

Queensland Parliament

Legal Affairs and Community Safety Committee

Submission

Inquiry into strategies to prevent and reduce criminal activity in Queensland

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Executive Summary

This is a submission of the Social Responsibilities Committee of the Anglican Church of Southern Queensland (the SRC)¹ to the Legal Affairs and Community Safety Committee on *the Inquiry into Strategies to Prevent and Reduce Criminal Activity in Queensland*.

The SRC recognises the genuine concerns and needs of those who have been harmed by crime, and that those who break the law must be held to account. At the same time, we also recognise the importance of effective strategies to help divert from crime those who are at risk of offending, and to assist them to take their place as contributing members of the community.

We strongly support crime prevention strategies based on **Australian and international evidence** that:

- prisoners are disproportionately drawn from among the most disadvantaged sectors of society. Factors such as poverty, poor education, unemployment and poor physical health, accompanied by alcohol, drug and mental health issues, intellectual disability, and poor social and communication skills, place individuals at high risk of imprisonment and reimprisonment. Given this fact, we strongly support **community-strengthening strategies** that address social exclusion, promote community cohesiveness and prevent geographic concentrations of disadvantage.
- demonstrates the exorbitant economic and social costs of imprisonment. Imprisonment absorbs in the vicinity of \$3 billion dollars annually that could be rechannelled into physical and social community-building infrastructure and initiatives. It breaks down families and communities, and exacerbates pre-existing disadvantage. We strongly support **justice reinvestment alternatives that build communities, not prisons, and make prison a last resort** when necessary for the preservation of public order and safety.
- **the most cost-effective strategies for crime prevention are based on prevention and early intervention**, with children and families at their heart. Such strategies have demonstrated support from the Queensland public: for instance, the results of the Department of Justice and Attorney-General *Safer Streets Crime Action Plan – Youth Justice Crime Survey* showed that more than 70% of the 4000+ respondents supported rehabilitative approaches such as early intervention and prevention as the most effective strategies to address youth justice concerns.
- best practice models in crime prevention are based on **collaborative, integrated responses across all stakeholder groups**. We specifically reference two points at which people are vulnerable and likely to engage in or return to criminal activity 1) the youth justice area and 2) reintegration of former prisoners into the community.
 - *Youth justice:* We strongly support the development and maintenance of a **cross-sectoral collaborative framework** that invites **active and ongoing input from government, community and other stakeholders** with the expertise and passion to make a real difference to youth crime prevention. We strongly advocate the **inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stakeholders** in this process.
 - *Reintegration:* We strongly support the implementation and appropriate resourcing of best practice reintegration strategies that are **integrated, individualised and strengths-based**, and include **coordinated multi-agency and cross sectoral partnerships**.

The above strategies and approaches have strong synergies with other Queensland Government initiatives and policies, including the *Queensland Plan*, our *Closing the Gap* commitments; the Queensland Government's responses to the Independent Commission of Audit Final Report, *A Plan: Better Services for Queenslanders* (2013) and the Child Protection Commission of Inquiry final report; as well as the Queensland *Youth Strategy*. They are also consistent with the United Nations (UN) *Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime*, as outlined in the National Crime Prevention Framework.

Introduction

The Social Responsibilities Committee of the Anglican Church of Southern Queensland (the SRC)² welcomes the opportunity to make a submission to the Legal Affairs and Community Safety Committee on *the Inquiry into Strategies to Prevent and Reduce Criminal Activity in Queensland*.

The SRC recognises the genuine concerns and needs of those who have been harmed by crime, and that those who break the law must be held to account. At the same time, it is important to us all that effective strategies are in place to help divert from crime those who are at risk of offending, and to assist them to take their place as contributing members of the community.

The SRC has previously provided a number of relevant submissions to the Queensland Government:

- Invited response to provide input on the draft *Blueprint for the Future of Youth Justice* (May 2014)
- *Youth Justice and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2014* (Feb 2014)
- *Safer Streets Crime Action Plan – Youth Justice Information Paper* (June 2013).

