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Uptake of legal self-help resources: what works, for whom and for what?

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Abstract: *While technology and the way information is available to people have changed markedly since the Legal Australia-Wide (LAW) Survey was conducted in 2008, this paper reports important evidence concerning Australians' use of self-help resources (SHRs) for legal problems at that time based on new analysis of LAW Survey data. The findings show links between the use and helpfulness of SHRs, and the resolution and outcomes of legal problems.*

LAW Survey respondents only used SHRs for 20 per cent of legal problems, and rarely were they the only type of assistance sought or action taken. When used, SHRs were rated as helpful for only 60 per cent of legal problems. SHRs were typically one of a number of strategies people adopted in seeking to address their legal problems. This suggests SHRs should be viewed as a complementary, rather than alternative, stand-alone service strategy. Well-designed SHRs, integrated with and complementing other types of assistance, however, may well be more than the sum of their parts. People who used SHRs for one problem tended to do so for other problems and people who found SHRs helpful for one problem tended to find them helpful for others.

A minority of people appear capable of effectively using SHRs – as one of several potential sources of help – to resolve legal problems. Use of SHRs was associated with increased use of formal advisers and other actions. This is the first research showing that obtaining 'helpful' SHRs can improve Australians' reported legal problem outcome satisfaction and favourability. Reported outcomes are also improved when the main adviser provides pre-packaged legal information. These findings support investment in SHRs as a component of an effective legal assistance service strategy, at least for some types of legal problems and for some people.

Many other people are less capable of effectively using SHRs, and typically don't use them, don't find them helpful, or don't achieve satisfactory and favourable outcomes. The evidence therefore suggests a cautious approach to SHRs as a stand-alone legal assistance service strategy.

Further research is needed into what makes SHRs 'helpful' – for different types of users and legal problems – and how to facilitate access to quality, useful SHRs. Digital technology is one obvious strategy. The findings, however, indicate that uptake and effectiveness will vary by both legal problem and user demographic characteristics. Digital SHRs may be more effective as a strategy to enhance access to justice and better meet the legal needs of the 'missing middle' than as a substitute for legal advice for public legal assistance clients.

More nuanced understanding of how personal legal capability intersects with digital capability is also needed. This appears key to realising any substantial gains from 'digital transformation', to the design of SHRs that 'work', and to effectively gauge and monitor access to justice impact. We need to learn more about 'what works', for whom and for what, to better meet the diverse legal need and capability of all Australians.

Understanding self-help resources in the legal assistance services context

What are self-help resources?

Today, **self-help resources** is a term applied to a broad range of hardcopy resources such as factsheets, leaflets, booklets, do-it-yourself kits, guides and handbooks (which people often source online) as well as a rapidly growing number of digital resources such as websites, apps, videos or podcasts provided to assist people to progress or resolve everyday legal problems themselves. Self-help resources are a **legal assistance strategy** specifically intended to help people to help themselves.

Digital solutions now offer the promise of guided pathways, online dispute resolution (ODR) and artificial intelligence (AI) in multiple embodiments, such as natural language inquiry, chat-bots, virtual assistant avatars, intelligent automation and predictive analytics, to help users to clarify legal needs and decide what they what to do next.

This paper uses data from the Legal Australia-Wide (LAW) Survey to measure the use and helpfulness of legal self-help resources. In the LAW Survey, respondents were asked if they had sought help from a *website, book, leaflet or self-help guide* and no distinction was made between hardcopy and digital format.

Since the fieldwork for the LAW Survey was conducted in 2008, self-help resources have undergone significant transformation. Among the drivers of change are smartphones, which were introduced in Australia in 2007, high-speed business and home internet connections supporting higher bandwidth higher capability online platforms, and the rapid development of artificial intelligence (AI).

Community legal education and information (CLEI) refers to a range of community legal events and community legal information in hardcopy and digital format, typically provided by public legal assistance services as a strategy to enhance community knowledge of law and sources of assistance, and thereby increase access to justice, including access to legal advice services and self-help resources. CLEI material is often targeted to the general community, particular sub-groups, or community workers and human services workers who provide services to particular sub-groups that often experience access to justice barriers.

Pre-packaged legal information means a legal information pack which has not been tailored to a client's specific needs but contains generic information about law and dispute resolution, often in the form of factsheets, booklets or print-outs from government websites. Public legal advisers commonly provide or refer clients to pre-packaged legal information during advice appointments, to help clarify and reinforce legal information provided, and assist them to resolve everyday legal problems themselves.

Introduction

In an era of constrained public funding, digital transformation of legal assistance and dispute resolution is widely proposed as a means of enhancing access to justice. But what can empirical research on legal problem-solving behaviour tell us, and what do we already know about the uptake and utility of self-help resources (SHRs) for legal problems?

Legal problem-solving

There is considerable diversity in the way Australians solve legal problems.[1] Actions depend on the nature of legal problems (e.g. severity and type) as well as people's demographic characteristics and capability. Some people ignore their legal problems or otherwise achieve poorer outcomes. Others are able to effectively self-help and achieve favourable and satisfactory outcomes without professional advice or expert legal assistance, particularly for more straightforward 'transactional' legal problems. When help is sought, a wide array of professionals and informal sources are typically used, and it is common for multiple types of action to be taken (Coumarelos et al. 2012). SHRs that help people to resolve legal problems must be easy to access, understand and use

1 The term 'legal problem' is used throughout this paper for easy reference to a problem that is 'justiciable' in that it raises legal issues with the potential for legal resolution, regardless of whether the respondent recognised this or took any action involving the justice system (cf. Genn 1999). See Coumarelos, Macourt, People, McDonald, Wei, Iriana and Ramsey (2012) for further discussion of the concept of legal need and relationship with legal knowledge and capability.

by those they are designed to benefit. As technology advances rapidly, people expect legal and other information to be readily available in a form they can easily use to meet their needs.

Unbundled legal assistance: SHRs

A wide range of legal SHRs – factsheets, leaflets, booklets, do-it-yourself kits, guides, handbooks, videos, podcasts and the like – are produced to help lay people (i.e. those without legal training and skills) to resolve legal problems themselves, and to variously increase legal confidence, empowerment and resilience (see Gramatikov & Porter 2010; Pleasence & Balmer 2017; Pleasence, Coumarelos, Forell & McDonald 2014; Porter 2014; Productivity Commission 2014). Widely supported by access to justice inquiries, reports and research, public legal assistance policy and services in Australia have widely embraced 'unbundling' of legal assistance and the provision of SHRs as a means to 'stretch' scarce resources to provide *some* form of legal assistance to *more* people.[2]

Unbundled legal services, sometimes called 'discrete task assistance' and 'limited scope services' refers to separating legal services and tasks into discrete components, which is distinguished from traditional forms of 'bundled' legal services whereby legal practitioners 'take on matters' and provide full casework and representation services through to resolution. Unbundling typically allows legal problem-solving tasks to be separated, such that a client performs some of the tasks (e.g. actioning legal advice) required to resolve their legal problems.

Bundled legal services create ongoing lawyer–client relationships in which a legal practitioner, or depending upon the nature of the matter, a team of solicitors and barristers, might variously provide legal information, and advice on legal rights, obligations, entitlements, processes and options, and their likely implications. A legal team may also handle relevant correspondence, paperwork and documents, undertake negotiations with the other side to explore settlement or resolution, and represent the client in formal legal proceedings.[3]

Close the access to justice gap

SHRs are attractive as a low-cost means to fill the 'justice gap', particularly for more straightforward, transactional, low-value matters with clear procedures and steps, and for those with sufficient legal capability to effectively do so.[4] The 'justice gap', also known as the 'missing middle', refers to those people who do not satisfy eligibility requirements for more intensive forms of public legal assistance, such as legal advice and minor assistance, and casework and representation services, yet are unable to afford private legal services.[5] Consequently, they fall into a gap where their access to justice may depend on their ability to self-help. SHRs are intended to close the access to justice gap by helping users to help themselves. SHRs hold the promise of more informed and empowered decisions about using the law and potential legal solutions, more informed and effective legal help-seeking, and, ideally, improved problem-solving behaviour, resolution and outcomes.

SHRs will undoubtedly benefit some people with some legal problems at least some of the time. Because legal assistance is unbundled, outcomes typically depend *more* upon personal legal capability, and ability to meet any overlapping knowledge, skill, psychological and resource needs required to access, interpret, apply and action SHRs.[6] Legal capability is important for individuals because it affects their capacity to make decisions and take action to manage their legal problems. Legal capability is also important for legal service providers because it affects the accessibility, appropriateness, sustainability and effectiveness of their services. It is both a barrier and enabler of SHR use and utility, and a consequence of good community legal education and information (CLEI) as well as other public legal and other services, policy and programs. Legal capability affects the needs and preferences of service users, the way they access, understand, appraise and apply legal information and advice, and, ultimately, what they do and achieve in

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2 See, for example, Access to Justice Advisory Committee (1994), Coumarelos et al. (2012), Law Council of Australia (2018), Pleasence et al. (2014, pp. 141–144), Productivity Commission (2014).

3 Note that Australian public legal assistance services have long provided unbundled legal assistance in the form of legal information, legal advice and minor or task assistance. They also provide more fully bundled legal services in the form of casework and representation services to those satisfying eligibility requirements through provision of grants of legal aid (see further Pleasence et al. 2014). In general, the more bundled the form of public legal assistance service, the more stringent the eligibility requirements.

4 See further, Law Council of Australia (2018), McDonald and Wei (2016); Pleasence et al. (2014), Productivity Commission (2014), Robertson and Giddings (2014).

5 Pleasence and Balmer (2012) noted that one of the impacts and benefits of public legal assistance services, such as legal aid schemes was to equalise the access to legal advisers of those who qualify for such services. The relationship between financial capability and access to and use of legal advisers tends to be u-shaped, with those at the lower and higher ends of the income distribution using legal advisers at higher rates.

6 Legal capability refers to the personal characteristics or competencies (encompassing overlapping knowledge, skill, psychological and resource dimensions) needed to resolve legal problems effectively. It encapsulates the functional ability of people to perceive when they have a legal problem, apply law to their circumstances, access or obtain legal information and assistance as may be required, and take appropriate steps or actions to try to resolve the legal problem (see further Pleasence et al. 2014).

legal contexts. Having low personal legal capability can exacerbate underlying access to justice and equity issues, especially for Australia's disadvantaged and vulnerable groups at heightened risk of experiencing legal problems (Pleasence et al. 2014).

People with low legal capability can generally be expected to be less able to effectively use SHRs, particularly as their only source of assistance, and consequently, they are more likely to require more intensive forms of assistance to achieve outcomes similar or 'equal' to others (Coumarelos, McDonald, Forell & Wei 2015; McDonald & Wei 2016). SHRs can also be expected to have less uptake and utility with respect to certain types of legal problems and users. As such, legal needs research widely cautions against over-reliance on SHRs as a one-size-fits-all, stand-alone or default legal assistance service strategy, or as an effective and cheaper replacement for more 'bundled' forms of assistance.[7]

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Waves of legal SHR innovation

The way in which SHRs are accessed and provided has changed over time and continues to evolve. The first wave of SHRs for legal problems saw resources provided in hardcopy format. They ranged from factsheets and leaflets to self-completed kits for certain types of legal transactions, such as 'do-it-yourself' wills and divorce kits. Comprehensive 'legal handbooks' were published to increase the lay person's access to legal information. At the same time the 'plain language' legal information movement advocated for legal information to be written in plain English instead of legal jargon.

The second wave saw hardcopy SHRs transferred online and incorporated new digital technology, such as video, as well as tailored online legal information via self-guided decision-trees and the like. Self-help centres, kiosks and information services, annexed to courts, tribunals, libraries and public legal services, were also instituted to enhance access to legal information where people were likely to need or seek it. Such self-help centres also aided with documents, referral, and access to legal advice.[8] Telephone-based legal information and referral services, such as LawAccess NSW, some of which provide integrated access to telephone-based legal advice, were also widely instituted. These first two waves of SHRs varied across the jurisdictions, reflecting in part the demand for other types of legal assistance services, provision and funding.

The scope and provision of legal SHRs is being reconceptualised as the third wave of 'digital innovation and transformation' ushers in sweeping changes, and distinctions between legal information, legal advice and legal resolution pathways blur.[9] Online dispute resolution (ODR) applications, capable of integrating triage, tailored legal information and access to expert advice, guiding users through intake, and canvassing possible solutions and resolution are being rolled out in various jurisdictions. One widely held view is that most legal dispute resolution will move online.[10] Another is that online legal assistance services liberate the latent legal market – they empower people with everyday legal problems who would benefit from legal help but are unable to obtain timely and cost-commensurate assistance (see Susskind 2017). The view of digital innovation enthusiasts is that more interactive and responsive technology will better meet particular user preferences, needs and capability, thereby supporting more efficient and effective legal self-help and legal problem resolution.

7 While legal needs surveys measure the use of legal information and SHRs, and point to potential benefits of increasing awareness of legal rights and available legal assistance services as a key strategy for enhancing community-wide legal capability, there is little or no evidence that legal information and SHRs can, in and of themselves, effectively replace other forms of legal assistance, particularly for more socially and economically disadvantaged population groups (see Balmer, Buck, Patel, Denvir & Pleasence 2010; Coumarelos et al. 2012; Forell & McDonald 2015a, 2015b; Giddings, Lawler & Robertson 2013; Giddings, McKimmie, Banks & Butler 2015; Lawler, Giddings & Robertson 2009; McDonald & Wei 2016; Pleasence et al. 2014; Smith & Paterson 2014).

8 North America has widely instituted Self-Help Centres physically co-located with courts and tribunals, and typically offering self-represented litigants and defendants various forms of assistance, such as help navigating processes, access information and interpreters, completing documents, prepare for settlement negotiations, accompanying unrepresented litigants in court, referral to pro bono and other legal assistance. These centres provide a referral destination for court and tribunal registry staff (see e.g. American Bar Association Commission on the future of legal services 2016; Malcolmson & Reid 2006; Reid & Malcolmson 2008; Sandefur & Clarke 2016).

