



## Youth and the law: the impact of legal problems on young people

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**Abstract:** *Stress-related illness, physical ill health, relationship breakdown, moving home, and loss of income or financial strain, were all adverse consequences attributed to the legal problems reported by respondents to the Legal Australia-Wide (LAW) Survey. This paper draws on the LAW Survey data to explore the adverse consequences reported by young females and males. The findings indicate that young people, like their older counterparts, are not immune to experiencing the adverse consequences of legal problems. In addition, for young people aged 15–17 years, there are strong gender differences in the rate with which some adverse consequences are reported.*

This paper presents **new findings** from the Legal-Australia Wide (LAW) Survey. The first major findings for Australia as a whole were published in **Legal Australia-Wide Survey: legal need in Australia** by Christine Coumarelos, Deborah Macourt, Julie People, Hugh M. McDonald, Zhigang Wei, Reiny Iriana and Stephanie Ramsey (Law and Justice Foundation of NSW, 2012).

### About the LAW Survey

The LAW Survey provides a comprehensive assessment of a broad range of legal needs on a representative sample of the population. It covered 129 different types of civil, criminal and family law problems. It examined the nature of legal problems, the pathways to their resolution and the demographic groups that struggle with the weight of their legal problems. With 20,716 respondents across Australia, including over 2000 in each state/territory, the LAW Survey allows for in-depth analysis at both the state/territory and national level. The major findings were published in a series of nine reports, with a report on Australia as a whole and each state/territory. The nine LAW Survey reports are available at [www.lawfoundation.net.au/publications](http://www.lawfoundation.net.au/publications)

### Introduction

While most young people fare well, many face challenges as they move from childhood to adulthood. Having good health, safety, positive personal relationships, shelter, and economic security, are all important in underpinning the level of wellbeing experienced (Wyn 2009). In contrast, initial findings from the Legal Australia-Wide (LAW) Survey indicate that many young people experience legal problems, and these legal problems can impact negatively on these life areas. Stress-related illness, physical ill health, relationship breakdown, moving home, and loss of income or financial strain were all adverse consequences attributed to the legal problems reported by LAW Survey respondents (Coumarelos, Macourt, People, McDonald, Wei, Iriana & Ramsey 2012).

International legal needs surveys have indicated that young people's legal problems, just like those of older people, can bring about considerable adverse consequences (Balmer, Tan & Pleasence 2007; Pleasence 2011). In Australia, recent research using LAW Survey data reports that young people experience a wide range of different types of legal problems that can have a substantial impact on their everyday lives (Macourt 2013). To date however, LAW Survey data have not been used to specifically examine the adverse consequences reported by young people.

Gender differences exist in many of the key indicators used to measure young people's wellbeing (Foundation for Young Australians (FYA) 2012; Muir, Mullan, Powell, Flaxman, Thompson, & Griffiths 2009).

However, legal needs research has not typically found strong links between gender and a vulnerability to legal problems, although small gender differences in the types of legal problems reported are sometimes observed (e.g. Coumarelos et al. 2012; Currie 2007; Dignan 2006; Miller & Srivastava 2002; Pleasence 2006; van Velthoven & ter Voert 2004; van Velthoven & Klein Haarhuis 2010). In contrast, legal needs research has consistently found strong relationships between age and a vulnerability to legal problems (e.g. Coumarelos et al. 2012; Currie 2007; Dignan 2006; Pleasence 2006).

## New findings from the LAW Survey

### This paper

The current paper will use LAW Survey data to explore the impact of legal problems<sup>i</sup> on young females and males, particularly those aged 15–17 years. It will consider if there are gender differences in this experience,<sup>ii</sup> and will address:

- the prevalence of legal problems and substantial legal problems
- the different types of substantial legal problems experienced
- the adverse consequences of legal problems
- the types of legal problems that result in adverse consequences.

### Prevalence of legal problems and substantial legal problems

LAW Survey respondents were asked about legal problems they had experienced in a 12-month period. Figure 1 presents the proportion of respondents that reported experiencing legal problems broken down by age and gender. For each age group, differences between females and males were small. The relationship between prevalence and gender was significant only for the oldest age group, those aged 25 years or over.<sup>iii</sup> For young people aged 15–17 years, 42.2 per cent of females compared to 42.9 per cent of males experienced legal problems. For 18–24 year olds, 54.0 per cent of females compared to 55.8 per cent of males experienced legal problems, and for those aged 25 years or over, 47.9 per cent of females compared to 50.8 per cent of males experienced legal problems.