The SRC also provided a related submission into the inquiry into the Australian Government *Value of a Justice Reinvestment Approach to Criminal Justice* (Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee, March 2013).

This document reinforces key themes of our submissions in relation to the following aspects of the current Inquiry, as identified in the Terms of Reference:

- the key social and economic contributors to crime
- the effectiveness of crime prevention strategies such as imprisonment; justice reinvestment; and early intervention
- other models in national and international jurisdictions that could be implemented in Queensland and their effectiveness
- possible strategies to increase collaboration and co-operation between various participants in the criminal justice system.

Key social and economic contributors to crime

There is indisputable evidence in Australia and internationally that prisoners are disproportionately drawn from among the most disadvantaged sectors of society.

Borzycki and Baldry (2003) note that “personal barriers to integration, such as intellectual disabilities, mental illness and poor life skills, feed into more systemic obstacles such as poor education, unemployment and debt”, and that factors such as poverty, poor education, unemployment and poor physical health, accompanied by alcohol, drug and mental health issues, intellectual disability, and poor social and communication skills, can place individuals at high risk of imprisonment and reimprisonment.

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) statistics reproduced below similarly indicate high levels of disadvantage in prison entrants. This is particularly evident for Indigenous prisoners.

	Proportion or number	Indigenous/ non Indigenous
Proportion of prison entrants who completed below Year 10 at school	34%	46% / 27%
Proportion of prison entrants who were unemployed in the 30 days prior to imprisonment	48%	57% / 43%
Proportion of prison entrants who reported that they were homeless in the 4 weeks prior to imprisonment (incl short term and emergency accommodation)	35%	43% / 32%
Proportion of prison entrants who reported that one or more of their parents had been imprisoned when they were a child	21%	28% / 17%

Offending and key elements of disadvantage³

The Australian National Crime Prevention Framework discusses in detail crime prevention strategies that fall under four categories, including “strengthening communities by addressing social exclusion and promoting community cohesiveness”.⁴ The Framework notes:

The risk of becoming involved in crime, or being victimised, is greater in those communities that experience high levels of social exclusion or a lack of social cohesion ...

There is also growing recognition of the importance of addressing social exclusion (deprivation, disadvantage and limited access to services) and assisting disadvantaged groups to reduce their risk of involvement in crime. Aspects of social exclusion, including neighbourhood disadvantage, unemployment, intergenerational disadvantage, limited education prospects, poor child health and wellbeing and homelessness are important risk factors for criminal behaviour ...

A focus on strengthening communities recognises that crime is strongly associated with the coincidence of a series of structural determinants present within particular communities (eg differential rates of access to housing, employment, education, and health services, among other factors).

The Framework goes on to suggest a number of specific policy and program examples that fall under this strategy and aim to address disadvantage in its myriad forms. It cites international evidence, for example, that local economic and social interventions in deprived areas can result in reductions in crime and fear and increased satisfaction with the local area; and notes that:

... community development programs that focus on strengthening informal networks and enhancing community structures have the potential to build community capacity, which can in turn provide opportunities to mobilise communities to address local crime problems.

More generally, the Framework notes, crime prevention initiatives should be embedded into strategic plans at all levels of government — linked with and supported by broader social policy initiatives designed to decrease the number of potential offenders by reducing economic stress and preventing geographic concentrations of disadvantage.⁵ Further discussion related to this point can be found below under the heading of ‘Early intervention’.

