Public Understanding of Law Survey

Volume 3

A New Perspective on Legal Need and Legal Capability

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The PULS Volume 3:

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Short Forms

DCL	Digital Capability for Law
GLC	General Legal Confidence
LAW	Perceived Relevance of Law
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECD/OSF	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development/Open Society Foundations
PIL	Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers
PLL	Practical Legal Literacy
PULS	Public Understanding of Law Survey
VLF	Victoria Law Foundation

Glossary

Bivariate analysis

The analysis of two variables to determine the relationship between them.

Digital legal capability

The ability to undertake the online tasks involved in dealing with justiciable issues.

Justiciable problems

Justiciable issues or problems are incidents in people's lives that raise legal issues (e.g. problems with rented housing, being injured in a car accident, being unfairly sacked from work), even though they may not recognise them as legal.

Legal need

Legal need arises whenever a deficit of legal capability necessitates legal support to enable a justiciable issue to be appropriately dealt with. A legal need is unmet if a justiciable issue is inappropriately dealt with as a consequence of effective legal support not having been available when necessary to make good a deficit of legal capability. If a legal need is unmet, there is no access to justice.

Legal capability

We conceptualise legal capability as the freedom and ability to navigate and utilise the legal frameworks which regulate social behaviour to achieve fair resolution of justiciable issues. There are many dimensions or domains of legal capability spanning knowledge, skills, attributes and resources that might be required to address justiciable problems.

Legal needs survey

Legal needs surveys investigate the experience of justiciable problems from the perspective of those who face them, rather than the professions and institutions that may play a role in their resolution.

Multivariate analysis

The analysis of more than two variables to determine the relationship between them.

Practical legal literacy

Practical legal literacy is concerned with the capability to obtain, understand and navigate information and services needed to deal with everyday justiciable issues.

Social patterning

A social pattern consists of repeated social action that has some probability of recurring. In PULS, social patterning refers to the patterns and associations in the distribution of legal problems across the population. For example, there is a strong relationship between mental distress and experience of legal problems.

Foreword

This is the third of three major reports drawing on the *Public Understanding of Law Survey* (PULS). Volume 3 focuses on the connection between legal need and legal capability. In particular it shows how legal capability has a critical impact on people's ability to meet their justiciable needs.

Less than twelve months ago we released the first volume of the *Public Understanding of Law Survey* (PULS) report, which looked at legal needs. Surveying how many legal problems there are, who is having them and where, is well traversed ground, done for decades in many parts of the world. That said, it had not been done in Australia for well over ten years and was well overdue. We found that a majority of people didn't see the law in their problem, yet Victorians were dealing with huge numbers of civil legal problems (around 3.2 million per annum). We found massive unmet demand for support, and that legal problems lasted longer in many instances than had been recognised. We also found there were distressing consequences to civil legal problems: high rates of stress, but also ill-health, relationship breakdown, loss of employment and housing, to name some.

Civil legal problems can be seen in policy circles and in the public mind as of less importance. They rarely hit the front pages, and don't generally carry huge budget demands for prisons, police and public safety, but they are legion, and can be profoundly impactful.

Then came Volume 2 on legal capability. Exploring how people feel about law and their skills in navigating it is an essential bookend to our knowledge of problem experience in Volume 1. The concept of legal capability had been described and discussed for a number of years, but to that point no one had turned it into a suite of complementary survey measures and used them in the field. That was the true novelty of PULS. Getting a sounding on the levels of legal knowledge, skills, confidence and attitudes at a population scale was a very exciting prospect in designing and delivering effective legal services. Volume 3 draws these together. It begins to unpack the complex interplay between capability, legal problems, demographics and legal need. It explores the bearing which skills in managing, experience of, and attitudes to the law have on resolution and outcomes.

The truth is out there. It's in the data: capability matters. Negative attitudes, lower skills and lower confidence seriously impair your chances of a satisfactory resolution. And the opposite is also true. While it may seem self-evident that negativity begets a worse outcome, the reality is a lot more complicated. All of us have great variability in
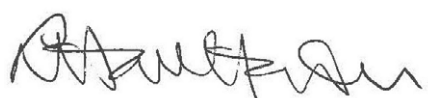
our capability — irrespective of socio-economic factors. Where many of us may have assumed that more knowledge equalled better results, it turns out that is not the case. Some of us have more knowledge than confidence, others might have deeply cynical attitudes, but high practical literacy. And you need reasonable levels of all to both access and make the best use of our justice system.

Volume 1 answers questions from the sector: what problems are there, who is having them and where, and which legal or non-legal paths are people taking to resolve them, or not. Volume 2 on legal capability put the spotlight squarely on Victorians: what do we know and think about the law, with or without legal problems of our own? Volume 3 swings the focus back on what people do and achieve, policy and practice. Now that we know more about the consequences of variable capability when people face legal problems, the sector is surely obliged to think deeply and systemically about how to respond effectively to that lived reality.

Twelve months ago we saw legal problems in 2D, often in black and white, and largely through the lens of agencies and institutions. The PULS shows us experience of the law in the round, and in full colour.

This third volume of the PULS is the end of the beginning. We recognise our analysis is to date epidermic: it is a rich source with enormous potential to inform policy and practice. In keeping with our commitment to open science, we invite you to interrogate the dataset more deeply. We hope and expect it will be mined over many years, and for purposes we have not yet contemplated.

Having said that, the work thus far is a powerful contribution — one which we are very proud to have made. The idea, design and execution of the PULS belongs very largely to Professor Nigel Balmer, and I pay sincere tribute to him for this work which so significantly progresses the mission to make justice more accessible in Victoria and beyond.

Lynne Haultain
Executive Director

PULS Volume 3: Themes and Directions

New concepts, new potential

The *Public Understanding of Law Survey* (PULS) was originally designed to develop, operationalise and map the concept of legal capability. It also surveyed the experience of justiciable problems,[1] and employed new measures of met and unmet legal need. This third volume reports on the nexus between these two dimensions of the survey, deepening understanding of the impact and implications of legal capability on legal problem experience and resolution.

In measuring legal capability, the PULS focused on aspects of the legal knowledge, legal skills and psychological attributes of participants that were expected to be influential in people's behaviour and success when faced with justiciable issues. It was also conceived to further the development of reliable measures of capability, including those with the potential to be incorporated into service delivery to inform the form and intensity of service.

Drawing on economist and philosopher Amartya Sen's influential *capability approach* to human welfare, legal capability can be conceptualised as "the freedom and ability to navigate and utilise the legal frameworks which regulate social behaviour and to achieve fair resolution of justiciable issues" (see further PULS Volume 1, p.29). This conceptualisation recognises that differences in people's knowledge, skills and psychological attributes, and their social, economic and institutional environment, affect their capability to navigate law and achieve equivalent fair outcomes to the issues they face.

Current approaches to legal services policy, particularly in public legal assistance, is generally focused on well-traversed aspects of access to justice: matters relating to the quality, efficiency and reach of services, physical and economic barriers to service access, and those elements of social disadvantage understood to be central to the experience of welfare-related justiciable issues.

A change in focus is emerging through a broad shift from a top down, court and lawyer-centred policy approach, to a bottom up, person-centred approach to service delivery and reform. An increased diversity in the range and nature of legal services available to the public is fuelled by this change of approach, with new ways of working and continuing advancement in new technologies. However, there remains a clear mismatch between legal service provision and the legal needs of the public. This was made plain in earlier PULS findings which show that a fraction of legal needs in Victoria were being met, even where respondents obtained legal help (see PULS Volume 1, p.158).

Legal capability is a critical component of legal need. It is central to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Open Society Foundations' framework for the measurement of legal need. Yet — in part because it has not been well researched, in part because there is limited evidence of the utility of different forms of legal information and assistance for different (or indeed any) people — it is not yet a central focus of service delivery and reform.

This volume explores legal capability and provides a fresh perspective on its relationship to legal need. The findings point to the potential[2] for legal capability to be operationalised within legal services, to facilitate more appropriate targeting of limited resources through better matching of services to needs.

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1   Justiciable problems have been defined by Hazel Genn (1999, p.12) as problems that raise legal issues, whether or not these are recognised by the parties and whether or not any action taken to resolve them involves legal professionals or processes.

2   Still, operationalisation of legal capability remains in its infancy. Despite efforts in the PULS and elsewhere, there is much to be done to more comprehensively capture what is a complex, multifaceted concept (Pleasence and Balmer, 2024).

Matching services to needs

Currently, people with low levels of legal capability are not able to extract sufficient value from legal services or, indeed, the legal system more broadly. Put another way, the findings show that legal services are failing to impart best value through a failure to mirror legal needs and capability effectively. For the same reason justice should be accessible across the whole of the community, legal assistance and justice processes must adequately meet diverse capability.

The fact that a majority of legal needs go unmet even when people obtain legal help raises profound questions about the way legal services are currently delivered.[3] These are questions to which capability must form part of the answer. Whether or not people obtain all the help they need from a legal service is strongly linked to their legal capability. The data show that while 42% of those with the lowest overall skill and confidence levels disagreed that they had obtained all the help needed, the figure was just 13% for those with the highest levels. Similarly, for attitudes: people with the most negative attitudes disagreed that they had obtained all the help they needed 48% of the time, while those with the most positive attitudes did so just 11% of the time.

It can no longer be assumed that when people facing legal problems are provided with a legal service there are no further policy or practice concerns that need to be addressed.

The focus of legal service delivery must be on matching appropriate services to individual capabilities as much as it is on reaching those people who need services. In the same way that (particularly private) legal services have historically focused on a relatively narrow range of legal issues for which there is established financial value, so it may be that, in broad terms, services focus on the people who are easiest to provide for, and/or on the delivery of services that are simplest to provide. Such an approach fails to meet needs.

A legal capability vicious cycle

It is well understood that justiciable problems sow the seeds for further problems, at great individual and social cost. For example, Elizabeth Tobin Tyler and colleagues (2011) explained how employment problems can lead to loss of income, which can lead to rent arrears, which can lead to eviction, which can lead to homelessness, which can lead to health problems, which can lead to further disruption to work, and so on, in a vicious cycle. The PULS points towards a similar phenomenon for legal capability.

An overarching narrative from the PULS was that when faced with justiciable problems, respondents with higher levels of legal capability-related skills, greater confidence and more positive attitudes towards law and lawyers, were better able to deal with problems themselves, obtain the support they needed (and see their legal needs met), and achieve outcomes they were happy with. While there are important limits to causal inference in the context of survey data (explained in detail in Chapter 1), the most credible explanation for this is that skills dictate success in recognising and accomplishing the tasks required for dispute resolution and deriving benefit from services, and that positive attitudes to law and lawyers both increase propensity to engage them as well as follow-on benefits from their successful utilisation. A legal capability virtuous cycle in the making.

