Evaluation of the Walking Alongside Program (WAP)

Dr Marg Liddell & Dr Diana Johns

2015
Acknowledgements

The researchers would like to extend a huge thank you to the young people, the family member of one of the young people and the professionals who gave up their valuable time to participate in interviews. We would also like to extend our appreciation to the past and current Walking Alongside Program Engagement Officers for their support and assistance in contacting and following up young people for interviews. While this wasn’t always successful – there was a very poor take-up rate of interviews for clients of the WAP - the workers commitment to the evaluation was ongoing. We would also like to thank staff at Flemington Kensington Community Legal Centre for their helpfulness in providing files and other documentation to the researchers for the evaluation.

We would like to thank Dr Shane Muldoon for assisting us with the literature review and acknowledge the funding provided for this task from the Justice and Legal Studies Programs RMIT University. We would also like to acknowledge the School of Global, Urban and Social Studies Research Committee for funding Dr Diana Johns to be involved in assisting with the interviewing for the research.

Further we would like to acknowledge and thank Cindy Mackinnon the Night Staff Supervisor at King & Wood Mallesons who undertook the management of the confidential transcription of the interviews for the evaluation team.

ISBN: 978-0-9943519-1-3


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Summary

This report on the evaluation of the Flemington and Kensington Community Legal Centre’s (FKCLC) Walking Alongside Program (WAP) presents findings on the extent to which the outcomes of the program have fulfilled its objectives to date. The WAP is a socio-legal support program for young people of Sudanese and other African migrant/refugee backgrounds pursuing police accountability through often long-running legal actions. It was developed as an adjunct to the FKCLC’s Police Accountability Project (PAP) in recognition of its client group’s vulnerability and need for ongoing support. The outcome objectives this evaluation set out to measure include enhanced legal, health and educational outcomes; enhanced police accountability; improvements in health and well-being; enhanced community capacity, safety and resilience; reduction in social exclusion and barriers to justice; and whether the WAP is an effective model for replication. A qualitative approach to the evaluation was taken involving interviews and case file analysis.

Academic and policy literature on the themes of hope, social exclusion, well-being, and community capacity was reviewed as these represent important aspects of the migrant/refugee resettlement experience. While the complexity and overlap of these concepts is acknowledged in the literature, a general consensus emerges about their core meanings, as we discuss. We also consider the literature on therapeutic jurisprudence since this principle underpins the FKCLC’s approach to its work. The assumption is that legal processes and interactions can have both harmful and helpful consequences. The FKCLC clearly sees its role as remedying any harmful effects and promoting access to justice for individuals and communities in the inner west region of Melbourne and beyond.

These themes are central to the WAP and highlight the important role this kind of program plays to ensure that migrants and refugees in the Flemington and Kensington area (and elsewhere) are welcomed, supported and treated as equal members of our multicultural society. That is not, however, to downplay or disregard the rich diversity within and between communities. The emphasis on participant-driven evaluation in the literature cautions against adopting predetermined constructs or measures. We acknowledge, therefore, that the construct ‘refugee youth’ itself “can mask the diverse ways in which a young person from a refugee background experiences the world” (Brough et al. 2003: 195): as a young black person, man, woman, migrant, refugee, African, Somali, Sudanese, Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk, for example.

The literature highlights the need to allow and encourage interviewees to give voice to their own experience, rather than impose preconceived measures upon them. Also that in-depth narrative accounts provide a rich source of qualitative data about both individual and shared experience. We prepared interview questions that were designed to elicit and capture narrative accounts of the views and experiences of WAP participants, their family members, and
support professionals. Thematic content analysis of the qualitative data provided the basis for this evaluation.

A total of thirteen interviews were conducted. The very low take-up rate for interviews with WAP participants – only four were possible – reflects these young people’s vulnerability, disengagement, and the difficulty gaining access to this group. Some of the professionals interviewed referred to a period of six to nine months needed to gain their trust. This timeframe extended beyond that available for the evaluation. Interview data was therefore supplemented by analysis of twenty WAP files, which enabled the researchers to obtain a broader picture of the role of the youth engagement officers (YEOs) as well as a view on whether the overall objectives of the WAP had been met. Difficulties also arose in locating family members to interview, with only one coming forward. Eight professionals were interviewed: three from FKCLC, and five support professionals who worked with the same group of young people or with other disengaged youth in the Western region.

Although the sample was small, data from the file analysis and individual interviews indicated that most of the objectives of the WAP were being met. Frequent accolades of the YEO, both past and current, related especially to their unconditional care and positive regard for the young people and their families, and their ability to work collaboratively with other services to provide holistic case management. Interviews with professionals reflected a deep understanding of the WAP client group and many referred to this group’s vulnerability and disengagement from family, community and the service system. The professionals commented on the value of the PAP and the WAP and the importance of the notion of ‘walking alongside’ people engaged in protracted human rights litigation.

All professionals indicated that the YEO was able to undertake tasks that they were often unable to, due to the flexibility of the YEO’s role in providing unlimited and unconditional support, regardless of the client’s situation. They believed that, without the YEO, many of the young people would not have pursued or continued with their police accountability cases. The advocacy role of the YEO was pivotal in raising awareness of the plight of the people linked to both the WAP and the PAP. This was reinforced with examples of over-policing and discrimination. While there were criticisms of police there were also comments that some police engaged positively with African young people in inner west Melbourne. The overwhelming view expressed was that more police needed to understand and be prepared to engage in an appropriate and respectful manner with African migrants/refugees.

WAP participants interviewed indicated the value of the program, with reference to the YEO’s ability to “stick with” them or “hang in there” with young people “no matter what.” Participants felt that this helped the young people combat a sense of helplessness and to feel empowered, more confident to pursue their rights. For some this had translated into an ability to advocate for
themselves and others, leading their peers in ways to effectively respond to police and to become model responsible citizens. Testament to the YEO’s commitment was that WAP clients maintained and/or resumed contact with them. Support and interpretation of court proceedings by the YEO enabled the legal and non-legal proceedings to be brought together and this reduced the stress for the WAP clients. This was important for not just the FKCLC staff but for other staff working with the WAP clients.

All those interviewed, including the WAP clients, felt that there was value in the WAP concept being replicated in other community legal centres. They felt that as well as human rights and police accountability cases it could be extended to support people involved in criminal and civil litigation. This was reinforced in comments that the YEO was able to provide systemic advocacy and be inclusive and collaborative in her work with a range of services, both legal and non-legal. Without the WAP the participants felt that “things would return to the way they were” and this would mean a reduction in police accountability. It would also mean that young people would have no place to go when they felt that they were being targeted or discriminated against.

All interviewees referred to there being insufficient funding and time for the current YEO position. All thought that the funding should be extended as this would give the YEO greater capacity to assist more young people, as well as advocate for change in the way that young people are dealt with in legal, criminal and civil proceedings. While the data sets were small, sufficient information emerged to determine that the WAP objectives were being met, and to support the recommendation that the program be continued and extended.

**Recommendations**

From the findings of this evaluation, we recommend the following:

1. The Youth Engagement Officer (YEO) should be funded to cover more days of the week – currently the position is funded for three days.

2. Consideration should be given to employing an additional YEO.

3. The funding for the Walking Alongside Program (WAP) should be extended to include more time:
   - to work with police to improve the collaborative relationships between police and the young people being supported by the WAP – while this is currently being undertaken by the Chief Executive Officer of the Flemington Kensington Community Legal Centre (FKCLC) there is clearly a role for a YEO in this process;
   - to be able to provide support to more people over more days of the week;
   - to make improvements to the internal procedures in managing the cases;
   - so that collection of information from the point at which the Youth Engagement Officers commences contact with the Police Accountability
Program and vice versa can be documented and internal file sharing and file management can be streamlined.

4. Consideration should be given for FKCLC to take a leadership and advocacy role to assist other Community Legal Centres to undertake legal and non-legal advocacy work. This could include:
   - Human rights and public interest litigation
   - Criminal and civil litigation.

This emphasis should be on the collaborative role of the YEO to facilitate, support and advocate for program participants’ access to the range of services required to meet their wider social and emotional needs.

5. FKCLC and the YEO should use these findings to continue to raise awareness, as Higgs (2013) suggests, of:
   - the value of giving young people hope to develop pathways away from behaviours that are harmful to themselves and others;
   - the need to recognise and acknowledge injustices that many young people experience and work to remedy these to improve their overall well-being;
   - the need to establish more inclusionary practices so that young people can feel part of a community of care, within the broader community.

6. Recognising that the FKCLC has helped clients to become advocates and peer leaders, we recommend this model be expanded to train other young people as mentors to work alongside the YEO and the community.

7. While the study was small there were sufficient comments on police behaviour to suggest that police training be enhanced to include anti-bias training. A recent example of six young African men being asked to leave an Apple store suggests that such bias is a wider community problem (see http://www.crn.com.au/News/411787,melbourne-apple-store-kicks-out-black-teenagers.aspx)

8. Further qualitative research (such as life narratives and participant observations- see Fangen 2010) is required to explore and raise awareness of the problems African youth and their families encounter in settling in a new country, given the traumatic experiences they have often faced in their home country.

**Introduction**

This is a report on an outcomes-focused evaluation of the Flemington Kensington Community Legal Centre’s (FKCLC) Walking Alongside Program (WAP). The program provides socio-legal support to litigants pursuing police accountability, mainly young people of Sudanese and other refugee/migrant background. To undertake this evaluation we sought to interview professionals from the WAP and Police Accountability Project (PAP), WAP participants and their families and
relevant external support staff. It was hoped that these interviews would provide data on whether participant outcome objectives had been attained.

The WAP evaluation had both formative\(^1\) and summative\(^2\) purposes to:

- identify areas for potential improvement in the WAP and its delivery.
- to judge the effectiveness or ‘performance’ of the WAP in terms of how it has met and continues to meet the needs of its participants, and has fulfilled its aims and objectives as stated below.

In broad terms, the evaluation sought to answer the following questions:

1. Are the WAP implementation objectives being attained? If not, what barriers or problems have been encountered? What kinds of things have facilitated implementation?
2. Are the WAP participant outcome objectives being attained? If not, what barriers or problems have been encountered? What kinds of things facilitated attainment of participant outcomes?

This report is structured as follows: the aims of the evaluation project are outlined, then and background to the development of the WAP is presented. The review of relevant literature follows, which is concentrated on themes of hope, social exclusion, well-being, community capacity and therapeutic jurisprudence; these are seen as key concepts underpinning the philosophy of and rationale for the WAP. The methodology is described, including the ethics approval obtained to undertake the research. We then discuss our analysis of the data collected, making links back to the research literature. The discussion concludes with a review of program objectives to determine its ‘success’ or effectiveness in terms of its outcomes for WAP clients, their families and communities.

**The evaluation project aims**

The project aimed to establish whether the WAP program implementation objectives have been met, and identify areas for improvement. The objectives of the WAP are:

- To assess and monitor the support needs of FKCLC Police Accountability Project (PAP) clients in consultation with clients and their families;
- To provide intensive mental health and family support to PAP clients during times of crisis;
- To develop and enact preventative support plans and assisted referrals for clients in collaboration with relevant agencies and programs;
- To provide communication between and coordinate logistical support for clients and the FKCLC legal teams throughout legal proceedings;

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\(^1\) **Formative evaluation** is generally any **evaluation** that takes place before or during a project’s implementation with the aim of improving the project’s design and performance.

\(^2\) **Summative evaluation** refers to the assessment of participants where the focus is on the outcome of a program. This contrasts with formative assessment, which summarizes the participants’ development at a particular time.
To develop and enact empowering culturally appropriate community legal education, community development, resourcing and support plans alongside local community members, groups and agencies.

The evaluation project aimed to measure the following participant outcome objectives as indicators of the WAP effectiveness or ‘performance’:

- Enhanced legal, health and educational outcomes for clients
- Enhanced police accountability outcomes and measures
- Significant improvements in client health and well-being indicators
- Enhanced community capacity, safety and resilience
- Reduction in social exclusion and barriers to justice experienced by refugee and migrant communities.
- An effective model of an integrated health and legal program for replication.

**Background**

The FKCLC’s Walking Alongside Program was inspired by the Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid’s (CAALAS)\(^3\) approach to provide 'high quality, culturally appropriate and readily accessible legal services, including legal education, justice advocacy and other preventative services' to clients and their communities. The CAALAS program and the concepts it was built upon provided the model for the WAP. This approach is based on the principles of therapeutic jurisprudence, an understanding that people's involvement with the law and legal processes can both help and harm, and that the aim of legal services is to ameliorate and/or redress any harmful effects (Wexler, 1990; Wexler & Winick, 1991; 1996).

From this perspective, young people of refugee and migrant communities across Victoria are seen as particularly vulnerable to harms caused by their experience of police discrimination and misconduct and their involvement in complex legal processes. The WAP has been developed in response to the specific and complex needs of people in this group who are clients of the FKCLC’s PAP.\(^4\) These specific needs arise through the interaction of three aspects of this group’s experience:

1. Their existing vulnerabilities as a newly arrived migrant or person of refugee background
2. Their experience of discrimination, violence or abuse by police or other agencies

These factors combine to produce cumulative negative effects on the health and well-being of individuals and communities. The aim of the WAP, therefore, is to ‘improve the health, legal and justice outcomes for clients [of the PAP], their

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families and ... communities' by providing 'holistic, empowering and culturally appropriate, individual and community based responses to client needs in close collaboration with relevant agencies, programs and community groups', in conjunction with legal support and advocacy (FKCLC, 2014: 3).

**Literature review**

Four key themes emerge from the literature on refugee/migrant resettlement: hope, social ex/inclusion, well-being, and community capacity. Together with the overarching principle of therapeutic jurisprudence, they provide a framework for understanding the context of the FKCLC's PAP and its adjunct the WAP. These concepts offer a critical perspective on the interactions between young people of refugee and migrant communities and the legal and justice system. They help us understand young people’s vulnerability to and experience of police discrimination and misconduct, and its effects on communities and individuals, particularly those involved in long-running public interest legal cases. Run (2013) argues, for example, that racial profiling of Sudanese people extends out of the White Australia Policy and has deep historical roots in the colonial oppression of Indigenous Australians. This perspective on policing practices suggests that concerted efforts are required to achieve social well-being and justice for African Australians in particular.

The themes of hope, social ex/inclusion, well-being and community capacity also frame this evaluation of the WAP outcomes, providing background knowledge that shaped our approach to the research interviews and context for the program outcomes that we sought to measure. These themes, and later the principle of therapeutic jurisprudence, are explored below.

**Hope**

Hope is a critical component of the refugee/migrant experience. People seek refuge and/or migrate in the hope of keeping themselves and their loved ones alive and well, trusting that a host country will allow them security, shelter and the basics of a life free of fear, deprivation and persecution. They hope to better themselves, to provide a secure future for their children to thrive, and to contribute to a safe and prosperous society in their new country. For refugees such hopes are driven by the need to flee their home country, and by the dislocating and frequently traumatic experiences of flight, refugee camp life and eventual resettlement (Taylor, 2004; Muldoon & Liddell, 2009; McCarthy & Marks, 2010; McFarlane, Kaplan & Lawrence, 2011; Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY), 2011; Run, 2013; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013). For migrants, too, hope is a sustaining force amidst the stressful and culturally disruptive experience of migration.

