

# QCOSS

Queensland Council  
of Social Service

## *Crime prevention*

*Submission to the inquiry on  
strategies to prevent and reduce  
criminal activity in Queensland*



16 July 2014

## *Introduction*

The Queensland Council of Social Service (QCOSS) is Queensland's leading force for social change, working to eliminate poverty and disadvantage. With more than 600 members, QCOSS undertakes informed advocacy and supports a strong community service sector.

QCOSS's key activities focus on providing effective policy advice, working to strengthen responsive community services and having productive partnerships with government, private sector, the media and the sector. This work is done with a Queensland free of poverty and disadvantage front of mind.

QCOSS welcomes the opportunity to make a submission to the Legal Affairs and Community Safety Committee inquiry on strategies to prevent and reduce criminal activity in Queensland.

QCOSS strongly supports strategies which target the underlying causes of criminal activity. There is overwhelming evidence that a significant proportion of people who have been in contact with the criminal justice system have experienced lives characterised by social exclusion<sup>1</sup>, unstable living arrangements, childhood abuse and neglect<sup>2</sup>, difficulties with education<sup>3</sup> and finding employment<sup>4,5</sup>, poverty and inequality<sup>6</sup>, alcohol and drug use, mental illness, intellectual disability<sup>7</sup> and non-supportive personal relationships<sup>8</sup>.

QCOSS calls on the state government to adopt a *developmental* approach to crime prevention and recommends that investment be targeted at communities experiencing poverty and disadvantage to address the underlying risk factors associated with criminal behaviour. Doing so will reduce the incidence of crime and ensure that disadvantaged Queenslanders participate in the prosperity that our state has to offer.

## *Key recommendations*

QCOSS recommends that the following priority actions be taken to reduce the risk factors associated with criminal behaviour:

- use a justice reinvestment approach to target resources and support at communities with high rates of poverty and disadvantage which are known to produce high numbers of chronic offenders
- improve access to early childhood development opportunities for children experiencing poverty and disadvantage and increase support for vulnerable parents to assist them to improve child development outcomes
- provide assistance for people at risk of long-term unemployment by providing targeted, tailored and flexible assistance to overcome barriers to employment and reduce the risk that children will grow up in jobless households.

## *Risk and protective factors for criminal behaviour*

*... families at risk of poverty, abuse, inept parenting and relationship breakdown are more likely to produce young people at risk of substance abuse and criminality.<sup>9</sup>*

A *developmental* approach to crime prevention seeks to address future criminal behaviour by reducing risk factors and strengthening the protective factors known to be associated with criminal behaviour<sup>10</sup>. A developmental approach to crime prevention takes a life course approach identifying transition points where interventions are most effective at reducing the potential for future criminality. This approach acknowledges that early intervention is required to lesson risk factors and build protective factors.

In reviewing the efficacy of national and international interventions, Homel *et al* (1999) have summarised the risk and protective factors associated with antisocial and criminal behaviour (see Appendix 1)<sup>11</sup>.

## *Target crime prevention activities*

It is important that families and children in most need of assistance have access to the resources required to address the risk factors associated with criminal behaviour. As Farrington (2003) has found there are a range of risk factors that contribute to a pathway to juvenile crime that are potentially modifiable. Unfortunately, disadvantaged families lack access to the basic resources and supports to modify these risk factors<sup>12</sup>.

Effective crime prevention policies should include interventions to support families, promote positive parenting and enhance school readiness amongst others as a means of reducing criminal behaviour in the future. Resources and support should be targeted at particular groups who are overrepresented in crime statistics. One way of achieving this is targeting locations which produce a high number of chronic offenders.

One specific group which is overrepresented in the crime statistics are chronic offenders. Chronic offenders are those individuals who account for a large proportion of all offences. This group comprise between three and 11 per cent of offenders but account for 27 to 33 per cent of all offences<sup>13</sup>. Because chronic offenders account for a high proportion of the costs of crime, targeting interventions at this group may be a cost effective crime prevention strategy.

Allard *et al* (2013) have shown that it is possible to identify specific locations which produce a high proportion of chronic offenders by mapping the location where chronic offenders first come into contact with the criminal justice system. They argue that these locations are characterised by high levels of social and economic disadvantage. Given that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities face significant social and economic disadvantage it is no surprise that Indigenous Australians are overrepresented in the chronic offender group<sup>14</sup>.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are overrepresented in crime statistics and are incarcerated at a rate far above that of the general population. The overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people far exceeds that of the non-Indigenous population. In 2011-12, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people aged 10-17 were 25.7 times more likely to be in youth detention than non-Indigenous young people<sup>15</sup>.

