



Need for legal assistance services: developing a measure for Australia



Catriona Mirrlees-Black and Sarah Randell¹

Abstract: *In Australia, legal assistance services – such as legal aid commissions and community legal centres – provide free or subsidised legal advice, primarily to people on low incomes. Surveys show that on average about half the population experiences a legal problem each year, so potential demand for these services is high. In the context of restricted funding, there is increased interest in targeting services to those in greatest need. The challenge is in identifying these individuals and where they live so that services can be designed appropriately to meet their needs. This paper describes the development of the Foundation’s Need for Legal Assistance (NLAS) indicator which uses census data to assess potential demand by geographic location. It provides a count of the number of people who are most likely to need public legal assistance services if they were to experience a legal problem.*

¹ This work was funded with a grant from the Australian Government’s Attorney General’s Department and uses census data provided under Creative Commons licence by the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

What is legal need?

Legal problems can be defined as disputes for which there is potentially a legal resolution. They can range from the relatively minor to those that can have a considerable impact, such as eviction from housing or unfair dismissal from a job. But not every problem necessarily requires a legal solution and not everyone who experiences a problem will require legal assistance.

In Australia, organisations which provide legal assistance, such as legal aid commissions and community legal centres, provide free or subsidised legal information, advice and representation services. In general, services other than the provision of information are targeted at, and indeed may only be available to, the most disadvantaged. While every person who experiences a legal problem that requires legal assistance to resolve can be said to have legal need, for the purpose of planning legal assistance services a further requirement is that they do not have the financial resources to engage a private lawyer.

Experiencing a legal problem

On average, according to the Legal Australia-Wide (LAW) Survey, about half the population aged 15 and over experiences a legal problem each year (Coumarelos et al 2012). However, the figure rises for certain disadvantaged groups (such as single parents and people with disabilities) and increases further for those with multiple disadvantage (McDonald & Wei 2013). Table 1 indicates the proportion of population groups experiencing at least one legal problem per year in Australia, as estimated by the LAW Survey.

The impact of legal problems

The impact of legal problems also varies considerably according to personal circumstances. For instance, a consumer rights problem can have a major impact on a person with limited financial resources. Disadvantaged people are more likely to experience problems that have a substantial impact on their lives. Respondents with six or more indicators of disadvantage had, on average, 6.5 times as many legal problems and 7.5 times as many substantial legal problems, compared to respondents that had no indicators of disadvantage (McDonald & Wei 2013).

Needing assistance to resolve problems

Not everyone who experiences a legal problem will identify it as such, and not everyone who does so will prefer a legal response or seek legal assistance. Overall, the LAW Survey found that legal assistance was sought for about 16 per cent of problems experienced across Australia. However, people with multiple disadvantage (whether social, economic and/or health-related) are the least likely to take

TABLE 1: PREVALENCE OF LEGAL PROBLEMS IN AUSTRALIA: ESTIMATES FROM THE LAW SURVEY

Groups	%
All people aged 15 and over	50.0
Financially disadvantaged – personal income	45.7
People with low education	43.2
Unemployed people	63.5
Single parents	69.3
People 65 and over	30.7
People with a disability	61.0
Indigenous Australians	54.4
Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) people	42.9
Residing in an outer regional/remote area	49.7

Source: Coumarelos et al 2012

Notes: The prevalence is the percentage of respondents reporting experiencing one or more of 129 types of legal problem in the previous year. The sample for the LAW Survey was 20,716 persons aged 15 and over. The findings here are based on a sample weighted to be representative of Australia.

any action in response to their legal problems (McDonald & Wei 2016). And while this may sometimes be the most appropriate response, an unresolved problem can cause ongoing hardship and may increase vulnerability to further problems such as debt. Disadvantaged people are also likely to lack the financial resources to engage a private lawyer so are dependent on free or subsidised services should they need legal assistance.

Legal needs research has consistently highlighted that some people are less capable of managing legal problems themselves (McDonald & Wei 2016). Legal capability is defined as the personal characteristics or competencies necessary for an individual to resolve legal problems effectively (Coumarelos et al 2012). It generally comprises capabilities across a number of domains including sufficient cognitive, communication and literacy skills to successfully seek and obtain legal information or assistance (Pleasence et al 2014). Legal assistance services generally focus on people with low capability as these people may, for instance, lack the personal capability to use self-help services effectively.

Given that the experience of legal problems is so widespread, and not everyone will require or prefer a legal response, an alternative approach to service planning is to focus on identifying who is most likely to need access to legal assistance services once a problem has been experienced. That is, focusing on those people who are least likely to have the personal or financial resources to manage their own problems and are most likely to be eligible for legal assistance services.

This paper describes the development of an indicator of need for legal assistance services (NLAS) developed by the Foundation to support state and territory level planning of services.

The policy context

The 2015 *National Partnership Agreement on Legal Assistance Services* (NPA) between the Commonwealth of Australia and the states/territories identified a number of priority groups for legal assistance services (Council of Australian Governments 2015). It specified that service providers focus Commonwealth funding on people experiencing financial disadvantage and, where appropriate, plan and target their services to people that fall within priority client groups. Australian states are required to use census and other data to identify priority clients and the geographic locations in which people have the highest levels of legal need.

These requirements were in recognition of the role that data can play in planning cost-effective services including:

- *Measuring potential demand* for services and understanding the nature of that demand
- *Assessing gaps in current provision* and/or variations in provision across geographic areas and for different priority groups
- *Supporting service implementation* by identifying the most appropriate physical locations for services in specific geographical areas and/or the requirement for specialist services
- *Monitoring* the provision of services by comparing client profiles to local population profiles, to assess the extent to which services are being targeted at those most in need of legal assistance services.

The focus on geographic area of residence recognises that for the least capable clients, face-to-face services are likely to be most effective (Coumarelos et al 2015). However, telephone based support providers can also use this type of data to assess the extent to which they are reaching those most in need of their services.

Measures of legal need

Administrative data

There are several sources of information on need for legal assistance services. One source is the data collected by services on the enquiries they receive. Within NSW, this information is collated by the Foundation from the three main services: Legal Aid NSW, LawAccess NSW and Community Legal Centres NSW (Mirrlees-Black & Ramsey 2014). Although this information is a useful indication of the types of legal problems enquired about, it is very much driven by the availability and accessibility of service providers, so is not a good indicator of the extent of legal need in areas with insufficient service providers to meet that need.

Surveys

Although the LAW Survey provides good information about the prevalence of legal problems at state/territory level, because it is a survey of only a sample of the population the number of people interviewed in smaller geographic areas or even larger areas with sparse populations, is generally insufficient to provide robust measures. There have been previous attempts to estimate the prevalence of legal problems using survey findings about the extent to which people with particular characteristics experience problems and applying to this the population profile of a geographic area. However, because these estimates are derived from surveys they are likely to have a wide margin of error and, therefore, may not be useful for reliably distinguishing between areas.