In the context of the WAP clients, Higgs (2013: 26-27) has described the importance of restoring hope for young people, achieved by:

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5 Albeit it is recognized that migrants (in the sense of those who freely leave their country of origin, not forced to flee) in some cases suffer high levels of pre-migration trauma (Taylor, 2004).
• giving young people hope to develop pathways from behaviours that are harmful to themselves and others;
• recognising and acknowledging the injustices they have experienced and work to remedy these;
• helping them to believe in themselves and their relationships with others; and
• assisting them to imagine themselves as someone who has a positive future.

Hope is defined as the cognitive willpower (agency) and planning of ways to meet goals across various situations (pathways); it comprises both ‘the will and the ways’ (Snyder et al 1991; Snyder 1995). In addition, high or low hopes are characterised by positive or negative emotional states, a sense of challenge or ambivalence, and focus on success or failure, respectively (Snyder 1995). Hope is variously linked to meaning (in terms of ‘a meaningful life’), culture (an organized framework of meaning, standards, goals and values), self-esteem (through filling a culturally-valued role), and having a sense of control over one’s life (Feldman & Snyder, 2005). Drawing on Snyder’s hope theory (Snyder et al 1991; Snyder 1995), Feldman and Snyder (2005: 406) describe hope as the ‘master’ personality variable shaping the pursuit of short and long-term goals.

Antonovsky (1979, 1987) argues that a ‘sense of coherence’ buffers against anxiety, and thus allows hopeful thinking, but that this requires three components: people must be able to comprehend their environment and how it works; they must be able to manage their environment to achieve their goals; and do so with a sense of purpose or meaning (in Feldman & Snyder 2005: 405). These rely not only on people’s ability but also their confidence in their ability to pursue their goals. In the context of migrants to a new country, particularly those fleeing persecution or war and already fearful and traumatised, these conditions conceivably take time – and support – to develop. This perspective suggests that hope is not so much a fixed personality trait but a way of perceiving and reacting (to situations) which can be influenced, modified and enhanced. The implication is that people can be encouraged and supported to better understand and manage their socio-cultural environment, to pursue their goals, and thereby to develop meaningfulness. A sense of coherence is thus seen as underpinning emotional and psychological well-being and giving rise to hope.

Although clearly an intensely subjective concept, hope can nevertheless be measured (Snyder 1995). Snyder’s (2002) 4-point Likert-type scale of 12 question items has been shown to have strong reliability and validity and has been successfully employed by other researchers; statements such as ‘I meet the goals that I set for myself’ and ‘there are lots of ways around any problem’ are used to measure people’s sense of ‘agency’ and perceived ‘pathways’. Such hopeful thinking, measured at a high level, is found to function as a buffer against anxiety and depression, and to create ‘life meaning’ when life in other respects is.

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6 Snyder (2002) appends three scales with different scale measures developed over the years since the original formulation: the adult Trait Hope Scale, the State Hope Scale, and the Children’s Hope Scale.

7 Snyder (2002) includes a substantial list of this body of research.
perceived as less meaningful (Feldman and Snyder, 2005). Yohani (2010) investigated the nurturing of hope in refugee children. She found hope was hindered by perceived prejudice, racism and challenges in the home and at school, and engendered by non-academic activities (e.g. sports, music, dancing) where children felt supported by family and staff. Hope was also generated when a child persevered to overcome a challenging task; critically, a trusting environment was necessary to engage the children, a finding especially relevant to the WAP in light of participants’ distrust of services and authorities.

Within a penal context hope has been examined in relation to whether or not imprisonment ‘works’ in terms of reducing reoffending (Burnett & Maruna, 2004), using a simple hope scale focused on perceived ability to achieve a desired outcome. These authors found higher hope correlated with lower rates of reoffending and re-imprisonment over a 10 year period, concluding that imprisonment per se fails as hope is the important factor. Martin and Stermac’s (2010) study of 50 male and 50 female prisoners used Snyder’s original hope scale and found lower hope levels were associated with higher rates of recidivism. Rehabilitation has also been considered in relation to hope, with an emphasis on their two-way relationship (Snyder, Lehman, Kluck & Monsson, 2006); just as hopeful thinking can fuel successful outcomes, so too success can generate hope. Snyder et al (2006) observe that hope may differ qualitatively for different populations.

For present purposes, a core finding of these studies is that hope is an important component of successful and meaningful lives, however it can be diminished – indeed overwhelmed – by exogenous socio-economic difficulties, especially if these are numerous (Burnett & Maruna, 2004) or criminogenic as in over-policing through racial profiling of African refugee youth (see below). Social exclusion is a general manifestation of such difficulties.

**Social Ex/Inclusion**

Despite even the best intentions of host governments and their authorities, a ‘welcome mat’ is not always laid out for refugees and migrants by all host country members. Social exclusion is often a product of host citizens’ lack of knowledge and prejudices against newcomers, who may be seen as strange and ‘foreign’ in appearance, culture, custom and social behaviours. Social exclusion can be based on unfounded fears such as the belief that newcomers take local jobs and deprive existing members of the community of their own hopes for the future. Significantly, notwithstanding the promise of ‘multi-cultural’ Australia (Taylor, 2004), a crucial challenge for refugees/migrants is the loss of cultural identity, requiring reconstruction of the self, which can be “a major source of tension and conflict for families, communities, and service providers” (Fozdar & Hartley 2013: 46; see also Brough, Gorman, Ramirez & Westoby, 2003).

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8 As noted by many researchers, however, these intentions are sometimes suspect to say the least (for example, Taylor, 2004; Dhanji, 2009).
According to Run (2009: 24), “social inclusion was adopted as a melting pot alternative to multiculturalism”. Levitas (2006) discusses the origins and differing conceptualisations of social exclusion and its linkages to poverty within a European context. Recounting five separate definitions, she argues poverty is the key problem, but a job does not guarantee social inclusion. Social ex/inclusion has been defined as “the absence/presence of access to civil, political and social rights” (Social Inclusion Board, 2009: 23). McDonald (2011: 1) defines social inclusion as “the opportunity to participate in society through employment and access to services; connect with family, friends and the local community; deal with personal crises (such as, ill health); and be heard”; and social exclusion is the restriction of such opportunities. Social inclusion has been described as people having the resources, opportunities and capabilities to learn; work; engage with others, services and activities; and be able to influence decisions affecting them (Australian Social Inclusion Board, 2010: 15). Other definitions identify the various dimensions that marginalise and reduce people’s capacity and opportunities to engage and participate in social, economic and political life (Correa-Velez, Gifford & Barnett, 2010; Scutella, Wilkins & Kostenko, 2013).

It is argued that social exclusion can only be defined in relative terms; that is partial or full exclusion, compared to the conditions or circumstances of the majority, and varying across different dimensions, where it is not by choice of the excluded (Saunders, Naidoo & Griffiths, 2008; Correa-Velez, Spaaij and Upham 2012). Some people may be excluded in some domains but not others. Taylor (2004) describes social exclusion in terms of physical separation (asylum seekers in detention); lack of citizenship (Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) holders) and English language skills; racism and discrimination experiences; and exclusion from entitlements associated with certain visa categories that prohibit or limit access to employment, health services, housing, education, income support, resettlement services and family reunion. These factors highlight the structural bases of social exclusion; that political and economic policies that block the active participation of certain groups in a community can thus give rise to the experience of being excluded.

Fangen’s (2010) European study of young immigrants refers to spatial, relational and socio-political exclusions. Spatial exclusion means “unsatisfactory community facilities, such as dilapidated schools, remote shops, poor public transport networks”, which carries in its train social ills including vandalism, riots and social stigma. Relational exclusion involves both subtle interactions and overt face-to-face behaviours, “ways of watching, talking or in other ways relating or not relating to others” (Fangen, 2010: 148). She reminds us of Goffman’s ‘ceremonial distance’ where “people of higher status act as if the other was not there at all” (Fangen, 2010: 148). These exclusionary forms are additional to outright racism such as bullying, name calling or physical violence. Socio-political exclusion includes restrictive immigration policies, denial of citizenship, organization of the welfare system, and the very idea of the nation state built on distinguishing ‘us’
from ‘them’. It is apparent from these writings that the term ‘social ex/inclusion’ is better considered as ex/inclusion in a much wider sense, incorporating not only social life, but also civil, economic, educational, language/communication, spatial/physical and political spheres of human behaviour.

Researchers distinguish between dimensions/indicators and measures of the level of social exclusion (see Scutella et al. 2013). Scutella et al. (2013) list seven ‘life domains’ (such as material resources, employment, education and skills, health and disability, social, community and personal safety) and 29 indicators/measures of social ex/inclusion, with a number of the latter suffering from overlap (such as, ‘unemployed’ versus ‘unemployed or underemployed’; ‘low literacy’ versus ‘poor English proficiency’; and ‘poor general health’ versus ‘poor physical health’). Saunders et al. (2008) developed a series of 27 indicators in three areas (such as disengagement, service exclusion, and economic exclusion). Levitas (2006) argues the necessity of multi-faceted indicators while noting problems in using a large battery of indicators (such as, distinguishing measures, indicators and risk factors) and championing compact sets. She also observes what can be termed the crudeness of some measures (unemployment can be due to many reasons, including reaching retirement age), and the issue of choice, where ‘not having’ may not be due to deprivation. She points out that: ‘The multi-dimensional character of social exclusion makes it difficult to give a headline figure for its overall extent” (Levitas, 2006:152).

Correa-Velez et al. (2012) developed four dimensions (production, consumption, social relations, and services), with 14 indicators (including ‘stopped by police’ and ‘interaction with police’). Their study was conducted with trained ethnic research assistants from the same communities as participants. They employed face-to-face surveys administered to the 233 participants with SPSS statistical analyses (despite non-probabilistic sampling), and semi-structured interviews with 28 participants with thematic analysis (Patton 1990) and open, axial and selective coding procedures following the Grounded Theory Method devised originally by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Fangen (2010) combined quantitative (analysis of existing statistics) and qualitative methods (life story interviews and participant observation) to investigate exclusion in seven countries.

Measures of social ex/inclusion include, comparative to a parent population, levels of income; income distribution; (un)employment rates; types of employment (such as, manual versus professional); educational opportunities and qualifications; English language and literacy; access to social/health/resettlement services; housing accessibility, appropriateness and quality; and, not the least, criminal justice indices such as stop and question, arrest and charge, conviction, and incarceration statistics (see Levitas, 2006; Dhanji, 2009; Correa-Velez, et al. 2012; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013). Notably, there are enormous differences at the level of measures, as readily confirmed by a reading of the above and other sources. Further, all of these measures, among others, relate to themes of well-
being and community capacity, which are also measured in other ways as shown in more detail below.

The evidence of exclusionary realities for recent refugees/migrants to Australia is clear. For example, Dhanji (2009) provides quantitative comparison graphs for 2006 showing Horn of Africa and Sudanese communities have lower median income, higher unemployment and less skilled employment than in the general population. He also documents how literacy remains a problem due to poorly designed and targeted English language classes; and how refugee women are particularly disadvantaged in this respect, education generally, and child-care facilities, and “associate their old fear of government agencies in (their home country) ... to enquiries from Centrelink” (Dhanji, 2009: 167). He recounts cases of refugees being professionals in their home countries only to take low-paid manual/unskilled positions in Melbourne due to non-recognition of qualifications and racism. Similarly, Correa-Velez, et al (2012) report both lack of recognition of refugees’ previous overseas skills and qualifications and their frustration of having to take up low-skilled work despite having obtained Australian tertiary degrees. Fangen (2010: 148) concludes that for some young immigrants “the only way to escape exclusion is also to escape the collective barriers of the neighbourhood”.

Based on 15 years of research (1994 to 2011) Fozdar and Hartley (2013) identified key barriers to social inclusion of refugees resettling in Australia despite a range of services recognized as among the best globally. They observe that refugees face additional challenges to those shared with other newcomers, including pre-resettlement experiences (such as war, displacement and related trauma), lack of coordination among service providers, family unfriendly immigration policies, and sometimes racism arising in the historical context of the White Australia days. They note the dearth of research differentiating refugees from other migrants, the different categories of refugee, and little quantitative work on identified issues. Compared to other immigrants, they report refugees are more vulnerable to unemployment, lower earnings and occupational attainment; accessing housing and education/English language/literacy; poorer health on arrival, barriers to sexual health learning, and past trauma/post-migration stress/mental health issues; and prejudicial attitudes on the part of the wider public (albeit this is not reliably shown in research findings since the evidence is subject to methodological questions).

In an earlier study Taylor (2004) lists similar outcomes of exclusionary policies, noting in relation to detained asylum seekers and TPV holders that mental health issues were greater than in the case of refugees and migrants with

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9 Taylor (2004) correctly observes how government resettlement policies and programs have oscillated in being ‘good’ or ‘best’ practice over the years, swinging with the of the political pendulum and issues of the day.

10 Cf McMichael, Gifford & Correa-Velez (2011) who conclude that it is critical for Australian humanitarian and refugee policy understand the central importance of family support for resettlement.
permanent residency from the same ethnic group. Robinson (2011) also
documents exclusionary realities for African refugees of language/literacy,
qualifications, and employment and income; and she adds issues of citizenship
(low uptake) and gender imbalance (males disproportionate to females)
especially related to Sudanese refugees. In particular, learning English is of pivotal
importance, as it gives "refugee students an ability to learn the language of power ...
or 'power literacy' ... which allows them to move beyond their adversities to
acquire some form of cultural and symbolic capital that could be converted to
economic capital" (Naidoo, 2009: 270). English proficiency is critical to all aspects
of life in Australia, ranging from everyday shopping and bill paying, negotiating
complex bureaucracies, job interviews, understanding what is required on the job,
and interacting with authorities (such as police).

Beirens, Hughes, Hek and Spicer (2007) found that linking refugee/asylum
seeking communities with mainstream services helped to ensure services were
more willing and able to address users' needs. Further, social bonding with other
community members provided support in engaging mainstream services, a sense
of belonging and identity, and emotional benefits in coping with stress and
uncertainty. Both links and bonds were important to preventing social exclusion.
However, they sound a cautionary note in arguing the effectiveness of these links
and bonds was limited due to government policy favouring social bridges to the
wider community through dispersal to areas lacking infrastructure. Although this
study refers to the British situation, it is relevant to similar Australian policies of
regional dispersion, as suggested below.

Exclusionary practices can have life-changing impacts where a refugee can
develop a 'double consciousness' of feeling like a host country person and yet also
be a 'someone else', identifying with a home country community (Hertz &
Johansson, 2012). Or, again, "feeling ... constantly being held back ... (yet) ...future
oriented and quite optimistic of what might come" (Hertz & Johansson 2012: 171).
Notably Scutella et al (2013) point out that social ex/inclusion can vary in
intensity and persistence over time, and that poverty overlaps with but is not
identical to exclusion.