Table 1: Risk and Protective factors associated with antisocial and criminal behaviour<sup>16</sup>

Risk Factors				
child factors	family factors	school context	life events	community and cultural factors
prematurity low birth weight disability prenatal brain damage birth injury low intelligence difficult temperament chronic illness insecure attachment poor problem solving beliefs about aggression attributions poor social skills low self esteem lack of empathy alienation hyperactivity/disruptive behaviour impulsivity	<i>Parental characteristics:</i> teenage mothers single parents psychiatric disorder, especially depression substance abuse criminality antisocial models <i>Family environment:</i> family violence and disharmony marital discord disorganised negative interaction/social isolation large family size father absence long term parental unemployment <i>Parenting style:</i> poor supervision and monitoring of child discipline style (harsh or inconsistent) rejection of child abuse lack of warmth and affection low involvement in child's activities neglect	school failure normative beliefs about aggression deviant peer group bullying peer rejection poor attachment to school inadequate behaviour management	divorce and family break up war or natural disasters death of a family member	Socioeconomic disadvantage population density and housing conditions urban area neighbourhood violence and crime cultural norms concerning violence as acceptable response to frustration media portrayal of violence lack of support services social or cultural discrimination
Protective Factors				
child factors	family factors	school context	life events	community and cultural factors
social competence social skills above average intelligence attachment to family empathy problem solving optimism school achievement easy temperament internal locus of control moral beliefs values self related cognitions good coping style	supportive caring parents family harmony more than two years between siblings responsibility for chores or required helpfulness secure and stable family supportive relationship with other adult small family size strong family norms and morality	positive school climate prosocial peer group responsibility and required helpfulness sense of belonging/bonding opportunities for some success at school and recognition of achievement school norms concerning violence	meeting significant person moving to new area opportunities at critical turning points or major life transitions	access to support services community networking attachment to the community participation in church or other community group community/cultural norms against violence a strong cultural identity and ethnic pride

The overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the justice system continues into adulthood. The total adult prisoner population identifying as Indigenous was 27 per cent at 30 June 2013<sup>17</sup>.

While the risk factors for Indigenous offending are similar to those for the wider population: being young; male; low socio-economic status; poor education; unemployment; substance use, there are risk factors specific to Indigenous people, including forced removal, dependence on government, and racism that must be addressed to reduce the incidence of offending<sup>18</sup>.

Allard *et al* recommend that it would be efficient and effective to invest in systemic interventions that address the multiple dimensions of disadvantage faced by communities producing high numbers of chronic offenders.

*Many of the communities where a high proportion of chronic offenders first had contact with the criminal justice system had extreme social and economic disadvantage. As such, these locations may benefit from community-wide programs that target the risk factors for offending by reducing substance abuse and unemployment and improving educational levels and housing conditions (Allard 2010). International evidence indicates that addressing community-wide risk factors through Vocational and Education Training, or community economic development, may reduce offending (Burghardt et al. 2001; McCord, Widom & Crowell 2001; Sherman et al. 1997)<sup>19</sup>.*

The work undertaken by Allard *et al* provides an evidence base for applying a justice reinvestment approach in Queensland. A justice reinvestment approach would require taking a portion of the funds spent on incarceration and redirecting this investment at locations producing chronic offenders to address social and economic inequalities at the individual, family and community level<sup>20</sup>. Redirecting funds spent on incarceration to communities experiencing significant poverty and disadvantage will reduce the incidence of crime by providing opportunities for young people at risk of contact with the criminal justice system.

### *Early childhood development*

Early childhood provides a critical time in the development of children. It is a juncture where there are significant opportunities to build protective factors that lessen the chance of future criminal behaviour. The years from pre-birth to six are a critical time for brain development in children, which impacts heavily on the future health and wellbeing of individuals and their future life opportunities, including meaningful employment and productive engagement in society.

There are two main avenues to promote early childhood development: by providing children with access to quality Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) and by providing support to parents to assist them in enhancing child development outcomes.

