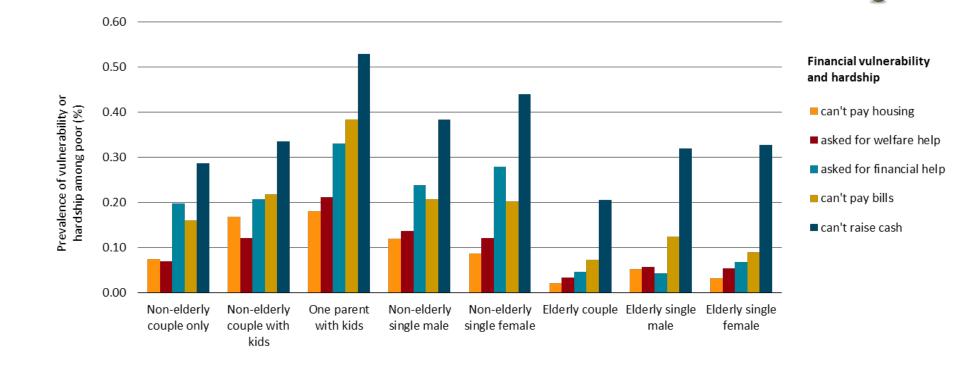


Vulnerability - component 1



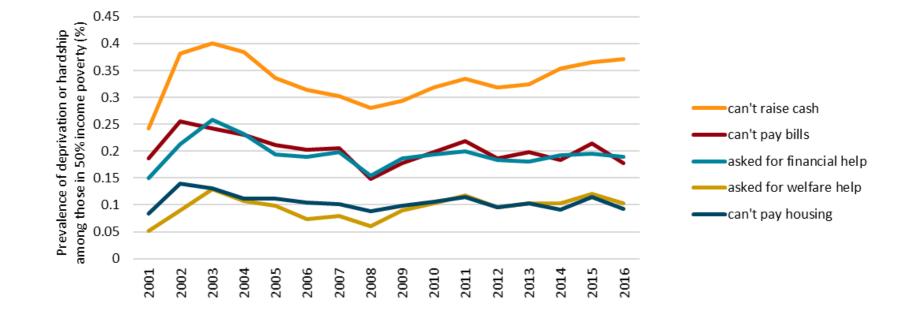
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Financial vulnerability & hardship among households in poverty