Correa-Velez, et al (2012) found high levels of social exclusion among the
233 resettled refugees of their study in urban and regional Queensland. Regional
participants reported higher levels of dissatisfaction in obtaining help in medical
emergencies, along with service gaps (such as bulk billing). Of particular note was
their discovery that "refugee men in regional areas were significantly more likely
than their urban counterparts to report overall experiences of discrimination,
discrimination while accessing services, discrimination in public places, and also
more likely to have been stopped by police" (Correa-Velez, et al. 2012: 175).
However, they also note that "participants in both urban and regional areas felt
targeted by police, especially while driving a car" (Correa-Velez, et al. 2012: 178).
Discrimination and misconduct by police against newly arrived migrants and refugees – for example, through racial profiling – is one aspect of social exclusion (CMY, 2014), and one that “ranks at the top” according to Run (2013: 24). It is a crucial aspect since police in refugees’ home countries are often the perpetrators of the violence and fear that drove them to seek safety elsewhere (CMY, 2014). Racial profiling by police can result in alienation, social rejection, disengagement, reluctance to report crime, distrust of police and lower levels of health and well-being (Ontario Human Rights Commission [OHRC], 2003; CMY 2014: 10). Run (2013) describes examples of racial profiling in Melbourne recounted by refugees and the bitter irony of its effects on them as adding a second layer of vulnerability to that already existing from the travails of flight from their home country. It similarly crushes the hope of profiled migrants generally. Higgs (2013) has also cogently documented racial profiling and its effects on young African refugees, including criminalisation, in her description of the WAP and PAP in the area of Flemington/Kensington, Melbourne.

The Scottish Executive (2003) observed that combating social exclusion promotes the well-being of both individuals and their communities, the next theme of discussion.

### Well-being

The notion of well-being is multi-dimensional and difficult to define and measure (Pollard & Lee, 2003; Thomas, 2009; Forgeard, Jayawickreme, Kern & Seligman, 2011). It is an umbrella term that echoes similar notions of ‘quality of life’ and ‘life satisfaction’ (Fozdar & Torezani, 2008). Well-being has nonetheless been conceptualised as a stable state of equilibrium in which a person’s psychological, social and physical resources and challenges are balanced (Dodge, Daly, Huyton & Sanders, 2012). Despite a lack of definitional consensus, well-being is seen as consisting of, at least, the presence of positive emotional states such as contentment or happiness, and the absence of negative emotional states such as depression or anxiety, along with a sense of life satisfaction, fulfilment and positive functioning (CDC 2013).

The resource-based model of post-migration psychological well-being (Ryan, Dooley & Benson 2008), highlights the limitations of conceptualising well-being in purely medical, psychosocial or even intercultural terms, since these fail to account for the social conditions shaping and sustaining stressful demands on a society’s members (including refugees/migrants). Ryan et al (2008) argue that well-being is fundamentally a matter of having the personal, material, social and cultural resources required to meet the demands of life, and thus satisfy basic physiological and psychological needs. Similarly, it has been considered in terms of community well-being, involving positive affirmation of worth via participative relationships that ensure listening and respecting views; access to local amenities, services and opportunities; and personal safety and financial security; hence,
social inclusion (Scottish Executive, 2003). That is, the well-being of individuals and communities is closely tied to social inclusion.

Subjective well-being can be measured, according to Helliwell and Putnam (2014), “using relatively simple self-rating questions about ‘happiness’ and ‘life-satisfaction’” (p. 1435). This typically relies on self-reports, a fundamentally different approach to using ‘objective measures’ such as unemployment levels or household income, which are often used to assess well-being; both are desirable, wherever possible (CDC 2013). Nonetheless, the measurement of well-being – especially for youth and children – faces many challenges including the use of disparate measures and hence lack of comparability between studies (Hicks, Newton, Haynes & Evans, 2011).

Regarding refugee communities, Gifford, Bakopanos, Kaplan & Correa-Velez (2007) emphasise the need for participatory action research within a multi-method, longitudinal design to develop trust and methodological rigor. In the Good Starts pilot study, they employed a settlement journal where participants recorded experiences over time through drawings, photos and open-ended short questions, journey maps, and standardized health and well-being instruments. Participants were assisted with a bicultural worker, interpreter or multicultural education aide. They also adapted the Heikkinen (2000) Social Circle to provide numerical and nominal (qualitative) data on social networks in Australia and overseas involving family/relatives, friends and others. Fozdar and Torezani (2008) used snowball sampling to recruit 150 refugees, administering a survey, a series of seven follow-up interviews and four focus groups, including free-flowing unstructured questions. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected, and examined in terms of frequencies, means, standard deviations, correlations and scales, and thematic content analysis. Interestingly, despite not having a probability sample, they also undertook statistical tests of significance (cf, Correa-Velez, et al. 2012, above).

In later work of the Good Starts research stream, McMichael, Gifford and Correa-Velez (2011), used the settlement journal as well as qualitative data collection via field notes, in-depth interviews and informal discussions. They performed a thematically directed content analysis of qualitative data. They also used SPSS software for statistical analysis of data collected through standardized questions and scales common in survey studies of adolescent well-being. McCarthy and Marks (2010) undertook participatory action research to examine factors that hindered and promoted the well-being of asylum seeking children. They developed a well-being framework of 34 factors which was employed to generate qualitative participants’ views which were then subjected to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006). The framework included overall life satisfaction and happiness, physical and mental health, self-esteem, family and friend relationships, sense of purpose and control, safety, and hope/aspirations.
Correa-Velez et al (2010: 1403) used the World Health Organisation Quality of Life–Bref (WHOQOL-BREF) questionnaire\(^\text{11}\) of 26 items to measure well-being, including daily activities, dependence on medication, negative/positive feelings, personal relationships and social support. Mcfarlane et al (2011) documented work on psychosocial indicators of well-being for refugee children and youth. Their complex framework encompassed psychological and emotional factors, family, connections to social groups and community, and contextual moderators, encompassing 28 items. They argue for a holistic, multi-faceted approach to understanding and measuring the well-being of refugee children whose experiences are distinctive as well as sharing features with other needful youth. Fozdar and Torezani (2008) note two basic approaches as culture-bound individual-oriented measures of well-being through questions like ‘how satisfied are you with your life as a whole?’ and ‘objective’ population-oriented foci on resources necessary for a secure material life (such as money, property, knowledge).

In the context of young refugees’ traumatic experiences, Brough et al. (2003) point out that trauma specifically is neither static nor unchanging; nor is it simply understood within categories such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or Acculturation Stress. Rather, it is potentially fluid over time, reflecting backwards to the past and looking hopefully to the future, and best comprehended as an individual’s experience within a wider social context. Further, noting Kleinman’s (1977; 1987) notion of a ‘category fallacy’ – the mistaken application of a culturally developed and specific category from one cultural group to another without checking for validity – Tempany (2009: 304) argues, “simply being able to elicit symptoms of an illness in another culture does not mean that the symptoms have the same meaning and significance in that culture”. Thus, Western developed indicators and measures need to be cross-culturally validated not simply applied to non-Western refugees/migrants. These observations suggest the critical importance of involving, for example, young African refugees as participant evaluators of the WAP, using and interpreting interview materials via their understandings, and member-checking results.

In a study of Melbourne refugee youth Correa-Velez et al. (2010) found well-being was linked to social exclusion, with the most important indicators being bullying and discrimination. The negative impact of discrimination on health and well-being of newly arrived youth was also identified by Mesch Turjeman and Fishman (2008); Ellis, Macdonald, Lincoln and Cabal (2008); and Montgomery and Foldspang (2008). Engagement in protracted and unfamiliar legal processes is a source of additional stress and untoward health impacts on the newly arrived migrant/refugee in the Flemington/Kensington area (Higgs, 2013). The need for an integrated legal and health approach has been identified in the research literature, albeit such a project is not without its challenges (Noone, 2009). Of

\(^\text{11}\) Gifford, Bakopanos, Kaplan and Correa-Velez (2007) also employed this instrument, noting validity problems in using standardized instruments, but offset by method triangulation.
interest, Correa-Velez et al (2010) found well-being was predicted by youths’ perceived social status of their families in the broader community and not social status in school or perceived family status in their ethnic community. These authors note perceived discrimination, bullying and subjective social status in the broader community as indicators of (not) belonging (social ex/inclusion). In a contrary vein, Fozdar and Torezani (2008) explain why perceived racism is not always felt by refugees to negate their well-being by referring to relative gratification, personal resiliency and socio-personal supports as explanations.

Helliwell and Putnam (2004) report strong links between social capital and well-being through marriage and family, friendship and neighbourhood networks, workplace ties, civic engagements, all involving trust and trustworthiness. McCarthy and Marks (2010) found improving well-being involved, inter alia, access to legal advice and support; opportunities to build social networks; access to education; and training health and social services staff to identify mental health issues and to provide referrals for support. “Like other children, participants want to feel safe and secure, be allowed to be themselves, have the same opportunities as others and have meaningful relationships with family, friends and their wider community” (McCarthy & Marks, 2010: 593).

Tempany (2009) reviewed the small but diverse research on the mental health and psychosocial well-being of Sudanese refugees in particular. She reports high rates of psychopathology (especially PTSD and depression), however self-report data indicate they are more concerned with current stressors like family problems than past trauma. She also noted the seemingly paradoxical findings of many research articles of “both the high levels of resilience and the high levels of psychological distress of Sudanese refugees” (Tempany 2009: 311).

The importance of family to successful resettlement of young refugees is highlighted by McMichael et al. (2011). Their longitudinal Good Starts study of 120 Melbourne youth found well-being is fostered by supportive family relationships, but it can be threatened by changing family dynamics, especially in the early years of resettlement, with considerable fluidity in household composition and where young refugees engage new host country social values. Interpersonal conflicts, marriage, overcrowding, transition to independent living, arrival of family members, separation of parents, intergenerational tensions and cultural dis/continuity12 (such as discipline, alcohol use, sexual identity, arranged marriages) were all factors in these dynamics. Young people described declining family attachment with an increasing loss of trust by parents and families who

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12 The challenge of cultural tension and conflict especially for young refugees/migrants is well documented in the literature (see Griffiths, Savrikar & Muir 2009; Colic-Peisker & Walker 2003; Brough et al. 2003; Bhatia & Ram 2001; Berry 1997; Gatwech Puoch ‘Intergenerational Conflict, Changes and resolutions within the Sudanese Community: parents vs young people’ Accessed: 5nov09 http://sora.aks.net.au/publish.php?subaction=showfull&id=1158831414&archive=&start_from=&ucat=38&). Yet research evidence shows the relationship between acculturation/cultural adaptation and mental health is unclear (Brough et al. 2003).
were too strict. “Specific challenges include changes in role and responsibilities within the family, financial difficulties, under-employment or difficult working conditions, lack of affordable housing, language barriers, discrimination and racism” McMichael et al. (2011: 186); hence, clear linkages with social exclusionary forces. They emphasise, however, that “[m]ost families and youth actively rebuild family life … (which) is central to their well-being and sense of belonging” (McMichael et al. 2011: 190). The notion of rebuilding suggests group resilience despite high levels of individual distress, recalling Tempany's (2009) earlier finding.

**Community Capacity**

The realisation of migrant/refugees’ hope depends in large part upon the host country providing the resources and opportunities that facilitate both life and well-being, and ensuring there are no impediments to community capacity building by refugees/migrants themselves.

Community capacity building refers to the “increase in community groups' abilities to define, assess, analyse and act on ... concerns of importance to their members” depending on their resource opportunities or constraints and living conditions (Gibbon, Labonte & Laverack, 2002: 485). Gibbon et al. (2002) note the kinship of community capacity building, community development and community empowerment, its intent of socio-political change, and the key role of community members (as distinct from that of interested outsiders) in these endeavours. This is akin to a critical theory that “considers possible ways of transforming social environments to reduce the stressful demands they place on their inhabitants” (Ryan et al. 2008: 4-5). Goodman, Speers, McLeroy, Fawcett, Kegler, Parker, et al. (1998) report on a symposium of experts from a variety of fields whose aim to formulate a consensus on measurable dimensions of community capacity suggest some of the ways to do so. They identified dimensions of participation, leadership, skills, resources, social and inter-organisational networks, sense of community, community power, understanding community history, community values and critical reflection.

With these thoughts in mind, community capacity can be measured by a ranking matrix of community members’ responses to broad questions, where group members are crucially involved in determining evaluation criteria through their answers (Gibbon et al. 2002: 488). The ‘domains’ (areas of questioning) of this matrix cover issues of ‘organisation’, ‘representation’, ‘resources’, ‘leadership’, ‘management’, ‘needs’, ‘linkages’ and ‘implementation’. Laverack (1999) proffered a similar domain set. Ryan et al. (2008) offer their model as a guide to in-depth interviews with resettled refugees: “A simple semi-structured interview can be developed to examine the individual’s resources, needs, goals and demands in each of the temporal phases of pre-migration, flight and post-migration, as well as perceived constraints in the host society” (Ryan et al. 2008: 15). As these authors state, the intent and use of such interviews as a means of
measuring community capacity is to give refugees a voice. The essential strength of community member determination of evaluation criteria for a program (such as WAP) in these or other ways is that it reflects what actually happens in the program and empowers community members to assume the continuing work of building community capacity.

The Scottish Executive (2003) noted individual well-being and community well-being are interdependent and together with social inclusion impact development of community capacity to thrive. The incipient development of community capacity is reported in the literature. For instance, Fozdar and Hartley (2013: 42-43) note a “key feature of refugee communities as they become established is a formalization of volunteer work that members undertake to assist their compatriots in the settlement process ... (which is) understood as a community obligation”. This is clearly true of Australia’s refugee communities. It is apparent that Australian African refugees in particular are resilient, self-mobilising and active in community capacity building.

Muldoon and Liddell (2009) list mainly Sudanese but also other African refugee community development organisations in Australia. There are African Australian support organizations at the national level, such as the African Think Tank (www.att.org.au). Its vision is self-reliant, integrated, sustainable and flourishing refugee communities and community organisations in Victoria and Australia. Its mission is to be the voice of refugee communities, mainly African Australians in Victoria. It undertakes public advocacy; development of policy advice; community capacity building; and training, advice and support to government and community organisations to ensure accessible and effective service delivery, especially in regards to settlement. The AfricanOZ directory lists a range of African community organizations throughout Australia.

The Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (FECCA) is the peak, national body representing Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. The Australian Multicultural Foundation (AMF) aims to promote awareness, respect, understanding and commitment to a multicultural Australia among its citizens by, for instance, initiating projects and programs in consultation and in partnership in any worthwhile field or activity. A large part of the work of the Ecumenical Migration Centre (EMC) of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence (BSL) is focused on ‘helping refugees to settle in Australia and to rebuild their lives as Australians’. EMC conducts research to find solutions and also publishes Migration Action, the only national independent journal on refugee immigration and multicultural issues. Solid foundations exist, therefore, for building and maintaining the community capacity of refugees and migrants generally, and African Australians specifically, in Victoria and Australia.

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13 http://www.africanoz.com/af_directory/comm.html
14 http://amf.net.au/partners/fecca/
Even so, refugees and migrants confront obstacles that generally do not block host country citizens in local community developments. Run (2013) argues, ironically, that there is a dynamic arising from practices like racial profiling that promotes the development of ghettos, not the kind of self-sustaining and self-improving communities envisaged in the ‘community capacity’ discourse. Individuals suffering racial discrimination come together for support and protection, become even more visible to the general public and to police who engage in ‘community policing’. This dynamic reflects racial profiling of the policed community, and risks social exclusion through ghettoization (the physical separation of those policed). Robinson’s (2011) detailed examination of the number, nominated identity, composition and periods of arrival of Sudanese people to Australia brought her to the conclusion that there is a: mismatch between long-term Sudan-born residents and newcomers, and the very rapid rate of growth in their numbers (has) resulted in many newly arrived Sudan-born entrants having very limited access to community support to guide their settlement (p. 38).