9 This wave coincides with what has been characterised elsewhere as a qualitatively distinct 'forth wave' of intelligent automation emerging in the 2010s with advances in technology, and which has spread to the legal industry. This includes the public legal assistance sector, where uptake of automated technology has been observed for some 'niche and discrete areas of law to improve access and outcomes for clients' (Bennett, Miller, Webb, Boscua, Lodders & Chamberlain 20182018, p. 14).

10 Although the rate of growth of ODR and digital legal assistance has been somewhat slower than widely anticipated in the early 2000s, notable recent developments include the Rechtwijzer (Roadmap to Justice) in the Netherlands, the DoNotPay website in the UK and US to fight parking tickets, and Civil Resolution Tribunal in British Columbia, Canada, along with developments such as online courts in the UK, and development of ODR to assist separating couples in Australia, point to an upswing of momentum, and may well signal of the end of the beginning of digital transformation (see further Bennett et al. 2018; Hadfield 2010; Smith 2018; Susskind 2010, 2017).

Digital solutions therefore have policy appeal as attractive, cost-effective means of improving access to justice, supporting rule of law and closing the 'justice gap' – particularly for 'easy-to-solve' types of everyday legal problems experienced by the people who are 'easy-to-reach' and 'easy-to-serve', who are otherwise underserved by traditional private legal markets (see Hadfield 2010, 2016; Legg 2016; Smith 2012, 2014, 2018; Smith & Paterson 2014; Susskind 2000, 2017).[11] Those more capable, who can potentially make effective use of SHRs, also potentially divert scarce public legal assistance resources away from people who are more disadvantaged and less capable. Digital transformation operates on at least two fronts: harnessing advancing technology to better help lay people to self-help and progress and resolve legal problems, as well as helping legal assistance services to increase their capacity to provide legal assistance to more people (see Hagan 2016). Efficiency dividends potentially stem from better targeted, more effective use of resources, to provide more accessible and appropriate forms of help to more people, thereby helping to close the access to justice gap and focusing more intensive forms of assistance on people with low legal capability. To reap the envisaged dividends, however, requires improved ability to personalise and tailor digital legal assistance to match individual user legal need and capability, seamlessly, and at scale.

The fieldwork for the Legal Australia-Wide (LAW) Survey was conducted in 2008, a period coinciding with the second wave of legal SHRs, and which included self-help kiosks and the transition to the provision of legal information online (see Forell & McDonald 2015a). As outlined below, the LAW Survey included some questions measuring the use and helpfulness of SHRs for legal problems. The national LAW Survey dataset therefore provides important 'baseline' evidence on the use and utility of SHRs, predating the third wave of digital transformation.

Inequity in experience and handling of legal problems

Legal needs research clearly demonstrates inequity in the experience and handling of legal problems. People who experience higher levels of social and economic disadvantage are not only more likely to experience legal problems but are also more likely to adopt poorer resolution strategies (see McDonald & Wei 2013, 2016; Pleasence et al. 2014). Determining what legal assistance strategies 'work', therefore, requires nuanced understanding of user pathways and outcomes.

While digital solutions can undoubtedly be improved through well-crafted user testing and design, improved access to justice also requires wider contextual information about non-users, alternative pathways, and identification and monitoring of both access and outcome 'gaps'. Where 'digital first' or 'digital by default' approaches are adopted, monitoring who is 'left out' or 'left behind' is vital to minimise or avoid legal assistance digital transformation reproducing, extending and entrenching disadvantage. Simply uploading legal SHRs may not, in itself, increase access and use, particularly among people experiencing higher levels of disadvantage who have been shown to have higher vulnerability to legal problems (McDonald & Wei 2013, 2016; Pleasence et al. 2014).

As a first step to gauging the impact of digital solutions, baseline evidence about uptake and utility is required. In the case of legal self-help, how often are SHRs used? Who uses them? For what types of legal problems? How useful are they? What other types of action are taken? What outcomes are achieved?

There is little evidence about the uptake and utility of SHRs for legal problems in Australia to inform legal assistance policy and services.

One robust source of information about what Australians do to try to resolve their legal problems is the LAW Survey. While there has undoubtedly been substantial change since the fieldwork for the LAW Survey was conducted in 2008, including significant technology advances, there is little (if any) evidence demonstrating how either community legal need or problem-solving may have changed over the last decade.[12] There is also scant evidence demonstrating which Australians try to make use of SHRs and for what.[13] The national LAW Survey dataset remains

11 Of course, there is much to learn about digital-based innovations, including their uptake and utility for different types of legal problems and users, not only to build more efficient and effective legal assistance services, but to monitor and evaluate access to justice impacts (see Forell & McDonald 2017a; Pleasence et al. 2014). The ethos of 'digital innovation' however – of successive iterations, 'failing fast', 'pivots' of purpose, 'minimum viable products', and exit planning – sits somewhat in tension with wider understanding of legal problem-solving behaviour, and efforts to learn more about 'what works' for people with diverse legal needs and capability. Digital solutions premised on the needs and capability of particular sub-groups face challenges associated with connecting with and 'onboarding' the right sets of users and/or tailoring offerings for diverse user groups.

12 Successive access to justice reviews and reports have relied on the LAW Survey and its analysis to provide an empirical context and basis for their findings and recommendations. This includes, amongst others, the Productivity Commission (2014), Victorian Department of Justice and Regulation (2016), Review of NSW Community Legal Centre Services in NSW (Cameron 2017) and Law Council of Australia's (2018) *The Justice Project*.

13 For instance, while online access to legal education, information and SHRs has undoubtedly increased across all Australian jurisdictions since the LAW Survey, there is little evidence to demonstrate that people are any more likely to take action to try to deal with their legal problems, nor that online material makes a difference to the resolution of problems (see also Forell & McDonald 2015a). Rather, as the primary digital divide (access to technology) is bridged, secondary (purposive and effective use of that technology) and tertiary (effective use of technology to try to resolve legal problems) digital divides have been revealed (Denvir & Balmer 2013, Forell & McDonald 2015a, 2015b). For instance, provision of in-person advice

the only available data source for exploring such questions.[14]

This paper uses the LAW Survey national dataset to investigate the following research questions:

- How often do people use SHRs to try to resolve legal problems?
- How helpful are these resources?
- What other actions are taken?
- Does use and helpfulness of SHRs vary by legal problem and demographic characteristics?
- Does use and helpfulness of SHRs affect legal problem resolution and outcomes?
- Is provision of SHRs by the main advisers beneficial for legal problem resolution and outcomes?

Method

The LAW Survey measured the prevalence of legal problems. Respondents who reported experiencing at least one legal problem were asked a series of in-depth questions about up to three of their 'most serious' problems.[15] This included questions about the nature and impact of each legal problem, the problem's severity,[16] any actions taken to try to resolve the problem and problem outcomes. The survey also measured the use of SHRs,[17] and self-help actions such as communicating directly with the other side, what advisers were used,[18] who the main adviser was, and the types of help received from the main adviser (see Coumarelos et al. 2012).

In the LAW Survey, respondents were asked if they tried to resolve a legal problem by obtaining information from a website, book, leaflet or self-help guide on which the definition of SHR has been based.[19] LAW Survey respondents provided information on their actions and use of SHRs for a total of 19,096 of their 'most serious' legal problems.[20] Analysis of those problems is reported here.

This paper extends previous analysis of the LAW Survey by Coumarelos et al. (2012) using a previously unreported measure of the helpfulness of SHRs.[21] Use of SHRs is only one type of 'self-help action' measured by the LAW Survey. Other self-help actions include negotiating directly with the other side, consulting with relatives or friends, and participation in formal legal proceedings without the benefit of any professional legal advice (e.g. court, tribunal and other formal dispute resolution processes in the absence of legal advice).

LAW Survey measures are used to define the following strategies:

- 'SHRs only' (i.e. use of one or more SHRs, without any other self-help actions or advice from any formal or professional adviser)
- 'SHRs and other self-help actions only'[22] (i.e. use of one or more SHRs together with one or more self-help actions, such as consulting with relatively or friends informally, but without any advice from any formal or professional adviser)
- 'SHRs and formal advisers only' (i.e. use of one or more SHRs and one or more formal or professional adviser, but without any other self-help actions), and
- 'SHRs, other self-help actions and formal advisers' (i.e. use of one or more SHRs together with both one or more self-help actions and one or more formal or professional advisers).

Descriptive statistics, bivariate and multivariate inferential analyses are used to answer the research questions.[23] Multilevel binary logistic regression

through outreach, co-located and other service models may be vital for uptake of available online SHRs by some users and in some circumstances. Others may successfully self-navigate to and through online gateways.

14 Potential changes in the use of digital technology to try to resolve legal problems, both within and across different age cohorts since 2008, when the LAW Survey was conducted, is one reason new baseline measures of the use of legal SHRs are needed. While access to and use of online material can be expected to have increased, there is little evidence showing whether or not use of online resources has made a difference to legal problem resolution. Contemporary baseline measures are vital to inform both understanding of legal problem-solving behaviour and legal assistance service design and policy.

15 See Coumarelos et al. (2012) regarding the process used to determine the 'most serious' problems that were followed up in depth for each respondent.

16 LAW Survey respondents rated the severity of each legal problem they reported in terms of its impact on their everyday life. Consistent with previous LAW Survey analyses, problems rated as having no impact or only a slight impact are termed 'minor' problems, while those rated as having a moderate or severe impact are termed 'substantial' problems (see Coumarelos et al. 2012). The LAW Survey measured the experience of 129 specific types of legal problems, categorised into 12 legal problem groups. The 12 legal problem groups are listed in Table 1.

17 Question A5 of the LAW Survey questionnaire asked, 'Did you try to resolve the problem or dispute by obtaining information from an internet website, book, leaflet or other self-help guide?' (see Coumarelos et al. (2012), Appendix A1, pp. 281).

18 See further questions A9 to A14 of the LAW Survey questionnaire (see Coumarelos et al. (2012), Appendix A1, pp. 261–294).

19 Note that the LAW Survey does not distinguish between information and self-help material provided online and in hardcopy.

20 LAW Survey respondents reported a total pool of 19,388 'most serious' problems (see Coumarelos et al. 2012). However, for 246 of these problems, respondents did not provide any information on actions taken. In addition, 46 problems where respondents did not provide information about their use of SHRs were excluded from the following analyses. This paper is therefore based on 19,096 problems where respondents' information on actions taken and use of SHRs are available.

21 Question A6 of the LAW Survey questionnaire asked 'Overall, how helpful was that information?'. Respondents were asked to choose between the following: 'Not at all helpful', 'Not very helpful', 'Fairly helpful' and 'Very helpful' (see Coumarelos et al. (2012), Appendix A1, p. 281).

22 See questions A7, A8, A29 and A31 of the LAW Survey questionnaire (Coumarelos et al. (2012), Appendix A1, pp. 261–294).

23 Bivariate inferential statistics are used to examine the relationship between two variables, whereas multivariate inferential statistics are used examine the relationship between multiple variables simultaneously.

models were fitted to test the independent influence of legal problem and demographic characteristics on, first, use of SHRs, and second, the helpfulness of those resources. Multilevel binary logistic models were also fitted to examine whether or not the use and helpfulness of SHRs independently influenced legal problem resolution, outcome satisfaction and outcome favourability.[24]

One important limitation of the LAW Survey is that respondents were not asked about the sequence of different types of action. This means that it is not possible to use LAW Survey data to investigate whether SHRs tend to be used either before or after any advisers and other types of action. For example, it is possible that some people who try to use SHRs are unable to successfully resolve their legal problems, and subsequently seek formal advice, and it is also possible that some people may be provided SHRs by advisers they use.

Results

Use of SHRs to resolve legal problems

SHRs were used, either alone or in conjunction with other actions, to try to resolve 19.5 per cent of the legal problems followed-up in-depth in the LAW Survey. This means that for more than four out of five legal problems, respondents did not try to obtain any information from the internet, nor did they try to use a book, leaflet or any other self-help guide.[25] Overall, respondents used SHRs and took no action at all at similar rates (19.5% cf. 18.3% of legal problems). This indicates that when the LAW Survey was conducted, Australians were just as likely to do nothing in response to legal problems as they were to try to use SHRs.

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Use of SHRs in conjunction with other actions

SHRs and self-help actions were rarely the *only* type of action LAW Survey respondents used to try to resolve their legal problems (only 1.9% of legal problems; see Table 1, p. 8). Use of only SHRs and self-help actions accounted for just 7.1 per cent of legal problems, indicating that self-help was a relatively uncommon legal problem-solving strategy. When SHRs were used, it was far more common for respondents to have also used a formal adviser (63.8% of legal problems where SHRs used). It was also more common for respondents to only take other self-help actions than it was to use SHRs (23.6% of legal problems). When SHRs were used, it was most commonly in conjunction with formal advisers (12.5% of legal problems).

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Use of SHRs by type of action

Use of SHRs was found to be significantly associated with higher rates of use of each action type measured by the LAW Survey (see Figure 1, p. 9). Compared to those who did not use SHRs, those who did sought formal advice (63.9% v. 48.0%), communicated with the other side (49.8% v. 35.2%), consulted relatives or friends (39.2% v. 23.5%) and had formal dispute resolution processes (15.9% v. 7.1%) and court or tribunal proceedings (15.3% v. 8.5%) for a significantly higher proportion of legal problems.

These findings are perhaps unsurprising. Just as simply reading assembly instructions will not build a flat-packed bookcase, obtaining and reading SHRs will, in and of themselves, often be insufficient to resolve a legal problem. One exception is where SHRs help someone to correctly establish that they *do not* have a legal problem, or perhaps that do not have a problem for which they want to pursue legal options. Otherwise, SHRs must be *actioned* to meet legal needs and help resolve legal problems.