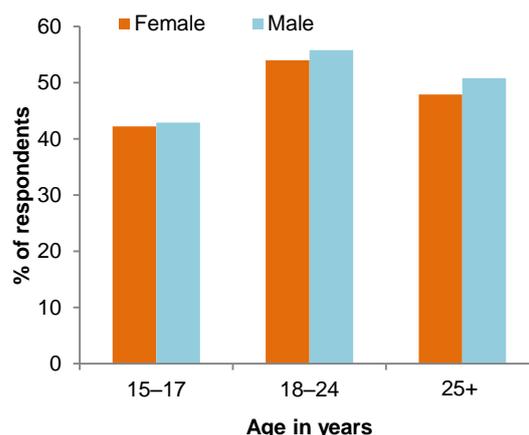
In addition to the overall prevalence of legal problems, the LAW Survey examined the prevalence of ‘substantial’ legal problems, that is, legal problems that had a ‘moderate’ or ‘severe’ impact on the everyday life of the respondent. As shown in Figure 2, there were differences between females and males in the rate of

experiencing substantial legal problems. For each age group, the rate was significantly higher for females than for males.<sup>iv</sup> The difference between females and males was largest for the youngest age group, and became smaller as the age groups became older.

For respondents aged 15–17 years, 20.9 per cent of females compared to 15.9 per cent of males experienced substantial legal problems. For 18–24 year olds the rate was 29.0 per cent for females and 25.5 per cent for males, and for those aged 25 years or over it was 28.4 per cent for females and 27.1 per cent for males.

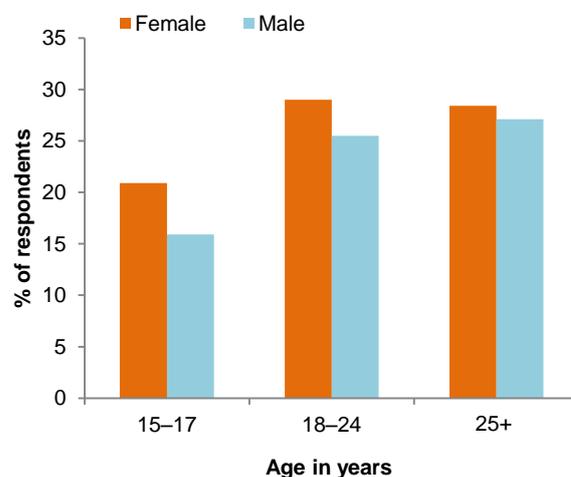
The next section explores whether the increased prevalence of substantial legal problems reported by 15–17 year old females compared to 15–17 year old males is focussed on some types of legal problems in particular.