Further, she observes that the recent drastic decline in intake numbers of Sudanese refugees has challenged effective settlement by denying the dream of family reunification.

Figure 1, below, depicts the multi-directional, mutually reinforcing dynamic interrelationships among the four themes articulated in the literature review.

**Figure 1: Interrelationships between the four literature themes**

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**Therapeutic jurisprudence: A framework and rationale**

The concepts of hope, well-being, community capacity and social exclusion are embedded in the WAP’s broader philosophical perspective. As a project specifically designed to provide socio-legal support to increase the well-being of vulnerable individuals, families and communities, *Walking Alongside* is
underpinned by principles of therapeutic jurisprudence. From this perspective, the law and legal processes – including law enforcement, prosecution, advocacy, adjudication and punishment – have consequences that can be both helpful (‘therapeutic’) and harmful (‘anti-therapeutic’) in their effects (Wexler, 1990; Wexler & Winick, 1996). The idea that legal processes and legal actors have the potential to cause harm to the emotional life and psychological well-being of individuals and communities, as well as the potential to function as therapeutic agents (Wexler & Winick, 1996), is the principle at the heart of therapeutic jurisprudence.

This perspective arose out of the area of mental health law in the 1980s (Wexler, 1990; Wexler & Winick, 1991; King, 2008). It has developed as a field of enquiry and an orientation towards practice in legal and justice settings. A therapeutic jurisprudence approach aims to recognise and ameliorate the often unintended consequences of people’s contact with the legal/justice system. This involves, firstly, empirical research to explore those consequences and determine whether they are helpful or harmful and, secondly, the application of research findings ‘to transform laws, rules, procedures, and the behaviour of legal actors in a manner that promotes well-being’ (Babb & Wexler, 2014: 5202). Therapeutic jurisprudence therefore offers a framework for the WAP itself and for the evaluation of its outcomes.

The WAP’s target population includes people seen as already vulnerable due to their refugee and/or migrant experiences of socio-cultural dislocation, trauma and alienation. Their experiences with legal processes, procedures and personnel (including lawyers and police) are seen as intensifying this vulnerability by generating fear, distrust and uncertainty. Such consequences affect the mental health of individuals and the social health of communities struggling to establish and sustain cohesion, identity and well-being at a collective level. Legal needs are thus closely entwined with – indeed cannot be separated from – the social, family, health and support needs of individuals within the context of their communities. Promoting positive outcomes across these interconnected domains requires an integrated approach to health and legal support and education. Being attuned to these wider ramifications of legal processes and the implications for practice is what characterises the work of the FKCLC, and the WAP (and the CAALAS that inspired it), as therapeutic jurisprudence.

In sum, the subjective and interactional nature of the concepts explored in the literature review shapes the rationale for the research design, and the choice of a constructionist interpretive approach to the evaluation.

**Methodology**

The evaluation comprised largely qualitative methods supplemented by some quantitative data. This mixed methods approach is framed by a constructionist methodology (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Silverman, 2006). This formulation of ‘social constructionism’ sees people and the social world as constructed through
human interactions, and 'reality' as inherently contingent upon socio-cultural context (Hepburn, 2006). This approach was appropriate for the aims of the evaluation, to discover the subjective experiences of participants in a social support program such as the WAP.

We sought to collect qualitative data via in-depth face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with FKCLC staff, support workers at other agencies, and past and current participants in the PAP and WAP, as well as members of their family and/or community where possible. Access refers to the process of gaining and maintaining entry to a setting or social group, so that social research can be undertaken (Coffey, 2006). Access to the research setting and interview participants was afforded by the researchers' working relations with staff at the FKCLC. Access is also part of a process of active engagement with cultural settings and social actors, and highlights the need to work at ethical research relationships (Coffey, 2006). Ethical and cultural considerations about engaging with individuals and communities of Sudanese and refugee backgrounds were discussed with FKCLC staff.

The sampling strategies employed were purposive, that is, they focused on individuals with particular subjective experience and/or knowledge of the PAP and/or WAP, who could best enable the evaluation questions to be answered, and who had capacity and willingness to participate in the research (Oliver, 2006). These strategies included expert and critical case sampling, described as follows:

- **Expert sampling** is a purposive sampling technique used to glean knowledge from individuals that have particular expertise. This strategy can be used to open doors to other participants.

- **Critical case sampling** is a type of purposive sampling technique that is particularly useful in exploratory qualitative research, research with limited resources, as well as research where a single case, or small number of cases, can be key to explaining the phenomenon of interest, such as participation in the PAP and the WAP (Flick, 2014).

### WAP evaluation questions:

The WAP implementation objectives provided a broader context for the specific evaluation questions below to be addressed. In addition, recalling the WAP participant outcome objectives, these are:

- Enhanced legal, health and educational outcomes for clients
- Enhanced police accountability outcomes and measures
- Significant improvements in client health and well-being indicators
- Enhanced community capacity, safety and resilience
- Reduction in social exclusion and barriers to justice experienced by refugee and migrant communities.
- An effective model of an integrated health and legal program for replication.
The following questions are formulated specifically in relation to these objectives:

1) What are the legal outcomes for WAP participants?
2) What are the health outcomes for WAP participants?
3) What are the educational outcomes for WAP participants?
4) What police accountability outcomes and measures have been reported?
5) Have WAP participants’ health and well-being improved? In what ways?
6) Has there been an increase in community capacity, safety and resilience?
7) Do community members report any reduction in social exclusion (or increased sense of social inclusion)? If so, in what form?
8) Do community members report any reduction in barriers to justice (or increased sense of access to justice)? If so, in what form?
9) Is the WAP an effective model of an integrated health and legal program for replication? If not, why not?

It was anticipated that many of the men and women – former and current participants in the WAP – would be invited to participate in interviews. What was not known at the time was the take-up rate for the interviews.

**Inclusion and exclusion criteria**

The project applied the following inclusion criteria:

- Current WAP participants whose engagement with the program is ongoing.
- Previous WAP participants whose engagement with the program has ceased.
- Family and/or community members of current participants in the WAP.
- Family and/or community members of past participants in the WAP.
- Current and former FKCLC staff with past or current involvement in the WAP.
- Support workers at other agencies with whom the WAP frequently intersects and overlaps, including:
  - Youth Support and Advocacy Service (YSAS), Sunshine
  - Centre for Multicultural Youth, Sunshine
  - Drummond St Youth Services, Carlton

This project applied the following exclusion criteria. These were based on ethical considerations and to avoid the potential for harm or self-incrimination:

- Participants of the WAP who are currently imprisoned or under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice.
- Participants in the WAP who are currently involved in court proceedings related to criminal charges.
- Participants of the WAP who are ill or hospitalised.

**Ethical issues and approval**

Ethics approval was sought from the RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) in June 2014. A letter of approval and support for the evaluation of the
WAP from the Board of the Flemington & Kensington Community Legal Centre (dated 3rd June 2014) provided formal permission to conduct the evaluation.

The HREC approval end date was initially 31st December 2014. Approval was granted to undertake an analysis of up to 20 files of WAP clients, focus groups and individual interviews. Ethics clearance for collection of information related to the WAP files excluded participants’ legal case files.

As there were considerable problems in obtaining sufficient WAP clients for interview the chief researcher applied to the HREC for an extension of time with the hope that more WAP clients would be secured for interviewed. This was obtained and the ethics approval was continued until 30th June 2015.

Ethical issues taken into account included potential risks to the researchers and/or research participants. For example, in the event of any unforeseen adverse events, where appropriate, the researchers minimised any potential risk to participants’ well-being by providing contact details for the Doutta Galla Community Health Service. This counselling and support service is familiar to WAP clients and their families in the Flemington and Kensington area.

**Recruitment issues and limitations**

The researchers had intended to post recruitment flyers (see Appendix 1), advertising the research and inviting enquiries and participation at the FKCLC and other relevant community organisations. However the flyers for recruitment of participants were not used as it became obvious that the clients did not relate to the program name, that is the ‘Walking Alongside program.’ Their relationships were much more associated with the place (‘Flem/Ke’n’) and the people (the current and past YEOs) than a ‘program’ and program name. It seemed irrelevant to our recruitment efforts, which relied much more on word of mouth and direct communication via trusted relationships. In addition, one of the researchers attended a regular Friday afternoon barbeque for WAP clients in the hope of engaging sufficiently for some WAP clients to agree to participate in an interview for the research.

It was hoped that the FKCLC would provide the evaluation team with tickets to a sporting event, such as soccer or AFL football to be offered to WAP clients and their family and/or community members who participated in interviews, as a gesture of appreciation for their participation rather than compensation. This did not occur but efforts were made to provide some with vouchers.

The names and contact details of potential participants were obtained in the first instance via the FKCLC. The FKCLC CEO, lawyers and the YEO who manages the WAP were invited to participate in interviews at the FKCLC. The YEO provided the names and contact details of support workers at other agencies, who were contacted by the researchers and invited to participate in the research.
WAP clients and their family and/or community members were contacted by the YEO, who already had established working relationships with these clients. The YEO asked clients for permission to provide the researchers with their contact details. Following the researchers’ initial contact with potential participants, each client was provided with the appropriate PCIF (see Appendix 2). Clients and family and community members were recruited mainly from Flemington and Kensington, Sunshine and surrounding areas.

**Data collection**

There were two processes used to collect data for the evaluation: WAP file analysis and individual interviews. The project was conducted in and around the inner western suburbs of Melbourne – Kensington, Flemington, Footscray and Sunshine – beginning with the FKCLC located at 22 Bellair Street, Kensington.

**WAP files**

Twenty past and current files of the WAP were analysed. These files included information on the role of the PAP for the people being supported by WAP. The collation of the file data provided a quantitative element comprising the collation of data collected by WAP staff about WAP participants’ health and legal outcomes. This data was used to compile a broad picture of the implementation of the WAP, and has been used by the researchers to determine the extent to which WAP implementation objectives have been attained. This was especially important given the low take-up rate of the interviews from WAP clients and their family members. We ascribed codes to each file to ensure anonymity. The codes related to the file list that was obtained from the YEO and codes were ascribed to the 25 file entries as PP01 – PP025.

**Interviews**

The researchers undertook 13 interviews in total for this evaluation (see Appendix 3 for the 3 different interview schedules). The number of WAP clients interviewed was significantly fewer than we had hoped. Interviewing commenced in early September 2014 and concluded in early June 2015. Interview notes were taken and the interviews tape recorded where participant permission was granted. Interviews were conducted with the following individuals:

- Four WAP clients – 1 female and 3 males
- One family member (female)
- Three FKCLC professional staff (1 male and 2 female staff)
- Five support staff (1 male and 4 female staff)

Prior to undertaking qualitative data analysis, the interview data were treated as follows. Interviews were transcribed verbatim (by an external transcription service) and coded to ensure participant anonymity. The audio recordings were replayed where necessary by the chief researcher as the transcriptions often had missing or incomplete data. The recordings were
subsequently destroyed. The transcriptions will be kept in line with RMIT policy for 5 years. The following research codes were ascribed:

- WAP participants interviewed: YP01–YP04;
- Family member interviewed: FM01
- FKCLC staff interviewed: FKCLC01–FKCLC 03
- Professionals from external support agencies: SP01–SP05

Interview data was analysed using qualitative content analysis to develop themes which provided context for the outcomes (Mayring, 2000).

**Results of the file analysis**

Twenty of the 25 WAP files were reviewed. The 20 were selected as they had been or were active. Five files had insufficient or no information for review. Of the files reviewed, 18 participants were male and two were female. 12 clients identified as from Sudan or South Sudan, two Somalian, two Australian, and others from Djibouti, Liberia, Kenya, and Ethiopia. In terms of the age of commencement on the program, twelve WAP clients commenced involvement between 15 and 20 years of age, five between the ages of 21 to 26; two clients were in their early 30s and one was aged 50 at the commencement of contact. 12 were current clients but it was clear from the review of the files that engagement was episodic: clients sometimes stopped contact then reconnected with the WAP over time.

Also evident from the file study was the breadth and depth of the YEO’s very complex role. A significant amount of outreach work included a range of support with housing, employment, training, drug and alcohol issues, mental health, being a broker between the client and their family, support to the family, providing support for people imprisoned, writing court reports, referrals to other agencies, and advocacy and follow up work relating to inaccurate birth certificates. The list of services and range of support provided was extensive and showed the complex negotiations and case management work that YEOs undertook as part of their holistic approach to working with their clients. Alongside this was the need to consider and improve the well-being of their client in an effort to achieve improved outcomes for individuals and their family. Further, the YEOs provided advocacy and brokerage with legal and non-legal practitioners, translating often complex advice and instructions, as part of their case management role. There was no doubt that the YEO provided unconditional care and support to the clients on their case load.

**Prison support**

The profile of the clients in the WAP files told a story of young people who were caught up in the criminal justice systems with some as young as 15 being placed in an adult prison due to inaccurate or lack of birth certificates or proof of age documents. Others had inadequate health support in prison. These issues required constant advocacy with continuous letters when inadequate responses were provided relating to court appearances, medical appointments, visits, and so
on. Examples included young men not appearing in court from prison which resulted in delays in their sentencing; and hospital appointments not followed up by the prison system, such as one man with a broken jaw who did not receive timely medical help, resulting in permanent damage and eating difficulties.

The advocacy that was obvious from the file transcripts showed commitment to pursue issues relentlessly. Examples are too numerous to document but generally relate to identifying pathways out of prison for successful reintegration, such as: attempts to secure housing for clients the day they were released from prison (this required advocacy across the prisons and housing services); help with Centrelink; referrals to drug services; family liaison and so on. Another example involved numerous contacts with Red Cross to locate an adolescent’s mother who was in Africa when he was arrested.

The YEOs wrote of undertaking contacts and well-being checks for young men in prison (PP02, PP05, PP08, PP010, PP019, PP021, PP024). The well-being checks often related to the mental health issues the young men were facing. Success often hinged on the willingness of programs to provide support. Some of the men were considered too ‘high need’ for a particular program necessitating that the YEO make numerous complex referrals to obtain assistance for their client. Other problems arose when a ‘high needs’ client was released from prison without any preparation, very little money or notification to the YEO.

**Case study PP024**

A WAP participant due to “technically [a] non-legal issue”, PP024 was identified by the PAP and WAP workers as a very vulnerable young man at risk of racial profiling and/or mistreatment by police, based on his previous experience of the criminal justice system. An earlier incident appeared to be due to overcrowding in police cells and three months elapsing before Corrections Victoria brought him to court. At the age of 15, but because of an incorrect birth date, he was incarcerated in an adult prison, even though he was assessed as being suitable for a Community Based Order. His subsequent mental health issues were attributable to this experience of imprisonment. Given his vulnerability and the complexity of his needs, intensive support was provided to this young man following his release from custody.