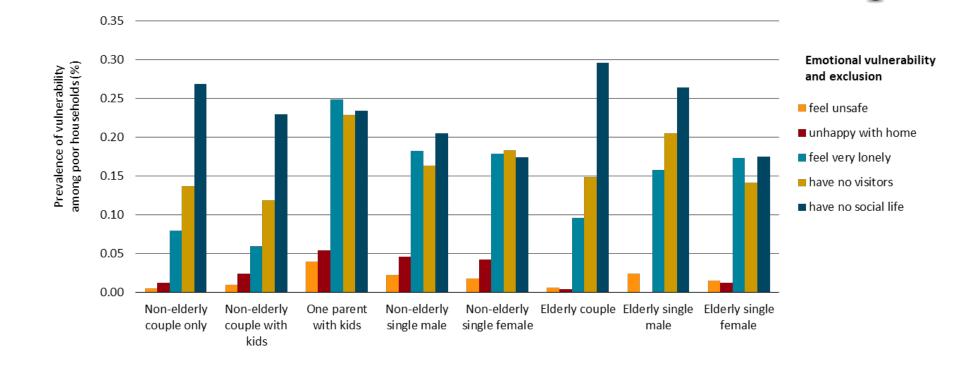


Financial vulnerability & hardship over time among low income h/h



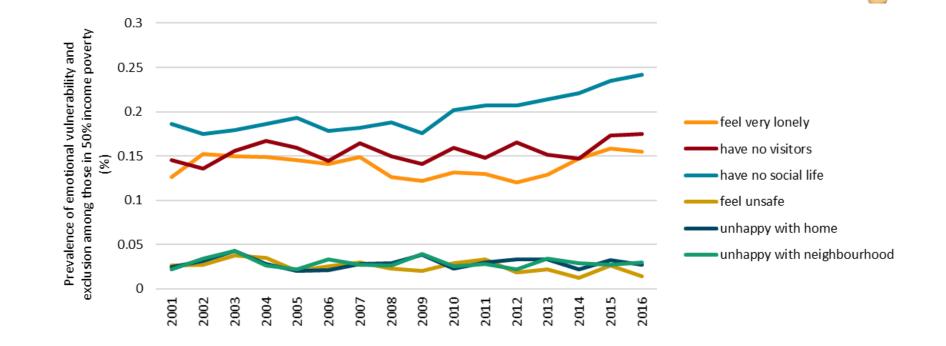


Emotional vulnerability & exclusion among households in poverty





Emotional vulnerability & exclusion over time among low income h/h





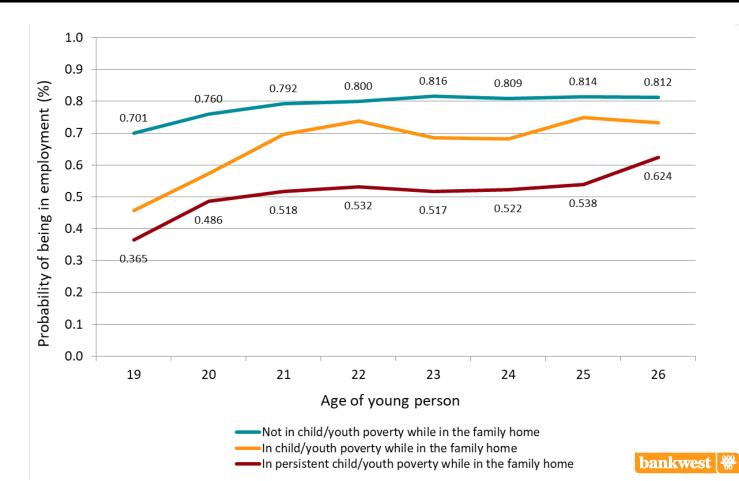
The economic impact of vulnerability on young people

- What is the impact of financial vulnerability in childhood and adolescence on the future economic outcomes of young people?
- Use the HILDA survey to track young people after they leave the family home – select those observed for at least three years before and three years after leaving home
- Compare young people according to the degree of financial vulnerability faced while in the family home:
 - (i) no poverty at home
 - (ii) poverty at home
 - (iii) persistent poverty at home
- How do their future economic outcomes compare?





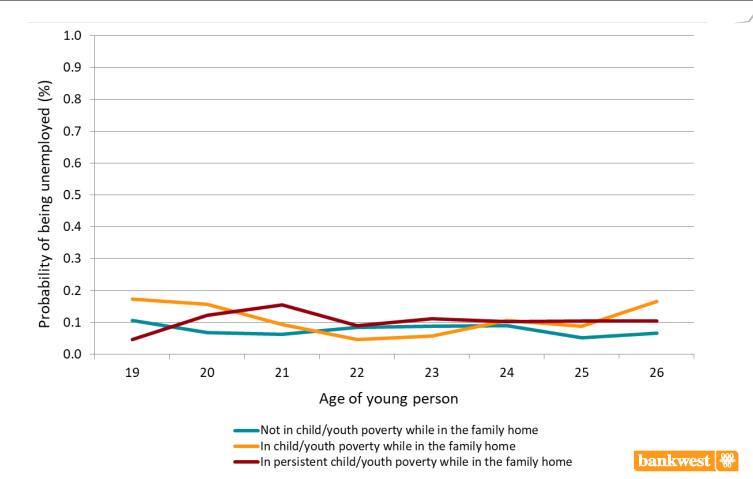
Employment rates of young people after leaving home.....





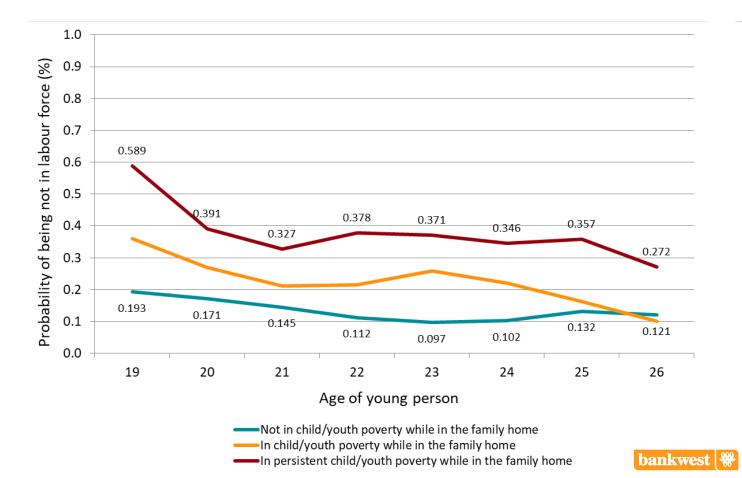
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Unemployment rates of young people after leaving home.....