Census data counts

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census currently takes place every five years and provides comparable data on key socio-demographic indicators for the entire population down to small geographic areas. The purpose of the census is primarily to provide population data to inform planning. It includes items that allow the counting of people with specific characteristics, such as the young, those in education, those with caring responsibilities and those living in particular types of housing. Census data is available for the smallest geographic areas. However, thought needs to be given to selecting appropriate indicators for legal assistance services. For instance, living in social housing is one potential measure of the need for services but is itself a reflection of the provision of social housing. A focus on this would overlook people living in areas with low provision and those without stable housing are likely to have high legal need (Forell et al 2005, Coumarelos et al 2012).

Socio-demographic indexes

Area-based indices of disadvantage, such as the ABS Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) and other rankings of disadvantage (e.g. Vinson et al 2015) are often used for social service planning purposes. Such indices and rankings use census or other socio-demographic data to classify areas into varying levels of advantage and disadvantage. These may or may not be relevant to planning legal assistance services. There is, for instance, no clear relationship between the prevalence of legal problems and the SEIFA index (People et al 2015). This may be due to the inclusion of characteristics within the index which are not aligned with an increased chance of experiencing legal problems, but is probably more a reflection of the variation in individual experience within any geographic area (also known as the ecological fallacy (Baker & Adhikari 2007)). SEIFA is also subject to the limitations of rates, discussed further below.

TABLE 2: CO-OCCURRENCE OF NLAS GROUPS, AUSTRALIA

Priority group	NLAS(CapabilityP)		NLAS(Indigenous)		NLAS(CALD)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
NLAS(CapabilityP)	1,124,793	100.0	73,050	42.2	198,365	13.4
NLAS(Indigenous)	73,050	6.5	173,255	100.0	1,133	0.1
NLAS(CALD)	198,365	17.6	1,133	0.7	1,475,115	100.0

Source: Based on ABS Census 2011

Note: the small overlap between NLAS(Indigenous) and NLAS(CALD) reflects census respondent's answers to questions about Indigenous status and main language spoken at home (excluding Indigenous languages).

Need for legal assistance services indicator (NLAS)

Given the limitations of administrative data, survey measures and existing indices, the Foundation's approach to measuring legal need for planning purposes is to focus on counting the number of people that are likely to require legal assistance if they experience a legal problem. While this does not incorporate the *chance* of experiencing a problem, this can be justified by the finding that on average people experience 1.9 legal problems each year rising to 12.5 for the most disadvantaged (McDonald & Wei 2013) and that in practice the provision of services is unlikely to fully meet demand.

To facilitate this alternative approach to service planning, the Foundation has developed the concept of the Need for Legal Assistance Services (NLAS) indicator which counts the number of residents in an area likely to require legal assistance if they were to experience a problem. There are currently four NLAS indicators. NLAS(CapabilityP) provides a proxy measure of legal capability by identifying people aged 15 to 64 with low personal income (less than AUD\$20,800 per year in 2011) who also have a low level of education (they left school before the final year (Year 12), were not currently studying and did not have any post-school qualifications). As such, it identifies those people with limited access to personal financial resources that are also likely to have lower levels of knowledge and skill achievement. The financial limit was selected as being similar to that used in the SEIFA index and in line with legal aid means tests for legal representation, but it can be increased for services that are available to people with a higher level of income. The age limit recognises that for older generations it was relatively common to leave school early, so those leaving school prior to Year 12 are a larger proportion of this age group and have a more 'capable' profile. The Foundation is exploring options for their inclusion in future iterations of NLAS but as the types of legal problems they experience are distinct from those people of work age we would recommend that they are considered separately for planning purposes.

NLAS(CapabilityH) counts people aged 15 to 64 with a low level of education living in a household with

an income equivalent to a single person income of less than AUD\$20,800 per year. It was developed in recognition that using personal rather than household income potentially over-counts people with low personal income living in better off households, such as stay-at-home spouses. On the other hand, anyone without a personal income may lack access to financial resources whatever their household income, such as those seeking to escape family violence. However, as discussed further below, due to the limitations of household income data, this indicator should be used with caution.

Two further indicators have been derived to identify those areas that have a large number of people who may require culturally specific services, either because they are both low income and identify as Indigenous, NLAS(Indigenous); or are low income and are from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds other than Indigenous, NLAS(CALD).

The counts from the NLAS indicators cannot be added together as there is overlap between them: that is, the same person can be included in more than one indicator. Thus 42.2% of Australians counted in the NLAS(Indigenous) indicator are also included in NLAS(CapabilityP) and 6.5% of those counted in NLAS(CapabilityP) are also included in NLAS(Indigenous) (Table 2).

The NLAS indicators can be constructed for each of the four ABS statistical areas, which range from Statistical Area Level 4 (closest in size to a region) down to the smallest Statistical Area Level 1 (which have an average total population size of 400 people).²

The limitations of NLAS

NLAS is not without its limitations. It is a blunt tool that assumes legal capability is a relatively static state that is correlated primarily with education and personal income. Other more dynamic aspects of capability, such as psychological readiness to act, are not measured by this indicator. It is not intended to identify which individuals should be prioritised for services but rather to compare the potential demand

² Contact the Foundation at datadigest@lawfoundation.net.au for further details.

for services across geographical areas in a way that is more aligned with legal need than a general population count or other indices.

There are also several limitations which need to be considered when using data from the census. The first is that as soon as the data is collected, it is out of date. The analysis presented here uses data from the 2011 Census. Inevitably there are some locations for which the 2011 Census has no data but which have new housing developments where communities now live (Mirrlees-Black & Williams 2016b). The residents of these areas could not be counted in the NLAS indicators. It is also a count of night time residents. The profile of an area during the day – when services are most likely to be used – can look very different. This is particularly relevant for areas that people travel to for employment, education, retail or health-related purposes.

Despite the best efforts of the ABS, not everyone completes the census and the types of people most at need may be the least likely to get included, such as the homeless, those escaping family violence and people with a low level of education. Even when people complete the census, they may not answer every question or they may not provide accurate information. It may well be that the more disadvantaged an area, the more of an impact this has on census counts.

The problem of people and/or questions missing from the census is exacerbated when using more than one census variable as is the case in constructing NLAS. Census items vary in the extent to which missing data is a problem. For instance, there is far more missing data for household income than personal income, which is likely to reduce the count of people meeting the criteria for NLAS(CapabilityH). If there is more missing data for the most disadvantaged groups then the use of this indicator could misrepresent the relative extent of need, as well as the absolute count.

A further issue to be aware of in using census data is that to protect the confidentiality of respondents, the ABS introduces some random error for the smallest geographic areas. In practice, this means that the number of people assigned a certain characteristic will not always be accurate at these smallest levels.