**Community support**

The profile of the clients receiving community support told a story of vulnerable and troubled young people many of whom had experienced traumatic life events and these were often compounded by their treatment from police. They often expressed feelings of hopelessness, they were alone, isolated or had little or no family support. They were vulnerable to negative peers and were regularly targeted by police. The YEOs wrote of initiating regular contacts and conducting well-being checks for young people they were supporting in the community (PP06, PP09, PP012, PP024, PP025).
Case study PP09

PP09's file referred to "the 6-year-long police case" having a significant impact on PP09's well-being as bail conditions meant he was unable to obtain a job. He was anxious and depressed as he was unsure of the outcome of his appeal hearing. This protracted experience affected PP09's mental health; this led to the need for a mental health plan to be developed, implemented and supported.

Other support included training and employment referrals, housing referrals, family liaisons and support, court and legal advocacy, assistance with finances, fines counselling, advocacy including criminal proceedings, such as at the police stations, support for diversion programs. It was clear from reading the majority of files that objective of the YEO's role was to improve the overall well-being of the WAP client group. Due to the complexity of the client group, their vulnerability and traumatic life experiences this was often a difficult task. Alongside this were problems in accessing appropriate services and support as well as the problems associated with negotiating with the criminal justice system. All of the information presented above was substantiated in the interview material that will now be outlined.

Results of interviews

WAP client interviews

The four young people interviewed were aged between 18 and 25 years; three were male (YP01-YP03), and one female (YP04). The three young men had been clients of FKCLC for between four and six years. The young woman had been a client for two years. The young men had commenced involvement with the PAP, prior to the WAP, and two were successful litigants in a significant racial profiling case against Victoria Police. When the WAP program commenced the three young men were supported by the YEO at the commencement of that program. Prior to the commencement of WAP YP01 had received some support from a service in a northern suburb of Melbourne. The young woman received support from WAP from the time she made contact with FKCLC.

YP01 talked about the range of supports he received from the YEO, including support and understanding when he was going through the court system and when he was in prison. This included explaining the court process, being there with him through this process, and keeping in touch with him when he was in prison. He talked about the personal support the WAP had provided to him but also the practical assistance that the YEO was giving to obtain his birth certificate. This was a considerable problem in that, because he did not have evidence of an accurate date of birth, this led to him being charged, sentenced and imprisoned as an adult.

YP02 said that the support he received prior to the establishment of the WAP program was not intensive even though a worker from a Sunshine drop in-centre
“had a big role in kick starting the whole thing” (meaning the racial profiling case against the police). YW02 said that when the YEO commenced she took an

extra interest in what was happening outside of the case, in our lives you know, I think she did more than her job description ... so it made it easy for us as well, some of us were in need of more help than others but it made it easier for us to continue with the case.

YP02 thus hints at the protracted nature of the legal proceedings and the motivation and encouragement needed to continue. He also referred to the support the YEO gave related to the racial profiling case. He said the YEO was able to explain things and keep him and others up to date with legal issues. YP02 explained the importance of the support, and the recognition of individual needs and cultural differences:

all the Africans, we’re from different places ... some might have had more criminal history than others ... everybody is treated as different and some had more support than others externally as well, family support so yeah she kind of filled the void for different people’s situations.

YP02 talked about problems African young people have trying to get jobs or into courses at TAFE. He said that without the support from the YEO their chances of moving on with their life would be negligible. YP02 also referred to the importance of the support given by the YEO to help young people deal with the discrimination they face from the police. He said that the police pick on Africans “cos we stand out.” He went on to say that there is a need for police to “understand that everyone is equal and should be treated so.” He gave an example of someone he knew who had been physically assaulted by police 30 times who received no help from Legal Aid. YP02 said, from his own experience, Legal Aid were only interested in offering a person representation if they plead guilty, and that the police exploit this and try to intimidate African young people in court. YP04 made the same comment about Legal Aid and the discrimination she faced from the police.

YP03 said that the YEO provided a bridge between himself and the lawyers by providing help with issues he was facing at the time. The contact was very regular, at least once a week. The YEO was able to provide support when the court case was proceeding and helped him focus on his own priorities, though he did not elaborate on these. YP03 did say that the YEO made a real difference and helped the “fear to go away.” This fear was related to the court case against the police. Both YP01 and YP04 talked about mistaken identities when approached by police. They felt intimidated and discriminated against, but that the YEO helped them through this time.

YP03 also felt that without the support of the YEO, he and others may not have continued with their case against the police. He talked about the YEO’s strength as a “people person” and her ability to engage and connect with him and others quickly. YP03 expressed some surprise that this had occurred, considering
that they had lost trust in other youth workers and social workers. Further he felt that the YEO had their interests at heart and ‘stuck with them’ regardless of what was going on at the time, as well as helping them with all kinds of day to day issues such as employment, housing, accommodation and so on.

For YP04 the support and assistance the YEO provided was substantial. She referred to being reminded of and collected for appointments, and linked to other support services such as Youth Support and Advocacy Service (YSAS). She received a range of help and assistance and was referred to the PAP for advice on a problem she had with police. When YP04 discussed the issue she had with the police she received “unconditional support” from the YEO and a legal strategy from PAP to assist with her court appearance. YP04 said that, up to that time, legal advice had been to plead guilty to an offence she felt she hadn’t committed. She talked about young people in her situation having no power and no recourse to “fair justice” without the help of services such as PAP and WAP. While she did not agree with the outcome of her court appearance (she was placed on a diversion program) she was grateful that she was believed by the PAP and WAP workers.

The four young people interviewed all said that there was no situation in which the WAP had not helped them. For YP01, given he had no family support, this was very important to him. All said they would recommend the service to others who needed intensive support and assistance. YP03 said that having the YEO was critical but that this person was stretched and additional resources were required. YP03 also said that he believed the service could be extended to regional settings where others like them needed practical help and support.

Professional interviews

These interviews were undertaken in FKCLC and at the Visy Cares Hub in Sunshine. As described above purposive expert sampling was used to select the interviewees. Table 1 provides a brief profile of the professional interviews. Both FKCLC staff (FKCLC01 – FKCLC03) and other support professionals (SP01-SP05) are included in the same table.

Table 1: Professionals by work experience and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Work Experience</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SP01</td>
<td>2 years of youth work experience in Kensington – many years of working with disengaged young people.</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP02</td>
<td>Four years working with young people.</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP03</td>
<td>Five years working with young people in the Sunshine area.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP04</td>
<td>Drug work over a number of years, in the Sunshine area for just over 12 months.</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP05</td>
<td>Case management role with 18-25 year olds in Sunshine for 5+ years but extensive periods of working with disengaged young people.</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following provides information from the interview transcripts and recordings.

**Understanding of the WAP**

The WAP was established to fill a need for 'walking alongside' support for those people who come to the FKCLC about their mistreatment by police. SP01 and FKCLC01, 02, 03 referred the important role of the WAP to support vulnerable and predominantly young people (a very small number were aged over 25 and up to 50) who had commenced litigation against police, as without this support they became disillusioned and exhausted by the legal processes and many withdrew their claims. An example given was that at least 16 young people commenced proceedings against the police in 2005/6 and only 6 completed the litigation process several years later, in 2013. The result was positive for these young people who settled the claim with police and for others in the community who benefited vicariously and symbolically. Some of the claimants have become instrumental – together with FKCLC – in raising awareness of the systemic and institutional biases confronting migrant/refugee individuals and communities.

FKCLC01 said that without the YEO’s role it would be likely that more people

*would have fallen through the cracks in terms of social welfare help, or not proceeded with their police accountability matters – either initiated or continued with them.*

Comments from all the professionals indicated that providing support to people who are involved in litigation is critical, as not only have they been subject to police discrimination and often traumatised by this, but they must endure a taxing, stressful, protracted and complicated process. Prior to the WAP this support role was undertaken by the PAP lawyer. FKCLC02 said that this meant the PAP lawyer:

*was constantly on the phone to clients ... trying to deal with their huge range of issues including suicide and depression ... all chronic issues that their clients were dealing with. And at the same time she was trying to run strategic litigation with the clients.*

FKCLC02 said that while there was support from local youth workers, the PAP lawyer needed to engage with clients at their home with their families and would then need to take them to court. This work was being performed by someone who was legally well-qualified but who lacked any social work type training. The
establishment of the WAP meant that PAP clients could be provided with this intensive socio-legal support, to meet their broader needs and to ensure their continued engagement with the legal process.

FKCLC02 said the establishment of the WAP was necessary because of the long periods of time the legal process took (to obtain justice for those who were subject to racially profiling and mistreatment by police) and the need for consistent holistic support to be provided to very vulnerable clients. All FKCLC staff talked of the problems these clients had in maintaining their pursuit of justice due to stress, personal crisis or absence of family or community supports and mental health issues. Other value related to the need to ensure that the voices and experiences of the young clients, especially, remained central to the PAP. SP01 and FKCLC01 said the WAP philosophy meant that the YEO acted as a conduit across “multiple terrains” of their clients’ lives. The role encompasses an assertive outreach model of social welfare support provision in an effort to improve well-being and other outcomes for clients and their families. Advocacy on clients’ behalf is central to this role, through brokerage with legal and non-legal practitioners and as part of a holistic case management approach. SP01 referred to the WAP’s establishment arising out of a recognition that young people experienced

very long and protracted battles in trying to obtain justice for their experiences with Police, and that their participation was vital but often compounded the trauma that they had experienced in relation to police … [these traumas manifest in] self-medicating type of behaviours that would actually be quite harmful for those young people.

SP01 also referred to the structural disadvantages for those who were “refugees where there may have been either direct experiences of trauma or intergenerational trauma that those young people were carrying,” FKCLC02 referred to the WAP being established to provide extensive support that took into account

the personal, the well-being, anything that can restrict a person’s ongoing involvement in those court cases… So that includes their motivation … as people get very despairing … disillusioned – and rightfully – about the outcomes and the impacts.

FKCLC02 said that if people have complaints against the police yet do not have faith in the legal or justice system, most will discontinue the legal proceedings when they become disillusioned and this can happen quickly. He said the WAP provided moral support to very vulnerable people

in recognising that the barriers aren’t just legal or systematic they are personal, moral and motivational – belief and [a] sense of hope.

These barriers include housing, incarceration, employment, mental health, education, basic income issues and so on, which all have huge impact on the lives of PAP and WAP clients.
All the support professionals had an extensive knowledge of the WAP program and commented on the value of the YEO to young people who were discriminated against and, in many instances, subject to racial profiling. They all felt that the WAP provided critical support to the PAP. This was especially important due to the difficulty in engaging the young people, due to the trauma experienced in their past lives as well as their contact with Victoria police. SP03 also said that the YEO worked creatively and flexibly, provided outreach to engage the young people, offered systemic advocacy - meaning this occurred across a range of services - as well as unconditional regard and care for young people who were really “up against it.” He referred to the problems of engaging young people with complex issues indicating it can take from six to nine months to establish rapport and start to build trusting relationships.

**Understanding the WAP client group**

All of the workers referred to African youth frequently being disconnected from family and community. They described them as vulnerable, marginalised and often labelled as ‘bad’ or trouble makers. SP03 encapsulated comments made by others:

> We’re talking about a group of young people who are completely disengaged and disconnected from any supportive environment and in most cases they were completely alone as no services were approaching them because there was that pre-conceived idea about them being violent.

SP03 talked about a lack of understanding not just among the wider community but also among professionals when he first started working with African young people, including those who were clients of the WAP. Much of this related to negative media portrayals of these young people, as well as a lack of knowledge about their experiences. He talked about society being very gullible; we just believe everything that we hear. And you look at the people. They just look like they’re sitting there, drinking alcohol. It seems like they’re just gangs, they’re troublemakers and they don’t want to be involved in anything. That’s how they see them, but they don’t see what the problems behind that are. I could probably have been one of them.

SP03 evokes typical normative assumptions when he describes how,

> Before getting involved in these programs, I was asking myself why these boys drink, why they can’t go to school, why they can’t work. We’ve all said that, but when you to go them first and listen to what to what they have to say, that is when you learn the reality.

He talked about the need to change perceptions about the young people:

> so initially we had to struggle with this, but what we found was actually these young people, they don’t have trust, they had lost trust within their surroundings, with their community, with the services around, no trust, the only trust they had was within their own circle. Within their own – every support came from within themselves.
SP04 referred to the YEO’s and her mutual clients and the special collaborative relationships required to intensively support and advocate for young people who

have had really negative experiences with police in Victoria and they feel powerless. Like really powerless. Like you couldn’t even broach the conversations with them to help contemplate making a complaint about the police force because they feel they would just get targeted.

SP04 referred to the importance of advocacy when working with clients of the WAP. She said that for this group of young people with complex needs, case management processes need to positively raise awareness of some of the issues they face, so that there was more understanding of their situations and more opportunities to improve their life chances. An example given was that young African peoples Centrelink payment or other Government assistance might have ceased for about six months, because they might have failed to attend appointments or failed to provide required information. Instead of taking action they just ignore it and live with it, sharing with their friends. While these issues can be commonplace it is often necessary to constantly follow up with particular services. SP04 said other services can provide some of this support, the YEO is able to locate the young person and provide more intensive and ongoing support to redress anomalies in their situations as well as ensure they receive their entitlements.

Most of the support professionals and the professionals from FKCLC talked about the WAP being essential for young people who were being targeted by some police. SP03 said the police try to ‘show their muscle’, and ‘the boys’ have ‘real pride’ -

They think, ‘Who are you to treat me this way?’ The police think that they have more power, more authority, so they want to exercise that, and the young people just become the victims, because there is no-one standing up for them there. None. They have been assaulted. They have been called names. You name it. They’ve been locked up for no reason. They have been beaten before they are locked up.

SP03 insisted that this needs to be understood as these young people are alone, without anyone supporting or believing them. In situations like this the young people feel they have to defend themselves, particularly in the context of these young people’s various cultural backgrounds and their views about what it is to be a man or a boy:

If you are a man or a boy out there, you should not be attacked. You have to stand up for yourself. And this is what they have been taught since childhood: that is what a man is and that’s exactly how they react. If someone comes and tries to mess with them, they have to stand up for themselves.

SP03 gave an example of a situation he had witnessed himself on one of the days when he was doing outreach work with young people. He was sitting with seven or eight African young people and the boys offered him a drink of cask wine. The police came over to group and said, “Boys, get some ID”. SP03 was just sitting
there and listening. He said that the police were disrespectful to the young men and he, SP03 himself, had to control his temper:

> there is a way of communicating with a human being. The first thing is to look at that person as a human, speak and then treat them as a human. But the way they approached them and the way they were talking to them! The boys didn’t react. Some of them who had them just gave an ID.

SP03 stated that one of the police then, referring to the cask wine, said “What is this?” This police person picked up the drink and the boys didn’t say anything. No-one wanted to say ‘It’s mine’ or whatever. SP03 said he was

> sitting there quietly then one of the police turned around to me and said, ‘Is that yours?’ I didn’t say anything. I then said ‘I’m actually a youth worker. I’m here for work.’ You could tell how completely their attitude changed. Those cops who were trying to show off and trying to be intimidating and everything all of a sudden were calm when I told them that I was a youth worker. Because I am the same colour and was sitting among the young people, they thought I was one of them. The boys turned around to me and laughed when they (the police) started walking out, and said, ‘You see [SP03]?’ So what can I say? Probably if I had not been there, we don’t know what would have happened.

SP03 referred to the negative attitude of these police towards the young men he was with and referred to them often escalating issues with African young men. He felt if he hadn’t been there the situation could have become serious because the boys might have retaliated or even reacted, and the police might have tried to show their power.