One of the most effective ways of supporting young children and families is by facilitating participation in quality ECEC. Participation in quality ECEC has been shown to have significant positive impacts on children's development, particularly for children from a disadvantaged background. As it has been noted, the early development of capacities that promote school readiness are important because:



*[[]life trajectories for children become increasingly difficult to change as differences in skills and abilities become entrenched and initial differences between school ready and school unready children are amplified<sup>21</sup>.*

Participation in early childhood learning improves school readiness, strengthens educational outcomes<sup>22,23</sup> and contributes to improved outcomes in employment, health and other areas<sup>24,25</sup>.

To be accessible to vulnerable families, ECEC services should be affordable, culturally safe and provide access to practical supports for parents. Further investment is needed to roll out more early childhood learning centres as well as mechanisms to enable vulnerable families' greater access to services.

Parenting behaviours can also increase the risk of future offending. Australian studies have shown that there is a link between child maltreatment, neglect and the experience of family violence with future offending<sup>26</sup>. Poor parenting, characterised by harsh, erratic and inconsistent discipline, are clear risk factors for future delinquency. A recent New Zealand study has found, for example, that family circumstances (including parental alcohol abuse and offending) and parenting behaviours are correlated with future offending above other factors, such as ethnicity<sup>27</sup>.

Positive outcomes for children depend greatly on the capacities of parents or carers to provide conditions conducive to a child's learning and development. For vulnerable children and families, a combined approach, which targets both child and parent is more effective than a single intervention. Evidence from the Pathways to Prevention program in South-East Queensland, has shown that outcomes for young children can be improved when high quality early education is combined with interventions to support parents or carers (Horn et al 2006). Programs focused on family functioning have been shown to have success in reducing offending rates. Programs that target the family have been shown to reduce offending by between 13.3 percent and 52 percent<sup>28</sup>.

Vulnerable parents should be supported to access a range of services, such as advice and information about family functioning and child health and development, as well as referral to health services, literacy and other social services, which help them to engage better in their child's learning.

## *Employment*

A significant risk factor for criminal behaviour is unemployment. Family joblessness and long-term unemployment are associated with an increased risk of criminal behaviour. Family joblessness is of particular concern because of the potentially negative impact on children. In Queensland in 2011, an estimated 14.3 per cent of all children under 15 were living in jobless households<sup>29</sup>. Family joblessness is a critical problem for a number of reasons.

On the one hand, family joblessness reduces household income, leads to dependence on government allowances, financial stress and entrenches poverty<sup>30</sup>. As Nickell (2004) has noted, there is a strong correlation between household joblessness and poverty, particularly child poverty<sup>31</sup>. Poverty has perverse impacts on future outcomes for children because persistent poverty damages a young child's cognitive development by reducing the capacity of parents or carers to positively contribute to a child's development (Rainsberry and Budge 2012). This increases the risk that a young person will struggle with education and the risk of engaging in criminal behaviour.

On the other hand, parental unemployment increases the risk that children will be unemployed in the future. Analysis of longitudinal data has shown, for example, that if a male parent was unemployed for a period of six months or more while their male child was growing up, there is a decreased likelihood of their child being employed as an adult<sup>32</sup>. It is well known that children in jobless families are at much higher risk of growing up jobless themselves contributing to a cycle of poverty and disadvantage<sup>33</sup>.

It is critical that disadvantaged young people at risk of long-term unemployment are provided with opportunities to attach to the labour market. Current statistics on youth unemployment show that it is increasingly difficult for young people to find employment<sup>34</sup>. Failure to support young people to gain employment increases the risk of criminal behaviour.

As Chapman *et al* (2014) have shown, long-term unemployment of male youth and criminal activity are related. They have estimated that eliminating long-term unemployment amongst males aged 15 to 24 would produce a seven per cent reduction in property crime in New South Wales per annum<sup>35</sup>. Any reduction in crime rates will therefore depend on the capacity of people not completing secondary school to quickly and easily find satisfactory employment<sup>36</sup>.

Breaking the cycle of unemployment requires targeted interventions to address the range of issues faced by individuals and families in this situation. Vulnerable families and individuals struggle to gain employment because they lack a number of basic skills required. Vulnerable families may simply not have the resources required to look for and secure work, which many people take for granted, especially if they have been out of work for a long period of time.

Improving employment outcomes depends greatly on overcoming educational deficiencies, which require early childhood interventions to improve school readiness as well as school-age supports to assist young people at risk of not meeting basic standards or at risk of dropping out of school. This might require individually tailored or flexible learning opportunities both inside and outside of the school environment to ensure continued engagement with education and training<sup>37</sup>. Given the links between education and employment and unemployment and criminal behaviour, it vital that actions are taken to improve educational outcomes as means of preventing criminal behaviour in the future.