Effectiveness (including the cost effectiveness) of crime prevention strategies

• Imprisonment

During 2012-13, Queensland experienced record growth in prisoner numbers. From 2012-2013, the overall Queensland prison population increased 9 per cent (483 prisoners) to 6,076).⁶ This is not exceptional: since 1984, the rate of imprisonment Australia-wide has nearly doubled.⁷

Such increases are continuing to put significant strain on the justice system, with cost per prisoner at more than \$300 per day (2012-13 figures).⁸ An analysis by Deloitte Access Economics of the cost of prison vs residential treatment for Indigenous prisoners revealed that state governments could save more than \$110,000 per person with the diversion of Indigenous offenders into community rehabilitation services instead of incarceration; and that non financial benefits associated with lower mortality and better health-related quality of life could be estimated at an additional \$92,759.⁹

In terms of social costs, the Australian Government Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee report, *Value of a justice reinvestment approach to criminal justice in Australia*, cites evidence that the social costs of imprisonment are “almost impossible to calculate”.¹⁰ High rates of incarceration:

*break down the social and family bonds that guide individuals away from crime, remove adults who would otherwise nurture children, deprive communities of income, reduce future income potential, and engender a deep resentment toward the legal system. As a result, as communities become less capable of managing social order through family or social groups, crime rates go up.*¹¹

The report notes that the situation is exacerbated when the prisoner is a parent, creating a less stable and predictable home life for children, and generating a higher chance of their offending in the future.¹²

Existing social disadvantage, as discussed in the previous section of this submission, can be further intensified by the prison experience. For example:

*... [S]table accommodation can become hard to obtain because on release, ex-prisoners do not have the financial means to secure private housing, or may be ineligible for priority public housing.*¹³

In a further example, Borzycki and Baldry note:

*Prisoners tend to possess low levels of workplace skill and education, and the addition of a custodial term to an ex-offender's personal history further diminishes employability.*¹⁴

A study of the perceived employability of ex-prisoners indicated that attitudes toward employing ex-prisoners (while influenced to some extent by the severity, number and type of offence), were largely negative — in fact, the prospect of obtaining employment with a criminal background was rated fourth highest of five hypothetical ‘disadvantage conditions’, below people with a chronic illness, those with a physical or sensory disability, and people with a communication difficulty.¹⁵

This is an important issue, because pre-existing disadvantage has implications for the ability of a prisoner to cope when released and ultimately, the effectiveness of imprisonment as a crime prevention strategy.

In fact, Schwartz notes that imprisonment has only a limited effect in reducing crime in the community, and that its effect:

*diminishes over time the higher incarceration rates climb; and that in relation to particular communities and groups, such as African Americans in the US and Aborigines in Australia, it is likely to have a negative or crime producing effect in the long term.*¹⁶

The Senate report concludes its chapter on the economic and social costs of imprisonment as follows:

*Governments need to address the long term economic and social costs of imprisonment to prevent further development of intergenerational offending, and occurrences of recidivism.*¹⁷

Given the above discussion, it is difficult to comprehend why imprisonment is seen to be a solution for use in any circumstances but last resort, when necessary for the preservation of public order and safety.

The current emphasis on retributive and punitive justice, including imprisonment, driven by a preoccupation with being seen to be “getting tough on crime”, is not a reflection of rising crime figures in Queensland (which, like those Australia-wide, have been trending downward over the past decade);¹⁸ nor, by any accounts, is it of economic or social benefit to the community.

- **Justice reinvestment**

Justice reinvestment is a holistic, data-driven approach based on both quantitative and qualitative measures of decreased crime and increased community safety, and incorporating the **collaborative efforts** of government and non-government agencies, the private sector and the community. It seeks to reduce spending on correctional facilities, instead redirecting them into community initiatives which prevent crime in the first instance.¹⁹

Done well, the justice reinvestment process is cost effective, working largely **within existing community and government resources** by:

- using interagency and cross-sectoral strategic planning involving key stakeholders both within and outside the criminal justice system, who must share information, coordinate their efforts and evaluate their joint progress. This includes stakeholders in areas such as housing, health and education programs that play a critical role in reintegration of former offenders into the community and preventing recidivism.
- working with community groups such as justice groups or restorative justice healing circles, to engage communities in creating justice reinvestment strategies that are owned and supported by communities (such as more flexible parole options for people in remote locations)
- ensuring sustainable funding for culturally appropriate, community-owned programs, including Indigenous healing programs, residential drug and alcohol or anger management programs, mentoring, and men’s and women’s groups.²⁰

Because it is relevant at all critical points of the criminal justice path (from prevention of offending; diversion from custody at the point of remand or conviction; and in lowering the numbers returning to custody via breaches of parole or reoffending), justice reinvestment supports re-channelling some of the nearly \$3 billion p.a.²¹ currently spent on maintaining and expanding the Australian prison system back into communities.