SP03 was keen to indicate that he was not discrediting anyone as he had experienced some wonderful interactions between the police and African young people. SP03 said some police see them on the street and say “hey boys, how are you doing, what’s happening?” and then, the next day,

> You find some crazy cops come from the city, four or five of them, and act negatively, throw their weight around and show off in front of the boys...

SP03 made reference to the feelings of the young men:

> some of them have bitterly told me, ‘There’s no point [SP03]. There is no point. Things are not going to change...

SP03 said that change that they had been hoping for as a result of the police racial profiling case had to be across the board; without it the nothing would change, and this sense of resignation and hopelessness would prevail. This comment was reflected across all of the professional interviews. SP03 and SP05 talked about camps that had been organised between the police and African young people in an effort for both to understand each other but particularly for police to understand the culture of young people and the reason why they congregate together socially which was “not because they are in a gang.” Both talked about police officers that understand the young people but then they are replaced by others who want to throw their weight around. SP03 also said police went on a fact finding visit to
Sudan but he didn’t think that translated in a better understanding of the Sudanese community or young people, so queried the point of the exercise.

All support professionals talked about intimidation of the young people by police. They said that many of the police have no sympathy, empathy or understanding of the issues that have faced young people from African countries.

**Value of the WAP**

FKCLC02 said the establishment of the WAP was to reduce the stress for lawyers and to look after their clients.

> So it’s adding another team member to take on a lot of that non-legal or extra-legal support work. ... The focus on well-being of young people, giving them a sense of hope, is key to the role.

FKCLC02 referred to the accolades that the YEO, past and present received from individual and community testimonials. Individual clients, such as the young people interviewed (YP01-YP04), and the family member concurred with this. Comments ranged from being thankful, expressing gratitude for the unconditional support and encouragement, and acknowledging the YEO for never giving up on the person. FKCLC01 commented that some clients feel they don’t deserve the support offered and a sense of hopelessness about their situation is often palpable. She said conversations need to be had about their hope for the future in every interaction that takes place, for example

> How they are feeling about particular issues like what they are feeling in terms of hopefulness and hopelessness...because this is part of seeing them as the whole person and not just being about their police accountability issue or their criminal matter.

FKCLC01 said that compounding this is WAP clients’ awareness of community portrayals, including the media and/or police perceptions of them, and it is therefore really important for the YEO to “acknowledge that’s not who they are”; the negatives need to be counteracted with positives. FKCLC 01 commented that it is hard to find the positives,

> as most of their [young people’s] own experiences of homelessness, of poverty, of often really traumatic journeys’ or experiences in the place of birth ... [and] pressures to assimilate impact upon this.

SP02 and SP03 said that the strength of the YEOs and the WAP was that the workers were able to “stick with the young people”, no matter what. This helped them combat the young person’s “sense of hopelessness.” SP02 said that this helped the young person to “feel empowered” as they develop knowledge of their rights and also their responsibilities. Further they also developed skills in advocating for themselves and some have subsequently become peer leaders across issues such as responding to police and being a responsible citizen.

FKCLC01 talked about “hanging in there” with young people, having an ongoing relationship, to
be someone that they can call when things get really tough, if they end up getting picked up by the police, and that [the YEO] has a real, honest relationship with them. Sometimes that is the best thing ... because those kind of relationships are not common for them.

In other examples it was relayed that young people often say they understand what the lawyer is saying but, when questioned after the session, they had not understood what was discussed; in these circumstances the YEO role often involves interpreting conversations, advice or legal concepts, and sometimes other concerns the young person is having come to the fore. FKCLC01 said the YEO has to balance work with young people (as so many people are in their lives and so much is known about them) with not being too intrusive.

SP01 said that there are less and less programs that provide a “wrap around” service and generalist service so that a case manager can respond to different things. She said

*it's a pretty fragmented service system. You go here for homelessness. You go here for JSA [Job Services Australia]. You go here for D and A [drug and alcohol]. That doesn't actually work, so I don't think that would work for many people but it wouldn't work for many of the young people who are literally on the margins or have been.*

SP01 felt that in contrast to this, the WAP provided a holistic model that was relatively rare. All the support professionals felt that the breadth of the program and its flexibility helped young people to feel empowered, develop social skills and develop knowledge of their rights which would hopefully lead to them being able to respond to the police in a more appropriate manner. SP04 said that the YEO

*is doing some amazing work with another one of the young men we have known for a long time. He is my client at the moment but he is in and out of prison. The day he gets out he starts drinking and he is drunk every day, all day, so it is really difficult [to engage with him]. But the YEO actually goes out to find him and chats to him and reminds him about court dates and they are trying to do a lot of stuff around holding the police accountable for an incident that happened. ... he's got a lot of stuff going on from back home. ... he is totally disconnected from the family and really isolated out here [in Australia]. It's just tragic.*

SP05 said the PAP/ WAP assisted young people to know their rights but also helped young people to understand “what is okay and not okay” behavior by them towards the police and vice versa. She said that they know what behaviour they should not accept from the police and that there are avenues to deal with such behavior. SP05 also said

*It gives them hope that these things will pass over time and then everyone can go through their lives as normal and not feel that they are targeted by anyone.*

The researchers asked what supports would be available to young people if the WAP did not exist. SP04 said there was lot of overlap or duplication of services within the community services, but the WAP is exceptional because no other
service can do what they are doing. Support professionals said that most services were set up to provide targeted assistance to people but that it was often constrained by the limits to their role. In contrast the YEO had flexibility to work across services, collaborate with other service providers and provide a holistic form of case management.

SP03 referred to the competition between services and that duplication and overlap across services was common. He said what is not common but necessary is the pooling of resources together. The reason this does not happen is due to competition for funding, but

*what is exceptional is that none of us has been able to do what WAP has done, it is not only the individual support they provide to the clients or to the people that we work with, it is in the big scale addressing all these issues. ... it’s going to be always an example, it’s always a precedent to other, you know to the future, with those young boys you know, going to the court, taking all these years, supporting them through all that long, it is a huge lesson to Australia in general, probably even to other countries.*

SP03 referred to being really proud of the YEO workers (the past worker and the current worker) because he himself is not in a position to respond to young people in the same way. All of the professionals talked about the exceptional role, commitment and support the YEO gave to the young people they worked with. SP05 said that the outreach capacity of the YEO was critical as “these young men find it difficult to come to formal appointments” and the YEO is sympathetic to that and will go to where they are. This enables the YEO to build strong unconditional relationships with WAP clients. SP05 said that one young man who she knows is supported by the YEO has very complex issues:

*being in and out of the jail, has no family ... his life fell apart and because of his own destructive behaviour ... he can’t see a way out of it.*

She said that testament to the YEO’s commitment was that the young man (as well as other young people) maintained or resumed contact with the YEO no matter what problems he was facing, “so they’ve got to be doing something right” (SP05).

SP03 said that professionals also seek advice from the YEO or PAP lawyers when necessary. All the staff go beyond what most services do to help not only the young person and their family but support services as well. SP03 said this was critical for the support system because youth workers we are not specialists in all areas. He also referred to WAP providing emotional support to the families leading to both the family and the young people developing considerable trust in the WAP and the PAP.

All professionals said that WAP and PAP were required services. SP03 said

*If a young person is in the country 8 years and they have a serious problem what would I do with them? It’s really hard for me to say no, I can’t do anything, go back. At least I need somewhere where I can contact for help with working with the young person concerned.*
FKCLC03 said that the value of the WAP was extensive as so many of the clients were homeless and did not have “particularly good contact methods, so they might not have a phone or if they do have a phone [they] might not have credit.” They often need help with both legal and non-legal issues. And people need sufficient supports so they can challenge the injustices they have faced via legal litigation, instead of getting advice to plead guilty, “which they are getting all of the time”.

FKCLC03 said that few avenues are offered in the current criminal justice system to contest charges or to seek damages for personal injuries they have received by being assaulted by police and to do so people need an enormous amount of support and encouragement to do so. FKCLC03 referred to their clients not just bringing a personal grievance but a grievance on behalf of their community or people; for example, young people see their friends being impacted by the same things as they are experiencing that is, racial profiling discrimination, assault and so on. She felt that the PAP as well as the WAP

*presents an opportunity for potentially systematic change and that can be through law reform or case work.*

FKCLC03 said that the YEO helped the young person engage with her and the legal process and, while she was mindful about how she communicated with young people, it was valuable to have a non-legal person to help interpret some of the legal dialogue. Further value related to:

- having the YEO provide court support as many of the young people did not have parents or family members who could offer support;
- bringing the legal and non-legal services together in a cohesive way so that all the issues such as criminal issues, housing, migration, education drug and alcohol issues that the young person faced can be addressed;
- long term engagement to assist with lengthy legal processes.

FKCLC03 referred to the YEO providing a bridge between her and the young person by breaking down the barriers between the law which is alienating and a distressing subject and the assistance she can provide related to the legal problem. She said because the YEO can provide the intensive and holistic support they – the lawyers

*are able to obtain better outcomes ... you can fight as hard as you can for your client because they are in a better place to provide instruction, to attend appointments, engage and hopefully have more confidence to articulate what they want and what they want to see as a legal remedy.*

FKCLC01 and FKCLC03 also said that the YEO can reduce the stress for young people and for services, as they can advocate for the young person across a range of services who are often at capacity and have to juggle clients with different needs. FKCLC03 said this removes the need for “cold referrals” to lots of different services, many of which cannot offer sufficient support. In addition the young person may not be comfortable going to a service they do not know and therefore
being unwilling or unable to engage, or there is no follow up from the service to the young person, so they are not assisted.

SP01 talked about the complexity of working with young people and that success is related to the process; that is, for young people to know that they are not alone on their journey.

So I guess that’s the benefit of those young people looking at their needs holistically so success isn’t only defined in terms of litigation, there’s a bunch of other indicators that you can look at around their social well-being, their connection, their willingness ... to actually engage in services ... that is success and I often thought that role is about bridging, building relationships, giving a positive template of help seeking behaviour so that those young people could carry it on with other services. And success would be how people feel about their place in the world.

Support for the WAP program

All of the support professionals (external to KFCLC) who were interviewed for the evaluation referred to the importance of the support WAP provided to their clients and the value of this in validating their client’s often negative experiences with police. They also talked about the ability of the WAP workers (past and current) to work not only with the clients but with relevant community services such as those that they provided. Further comments related to the work that the YEO undertook with the families of the young people. SP03 further stated

There is a lot of overlap with services within the community services [system] with what we are doing but WAP is exceptional because none of us can do what they are doing. ... It’s not only the individual support they provide to the client but they provide huge long-term support [to clients and their families] such as going to court, supporting them through the years; ... this support is consistent and strong.

Further comments related to the work that the YEO undertook with the families of the young people. SP05 said that such work was often outside the brief of community support workers. She referred to the importance of this as often the young person is not keen to engage with their family due to shame they have brought to their family because of their criminal behavior. Hence they push the family away and do not want them involved until they get themselves sorted out. SP05 said that working with the family was very time-consuming but critical. This comment was reiterated by FM01 who said that the YEO kept the family in touch with what was happening with her brother. This was important as the family worried about him and feared for his safety. FM01 had enormous praise for the work of the YEO. She said that the YEO could find her brother when he went missing and support and encourage him even when he was in a difficult space. It gave the family peace of mind to know there was someone there for her brother.

All support workers as well as the FKCLC professionals indicated that support provided by WAP was time-consuming and required the YEO to keep the
WAP clients informed, to reinforce the importance of the litigation and also help
the client understand that it was a long-term process. SP03 felt that the successful
litigation of the young men against the police would not have been possible
without the support that was offered by the YEO and the WAP.

FKCLC02 said that if the WAP was not available, then FKCLC

would have to have very strong links with local youth and support agencies ... 
and we would need to rely on them to do the work [that the YEO does].

FKCLC02 said there would be significant pitfalls as it would not be possible to have
“case management on an ongoing basis”, nor would it be possible to coordinate
the legal aspects of the case management process. He went on to say that support
organisations were not traditionally able to provide the continuity of care,
extensive holistic support to client who were going through complex legal
processes in the way the YEO was able to.

Transferability of the WAP

All of the support professionals talked about the need for a WAP-type service to
be provided by other Community Legal Centres, that is, for the model to be
extended to other metropolitan and regional centres. They felt the integration of
services provides an opportunity for intensive and long-term engagement of
vulnerable people who require assistance across a myriad of domains and
complex needs.

FKCLC02 said that all legal problems are symptomatic of wider systematic
problems including welfare, mental health, social and personal problems so there
would be value in all legal centres having non-legal staff to support integrated
socio-legal clients. He said that while not all Community Legal Centres run human
rights and public interest litigation (as FKCLC does) the role could equally apply
to criminal and civil litigation. FKCLC02 said that health and legal advocacy
models, like the WAP and its inspiration at CAALAS, are becoming more widely
recognised in Australia. FKCLC03 said the model was transferable and would be
more successful where there was a co-location of services (such as at Visy Cares
Hub).

FKCLC 01 said that the transferability of the program would depend on how
well the Legal Centre was “grounded and connected to their community.” In
addition there needs to be a lot of trust amongst professionals and between
agencies, with recognition of the different approaches to assisting clients and how
these approaches can complement each other. She said

if any kind of legal centre could do it, it’s the community legal centres as I think
there is an increasing understanding of the kind of health and advocacy models
required.

FKCLC01 referred to services needing to provide systemic advocacy, similar to
that being provided by the FKCLC. SP02 said that transferability will only be
successful if services are established in a similar way to PAP and WAP. That is
they need to be flexible, creative and constantly reflect upon and evaluate what they are doing and why.

**Lack of ongoing funding**

All support professionals indicated that additional funding (to the current funding) was required as they felt that the WAP was inadequately resourced. SP03, for instance, stated that if there was no ongoing funding for the WAP,

> we would go back to the way it was before – young people would have no place to go.

SP03 believed that without the WAP there would be no support for the young people to enable them to continue with long-term litigation. Young people need this support to “hang in there.” SP03 also talked about the importance of this litigation for police as they needed to be more accountable and needed to have more understanding of the issues that face African young people. He also referred to many police wanting to know how to relate to these young people. All support professionals felt that lack of funding would result in less accountability from the police and inferred this would lead to more racist behaviours from police.

SP03 said there are insufficient resources for the WAP. He said he felt they need to have more staff and more days covered by YEOs. In his view, for most of the young men that WAP worked with in the last 5 years, legal issues were still outstanding. SP03 said that if the funding ceased clients would likely withdraw their claims, which would lead to some police having little or no accountability. Many professionals interviewed felt that the success of the initial human rights case had meant more understanding and reflection on the part of police about how they related to young African people, but that there was “still a way to go.”

**Limitations of the WAP**

FKCLC02 said that the YEO’s position is funded for three days a week. This limited the number of clients for whom support could be provided, as well the work that could be undertaken over such a short period in the week, especially given that the profile of the client group is predominately very vulnerable young people engaged in long drawn out legal proceedings. SP04 felt that if the WAP had more resources there would be more capacity to bring other people and/or services and the police together at the same time. She said

> It’s not only about being on the defensive side for the young people it’s also about working together and I’m definitely sure that’s what the legal centre is about. At the same time it’s standing for the young people but on the other hand also working with the police – collaboration and improving the relationships between the young people and the police is critical.