However, the flip side of this was that people with lower skill levels, less confidence and negative attitudes towards law and lawyers were less able to deal with problems themselves and, while they more often obtained help, they less often obtained adequate help, less often saw their legal needs met, and less often achieved outcomes they were happy with. For example, while just 8% of PULS respondents with the lowest levels of both skill and confidence strongly agreed they got the help they needed, the figure was 48% for those

3   Balmer et al. (2023), pp.152–154.

with the highest levels. As noted above, a similarly powerful relationship was evident even when looking only at those who received legal help. Looking at capability to obtain, understand and navigate information and services to deal with everyday justiciable issues (practical legal literacy), 45% of those with 'inadequate' practical legal literacy were not at all happy with the outcome of their concluded problems, while only 15% of people with high levels of practical legal literacy were unhappy.

It is a good thing that people recognise their limitations and are more likely to obtain help if they have lesser legal skills or confidence. However, it appears from PULS findings that, as well as negative attitudes to law and lawyers inhibiting people from accessing legal help, negative attitudes appear to be a consequence of many people's experiences of lawyers and involvement in legal process. A legal capability vicious cycle in the making.[4]

Do no harm

Interestingly, those with the most negative attitudes towards law and lawyers obtained legal help in relation to 26% of the problems they faced, compared to 19% for those with the most positive attitudes. It seems implausible that negative attitudes would increase propensity to use legal services, so what is going on? While those with the most negative attitudes more often obtained legal help, they less often obtained all the help they needed, less often saw their legal needs met and were less often happy with problem outcomes. For example, while 31% of those with the most negative attitudes were not at all happy with outcomes (or, if problems were ongoing, progress), the figure was only 16% for people with the most positive attitudes.

Those with the most negative attitudes were also more likely to have been involved in court or tribunal proceedings but often not as proactive litigants. In fact, those with the most negative attitudes were least likely to have initiated court or tribunal processes and more often on the receiving end. The conclusion: positive attitudes appeared to be associated with people using the law, negative attitudes with people having the law used against them. Positive attitudes were associated with people having their legal needs met, negative attitudes with legal needs not being met. Positive attitudes were associated with good outcomes, negative attitudes with poor outcomes.

This is a serious concern in relation to the effective functioning of the justice system. While outcomes will not always match people's hopes, much negative sentiment seems to stem from personal experience of the justice system. This is likely to negatively affect future behaviour. As in other areas of public service, a guiding principle of justice policy and practice should be to do no harm. This adds to the potential for harm stemming from service delivery that fails to mirror needs and capabilities.[5]

Such harms may also contribute to wider concerns about legal structures and institutions being stacked in favour of the 'haves' over the 'have nots' — an idea prominent in contemporary discourse and famously explored five decades ago by Marc Galanter (1974) before he went on to observe that a "lack of capability of parties pose[s] the most fundamental barrier to access [to law]" (1976, p.225).

Respectful, transparent and accessible legal services and processes are not a luxury, they are an essential ingredient of the social glue which binds society, allowing everyone, including its most disadvantaged and less capable members to participate and feel a part of it. Justice is not transactional; it is a foundational constitutional and societal matter.

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4   A vicious cycle that may also intertwine with phenomena such as the 'frustrated resignation' Rebecca Sandefur (2007) found to be the learned response of low-moderate income residents of a Midwestern US city's repeated failures to achieve successful resolution of justiciable problems.

5   Such as restrictive service environments, inappropriate form or insufficient intensity of service, a hard-to-navigate system, repeat referrals and "referral fatigue" (Pleasence et al., 2004).

Beyond disadvantage

It is important to recognise that 'not having', while encompassing the elements of social and economic disadvantage[6] focused on in Volume 1, extends beyond it. Importantly, it extends to the aspects of legal capability focused on by the PULS. In PULS Volume 2, it was shown that these link to social and economic disadvantage. For example, those with fewest skills and most negative attitudes were disproportionately elderly, tended to have left school earlier and suffered severe mental and/or financial distress. However, the findings in this volume make clear that capabilities are, independently of disadvantage, important factors in people's behaviour and success in dealing with justiciable problems. In short, while social and economic factors were often observed to moderate the effect of capabilities when entered into statistical models, the effect of capabilities remained clear, with or without disadvantage.

Capabilities relate to disadvantage, but they are far from the same thing, so the implications of these findings apply to everybody, regardless of their other characteristics and means. Just as anybody can encounter justiciable issues and problems, the PULS makes plain that, as a function of diverse capabilities, we are all at risk of handling problems badly, having unmet legal needs, failing to resolve problems or obtaining poor outcomes. Legal capability transcends social and economic disadvantage. Consequently, there is a wider imperative to encourage and enable appropriate levels of support for all who need them. This imperative extends to all services that those facing justiciable problems might engage or interact with. It extends to public legal assistance, private practice, justice processes, as well as beyond the justice sector.

Building capability

The civil justice sector has as primary functions the provision of fora, rules, tools and services to enable people (and organisations, though they are not the focus of this study) to have their wishes, agreements and relationships recognised (or dissolved) and their disputes peacefully and fairly resolved. This is core to the smooth and efficient functioning of society. Within the civil justice sector, the provision of legal services is aimed at either compensating for people's legal capability deficits, so they are able to navigate the law and its processes, or in providing less risky and more cost-effective alternatives to undertaking legal tasks themselves. There is also long-standing interest in promoting legal capability, to enable people to better recognise, understand and, when necessary, use law and legal processes.

When it comes to general knowledge of the content of law, while there is evident value in the provision of targeted 'just in time' resources, the findings in this volume reflect the conclusions of John Maule's (2014, p.9) behavioural economics focused review of consumer support practice in England and Wales, that:

> there is little evidence to suggest that [just in case] interventions actually change future decision making i.e. later when participants have the opportunity to apply the knowledge gained. This is generally true in legal, financial and health domains. These findings are disappointing given the time and effort expended in developing interventions in all three domains.

PULS findings indicated that general legal knowledge had little influence on people's broad problem resolution strategy choices, no influence on happiness with outcomes, and an (unexpected) inverse relationship with whether legal needs were met.

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6   And described by Christine Coumarelos and colleagues (2012, p.5) as "pivotal" to the experience of justiciable problems.

Consequently, it is difficult to make a case for broad-brush community legal education initiatives aimed simply at improving general knowledge of law, in contrast to targeted initiatives focused on particular aspects of law or legal processes for people likely to immediately benefit from such knowledge.

Nonetheless, while not in and of itself sufficient, some level of legal understanding and awareness is necessary for what we might regard as foundational legal capability. As Pleasence and colleagues (2014, p.137) noted, rudimentary legal knowledge is required to perceive, frame and characterise law and the justice system as relevant to one's circumstances, and to support situation specific capability.[7] There is more to do to determine how to identify and build the foundational capability required for the most elementary navigation of our 'law thick world'.[8]

The PULS findings make evident that among legal knowledge, skills and confidence, it is practical legal literacy that stands out as instrumental in better experience and outcomes. Yet, practical legal literacy is a basket of generic skills (such as the ability to digest written information, complete forms, communicate and raise within an institutional setting, etc.) that no more falls within the remit of the legal sector to address than does public numeracy.

While the legal sector may not be the appropriate staging post for improving broad public capability, the findings set out in this volume do emphasise the importance of designing public information, referral systems, forms, processes, structured interactions, general support and expert legal services to meet the needs of people at all capability levels.

Hearts and minds

Away from knowledge and skills, the PULS findings also point to the potential value of initiatives aimed at promoting positive aspects of legal services and processes, to win hearts and minds. This is also evident in Pascoe Pleasence and Nigel Balmer's (2018a) findings that, in England and Wales, positive accounts of lawyers and courts from family and friends were associated with significantly more positive attitudes towards both accessibility of legal services and processes and equality of justice. Tom Tyler and Yuen J. Huo's (2002) findings (albeit within the criminal sphere) concerning perceptions of legitimacy of the justice system also resonate here.

Of course, this would also require practice and system reform to best ensure that people's encounters with professionals and processes are positive, and expectations realistically managed, even if legal outcomes will inevitably sometimes disappoint. Clearly, much still needs to be done to humanise the justice system, but there are ample opportunities to shift to more human-centred approaches and change narratives. All those working within the justice system have the potential to do so, as do those who design its public interface, whether through outreach, referral, process innovation, architecture or form of assistance.

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7   This might include basic understanding of the legal system, that there are areas of law setting out rights and responsibilities, as well as basic awareness of sources of legal information and advice. Table 1.1 below sets out a legal capability taxonomy based on Balmer and Pleasence et al. (2019).

8   See further, Pleasence et al. (2014), pp.137–138; Hadfield (2010).

Capability asymmetry

The findings presented in these three PULS volumes, and particularly those presented here, demonstrate that addressing legal capability is vital to ensuring the fairness of the justice system and wider society. It can be argued that all inequities in the experience and resolution of justiciable problems can be best understood in capability terms.[9] PULS findings corroborate that, but also move our understanding forward from the demographic patterning of justiciable problem experience and access to legal services, to the capability asymmetries that lie behind, reinforce and operate alongside demographic differences. Most powerfully, PULS findings point to how asymmetrical skills lead people down different paths to justice, present different obstacles to them, impact the value of services and process and, ultimately, feed through to outcomes. The different experiences of those with different skills then brings about an asymmetry of attitudes to the justice system. Rather than a justice system that serves the capable and works to amplify advantage, taking capability asymmetry seriously is a starting point for democratising law and better realising access to justice.

Challenges for policy and practice

Taken together the findings and ideas set out above, and further elaborated across the three volumes of the PULS report, suggest the need for a step change in thinking and significant reform. Regulators, policymakers and practitioners all have critical roles to play. Regulators set the stage in terms of who can provide different types and levels of support in relation to matters of law, as well as in setting standards and encouraging better practice.

The Victorian legal services sphere is relatively restricted — certainly when compared to a jurisdiction such as England and Wales. In looking to address large scale unmet legal need in Victoria, it may be time to reflect on fundamental issues such as the role of non-legal services in helping people facing justiciable issues. As Rebecca Sandefur and Emily Denne (2022, p.27) have argued, this is not to argue for deregulation, but 'reregulation', or, in the words of Stephen Mayson (2022, p.135) the creation of a "structural, regulated and protected approach to more alternatives than are currently available." As he then went on to say, albeit in relation to England and Wales, "it is time to recognise that regulated providers who are not lawyers would be better than nothing and better than unregulated providers." Particularly within the context of emerging technologies, such as large language models, as argued in Volume 1, it may also be time to reassess definitions of information and advice, to address barriers to advice and issues with its adequacy. There are undoubtedly risks,[10] but also opportunities to personalise engagement and respond to capability.