To use a catchphrase that is no less correct for being clichéd: justice reinvestment is essentially about **building communities, not prisons**.

- **Early intervention**

Without a doubt, the most cost-effective approach to preventing crime is one based on prevention and early intervention. Supporting families and children must be at the centre of these efforts. The US Department of Health and Human Services has clearly stated:

*Cost-benefit analyses demonstrate the stronger return on investments that result from strengthening families, supporting development, and preventing maltreatment during childhood and adolescence rather than funding treatment programs later in life.*²²

Similarly, as an Australian expert summarises: ‘good child abuse prevention is also good prevention of offending behaviours.’²³

This means supporting *all* children and families through universal interventions such as infant and child health services, playgroups and other early childhood education services; with specialist (secondary) strategies for those who need greater levels of support (for example, those targeted to particular groups who are known to be ‘at risk’ of family stress); and ‘tertiary’ interventions for those relatively few children and families who need intensive intervention.

Unfortunately, AIHW data, and our own experience through the community welfare arm of the Anglican Church SQ (Anglicare SQ), indicates that the over-burdened, reactive and more costly tertiary system is the only entry point for many Queensland families. At this stage children are already beginning to experience multiple traumas, additional stigma associated with contact with the statutory system (eg ‘being known to Child Safety’), and the foundations have been laid for a path that is much more likely to bring them into contact with the justice system as a youth and later as an adult.

Queenslanders have demonstrated that they recognise the value of early intervention in crime prevention through “extensive written submissions” on the *Safer Streets Crime Action Plan*, the majority of which “highlighted the importance of early intervention and effective diversion of young people from further entry into the youth justice system”.²⁴

Over 4,000 Queenslanders also responded to the *Safer Streets Crime Action Plan – Youth Justice Crime Survey*. The chart on the following page summarises the extent of support for prevention and early intervention strategies, as opposed to more punitive strategies (encapsulated in the current *Youth Justice and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2014*).²⁵

It can be seen that more than 70% of participants supported rehabilitative approaches such as early intervention and prevention, and employment programs, as the most effective strategies for crime prevention and reduction.²⁶

Other models that could be implemented in Queensland Possible strategies to increase collaboration and cooperation

The following discussion addresses the above points together, as evidence points to best practice models in crime prevention and the broader justice sector being based on collaborative, integrated responses across all stakeholder groups.