Individuals and families experiencing poverty and disadvantage also face a number of issues related to housing, alcohol and drug abuse, domestic violence, disability, mental health and others that make it difficult to secure employment. They require access to flexible, tailored and hands on mentoring and support to help them to build the skills and confidence to gain employment. This level of support is not being adequately provided through the Job Services Australia network<sup>38</sup>. Programs that address these complex issues have been shown to have a positive employment outcomes for individuals facing poverty and disadvantage<sup>39</sup>.

## *Conclusion*

This submission has highlighted the importance of targeting investment at communities experiencing poverty and disadvantage as a means of addressing the underlying risk factors associated with criminal behaviour. QCOSS calls on the state government to adopt a *developmental* approach to crime prevention to reduce the incidence of crime. We recommend that the following priority actions be taken by government to reduce the risk factors associated with criminal behaviour:

- use a justice reinvestment approach to target resources and support at communities with high rates of poverty and disadvantage which are known to produce high numbers of chronic offenders
- improve access to early childhood development opportunities for children experiencing poverty and disadvantage and increase support for vulnerable parents to assist them to improve child development outcomes
- provide assistance for people at risk of long-term unemployment by providing targeted, tailored and flexible assistance to overcome barriers to employment and reduce the risk that children will grow up in jobless households.



- <sup>1</sup> Bennett, T. and Holloway, K. 2005. *Understanding drugs, alcohol and crime*. Open University Press: Berkshire, England.
- <sup>2</sup> Ogloff, J., Cutajar, M., Mann, E., and Mullen, P. 2013. *Child sexual abuse and subsequent offending and victimisation: A 45 year follow-up study*. Trends & issues in crime and criminal justice no.440 <http://aic.gov.au/publications/current%20series/tandi/421-440/tandi440.html>
- <sup>3</sup> Hjalmarsson, R., & Lochner, L. 2012. *The impact of education on crime: international evidence*. CESifo DICE Report, 10, 2, pp. 49 – 55.
- <sup>4</sup> Chapman, B., Weatherburn, D., Kapuscinski, C. Chilvers, M. and Roussel, S. 2002. 'Unemployment duration, schooling and property crime' in *Contemporary Issues in Crime and Justice*. Number 74 <http://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/agdbasev7wr/bocsar/documents/pdf/cjb74.pdf>
- <sup>5</sup> Collins, R. 2008 'Onset and Desistance in Criminal Careers: Neurobiology and the age-crime relationship' in *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*. 39, 3 pp. 1 – 19.
- <sup>6</sup> Kelly, M. 2000. 'Inequality and crime' in *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 82, 4, pp. 530 – 539.
- <sup>7</sup> Hayes, S. 1992. 'Homicide and intellectually disabled offenders' Proceedings of Homicide: Patterns, Prevention and Control conference 12 – 14 May. [http://www.aic.gov.au/media\\_library/publications/proceedings/17/hayes.pdf](http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/publications/proceedings/17/hayes.pdf)
- <sup>8</sup> Bell, A. 2008. *Sharing Stories: Lived Experience in the Criminal Justice System*. [http://www.ucareqld.com.au/SocialJustice/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_download&gid=177](http://www.ucareqld.com.au/SocialJustice/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=177)
- <sup>9</sup> National Crime Prevention 1999. Pathways to prevention: Developmental and early intervention approaches to crime in Australia. National Crime Prevention, Attorney-General's Department: Canberra <http://www.crimeprevention.gov.au/Publications/EarlyIntervention/Documents/Pathways to Prevention Full Report.pdf>