9   Pleasence and Balmer (2019a).

10   Magesh, Surani et al. (2024).

More broadly, policymakers must encourage innovation and diversity of service provision. This includes types of service provider, forms and intensity of service, and sensitivity of products to diverse needs and capabilities. The sheer volume of unmet need clearly presents challenges and opportunities. On one hand, this may involve more difficult or more costly service delivery, though on the other, represents untapped potential for new forms of service delivery.

Whatever the path that is taken to improving access to services and the appropriateness of services delivered, it is essential that change be properly quantified, and success shared. This means thinking about data and its quality, considering what constitutes rigorous and informative evidence, publishing and sharing the findings of research and evaluation, and engaging research expertise before significant interventions are implemented. To paraphrase Ronald Fisher's famous observation, to consult the statistician after an experiment is finished is often merely to ask for a post mortem examination, and perhaps say what the experiment died of.[11]

This report provides a new perspective on legal need and legal capability. It goes further than ever before in demonstrating why legal capability matters — it illustrates that inequality of capability is a critical component of inequality of justice. Findings not only enhance our understanding of action, outcome and legal need, but also frame the challenge ahead. If we seek services and processes that are more accessible, efficient and effective, then operationalising legal capability is key. If we seek change that benefits all, then capability must be at the heart of reform.

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11   First session of the Indian Statistical Conference, Calcutta, 1938.

Report Summary

Introduction

The Public Understanding of Law Survey (PULS) was designed to further our understanding of how people navigate law in everyday life and whether they obtain the support they need to resolve justiciable problems fairly. It incorporated the first major legal needs survey in Australia since the 2008 Legal Australia-Wide Survey (Coumarelos et al., 2012). The primary focus of the PULS was on investigating the role legal capability plays in justiciable problem resolution and the effectiveness of interactions with legal services.

PULS Volume 1 reported on the legal need survey elements of the PULS, and PULS Volume 2 reported on the general legal capability of the population. This volume brings these two elements together to explore capability in relation to the experience of particular justiciable problems. It sets out the relationships between both general legal capability and demographics and problem-resolving behaviour, including the use of formal and informal processes, problem duration, whether people obtain the help they need, have legal needs met, and satisfaction with problem outcomes or progress.

Beyond demonstrating their existence, interpretation of the nature of relationships is limited by cross-sectional survey data not generally allowing, on its own, causal inference. While aspects of legal capability might conceivably have a bearing on problem-solving behaviour and also be affected by problem experience, the simple existence of correlations cannot, on their own, either confirm causation or its direction. However, as Balmer, Pleasence and Buck (2010, p.589) have observed in the context of mental illness and justiciable problem experience, associations can be important in policy terms, whatever their causal underpinnings. Moreover, while

the nature of PULS data (along with the labyrinthine nature of the relationship between individuals' skills, attitudes, experiences and behaviours), limit the extent to which PULS findings can illuminate causal paths, past research and the particular nature of the capabilities studied does allow some potential causal pathways to be regarded as more credible than others.

In broad terms, skills tend to incrementally develop, consolidate with experience and, once mastered, endure. Attitudes are more susceptible to influence from life events, particularly if infused with emotion — as the experience of dispute resolution will often be, especially if formal process is involved. While it is possible that skill-related legal capabilities may be developed through specific life events and necessity, it is reasonable to expect that they would more often influence behaviour around individual justiciable problems than be the product of them. On the other hand, attitudes might reasonably be expected to be more affected by the nature of problem experience. Additionally, while pre-existing positive attitudes towards a service (e.g. legal services) or institution (e.g. courts or tribunals) might be expected to lead to a greater tendency to use them — with the opposite for pre-existing negative attitudes — if the reverse is observed (i.e. negative attitudes are associated with greater use and/or positive attitudes are associated with lesser use), this would strongly suggest experience lies behind attitudes. So, while there are good reasons to be cautious in attributing causation to any associations identified through the PULS, there are grounds for regarding some causal interpretations of findings as more credible than others.

Methodology

The PULS was a large-scale face-to-face survey devised to build upon and move on from the Legal Australia-Wide Survey, to provide greater insight into law-related attitudes, understanding, experience and behaviour. It was designed to yield insights with practical access to justice application: to suggest new directions for reform and enable public legal assistance services to best meet people's needs.

As detailed in PULS Volumes 1 and 2, along with a separately published annotated questionnaire (Balmer et al., 2022) and technical report (Roy Morgan, 2023), the PULS was administered to a probability sample of 6,008 adult respondents across Victoria. The PULS sample was constructed specifically and solely for this survey. Interviews were mostly conducted face-to-face in respondents' homes, using a questionnaire and showcards framed in plain, everyday language and terminology. However, COVID-19 concerns led to the questionnaire being adapted for telephone interviews for those respondents uncomfortable being interviewed in person. Fieldwork was conducted between 16 February 2022 and 16 March 2023.

The PULS questionnaire contained a core legal need module, a module to investigate legal knowledge and legal confidence, a module to investigate attitudes to justice and two modules to capture sociodemographic data relating to respondents and their households. The aspects of legal capability included were:

Skill/confidence measures

- perceived relevance of law in everyday life (using the Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale)
- general knowledge of the content of law
- practical legal literacy (the capability to obtain, understand and navigate information and services needed to deal with everyday justiciable issues)
- digital legal capability
- legal confidence (using the General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale).

Attitude measures

- narratives of law (law being 'remote'; law being arbitrary and to be actively 'resisted'; a 'game' that can be played; and law being a 'practical' means to obtain objectives)
- attitudes towards the accessibility of lawyers (using the Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale)
- trust in personal lawyers.

Items for each capability were used to classify respondents, indicating relative strengths on each dimension of capability. In addition, analysis reported in this volume made use of three composite capability measures, which combined (i) the skills and confidence measures, (ii) the narratives and attitudes measures and (iii) all the measures.[12]

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12   Evidently, this operationalisation of legal capability is only part of a complex, multifaceted concept (Pleasence and Balmer, 2024; Balmer et al., 2024). There are many further dimensions to explore.

Legal capability and what people do

People respond to justiciable problems in myriad ways. Some take no action (4% of respondents), some handle problems alone (31%), some act with the help of family or friends (14%) and some obtain independent help (50%), including from legal services. Overall, 21% obtained help from legal services: from a private lawyer on 13% of occasions and from Legal Aid, Community Legal Centres and Aboriginal Legal Services on 6%, 5% and 2% of occasions respectively. As in the Legal Australia-Wide Survey, the PULS revealed that a significant proportion (30%) of people who did not obtain independent advice gave reasons that raise concern, such as not knowing where to get help or being fatalistic as to the value of advice.

Different levels of each of the individual skill and confidence-related legal capabilities were associated with different patterns of problem resolution strategy. However, while the strongest bivariate association was between practical legal literacy and strategy, only the relationships between LAW and GLC scale strata and strategy remained significant once problem type and demographics were accounted for.

To illustrate, those PULS respondents in the low LAW scale stratum least often handled justiciable problems alone or with informal help from friends or family. Instead, as well as marginally more often doing nothing to resolve problems, they more often obtained independent help, particularly from legal services. As it is implausible to expect greater use of legal services to lead to lesser appreciation of the relevance of law to everyday life problems, a better explanation is that lesser capability increases the likelihood people will seek legal help once it becomes apparent that problems have a legal dimension. This hypothesis is supported by the further finding that 44% of those in the low LAW scale stratum who characterised problems as legal, obtained help from a legal service. This accounted for more than half of those who obtained legal services. It was also a significantly higher percentage than for either medium or high LAW scale stratum respondents.

The broad story that came out of the data was that those with the lowest skill and confidence levels most often obtained independent help, though those in the high GLC scale stratum most often obtained legal help. There was also indication that those with the highest skill levels obtained legal help more often than, particularly, those with middling skills.

Turning to attitudes, those PULS respondents who more strongly adhered to any of the four narratives of law[13] described above had more often obtained independent help, though not always from a legal service. For the 'remote', 'resist' and 'game' narratives the association persisted after accounting for other factors. Perhaps the most intriguing of the findings was that those adhering to the resist narrative much more often obtained independent help, particularly from legal services, than others. In fact, almost 40% of those most associated with the 'resist' narrative obtained help from legal services; far more than the 17% of those who did not adhere to the narrative. Taken together with findings that adherents of the 'resist' narrative were much more often involved in court or tribunal proceedings initiated by another party than were others, there is a suggestion that the commitment to this narrative may be a product of experience of justiciable problems.

More generally, negative composite attitudes were associated with greater levels of inaction and of use of independent help, particularly from legal services. Moreover, for both those with generally negative or positive attitudes, lower composite skill/confidence was associated with even greater use of independent help, including from legal services.

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13   Law being 'remote'; law being arbitrary and to be actively 'resisted'; a 'game' that can be played; and law being a 'practical' means to obtain objectives.

Legal capability and process

Independent of the strategies people adopt to resolve them, problems can involve the use of one or more of a wide range of informal and formal dispute resolution processes. Some options are informal and community based, while others engage pillars of the formal justice system. Analysis in this volume focused on the main institutionalised forms of dispute resolution processes: namely, court and tribunal proceedings (involved in 12% of PULS sample problems); ombudsmen, regulators and enforcement authorities (12%); and mediation, conciliation and arbitration (15%).

For four of the five skill and confidence-related legal capabilities explored through the PULS there were significant differences in the rates of 'court or tribunal' and 'mediation, conciliation or arbitration' involvement in problem resolution by capability level. For each of Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW), general knowledge of the content of law, practical legal literacy and General Legal Confidence (GLC), those with the lowest level of skills or confidence most often reported that their problems involved a 'court or tribunal', 'mediation, conciliation or arbitration' or both. For example, 19% of those with the lowest practical legal literacy reported court or tribunal proceedings, compared to 8% for those with highest.[14]

These results were also reflected in those relating to the composite skill/confidence measure. Both 'court or tribunal' and 'mediation, conciliation or arbitration' were most commonly involved in problems experienced by those with the lowest level of skill/confidence. However, in the case of courts/tribunals, it was problems of those in the middle two skill/confidence strata, rather than the highest, where courts/tribunals were least commonly involved.

Looking deeper, who initiates court or tribunal proceedings is an important explanatory factor. Those in the lowest skill/confidence stratum were far more likely than others to have court or tribunal proceedings brought against them, while those in the highest skill/confidence stratum were more likely to have brought proceedings against others.

Turning to attitudes, those who adhered to the 'resist' narrative much more often reported that problems involved court or tribunal proceedings (and mediation, conciliation, or arbitration) than others. Those who adhered to the 'game' narrative also reported having been involved in mediation, conciliation or arbitration much more often than others. By contrast, those who adhered to the 'practical' narrative much less often reported having been involved in court or tribunal proceedings than others.

Those who fell into the high PIL scale stratum (who saw lawyers as less accessible) also much more often had problems that had involved court or tribunal proceedings than others, as well as mediation, conciliation or arbitration (along with those who had lower trust in personal lawyers).