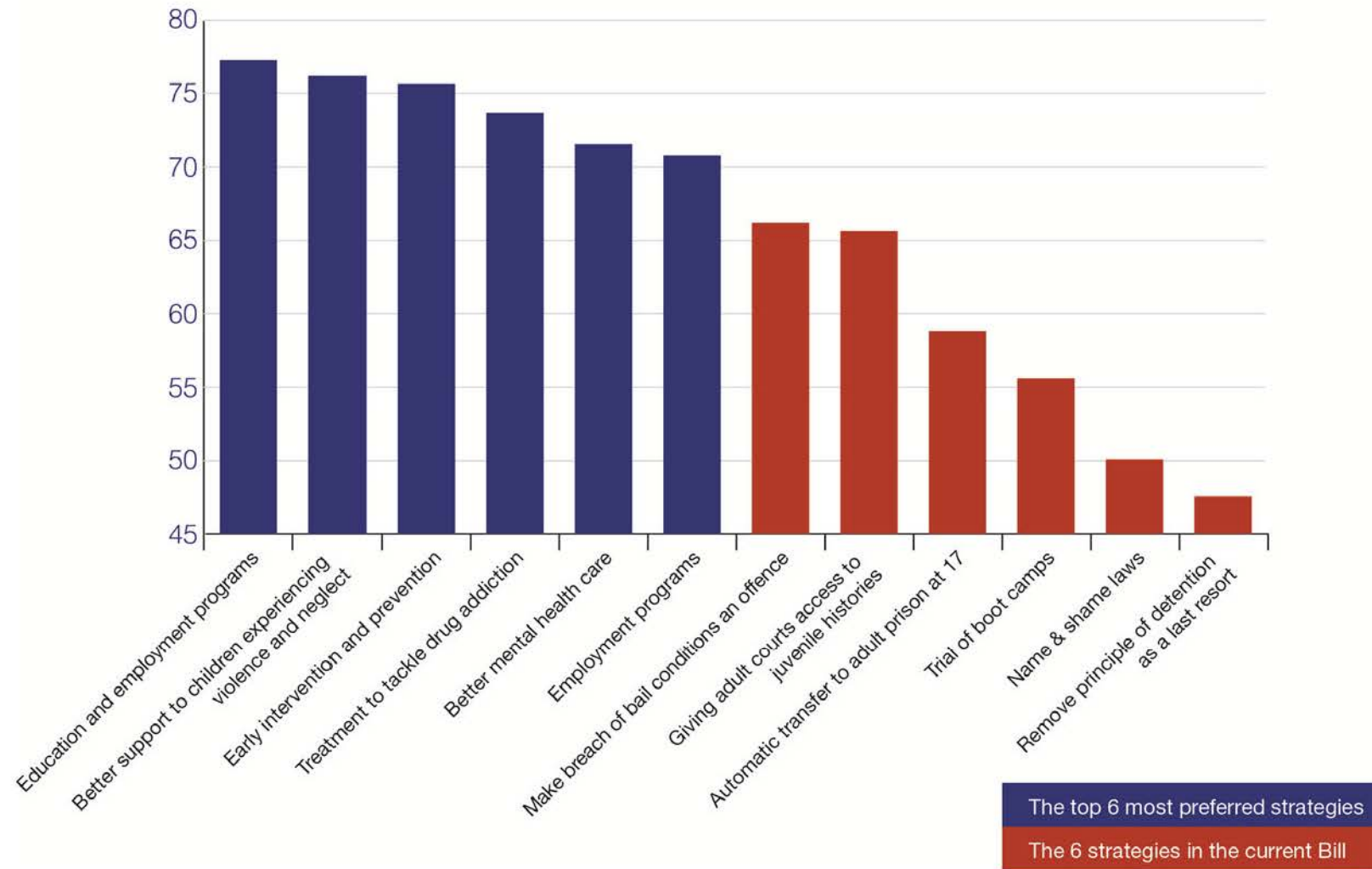
Our examples reference two specific points at which people are vulnerable and likely to engage in or return to criminal activity. These are 1) the youth justice area and 2) reintegration of former prisoners into the community.

- **Youth justice**

In previous correspondence with the Premier and the Attorney-General, the SRC proposed the establishment of an **ongoing collaboration of cross-sectoral stakeholders** with a common agenda, open communication, and willingness to align existing activity or develop shared strategies to generate systemic change.

We proposed this strategy on the evidence of collective impact initiatives in other parts of the world that have been proven to work. In particular, we provided detail about reforms to the New York juvenile justice system that showed the following improvements without *any increase in crime or risk to public safety*.

Crime prevention initiatives and proposed reforms by level of support - respondents to the *Safer Streets Crime Action Plan - Youth Justice Crime Survey*.