The consequence of these limitations is that it is likely the NLAS counts are minimum counts and that they may in particular undercount those most in need of legal assistance services. And to reiterate, legal capability, although related to someone's socio-demographic characteristics, is also dependent on factors not measured by the census such as mental health and is not an entirely static characteristic as it is vulnerable to life events.

Numbers and rates

The data used in NLAS can be presented as both an absolute number: the count of people that meet the NLAS indicator criteria; and as a percentage: the proportion of people living in a particular area that meet the criteria. The latter are sometimes referred to as 'rates'. Rates indicate the percentage or proportion of a particular population (the denominator) that has a particular characteristic. Careful consideration should be given to the choice of denominator, which could, for instance be the total population, the adult population or a particular group within the population. Rates adjust for the underlying population distribution and are therefore useful for comparing the profile of different areas. Rates will tend to be smaller in more mixed communities where no one group predominates, such as in inner city areas. Here individuals with high need may be less visible, even if their absolute number is relatively big. Areas with high rates on indicators of need or disadvantage may present their own intrinsic problems such as weak community networks, high social disadvantage and a consequent absence of capable support networks.

For planning purposes, the absolute number of residents and visitors to a particular area is likely to be most useful for determining the amount of potential demand for services. However, although the absolute number of potential clients in some areas (particularly remote ones) may be small, the lack of alternative accessible options for assistance may increase the relative priority of providing services to these communities.

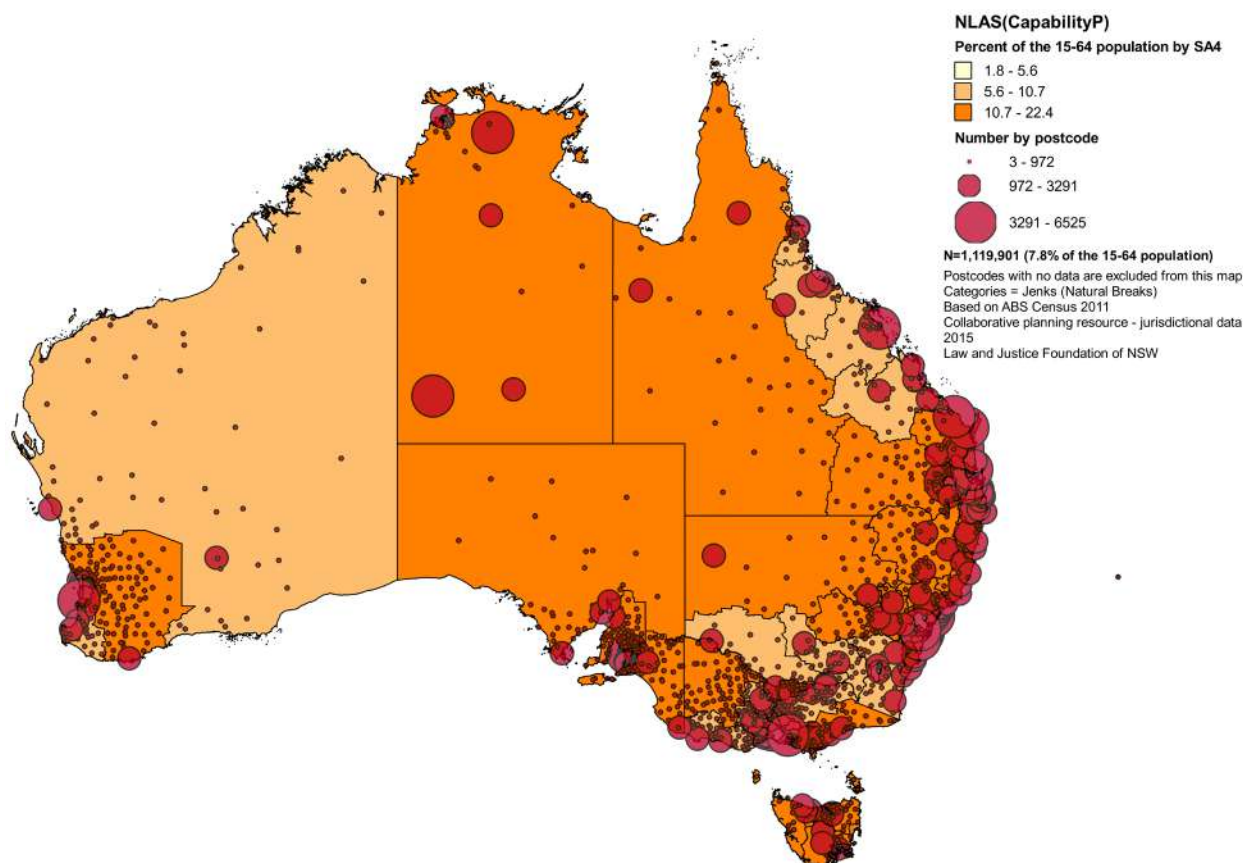
Reference should therefore be made both to absolute numbers and rates because areas with low rates may have high numbers and vice versa.

The distribution of need across Australia

For illustrative purposes the maps presented here plot NLAS data for the whole of Australia. In practice, planning will be done at state and territory level and below. State and territory level information is provided by the Foundation on its website (Mirrlees-Black & Williams 2015). It should also be noted that the presentation of data in maps, while visually appealing, is affected by the available geographic boundaries, how colour and size are perceived and decisions about the split of data into categories. The underlying data itself should therefore be accessed for any planning exercise (see, for instance, the Appendix tables).

The map presented in Figure 1 contains both numbers and rates/percentages. The circles are located at

FIGURE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF LEGAL NEED IN AUSTRALIA: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NLAS(CAPABILITYP) POPULATION



2,511 postcode³ centroids across Australia and give a broad indication of the *number* of people meeting the NLAS(CapabilityP) criteria. The larger the circle is, the greater the number of people in the postcode who meet the criteria. Postcodes where no one met the criteria are excluded.⁴

The colour of the 88 regions⁵ across Australia indicates the *percentage*⁶ of the population of each region meeting the NLAS(CapabilityP) criteria: the darker the area the higher the proportion and the paler the lower. The latter are very hard to see as they are generally the most populated

urban regions (including Canberra, Darwin, Perth, inner Melbourne and inner Sydney) which are geographically small in size. However, as they have large numbers of residents meeting the criteria, these areas have large circles over the top of them. Figure 2 removes the circles of counts so that these lower rate areas are more visible, but as the cut out of the Sydney and Canberra area indicates, it is necessary to zoom in to see precisely where they are located.⁷ Together these maps reflect the point made earlier regarding the use of rates or numbers for planning purposes. The heterogeneous nature of high density urban areas means that although the *number* of people of low capability can be higher than in a more regional area, the *percentage* will be lower as they are living alongside the more capable.

It has been suggested that NLAS(CapabilityP) gives the same picture as the distribution of the general population. It certainly has its basis in the population distribution, but it is not the same. If it were, then there would be no distinction between the NLAS(CapabilityP) rates, which across Australian regions range from 1.8% (in North Sydney and Hornsby) to 22.4% in Northern Territory – Outback (see Table 3 in the Appendix).