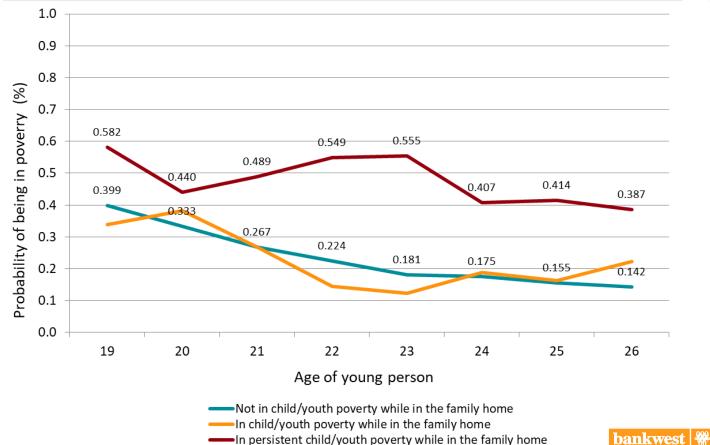
Non-participation rates of young people after leaving home.....





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Poverty rates of young people after leaving home.....





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The **scarring effect** of financial vulnerabilities at home on the future economic outcomes among young people

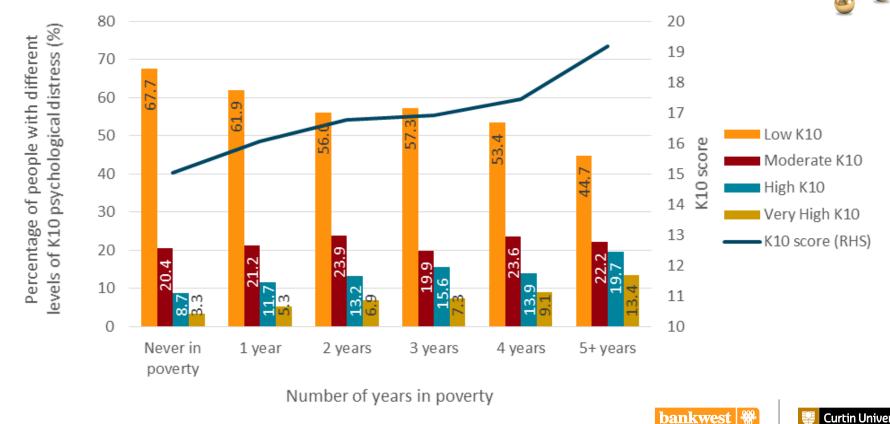
- Are future economic outcomes among young people after leaving the family home explained purely by compositional differences and personal characteristics?
- Use econometric methods to model the economic outcomes of young people after they leave the family home
- Again, select those observed for at least **three years before** and **three years** after leaving home
- Control for gender, socioeconomic status, educational achievement (of young people and their parents), labour market status, time
- Does the degree of financial vulnerability faced while in the family home still affect outcomes?
 bankwest *

The **scarring effect** of financial vulnerabilities at home on the future economic outcomes among young people

Percentage point difference in	Employed		Unemployed		Non-participation	
economic outcomes according to financial vulnerability in the family home	No controls	Full controls	No controls	Full controls	No controls	Full controls
previously in poverty previously in persistent poverty	-12.7 *** -26.9 ***	-8.4 *** -15.1 ***	+2.71 +0.68	+1.6 +0.7	+10.0 *** +22.5 ***	+6.8 ** +14.5 ***
	Povertv		Feel nervous		Feel down	
	4					
	No controls	Full controls	No controls	Full controls	No controls	Full controls



Persistent poverty increases psychological distress...



The economic impact of vulnerabilities on children and young people

- Three quarters of a million Australia children live in poverty
- Close to **200,000 children** live in severe poverty
- Nearly one third of children in single parent families face poverty, with a strong link to deprivation and hardship
- Poverty is a persistent state, and one that has a demonstrably adverse impact on health and wellbeing
- Emotional vulnerability, exclusion and financial hardship on the rise for families with children and young people
- Financial vulnerability in the family home has a scarring effect on future economic outcomes for young people
- Welfare payment are increasingly inadequate as a protection against poverty, and *have* to be part of the equation <u>bankwest</u>



Commissioner for Children and Young People Western Australia

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Q&A







Thank you to Principal Partner









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