Adviser type by use of SHRs

SHR use was also significantly related to higher rates of use of each type of formal or professional adviser measured in the LAW Survey (see Figure 2, p. 9). For instance, respondents who used SHRs used a legal adviser at more than twice the rate of those who did not use any SHRs (27.0% v. 12.7%).

Other research indicates that when people seek advice from professionals, they are commonly referred to legal and non-legal advisers, as well SHRs. For instance, other LAW Survey analysis has shown that the main adviser used for legal problems provided SHRs for 19.8 per cent of the legal problems where formal advice was sought, and that legal advisers

24 All five logistic regressions models were conducted using MLwiN version 2.32 (Rasbash, Steele, Brown & Goldstein 2015). The predictor variables used in each model are set out in the Appendix Tables. Data were weighted for survey non-response and multilevel modelling was used to account for the hierarchical structure of the datasets (cf. Goldstein 2003).

25 Other common actions to try to resolve legal problems included seeking formal advice (51.1% of legal problems), communicating with the other side (38.1%), consulting relatives or friends (26.6%), court or tribunal proceedings (9.8%), and formal dispute resolution processes (8.8%). The LAW Survey also found that taking no action was a common response (18.3% of legal problems; see Coumarelos et al. 2012).

TABLE 1: USE OF SHRS AND OTHER ACTIONS IN RESPONSE TO LEGAL PROBLEMS

Strategy	*N legal problems*	*% legal problems*
SHRs used	3,731	19.5
SHRs only	359	1.9
SHRs and self-help actions only	989	5.2
SHRs and formal advisers only	571	3.0
SHRs, self-help actions and formal advisers	1811	9.5
No SHRs used	15,365	80.5
No SHRs, self-help actions or formal advisers (i.e. took no action)	3,489	18.3
Other self-help actions only (i.e. no SHRs or formal advisers)	4,501	23.6
Formal advisers only (i.e. no SHRs or other self-help action)	3,565	18.7
Other self-help actions and formal advisers only (i.e. no SHRs)	3,810	20.0
All problems	19,096	100.0

Note: N=19,096 legal problems. Data were missing for 292 legal problems. Percentages and totals do not sum due to weighting and rounding of data.

were relatively more likely than other types of professionals to provide such material (28.5% v. 19.8% of legal problems on average; see Coumarelos et al. 2012).

The findings here further point to the nexus between formal advice, particularly legal advisers, and use of SHRs for legal problems.

Use of SHRs by legal problem and demographic characteristics

A logistic regression model was fitted to the dataset to examine whether legal problem (i.e. severity and type) and demographic characteristics were independently related to use of SHRs.

Legal problem severity and type were both significant independent predictors of the use of SHRs (see Table 2). Note previous LAW Survey analysis demonstrated that respondents were more likely to take some form of action for more serious problems, and that actions also varied by legal problem type (see Coumarelos et al. 2012). Compared to minor legal problems, Table 2 shows that respondents were twice as likely to use SHRs for substantial legal problems (noting also the above findings that SHRs are most commonly used as one of a number of strategies).

… respondents were twice as likely to use SHRs for substantial legal problems

Compared to the average for all legal problem groups, respondents were 1.3 to 2.1 times *more likely* to use SHRs for consumer, employment, family, government, health, housing and money problems, and 2.3 to 5.0 times *less likely* to use SHRs for accidents, crime and personal injury problems (see Table 2, p. 10; see Appendix Table A1 for full regression results).

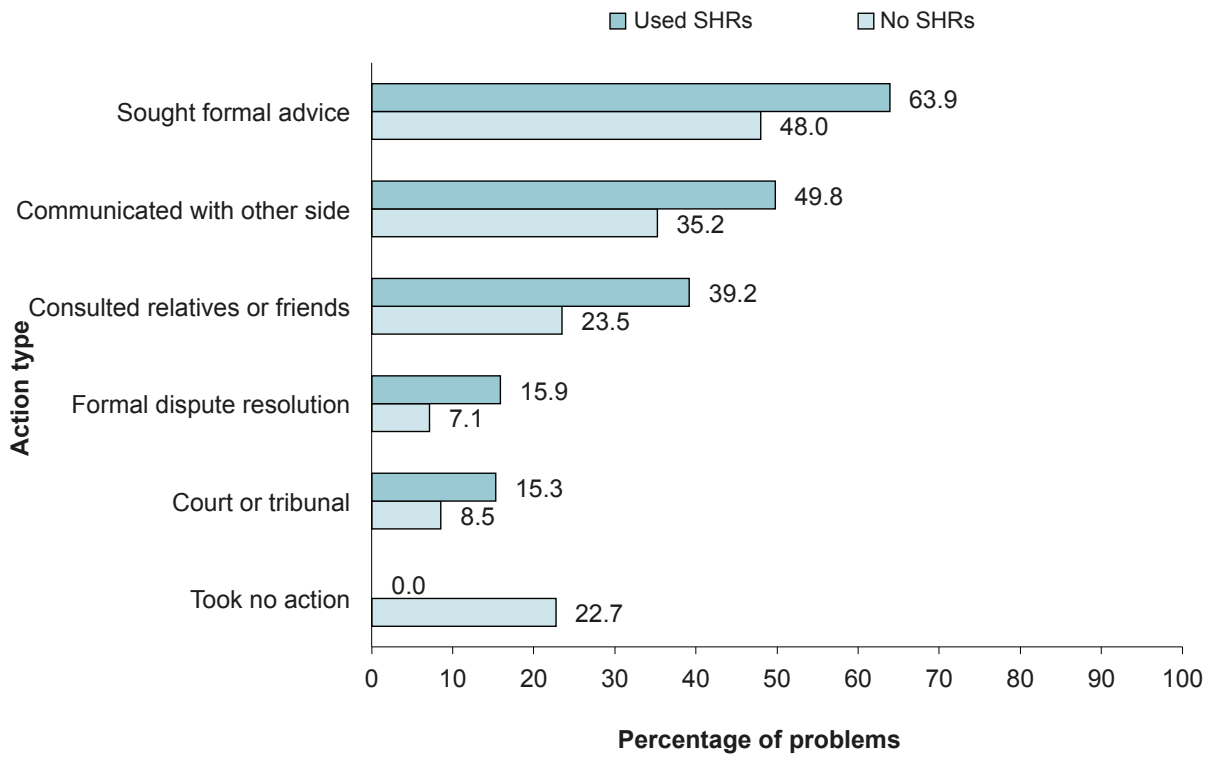
Use of SHRs also varied significantly by demographic characteristics (see Table 2). Compared to those aged 65 years and over, each of the younger age groups was significantly more likely to use SHRs. Use was highest among the 18–54 age groups, peaking for the 25–34 age group. Importantly, like other legal problem-solving behaviours, use of SHRs varies across the life cycle. This finding is consistent with other analysis demonstrating how experience of legal problems tends to vary with age, and other observations noting how personal legal capability appears to mature and then decline with age (see further Coumarelos et al. 2012; Pleasence & Balmer 2017; Pleasence et al. 2014).

People with low education, a non-English main language and those living in remote and regional areas were all significantly less likely than their counterparts to use SHRs (see Table 2). Perhaps unsurprisingly, after age, respondents' level of education was the strongest demographic predictor of use of SHRs. Respondents who had not completed school to Year 12 level were only half as likely to have used SHRs as those with post-school qualifications. Perhaps more surprisingly, however, people with a disability were significantly more likely than those with no disability to have used SHRs, although this finding is consistent with other LAW Survey analysis indicating that people with a disability are significantly more likely than others to take action to deal with legal problems, and significantly more likely to seek help from professionals (see Coumarelos et al. 2012).

A similar regression model was fitted to the data to further examine the influence of respondents' level of disadvantage[26] on the use of SHRs, controlling

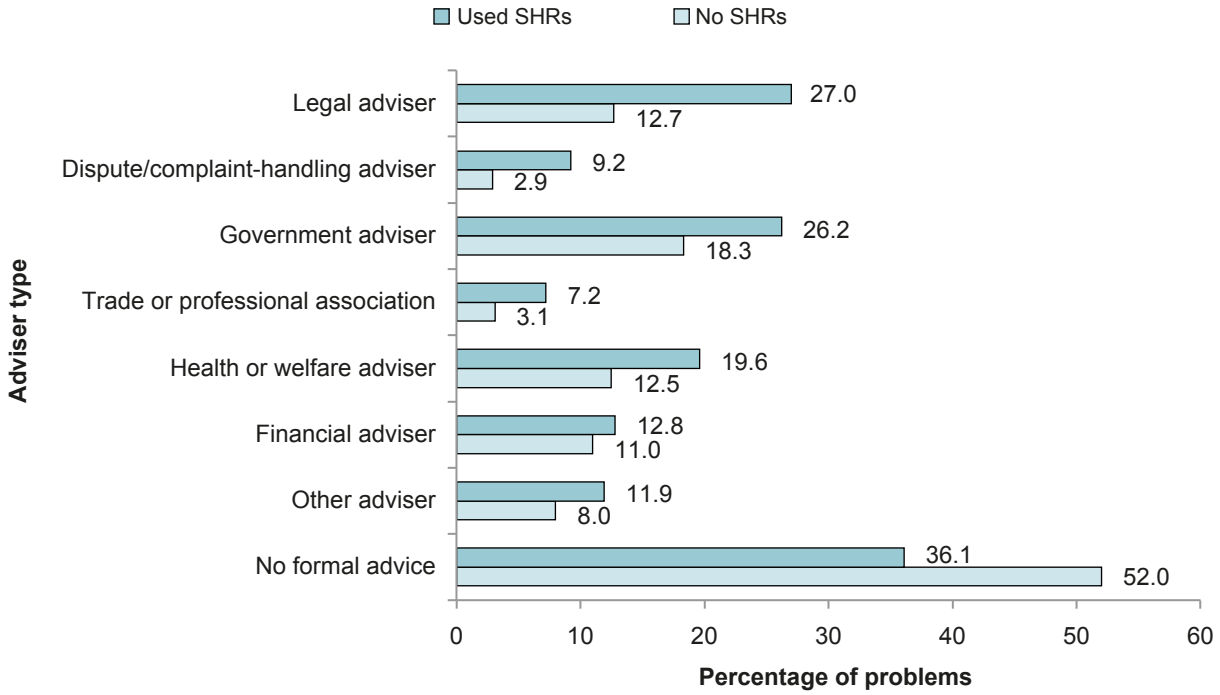
26 Respondents' level of disadvantage was measured using a count of the following nine indicators or types of disadvantage measured in the LAW Survey: disability, disadvantaged

FIGURE 1: ACTION TYPE BY USE OF SHRS



Notes: N=19,096 problems (Used SHRs=3,731 problems; No SHRs=15,365 problems). Data were missing for 292 legal problems. Sought formal advice: χ^2=303.64, $F_{1,10289}$=185.51, p=0.000. Communicated with other side: χ^2=269.94, $F_{1,10289}$=166.89, p=0.000. Consulted relatives or friends: χ^2=381.51, $F_{1,10289}$=232.83, p=0.000. Formal dispute resolution: χ^2=295.72, $F_{1,10289}$=176.73, p=0.000. Court or tribunal: χ^2=155.34, $F_{1,10289}$=92.08, p=0.000.

FIGURE 2: FORMAL OR PROFESSIONAL ADVISER TYPE BY USE OF SHRS



Notes: N=19,096 (Used SHRs=3,731 problems; No SHRs=15,365 problems). Data were missing for 292 legal problems. Legal adviser: χ^2=471.67, $F_{1,10289}$=294.13, p=0.000. Dispute/compliant-handling adviser: χ^2=300.94, $F_{1,10289}$=201.80, p=0.000. Government adviser: χ^2=118.12, $F_{1,10289}$=73.62, p=0.000. Trade or professional association: χ^2=134.78, $F_{1,10289}$=81.19, p=0.000. Health or welfare adviser: χ^2=125.11, $F_{1,10289}$=72.70, p=0.000. Financial adviser: χ^2=10.06, $F_{1,10289}$=6.05, p=0.000. Other adviser: χ^2=58.13, $F_{1,10289}$=36.74, p=0.000. No formal adviser: χ^2=303.64, $F_{1,10289}$=185.51, p=0.000.

for the independent effects of gender, age, problem severity and problem type (see Appendix Table 2 for full regression results). The results show that the likelihood of respondents having used SHRs significantly decreased as their level of disadvantage increased. This indicates that the more disadvantaged a person was, the less likely they were to use SHRs.

Each of these regressions also found that people who either used (or did not use) SHRs for one legal problem were significantly more likely to adopt the same strategy for their other legal problems (see Appendix Table 1 and Appendix Table 2). This finding suggests that personal legal capability, and whether or not people try to use SHRs for legal problems, tends to be an entrenched behaviour. Policy and service efforts to promote the use of SHRs for legal problems may therefore have to seek to change entrenched legal problem-solving behaviour to increase use of SHRs. Wider policy efforts may be required to promote and underpin the use of SHRs, to support and otherwise give users confidence that SHRs can benefit them, and potentially also empower and support future legal problem-solving. Some disadvantaged demographic groups, including those with low levels of education as well as those experiencing higher levels of disadvantage – characteristics common to many clients of public legal assistance services – are significantly less likely than others to try to use SHRs for their legal problems. Consequently, different approaches may be required for different legal problems and population groups.

Policy and service efforts to promote the use of SHRs for legal problems may therefore have to seek to change entrenched legal problem-solving behaviour to increase use of SHRs.

Helpfulness of SHRs

Respondents who used SHRs were asked to rate how helpful they were. SHRs were rated as 'fairly helpful' or 'very helpful' for exactly 60 per cent of the legal problems where they were used (see Figure 3, p. 11).