3 Postcodes in Australia identify whole or parts of suburbs and as they are a required part of an address they tend to be the smallest available geographical identifier for anonymised client data.

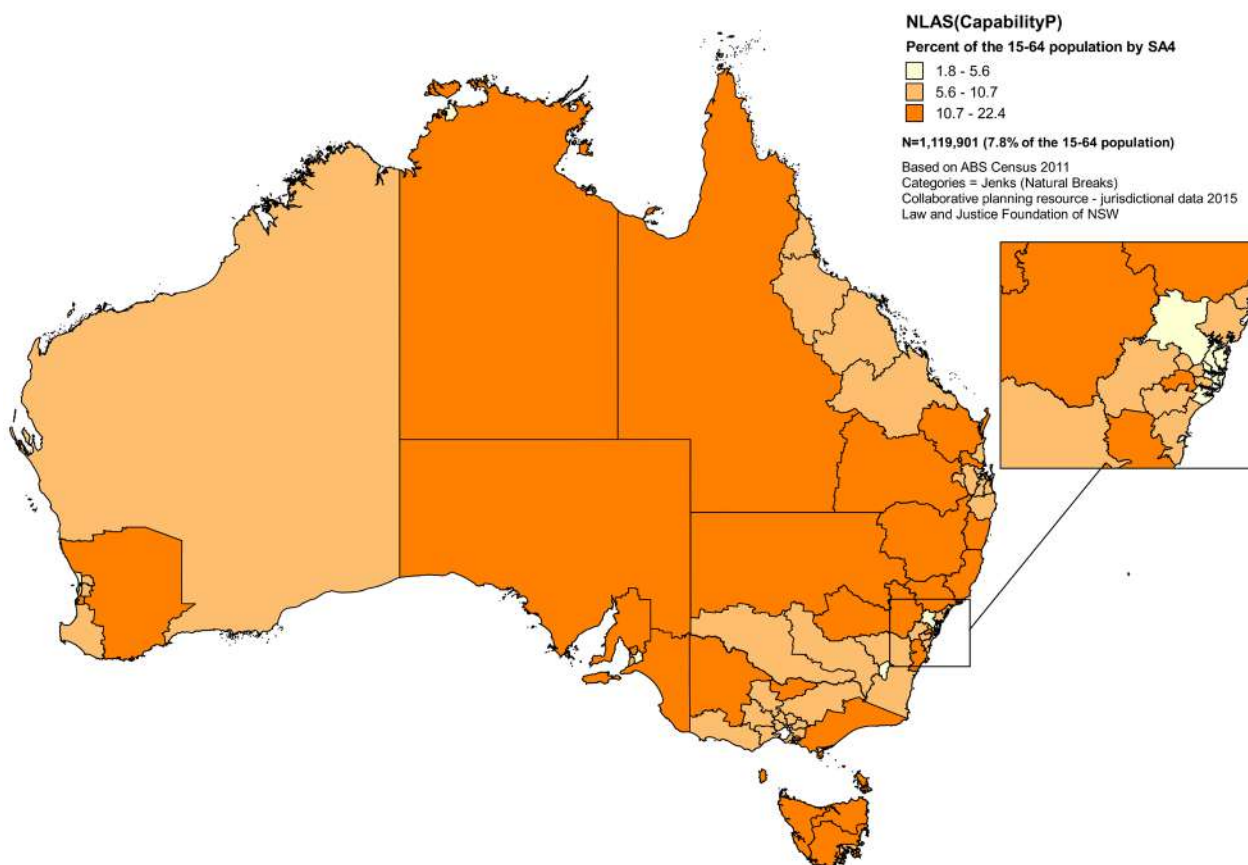
4 The number of postcodes excluded was 25 for NLAS(CapabilityP), 363 for NLAS(Indigenous) and 242 for NLAS(CALD).

5 ABS SA4 regions are designed to reflect one or more whole labour markets and are required to have large populations of over 100,000 people in order to enable accurate labour force survey data to be generated. In rural areas, SA4s generally represent aggregations of multiple small labour markets with socioeconomic connections or similar industry characteristics. Large regional city labour markets (150,000 people) are generally defined by a single SA4. Within major metropolitan labour markets SA4s represent sub-labour markets.

6 This is the number in the population meeting the NLAS(CapabilityP) criteria per 100 people aged 15 to 64

7 Interactive versions of these maps are planned to facilitate this.

FIGURE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF LEGAL NEED IN AUSTRALIA: PERCENTAGE NLAS(CAPABILITYP) POPULATION BY REGION



The distribution of NLAS(Indigenous) across Australia is shown in Figure 3 (and Table 4, Appendix). Reflecting the underlying population distributions of people identifying as Indigenous, the regions with greatest number of NLAS(Indigenous) are the outback regions of Northern Territories, Western Australia and Queensland.

NLAS(CALD) is shown in Figure 4 (Table 5, Appendix), This population is far more concentrated in just a few Australian regions, with the largest

numbers found in the south west regions of Sydney and the South East and West of Melbourne.

Overall people classified as low capability on the NLAS(CapabilityP) indicator make up a minimum of 7.8% of all Australians aged 15 to 64, while NLAS(Indigenous) includes 49.2% of the Indigenous population aged 15 and over, and NLAS(CALD) includes 45.7% of the Australian CALD population aged 15 and over.

FIGURE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF LEGAL NEED IN AUSTRALIA: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE NLAS(INDIGENOUS) POPULATION