Figure 1: Prevalence of legal problems by age and gender



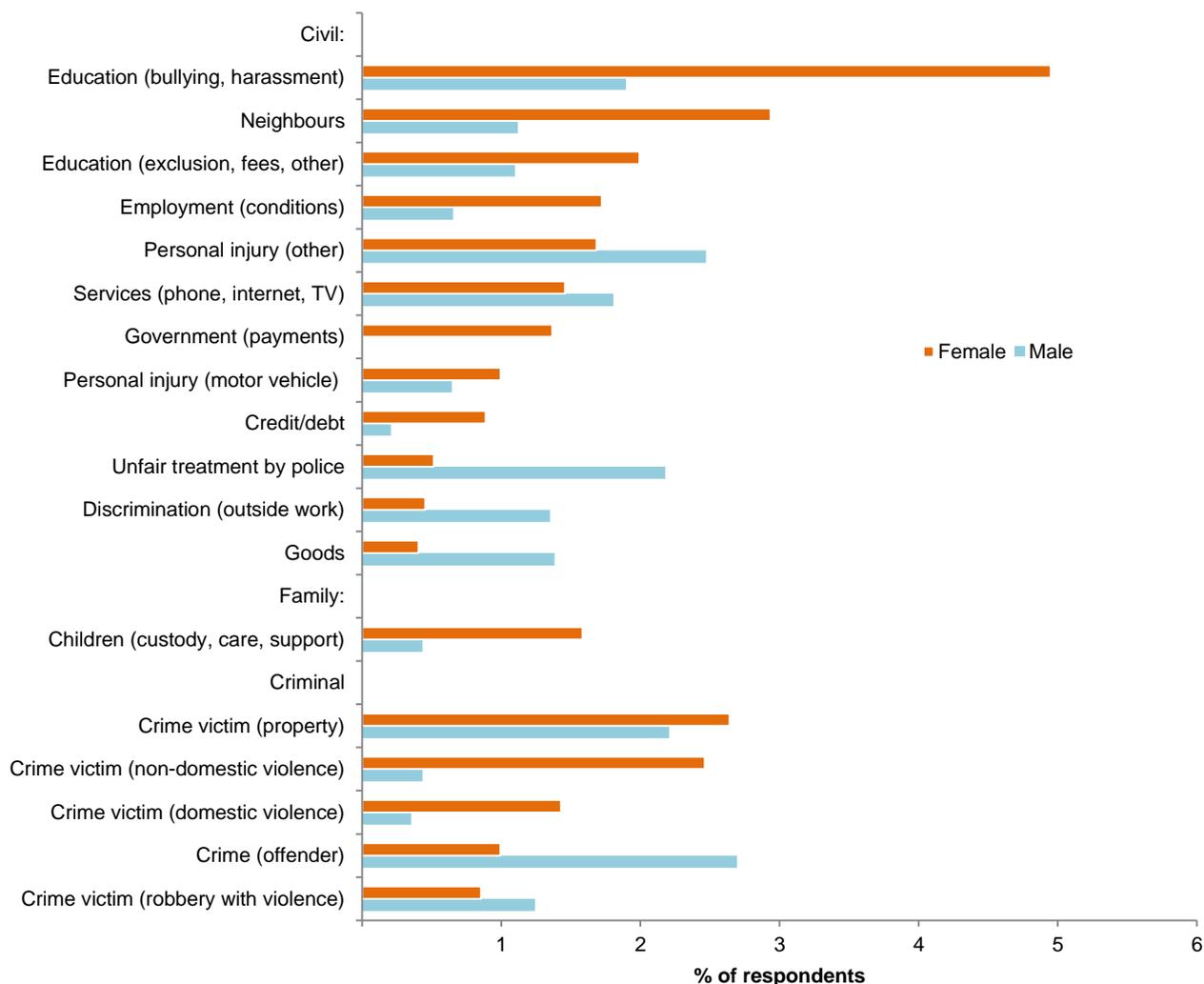
Note: 20,716 respondents.

Figure 2: Prevalence of substantial legal problems by age and gender



Note: 20,716 respondents.

Figure 3: Prevalence of substantial legal problems by type of problem and gender, 15–17 years



Note: 1,044 respondents aged 15–17 years (including 509 females and 535 males).

**Different types of legal problems**

Figure 3 shows the prevalence of the different types of substantial legal problems reported by male and female respondents aged 15–17 years.<sup>v</sup> Note that in some instances the percentages are based on small numbers and full details of the data are provided in Appendix Table A1. Overall, 15–17 year old females reported a higher rate of experiencing substantial legal problems for 11 of the 18 types of legal problems examined.

The largest difference between 15–17 year old females and males was for substantial legal problems relating to education (bullying, harassment). Overall, 4.9 per cent of 15–17 year old female respondents reported experiencing an education (bullying, harassment) problem that had a substantial impact compared to 1.9 per cent of 15–17 year old male respondents.

The next largest difference between 15–17 year old females and males was for substantial legal problems relating to being a crime victim (non-domestic violence). Substantial problems of this type were reported by 2.5 per cent of female respondents compared to 0.4 per cent of male respondents.

Issues with neighbours had the third largest difference, with substantial problems of this type being reported by 2.9 per cent of female respondents compared to 1.1 per cent of male respondents.

**Adverse consequences of legal problems**

Initial findings from the LAW Survey revealed that legal problems can have considerable adverse impacts on a broad range of life circumstances.<sup>vi</sup> Respondents reported that their legal problems caused stress-related

illness in 19.7 per cent of cases, physical ill health in 18.5 per cent, relationship breakdown in 10.1 per cent, having to move home in 5.4 per cent and loss of income or financial strain in 28.9 per cent.

The following sections consider the adverse consequences of legal problems reported by respondents from each age group broken down by gender. Further details of the data are provided in Appendix Table A2. For respondents aged 15–17 years, the different types of legal problems that resulted in each adverse consequence are discussed.<sup>vii</sup>

*Stress-related illness*

For each age group, female respondents reported a significantly higher proportion of problems causing stress-related illness than did male respondents.<sup>viii</sup> As shown in Figure 4, the difference between females and males was largest for respondents aged 15–17 years.