SHRs were rated as 'not at all helpful' or 'not very helpful' for a sizeable proportion (40%) of legal problems. This may well include circumstances where the information was of poor quality, was not relevant, or was otherwise too difficult to comprehend or hard to action. There may also have been a mismatch between the type of legal problem experienced and the type of assistance that the user wanted or expected. This finding therefore signals potential barriers to obtaining SHRs appropriate to users' need and capability. In fact, key elements of legal capability include sufficient awareness to characterise problems as 'legal' together with awareness of how and where

TABLE 2: REGRESSION SUMMARY – USE OF SHRS

SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES		
Variable	*Categories compared*	*Odds ratio[a]*
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	2.0
Problem group type (cf. mean)	Accidents	0.2
	Consumer	1.3
	Credit/debt	-
	Crime	0.3
	Employment	1.6
	Family	2.1
	Government	2.1
	Health	1.3
	Housing	1.9
	Money	1.7
	Personal injury	0.4
	Rights	-
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	1.8
	18–24	2.3
	25–34	3.1
	35–44	2.5
	45–54	2.2
	55–64	1.7
Disability status (cf. other)	Disability	1.3
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	0.5
	Year 12	0.6
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	0.8
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	0.8
	Regional	0.9
NON-SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES: gender, Indigenous status, employment status, family status, housing type, main income		

a An odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds of using SHRs than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question. '-' indicates that the comparison was not significant.

Note: N=19,063 problems. Data were missing for 325 problems.

housing, Indigenous background, low education, low income, a non-English main language, living in a remote or outer regional area, single parenthood and unemployment. With the exception of low income, all of these indicators of disadvantage were identical to those used by Coumarelos et al. (2012; pp. 316–317). Low income was based on before-tax personal income and/or before-tax combined income with a partner. Respondents were asked to report either their personal income or their combined income with a partner or both. 'Low income' was defined as personal income less than $20,800 p.a. or combined income less than $41,600 p.a. Respondents who provided both personal and combined income had to have both a personal income less than $20,800 p.a. and a combined income less than $41,600 p.a. to be categorised as having 'low income'. For young people aged 15–22 years who were dependent on parents or guardians, their income status was similarly defined according to the personal income of their single parent/guardian or the combined income for their partnered parents/guardians. Respondents who did not provide any information on income (n=3009) were excluded from the 'low income' group (see McDonald & Wei 2013).

legal information and advice can be obtained (see further Pleasence et al. 2014).

Helpfulness of SHRs was further examined using logistic regression, regrouping helpfulness into the categories 'helpful' and 'not helpful' (see Appendix Table 3 for full regression model and results).[27] Problem severity and type were both significant independent predictors of helpfulness (see Table 3, p. 12).

While respondents were twice as likely to have used SHRs for substantial legal problems compared to minor problems (see Table 2), respondents were nearly 1.5 times *less* likely to rate SHRs as helpful for substantial problems compared to minor problems (see Table 3).[28] In other words, while respondents were significantly more likely to use SHRs for substantial legal problems, they were significantly less likely to find such resources helpful for substantial problems. This finding signals the potential limits to and the unsuitability of SHRs as a stand-alone service strategy for more severe legal problems.

Looking at legal problem type, SHRs were significantly more likely to be rated as helpful for accidents and housing problems, but significantly less likely to be rated as helpful for government problems (see Table 3).

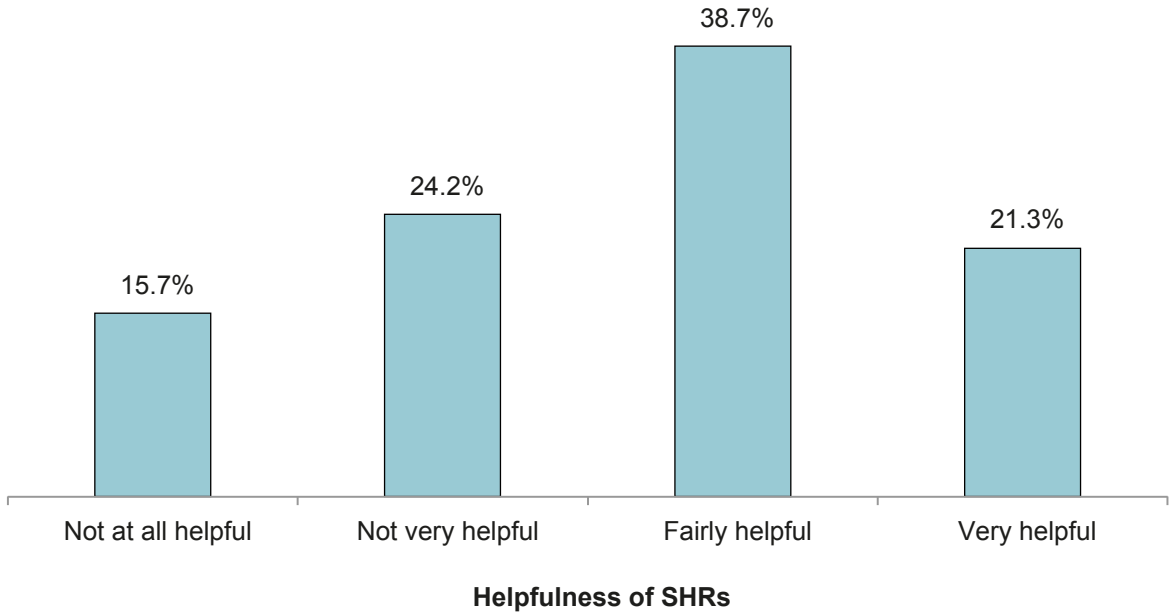
Demographic characteristics were also significant independent predictors of the reported helpfulness of SHRs, although neither age nor gender were found to be significant. Compared to others, single parents were significantly more likely than others to rate SHRs as helpful, while Indigenous Australians were significantly less likely to do so.

The regression also found that respondents' helpfulness rating, like the finding on use of SHRs, was persistent within people (see Appendix Table 3). That is, respondents who rated SHRs as helpful (or not helpful) for one legal problem, were significantly more likely to rate resources obtained for other legal problems in the same way. This result suggests that some people find, or are provided with, SHRs that they report to be unhelpful, again signalling potential mismatch between SHRs and the legal needs and capability of certain users.

This finding signals the potential limits to … SHRs as a stand-alone service strategy for more severe legal problems.

The independent influence of respondents' level of disadvantage on the helpfulness of SHRs was also examined. Unlike the regression on use of SHRs, after controlling for gender, age, problem severity and problem type, level of disadvantage was not significantly related to the reported helpfulness of SHRs (see Appendix Table 4, p. 14). This finding suggests that while respondents' level of disadvantage is a significant barrier to accessing or obtaining of SHRs, when used, the reported helpfulness of SHRs does *not* significantly vary by level of disadvantage.

FIGURE 3: HELPFULNESS OF SHRS



Note: N=3,695 legal problems. Thirty-six problems had missing information on the helpfulness of SHRs.

27 'Helpful' comprised those resources rated as 'fairly helpful' or 'very helpful', and 'not helpful' comprised those rated as 'not very helpful' and 'not at all helpful'.

28 1/0.7=1.43.

TABLE 3: REGRESSION SUMMARY – HELPFULNESS OF SHRS

SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES		
Variable	*Categories compared*	*Odds ratio[a]*
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	0.7
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	2.3
	Consumer	-
	Credit/debt	-
	Crime	-
	Employment	-
	Family	-
	Government	0.7
	Health	-
	Housing	1.3
	Money	-
	Personal injury	-
	Rights	-
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	0.7
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	1.3
NON-SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES: gender, age, disability status, education, employment status, housing type, main income, main language, remoteness		

a An odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that **the category in question** had significantly higher odds of helpfulness of using SHRs than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the **the category in question** had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the **category in question** were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the **category in question** were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question. '-' indicates that the comparison was not significant.

Note: N=3,688 problems. Data were missing for 43 problems.

It is also possible, and perhaps likely, that those who do not think SHRs will be helpful to them do not even try to obtain or use them. This points to a possible, and critical, 'self-selection effect' whereby those who lack the legal confidence and capability to try to use SHRs may be reluctant to seek out or try to use such material. Additional research is required to further investigate this phenomenon.

Use of SHRs and legal problem resolution and outcomes

The LAW Survey asked respondents whether or not the legal problems experienced in the 12 months prior to interview had been resolved or were still ongoing, and where legal problems had been resolved, if they were satisfied with the outcome and whether or not that outcome had been in their favour.

Regression analysis was used to examine the independent influence of use of SHRs on legal problem finalisation status, outcome satisfaction and outcome favourability. Three regression models were fitted, each controlling for legal problem characteristics (i.e. recency, severity and type), demographic factors and use of SHRs. Use of SHRs did not have a significant independent effect on legal problem outcome satisfaction or favourability. There was, however, a significant independent effect on legal problem finalisation, with those legal problems where SHRs were used having significantly *lower* odds of finalisation (0.7; see Appendix Table 5 for the full regression model and results for legal problem finalisation). Note that the regression also showed, consistent with previous LAW Survey analysis, that legal problem severity had a significant independent effect on legal problem finalisation.[29]

As reported above, compared to minor legal problems, there were significantly higher odds of SHRs being used for substantial problems (2.0; see Table 2), but significantly lower odds of SHRs being rated as helpful for substantial problems (0.7; see Table 3). As such, it is perhaps unsurprising that use of SHRs was found to be negatively associated with legal problem finalisation. Together, these findings further signal the somewhat vexed relationship between the use and utility of SHRs by legal problem severity.

It is also generally unsurprising that use of SHRs did not have a significant independent effect on legal problem outcome satisfaction and favourability, particularly given the finding that respondents rated only 60 per cent of the SHRs used as fairly or very helpful for the legal problem (see Figure 3). Unhelpful SHRs – such as where the material obtained concerns another type of legal problem, another legal jurisdiction, or was too difficult to comprehend and action – are unlikely to make a positive difference to legal problem outcomes!

Searching for and obtaining appropriate SHRs, the type which might be expected to make a positive difference to legal problem outcomes is likely to depend, at least in part, on a person's legal capability, particularly their ability to frame, find and make effective use of relevant SHRs. There are at least two scenarios in which people need to obtain appropriate SHRs that match their legal need and capability before they may be able to effectively resolve a legal problem.

First, research suggests that accurately characterising a problem as 'legal', and awareness that the law may potentially offer a solution or a process to resolve a matter, affects whether or not legal forms of assistance may be sought at all. Knowing where and how to search for relevant SHRs, and, in turn, understand and apply the material obtained to try to resolve the issue will variously depend on wider knowledge, skills and

29 Consistent with other LAW Survey analysis, the regression on legal problem finalisation showed that finalisation varied significantly by legal problem and demographic characteristics, with significantly lower odds of finalisation found for more severe legal problems, and also for a number of disadvantaged groups, including people with a disability, people with low education, single parents and those living in disadvantaged housing (see Coumarelos et al. 2012; Appendix Table 5).

problem-solving behaviour (see Balmer et al. 2010; McDonald & Wei; McDonald, Forell & People 2014; Pleasence, Balmer & Denvir 2015, Pleasence et al. 2014; Porter 2014). Second, when people search for public legal assistance, any legal information or advice received will have to be actioned to try to resolve their legal problem. This is typically the case when people search for online legal information. Confidence and willingness to try to use SHRs, along with access to wider resources that facilitate and support positive action, together with a range of other factors, such as health, experience of trauma, psychological and emotional state, and other competing immediate pressing needs, can all be expected to influence legal problem-solving behaviour and achieved outcomes (see McDonald & Wei 2016; Pleasence, Balmer & Denvir 2015; Pleasence et al. 2014; Porter 2014).

Helpfulness of SHRs and legal problem resolution and outcomes

To examine the independent influence of the helpfulness of SHRs on legal problem resolution and outcomes, three further regression models were fitted. Again, each regression controlled for legal problem characteristics and demographic factors. Helpfulness of SHRs had a significant independent effect on legal problem finalisation, outcome satisfaction and outcome favourability. Table 4, p. 14, summarises the results of these three regressions (see Appendix Tables 6, 7 and 8 for full regression models and results).

The regressions' results showed that legal problems where respondents reported using SHRs they rated as 'helpful' had significantly higher odds of finalisation (1.7), outcome satisfaction (3.3) and outcome favourability (2.9). These findings demonstrate, for the first time, the positive difference 'helpful' SHRs can make to legal problem outcomes.

The above findings demonstrate that use of SHRs is positively associated with higher rates of taking other self-help actions as well as use of formal advisers. Legal problem resolution and outcomes are therefore also likely to depend on these other actions. As such, the relative contribution of 'helpful' SHRs, and what *combination* of other actions and advisers is most beneficial, remains unclear.

Further research is required to understand what distinguishes 'helpful' SHRs. It is likely that a range of other factors, such as the format, quality and nature of SHRs, may affect 'helpfulness'. Interactions between the type and severity of legal problem, the nature of the SHR and personal capabilities (i.e. legal, digital etc) are also likely to affect whether users find SHRs 'helpful'.

Further research is also required to better understand what makes SHRs 'helpful'. It might be that SHRs are helpful when they clearly set out legal rights and responsibilities, help to confirm that the law may afford a solution to a problem or dispute, that something can be done to improve the situation, and/or help to guide users to legal advice and assistance they subsequently find helpful. It might be that 'helpful' SHRs are distinguished by being quicker, easier and cheaper than the alternatives.

These findings demonstrate, for the first time, the positive difference 'helpful' SHRs can make to legal problem outcomes.

Are SHRs *more* helpful when they are provided by a legal adviser, perhaps as a summary of the advice provided and action plan of concrete steps to take next? Might it also be that SHRs providing a 'how to guide', are *more* helpful when integrated with options for obtaining expert advice and/or onboarding onto an appropriate dispute resolution process?

Further research is required to understand how user expectations and legal problem outcomes affect perceptions of SHR 'helpfulness', and whether there are links between 'helpfulness' and improved user capability and confidence.

Main adviser, pre-packaged legal information and legal problem outcomes

LAW Survey respondents who used one or more advisers were asked several questions about the help they received from their main or most useful adviser (see Coumarelos et al. 2012). This included whether SHRs, specifically any pre-packaged legal information, was provided.[30] Coumarelos et al. (2012) found that main advisers who were legal advisers, dispute/complaint-handling services, and trade union or professional association advisers were relatively more likely to have provided pre-packaged legal information, compared to other types of advisers. Compared to other problem types, pre-packaged legal information was also relatively more likely to have been provided for family, credit/debt and housing problems (see further Coumarelos et al. 2012).