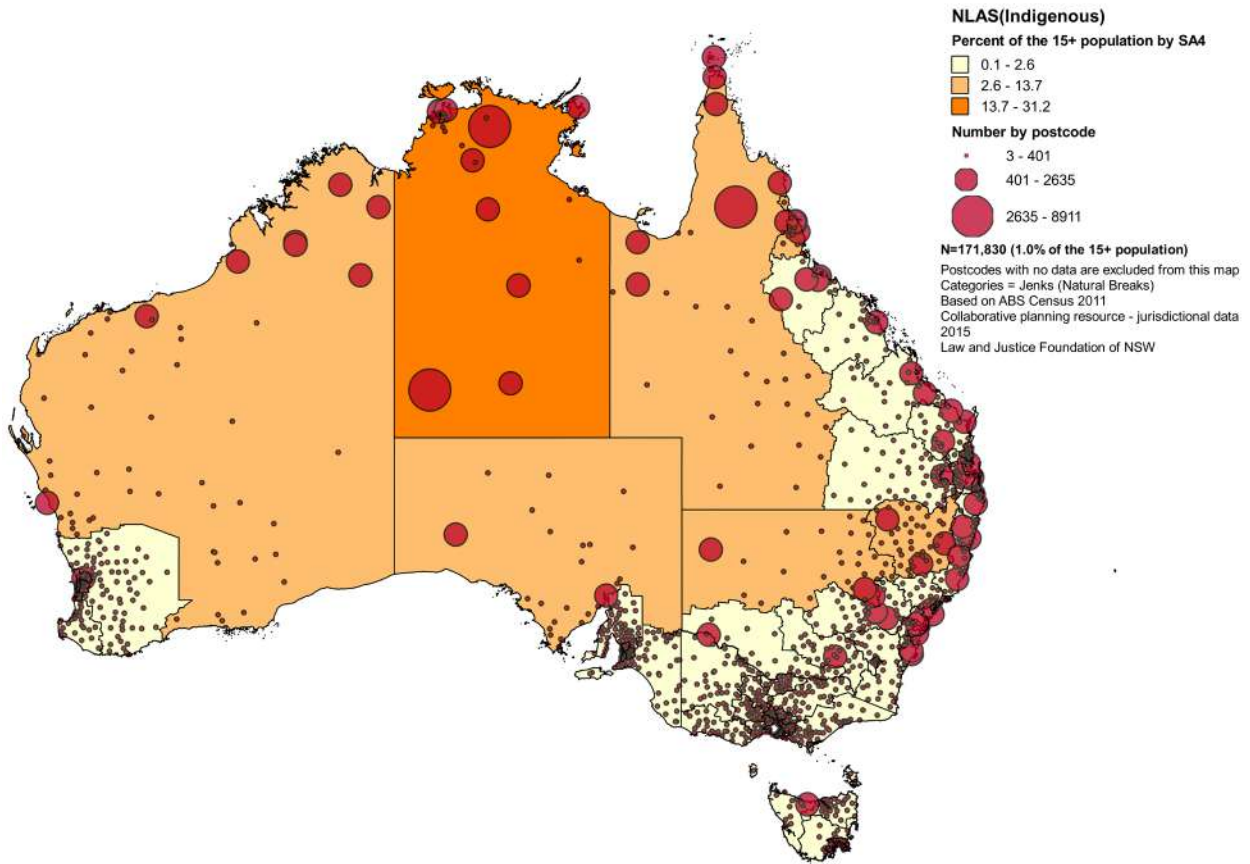
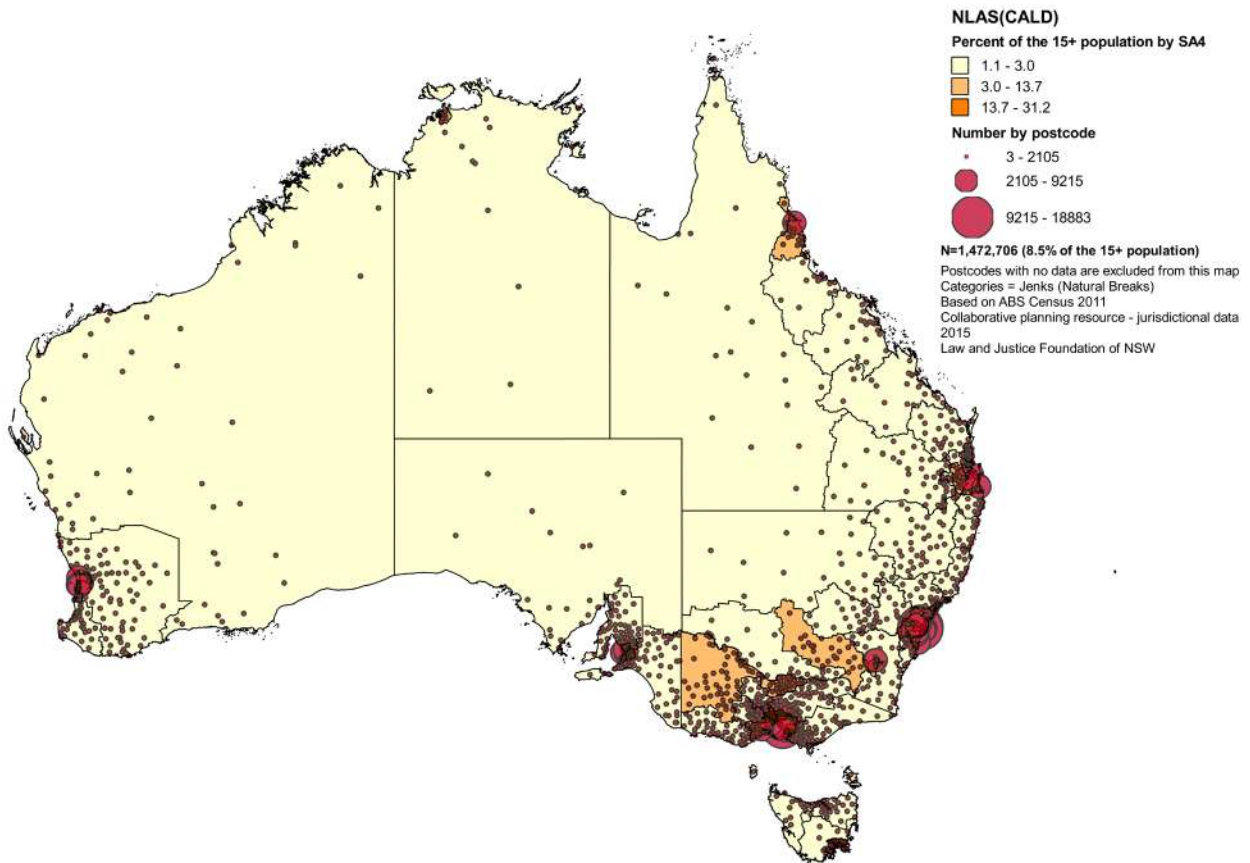


FIGURE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF LEGAL NEED IN AUSTRALIA: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE NLAS(CALD) POPULATION



Discussion

In practice, the planning of legal assistance services is far more complex than assigning resources by geographic need, taking place, as it does, in the context of limited resources, existing services, existing strategic priorities and national/local political priorities.

The NLAS indicators are just one source of information that can be used for planning legal assistance services. In practice, different levels of planning will benefit from different types of information. Regional level mapping provides a broad brush picture of the distribution of legal need across a country or region and can be useful for high level allocation of resources, but it is unlikely to provide sufficient information to plan at a local level or to inform the design of appropriate services to meet the needs of the local community.

Local level planning can take place in real time, responding to specific issues as they arise (such as a large employer closing down or the establishment of an immigration centre) and take account of features of the local environment that will have an impact on the extent and nature of demand for services, such as social housing, prisons, courts, police stations, hospitals, shopping centres, and educational institutions. At this level, service design must consider the characteristics of priority clients

(e.g. youth or recently arrived migrants); the types of legal problems for which they are likely to require assistance; and the barriers they may face accessing support (Coumarelos et al 2015). The most effective services are targeted to reach those with the highest legal need and lowest capability; joined-up with other services to address complex life problems; timely to minimise the impact of problems; and appropriate to the needs and capabilities of users (Pleasence et al 2014). For instance, providing information and referrals to other services may be appropriate for clients with the capability and psychological readiness to act on this information, but less appropriate for clients requiring additional support. Specialist services, rather than generalist services, may be more appropriate when a person needs advice on a particular area of law, such as immigration, employment or tenancy.