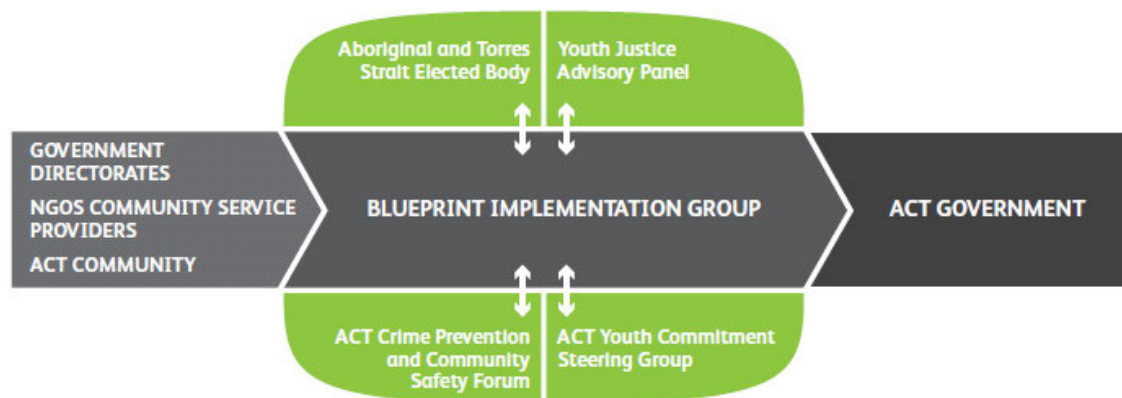
Between 2010 and 2012, the New York youth justice collective impact initiative saw:

- juvenile arrests *decline* by 24%
- the number of juveniles admitted to detention *decline* by 23%
- the number of juvenile probation intake cases *decline* by 20%
- admissions to State Placement *decline* by 28%.

These outcomes were a result of collaboration between all levels of government, not-for-profit organisations; the advocacy community; the judiciary; law enforcement; and the New York City Department of Education, in a process that included data-driven analysis, extensive consultation with stakeholders, and benchmarking of effective practices across New York State and the nation. (Please see Attachment A for further information on the New York initiative.)

In Australia, the Australian Capital Territory *Blueprint for Youth Justice (2012–2022)* also recognises the importance of a collaborative approach, with the establishment of a Blueprint Implementation Group to monitor, recommend changes and provide input to evolving strategies and actions.

The Implementation Group, comprising representatives from both ACT Government agencies and the community sector, is supported by a Youth Justice Advisory Panel that provides specialist advice in youth justice, child and adolescent psychology, trauma and abuse, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander engagement, vulnerable families, education, and health.²⁷



ACT Government (2012). *Blueprint for Youth Justice in the ACT 2012–22*. Canberra, p. 36.

What both the New York and ACT models have in common is a commitment to **actively involve not-for-profit organisations and the community more broadly, as well as government**. They recognise that effective outcomes in the justice sector require a multi-pronged, collaborative approach, with a shared agenda, shared energy and expertise, and shared commitment to positive change.

We strongly suggest therefore that the establishment of a **cross-sectoral collaborative framework that invites active and ongoing input from government, community and other stakeholders** with the expertise and passion to make a real difference should be a priority strategy.

In particular, we **strongly advocate the inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stakeholders** in this process. Indigenous persons are heavily over-represented in crime statistics, with subsequent tragic and disproportionate impacts on Indigenous families and communities. The active participation of a significant proportion of Indigenous stakeholders in a collective impact process supports the Queensland Government commitment to Closing the Gap, and complements related activities of the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Multicultural Affairs.