Regression models were fitted to the dataset to examine the independent influence of pre-packaged legal information provided by a main adviser (compared to not receiving pre-packaged legal information) on legal problem finalisation, outcome satisfaction and outcome favourability. These regressions again controlled for legal problem and demographic characteristics. Pre-packaged legal information provided by the main adviser independently and significantly increased odds of both outcome satisfaction (1.4) and outcome favourability (1.3), above and beyond the effects of legal problem and demographic factors (see Appendix Tables 9 and 10 for full regression models and results). Provision of pre-packaged legal

30 Question A24.1 of the LAW Survey questionnaire asked if the most useful adviser provided, 'pre-packaged legal information, such as a leaflet or internet address?'

TABLE 4: REGRESSION SUMMARY – LEGAL PROBLEM FINALISATION, OUTCOME SATISFACTION AND OUTCOME FAVOURABILITY WHEN HELPFUL SHRS WERE USED

SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES				
Variable	*Categories compared*	*Odds ratio[a]*		
		Finalisation	*Satisfaction*	*Favourability*
Problem recency (cf. < 6 month)	7+ months ago	1.2	#	#
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	0.6	0.7	-
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	3.0	-	-
	Consumer	1.5	-	-
	Credit/debt	0.6	-	-
	Crime	-	-	-
	Employment	-	-	-
	Family	0.5	-	-
	Government	-	0.7	0.6
	Health	-	-	-
	Housing	-	-	-
	Money	0.7	-	-
	Personal injury	-	3.2	2.3
	Rights	1.5	0.6	0.7
Helpfulness of SHRs (cf. not helpful)	SHRs helpful	1.7	3.3	2.9
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	4.1	-	-
	18–24	2.6	-	-
	25–34	2.0	-	-
	35–44	1.6	-	-
	45–54	-	-	-
	55–64	-	-	-
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	0.7	-	-
	Year 12	-	-	-
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	0.8	-	-
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	-	-	-
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	0.7	0.5	0.6
	Regional	-	-	-
NON-SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES in the three models: Gender, Indigenous status, disability, employment status, main income, main language				

a An odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

'#' indicates that the variable was not included in the model.

'-' indicates that the comparison was not significant.

Note: N=3,688 problems for finalisation; data were missing for 7 problems. N=1,884 legal problems for satisfaction; data were missing for 22 problems. N=1,876 legal problems for favourability; data were missing for 21 problems.

information by main advisers, however, did not significantly affect legal problem finalisation.

These results suggest that pre-packaged legal information provided by main advisers can enhance or otherwise 'value-add' to advice services, and significantly improve legal problem outcomes. These findings also held when regression analyses were repeated using only those main advisers who were legal advisers (see Appendix Tables 11 and 12 for full regression models and results). Again, the odds of legal problem outcome satisfaction (1.7) and outcome favourability (1.6) were significantly higher when a legal adviser provided pre-packaged legal information. In fact, the odds of legal outcome satisfaction (1.7 cf. 1.4) and outcome favourability (1.6 cf. 1.3) were actually higher for main advisers who were legal advisers, compared to main advisers overall. This finding demonstrates, for the first time, that legal assistance provided by a legal adviser can achieve better client outcomes when it includes provision of pre-packaged legal information.

Further research is required to determine what type of pre-packaged legal information is most beneficial, and to explain how, why and in what circumstances they make a difference. For example, it may be that pre-packaged legal information provided at legal advice appointments helps to better communicate and reinforce advice, build confidence to act, set out the next steps to take, or perhaps, to otherwise more appropriately manage clients' expectations as to outcomes.

… legal assistance provided by a legal adviser can achieve better client outcomes when it includes provision of pre-packaged legal information.

Discussion

The above findings provide important new evidence on the uptake and utility of SHRs for legal problems. SHRs were used for only a minority (20%) of legal problems and were only found to be helpful for 60 per cent of legal problems where they were used. Obtaining helpful SHRs, however, was positively associated with significantly higher rates of legal problem finalisation, outcome satisfaction and outcome favourability.

The findings clearly demonstrate that most people who use SHRs for legal problems will also take various other self-help actions, such as talking informally to colleagues, friends and family, and are also likely to seek assistance from a wide range of professionals. Such combinations of information and advice seeking are clearly the norm, not the exception. SHRs will typically be only one type of information and advice used to try to resolve legal problems.

Although SHRs can positively impact and benefit legal problem-solving behaviour and outcomes, there appear to be some limits. SHR utility and helpfulness should be expected to vary significantly depending on both the nature of the legal problem and prospective user. The findings on the relationship between the use and helpfulness of SHRs by type of legal problem and users are summarised in Table 5. In particular, the relationship between the use and helpfulness of SHRs and problem severity has important consequences for SHR uptake and utility.

Other research has demonstrated the link between legal problem severity and response to legal problems – with more severe problems associated with the higher likelihood of multiple actions and help-seeking (see Coumarelos et al. 2012, Pleasence et al. 2014). The results here indicate that SHRs are less likely to be used for minor problems, yet these types of problems appear to be those where SHRs are potentially most helpful. The legal assistance service challenge here is two-fold: how to increase uptake of SHRs for minor legal problems, and how to make SHRs more helpful for more severe problems. More broadly, there may be limits to SHR utility, whereby, in and of themselves, SHRs are *insufficient* or otherwise *ill-suited* to more complex and severe matters.

Legal assistance service strategies appear likely to be improved by targeting SHRs to legal problem and client demographics, and matching client needs and behaviour. Legal service models integrating SHRs with and legal advice and minor assistance may be better suited to more severe legal problems, potentially increasing the utility and effectiveness of both SHRs and legal advice services.

The findings in Table 5, p. 16, also point to clear challenges concerning promotion of SHRs as a legal assistance strategy for some population groups. Use of SHRs was significantly lower among some groups, including the elderly (aged 65 years and over), people with low education, people with a non-English main language, people living in remote or regional areas and people with higher levels of disadvantage. While there was no difference in use of SHRs between Indigenous and other Australians, Indigenous people were the only group who were significantly less likely to rate SHRs as helpful. While this finding clearly signals SHRs as potentially being culturally inappropriate to the legal needs of Indigenous Australians, further research is required to better understand the reasons why, and what the appropriate solutions may be. Irrespective, this finding points to cultural accessibility and fit as a key factor to carefully monitor and evaluate in any legal assistance service model incorporating SHRs as part of the service mix.

The legal assistance service challenge here is two-fold: how to increase uptake of SHRs for minor legal problems, and how to make SHRs more helpful for more severe problems.

Use of SHRs (or not) and their helpfulness (or not) was also found to be entrenched within people. The reported use and helpfulness of SHRs for one legal problem was significantly more likely to also be reported for other legal problems. This suggests that barriers to the increased uptake and utility of SHRs may also stem from the overlapping knowledge, skill, psychological and resource factors affecting personal legal capability and legal problem-solving behaviour more broadly (see Pleasence et al. 2014; Wintersteiger 2015). For instance, it is possible, or perhaps likely, that a 'self-selection effect' – evident from the declining use of SHRs among increasingly disadvantaged population groups – means that some groups of people do not think that SHRs will be helpful to them. They may lack the confidence and willingness to try to use them, and consequently SHRs may just not be 'on their radar' as a realistic option to potentially help them. Other research

TABLE 5: SUMMARY – USE AND HELPFULNESS OF SHRS

Variable	*Categories compared*	*Use and helpfulness of SHRs*	
		Use	*Helpfulness*
Problem severity	Substantial | Minor legal problems	>	<
Problem group	Accidents | mean	<	>
	Consumer | mean	>	-
	Credit/debt | mean	-	-
	Crime | mean	<	-
	Employment | mean	>	-
	Family | mean	>	-
	Government | mean	>	<
	Health | mean	>	-
	Housing | mean	>	>
	Money | mean	>	-
	Personal injury | mean	<	-
	Rights | mean	-	-
Gender	Female | male	-	-
Age	15–17 | 65+	>	-
	18–24 | 65+	>	-
	25–34 | 65+	>	-
	35–44 | 65+	>	-
	45–54 | 65+	>	-
	55–64 | 65+	>	-
Indigenous status	Indigenous | other	-	<
Disability status	Disability | no disability	>	-
Education	<Year 12 | post-school	<	-
	Year 12 | post-school	<	-
Employment status	Unemployed | other	-	-
Family status	Single parent | other	-	>
Housing type	Disadvantaged | other	-	-
Main income	Government payment | other	-	-
Main language	Non-English | English	<	-
Remoteness	Remote | major city	<	-
	Regional | major city	<	-
Level of disadvantage	1 type | none	<	-
	2+ types | none	<	-

Note: The symbols indicate how the first category compares to the second. The first category has: '>' significantly higher odds; '<' significantly lower odds; '-' non-significant (equal) odds.

has identified how legal confidence and other psychological factors can shape legal capability, and what people try to do to solve legal problems (see Balmer & Pleasence 2017; Gramatikov & Porter 2010; McDonald & Wei 2016; Pleasence & Balmer 2017; Pleasence, Balmer & Denvir 2015; Pleasence et al. 2014; Porter 2014). Again, further and more nuanced research is needed to explore this phenomenon and what might be effective in seeking to change entrenched legal problem-solving behaviour.

Rather than replacing more intensive forms of legal assistance, SHRs appear to be more commonly used, and may even be more beneficial, when used in combination with other forms of legal assistance services. The analyses demonstrate, for the first time, the positive association between 'helpful' SHRs and legal problem resolution and outcomes for Australians, including how legal problem outcomes are improved by main advisers providing pre-packaged legal information.

Implications for policy

The relatively low uptake (20%) and somewhat mixed helpfulness (60%) of SHRs indicate LAW Survey respondents found SHRs to be helpful for only 12 per cent of legal problems. This finding is not surprising.

Other research has demonstrated that what many people want when they search for legal assistance is someone to solve their problem for them (see Giddings, Lawler & Robinson 2013; Lawler Giddings & Robertson 2009; Pleasence et al. 2014; Robertson & Giddings 2014). Some clients of public legal assistance services may be disappointed on learning that they are not eligible to receive the type of legal assistance they desire or expect, and that they are either going to have to help themselves or purchase further legal assistance privately.[31] A primary barrier to increased uptake of legal SHRs is therefore willingness to obtain and try to make use of them.

It is also not surprising that when people act to try to solve legal problems that they use multiple strategies and seek information and advice from a variety of sources (see Coumarelos et al. 2012; Pleasence 2006). Any SHRs obtained will therefore often be weighed with and against the alternatives. SHR perceived trustworthiness, authority and difficulty are some factors likely to affect uptake and utility (see Hagan 2016).

Several implications for design of more effective SHRs and legal assistance services stem from the above findings. There is more to learn, in particular, about 'what works' in the design and provision of 'helpful' SHRs, and their role as part of effective legal assistance service strategies.[32]

SHRs may be useful as self-diagnosis tools, particularly where they help to frame a problem as 'legal', formulate strategies for action, support more informed decisions about what needs to be done next to 'name, blame and claim' or otherwise progress resolution of the matter (see Hagan 2016; Pleasence et al. 2014).

Successfully actioning SHRs appears to depend on both the nature of the legal problem and the user's legal capability. In certain circumstances, there may be greater prospects for increased SHR uptake and utility.

Just as it may be easier to successfully build a flat-packed bookcase by following the manufacturer's step-by-step instructions, compared to successfully repairing a broken-down motor vehicle by consulting the owners' manual, the path to successfully actioning SHRs is likely to depend on the nature of the legal problem, and the user's ability to otherwise meet knowledge, skill, psychological and resource needs necessary to support effective resolution. As in the case of the broken-down motor vehicle, appropriately diagnosing the relevant issues, what needs to be done, and what tools are needed will often be beyond the capability of many in the community. Sometimes family, friends and colleagues will be able to help, sometimes a mechanic will be required.

There is more to learn, in particular, about 'what works' in the design and provision of 'helpful' SHRs, and their role as part of effective legal assistance service strategies.

Just what makes SHRs 'helpful' for different types of legal problems and users requires nuanced understanding. For instance, it may be that SHRs providing clear, guided pathways to appropriate advisers and dispute resolution processes are more helpful to users, or at least for some types of users and legal problems.

Rather than effectively *replacing* more intensive and expensive forms of legal assistance, SHRs designed to both *complement,* and be *complemented by,* other legal assistance services, may be a key component of SHR uptake and utility. SHRs and other forms of CLEI material may be more helpful when they successfully link users with appropriate advisers, increase understanding and comprehension by reinforcing advice, and motivate and support the formulation of effective self-help action plans.

Critically, SHRs may be most effective when deployed as a strategy to achieve specific purposes – for different types of legal problems and users, and in different circumstances (see Forell & McDonald 2017b). The specific purpose and role of a SHR for meeting user legal need and capability may vary considerably. For instance, the purpose might be to do any one or more of the following:

- clarify legal rights and responsibilities
- help identify possible legal options and solutions
- build confidence, willingness and resilience to act
- help those who prefer to self-help
- detail the tasks to take and/or the sequence of steps to seek resolution
- outline particular documentary (e.g. letter, form, application, notification, complaint, claim etc.), evidentiary (e.g. proof of purchase etc.) or procedural requirements (e.g. give notice in writing, pay lodgement fees etc.)
- link target users to further or more specialised sources of information or assistance
- 'filter out' and otherwise reduce demand on public legal assistance services.

Other evidence also points to SHRs and CLEI materials potentially being more effective when they are part of

31 For example, client satisfaction surveys have revealed service ineligibility as a frequent source of clients who are dissatisfied with legal assistance received. This includes those who are only eligible for a lower or less intensive form of assistance, such as those eligible for only self-help legal information rather than legal advice, and those eligible for only legal information and advice rather than legal representation. It also includes situations where someone may have had to wait prolonged periods to see a lawyer, such as in duty lawyer and legal outreach contexts, to then find that they are ineligible to receive the type of assistance they want (see Colmar Brunton 2015; McDonald, Wilson, Wei, Randell & Forell 2017).