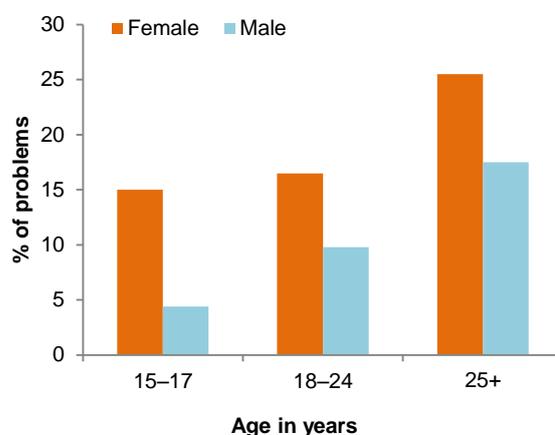
In 15.0 per cent of cases, 15–17 year old female respondents reported that their legal problems caused stress-related illness (60 of 398 problems). This was so for only 4.4 per cent of the legal problems reported by 15–17 year old male respondents (18 of 413 problems).

Both 15–17 year old females and males reported that stress-related illness could be a consequence of a wide range of different types of legal problems. However, in both cases, the legal problems that were reported to be the most frequent cause of stress-related illness were problems that related to education (bullying, harassment). For 15–17 year old female respondents, the higher rate of reporting that legal problems caused stress-related illness may reflect their higher rate of reporting substantial education (bullying, harassment) problems, as was noted earlier (see Figure 3). Young female’s higher rate of reporting stress-related illness may also reflect their higher overall tendency to report anxiety disorders. In *Young Australians: their health and wellbeing 2011* the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) reports that among young people aged 16–24 years, the rate of reporting anxiety disorders was much higher for young females (21.7%) than it was for young males (9.3%).

*Physical ill health*

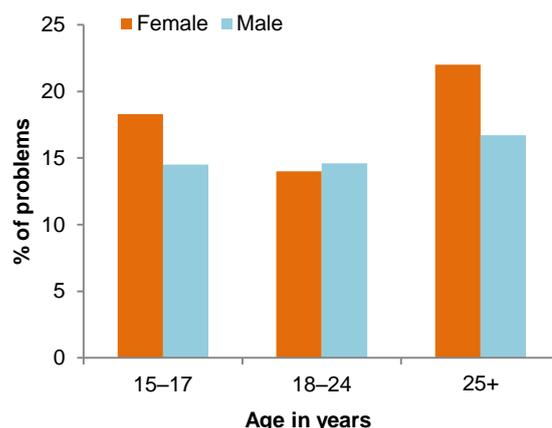
Compared to similarly aged male respondents, female respondents aged 25 years and over reported a significantly higher proportion of problems causing physical ill health. While the difference between females and males in the two younger age groups was not

Figure 4: Adverse consequence: stress-related illness by age and gender



Note: N=19,203 problems.

Figure 5: Adverse consequence: physical ill health by age and gender



Note: N=19,203 problems.

significant, the proportion of problems reported to have caused physical ill health was higher for female respondents aged 15–17 years than similarly aged male respondents (see Figure 5).<sup>ix</sup>

Female respondents aged 15–17 years reported that 18.3 per cent of their legal problems caused physical ill health (73 of 398 problems), while the corresponding percentage for 15–17 year old male respondents was 14.5 per cent (60 of 413 problems).

Both 15–17 year old females and males reported that physical ill health could be a consequence of a wide range of different types of legal problems. However, for this age group, the legal problems that were reported to be the most frequent cause of physical ill health were problems that related to personal injury (work). Personal injury (work) problems were reported by 4.2 per cent of 15–17 year old female respondents and

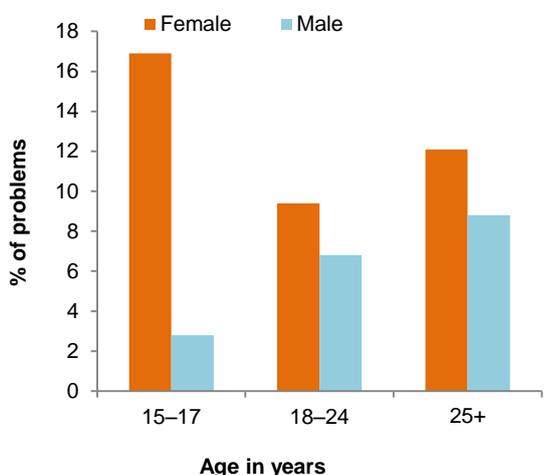
5.2 per cent of 15–17 year old male respondents (see Appendix Table A1). As only three males, and no females, reported substantial personal injury (work) problems, it would appear that severe consequences for these types of problems are unlikely to be widespread for this age group.