Clearly the design of services, their precise location (e.g. a community hall, shopping centre, or hospital) and how they are delivered (e.g. by telephone, video link, or face to face); and what type of legal support they offer and to whom, will require a more in-depth understanding of the local context and community profile than NLAS alone can provide. But NLAS can be a useful starting point to the legal assistance service planning process, providing a comparable indicator of need across all Australian geographic areas.

References

- Baker, J & Adhikari, P 2007, Socio-Economic Indexes for Individuals and Families, 2007, cat. no. 1352.0.55.086, ABS, Canberra.
- Coumarelos, C, Macourt, D, People, J, McDonald, HM, Wei, Z, Iriana, R & Ramsey, S 2012, *Legal Australia-Wide Survey: legal need in Australia*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- Coumarelos, C, McDonald, HM, Forell, S & Wei, Z 2015, *Collaborative Planning Resource – Service Planning*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- Council of Australian Governments 2015, *National Partnership Agreement on Legal Assistance Services*, COAG, Canberra.
- Forell, S, McCarron, E & Schetzer, L 2005, *No home, no justice? The legal needs of homeless people in NSW*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- McDonald, HM & Wei, Z 2013, *Concentrating disadvantage: a working paper on heightened vulnerability to multiple legal problems*, Updating justice, no. 24, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- McDonald, HM & Wei, Z 2015, *How people solve legal problems: level of disadvantage and legal capability*, Justice issues paper 23, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- Mirrlees-Black, C & Ramsey, S 2014, *The development of the Legal Assistance Service Data Digest and Data Digest Online*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- Mirrlees-Black, C & Williams, SA 2015, *Collaborative Planning Resource – Jurisdictional Data*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- Mirrlees-Black, C & Williams, SA 2016a, *Legal Assistance Service Data Digest*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney, 22 June.
- Mirrlees-Black & Williams, SA 2016b, *Law and Justice Foundation resource to support the planning of legal assistance services in the Hills region*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- Mirrlees-Black, C & Williams, SA 2016c, 'Developing an indicator of need for legal assistance services', paper presented to ACSPRI Social Sciences Methodology Conference 2016, Sydney.
- Pleasence, P, Coumarelos, C, Forell, S & McDonald, HM 2014, *Reshaping legal assistance services: building on the evidence base: a discussion paper*, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- People, J, Karras, M, Coumarelos, C, Mirrlees-Black, C & Ramsey, S 2015, *Planning legal assistance services by area: is SEIFA the answer?*, Updating justice, no. 46, Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, Sydney.
- Vinson, T, Rawsthorne, M, Beavis, A & Ericson, M 2015, *Dropping off the edge: persistent communal disadvantage in Australia*, Jesuit Social Services & Catholic Social Services Australia, Richmond, VIC.

Appendix

TABLE 3: NLAS(CAPABILITYP), NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF THE 15-64 POPULATION, SORTED BY NUMBER FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST BY SA4.

SA4	Number	% of 15-64 region population	SA4	Number	% of 15-64 region population
1 Melbourne – West	36,053	8.4	47 West and North West	10,659	15.4
2 Melbourne – South East	34,249	7.7	48 Hume	10,190	10.1
3 Sydney – South West	29,227	12.0	49 Riverina	10,085	10.7
4 Adelaide – North	28,878	11.0	50 Bunbury	10,063	9.8
5 Sydney – Inner South West	27,139	7.8	51 Coffs Harbour – Grafton	9,832	12.2
6 Wide Bay	25,401	15.4	52 Ballarat	9,756	10.3
7 Gold Coast	22,393	6.6	53 Brisbane – South	9,673	4.4
8 Sydney – Parramatta	21,266	7.9	54 Far West and Orana	9,657	13.7
9 Melbourne – North East	21,263	7.2	55 Brisbane – East	9,650	6.9
10 Newcastle and Lake Macquarie	21,043	9.5	56 Darling Downs – Maranoa	9,558	12.7
11 Melbourne – Outer East	20,325	6.3	57 Mackay	9,498	8.3
12 Melbourne – North West	20,302	9.6	58 Shepparton	9,456	12.3
13 Perth – South East	19,527	6.5	59 Barossa – Yorke – Mid North	9,292	14.2
14 Ipswich	18,923	10.2	60 Western Australia – Wheat Belt	9,289	11.4
15 Latrobe – Gippsland	18,563	11.6	61 Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven	8,939	11.1
16 Perth – North West	18,546	5.6	62 Bendigo	8,787	9.8
17 Central Coast	18,545	9.6	63 Melbourne – Inner South	8,611	3.5
18 Logan – Beaudesert	18,503	9.5	64 Adelaide – Central and Hills	8,342	4.5
19 Hunter Valley exc Newcastle	18,323	11.8	65 Australian Capital Territory	8,053	3.2
20 Sydney – Blacktown	17,797	8.7	66 Warrnambool and South West	8,043	10.6
21 Illawarra	17,508	9.8	67 Toowoomba	7,770	8.7
22 Adelaide – South	16,735	7.4	68 South Australia – Outback	7,525	13.6
23 Mid North Coast	16,185	13.9	69 Queensland – Outback	7,457	13.4
24 Sydney – Outer West and Blue Mountains	15,948	8.2	70 Murray	7,347	10.7
25 Perth – South West	15,803	6.7	71 Sydney – City and Inner South	7,257	3.4
26 Sunshine Coast	15,665	8.1	72 Brisbane – North	7,148	5.6
27 Moreton Bay – North	14,947	11.0	73 Moreton Bay – South	6,989	6.2
28 Sydney – Outer South West	14,858	9.3	74 Melbourne – Inner East	6,945	3.1
29 Richmond – Tweed	14,753	10.4	75 Sydney – Inner West	6,546	3.5
30 South Australia – South East	14,492	13.2	76 Sydney – Sutherland	6,072	4.4
31 Western Australia – Outback	14,190	9.3	77 Mandurah	5,894	11.6
32 Geelong	14,040	8.7	78 Sydney – Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury	5,566	4.0
33 Northern Territory – Outback	13,784	22.4	79 Darwin	4,534	5.2
34 Fitzroy	13,772	9.8	80 Sydney – North Sydney and Hornsby	4,412	1.8
35 Central West	13,768	11.3	81 Sydney – Northern Beaches	4,328	2.8
36 Mornington Peninsula	13,668	8.0	82 Brisbane Inner City	3,969	2.3
37 New England and North West	13,188	12.0	83 Sydney – Eastern Suburbs	3,593	2.0
38 Cairns	13,008	8.7	84 South East	3,548	15.5
39 Hobart	12,554	9.0	85 Sydney – Ryde	3,292	3.0
40 Adelaide – West	12,341	8.5	86 Brisbane – West	3,265	2.8
41 Townsville	12,109	8.2	87 Perth – Inner	2,357	2.1
42 Capital Region	11,915	9.1	88 Other Territories	157	6.7
43 North West	11,682	12.9	Total	1,124,946	7.8
44 Melbourne – Inner	11,491	3.0			
45 Launceston and North East	11,213	12.7			
46 Perth – North East	10,723	7.1			

Source: Based on ABS Census 2011

Notes: Regions used are the ABS Statistical Area 4 (SA4).