32 For instance, more needs to be known about the experiences of lay users of SHRs, how they find and access them, what they find usable, useful and valuable (and not) and what else makes a difference to uptake and utility (see further Hagan 2016).

a coherent multi-pronged approach to enhance legal capability and resilience, such as where materials are augmented by targeted, accessible and appropriate forms of more intensive legal assistance e.g. legal outreach and duty services (Coumarelos et al. 2012; Forell & McDonald 2015a; McDonald & Wei 2016; Pleasence et al. 2014). CLEI and referral services, for example, may be vital for enhancing access to, and use of, mainstream public legal assistance services by disadvantaged and marginalised groups (see McDonald, Forell, Wei & Williams 2014).

More broadly, in addition to information about legal rights, options to solve legal problems, and appropriate steps to take, what else might people need to do that is likely to affect the helpfulness of SHRs? Even if you have been able to obtain, read and comprehend the instructions to build the flat-packed bookcase, there are likely to be a range of factors that can affect ability to effectively do so, including any one or more of the following:

- Being too busy with other tasks or can get by without tackling it for now (i.e. competing demands, motivation)
- Scared you will 'stuff it up' or ruin it without some help (i.e. fear/confidence, psychological factors)
- Previous negative experiences building flat-packs (i.e. fear/confidence, psychological factors)
- Need other people to help hold some of the pieces in place (i.e. size and complexity of the job, skills required)
- No Allen key or missing parts (i.e. access to required resources/equipment)
- It's gone midnight and you are too 'tired and emotional' (i.e. personal circumstances).

Similarly, a wide set of factors affecting legal capability are likely to affect SHR helpfulness (see Pleasence et al. 2014). For example, Giddings, Lawler and Robertson (2013, p. 53) cautioned against assuming the utility of legal self-help initiatives without questioning several factors, such as:

- whether a self-help product will be enough, on its own, to enable the user to complete the task in question
- whether self-helpers will be supported by the agencies they encounter in seeking to handle their own legal work
- what self-helpers need to know to handle their own legal work
- what self-helpers already know about their legal issues and potential downsides of handling their own legal work.

Pleasence et al. (2014, p. 136) set out a legal capability framework 'pinpointing the knowledge, skill and psychological elements that a person might require to' successfully perceive and characterise a legal problem (name), seek and obtain help or assistance (seek), and apply or use that information to act to try to resolve a legal problem (claim) (cf. Felstiner, Abel & Sarat 1981). This framework specified how a range of capabilities affect a person's ability to self-help, and suggested that effective self-help is more likely with greater ability to:

- find, comprehend and apply information
- determine and follow a strategy to resolve the problem
- make and follow through on a claim
- successfully complete any procedural steps
- determine the terms of a favourable or satisfactory settlement or outcome.

The findings here also point to legal assistance service models being more effective and efficient when they can cater to diverse legal needs and capability. The finding that the provision of pre-packaged legal information in conjunction with advice from the main adviser was associated with significantly higher likelihood of legal problem outcome satisfaction and favourability, and that outcome satisfaction and favourability was even higher when pre-packaged legal information was provided by legal advisers, points to certain service models as potentially being more effective. This finding is consistent with health studies that have shown that many adults are unable to accurately recall verbal instructions provided during clinical encounters and that providing a combination of verbal instructions and written information to reinforce key health messages can improve knowledge and satisfaction compared to providing verbal instructions only.[33]

More broadly, health research has widely shown that consumer information and communication needs are not always met, that service provider assumptions about health literacy and comprehension are often incorrect, and that communication failure is a commonly cited cause of adverse health events and patient complaints.[34] Personalising written information, making follow-up telephone calls to ensure instructions have been understood, and providing information in alternative formats have all been identified as effective strategies to overcome health literacy barriers and improve consumer knowledge, satisfaction and outcomes.[35]

33 See for example, Johnson and Sandford (2005), Johnson, Sandford and Tyndall (2003), and McCartney, Waite, Curtis, Engel, Baker and Wolf (2012).

34 See Australia Commission on Safety and Quality in Health Care (ACSQHC; 2014).

35 Health research has identified health literacy as a key factor affecting people's health, their access to and use of the formal healthcare system, and whether they take preventative health actions and maintain healthcare regimes. Improving health literacy is therefore seen as one strategy to minimise barriers to health that 'stem from misunderstanding and miscommunication between patients and the health system, to improve health outcomes and reduce disparities and inequities in health' (ACSQHC 2014, p. 4). For example, research has variously identified health literacy as a factor affecting understanding of medication and hospital discharge instructions, adherence to treatment and care plans, as well as misunderstanding about the risks, consequences and necessity of treatment regimens, healthcare and follow-up plans, and

Patient-centred strategies, taking into account individual health literacy and needs, are consequently seen as a useful starting point to improve the quality of people's health, and the quality and safety of healthcare (ACSQHC 2014).

Greater understanding of 'what works', for whom, for what, in what circumstances, and to what end will, in turn, better inform the design and provision of more helpful SHRs for legal problems. Outcome-based metrics measuring whether users can understand and action information, and whether SHRs are helpful and make a positive difference, are essential for the provision of SHRs that meet the needs and capabilities of users (rather than the preferences or wishes of service providers). Better design and utility will also depend on clarity of purpose concerning what SHRs are intended to do, how they are intended to help, for whom and for what. It is also likely to depend on other factors, such as what makes a resource trustworthy and of sufficient quality to follow, how experience of crisis and trauma may affect stress levels, comprehension and action, and whether and what forms of additional assistance are available (see CLEO Centre for Research and Innovation 2013; Denvir 2018; Hagan 2016; McDonald & People 2014; Pleasence et al. 2014).

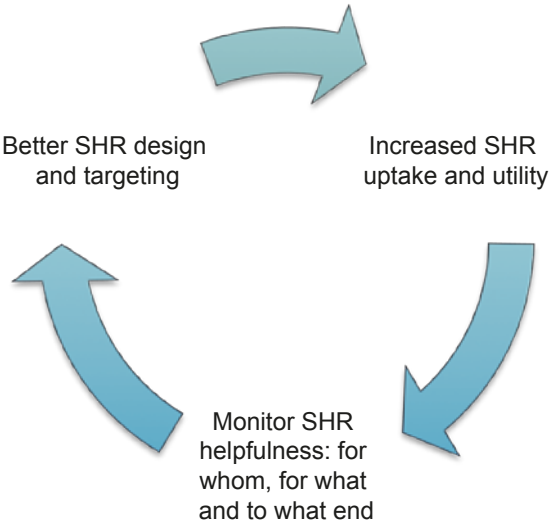
One approach to building such an evidence base is improved monitoring of SHRs helpfulness though routine follow-up – ideally to create a virtuous circle of continuous learning from practice, and a smarter, systematic approach to building evidence of 'what works' in the design and provision SHRs for legal problems (see Figure 4 and Pleasence et al. 2014).[36] Doing so requires clarity of purpose, intended users, what they are expected to do and achieve, and the particular role SHRs are expected to play within a wider legal assistance service strategy and/or dispute resolution process.

Table 6, p. 20 summarises the policy and research implications arising from the above findings.

Implications for digital transformation

At the same time as we learn more about factors affecting legal capability and legal problem-solving, a wave of 'digital transformation' is reaching the legal sector. While advances in technology may help extend access to legal information and services, potentially bridging geographic and other physical access barriers, the findings here suggest digital solutions should not be mistaken for a 'silver bullet' or stand-alone strategy to improve access to justice – rather, digital solutions appear likely to be most effective when designed to mirror and meet the legal capability and problem-solving behaviours of end users, as augmented by, and augmenting, wider public legal assistance services and infrastructure. Digital

FIGURE 4: VIRTUOUS CIRCLE OF LEARNING WHAT MAKES SHRS HELPFUL FOR LEGAL PROBLEMS



information *integrated* into and *coordinated* with assistance services and dispute resolution processes may be necessary for more seamless access to justice, and to realise the efficiency dividends envisaged by digital transformation.

In the access to justice context, digital solutions have traditionally taken the form of best practice websites, interactive and self-guided online resources and other education and training materials, document templates and assembly, as well as e-filing options for courts, tribunals and other formal dispute resolution procedures (see Cabral et al. 2012; Smith & Paterson 2014). Digital solutions now offer the promise of guided pathways, ODR and AI in multiple embodiments such as natural language inquiry, chat-bots, virtual assistant avatars, intelligent automation and predictive analytics to help users to clarify legal needs and decide what they what to do next.

… digital solutions appear likely to be most effective when designed to mirror and meet the legal capability and problem-solving behaviours of end users

Whatever their digital form, there are, however, both legal and digital capability barriers to overcome to enable and empower lay people to use law and legal information to effectively resolve legal problems. For example, research has identified how mismatches between the nature of SHRs and some users' expectations and behaviours affect usability. Legal capability requires more than legal knowledge, and is constrained by skill, psychological and resource constraints (see Balmer et al. 2010; Denvir 2016; Denvir, Balmer & Pleasence 2011; McDonald, Forell & People 2014; Pleasence et al 2014). The findings suggest well-designed SHRs can potentially have wider resonance beyond immediate legal problems when they

preventative actions (ACSQHC 2011, 2014).

36 More rigorous methodologies should also be used to evaluate effectiveness and cost-effectiveness.

TABLE 6: POLICY AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS OF THE USE AND UTILITY OF SHRS FOR LEGAL PROBLEMS

Finding	*Policy and research implications*
SHRs are rarely the only type of assistance used to try to solve legal problems. They are most commonly used in conjunction with formal advisers and other self-help actions.	SHRs sit within a wider legal problem-solving context and as such their use and utility are also likely to affect, and be affected by, other legal problem-solving behaviour. The findings indicated that people commonly use and 'integrate' multiple actions and sources of assistance in trying to meet their legal needs. As such, SHRs that mirror this behaviour, and which are integrated with additional forms of assistance and advice, may help to better meet legal needs. Digital platforms can potentially integrate SHRs with access to further advice as may be needed, and guide users to and through a dispute resolution process.
SHRs were used for only 20% of legal problems, and when they were used, were only helpful for 60% of those problems (12% of legal problems). Those who used SHRs were more likely to seek help from all types of formal advisers and take other types of action.	The findings suggest both prospects for, and limits to, SHR uptake and utility. Investing in SHRs to assist those more able to effectively self-help may have wider access to justice benefits and improve legal problem-solving. SHRs may increase utility of legal advice. SHR helpfulness should be monitored to learn how it is helpful for what type of legal problems and users, and in what circumstances.
Use and helpfulness of SHRs varied significantly by legal problem and demographic characteristics.	Some users, including those experiencing higher levels of disadvantage, may be less able to access and make effective use of SHRs. One-size-fits-all approaches are therefore unlikely to be effective for all users. SHRs need to be designed to match diverse legal need and capability of identified user profiles. Provision of helpful SHRs may also have longer-term benefits for legal confidence and to empower, at least for some types of users and legal problems. SHRs are, however, unlikely to be effective replacements for more intensive forms of legal assistance such as legal advice, minor task assistance and casework services for all types of legal problems and users. They may also be more effective when designed as complementary forms of assistance, particularly for those users what may have heighted needs. Improved digital technology may better enable SHRs to be tailored to individual user need and capability.
Users were more likely to use SHRs for more severe problems, but less likely to find them helpful for such legal problems.	SHR utility appears to decline with increasing legal problem severity. Some legal problems are more complex and difficult to resolve, and less amenable to resolution via SHRs and strategies, without additional assistance. As a service strategy, provision of SHRs may be better suited to minor, straightforward 'transactional' legal problems. SHRs might also be better deployed to support and enable pathways to appropriate legal assistance and dispute resolution processes that match user legal need and capability.
SHRs found helpful were associated with higher likelihood of legal problem finalisation, outcome satisfaction and favourability.	Legal problem resolution and outcomes are improved by provision of helpful SHRs. Further research is needed to understand what makes SHRs helpful, how they complement other strategies and how user legal need and capability affects helpfulness. Further research is also needed to understand what other forms of assistance may make a difference and support improved legal problem-solving. Ongoing monitoring of SHR helpfulness is likely to have benefits for the design and targeting of SHRs, in turn supporting improved uptake and utility.
Provision of pre-packaged legal information by main advisers was associated with higher likelihood of legal problem outcome satisfaction and favourability. Likelihood of outcome satisfaction and favourability was even higher when pre-packaged legal information was provided by main advisers who were legal advisers.	There was a significant positive association between provision of pre-packaged legal information by main advisers and legal problem outcome satisfaction and favourability, pointing to such material potentially playing a key role in the effective communication, cognition, reinforcement and application of legal advice. While further research is needed to understand how provision of pre-packaged legal information can improve legal problem outcomes, the findings suggest that legal service models that integrate appropriate legal information materials with advice can achieve significantly improved client outcomes compared to advice alone. Note, however, that it is likely that legal information will be less accessible and understood by people with low legal capability, and thus, like legal assistance more broadly, needs to be tailored and appropriate to the legal needs and capability of the recipient.

build legal capability, instil confidence to act to self-help, and change entrenched problem-solving behaviour.

Simply uploading legal information online, no matter how plain-language that material, is unlikely to realise the promise of digital solutions when it comes to access to justice problems – information must be obtained, interpreted and applied to have substantive benefit. Rather, it may lie in the increased scope for weaving and seamlessly integrating information and action to better meet the concomitant information, skill, psychological and resource needs affecting what people are able to do and achieve in trying to resolve their own legal problems.

There is a clear risk that rather than enhancing access to justice the potential downside of 'digital first' and 'digital by default' transformation strategies will be exacerbation of access to justice barriers

There is a clear risk that rather than enhancing access to justice the potential downside of 'digital first' and 'digital by default' transformation strategies will be exacerbation of access to justice barriers, particularly for those disadvantaged and marginalised groups with low legal and digital capability.