- **Reintegration of former prisoners into the community**

The vast majority of the literature suggests that a **key strategy in breaking the cycle of recidivism** is the **provision of sufficient material and social support upon release**. Without such support, successful reintegration into the community is less likely, and the cycle of prisoner release and re-arrest can become increasingly difficult to break:

It is unrealistic to expect that people will leave prison and start to lead a socially included, crime-free existence without any supports being put in place for them before they complete their sentence ... many people leave prison and they are returning to nothing. When this is the case they have nothing to lose by re-offending and prison becomes a way of life. For this pattern to change interventions need to take place throughout the period of imprisonment and through the release from prison into the wider community.²⁸

Evidence shows that successful reintegration is best supported by strategies based on an **integrated approach** that considers the multiple facets of an individual's life and his/her particular experiences, connections, preferences, strengths and needs (both tangible and intangible). As Borzycki and Baldry comment:

There is increasing recognition that all interventions, regardless of content, are best delivered as part of an integrated program designed to address an individual prisoner's specific issues, disadvantages and problems. Areas of need identified as important range from practical physical considerations (providing viable, comfortable and secure housing, not simply temporary accommodation), to less tangible factors such as fostering social interactions that permit ex-offenders to give back to their communities.²⁹

Increasingly the literature in this area is supporting the rediscovery of '**strengths based**' approaches.³⁰ Page and Schaeffer, for example, in their paper on juvenile justice, reaffirm Michael Clark's 1998 statement that:

All offenders and families have some resources such as skills, capabilities, interests, positive character traits, even perseverance and hope, that can be brought to bear for exiting our system. It is a simple yet profound truth that solutions are not reached through [an] offender's weaknesses and failures, but through [an] offender's strengths and healthy patterns.³¹

The strengths narrative builds on an assumption that former prisoners are often stigmatised via labelling and/or social exclusion (the basis, in fact, of the concept and practice of 'reintegration'); and that this stigmatisation is at the core of reoffending.³² Combating this calls for **strategies that acknowledge that former prisoners have significant potential to contribute** in some way to society, and that it is society's loss if a sizeable (and growing) proportion of the community is considered to be valueless.

Holistic approaches necessarily involve **partnerships**. Many former offenders have multiple and overlapping challenges with which to contend, and best practice indicates that support systems need to be similarly coordinated. Shinkfield and Graffam, for example, note that the interdependence of employment, housing, drug and alcohol treatment as required, and social network support should be taken into account by service providers in structuring and delivering support as a whole.³³ At government level, this means providing **increased funding for policy and programs that support holistic reintegration services** such as the Offender Reintegration Support Services (ORSS) program.

We strongly suggest, therefore, that best practice **reintegration strategies that are integrated, individualised and strengths-based**, and include **coordinated multi-agency and cross sectoral partnerships**, would make a significant contribution to the reduction of crime in Queensland, with subsequent economic and social benefits for the community as a whole.

In closing

In closing, we understand the importance of keeping Queenslanders safe, and the challenges for any government in achieving this. However, international evidence shows that getting “tough on crime” is not the answer.

Getting *really* tough on crime means supporting families who are doing it tough; funding and expanding prevention/early intervention programs and holistic reintegration programs; and implementing justice reinvestment approaches that have the capacity to build a safer and stronger community.

This includes working in true collaboration with the community to achieve effective outcomes.

A strategic approach underpinned by a strengths-based, early intervention model grounded in a truly collaborative relationship between government and the community has distinct synergies with other Queensland Government initiatives and policies. It aligns strongly with:

- the **Queensland Plan**, a vision for our state shaped by the “collective aspirations” of Queenslanders through a significant engagement process.³⁴
- Queensland ‘**Closing the Gap**’ commitments, particularly in education, that involve working in partnership with families, community, and levels of government to achieve their objectives.
- The Queensland Government response to the Independent **Commission of Audit Final Report, A Plan: Better Services for Queenslanders (2013)**³⁵ which accepts the recommendation to work with the non government sector and notes the recent establishment of the Social Services Cabinet Committee “to connect and work with the non-government”. The Government also accepts a recommendation to “shift its investment focus to early intervention and prevention services targeting those most at risk of entrenched disadvantage and social exclusion to reduce the investment in crisis services”.³⁶
- the Queensland Government response to the **Queensland Child Protection Commission of Inquiry** final report, in which all of the Commission’s recommendations were accepted in full or in principle, and the principle of “strong collaborative partnerships between the government and the non-government sector” was supported.³⁷
- the **Queensland Youth Strategy**, which is underpinned by the concepts of engagement and connection with and for young people.³⁸