Definition of NLAS(CapabilityP): People self-identifying as aged 15-64 years and over with a personal income of less than \$400 per week or \$20,800 per year, whose highest education achievement is below Year 12, are not currently studying and do not have post-school qualifications.

TABLE 4: NLAS(INDIGENOUS), NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF THE 15+ POPULATION AND THE 15+ INDIGENOUS POPULATION, SORTED BY NUMBER FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST BY SA4.

	State	SA4	Number	% of 15+ region population	% of 15+ Indigenous region population
1	NT	Northern Territory – Outback	20,512	31.2	67.5
2	WA	Western Australia – Outback	11,611	6.9	53.2
3	Qld	Queensland – Outback	8,622	13.7	53.2
4	Qld	Cairns	7,196	4.1	50.1
5	NSW	Far West and Orana	5,645	6.3	49.7
6	NSW	New England and North West	5,277	3.8	53.6
7	Qld	Townsville	4,524	2.6	46.6
8	NSW	Mid North Coast	3,734	2.3	56.2
9	Qld	Wide Bay	3,522	1.6	55.2
10	SA	South Australia – Outback	3,320	4.9	56.1
11	NSW	Central West	3,213	2.1	49.4
12	NSW	Newcastle and Lake Macquarie	2,917	1.0	46.0
13	NT	Darwin	2,889	3.0	39.0
14	Qld	Fitzroy	2,868	1.7	45.0
15	NSW	Richmond – Tweed	2,749	1.5	51.5
16	NSW	Central Coast	2,691	1.1	47.2
17	NSW	Hunter Valley exc Newcastle	2,672	1.4	45.8
18	Qld	Ipswich	2,577	1.2	43.1
19	NSW	Sydney – Blacktown	2,459	1.1	49.5
20	WA	Perth – South East	2,330	0.7	42.9
21	Qld	Logan – Beaudesert	2,236	1.0	45.2
22	SA	Adelaide – North	2,138	0.7	47.3
23	NSW	Riverina	2,092	1.8	47.7
24	NSW	Sydney – Outer West and Blue Mountains	2,060	0.9	40.8
25	Tas	Hobart	2,023	1.2	45.5
26	NSW	Coffs Harbour – Grafton	1,991	1.9	53.0
27	Tas	West and North West	1,989	2.3	47.3
28	NSW	Illawarra	1,987	0.9	48.7
29	NSW	Capital Region	1,869	1.1	47.7
30	NSW	Sydney – Outer South West	1,796	1.0	45.1
31	Qld	Gold Coast	1,784	0.4	43.5
32	WA	Western Australia – Wheat Belt	1,783	1.7	52.2
33	Qld	Moreton Bay – North	1,701	1.0	46.8
34	Qld	Darling Downs – Maranoa	1,653	1.7	48.5
35	NSW	Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven	1,631	1.5	51.4
36	Qld	Mackay	1,629	1.2	38.7
37	WA	Perth – South West	1,474	0.5	41.8
38	WA	Perth – North West	1,450	0.4	43.1
39	Tas	Launceston and North East	1,321	1.2	52.3
40	Qld	Sunshine Coast	1,318	0.5	46.0
41	WA	Perth – North East	1,313	0.7	37.2
42	SA	South Australia – South East	1,293	0.9	51.2
43	ACT	Australian Capital Territory	1,265	0.4	36.5
44	NSW	Sydney – City and Inner South	1,251	0.5	44.2
45	Qld	Toowoomba	1,225	1.1	45.0
46	NSW	Sydney – South West	1,205	0.4	47.4
47	Vic	Latrobe – Gippsland	1,174	0.6	49.7

	<i>State</i>	<i>SA4</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of 15+ region population</i>	<i>% of 15+ Indigenous region population</i>
48	Vic	North West	1,154	1.0	53.1
49	Qld	Brisbane – East	1,131	0.7	42.8
50	NSW	Murray	1,096	1.2	53.3
51	SA	Adelaide – West	1,077	0.6	48.4
52	Qld	Brisbane – South	1,072	0.4	40.3
53	SA	Adelaide – South	1,042	0.4	47.6
54	Vic	Shepparton	997	1.0	48.5
55	WA	Bunbury	960	0.8	45.5
56	Qld	Brisbane – North	947	0.6	39.3
57	NSW	Sydney – Inner South West	936	0.2	42.0
58	Vic	Melbourne – West	899	0.2	39.2
59	NSW	Sydney – Parramatta	855	0.3	38.8
60	Vic	Melbourne – North East	810	0.2	42.1
61	Vic	Melbourne – South East	744	0.1	42.9
62	SA	Barossa – Yorke – Mid North	704	0.8	57.3
63	Tas	South East	702	2.4	48.5
64	Qld	Brisbane Inner City	680	0.4	39.7
65	Qld	Moreton Bay – South	610	0.5	38.3
66	Vic	Hume	604	0.5	49.8
67	Vic	Melbourne – Outer East	599	0.2	44.2
68	NSW	Sydney – Eastern Suburbs	581	0.3	35.7
69	Vic	Melbourne – Inner	571	0.1	37.8
70	Vic	Geelong	565	0.3	45.5
71	Vic	Bendigo	564	0.5	50.4
72	Vic	Mornington Peninsula	543	0.2	42.5
73	Vic	Ballarat	537	0.5	51.8
74	Vic	Warrnambool and South West	511	0.5	52.0
75	SA	Adelaide – Central and Hills	509	0.2	45.0
76	Vic	Melbourne – North West	488	0.2	44.1
77	NSW	Sydney – Inner West	473	0.2	39.8
78	NSW	Sydney – Sutherland	464	0.3	37.9
79	WA	Mandurah	428	0.6	47.0
80	Qld	Brisbane – West	336	0.2	39.8
81	NSW	Sydney – Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury	323	0.2	40.6
82	WA	Perth – Inner	277	0.2	45.9
83	NSW	Sydney – Northern Beaches	235	0.1	34.6
84	Vic	Melbourne – Inner South	214	0.1	37.8
85	NSW	Sydney – North Sydney and Hornsby	202	0.1	31.4
86	Vic	Melbourne – Inner East	162	0.1	40.3
87	NSW	Sydney – Ryde	138	0.1	37.3
88	OT	Other Territories	101	4.0	60.8
	Total		171,820	1.0	49.2

Source: Based on ABS Census 2011

Notes: Regions used are the ABS Statistical Area 4 (SA4).