As with provision of wider legal assistance services, provision of digital legal assistance is likely to be ill-suited to the legal and digital needs and capabilities of some types of users. The challenge of increasing the use and utility of SHRs through digital innovation is therefore two-fold. First, how can those users who are more capable of making effective use of digital SHRs be best supported to do so? And second, what adjustments are necessary to safeguard access to justice for those who may otherwise be excluded and 'digitally defaulted'?[37] Like other forms of legal assistance, digital forms face the same set of challenges, with effectiveness and efficiency likely to depend on ability to personalise, to most appropriately, effectively and efficiently meet user legal need and capability (see Pleasence et al. 2014).

While advances in technology will undoubtedly increase convenience and ease of access to legal assistance, the provision of digital SHRs may not necessarily increase their uptake, nor necessarily diminish the need for legal advice services. Like all legal assistance services, digital forms are unlikely to be used when people are unaware of potential legal options and solutions to their problem (see Genn 1999; Pleasence 2006).

Nearly two decades ago, Scott (2000) observed that rather than reduce demand for legal advice, effective provision of online legal information can actually increase demand for personalised legal assistance. She suggested that the key to successfully providing online legal information and assistance was 'as an adjunct to personal support' (200, p. 28). Scott (2000) further identified the wide range of advisers that people typically turn to for help with legal problems as potentially benefiting from enhanced online legal information to help them to better connect people with legal assistance. The findings here, once again, indicate potential benefits of better equipping those commonly approached for help with legal problems to provide 'helpful' assistance, including supplying them with pre-packaged legal information incorporating appropriate digital resources capable of diagnosing, triaging and meeting legal needs.

Fulfilling the promise of improved legal self-help through digital technology is likely to also turn on better understanding of just what makes SHRs 'helpful' for lay people and how legal and digital capability interacts. The challenge of access to justice is always how to connect users with timely, accessible and appropriate legal assistance, as and when it is needed.

Conclusion

Provision of effective SHRs requires clarity of purpose as to what they are intended to do, for whom, for what and to what end. Equally, legal assistance service models may benefit from greater clarity concerning for whom and for what SHRs are intended to benefit, and the role they are intended to play in legal problem-solving: variously to get, give and enable assistance. Some users may want help to self-help, others may benefit from support to seek further assistance.

There is an important distinction to be drawn between SHRs intended to help users to *independently* resolve legal problems, as an alternative to more intensive (and likely more expensive) forms of legal assistance, and those intended to motivate and support appropriate legal problem-solving behaviours, such as successfully connecting disadvantaged and low capability clients with other available legal assistance services. While the findings demonstrate that legal self-help is relatively uncommon as a stand-alone strategy, there appears to be substantial scope to better harness and support legal self-help, particularly for those types of legal problems and users who stand to benefit most.

Uptake and utility of self-help strategies may be enhanced by being more clearly *joined* and integrated with other forms of legal and non-legal support

37 Where digital transformation policy adopts 'digital first' and 'digital by default' approaches, there are risks that some people and groups will be marginalised or excluded. It is now common for digital transformation agendas to envisage 'joined-up services' and multi-channel support' where people can use preferred service channels. Of course, that requires both investment in multiple channels and appropriate supports. See further Denvir (2013, 2018) and Smith (2018).

services. One approach to realising more effective and efficient legal assistance services, informed by the empirical legal problem-solving evidence base, is a client-focused approach that is *targeted* to reach those with the highest legal need and lowest capability, *joined-up* with other services to address complex problems, *timely* to minimise the impact of legal problems and maximise the uptake and utility of the services, and *appropriate* to the needs and capabilities of intended users (see further Pleasence et al. 2014).[38]

A holistic, systems approach to learning 'what works' to effectively and efficiently meet diverse legal need and capability across the community is likely to require multi-prong, multi-channel strategies, and where some people will require access to more intensive forms of assistance to enjoy equal access to justice. Design and provision of 'helpful' SHRs would ideally be informed by knowledge and understanding of user experiences and outcomes. There are, however, substantial gaps in the legal assistance evidence base concerning 'what works'. While the findings here signal both prospects for, and limits to, digital and other forms of SHRs, we need to know more about the factors affecting uptake and utility to design and provide more effective SHRs.

Rather than replacing other forms of legal assistance, SHRs may be most effective when they are designed to mirror the legal need, capability and problem-solving behaviours of users, as augmented by, and augmenting, wider legal assistance services. Some may well take digital form, others may be integrated with more traditional legal advice and assistance services.

38 We have previously expanded on this approach with respect to CLEI resources more broadly in setting-out a framework to distinguish different types of CLEI resources in terms of their intended users and outcomes. More effective and efficient CLEI resources may be those that are: targeted to specific types of legal problems and groups of users; appropriate to the legal need and capability of target users, and what they are expected to do to try to resolve their legal problem; timely to the legal need and capability of target users, including whether a resource is intended to provide 'just in time' or 'just in case' assistance; and integrated with other legal assistance and other services as may be required (Forell & McDonald 2017b).

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Appendix

TABLE A1: REGRESSION RESULTS – USE OF SHRS (USED CF. NOT USED)

		Use of SHRs		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**0.678**	**0.059**	**1.97**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**-1.470**	**0.143**	**0.23**
	Consumer	**0.252**	**0.050**	**1.29**
	Credit debt	-0.054	0.094	0.95
	Crime	**-1.260**	**0.095**	**0.28**
	Employment	**0.486**	**0.080**	**1.63**
	Family	**0.752**	**0.087**	**2.12**
	Government	**0.739**	**0.072**	**2.09**
	Health	**0.233**	**0.117**	**1.26**
	Housing	**0.640**	**0.069**	**1.90**
	Money	**0.550**	**0.087**	**1.73**
	Personal injury	**-0.830**	**0.114**	**0.44**
	Rights	-0.043	0.095	0.96
Gender (cf. male)	Female	-0.066	0.049	0.94
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	**0.561**	**0.194**	**1.75**
	18–24	**0.846**	**0.137**	**2.33**
	25–34	**1.126**	**0.130**	**3.08**
	35–44	**0.933**	**0.126**	**2.54**
	45–54	**0.780**	**0.125**	**2.18**
	55–64	**0.513**	**0.127**	**1.67**
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	-0.058	0.140	0.94
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	**0.222**	**0.060**	**1.25**
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	**-0.763**	**0.077**	**0.47**
	Year 12	**-0.475**	**0.072**	**0.62**
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	-0.030	0.076	0.97
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	-0.019	0.081	0.98
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	-0.148	0.091	0.85
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	-0.070	0.068	0.93
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	**-0.250**	**0.117**	**0.78**
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	**-0.233**	**0.110**	**0.79**
	Regional	**-0.156**	**0.056**	**0.86**
Constant		**-2.597**	**0.182**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.005	0.005	
Person		**1.041**	**0.379**	

Note: N=19,063 legal problems. Data were missing for 325 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A2: REGRESSION RESULTS – USE OF SHRS (USED CF. NOT USED)

		Use of SHRs		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**0.589**	**0.040**	**1.80**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**-1.325**	**0.127**	**0.27**
	Consumer	**0.231**	**0.044**	**1.26**
	Credit debt	-0.086	0.081	0.92
	Crime	**-1.125**	**0.075**	**0.32**
	Employment	**0.454**	**0.063**	**1.57**
	Family	**0.630**	**0.065**	**1.88**
	Government	**0.635**	**0.052**	**1.89**
	Health	**0.321**	**0.094**	**1.38**
	Housing	**0.541**	**0.053**	**1.72**
	Money	**0.479**	**0.068**	**1.61**
	Personal injury	**-0.719**	**0.095**	**0.49**
	Rights	-0.032	0.082	0.97
Gender (cf. male)	Female	-0.042	0.039	0.96
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	0.166	0.158	1.18
	18–24	**0.630**	**0.108**	**1.88**
	25–34	**0.964**	**0.100**	**2.62**
	35–44	**0.807**	**0.099**	**2.24**
	45–54	**0.683**	**0.102**	**1.98**
	55–64	**0.458**	**0.105**	**1.58**
Level of disadvantage (cf. none)	1 type	**-0.138**	**0.049**	**0.87**
	2+ types	**-0.359**	**0.050**	**0.70**
Constant		**-2.291**	**0.104**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.014	0.009	
Person		**0.003**	**0.001**	

Note: N=19,063 legal problems. Data were missing for 325 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A3: REGRESSION RESULTS – HELPFULNESS OF SHR (HELPFUL CF. NOT HELPFUL)

		Helpfulness		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.325**	**0.072**	**0.72**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**0.811**	**0.298**	**2.25**
	Consumer	-0.609	0.082	0.54
	Credit debt	-0.225	0.152	0.80
	Crime	0.276	0.147	1.32
	Employment	-0.056	0.119	0.95
	Family	-0.110	0.125	0.90
	Government	**-0.355**	**0.099**	**0.70**
	Health	-0.012	0.184	0.99
	Housing	**0.241**	**0.102**	**1.27**
	Money	0.095	0.122	1.10
	Personal injury	0.133	0.182	1.14
	Rights	-0.188	0.143	0.83
Gender (cf. male)	Female	0.092	0.072	1.10
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	0.017	0.311	1.02
	18–24	-0.111	0.195	0.89
	25–34	-0.211	0.183	0.81
	35–44	-0.207	0.181	0.81
	45–54	-0.190	0.182	0.83
	55–64	-0.247	0.193	0.78
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	**-0.404**	**0.200**	**0.67**
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	-0.105	0.082	0.90
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	0.021	0.100	1.02
	Year 12	0.058	0.099	1.06
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	-0.079	0.101	0.92
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	**0.226**	**0.115**	**1.25**
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	-0.194	0.130	0.82
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	-0.083	0.099	0.92
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	0.177	0.172	1.19
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	-0.071	0.164	0.93
	Regional	0.020	0.083	1.02
Constant		**0.986**	**0.193**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.007	0.008	
Person		**0.006**	**0.002**	

Note: N=3,688 legal problems where SHRs were used. Data were missing for 43 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A4: REGRESSION RESULTS – HELPFULNESS OF SHR (HELPFUL CF. NOT HELPFUL)

		Helpfulness of SHRs		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.328**	**0.071**	**0.72**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**0.955**	**0.303**	**2.60**
	Consumer	**-0.594**	**0.081**	**0.55**
	Credit debt	-0.200	0.154	0.82
	Crime	0.205	0.137	1.23
	Employment	-0.093	0.120	0.91
	Family	-0.057	0.111	0.94
	Government	**-0.373**	**0.097**	**0.69**
	Health	-0.053	0.187	0.95
	Housing	**0.230**	**0.098**	**1.26**
	Money	0.074	0.131	1.08
	Personal injury	0.132	0.177	1.14
	Rights	-0.214	0.151	0.81
Gender (cf. male)	Female	0.079	0.070	1.08
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	0.028	0.308	1.03
	18–24	-0.122	0.184	0.89
	25–34	-0.217	0.164	0.80
	35–44	-0.196	0.165	0.82
	45–54	-0.183	0.167	0.83
	55–64	-0.278	0.184	0.76
Level of disadvantage (cf. none)	1 type	-0.155	0.089	0.86
	2+ types	-0.109	0.093	0.90
Constant		**1.068**	**0.165**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.005	0.005	
Person		**0.002**	**0.001**	

Note: N=3,688 legal problems where SHRs were used. Data were missing for 43 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A5: REGRESSION RESULTS – FINALISATION OF LEGAL PROBLEMS (FINALISED CF. ONGOING)

		Finalisation		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem recency (cf.<6 months)	7+ months ago	**0.171**	**0.032**	**1.19**
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.791**	**0.035**	**0.45**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**1.098**	**0.088**	**3.00**
	Consumer	**0.275**	**0.037**	**1.34**
	Credit debt	**-0.498**	**0.065**	**0.61**
	Crime	**0.376**	**0.045**	**1.46**
	Employment	0.054	0.063	1.06
	Family	**-0.811**	**0.063**	**0.44**
	Government	**-0.366**	**0.050**	**0.69**
	Health	0.120	0.084	1.13
	Housing	**-0.216**	**0.048**	**0.81**
	Money	**-0.504**	**0.066**	**0.60**
	Personal injury	**0.197**	**0.068**	**1.22**
	Rights	**0.255**	**0.070**	**1.29**
Use of SHRs (cf. no use of SHR)	SHRs used	**-0.394**	**0.040**	**0.67**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	-0.034	0.033	0.97
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	**0.806**	**0.114**	**2.24**
	18–24	**0.585**	**0.077**	**1.79**
	25–34	**0.311**	**0.069**	**1.36**
	35–44	0.130	0.067	1.14
	45–54	-0.031	0.068	0.97
	55–64	-0.013	0.071	0.99
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	-0.092	0.089	0.91
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	**-0.154**	**0.040**	**0.86**
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	**-0.084**	**0.041**	**0.92**
	Year 12	0.030	0.045	1.03
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	0.047	0.051	1.05
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	**-0.119**	**0.053**	**0.89**
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	**-0.141**	**0.056**	**0.87**
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	-0.073	0.044	0.93
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	-0.152	0.080	0.86
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	-0.042	0.074	0.96
	Regional	-0.052	0.040	0.95
Constant		**0.926**	**0.070**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.005	0.003	
Person		0.003	0.002	

Note: N=19,045 legal problems. Data were missing for 343 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A6: REGRESSION RESULTS – FINALISATION OF LEGAL PROBLEMS WHERE RESPONDENTS USED SHRS (FINALISED CF. ONGOING)