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14   Similarly, 38% used mediation, conciliation or arbitration among those with the lowest practical legal literacy compared to 10% among those with the highest.

These findings were reflected in more negative composite attitude levels being associated with problems more often involving processes of all three types. As with composite skill/confidence, there were also different origins to court or tribunal proceedings associated with those with positive and negative attitudes. Compared to those with overall negative attitudes, who more often had court or tribunal proceedings brought against them, those with positive attitudes were more likely to have initiated court or tribunal proceedings. At the individual attitude measure level, there was a particularly stark difference in the origin of court or tribunal proceedings associated with level of adherence to the 'resist' narrative. While 55% of those who adhered to this narrative had proceedings brought against them by the other party to disputes, the figure was just 18% for those who did not. Similarly, those in the high PIL scale stratum (seeing lawyers as particularly inaccessible), had proceedings brought against them by the other party to disputes far more often than those in the low inaccessibility stratum. Findings were similar in relation to trust in lawyers.

Going to law is associated with positive attitudes, having law come to you is associated with negative attitudes. Additionally, PULS respondents with both more negative attitudes and lower skill levels were particularly likely to have legal proceedings brought against them.

Legal capability and problem duration

A maxim of the justice system is that justice delayed is justice denied. It is therefore a concern that different levels of individual skill and confidence-related legal capabilities were associated with different patterns of problem duration. In all cases other than general legal knowledge, lower levels of capability were associated with longer duration. The most dramatic findings related to practical legal literacy, with problems lasting significantly longer for those with 'inadequate' legal literacy. Around half of their problems were still ongoing after 5 years, compared to less than a quarter for those with no practical legal literacy issues. These findings are also consistent at the composite level. Longer problem duration was found for respondents with the lowest composite skill/confidence level.

Turning to attitudes, problems took longer to resolve for those adhering to the 'remote', 'resist' and 'game' narratives, when compared to those adhering to the 'practical' narrative. Those in the high PIL scale stratum (who saw lawyers as less accessible) also tended to have longer-lasting problems. However, there was little difference in problem duration for those who had higher or lower trust in personal lawyers.

As with the composite skill/confidence levels, attitude levels were also reflected in the composite. As attitudes became more negative, problem duration increased. After five years, more than twice as many problems experienced by those with the most negative attitudes were ongoing, compared to those with the most positive attitudes. Unsurprisingly, a combination of low skills and negative attitudes was associated with the longest problem durations.[15]

15   Attitudes were more dominant in this association, with skill operating as a differentiator within the positive and negative attitude groupings.

Legal capability and the help you get

When asked whether they had been able to get all the expert help they needed, 60% of PULS respondents indicated they had, with 20% strongly agreeing they had. The remaining 40% of respondents felt they had not been able to get all the expert help they needed, with 9% strongly disagreeing with the proposition. While those whose problems had concluded more often agreed or strongly agreed that they had got the help they needed, it was evident that many PULS respondents did not receive the level or type of help that they felt necessary.

For each individual skill/confidence-related capability measure, high capability corresponded with a greater proportion of respondents strongly agreeing they had obtained adequate expert help.[16] This broad association was reflected in the composite measures, with 48% of those with the highest level of composite skill/confidence strongly agreeing they got the help they needed, compared to just 8% for those with the lowest level.

When it came to attitudes, except in the case of the 'resist' narrative, more positive attitudes corresponded to a greater proportion of respondents strongly agreeing they had obtained adequate expert help. Conversely, more negative attitudes corresponded to a greater proportion strongly disagreeing. While 41% of those in the low PIL scale stratum (who saw lawyers as more accessible) strongly agreed they got all the help they needed, the figure was just 13% for those in the high PIL scale stratum.[17] The composite attitude measure told much the same story.

There was also a strong relationship between combined skills and attitudes and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed. Following on from the above, the combination of higher skills and more positive attitudes was associated with a particularly high percentage of respondents strongly agreeing they had got all the help they needed, while the combination of lower skills and more negative attitudes was associated with a particularly high percentage of respondents disagreeing they had done so.

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16   Note, however, that findings for digital legal capability and, marginally, LAW scale strata, were not significant after controlling for other factors.

17   All associations remained after controlling for other factors.

Legal capability, obtaining independent help and getting the expert help needed

Not all of those who obtained independent help, either from a legal service or other source, got all the expert help they needed. Conversely, not all of those who felt they got all the expert help needed, had obtained independent help. For some, advice was considered unnecessary. In fact, there was surprisingly little difference in the extent to which people who got and didn't get independent help said they obtained all the expert help needed. Further, of those who obtained legal help, 65% agreed or strongly agreed they got all the help they needed, compared to 58% of those who did not.

Critically, the higher the level of respondents' skills and the more positive their attitudes, the more often they agreed they got all the expert help needed, whether or not legal help was obtained. This was observed at the composite level and across individual aspects of capability.

It was not surprising that when respondents obtained no help, skill and attitude-related legal capability was strongly associated with the extent to which they felt they got all the help needed. So, although people will have sought help more often when they assessed problem resolution to be beyond their own abilities, and this may have been different for higher and lower legal capability respondents, it is reasonable to expect those respondents with greater capability will less often have required help than those with lesser capability. Higher capability respondents are more likely to have been content not to obtain help, and more often considered that they had obtained all the help they needed even when no help was obtained.

It might be hoped that legal skills and attitudes would matter less if independent legal help is obtained, given legal assistance exists to make up for legal capability deficits. However, this was not the case, with a similarly powerful relationship evident when legal help was obtained. So, legal capability related not just to success in handling problems alone, but also to the extent to which value was extracting from advice. The relationship between legal capability and getting the help needed was evident for users of both public and private legal services, although the relationship was particularly strong for privately funded services. Similar relationships between legal capability and getting all the expert help needed were also found in the case of non-legal independent help.

Legal capability and legal need

PULS data was used to produce two measures of met and unmet legal need. A narrow measure required legal services to be accessed in order for needs to be met. A broader measure required only independent advice (legal and non-legal sources) to be accessed. Overall, the PULS indicated that legal needs arose in relation to 63% of reported problems. On the narrow measure (obtaining legal services), one in ten legal needs were met (6% of problems overall). On the broad measure, slightly more than one in five were met (14% of problems overall).

Obtaining help from a legal service did not mean that legal needs were met. Of those problems reported in the PULS that gave rise to a legal need, and about which legal advice was obtained, still around two-thirds of needs were categorised as unmet. Looking in detail at those who obtained legal advice, but whose legal needs were still unmet, just over 60% indicated that support was inadequate, and just under 60% had problems which went on for more than two years, despite assistance. By the OECD/OSF (2019) framework for the measurement of legal need, both these eventualities mean legal needs are categorised as unmet.

Aside from knowledge of the content of law, higher levels of legal skill or confidence corresponded with a lesser proportion of problems involving legal need (based on the broad measure) and fewer problems involving unmet legal need. Once other factors were taken into account, relationships between skills and legal need largely evaporated. However, a clearer picture emerged in the case of attitudes. More negative attitudes towards law and lawyers corresponded with higher levels of legal need and unmet need, with the majority of relationships remaining evident after controlling for other factors.

Problems faced by those adhering to the 'remote' and 'resist' narratives of law were associated with a high level of legal need. The 'remote' and 'game' narratives were associated with elevated levels of unmet legal need. Interestingly, the 'resist' narrative was also associated with a high level of needs being met. In fact, those adhering to the 'resist' narrative were the only PULS respondents where negative attitudes were associated with a higher rate of needs being met, as compared to those with positive attitudes. The 'practical' narrative was associated with somewhat higher met legal need and lower unmet legal need. The findings in relation to the 'remote' narrative persisted once other factors were controlled for, and while the findings for the 'resist' narrative fell just short, the other findings were not significant after controlling for other factors.

When it came to perceptions of lawyer accessibility, those in the high PIL scale stratum (who saw lawyers as more inaccessible) faced fewer problems involving no legal need and far more involving unmet legal need, when compared to those in the medium and, particularly, the low inaccessibility stratum. Interestingly, when legal need arose, the percentage of unmet needs rose with perceived inaccessibility of lawyers. This relationship remained significant after controlling for other factors, unlike the similar bivariate relationship between trust in lawyers and legal need.

A more positive composite attitude level was associated with problems less often giving rise to legal need and much lower levels of unmet legal need. When need arose, positive attitudes were also associated with a greater proportion of needs being met. There was also a strong relationship between combined skill and attitude levels and legal need, with higher skills and a more positive attitudes associated with problems less often giving rise to legal needs and fewer unmet legal needs. The patterns relating to composite measures remained after controlling for other factors.

Legal capability and satisfaction with outcomes or progress

PULS respondents were asked how happy they were with the outcome of problems or their progress, if problems were ongoing. For problems that had resolved (including those where all parties had given up on efforts to resolve them), 65% of people were happy with problem outcomes, with 42% being entirely happy and 23% happy in part. Of the remainder, 20% were not at all happy. Combining these responses with those relating to ongoing problems, 54% of people reported being entirely (30%) or happy in part (24%) with problem outcomes or progress, while 46% of respondents were either not really (20%) or not at all (27%) happy.

Two skill and confidence aspects of legal capability exhibited a relationship with respondent happiness with problem outcomes or progress: practical legal literacy and legal confidence. People with lower levels of practical legal literacy or legal confidence were more often unhappy with both outcomes and progress. For example, while 45% of those with inadequate practical legal literacy were not at all happy with the outcome of concluded problems, the figure was 15% for those with no issues with practical legal literacy. The corresponding figures were 64% and 31% in the case of ongoing problems. These relationships remained significant after controlling for other factors. However, this was not the case however for composite skill/confidence where a highly significant bivariate relationship fell away after controlling for other factors.

Turning to attitudes, all bivariate relationships with happiness with outcomes or progress were statistically significant, though only those involving the 'game' narrative and PIL scale strata remained significant after controlling for other factors. Similar to skills and confidence, more negative attitudes were associated with lower levels of happiness with outcomes or progress. So, those in the low PIL scale stratum (who saw lawyers as more accessible) were far more often entirely happy and far less often not at all happy than others.

Unlike with composite skills/confidence level, the relationship between composite attitude levels and happiness with problem outcomes or progress was very strong and remained highly significant even after accounting for other factors. Those with more positive attitudes were happier with outcomes or progress.

There was also a strong relationship between combined composite skill and attitude levels and respondents' happiness with problem outcomes or progress, with attitude the dominant factor. Notably, those in the 'higher skill, more positive attitude' group were far less likely to be unhappy with outcomes or progress than others.

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the final volume of the report of the *Public Understanding of Law Survey* (PULS). It describes the purpose of the PULS, reviews the key concepts of 'legal need' and 'legal capability', recaps the key findings from the first two volumes upon which this volume builds and, finally, sets out the structure of this volume.