The legal problems that were reported to be the next most frequent cause of physical ill health for 15–17 year olds were problems that related to personal injury (other). For 15–17 year old female respondents these problems largely concerned faulty goods, while for 15–17 year old male respondents, injuries from sport, or altercations with peers, were reported to be a more frequent cause.

*Relationship breakdown*

For each age group, female respondents reported a higher proportion of problems causing relationship breakdown than did male respondents (see Figure 6). The relationship between gender and relationship breakdown was significant for those aged 25 years and over, and also for young people aged 15–17 years.<sup>x</sup>

Figure 6: Adverse consequence: relationship breakdown by age and gender



Note: N=19,203 problems.

In 16.9 per cent of cases, 15–17 year old female respondents reported that their legal problems caused relationship breakdown (67 of 398 problems). This was so for only 2.8 per cent of the legal problems reported by 15–17 year old male respondents (11 of 413).

The survey question regarding relationship breakdown as a consequence of legal problems did not ask for further details about the nature of the relationship that had broken down. However, it was clear from the

descriptions of the main aspects of their legal problems that survey respondents defined ‘relationships’ broadly. For example, ‘relationships’ included relationships with friends, parents and other family members, as well as intimate relationships.

While 15–17 year old female respondents indicated that a wide range of different types of legal problems had lead to relationship breakdown, over a quarter of these problems were reported to concern crime victim (domestic violence) or crime victim (non-domestic violence) problems. Education (bullying, harassment) problems were also reported to be a common cause of relationship breakdown for 15–17 year old female respondents, as were issues relating to children (custody, care, support), where the problems concerned their own guardianship preferences, or being the subject of their parents’ and guardians’ custodial disputes.

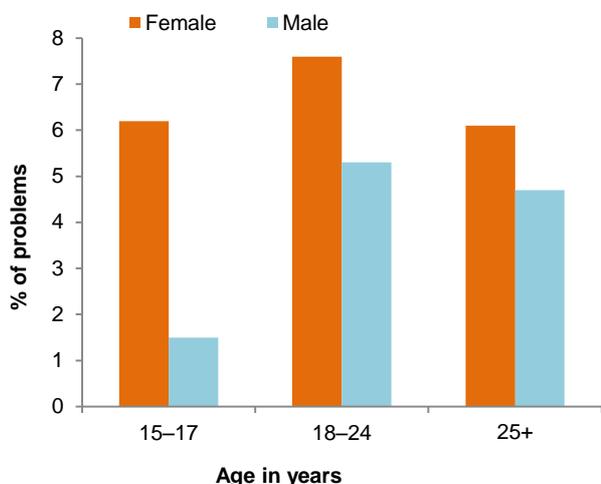
For 15–17 year old male respondents, a much smaller range of legal problem types were reported to have resulted in relationship breakdown. The most frequent types being claimed unfair treatment by police, crime (offending) and ‘injury free’ motor vehicle accidents.

Given that strong friendships and family relationships are critical for young people’s social and emotional wellbeing (Muir et al. 2009; Wyn 2009), the high rate with which 15–17 year old females reported relationship breakdown is of particular concern. The explanation for this finding is not clear, but may in part reflect the higher rate of substantial problems concerning violence, school bullying and guardianship experienced by young females. Alternatively, the ABS Time Use Survey (2006) shows that while young females and males spend similar amounts of time with friends, young females spend more time with their families than do young males. Perhaps this leaves them more prone to experiencing breakdowns in these types of relationships.