Definition of NLAS(Indigenous): People identifying as aged 15 years and over with a personal income of less than \$400 per week or \$20,800 per year and identified as Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, Both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander.

TABLE 5: NLAS(CALD), NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF THE 15+ POPULATION, SORTED BY NUMBER FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST BY SA4.

	<i>State</i>	<i>SA4</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of 15+ region population</i>	<i>% of 15+ CALD region population</i>
1	NSW	Sydney – Inner South West	114,974	27.3	47.9
2	Vic	Melbourne – South East	99,182	18.8	47.7
3	Vic	Melbourne – West	92,614	19.0	47.2
4	NSW	Sydney – South West	87,699	31.2	50.6
5	NSW	Sydney – Parramatta	82,534	26.1	47.3
6	Vic	Melbourne – Inner	60,483	13.7	48.3
7	Vic	Melbourne – North East	54,717	15.5	47.7
8	Vic	Melbourne – North West	49,512	19.6	51.3
9	Vic	Melbourne – Inner East	42,917	15.2	46.3
10	NSW	Sydney – Inner West	39,388	17.8	43.2
11	NSW	Sydney – Blacktown	38,082	16.4	41.6
12	NSW	Sydney – City and Inner South	35,277	14.9	45.2
13	Qld	Brisbane – South	33,662	13.1	47.1
14	WA	Perth – South East	31,159	8.8	44.0
15	WA	Perth – North West	29,852	7.7	42.6
16	Vic	Melbourne – Inner South	29,472	9.5	42.0
17	NSW	Sydney – North Sydney and Hornsby	28,120	9.2	37.6
18	SA	Adelaide – North	26,707	8.5	50.6
19	Vic	Melbourne – Outer East	26,688	6.9	43.1
20	SA	Adelaide – West	26,405	14.5	52.3
21	NSW	Sydney – Ryde	23,688	17.5	43.7
22	SA	Adelaide – Central and Hills	23,251	10.0	48.2
23	NSW	Sydney – Eastern Suburbs	21,479	10.1	41.5
24	Qld	Gold Coast	20,719	5.0	47.9
25	ACT	Australian Capital Territory	20,147	6.9	37.3
26	NSW	Illawarra	18,700	8.4	53.5
27	WA	Perth – South West	17,291	6.1	42.4
28	NSW	Sydney – Baulkham Hills and Hawkesbury	15,537	9.4	37.9
29	NSW	Sydney – Outer South West	15,364	8.4	43.6
30	SA	Adelaide – South	13,511	4.8	47.2
31	WA	Perth – North East	13,234	7.5	43.5
32	Qld	Logan – Beaudesert	12,922	5.8	46.0
33	Qld	Ipswich	12,899	6.0	45.5
34	Qld	Brisbane Inner City	12,441	6.5	42.2
35	NSW	Sydney – Outer West and Blue Mountains	11,372	5.0	43.1
36	WA	Perth – Inner	9,959	7.5	40.9
37	Vic	Geelong	9,784	4.8	52.3
38	NSW	Sydney – Northern Beaches	9,535	5.0	35.7
39	Qld	Brisbane – West	9,087	6.6	44.6
40	NSW	Newcastle and Lake Macquarie	7,961	2.8	47.9
41	Vic	Mornington Peninsula	7,765	3.5	45.7
42	Qld	Brisbane – North	7,696	4.9	39.7
43	NSW	Sydney – Sutherland	7,696	4.5	37.1
44	Qld	Cairns	6,879	3.9	42.8
45	Tas	Hobart	5,797	3.4	51.3
46	NSW	Central Coast	5,707	2.3	46.3
47	Vic	Latrobe – Gippsland	5,127	2.5	52.1
48	Qld	Sunshine Coast	4,778	1.9	46.0

	State	SA4	Number	% of 15+ region population	% of 15+ CALD region population
49	NT	Darwin	4,646	4.9	32.0
50	Qld	Brisbane – East	4,518	2.7	38.6
51	Qld	Townsville	4,256	2.5	41.8
52	NSW	Capital Region	4,104	2.4	43.1
53	Vic	Shepparton	3,911	3.9	50.5
54	Qld	Moreton Bay – North	3,829	2.2	45.2
55	Vic	North West	3,753	3.2	51.6
56	NSW	Riverina	3,681	3.1	46.4
57	Qld	Wide Bay	3,611	1.6	51.9
58	NSW	Richmond – Tweed	3,429	1.9	48.9
59	SA	South Australia – South East	3,404	2.4	49.2
60	Vic	Hume	3,028	2.3	52.0
61	Qld	Moreton Bay – South	2,927	2.3	36.0
62	WA	Western Australia – Outback	2,726	1.6	25.7
63	WA	Bunbury	2,710	2.2	39.6
64	Qld	Toowoomba	2,654	2.4	44.8
65	Tas	Launceston and North East	2,428	2.2	55.9
66	NSW	Hunter Valley exc Newcastle	2,383	1.2	45.9
67	NSW	Southern Highlands and Shoalhaven	2,232	2.0	49.9
68	NSW	Central West	2,221	1.4	48.4
69	Vic	Ballarat	2,176	1.8	48.4
70	Qld	Fitzroy	2,144	1.3	32.8
71	NSW	Coffs Harbour – Grafton	2,077	2.0	50.8
72	Qld	Mackay	1,927	1.5	32.5
73	WA	Western Australia – Wheat Belt	1,926	1.9	40.8
74	NSW	Mid North Coast	1,751	1.1	48.6
75	Vic	Bendigo	1,599	1.4	45.4
76	NSW	New England and North West	1,578	1.1	44.9
77	NSW	Murray	1,570	1.8	47.5
78	WA	Mandurah	1,382	2.0	46.3
79	SA	South Australia – Outback	1,234	1.8	43.0
80	Qld	Darling Downs – Maranoa	1,203	1.3	41.4
81	SA	Barossa – Yorke – Mid North	1,055	1.2	51.3
82	Vic	Warrnambool and South West	1,042	1.1	46.3
83	NSW	Far West and Orana	995	1.1	44.4
84	Tas	West and North West	927	1.1	49.4
85	Qld	Queensland – Outback	801	1.3	31.0
86	NT	Northern Territory – Outback	748	1.1	21.9
87	Tas	South East	346	1.2	49.4
88	OT	Other Territories	272	10.8	29.1
	Total		1,472,974	8.5	45.7

Source: Based on ABS Census 2011

Notes: Regions used are the ABS Statistical Area 4 (SA4).

Definition of NLAS(CALD): People aged 15 years and over with a personal income of less than \$400 per week or \$20,800 per year and who speak another language other than English at home, excluding an Australian Indigenous language.