A new perspective

As described in PULS Volume 1, successive waves of 'juridification' (Habermas, 1987) have led to our living in a 'law-thick world' (Hadfield, 2010) in which complex and extensive legal frameworks apply to virtually all aspects of our daily lives.

The PULS was designed to further our understanding of how people navigate these frameworks: how people understand and interact with the law and legal problems, how and why they take particular 'paths to justice' (Genn, 1999), and whether they obtain the support they need to resolve problems fairly. The PULS builds on a rich history of 'legal needs' surveys dating back to the 1930s,[18] and represents the first major legal needs survey in Australia since the Legal Australia-Wide Survey (Coumarelos et al., 2012), conducted in 2008. However, the PULS is much more than just another legal needs survey. It has married legal needs survey approaches to new thinking on the conceptualisation and measurement of 'legal capability' (defined below), to enable unique investigation of the role legal capability

— particularly 'internal' elements of legal capability (as distinguished by Nussbaum (2011), in the context of the 'capability approach' to sustainable development (Sen, 1999), from 'external opportunities' and 'combined capabilities') — plays in justiciable problem[19] resolution and the effectiveness of interactions with legal services. This innovative hybrid approach was intended not just to provide new insights, but also a new perspective with fresh potential for practical application to expanding 'bottom-up' approaches to access to justice, which put people's needs and capabilities at the centre of justice sector policy, design, regulation and reform (e.g. OECD, 2019).

PULS Volume 1 focused on the legal need survey elements of the PULS. PULS Volume 2 focused on the general legal capability of the population. PULS Volume 3, this report, brings these two elements together and explores general legal capability in relation to people's experience of particular justiciable problems.

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18   Extensively reviewed in the global guidance on the conduct of such surveys produced by Pleasence, Balmer and Chapman (OECD/OSF, 2019).

19   Justiciable problems have been defined by Hazel Genn (1999, p.12.) as problems that raise legal issues, whether or not these are recognised by the parties and whether or not any action taken to resolve them involves legal professionals or processes.

Legal need and legal capability

Detailed accounts of the concepts of both 'legal need' and 'legal capability' were set out in PULS Volumes 1 and 2. As was explained, both concepts remain somewhat contested, though there is emerging consensus on their core components. The definitions used in these reports and operationalised within the PULS build upon this emerging consensus.

Legal need

Commenting on the concept of *legal need*, Rebecca Sandefur (2016, p.451) noted that while there are clear empirical aspects of legal need, "there are normative aspects … as well." These normative aspects, as the OECD/OSF (2019, p.24) global guidance on legal needs surveys explains, entail that "views differ" on the constitution of the more broadly agreed components of legal need. However, the guidance provides a working definition of legal need that encapsulates the core components:

> "Legal need arises whenever a deficit of legal capability necessitates legal support to enable a justiciable issue to be appropriately dealt with. A legal need is unmet if a justiciable issue is inappropriately dealt with as a consequence of effective legal support not having been available when necessary to make good a deficit of legal capability. If a legal need is unmet, there is no access to justice."

While recognising that what constitutes legal capability, when necessity arises, what level and form of support is needed and what amounts to a justiciable issue being dealt with appropriately provide much scope for argument, the guidance also provides a framework for measuring unmet and met legal need using data of the type collected through the PULS (Figure 1.1). This framework, adopted for PULS analysis, draws on approaches taken in Argentina, Colombia and New Zealand.[20]

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20   Ignite Research (2006); La Rota, Lalinde and Uprimny (2013); Ministry of Justice and Human Rights (2016).

Figure 1.1. Framework for the Measurement of Legal Need (OECD/OSF 2019, p.89)

Duration	Seriousness	Legal awareness/ understanding	Legal confidence	Process fairness	Expert help	Adequacy of support
Long	High/Moderate/ Low	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No
Short/Moderate	High	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes	Yes	Yes
						No
					No	N/A
				No	Yes	Yes
						No
					No	N/A
	Moderate	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes/No	N/A
				No	Yes	N/A
						N/A
					No	N/A
						N/A
			No	Yes	Yes	Yes
						No
					No	N/A
						N/A
				No	Yes	Yes
						No
					No	N/A
						N/A
		No	Yes/No	Yes	Yes	Yes
						No
					No	N/A
						N/A
				No	Yes	Yes
						No
					No	N/A
						N/A
	Low	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No	N/A

Legend:
- **No legal need** (blue)
- **Legal need** (orange)
- **Met legal need** (green)
- **Unmet legal need** (red)

Legal capability

Efforts to conceptualise *legal capability* as an aspect of economist Amartya Sen's (1999, p.75) idea of capability as "the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations (or, less formally put, the freedom to achieve various lifestyles)" have led to us adopting a definition of it as people's "freedom and ability to navigate and utilise the legal frameworks which regulate social behaviour and to achieve fair resolution of justiciable issues" (Balmer et al. 2023, p.29).

However, there are many dimensions of legal capability so defined. As Pleasence and Balmer (2024) explained:

> "How much we are aware of the law around us, how much we understand its content and the sources of legal help and processes available if needed, how confident we are in our ability to achieve appropriate resolutions to justiciable problems and how well our awareness, knowledge and confidence translate — through our broader capability and circumstances — into effective action all dictate how well we are able to utilise or defend our legal rights."

Evidently, there is much scope for different formulations of the identity and nature of dimensions of legal capability. As Pleasence and Balmer (2024) comment, Galanter's (1976) five dimensions (offered as examples of 'personal capacities' necessary for 'competence' to deal with justiciable problems), grew to Parle's (2009, p.5) six "domains of legal capability", Jones's (2010) 21 domains, Collard et al.'s (2011) 22 domains, Community Legal Education Ontario's (2016) 44 domains and, most recently, Balmer et al.'s (2019) more than 100 domains.

As noted in PULS Volume 2, the nature of survey research largely limits its utility to investigating internal elements of, or personal, capabilities (described by Nussbaum as "trained or developed traits and abilities"),[21] rather than "external opportunities"[22] and the interaction between the two. Thus, the legal capability taxonomy developed for the PULS (Balmer et al., 2019), although expressly including social, economic and environmental dimensions (e.g. the availability of services and processes), is primarily focused on personal knowledge, skills and attributes. An abridged version of this, produced by Pleasence and Balmer (2024) is set out in Table 1.1.

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21 Nussbaum (2011), p.21.
22 Nussbaum (2011), p.61.

Table 1.1. A Legal Capability Taxonomy (Pleasence and Balmer, 2024, based on Balmer et al., 2019)

Stage	Knowledge	Skills	Attributes	Resources/Environment
Recognition of issues	Core legal concepts and principles (e.g. types of law, key concepts, etc.)	Recognise, for example, issues, culpability, relevance of law	Attitude to law, legal consciousness, open mindedness, etc.	Time
	Content of (substantive) law	Legal reasoning, analytical,	Intelligence, etc.	
Information / assistance	Capability limitations, such as concerning knowledge, skills and attributes	Recognise capability limitations, such as ignorance and lack of skill	Self-awareness, self-esteem, etc.	Time, money, social capital, availability of services, etc.
	Sources of information, advice, representation, etc. For example, identity, location, cost, eligibility, etc., for legal assistance services, general advice services, issue specific services, etc.	Information literacy (generic and more specific). For example, recognise when / what information required, locate information sources, evaluate information, etc.	Open mindedness, patience, persistence, confidence in ability to acquire information, etc.	
		Digital literacy (technical, functional, social, etc.)	Confidence in technology use, attitude to technology, etc.	
		Communication (generic and more specific). For example, textual, verbal, non-verbal, comprehension, etc.	Adaptability, persistence, assertiveness, confidence to ask questions, attitude to law, etc.	
		Inter-personal, such as rapport building and conflict management	Emotional intelligence, empathy, self-esteem, etc.	
Resolution	Process and resolution options. For example, forms of process, legal / extra-legal institutions, location, cost, eligibility, participants, functions of participants, etc.	Legal reasoning, analytical, information, literacy, digital literacy, communication (incl. With other parties, arbitrators, mediators, etc.), etc.	Adaptability, empathy, fortitude, open mindedness, readiness to act, self-awareness, self-esteem, trust in process, confidence to change behaviour, negotiate, advocate, etc., attitude to accessibility, fairness, etc.	Time, money, social capital, availability of services, availability of processes, etc.
		Organisation, such as record-keeping and time management		
		Planning, such as goal-setting and forecasting		
	Evidence. For example, forms, methods of obtaining, admissibility, etc.	Dispute resolution, such as negotiation and advocacy		
		Problem-solving, such as creative and lateral thinking		
	Outcomes. For example, forms, means of enforcement, etc.	Decision-making, such as recognise options, recognise risks and evaluation		
Wider influence and law reform	Nature of law, making / regulatory process. For example, judicial precedent, origins of legislation, legislative process, influences on legislative process, etc.	Legal reasoning, information, literacy, digital literacy, communication, problem-solving, negotiation, advocacy, conflict resolution, evaluation, etc.	Adaptability, assertiveness, empathy, fortitude, open, mindedness, assistance, readiness to act, self-awareness, self-esteem, social awareness, confidence, to enter public discourse, attitude to utility of process, etc.	Time, money, social capital, availability of services, availability of processes, etc.
	Institutions involved in law-making / regulatory process. For example, accessibility, internal process, etc.			
	Outcomes. For example, possibilities, impact, etc.			

The story so far

PULS Volume 1

Volume 1 of the PULS report set out the background and purpose of the survey, defined the concepts it sought to operationalise, detailed the survey methodology and explained the structure and content of the survey questionnaire. It then reported on respondents' experience of justiciable problems, described patterns of problem resolution behaviour, documented the nature and perceptions of outcomes, provided estimates of levels of met and unmet legal need in Victoria, and provided a baseline for United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.3.3 for Victoria.

The findings set out in PULS Volume 1 confirmed that justiciable problems are commonplace and interwoven *into* people's everyday lives and wellbeing. In all, 42% of PULS respondents reported one or more problems over the past two years, with the most common being those relating to goods and services, housing, fines, and employment.

Consistent with findings from the Legal Australia-Wide Survey and overseas surveys, the PULS exposed inequalities in vulnerability to problem experience. Associations were found between socio-economic disadvantage and elevated problem reporting. For example, problems were more common among people reporting high levels of mental distress, First Nations peoples, LGBTIQ+ people, single parents and people who had gone without meals or had been unable to heat or cool their homes because of a shortage of money.