***Government can’t do this alone,
but as a community working
together we can achieve
everything we want for our
state’s future***

From The Queensland Plan, p. iv

In light of the above discussion, this submission urges the Queensland Government to implement crime prevention strategies that are consistent with the United Nations (UN) *Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime*, and particularly the following four principles, as outlined in the National Framework for Crime Prevention:

- socioeconomic development and inclusion: integration of crime prevention into relevant social and economic policies, focus on integration of at risk communities, children, families and youth
- cooperation and partnerships: between government organisations, civil society, business sector
- use of a knowledge base: using evidence of proven practices as the basis for policies and programs
- human rights/rule of law/culture of lawfulness: respect for human rights and promotion of a culture of lawfulness.³⁹

The Social Responsibilities Committee recognises the genuine concerns and needs of those who have been harmed by crime, and that those who break the law must be held to account. We need to be wary however that the balance of justice does not tip toward retribution just for the sake of being seen to be “tough on crime”, and that crime prevention initiatives do not in fact damage individuals and the community more than they protect.



New York State Juvenile Justice

PROGRESS TOWARD SYSTEM EXCELLENCE

JANUARY 2014

SUMMARY

New York State's juvenile justice system has seen significant improvements in community safety, coordination, data-driven decision-making, and outcomes for youth ages seven to 15 in just a few short years as the result of collective visioning and action.

Results clearly demonstrate progress toward improved outcomes for both youth and communities.

Between 2010 and 2012, across the state¹:

- Juvenile arrests were down by 24%
 - Juvenile admissions to state placement were down 28%
- Between December 2010 and June 30, 2013 the number of youth in state custody declined by 45%

CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

In 2011, transformational change was needed in order to dramatically reform the New York State (NYS) juvenile justice system.

The NYS juvenile justice system had a history of being...

Ineffective: Despite state annual placement costs that were among the highest in the nation, the vast majority of youth detained in the juvenile justice system eventually went on to become adult offenders²

Inefficient: Over 60% of youth were rearrested within two years of release from state custody³

Unsafe: State facilities were under investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice for brutal conditions of confinement

At the same time, the system was poised for reform due to...

Momentum: Multiple factors underscored the timeliness, urgency, and potential for change. Both Governor Andrew Cuomo and NYC Mayor Michael Bloomberg had publicly made the case for juvenile justice reform

Great work to build upon: There were numerous promising reform efforts around the state, though not aligned toward common goals

Evidence: There was a trend toward embedding evidence-based practices in various localities and parts of the system, but they were largely isolated from one another

In the face of these challenges and opportunities, several juvenile justice leaders in New York saw the potential for system transformation. Stakeholders across sectors increasingly believed that success would require collective action to drive systemic reform in a rapidly changing, resource-constrained environment.

The NYS juvenile justice system is comprised of a highly complex network of public and private agencies, nonprofit organizations, and courts, with unique policies and procedures at both the state and local levels. It also includes myriad connection points to other public systems, such as education and mental health. Multiple players and systems interact with youth at different points along their journey.

Improving outcomes for youth and for communities, therefore, required a coordinated, strategic effort toward a shared vision and common goals. It was clear that cross-sector leadership would be necessary to catalyze the effort and have the credibility and authority to effect real and lasting reform.

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Endnotes

- 1 The Anglican Church of Southern Queensland was formerly known as the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane.
2 The Anglican Church of Southern Queensland was formerly known as the Anglican Diocese of Brisbane.
3 Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2013) *The Health of Australia's Prisoners 2012*. Cat. no. PHE
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12 Community Legal Centres NSW submission cited in Australian Government Senate Legal and
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