FKCLC02 also referred to the need to develop internal procedures related to how the cases are managed. This particularly related to collecting information on the point at which the YEO is brought into the PAP case, or at what point the YEO brings the PAP lawyers in the case management process. FKCLC02 said limited
resources have limited such case management processes including internal file sharing and file management.

The young people did not relate to the name of the program, as ‘the Walking Alongside Program’, but instead related to the individual YEO’s names. SP03 thought that this was common for young people, who tended to relate to specific people rather than program names. His example was that no young people knew the name of the program he was associated with but everyone knew him by his first name:

That’s how it is, because if you ask a young person, I have worked with more than 75 young people on the record in the last 5 years, if you go and ask every young person, do you know [the name of the program], they will say what the hell is [the name of the program]? And then they will say do you know [SP03]? Oh yeah, yeah we know him.

Similar comments were made by other support professionals as well as FKCLC01. FKCLC01 said that the title of the WAP and the YEO was useful for people outside the organisation and for funders, but not for the people the YEO worked with.

FKCLC01 referred to the role of the YEO needing to include joint case work. She referred to the role with agencies often being ad hoc and informal. Sometimes there were ongoing relationships with other community agencies so the young person engages well. In other instances there was a “need to advocate for the support for a young person who is difficult to engage with or support.” SP01 said that due to insufficient resources and time sometimes there is a difference between a young person who received good advocacy and a young person, who received less good advocacy,

because when you’re working with that many young people you have to make decisions at different times and you need to reflect on the implications of those decisions.

SP01 lamented different decisions made for two young men who were incarcerated, when stronger advocacy was provided to the young man who was struggling the most with mental health problems, and therefore deemed more vulnerable than another young man. When she was able to offer more help to the other young man he refused the help. When she checked in again to see how he was going she found that he was still “bouncing around the system”.

**Analysis, conclusion and recommendations**

The literature reviewed provided background for the evaluation and broadly shaped the questions employed in research interviews. Thematic content analysis of interview response data allowed operational indicators of program outcomes were extracted to measure the success of WAP in attaining both implementation objectives and participant outcomes for PAP clients. The discussion of the findings above has implied many links to the literature; by way of summing up the findings,
these connections to the themes of hope, social in/exclusion, well-being, and community capacity are briefly considered here.

Snyder (1995) talked about ways to nurture hope and build positive change. FKCLC 01 commented that for some young a sense of hopelessness about their situation is often obvious. She said conversations need to be had about their hope for the future in every interaction that takes place. The YEO needed to talk about the young people’s issues in terms of their hopefulness and hopelessness. If workers don’t do this then they are not seeing the young person in a holistic way as “it’s not just about their police accountability issue or their criminal matter” FKCLC01 said but much wider than that. Such complex case management requires time and patience to assist young people to build self-esteem and a sense of value of self – a difficult task given the disadvantage and vulnerability of the WAP clients and the limited resources available within the program.

Yohani (2010) found hope was hindered by perceived prejudice and racism, and challenges in the home and school. The PAP and the WAP provide essential means to help overcome such prejudice and racism and to give young people hope. Hope was also found to be engendered when a child or young person persevered to overcome a challenging task. In the long run successful litigation, holistic support, ‘sticking with’ and encouraging a person and even, as YP04 said, ‘being believed’ can build hope for a better future. Yohani (2010) felt a trusting environment was necessary to engage the children and young people. Reciprocal trust from the young people to the YEO and from the YEO to the service system and vice versa was evident by the data collected in the file study as well the interviews.

The young people supported by the WAP were discriminated against and targeted not just by police but also by the media. Further ignorance, fear and labelling them as bad, or as being part of gang, demonstrated a lack of understanding of the traumatic life experiences and vulnerability of the young people. They could be excluded from services and constant and long term legal and non-legal advocacy was necessary to ensure they received adequate support. WAP clients could be excluded from entitlements, left to languish in prison, sentenced as an adult when they were a juvenile. Run (2013) and Higgs (2013) referred to the alienation, social rejection and disengagement of young people plus a resultant reduction in their health and well-being, all factors referred to in the professional’s interviews. File entries and interview data provided evidence of the YEO fights for the rights of clients to be treated fairly and justly. Reference was also made to undertaking well-being checks, demonstrating the constant and unconditional nature of the support provided and commitment to improving the well-being of the WAP’s (mainly) young and vulnerable client group.

Participants talked about the need for positive change and felt the YEO demonstrated commitment and persistence in pursuing the well-being and supporting the resilience of the young people in the WAP. The file entries showed
relentless attempts by the YEO to improve the individual, family and community well-being and to respectfully advocate for positive outcomes for the young people. Correa Velez et al. (2010), linking well-being and social exclusion, outlined ongoing challenges for the YEO in engaging and offering intensive and wide-ranging support to young people, amid protracted and unfamiliar legal processes (as a result of racial profiling and discrimination) which led to significant stress and health impacts for already vulnerable migrants/refugees (also Higgs, 2013).

Gibbon et al (2002) contended that community capacity is only possible when there are sufficient resources and opportunities for migrant/refugees provided by the host country. Ryan et al. (2008) state, the intent and use of interviews as a means of measuring community capacity is to give refugees a voice. The essential strength of community member determination of evaluation criteria for a program (such as WAP) in these or other ways is that it reflects what actually happens in the program and empowers community members to assume the continuing work of building community capacity. The ability of FKCLC to include young people who have been successful litigants in the PAP as peer leaders, in media and police awareness processes will assist in building community capacity not just for them but for others who face the same issues. Further the support that the YEO has garnered in the community will also enhance long term community capacity for African migrants/refugees. Run (2013) argues that problems such as those that exist for the PAP and WAP are related to the increasing visibility, separation and exclusion of people who are subject to racial profiling. In contrast we believe that such visibility, coupled with long-term support, encouragement and unconditional positive care and regard, will improve migrants/refugees’ hope, well-being and ultimately community capacity and inclusion.

By aiming to measure indicators of the WAP’s effectiveness, this research embodies a therapeutic jurisprudence approach in seeking to determine whether the WAP can and does ameliorate any harmful or anti-therapeutic consequences arising from participants’ experiences of ‘legal procedures and from the behaviour of legal actors ... both intended and unintended’ (Babb & Wexler, 2014: 5202). That is, young people’s experience of police discrimination and misconduct and their subsequent commitment to and involvement in taxing and complex legal processes.

This evaluation is also part of a reform agenda that seeks to improve outcomes for program participants in terms of individual health, confidence and hope; community capacity, safety and resilience; and social well-being, inclusion and access to justice for refugee and migrant communities across Victoria. The aim of the WAP was to improve the health, legal and justice outcomes for clients (of the PAP), their families and communities by providing holistic, empowering and culturally appropriate, individual and community-based responses to clients in conjunction with legal support and advocacy. While the interview and file study data sets were small, the content showed that the aims of the WAP were
overwhelming achieved for clients and communities. Insufficient data was available to determine if the WAP was able to improve the health, legal and justice outcomes for the families of the WAP clients.

This research has shown that the WAP evaluation implementation objectives were met. The major barrier to this, as the program has expanded, is the limited resources available (the YEO is funded for 3 days) to undertake all required tasks. The data collected provides evidence that the WAP participant outcome objectives have been attained. Barriers or problems encountered relate to the traumatic life events and vulnerability of the WAP clients as well as their disengagement with the wider service systems.

In light of these findings, we close this report with a precise of the more detailed recommendations that are located after the summary for this report:

1. The YEO should be funded to cover more days of the week – currently the position is funded for three days.

2. Consideration should be given to employing an additional YEO.

3. The funding for the FKCLC’s WAP should be extended to include more time:
   - to work with police to improve the collaborative relationships between police and the young people being supported by the WAP
   - to be able to provide support to more people over more days of the week;
   - to make improvements to the internal procedures in managing the cases;

4. to ensure that collection of information from the point at which the YEO commences contact with the PAP and vice versa can be documented, recorded and shared

5. Consideration should be given for FKCLC to take a leadership and advocacy role to assist other Community Legal Centres to undertake legal and non-legal advocacy work.

6. Flemington Kensington Community Legal Centre and the YEO should use these findings to continue to raise awareness, as Higgs (2013) suggests, of:
   - giving young people hope to develop pathways away from behaviours that are harmful to themselves and others;
   - the need to recognise and acknowledge injustices that many young people experience and work to remedy these to improve their overall well-being;
   - the need to establish more inclusionary practices so that young people can feel part of a community of care, within the broader community.
7. Recognising that the FKCLC has helped clients to become advocates and peer leaders, we recommend this model be expanded to train other young people as mentors to work alongside the YEO and the community.

8. While the study was small there were sufficient comments on police behaviour to suggest that police training be enhanced to include anti-bias training.

9. Further qualitative research is required to explore and raise awareness of the problems African youth and their families encounter in settling in a new country, given the traumatic experiences they have often faced in their home country.

References


Centre for Multicultural Youth (2011) Refugee young people and resettlement. Carlton: CMY


CMY, see Centre for Multicultural Youth.


McFarlane, C, Kaplan, I & Lawrence, J (2011) 'Psychosocial Indicators of Well-being for Resettled Refugee Children and Youth: Conceptual and Developmental Directions' *Child Indicators Research* 4 pp. 647-677


Appendices

Appendix 1

Do you know about the Walking Alongside Program?

We are doing research to evaluate the Walking Alongside Program, to find out how it works and how it might be improved.

If you or someone you know has been part of this program, you are invited to participate in this research.

If you’d like to find out about the research, or about how you can participate, you can contact the researcher on 04xx xxx xxx or by email: diana.johns@rmit.edu.au.

RMIT UNIVERSITY

This research project has been approved by the RMIT Human Research Ethics Committee
Appendix 2

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION CONSENT FORM

Client Interview

Project Title: Walking Alongside Program Evaluation

Researchers: Dr Marg Liddell and Dr Diana Johns (RMIT University)

Dear

Our names are Marg Liddell and Diana Johns from RMIT University. We are undertaking an evaluation for the Walking Alongside Project at the Flemington & Kensington Community Legal Centre (FKCLC). We are inviting you to participate in the evaluation because of your involvement with the WAP at FKCLC. Please read this letter carefully before deciding whether you choose to participate. If you have any questions about the project, please contact one of us – our details are listed below.

What is the project about? Why is it being conducted?
This project is evaluating the Walking Alongside Program, which was developed by the FKCLC to provide support and assistance to people involved in legal cases to do with the Police Accountability Project. By listening to the experience of people who have or are participating in the Walking Alongside Program, we hope to find out how the program works, whether it is useful and effective, and ways it might be improved.

Why have you been invited to participate?
You have been invited to participate as someone with personal experience of the Police Accountability Project. We are interested in finding out about your experience of the support provided by the FKCLC staff in the Walking Alongside Program.

If you agree to participate, what will you be asked to do?
If you do agree to participate, we will arrange for you to meet with Diana for an in-person interview, at a time and a location that suits you, to discuss your experience and views. In the interview, we would ask you to share your experiences, including things like:

- The type of help or support that the Walking Alongside Program has provided you with
- How helpful that support has been
- Whether you have received help from other people or services
We will not be asking you about your interactions or experiences with the police.

The interview would take between 60 to 90 minutes. We would ask your permission to audio-record the interview, so that we could transcribe and analyse the information later.

What will happen to the information you provide?
All interviews are confidential. The interview transcript will not contain your name or anything by which you could be identified. Digital recordings and transcriptions will be retained for 5 years, in line with RMIT policy, after which time they will be destroyed. Interview recordings and transcripts will be stored securely by the researchers on password protected computers and cannot be accessed by anyone other than the researchers.

We anticipate that the findings of this research will be published in academic journals, books and presented at conferences. In any such publications, you would be referred to by a pseudonym (a false name). A summary of the study findings will also be made available to you on request.

Any information that you provide can be disclosed only if (1) it is to protect you or others from harm; (2) if specifically required or allowed by law, or (3) you provide the researchers with written permission.

What are the possible risks and benefits associated with your participation?
During the interview, you do not have to answer any questions if you choose not to. If you do not want to talk about a particular aspect of your experience, you may choose to skip any questions that the researcher might ask. If you feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview and wish to take a break, stop the recording, or stop the interview entirely, that will be fine. We will listen to you and respect your choice. In the event of that you feel you need to talk to someone about your feelings we suggest that you call or visit Doutta Galla Community Health Service. This service provides counselling and support and may be familiar to you. The address is 12 Gower Street, Kensington and the phone number is 83783500.

The benefit of participating in an interview is that sharing your experience and views will help the researchers make recommendations to the FKCLC about ways in which the Walking Alongside Program could be improved. This could contribute to better support for you and others participating in the program.

What are your rights as a participant?
Your involvement in this project is your own personal decision. It is completely voluntary. You have the right to have any questions about the research answered at any time. Should you agree to take part, you have the right to withdraw your participation at any time, without explanation or penalty. You also have the right to
request that audio recording of the interview cease. After the interview, if you change your mind about your participation, you have the right to have all traces of your participation removed and any unprocessed data withdrawn and destroyed.

**Whom should you contact if you have any questions?**
If you have any further questions about the study, or if anything is unclear, please feel free to contact the researchers via the email address details below.

If you agree to participate, please read and sign the consent form. The researchers will collect this form at the time of the interview.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Marg Liddell
School of Global, Urban and Social Studies
RMIT University
Email: marg.liddell@rmit.edu.au
mobile number 0438385594

Dr Diana Johns
School of Global, Urban and Social Studies
RMIT University
Email: diana.johns@rmit.edu.au
mobile number 0425791934

If you have any concerns about your participation in this project, which you do not wish to discuss with the researchers, then you can contact the Ethics Officer, Research Integrity, Governance and Systems, RMIT University, GPO Box 2476V, VIC 3001. **Tel: (03) 9925 2251 or email:** human.ethics@rmit.edu.au
CONSENT FORM

Project title: Walking Alongside Program Evaluation

Researchers: Dr Marg Liddell and Dr Diana Johns (RMIT University)

I [insert your name] have had the project explained to me. I have read the participant information sheet and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in the research project as described.

1. I agree:
   a. to be interviewed
   b. that my voice will be audio recorded
   c. that the data I provide during the interview may be included in a research report, conference papers, journal articles and/or books
   d. that these publications will refer to me by a pseudonym and not my real name

2. I acknowledge that:
   a. I understand that my decision to participate is completely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied.
   b. The project is for the purpose of research. It may not be of direct benefit to me.
   c. The privacy of the personal information I provide will be safeguarded and only disclosed where I have consented to the disclosure or as required by law.
   d. The security of the research data will be protected during and after completion of the study. The data collected during the study may be published, and a summary report of the project outcomes will be made available to me upon request. Any information which will identify me will not be used.

Participant’s Consent

Participant: ________________________________ Date: _________________
(Your signature)
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Worker interview

Project Title: Walking Alongside Program Evaluation

Researchers: Dr Marg Liddell and Dr Diana Johns (RMIT University)

Dear

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by RMIT University, that will evaluate the Walking Alongside Program (WAP), at the Flemington & Kensington Community Legal Centre (FKCLC). You are invited because of your involvement with the WAP at FKCLC and its clients. Please read this letter carefully before deciding whether you choose to participate. If you have any questions about the project, please contact one of the researchers whose email addresses are included below.