*Moving home*

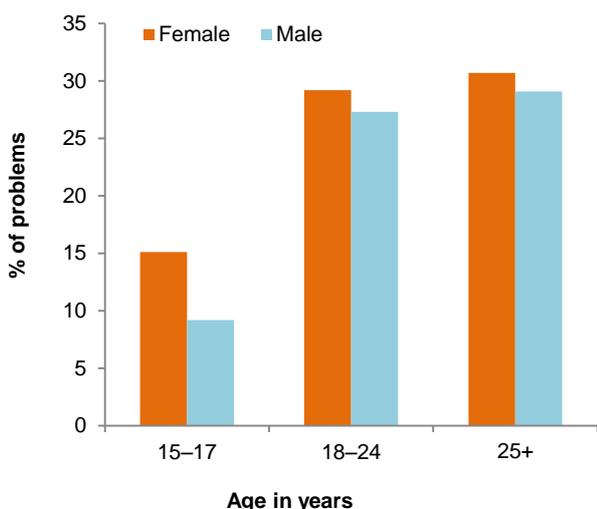
Compared to similarly aged male respondents, female respondents aged 15–17 years, and 25 years and over, reported a significantly higher proportion of legal problems that caused them to move home (see Figure 7). While the difference between females and males in the middle age group was not significant, the proportion of problems reported to have caused the consequence of having to move home was higher for female respondents than similarly aged male respondents.<sup>xi</sup>

Figure 7: Adverse consequence: moving home by age and gender



Note: N=19,203 problems.

Figure 8: Adverse consequence: income loss or financial strain by age and gender



Note: N=19,203 problems.

In 6.2 per cent of cases, female respondents aged 15–17 years reported that their legal problems caused the consequence of having to move home (25 of 398 problems). This was so for only 1.5 per cent of the legal problems reported by similarly aged male respondents (6 of 413 problems).

Of the legal problems that 15–17 year old females reported had caused them to move home, almost a half related to physical assault, either as a crime victim (non-domestic violence), crime victim (domestic violence) or as a crime offender. Two assault victims claimed that unfair treatment by police in dealing with

the assault had also contributed to this outcome. Other 15–17 year old females reported that being the victim of education (bullying, harassment) had required them to move home as had education (exclusion, fees, other) problems. In the latter case, these problems concerned exclusion due to misbehaviour. For four 15–17 year old females, moving home was reported to be a consequence of issues relating to children (custody, care, support) that concerned their own guardianship preferences, for another female, it was because of issues concerning their government (payments), which had been terminated.

The problems that 15–17 year old males reported had caused them to move home concerned issues relating to children (custody, care, support), these concerned either their own guardianship, or for one, an issue with their partner regarding their own child, education (bullying, harassment), crime victim (non-domestic violence), and a housing problem concerning the poor condition of private rental accommodation.

The finding that 15–17 year old females reported a higher rate of having to move home as a consequence of legal problems than males perhaps in part reflects that, among Australians aged 12–18 years, females comprise a higher proportion of homeless people than do males (Muir et al. 2009).

*Loss of income or financial strain*

Although for each age group, female respondents reported a higher proportion of problems causing income loss or financial strain than did male respondents (see Figure 8), the relationship between gender and financial loss was not significant for any age group.<sup>xii</sup>

In 15.1 per cent of cases, 15–17 year old female respondents reported that their legal problems caused income loss or financial strain (60 of 398 problems). This was so for 9.2 per cent of the legal problems reported by 15–17 year old male respondents (38 of 413).

For 15–17 year old females and males, loss of income or financial strain was reported to be a consequence of a wide range of different types of legal problems. However, for 15–17 year old females, the legal problems that were reported to be the most frequent cause of income loss or financial strain related to employment (conditions). For 15–17 year old males the legal problems that were reported to be the most frequent cause of income loss or financial strain related to services (phone, internet, TV).

## Conclusion

Using data from the LAW Survey, the current paper reveals that young people, like their older counterparts, are not immune to experiencing the adverse consequences of legal problems. In addition, for young people aged 15–17 years, there are strong gender differences in the rate with which some adverse consequences are reported.

This disproportionate impact of legal problems partly reflects gender differences in the rate with which different types of ‘substantial’ legal problems were reported by 15–17 year females and males. However, in many cases, adverse consequences were reported for a wide range of different types of legal problems, and not necessarily those for which strong gender differences were observed. Further analysis of the links between specific problems types and the adverse consequences experienced is limited by the number of LAW Survey problems available to be examined in this way.

Alternative explanations for the reported disproportionate impact of legal problems could concern gender differences in other aspects of the lives of young people. For example, earlier research using LAW Survey data found that young people who had been homeless, had a mental illness or were not living with either parent, were particularly vulnerable to substantial legal problems (Macourt 2013). Although this research did not specifically address gender differences, gender differences in each of these indicators have been reported (ABS 2006; AIHW 2011; FYA 2012; Muir et al. 2009). Alternatively, there may be gender differences in the ‘accelerated’ or ‘fast track’ transitions to adulthood that can put some young people at particular risk (Kenrick 2009).