The PULS also confirmed that justiciable problems are often serious and frequently lead on from one another and wider social problems. A clear majority of problems reported through the PULS negatively impacted on people's lives, with just under three-quarters of problems leading to stress, almost one-third to loss of confidence common and around one-fifth to damage to family relationships, ill-health or injury, and harassment, threats or assault. Loss of employment and having to move home were also relatively common consequences of justiciable problems. The economic cost of this impact on individuals and public services is sizeable.[23]

The relationship between problem disadvantage and problem experience was found to be particularly pronounced when looking at multiple problems. For example, First Nations peoples, those not working (but not retired), those reporting a long-term illness or disability, those reporting mental distress and those unable to eat, heat or cool their homes because of a shortage of money were more likely than others to report multiple problems and large clusters of problems. So, while fewer than 2% of people who reported no problems also reported being unable to eat, heat or cool their homes, the figure rose to 19% for those who reported 5 or more problems.

PULS respondents obtained independent advice in respect of around half the justiciable problems reported, with help obtained from a (public or private) legal service on 21% of occasions. People obtained help from a private lawyer on 13% of occasions and from Legal Aid, Community Legal Centres and Aboriginal Legal Services on 6%, 5% and 2% of occasions respectively.

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23   In England and Wales the economic impact of justiciable problems was estimated to exceed £13 billion per year (Pleasence 2006, p.i). More recently, in Canada, the annual cost to public services was estimated at "approximately CAD$800 million (and perhaps significantly more)" (Farrow et al., 2016, p.16).

As well as a broad array of non-legal services, a substantial number of people looked to the Internet for support when dealing with justiciable problems. PULS respondents obtained information from the Internet to help deal with almost half of all problems. This is being explored further through the Victoria Legal Services Board and Commissioner's pilot *Legal Understanding and Lawyer Use (LULU) Surveys*.[24]

As with the Legal Australia-Wide Survey, the PULS revealed that a significant proportion (30%) of people who fail to obtain independent advice provide reasons that raise concern, such as not knowing where to get help or being fatalistic as to the value of advice.

While there is a strong relationship between problem type and problem resolution behaviour, demographic factors are also associated with specific problem resolution strategies.

Volume 1 explained that those PULS respondents who were most confident about being able to fairly resolve problems were more likely to handle problems alone, while those who were least confident were more likely to obtain independent help.[25] However, the least confident were also less likely to act. Those PULS respondents who more negatively assessed their understanding of their rights and responsibilities in relation to problems made less use of legal services, though more use of other independent advice sources. In the case of knowledge of sources of information and advice, less knowledge translated into less frequent use of legal services. How people characterised their problems also had a bearing on problem resolution strategy.

Around 30% of justiciable problems reported through the PULS were still ongoing after three years, although most problems were relatively short-lived; around 40% concluded within six months. Problem duration varied by problem type, with problems related to money or debt, injury, government and public services and, particularly, family tending to last significantly longer. More generally, problem duration tended to increase with problem severity. Problem duration also related to demographics, with an evident association between lengthier problems and disadvantage.[26]

Only a small percentage of concluded PULS problems were found to have concluded through a court or tribunal judgment (6%) or decision or intervention of another formal authority (4%). The most common manner of conclusion was agreement between the parties (42%). Manner of conclusion related to problem type. For example, court or tribunal judgements (and mediation, conciliation or arbitration) were most common in family matters, while agreement between the parties was particularly common for problems concerning goods or services. Of concern, and as hinted at above, 40% of concluded employment problems were revealed to have resolved through respondents 'moving away' from the problem.

In the case of concluded problems, PULS respondents were happy with problem outcomes (in part or entirely) just under two-thirds of the time. However, when problems were ongoing, just over two-thirds of people were 'not really' or 'not at all' happy about how efforts to resolve the problem were progressing.

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24 Findings from which will be published in late 2024.

25 A small number of problem-focused legal capability measures were also included in the analysis undertaken for PULS Volume 1, which drew on the OECD/OSF guidance. These measures are distinct from those that formed the subject matter of PULS Volume 2, which do not link to specific problems.

26 For example, longer duration problems, more likely to be ongoing over time, were associated with single parents, those with a long-term illness or disability or reporting severe mental distress, those seeking work or unable to work because of their health, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, those with the fewest educational qualifications, and those unable to eat, heat or cool their homes.

1. Introduction

Looking in more detail at concluded problems, people felt that 61% had resolved in a manner fair to everybody concerned, although people also felt that only 54% had resolved through a process that was fair to everybody concerned. Perceptions related to problem type, with only around a quarter of employment problems felt to involve a fair process or outcome. Perceptions also varied by problem resolution process. If a court or tribunal had been involved, fewer than half of people felt the process was fair (though people felt that just over half the outcomes of problems involving courts or tribunals were fair). Police involvement was also associated with particularly low levels of satisfaction with process and outcome.

Adopting the approach to measuring legal need suggested by the OECD/OSF (2019), Volume 1 revealed that 63% of PULS problems involved a legal need.[27] Problems relating to family, debt or money and employment were most likely to involve a legal need. Legal need was also associated with disadvantage.[28] Using a narrow definition of expert help (i.e. legal services only), 6% of problems involved a legal need which was met and 57% one which was unmet. Using a broad definition of expert help, 14% involved a legal need which was met, and 48% one which was unmet.[29]

Unmet legal need was particularly high in the case of fines and problems relating to employment. As with legal need more generally, it was also associated with disadvantage, both when looking at problems overall and only at problems involving legal need.[30] For example, in the latter case, those who were not working, lone parents and new migrants had a particularly high percentage of legal needs going unmet.

Not surprisingly, legal need was associated with a higher rate of seeking help. However, obtaining help did not mean legal needs were met. Of problems involving a legal need in which legal advice was obtained, around two-thirds could still be categorised as involving unmet legal need. This was a result of inadequate support, excessive problem duration, or both.

Volume 1 pointed to the important role non-legal services (from governmental bodies to other professional services to community organisations) play in helping people facing justiciable problems. In numerical terms, more PULS respondents had a legal need met after obtaining help from non-legal independent sources than from legal services (though legal services were proportionately more effective in this regard). Although this presents a challenge for legal services regulation, people rely on non-legal services more frequently than legal services and such services can often be better positioned to support vulnerable populations (e.g. through service framing or community engagement).

Beyond analysis of legal need, of those PULS respondents who obtained help from one or more legal services, 35% indicated they had not obtained all the expert help needed.

Lastly, PULS Volume 1 reported a baseline indicator for Victoria for United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) indicator 16.3.3. The proportion of the population *"who have experienced a dispute in the past two years and who accessed a formal or informal dispute resolution mechanism"* was found to be 0.53 (or expressed as a percentage, 53% of the Victorian adult population).

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27 37% involved no legal need.

28 People who reported being unable to eat, heat or cool their home, identified as of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander origin, were suffering severe mental distress, had the fewest qualifications, were single parents, or were not working were the most likely to report a legal need.

29 Overall, if legal needs existed, using the narrow definition 90% went unmet and using the broad definition 78% went unmet.

30 Looking at problems overall, people who reported being unable to eat, heat or cool their home, identified as of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander origin, were suffering severe mental distress, had the fewest qualifications, were single parents, or were not working were associated with the highest levels of unmet legal need.

The PULS findings set out in Volume 1 support continuing broad focus on the four key public legal assistance policy and practice themes that have emerged from legal needs surveys over recent decades (Pleasence et al., 2014, p.iii), namely that:

> "Legal Assistance services for disadvantaged people should, as far as practicable, be:
>
> - *targeted* to those most in need
>
> - *joined-up* with other services (non-legal and legal) likely to be needed
>
> - *timely* to minimise the impact of problems and maximise utility of the service, and
>
> - *appropriate* to the needs and capabilities of users."

The findings also make stark the importance of designing public, legal assistance services, and the justice system more broadly, to better match the needs of the public. Unmet legal need is commonplace in Victoria.

Almost 25 years ago, in reporting the findings of the 2001 and 2004 English and Welsh Civil and Social Justice Surveys, Pleasence (2006, p.153) argued that "services should mirror the needs and behaviour of those who wish to use them." That assertion was primarily based on findings concerning the reach and focus of public legal assistance services. The PULS findings reported in Volume 1 emphasise that the matching of services to needs must extend not just to location and behaviour, but also to capability.

PULS Volume 2

Volume 2 of the PULS report turned to the series of PULS question modules designed to assess levels of legal capability across a range of dimensions previously shown to be relevant to people's ability to utilise law, legal services and legal processes: legal knowledge (knowledge of the content of everyday civil law); legal confidence (confidence in being able to bring about fair outcomes to justiciable problems); legal information literacy (the ability to obtain, understand and navigate the information and services needed to deal with everyday justiciable issues); awareness of the relevance of law (in everyday life); attitude to law (people's narratives of the role and operation of law in everyday life); attitude to lawyer accessibility (perception of the accessibility of lawyers); trust in lawyers (across six dimensions of trust); and digital legal capability (the ability to undertake the online tasks "involved in dealing with justiciable issues"[31]).

PULS Volume 2 revealed that legal capability is unequally distributed and that, as with the experience of justiciable problems, distribution relates to socio-economic disadvantage. It was argued that this inequality of capability compounds the inequalities of vulnerability to, and experience of, problems depicted in Volume 1.

Capabilities were found to relate to each other. For example, there was a particularly strong positive association between perceiving the law as remote, perceiving the law as something to resist, and perceiving the law as inaccessible. This contrasts with a particularly strong negative relationship between seeing the law as remote, on the one hand, and trust in lawyers and perceived accessibility of lawyers on the other.

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31 Pleasence and Denvir (2021), p.15.

1. Introduction

As regards individual capability dimensions, PULS Volume 2 confirmed that, while levels of legal knowledge appear somewhat higher in Victoria than might be expected on the basis of international studies,[32] Victorians are nevertheless frequently ignorant of 'everyday' law. While PULS respondents provided correct responses to just over 70% of legal knowledge questions, rising to 77% when 'don't know' responses were excluded, these percentages need to be set against the 'chance' score of 50%. When respondents were 'definite' in their responses, they were correct 82% of the time.

As expected, knowledge levels varied across topics and respondents. So, whereas fewer than half of people correctly identified that a rental provider can't say a renter can't keep a cat or a dog just because the rental provider doesn't want a pet in their property, more than 90% of respondents correctly identified that a rental provider isn't allowed to enter a renter's home to carry out routine repairs without first telling them. After taking account of other factors, those in middle-age tended to know more than others, as did women, those whose main language spoken at home was English, those who provided day-to-day care for elderly or disabled adults, those with a long-term illness or disability and those living in outer regional and remote areas.

Using the General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale, it was revealed that people are generally confident they can achieve fair outcomes to justiciable problems, provided problems do not escalate in a legalistic manner. However, if problems do escalate and particularly if an opponent has better legal support, confidence levels drop significantly. So, while 63% of PULS respondents reported being (quite

or very) confident in being able to achieve an outcome that is fair and they would be happy with for a significant legal dispute about which disagreement is substantial, just 26% were similarly confident if a dispute was described as going to court, with a barrister representing the other side and the respondent self-representing. After taking account of other factors, the youngest and oldest PULS respondents were least confident, with confidence otherwise broadly decreasing with age. Men were more confident than women. Also, First Nations respondents were more confident than others, as were those whose main language spoken at home wasn't English, and those who provided day-to-day care for elderly or disabled adults. Those living in outer regional and remote areas were more likely to fall in either the high or low confidence groups, at the expense of the medium group.