- <sup>10</sup> National Crime Prevention 1999. Pathways to prevention: Developmental and early intervention approaches to crime in Australia. National Crime Prevention, Attorney-General's Department: Canberra <http://www.crimeprevention.gov.au/Publications/EarlyIntervention/Documents/Pathways to Prevention Full Report.pdf>
- <sup>11</sup> National Crime Prevention 1999. Pathways to prevention: Developmental and early intervention approaches to crime in Australia. National Crime Prevention, Attorney-General's Department: Canberra <http://www.crimeprevention.gov.au/Publications/EarlyIntervention/Documents/Pathways to Prevention Full Report.pdf>
- <sup>12</sup> Farrington, D. 2003. 'Key results from the first 40 years of the Cambridge Study in delinquent development' in Thornberry, T. and Krohn, M. (eds) *Taking stock of delinquency: An overview of findings from contemporary longitudinal studies*. New York: Kluwer.
- <sup>13</sup> Allard, T., Chrzanowski, A. and Stewart, A. *Targeting crime prevention: Identifying communities that generate chronic and costly offenders*. AIC Reports Research and Public Policy Series 123 [http://www.aic.gov.au/media\\_library/publications/rpp/123/rpp123.pdf](http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/publications/rpp/123/rpp123.pdf)
- <sup>14</sup> Allard, T., Chrzanowski, A. and Stewart, A. *Targeting crime prevention: Identifying communities that generate chronic and costly offenders*. AIC Reports Research and Public Policy Series 123 [http://www.aic.gov.au/media\\_library/publications/rpp/123/rpp123.pdf](http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/publications/rpp/123/rpp123.pdf)
- <sup>15</sup> Combined Voices 2013. *Stating the case for change*. <http://www.combinedvoices.org.au/sites/default/files/Stating%20Case%20for%20Change%20Dec%202013.pdf>
- <sup>16</sup> National Crime Prevention 1999. Pathways to prevention: Developmental and early intervention approaches to crime in Australia. National Crime Prevention, Attorney-General's Department: Canberra <http://www.crimeprevention.gov.au/Publications/EarlyIntervention/Documents/Pathways to Prevention Full Report.pdf>
- <sup>17</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013. 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Prisoners' in Prisoners in Australia, 2013 cat. no. 4517.0 <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4517.0main+features62013>
- <sup>18</sup> Allard, T. 2010. *Understanding and preventing Indigenous offending* Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse Brief 9, December 2010 <http://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/briefs/brief009.pdf>
- <sup>19</sup> Allard, T., Chrzanowski, A. and Stewart, A. *Targeting crime prevention: Identifying communities that generate chronic and costly offenders*. AIC Reports Research and Public Policy Series 123 [http://www.aic.gov.au/media\\_library/publications/rpp/123/rpp123.pdf](http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/publications/rpp/123/rpp123.pdf)
- <sup>20</sup> Allard, T. 2010. *Understanding and preventing Indigenous offending* Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse Brief 9, December 2010 <http://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/briefs/brief009.pdf>
- <sup>21</sup> Centre for Community Child Health 2008. *Rethinking School Readiness* Policy Brief No 10 2008. [http://www.rch.org.au/emplibrary/ccch/PB10\\_SchoolReadiness.pdf](http://www.rch.org.au/emplibrary/ccch/PB10_SchoolReadiness.pdf)
- <sup>22</sup> The Abecedarian Project in North Carolina, which is an early child development program for children from four months of age had positive outcomes on children's language and mathematics skills (Campbell & Ramey 2002).
- <sup>23</sup> According to Mustard (2007:16) 'Countries with early child development programs that begin in the very early years (birth to age two) have the highest population scores in literacy and numeracy.' Mustard, F. *Investing in the Early Years: Closing the gap between what we know and what we do*. Adelaide: Department of Premier and Cabinet [http://www.thinkers.sa.gov.au/lib/pdf/Mustard\\_Final\\_Report.pdf](http://www.thinkers.sa.gov.au/lib/pdf/Mustard_Final_Report.pdf)