While the current paper reveals strong gender differences in the rate with which 15–17 year olds report the adverse consequences of legal problems, it is important to consider these findings in the context of a range of gender differences that can reflect the wellbeing of young females and males. For example, although the impact of legal problems can hit young females harder in terms of the indicators examined in the present paper, the number of males under juvenile justice supervision is much higher than the number of females, young males are more likely to commit suicide, and are at greater risk of violence and substance abuse (Muir et al. 2009).

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## Appendix

Table A1: Prevalence of legal problems and substantial legal problems by type of problem and gender, 15–17 years

	Legal problem				Substantial legal problem			
	Female		Male		Female		Male	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
<b>Civil</b>								
Education (bullying, harassment)	30	5.8	19	3.5	25	4.9	10	1.9
Neighbours	54	10.7	42	7.9	15	2.9	6	1.1
Education (exclusion, fees, other)	17	3.3	15	2.8	10	2.0	6	1.1
Employment (conditions)	28	5.5	13	2.4	9	1.7	3	.7
Personal injury (other)	30	5.9	41	7.7	9	1.7	13	2.5
Services (phone, internet, TV)	28	5.5	24	4.4	7	1.5	10	1.8
Government payments	14	2.8	2	.4	7	1.4	0	.0
Money (wills, investments)	8	1.5	7	1.2	7	1.3	3	.6
Employment (sacking, redundancy)	7	1.3	3	.5	6	1.1	0	.0
Personal injury (motor vehicle)	8	1.6	8	1.5	5	1.0	3	.6
Credit/debt	7	1.3	13	2.4	5	.9	1	.2
Services (other)	11	2.2	13	2.4	3	.6	3	.6
Employment (discrimination)	14	2.8	7	1.3	3	.5	2	.4
Unfair treatment by police	12	2.3	25	4.6	3	.5	12	2.2
Discrimination (outside work)	10	2.0	25	4.7	2	.5	7	1.3
Accidents	26	5.1	36	6.7	2	.4	4	.7
Goods	20	4.0	36	6.7	2	.4	7	1.4
Fines	10	1.9	8	1.5	2	.4	2	.3
Government (local, state, federal)	6	1.1	12	2.3	2	.4	6	1.2
Housing (owned, rented, other)	3	.7	1	.2	1	.3	0	.0
Health	7	1.4	3	.5	1	.2	1	.2
Personal injury (work)	21	4.2	28	5.2	0	.0	3	.5
<b>Family</b>								
Children (custody, care, support)	15	3.0	5	.9	8	1.6	2	.4
<b>Crime</b>								
Crime victim (property, other)	45	8.9	53	9.8	13	2.6	12	2.2
Crime victim (non-domestic violence)	24	4.7	22	4.2	12	2.5	2	.4
Crime victim (domestic violence)	11	2.1	4	.7	7	1.4	2	.4
Crime offender	11	2.1	37	6.9	5	1.0	14	2.7
Crime victim (robbery with violence)	13	2.6	17	3.1	4	.9	7	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>509</b>		<b>535</b>		<b>509</b>		<b>535</b>	

Note: 1,044 respondents aged 15–17 years. Percentages do not add to 100 because multiple problems were experienced by some respondents.

Table A2: Adverse consequences of legal problems by age and gender

	15–17 years				18–24 years				25+ years				Total	%
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male			
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%		
Stress-related illness	60	15.0	18	4.4	210	16.5	137	9.8	1,951	25.5	1,410	17.5	3,786	19.7
Physical ill health	73	18.3	60	14.5	178	14.0	204	14.6	1,685	22.0	1,348	16.7	3,548	18.5
Relationship breakdown	67	16.9	11	2.8	119	9.4	96	6.8	927	12.1	711	8.8	1,931	10.1
Moving home	25	6.2	6	1.5	97	7.6	74	5.3	467	6.1	375	4.7	1,043	5.4
Income loss or financial strain	60	15.1	38	9.2	371	29.2	382	27.3	2,351	30.7	2,349	29.1	5,551	28.9
<b>All problems</b>	<b>398</b>		<b>413</b>		<b>1,269</b>		<b>1,399</b>		<b>7,663</b>		<b>8,060</b>		<b>19,203</b>	

Note: 19,203 problems. Percentages do not sum to 100 because not all problems had adverse consequences and multiple adverse consequences were reported for some problems.