PULS findings indicated that, while people generally have reasonable ability to engage and interact with organisations and institutions relevant to the resolution of justiciable problems (in terms of tasks ranging from 'reading letters, brochures or information' to 'finding the right person to speak to' to 'raising problems'), a significant group (18% of respondents) were found to have inadequate or low 'practical legal literacy'. After accounting for other factors, First Nations respondents, those whose main language spoken at home wasn't English, those with fewest educational qualifications, those reporting mental distress (and, to a lesser extent, those with a long-term illness or disability), and those suffering financial distress were associated with poorer practical legal literacy.

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32 See Balmer et al. (2023), p.37.

The PULS pattern of responses to the Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale was broadly similar to that recorded through the earlier *Community Perspectives of Law Survey*, with the exception that PULS respondents much more often saw law as relevant to the 'wage theft' item (likely attributable to the attention given to the issue in the run-up to the passing of the *Wage Theft Act 2020* (Vic).[33] While many PULS respondents were found to appreciate the relevance of law to justiciable problems, a significant percentage do not. In terms of social patterning, after taking account of other factors, those in the middle age groups tended to most often see law as relevant. Men also tended to see law as relevant more than women. Also, those who provided day-to-day care for elderly or disabled adults tended to see law as more relevant than others, as did those with more educational qualifications, those living in higher density population areas and those with a long-term illness or disability. However, higher levels of mental distress were associated with lower levels of law being perceived as relevant to everyday justiciable problems.

Using the Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale, it was revealed that perceptions of the accessibility of Victorian lawyers are more positive than negative, though significant concerns are evident. For example, while respondents tended to see lawyers as approachable, a majority also regarded lawyers as taking too long to deal with issues. Older people, people whose main language spoken at home was not English, single parents and those in de facto relationships with children, people with fewer educational qualifications, people with a long-term illness or disability, those facing severe mental distress, and those in financial distress all had a greater tendency to see Victorian lawyers as less accessible than others. In contrast, carers, those in outer regional and remote areas and those with lower household incomes were less likely to see lawyers as inaccessible.

Somewhat in contrast to lawyers in general, people were found to be generally trusting of personal lawyers (across all dimensions of trust: benevolence, integrity, competence and predictability). More than 95% of PULS respondents indicated they would trust their own lawyers to be knowledgeable and skilled in their work, with a similar percentage expecting them to act ethically and within the law. More than 90% also indicated they would trust them to act in their best interests. Just short of 90% had no expectation a lawyer they instructed would break the rules, even 'if needed', although there was a split in the extent to which respondents expected that a lawyer would exploit loopholes in the law, with 56% expecting them to (13% strongly). Younger people, women, those who mainly spoke a language other than English at home, people living in certain family structures, those with adult caring responsibilities, those not in work, those with more educational qualifications, those living in outer regional and remote areas, and those with lower household incomes were associated with statistically significantly higher trust scores than others. In contrast, those suffering a long-term illness or disability, mental distress or financial distress were associated with lower trust scores than others.

Looking more broadly, PULS Volume 2 exposed the complexity of people's narratives of law. The PULS explored four narratives of law (based on analysis of preliminary survey data collected to investigate the narratives identified in Ewick and Silbey's (1998) seminal study of accounts of law in everyday life): that law is remote (though not necessarily majestic); that it is arbitrary and to be actively resisted; that it is a game that can be played; and that it is a practical means to obtain objectives.

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33   This Act made new offences concerning employee entitlements and recording keeping and established Wage Inspectorate Victoria.

1. Introduction

It was found that PULS respondents were most inclined towards the 'practical' narrative of law and least inclined towards the resistance narrative. However, rather than people adhering to single narratives of law, it was also found that respondents often adhered to elements of multiple narratives, with both nuance and clear tensions in the complex individual narratives implied. For example, of the more than one-third of respondents who considered law 'the last place I would turn for help', many also often considered law 'good for resolving problems', as well as agreeing with elements of the 'game' and 'remote' narratives.

There was a highly significant positive correlation between the 'resist' and 'game' narratives, the 'remote' and 'game' narratives and, in particular, the 'resist' and 'remote' narratives. There was also a highly significant, though much smaller, positive relationship between the 'practical' and 'game' narratives, as well as a significant small negative relationship between the 'practical' and 'remote' narratives.

Regarding the social patterning of narratives of law, the tendency to see law as remote was greatest for older respondents, those with fewest educational qualifications, those suffering from severe mental distress and those in financial distress. It was least among those in outer regional and remote areas. Those whose main language spoken at home was a language other than English, those with the fewest educational qualifications, those suffering from severe mental distress and those in financial distress were most likely to see law as something to resist. There was also a suggestion that the same was true for First Nations peoples, but the finding was not statistically significant. Those in outer regional and remote areas were least likely to see law as something to resist. The tendency to see law as a practical

means to achieve objectives was greatest among younger respondents, those whose main language was a language other than English, those in outer regional and remote areas and those in the lowest household income quintile. First Nations peoples least often saw law as a practical means to achieve objectives, although again this did not reach statistical significance. The tendency to see law as a game was greatest among men, LGBTI people, those suffering from severe mental distress and those in financial distress. It was least among those in outer regional and remote areas.

PULS Volume 2 also reported that the great majority of respondents (89%) were daily Internet users and a majority had undertaken each of the 8 tasks that were used to measure digital legal literacy; ranging from the 93% of people who had sent an email down to the 66% of people who had made a tax return, Centrelink claim, or similar. However, 26% of respondents were found to require 'major support' in relation to undertaking common online tasks relevant to law. Those who were younger, spoke English as their main language at home, provided day-to-day care for elderly or disabled adults, were in work, lived in more urban areas and/or had higher household incomes tended to have a higher level of digital legal capability than others.

Finally, in terms of PULS findings, PULS Volume 2 introduced two composite measures of capability, informed by Principal Components Analysis of all eleven capabilities (which pointed towards a skills/attitudes split) and by the different policy and practice challenges that might be associated with skills and attitudes. The composite measures represented, on the one hand, legal skills and confidence and, on the other, attitudes to law.

It was found that there is distinct social patterning for the two composite measures. For example, the composite measures suggested legal skills/confidence are lowest among the youngest and oldest, but that attitudes generally become more negative with age. Both skills/confidence and positivity of attitudes increase with educational qualifications. Notably, people with adult caring responsibilities seem to have higher skills/confidence than others, as well as more positive attitudes, with the same also being true of people in outer regional and remote areas. In contrast, those suffering severe mental and/or financial distress tend to have lower skills/confidence than others, and more negative attitudes.

As PULS Volume 2 explained, the findings regarding the composite legal capability measures indicate which social groups face greater barriers in accessing (on account of attitude) and/or using (on account of skills/confidence) legal services and processes. Taken together, they also reveal the social groups that require both additional engagement to access services/processes and make use of services/ processes. Most notably, the oldest PULS respondents, those with the fewest qualifications and those who had experienced severe mental or financial distress fell into this category.

Elements of the social patterning of legal capability relate to life broad experience — such as the youngest respondents having the lowest level of legal knowledge and the oldest respondents the lowest level of digital capability for law. PULS findings also point to some population groups developing capability through necessity, with particular legal skills and confidence relating to distinct circumstances and exposures to law. So, those with adult caring responsibilities,

who are associated (as was detailed in Volume 1) with elevated problem experience, were found to have generally high levels of legal skills and confidence and positive attitudes to law and legal professionals. However, while First Nations peoples were also found to be associated with greater awareness of the legal dimensions of everyday life, knowledge of law and legal confidence, they did not tend to have equivalent practical legal literacy skills and generally had quite negative attitudes towards law and legal professionals. This highlights the complexity of patterns of capability. Given the relatively small number of First Nations respondents in the PULS, reflective of the comparatively small number of First Nations peoples in the Victorian adult population (1%), it also exposes a need for further dedicated research and engagement in respect of this population group.

PULS Volume 2 also made evident the corresponding complexity of appropriate policy and practice challenges relating to the different types of capability deficit and combinations of capabilities on the part of those facing justiciable problems. Negative attitudes to law, legal services or processes are a challenge to their reach. Even extensive physical outreach programmes may struggle to engage with those who describe law as "the last place I would turn for help," in the absence of extensive further community engagement and trust-building efforts. On the other hand, poor legal skills and/or low legal confidence challenge services and institutions to provide appropriate (effective) levels of support, once people are engaged, but this will require methods to assess capability.

Lastly, PULS Volume 2 offered insights into the routes that might be taken to build capability and improve the effectiveness of public legal assistance services. For example, the revelation that young people's relatively poor awareness of law in everyday life, practical legal literacy and level of legal knowledge sits alongside a tendency towards positive attitudes to law and legal professionals suggests an important role for curriculum development and outreach to educational settings. In contrast, the generally low levels of legal skills and confidence that tend to sit alongside the more negative attitudes of older PULS respondents suggest the importance of reframing and tailoring services aimed at older people. And turning to service delivery, the findings in PULS Volumes 1 and 2 point to the importance of continuing to develop and refine service targeting strategies, co-ordination efforts and multi-channel and multi-layered services that mirror capability, in the light of ever-increasing understanding of the overlap between vulnerability to problems and capability barriers to their fair resolution.

This volume

This third and final volume of the PULS report builds on the accounts of problem experience and legal capability set out in the first two volumes. It presents the findings of new analyses of the relationships between both legal capability and demographics and:

- justiciable problem-solving behaviour
- whether people obtain the legal assistance they need
- legal need and unmet legal need
- satisfaction with the progress/outcome of efforts to resolve justiciable problems.

However, beyond demonstrating the existence of relationships, interpretation of their nature is limited by survey data not generally allowing, on its own, causal inference. For example, while aspects of legal capability might conceivably both impact on problem-solving behaviour and be impacted on by problem experience, the simple existence of correlations cannot, on its own, either confirm causation or indicate the direction of pathways of causation.

This is a problem familiar in the context of justiciable problem experience and morbidity, with legal needs surveys having repeatedly "demonstrated a strong relationship between the experience of legal problems and long-term illness/disability" (Coumarelos et al., 2013, p.1).

Despite overwhelming evidence of links between the two, the nature and direction of any causal pathways "is sometimes opaque" (Pleasence and Balmer, 2011, p.125).