- <sup>24</sup> According to Viljoen (2010:3) “Current thinking about early intervention increasingly accepts that early childhood experience crucially determines health and wellbeing and the attainment of competences at later ages, and that investment in the early years will be reflected in improved education, employment, and even national productivity. Viljoen, R. 2010 ‘Prevention and early intervention – the Helping Out Families Initiative’, *CDFVRe@der.* 9, 1, September, pp. 3-4. <http://www.noviolence.com.au/public/reader/readersep2010.pdf>
- <sup>25</sup> According to a recent PwC Australia (2012:13) report ‘For governments, early intervention through the provision of early childhood services is an important instrument for reducing the negative developmental impacts of disadvantage, and disrupting patterns of poverty and inequality that begin in early childhood.’ PwC Australia 2011 *A practical vision for early childhood education and care.* PwC Australia [http://www.pwc.se/sv\\_SE/se/offentlig-sektor/assets/a-practical-vision-for-early-childhood-education-and-care.pdf](http://www.pwc.se/sv_SE/se/offentlig-sektor/assets/a-practical-vision-for-early-childhood-education-and-care.pdf)
- <sup>26</sup> Brown, M. and Putt, J. 1999. *Early Intervention — Crime Prevention* Paper presented at the Children and Crime: Victims and Offenders Conference convened by the Australian Institute of Criminology and held in Brisbane, 17-18 June 1999 [http://www.aic.gov.au/media\\_library/conferences/children/brown.pdf](http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/conferences/children/brown.pdf)
- <sup>27</sup> Department of Corrections (NZ) 2007. *Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system An exploratory report* Policy, Strategy and Research Group. [http://www.corrections.govt.nz/data/assets/pdf\\_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf](http://www.corrections.govt.nz/data/assets/pdf_file/0004/672574/Over-representation-of-Maori-in-the-criminal-justice-system.pdf)
- <sup>28</sup> Allard, T. 2010. *Understanding and preventing Indigenous offending* Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse Brief 9, December 2010 <http://www.indigenousjustice.gov.au/briefs/brief009.pdf>
- <sup>29</sup> Public Health Information Development Unit 2014. ‘Social Health Atlases of Australia: Statistical Local Area’ [http://www.adelaide.edu.au/phidu/current/data/sha-aust/sla/phidu\\_data\\_sla\\_qld.xls](http://www.adelaide.edu.au/phidu/current/data/sha-aust/sla/phidu_data_sla_qld.xls)
- <sup>30</sup> Héroult, N., Kalb, G. and Zakirova, R. 2011. Dynamics of Household Joblessness: Evidence from Australian Micro-Data 2001–2007. Melbourne Institute Working Paper Series Working Paper No. 10/11 [https://www.melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/working\\_paper\\_series/wp2011n10.pdf](https://www.melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/working_paper_series/wp2011n10.pdf)
- <sup>31</sup> Nickell, S. 2004. ‘Poverty and Worklessness in Britain’ in *Economic Journal*, 114, C1–C25.
- <sup>32</sup> Héroult, N. and Kalb, G. 2009. *Intergenerational Correlation of Labour Market Outcomes.* Melbourne Institute Working Paper No. 14/09 [http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/hilda/Bibliography/Conference\\_Papers/herault\\_kalb\\_labour\\_mkt\\_outcomes\\_AIEL\\_09.pdf](http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/hilda/Bibliography/Conference_Papers/herault_kalb_labour_mkt_outcomes_AIEL_09.pdf)
- <sup>33</sup> Whiteford, P. 2009. *Family Joblessness in Australia.* Social Inclusion Unit of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. January 2009. [http://www.bsl.org.au/pdfs/On\\_the\\_treadmill\\_young\\_long-term\\_unemployed\\_2014.pdf](http://www.bsl.org.au/pdfs/On_the_treadmill_young_long-term_unemployed_2014.pdf)
- <sup>35</sup> Chapman, B., Weatherburn, D., Kapuscinski, C. Chilvers, M. and Roussel, S. 2002. ‘Unemployment duration, schooling and property crime’ in *Contemporary Issues in Crime and Justice.* Number 74 <http://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/agdbasev7wr/bocsar/documents/pdf/cjb74.pdf>
- <sup>36</sup> Chapman, B., Weatherburn, D., Kapuscinski, C. Chilvers, M. and Roussel, S. 2002. ‘Unemployment duration, schooling and property crime’ in *Contemporary Issues in Crime and Justice.* Number 74 <http://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/agdbasev7wr/bocsar/documents/pdf/cjb74.pdf>
- <sup>37</sup> Department of Education and Early Childhood Development 2010. *Pathways to re-engagement through flexible learning options: A policy direction for consultation.* Department of Education and Early Childhood Development: Melbourne [https://www.eduweb.vic.gov.au/edulibrary/public/stuman/wellbeing/Re-engagement\\_Pathways\\_Apr2010.pdf](https://www.eduweb.vic.gov.au/edulibrary/public/stuman/wellbeing/Re-engagement_Pathways_Apr2010.pdf)
- <sup>38</sup> Queensland Council of Social Service 2013. *Submission to the review of Employment Services (Job Services Australia) from 1 July 2015.* [https://www.qcross.org.au/sites/default/files/QCOSS\\_Submission\\_2015\\_Employment\\_Services\\_%28Mar2013%29.pdf](https://www.qcross.org.au/sites/default/files/QCOSS_Submission_2015_Employment_Services_%28Mar2013%29.pdf)
- <sup>39</sup> Deloitte Access Economics 2013. *Evaluation of Skilling Queenslanders for Work.* <http://deta.qld.gov.au/publications/strategic/evaluation/pdf/evaluation-skilling-queenslanders-work.pdf>