## Endnotes

- i 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).
- ii Statistical testing for gender differences uses an adjusted version of the standard chi-square test was used throughout the present paper which applied a second-order Rao-Scott (Rao & Scott 1984) correction to accommodate weighting, and where appropriate, clustering of the data.
- iii Prevalence of legal problems, 15–17 years:  $\chi^2=0.055$ ,  $F_{2,1071}=0.035$ ,  $p=0.851$ , 18–24 years:  $\chi^2=0.848$ ,  $F_{2,2444}=0.565$ ,  $p=0.452$ , 25 years and over:  $\chi^2=14.237$ ,  $F_{2,17198}=9.493$ ,  $p=0.002$ .
- iv Prevalence of substantial legal problems, 15–17 years:  $\chi^2=7.383$ ,  $F_{2,1071}=4.61$ ,  $p=0.032$ , 18–24 years:  $\chi^2=8.47$ ,  $F_{2,2444}=5.79$ ,  $p=0.016$ , 25 years and over:  $\chi^2=30.57$ ,  $F_{2,17198}=20.38$ ,  $p=0.000$ .
- v In the initial LAW Survey reports (Coumarelos et al. 2012), 129 specific types of legal problems were categorised into 12 problem groups and 27 problem sub-groups. For the purpose of this paper, some problem groups and subgroups are further categorised into smaller subsets to better illustrate the problems experienced by young people. For example, the broad 'rights' problem group is categorised into four subsets: discrimination (outside work), education (bullying, harassment), education (other) and unfair treatment by police. Appendix Table A1 of the current paper provides further details of the range of legal problems and substantial legal problems reported by 15–17 year olds. Figure 3 includes only the types of substantial legal problems where more than six respondents reported a substantial problem of this type.
- vi Of the total sample of 20 716 LAW Survey respondents, 10 289 reported experiencing one or more legal problems in the 12 months prior to interview. These 10 289 respondents were asked a series of in-depth questions about up to three of their most serious problems ( $n=19\ 388$  problems). Respondents were asked whether these problems caused various adverse health and social consequences, namely, stress-related illness, physical ill health, relationship breakdown, moving home, or loss of income or financial strain.
- vii For up to three of their most serious problems, LAW Survey respondents were asked to provide a description of the main aspects of their problems. In some cases, these descriptions have been used to obtain a broader understanding of the precise circumstances of the problems reported.
- viii Stress-related illness, 15–17 years:  $\chi^2=27.089$ ,  $F_{2,466}=13.74$ ,  $p=0.000$ , 18–24 years:  $\chi^2=26.252$ ,  $F_{2,1351}=12.23$ ,  $p=0.000$ , 25 years and over:  $\chi^2=151.917$ ,  $F_{2,8489}=60.03$ ,  $p=0.000$ .
- ix Physical ill health, 15–17 years:  $\chi^2=2.274$ ,  $F_{2,466}=1.442$ ,  $p=0.230$ , 18–24 years:  $\chi^2=0.201$ ,  $F_{2,1351}=0.11$ ,  $p=0.739$ , 25 years and over:  $\chi^2=71.094$ ,  $F_{2,8489}=31.57$ ,  $p=0.000$ .
- x Relationship breakdown, 15–17 years:  $\chi^2=48.112$ ,  $F_{2,466}=21.34$ ,  $p=0.000$ , 18–24 years:  $\chi^2=5.850$ ,  $F_{2,1351}=2.61$ ,  $p=0.106$ , 25 years and over:  $\chi^2=45.918$ ,  $F_{2,8489}=20.50$ ,  $p=0.000$ .
- xi Moving home, 15–17 years:  $\chi^2=12.444$ ,  $F_{2,466}=7.24$ ,  $p=0.007$ , 18–24 years:  $\chi^2=6.094$ ,  $F_{2,1351}=3.12$ ,  $p=0.077$ , 25 years and over:  $\chi^2=16.349$ ,  $F_{2,8489}=7.06$ ,  $p=0.008$ .
- xii Loss of income or financial strain, 15–17 years:  $\chi^2=7.126$ ,  $F_{2,466}=3.26$ ,  $p=0.072$ , 18–24 years:  $\chi^2=1.108$ ,  $F_{2,1351}=0.58$ ,  $p=0.446$ , 25 years and over:  $\chi^2=4.379$ ,  $F_{2,8489}=2.05$ ,  $p=0.153$ .