		Finalisation		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem recency (cf.<6 months)	7+ months ago	**0.186**	**0.076**	**1.20**
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.571**	**0.075**	**0.56**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**1.086**	**0.310**	**2.96**
	Consumer	**0.422**	**0.085**	**1.53**
	Credit debt	**-0.582**	**0.161**	**0.56**
	Crime	-0.188	0.143	0.83
	Employment	-0.054	0.117	0.95
	Family	**-0.698**	**0.125**	**0.50**
	Government	-0.089	0.100	0.91
	Health	-0.026	0.163	0.97
	Housing	0.014	0.097	1.01
	Money	**-0.394**	**0.128**	**0.67**
	Personal injury	0.128	0.188	1.14
	Rights	**0.370**	**0.155**	**1.45**
Helpfulness of SHRs (cf. not helpful)	SHRs helpful	**0.517**	**0.072**	**1.68**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	-0.095	0.071	0.91
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	**1.421**	**0.339**	**4.14**
	18–24	**0.960**	**0.209**	**2.61**
	25–34	**0.669**	**0.191**	**1.95**
	35–44	0.495	0.189	1.64
	45–54	0.289	0.189	1.34
	55–64	0.169	0.198	1.18
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	0.007	0.217	1.01
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	-0.102	0.080	0.90
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	**-0.301**	**0.101**	**0.74**
	Year 12	-0.019	0.101	0.98
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	0.081	0.107	1.08
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	**-0.277**	**0.116**	**0.76**
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	-0.045	0.132	0.96
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	0.056	0.101	1.06
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	-0.203	0.170	0.82
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	**-0.419**	**0.180**	**0.66**
	Regional	-0.041	0.089	0.96
Constant		-0.248	0.205	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.023	0.017	
Person		0.001	0.001	

Note: N=3,688 legal problems where SHRs were used. Data were missing for 7 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A7: REGRESSION RESULTS – SATISFACTION LEGAL PROBLEM OUTCOME WHERE RESPONDENTS USED SHRS (SATISFIED CF. UNSATISFIED)

		Satisfied with outcome		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.336**	**0.116**	**0.71**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	-0.089	0.328	0.91
	Consumer	0.132	0.114	1.14
	Credit debt	0.019	0.276	1.02
	Crime	-0.192	0.227	0.83
	Employment	-0.348	0.185	0.71
	Family	0.351	0.238	1.42
	Government	**-0.412**	**0.150**	**0.66**
	Health	-0.349	0.287	0.71
	Housing	0.006	0.158	1.01
	Money	0.199	0.221	1.22
	Personal injury	**1.147**	**0.347**	**3.15**
	Rights	**-0.475**	**0.229**	**0.62**
Helpfulness of SHRs (cf. not helpful)	SHRs helpful	**1.201**	**0.130**	**3.32**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	0.055	0.106	1.06
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	-0.151	0.445	0.86
	18–24	-0.423	0.290	0.66
	25–34	-0.418	0.283	0.66
	35–44	-0.275	0.279	0.76
	45–54	-0.110	0.284	0.90
	55–64	-0.095	0.317	0.91
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	-0.078	0.332	0.92
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	-0.119	0.132	0.89
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	-0.072	0.158	0.93
	Year 12	0.016	0.147	1.02
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	-0.042	0.166	0.96
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	-0.053	0.207	0.95
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	-0.154	0.214	0.86
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	0.239	0.151	1.27
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	0.331	0.266	1.39
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	**-0.628**	**0.256**	**0.53**
	Regional	0.044	0.123	1.04
Constant		0.340	0.301	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.006	0.007	
Person		0.346	0.330	

Note: N=1,884 finalised legal problems where SHRs were used. Data were missing for 22 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A8: REGRESSION RESULTS – FAVOURABILITY OF LEGAL PROBLEM OUTCOME WHERE RESPONDENTS USED SHR (IN MY FAVOUR CF. NOT IN MY FAVOUR)

		Favourable outcome		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	-0.184	0.110	0.83
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	0.173	0.353	1.19
	Consumer	-0.208	0.256	0.81
	Credit debt	0.217	0.115	1.24
	Crime	-0.080	0.218	0.92
	Employment	-0.191	0.171	0.83
	Family	0.229	0.247	1.26
	Government	**-0.442**	**0.142**	**0.64**
	Health	-0.138	0.273	0.87
	Housing	-0.067	0.146	0.94
	Money	0.096	0.211	1.10
	Personal injury	**0.813**	**0.343**	**2.25**
	Rights	**-0.407**	**0.200**	**0.67**
Helpfulness of SHRs (cf. not helpful)	SHRs helpful	**1.078**	**0.102**	**2.94**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	0.105	0.103	1.11
Age	15–17	-0.097	0.435	0.91
(cf. 65+)	18–24	-0.122	0.324	0.89
	25–34	-0.300	0.297	0.74
	35–44	-0.243	0.298	0.78
	45–54	-0.160	0.305	0.85
	55–64	-0.377	0.313	0.69
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	0.026	0.303	1.03
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	-0.016	0.126	0.98
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	-0.037	0.160	0.96
	Year 12	-0.077	0.151	0.93
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	-0.293	0.154	0.75
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	-0.060	0.198	0.94
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	0.132	0.206	1.14
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	0.197	0.152	1.22
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	-0.211	0.241	0.81
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	**-0.508**	**0.233**	**0.60**
	Regional	0.079	0.119	1.08
Constant		0.363	0.315	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.009	0.011	
Person		0.004	0.003	

Note: N=1,876 finalised legal problems where SHRs were used. Data were missing for 21 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A9: REGRESSION RESULTS – SATISFACTION OF LEGAL PROBLEM OUTCOME WHERE RESPONDENTS HAD A MAIN ADVISER (SATISFIED CF. UNSATISFIED)

		Satisfied with outcome		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.393**	**0.064**	**0.68**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**1.193**	**0.129**	**3.30**
	Consumer	**-0.244**	**0.090**	**0.78**
	Credit debt	-0.278	0.171	0.76
	Crime	**-0.354**	**0.065**	**0.70**
	Employment	**-0.431**	**0.100**	**0.65**
	Family	0.082	0.130	1.09
	Government	**-0.268**	**0.108**	**0.76**
	Health	**-0.484**	**0.160**	**0.62**
	Housing	0.127	0.094	1.14
	Money	**0.256**	**0.130**	**1.29**
	Personal injury	**0.619**	**0.104**	**1.86**
	Rights	-0.217	0.114	0.80
Pre-packaged legal information provided by main adviser (cf. not provided)	Provided	**0.357**	**0.081**	**1.43**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	0.098	0.062	1.10
Age	15–17	**-0.433**	**0.219**	**0.65**
(cf. 65+)	18–24	**-0.510**	**0.153**	**0.60**
	25–34	**-0.590**	**0.143**	**0.55**
	35–44	**-0.476**	**0.141**	**0.62**
	45–54	**-0.415**	**0.147**	**0.66**
	55–64	**-0.396**	**0.150**	**0.67**
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	-0.026	0.165	0.97
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	-0.106	0.075	0.90
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	0.087	0.084	1.09
	Year 12	-0.046	0.082	0.96
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	-0.117	0.099	0.89
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	0.001	0.101	1.00
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	-0.213	0.109	0.81
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	0.101	0.086	1.11
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	0.083	0.172	1.09
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	0.083	0.142	1.09
	Regional	**0.193**	**0.068**	**1.21**
Constant		**1.249**	**0.151**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.005	0.005	
Person		0.008	0.008	

Note: N=5,207 legal problems where advisers were used. Data were missing for 300 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A10: REGRESSION RESULTS – FAVOURABILITY OF LEGAL PROBLEM OUTCOME WHERE RESPONDENTS HAD A MAIN ADVISER (IN MY FAVOUR CF. NOT IN MY FAVOUR)

		Favourable outcome		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.219**	**0.066**	**0.80**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	**0.612**	**0.108**	**1.84**
	Consumer	-0.302	0.175	0.74
	Credit debt	0.025	0.093	1.03
	Crime	**-0.462**	**0.067**	**0.63**
	Employment	**-0.266**	**0.103**	**0.77**
	Family	0.115	0.141	1.12
	Government	-0.155	0.110	0.86
	Health	**-0.432**	**0.157**	**0.65**
	Housing	**0.255**	**0.099**	**1.29**
	Money	0.238	0.134	1.27
	Personal injury	**0.509**	**0.111**	**1.66**
	Rights	-0.131	0.118	0.88
Pre-packaged legal information provided by main adviser (cf. not provided)	Provided	**0.246**	**0.082**	**1.28**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	0.099	0.062	1.10
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	-0.124	0.207	0.88
	18–24	-0.235	0.140	0.79
	25–34	**-0.263**	**0.124**	**0.77**
	35–44	-0.151	0.126	0.86
	45–54	-0.150	0.126	0.86
	55–64	-0.147	0.138	0.86
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	0.022	0.175	1.02
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	-0.058	0.074	0.94
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	-0.053	0.080	0.95
	Year 12	-0.095	0.082	0.91
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	**-0.223**	**0.095**	**0.80**
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	0.108	0.107	1.11
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	-0.005	0.112	1.00
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	0.042	0.084	1.04
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	-0.028	0.176	0.97
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	0.191	0.139	1.21
	Regional	**0.175**	**0.070**	**1.19**
Constant		**0.955**	**0.117**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.006	0.008	
Person		0.009	0.005	

Note: N=5,108 legal problems where advisers we used. Data were missing for 290 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A11: REGRESSION RESULTS – SATISFACTION OF LEGAL PROBLEM OUTCOME WHERE THE MAIN ADVISER WAS A LEGAL ADVISER (SATISFIED CF. UNSATISFIED)

		Satisfied with outcome		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.473**	**0.152**	**0.62**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	0.325	0.392	1.38
	Consumer	**-0.422**	**0.208**	**0.66**
	Credit debt	0.102	0.287	1.11
	Crime	0.065	0.194	1.07
	Employment	-0.244	0.228	0.78
	Family	0.307	0.182	1.36
	Government	0.139	0.220	1.15
	Health	-0.300	0.435	0.74
	Housing	0.299	0.195	1.35
	Money	**0.500**	**0.191**	**1.65**
	Personal injury	0.091	0.284	1.10
	Rights	**-0.881**	**0.309**	**0.41**
Pre-packed legal information provided by main adviser (legal) (cf. not provided)	Provided	**0.506**	**0.159**	**1.67**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	**0.312**	**0.132**	**1.37**
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	0.404	0.616	1.50
	18–24	0.007	0.372	1.01
	25–34	**-0.699**	**0.318**	**0.50**
	35–44	-0.356	0.312	0.70
	45–54	-0.468	0.309	0.63
	55–64	-0.985	0.333	0.37
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	-0.279	0.352	0.76
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	0.014	0.164	1.01
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	-0.117	0.177	0.89
	Year 12	-0.233	0.182	0.79
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	0.064	0.204	1.07
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	-0.046	0.201	0.96
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	0.069	0.232	1.07
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	-0.103	0.169	0.90
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	0.373	0.459	1.45
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	-0.134	0.338	0.87
	Regional	0.249	0.159	1.28
Constant		**0.964**	**0.312**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.037	0.048	
Person		0.046	0.026	

Note: N=1,121 legal problems where the main adviser was a legal adviser. Data were missing for 65 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

TABLE A12: REGRESSION RESULTS – FAVOURABILITY OF LEGAL PROBLEM OUTCOME WHERE THE MAIN ADVISER WAS A LEGAL ADVISER (IN MY FAVOUR CF. NOT IN MY FAVOUR)

		Favourable outcome		
		β	*SE*	*OR*
FIXED EFFECTS				
Problem severity (cf. minor)	Substantial	**-0.473**	**0.106**	**0.62**
Problem group (cf. mean)	Accidents	0.346	0.289	1.41
	Consumer	-0.169	0.260	0.51
	Credit debt	0.088	0.212	1.09
	Crime	0.215	0.181	1.24
	Employment	-0.135	0.306	0.87
	Family	0.122	0.215	1.13
	Government	-0.082	0.158	0.92
	Health	-0.301	0.355	0.74
	Housing	0.208	0.234	1.23
	Money	**0.297**	**0.149**	**1.35**
	Personal injury	0.367	0.195	1.44
	Rights	**-0.956**	**0.265**	**0.38**
Pre-packaged legal information provided by main adviser (legal) (cf. not provided)	Provided	**0.458**	**0.193**	**1.58**
Gender (cf. male)	Female	0.181	0.110	1.20
Age (cf. 65+)	15–17	-0.412	0.610	0.66
	18–24	0.137	0.423	1.15
	25–34	-0.627	0.352	0.53
	35–44	-0.168	0.321	0.85
	45–54	-0.301	0.378	0.74
	55–64	**-0.648**	**0.287**	**0.52**
Indigenous status (cf. other)	Indigenous	-0.412	0.346	0.66
Disability status (cf. no disability)	Disability	0.020	0.108	1.02
Education (cf. post-school)	<Year 12	-0.257	0.170	0.77
	Year 12	-0.188	0.198	0.83
Employment status (cf. other)	Unemployed	-0.137	0.115	0.87
Family status (cf. other)	Single parent	0.262	0.143	1.30
Housing type (cf. other)	Disadvantaged	0.216	0.136	1.24
Main income (cf. other)	Government payment	-0.206	0.119	0.81
Main language (cf. English)	Non-English	-0.001	0.488	1.00
Remoteness (cf. major city)	Remote	-0.347	0.218	0.71
	Regional	0.158	0.193	1.17
Constant		**1.143**	**0.343**	
RANDOM EFFECTS				
State		0.001	0.001	
Person		**0.067**	**0.018**	

Note: N=1,099 legal problems where the main adviser was a legal adviser. Data were missing for 62 problems. Significant odds ratios (ORs) are presented in bold. A bold odds ratio (OR)>1.0 indicates that the category in question had significantly higher odds than the reference category. OR<1.0 indicates that the the category in question had significantly lower odds. The size of the OR indicates the strength of the relationship. E.g. OR=2.0 means that the odds for the category in question were twice those for the reference category. OR=0.5 means that the odds for the category in question were half those for the reference category, or, in other words, that the odds for the reference category were twice those (i.e. 1/0.5=2.0) for the category in question.

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