What is the project about? Why is it being conducted?
This project is evaluating the Walking Alongside Program (WAP), which was developed by the FKCLC to provide support and assistance to people involved in legal cases to do with the Police Accountability Project (PAP). By interviewing people who have worked with or supported clients of the WAP, in a professional capacity, we hope to find out how the program works from a practice perspective, and how it functions in relation to other legal and support services provided. The aim is to make recommendations for how the program might be improved.

Why have you been invited to participate?
You have been invited to participate as someone with knowledge of the PAP and the WAP and professional experience in working with WAP clients. We are interested in finding out about your views of the support provided by the FKCLC staff in the WAP, how it is or has been experienced by clients, and its impact on clients, their families and communities.

If you agree to participate, what will you be asked to do?
If you do agree to participate, we will arrange for you to meet one of the researchers for an in-person interview, at a time and a location that suits you, to discuss your views in relation to your professional experience. In the interview, we would ask you about issues including:

- The type of support that the WAP has provided clients
- Your views on how helpful that support has been for clients
- Your views on the impact of the WAP on clients and their families and/or communities
- Your professional role in relation to WAP clients
• How the support of the WAP overlapped/intersected with other support you may have provided clients.

We would not be asking you about any outstanding or pending legal matters or about clients’ interactions or experiences with the police.

The interview would take between 60 to 90 minutes. We would ask your permission to audio-record the interview, so that we could transcribe and analyse the information later.

**What will happen to the information you provide?**
All interviews are confidential. The interview transcript will not contain your name or anything by which you could be identified, except with your explicit permission. Digital recordings and transcriptions will be retained for 5 years, in line with RMIT policy, after which time they will be destroyed. Interview recordings and transcripts will be stored securely by the researchers on password protected computers and cannot be accessed by anyone other than the researchers.

We anticipate that the findings of this research will be published in academic journals, books and presented at conferences. In any such publications, you would be referred to by a pseudonym (a false name), unless you give permission for your name to be used. A summary of the study findings will be made available to you on request.

**What are the possible risks and benefits associated with your participation?**
During the interview, you do not have to answer any questions if you choose not to. If you feel unwilling or unable to answer any questions for legal or ethical reasons, you may choose to skip any questions that the researcher might ask. You may request to pause or terminate the interview at any point.

The benefit of participating in an interview is that sharing your views and professional experience will help the researchers make recommendations to the FKCLC about ways in which the Walking Alongside Program and its delivery might be improved. This could contribute to better outcomes for clients, their families and communities.

**What are your rights as a participant?**
Your involvement in this project is completely voluntary. You have the right to have any questions about the research answered at any time. Should you agree to take part, you have the right to withdraw your participation at any time, without explanation or penalty. You also have the right to request that audio recording of the interview cease. After the interview, if you change your mind about your participation, you have the right to have all traces of your participation removed and any unprocessed data withdrawn and destroyed.
Whom should you contact if you have any questions?
If you have any further questions about the study, or if anything is unclear, please feel free to contact the researchers via the email address details below.

If you agree to participate, please read and sign the consent form. The researchers will collect this form at the time of the interview.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Marg Liddell
School of Global, Urban and Social Studies
RMIT University
Email: marg.liddell@rmit.edu.au

Dr Diana Johns
School of Global, Urban and Social Studies
RMIT University
Email: diana.johns@rmit.edu.au

If you have any concerns about your participation in this project, which you do not wish to discuss with the researchers, then you can contact the Ethics Officer, Research Integrity, Governance and Systems, RMIT University, GPO Box 2476V, VIC 3001. Tel: (03) 9925 2251 or email: human.ethics@rmit.edu.au
CONSENT FORM

Project title: Walking Alongside Program Evaluation

Researchers: Dr Marg Liddell and Dr Diana Johns (RMIT University)

I [insert your name] ………………………………………………………….. have had the project explained to me. I have read the participant information sheet and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in the research project as described.

2. I agree:
   e. to be interviewed
   f. that my voice will be audio recorded
   g. that the data I provide during the interview may be included in a research report, conference papers, journal articles and/or books
   h. that these publications will refer to me by a pseudonym and not my real name

3. I acknowledge that:
   e. I understand that my decision to participate is completely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied.
   f. The project is for the purpose of research. It may not be of direct benefit to me.
   g. The privacy of the personal information I provide will be safeguarded and only disclosed where I have consented to the disclosure or as required by law.
   h. The security of the research data will be protected during and after completion of the study. The data collected during the study may be published, and a summary report of the project outcomes will be made available to me upon request. Any information which will identify me will not be used.

Participant's Consent

Participant: ………………………………………………………….. Date: ……………………
   (Your signature)
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Family Member Interview

Project Title: Walking Alongside Program Evaluation

Researchers: Dr Marg Liddell and Dr Diana Johns (RMIT University)

Dear

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by RMIT University, on the Walking Alongside Program at the Flemington & Kensington Community Legal Centre (FKCLC). You are invited because of your family member’s involvement in the Walking Alongside Program at FKCLC. Please read this letter carefully before deciding whether you choose to participate. If you have any questions about the project, please contact one of the researchers whose contact details are included below.

What is the project about? Why is it being conducted?
This project is evaluating the Walking Alongside Program, which was developed by the FKCLC to provide support and assistance to people involved in legal cases to do with the Police Accountability Project. By listening to the experience of people who have or are participating in the Walking Alongside Program, and members of their family and/or community, we hope to find out how the program works, whether it is useful and effective, and ways in which it might be improved.

Why have you been invited to participate?
You have been invited to participate because of your connection to someone with personal experience of the Police Accountability Project. We are interested in finding out your views about the support provided by the FKCLC staff in the Walking Alongside Program, and the impact of that support on your family or community.

If you agree to participate, what will you be asked to do?
If you do agree to participate, we will arrange for you to meet with Diana for an in-person interview, at a time and a location that suits you, to discuss your experience and views. In the interview, we would ask you to share your experiences, including things like:

- The type of help or support that the Walking Alongside Program has provided your family member with
- How helpful that support has been
- Whether other people or services provided similar help or support

We would not be asking you about the interactions or experiences of your family member with the police.
The interview would take between 60 to 90 minutes. We would ask your permission to audio-record the interview, so that we could transcribe and analyse the information later.

**What will happen to the information you provide?**

All interviews are confidential. The interview transcript will not contain your name or anything by which you could be identified. Digital recordings and transcriptions will be retained for 5 years, in line with RMIT policy, after which time they will be destroyed. Interview recordings and transcripts will be stored securely by the researchers on password protected computers and cannot be accessed by anyone other than the researchers.

We anticipate that the findings of this research will be published in academic journals, books and presented at conferences. In any such publications, you would be referred to by a pseudonym (a false name). A summary of the study findings will also be made available to you on request.

Any information that you provide can be disclosed only if (1) it is to protect you or others from harm; (2) if specifically required or allowed by law, or (3) you provide the researchers with written permission.

**What are the possible risks and benefits associated with your participation?**

During the interview, you do not have to answer any questions if you choose not to. If you do not want to talk about a particular aspect of your own or anyone else’s experience, you may choose to skip any questions that the researcher might ask. If you feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview and wish to take a break, stop the recording, or stop the interview entirely, that will be fine. We will listen to you and respect your choice. In the event of that you feel you need to talk to someone about your feelings we suggest that you call or visit Doutta Galla Community Health Service. This service provides counselling and support and may be familiar to you. The address is 12 Gower Street, Kensington and the phone number is 83783500.

The benefit of participating in an interview is that sharing your experience and views will help the researchers make recommendations to the FKCLC about ways in which the Walking Alongside Program could be improved. This could contribute to better support for you and others participating in the program.

**What are your rights as a participant?**

Your involvement in this project is your own personal decision. It is completely voluntary. You have the right to have any questions about the research answered at any time. Should you agree to take part, you have the right to withdraw your participation at any time, without explanation or penalty. You also have the right to request that audio recording of the interview cease. After the interview, if you
change your mind about your participation, you have the right to have all traces of your participation removed and any unprocessed data withdrawn and destroyed.

**Whom should you contact if you have any questions?**
If you have any further questions about the study, or if anything is unclear, please feel free to contact the researchers via the email address details below, or via the FKCLC.

If you agree to participate, please read and sign the consent form. The researchers will collect this form at the time of the interview.

Yours sincerely,

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Dr Marg Liddell  
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RMIT University  
Email: marg.liddell@rmit.edu.au  
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Dr Diana Johns  
School of Global, Urban and Social Studies  
RMIT University  
Email: diana.johns@rmit.edu.au  
Mobile: 0425 791 934

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**If you have any concerns about your participation in this project,** which you do not wish to discuss with the researchers, then you can contact the Ethics Officer, Research Integrity, Governance and Systems, RMIT University, GPO Box 2476V, VIC 3001. **Tel: (03) 9925 2251 or email:** 
human.ethics@rmit.edu.au
CONSENT FORM

Project title: Walking Alongside Program Evaluation

Researchers: Dr Marg Liddell and Dr Diana Johns (RMIT University)

I [insert your name] ………………………………………………………………… have had the project explained to me. I have read the participant information sheet and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in the research project as described.

3. I agree:
   i. to be interviewed
   j. that my voice will be audio recorded
   k. that the data I provide during the interview may be included in a research report, conference papers, journal articles and/or books
   l. that these publications will refer to me by a pseudonym and not my real name

4. I acknowledge that:
   i. I understand that my decision to participate is completely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied.
   j. The project is for the purpose of research. It may not be of direct benefit to me.
   k. The privacy of the personal information I provide will be safeguarded and only disclosed where I have consented to the disclosure or as required by law.
   l. The security of the research data will be protected during and after completion of the study. The data collected during the study may be published, and a summary report of the project outcomes will be made available to me upon request. Any information which will identify me will not be used.

Participant’s Consent

Participant: ……………………………………………………… Date: ……………………………

(Your signature)
Appendix 3

Interview with WAP client

I’m interested in finding about your perceptions and experiences of the Walking Alongside Program (WAP). I will ask you about the sort of support you have received, and if you have found it helpful. I will also ask you if you have received help from any other services or organisations, and if that was helpful too.

I want to remind you that this interview is entirely voluntary, and you can say you want to stop at any time. I will treat everything we talk about as confidential. If you happen to mention anything about specific illegal activities, I’ll stop you, rewind the tape and go over it. If you say something then decide you don’t want me to use it, just tell me and I won’t use it in my research. I won’t use your name or anything that could identify you.

1. First some background information:

1.1 What is your age group? 18 – 25  26 – 35  36 – 45  46 – 55  over 55

1.2 What is your nationality and ethnic or language group?

1.3 Are you currently a participant in the WAP? If so, when did you commence?

1.4 If not, when and for how long were you a participant in the WAP?

2. Main questions:

2.1 What type of support has the WAP provided you with?

2.2 Has the WAP been helpful overall, would you say? If so, how?

2.3 What has been the most helpful thing about the WAP for you?

2.4 Are there things that the WAP has not been able to help you with?

2.5 Have you had other support available to you? If yes, what sort of support, and from whom?

2.6 Are there things that you have had no help or support with? If so, can you give details?

2.7 Would you recommend the WAP to other people? If so, why? If not, why not?

2.8 Do you think that being in the WAP made a difference to your life? If so, how?

2.9 Do you think being in the WAP made a difference to anyone else’s life? If so how?

2.10 Do you feel different about anything in your life since having participated in the WAP?

And lastly:
Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

Thank you for participating in this interview with me today. Here is a small token of my appreciation for your time and your openness in doing this interview. Thank you.

Interview with WAP client’s family or community member

I’m interested in finding about your perceptions and understanding of your role in supporting released prisoners; to discover what sort of factors and considerations shape your practice; and how practice either diverges from or aligns with the theory of post-release support and prisoner reintegration. I’m also going to ask you about the significant post-release issues you see ex-prisoners facing day-to-day, in the short and longer term.

I want to remind you that this interview is entirely voluntary, and you can say you want to stop at any time. I will treat everything we talk about as confidential. If you happen to mention anything about specific illegal activities, I’ll stop you, rewind the tape and go over it. If you say something then decide you don't want me to use it, just tell me and I won’t use it in the research. I won't use your name or anything that could identify you.

3. First some background information:

1.5 Can I ask, what is your age group? 18 – 25  26 – 35  36 – 45  46– 55  over 55

1.6 What is your nationality and ethnic or language group?

1.7 Is someone in your family or community currently a participant in the WAP? If so, when did they commence?

1.8 If not, when and for how long were they a participant in the WAP?

1.9 And can I ask your relationship to that person?

4. Main questions:

2.11 What type of support has the WAP provided him/her with?

2.12 Has the WAP been helpful overall, would you say? If so, how?

2.13 What has been the most helpful thing about the WAP for him/her, in your view?

2.14 Are there things that the WAP has not been able to help him/her with?

2.15 Are you aware of other support available to him/her, or to you? If yes, what sort of support, and from whom?

2.16 Are there things that he/she has had no help or support with? If so, can you give details?
2.17 Would you recommend the WAP to other people? If so, why? If not, why not?
2.18 Do you think that being in the WAP made a difference to his/her life? If so, how?
2.19 Do you think being in the WAP made a difference to anyone else’s life? If so, how?
2.20 Do you feel different about anything in your life since his/her involvement in the WAP?
2.21 What supports would be available to [client], if the WAP were not available to him/her?
2.22 Would you say there were any problems with the WAP, in terms of how it is delivered or experienced by clients and their families? If so, can you give details?

And lastly:
Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

Thank you for participating in this interview with me today. Here is a small token of my appreciation for your time and your openness in doing this interview. Thank you.

Interview with WAP or other professional

Preface
I’m interested in finding about your views and understanding of your role in supporting clients of the Walking Alongside Program (WAP) at the FKCLC. I’m interested in finding out your views on the support provided by the WAP, and how helpful that has been, as well as on the impact of WAP participation on clients, their families and communities. I will ask you about your professional role in relation to those clients, and how that role overlapped or connected with the support provided by the WAP.

Just to remind you, your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time. Everything we talk about will remain confidential. I will not identify you by name in the research, unless you give your permission for me to do so.

5. First some background information:
1.10 Can you briefly describe your professional role?
1.11 How long have you been in this role?
1.12 Do you engage or work directly with WAP clients and/or their families?
1.13 If so, can you briefly outline the nature of this engagement?

6. Main questions:
2.23 What is your understanding of the type of support that the WAP has provided to clients?

2.24 Can you talk about specific type of support, i.e. give examples of particular clients’ experiences?

2.25 How helpful do you believe this support has been?

2.26 In what specific areas or domains do you think the WAP has been most helpful or effective?

2.27 Are there areas in which it has been less helpful or effective? Can you give examples?

2.28 What impact do you think the WAP has had on its clients?

2.29 What impact do you think the WAP has had more broadly, on clients’ family and/or community?

2.30 If you work for an agency outside the FKCLC, how has your professional role overlapped or connected with the work of the WAP? (If not, this question not applicable)

2.31 What advantages do you associate with the WAP specifically?

2.32 What supports would be available to clients, if the WAP were not available to them?

2.33 Are you aware of any problems or limitations of the WAP, in terms of how it is delivered or experienced by clients and their families?

2.34 Can you envisage the WAP being useful in other settings? Can you give any examples?

And lastly:

• Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

• Thank you for participating in this interview with me today. Would you be available for follow up via email for clarification of any issues raised? Thank you.