However, as Balmer, Pleasence and Buck (2010, p.589) have observed in relation to mental illness, in policy terms such an association can be important irrespective of the existence or direction of causation. If justiciable problems bring about mental illness, then "there is a preventative role for legal and advice services and a need for legal practitioners to be aware of the broader health needs of their clients (to facilitate 'signposting' and referral)." If justiciable problems simply co-occur with mental illness or are brought about or exacerbated by mental illness, then "there is a reciprocal need for awareness of the broader advice and legal needs of patients" on the part of health professionals.

Similarly, the relationships between different aspects of legal capability and justiciable problem-solving behaviour and experience that we set out in this report can be argued to be important in a policy and practice context whatever their origins. To the extent that legal capabilities influence behaviour or experience, then policy and legal service delivery will benefit from an awareness of, and basis to address, disadvantages (as regards the prospects of problem resolution) that follow from disparities in levels of relevant capabilities. To the extent that behaviour impacts on capabilities, policy and legal service delivery will benefit from an awareness of, and basis to address, any personal disadvantage or social detriment this may entail.

While the nature of cross-sectional survey data, along with the labyrinthine nature of the relationship between individuals' skills, attitudes, experiences and behaviours, limit the extent to which PULS findings can illuminate causal paths, past research and the particular natures of the capabilities studied through the PULS does allow, where associations are demonstrated, some potential causal pathways to be viewed as *more credible* than others.

1. Introduction

In broad terms, skills tend to incrementally develop and consolidate with experience over time and, once mastered, endure. However, attitudes, though defined as "relatively enduring" in the American Psychological Association Dictionary of Psychology,[34] are more susceptible to influence from life events, particularly if infused with emotion — as the experience of dispute resolution will often be, especially if formal process is involved.[35] Jones et al.'s (2023, p.6) recent study of factors influencing users' decisions to bring cases to English and Welsh civil and family courts found that many people "reported underestimating how emotionally demanding the court case would be."

Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, Wilson's (2012, p.18) review of literature concerning public attitudes towards the justice system concluded that "the strongest drivers of public attitudes to the justice system seem to be those closest to the individual's personal experience of the justice system and of the local neighbourhood." She also noted Genn and Paterson's (2000) finding from the Scottish *Paths to Justice* survey, that respondents whose problems had involved court or tribunal proceedings had more negative attitudes towards the courts as a result. There have been similar findings in other jurisdictions also, including Turkey (Akdeniz and Karen, 2020) and the United States, though, as Fernandez and Husser (2021, p.738) have noted, "not all studies have found that prior experience with the courts matter."

Looking at the attitude-related legal capabilities explored by the PULS (narratives of law, perceptions of inequality of access to lawyers and trust in lawyers), each of them could reasonably be expected to be substantially impacted by relevant person experience.

Of course, the nature of any experience links to the nature of its impact. Negative experiences fuel negative attitudes and positive experiences fuel positive attitudes. Thus, the *Community Perspectives of Law* survey (Balmer et al., 2019), which was run to inform the development of the PULS, pointed to an association between the perceived accessibility of lawyers (measured using the Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale) and, particularly, prior negative experience of lawyer use. So, "compared to those who had not used a lawyer, those who had used a lawyer, but been dissatisfied with help, saw lawyers as significantly less accessible" (p.88). While it is possible that experience was framed by pre-existing attitudes, this points more towards worsening attitudes following from negative experience.

The PULS is potentially able to provide greater evidence of direction of causation in the case of attitudes and behaviour. Pre-existing positive attitudes towards a service (e.g. legal services) or institution (e.g. courts or tribunals) should be expected to lead to a greater tendency to use them, whereas pre-existing negative attitudes should be expected to lead to a lesser tendency to use them. If the reverse is observed — i.e. negative attitudes are associated with greater use and/or positive attitudes are associated with lesser use — then this would strongly suggest experience lies behind attitudes.

Legal confidence has also been previously found to link to negative experience of justiciable problem resolution. In England and Wales it was found that those who had not been satisfied with how they handled justiciable problems scored significantly lower on the General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale than others. (Pleasence and Balmer, 2018b). Again, this points to a possibility that legal confidence can be diminished through negative experience of problem resolution; although, again, experience might by framed and/or affected by low confidence.

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34 https://dictionary.apa.org. (accessed 28 June 2024).

35 As Jhangiani and Tarry (2022, p.213) put it, "Attitudes become stronger when we have direct positive or negative experiences with the attitude object, and particularly if those experiences have been in strong positive or negative contexts."

In contrast to attitudes, skills are less susceptible to life events. Of the general skills and confidence-related legal capability dimensions explored through the PULS, practical legal literacy and digital capability for law (which comprise sets of broad life skills) and, though perhaps to a lesser extent, general legal knowledge (which PULS measured through questions on five unrelated topics) can be expected to normally develop incrementally over relatively long periods of time. So, while it is possible that these skill-related legal capabilities may be enhanced through specific life events, it can reasonably be expected that (unless there is a very clear link between an event and the development of a skill) they would more often influence behaviour within individual life events than be the product of them.

So, while there are good reasons to be cautious in attributing causation to any associations identified through the PULS, there are good grounds for sometimes regarding some causal interpretations of findings as more credible than others.

Structure of this volume

The following chapter recaps the PULS methodology. Chapter 3 sets out results of statistical modelling of justiciable problem resolution strategy, on the basis of both demographics and legal capability. Chapter 4 sets out analysis of the relationship between legal capability and use of process, while Chapter 5 analyses how problem duration and legal capability relate. Chapters 6 and 7 set out results of statistical modelling of adequacy of support and unmet legal need respectively, on the basis of both demographics and legal capability. Chapter 8 sets out results of statistical modelling of satisfaction with matter progress and outcome on the basis of both demographics and legal capability.

2. Methodology

The Public Understanding of Law Survey

The PULS was a large-scale face-to-face survey designed to explore how people understand, experience and navigate justiciable problems. It was devised to build upon and move on from the Legal Australia-Wide Survey, to provide greater insight into law-related attitudes, understanding, experience and behaviour. Importantly, the PULS was designed to yield insights with practical access to justice application: to suggest new directions for reform and enable public legal assistance services to best meet people's needs.

As detailed more fully in Volumes 1 and 2, along with a separately published annotated questionnaire (Balmer et al., 2022) and technical report (Roy Morgan, 2023), the PULS was administered to a probability sample of 6,008 adult respondents across the state of Victoria.[36] The PULS sample was constructed specifically and solely for the PULS.[37] Interviews were mostly conducted face-to-face in respondents' homes, using a questionnaire and showcards framed in plain, everyday language and terminology.[38] However, COVID-19 concerns led us to adapt the questionnaire for telephone interviews for respondents uncomfortable being interviewed in their home (established on first contact at respondents' homes).[39] All respondents had access to the survey's showcards, and telephone respondents were further provided with a showcard booklet guiding them through more complex questions; this step was critical to ensure equivalence across survey delivery modes. In the end, 5,271 respondents were interviewed face-to-face and 737 on the telephone. The PULS survey fieldwork was conducted between 16 February 2022 and 16 March 2023. Interviews lasted 43.5 minutes on average (40.7 minutes for face-to-face interviews and 47.1 for telephone interviews).[40]

As explained in Volumes 1 and 2, there were several reasons for restricting the PULS to the adult population; sample efficiency, problem specification,[41] and concerns around there being greater potential shared responsibility for problems affecting people under the age of 18. People under the age of 18 are better studied through targeted and tailored surveys or other methods.[42]

Analyses were weighted to adjust the survey data to make it representative of the adult population of Victoria (person-level weighting) and representative of all problems reported by the adult population of Victoria (problem-level weighting).

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36 Probability sampling is a critical element of the PULS approach. The probability sampling approach meant that all adults in Victoria living at residential addresses had a known chance to be included in our sample.

37 The PULS involved sampling 300 SA1's (Statistical Area Level 1) across the state with 20 respondents per SA1. The sampling frame also involved oversampling regional and rural areas to provide greater scope for geographic analyses.

38 The PULS questionnaire and showcards used during interview (Balmer et al., 2022) were informed by the OECD/OSF (2019) global guidance on legal needs surveys. The questionnaire and accompanying showcards were designed using principles of plain language communication cognitively tested for comprehension, as detailed in the project technical report (Roy Morgan, 2023).

39 Respondents were given the option of a telephone interview if they were unwilling to participate face-to-face. This was a response to possible reluctance to participate in a face-to-face interview in light of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. In all cases, respondents had access to a showcard booklet guiding them through more complex questions.

40 A total of 31,685 households were approached during fieldwork, There were also 10,304 ineligible addresses, including 5,453 without contact after three attempts, 3,088 without answer/nobody at home, 633 with a locked gate, vicious dog etc., 385 where the respondent was away for the fieldwork period, 224 without a permanent resident, 218 vacant residences, 201 where the building was not a dwelling, and 102 where access was not possible because of COVID-19. The overall response rate was 28.1%, being the total number of completed interviews as a proportion of the in-scope contacts.

41 The nature of justiciable problems faced by the youngest (and oldest) respondents can be qualitatively different to those faced by the general population. As the problem descriptions in the questionnaire were optimised for inquiry into the general population, this limited utility in the case of young people.

42 However, it should be noted that the youngest PULS respondents reported some problems they experienced while under the age of 18, so providing some coverage of earlier years. The weighting methods and procedures are set out in detail in the PULS technical report (Roy Morgan, 2023).

The PULS questionnaire

The full PULS questionnaire is set out as an Appendix to Volume 1 of this report. It contained a core legal need module, a module to investigate legal knowledge and legal confidence, a module to investigate attitudes to justice and two modules to capture sociodemographic data relating to respondents and their households.

The PULS questionnaire had a comparatively simple linear structure, with the five modules bookended by a preamble and concluding remarks:

PREAMBLE: Introduction to PULS, identification of respondent, informed consent, provision of showcards.

SECTION 1 (ID): Basic demographics and items required for routing.

SECTION 2 (A–F): Legal knowledge and legal confidence.

SECTION 3 (L): Legal Need (experience of justiciable problems, impact of problems, information/help seeking, dispute resolution processes, problem outcomes, problem characterisation, problem specific legal capability, links to COVID-19 and/or bushfires).

SECTION 4 (AJ): Attitudes to justice (practical legal literacy, perceived relevance of law, narratives of law, perceived inaccessibility of lawyers and trust in lawyers).

SECTION 5 (SD): Supplementary demographics.

CONCLUSION: Thanks, prize draw details, recontact permission, resources for further information.

The structure and content of the PULS questionnaire were informed by, in particular, the OECD/OSF (2019) guidance on the conduct of legal needs surveys and the *Community Perspectives of Law* Survey (Balmer et al., 2019), which was conducted specifically to inform the development of questions for the PULS.

Legal capability

A unique element of the PULS was its incorporation of a broad array of standardised measures of legal capability. These were in addition to the small number of specific problem-related capability questions that were detailed in PULS Volume 1 (extending to whether respondents had understood or come to understand their legal rights and responsibilities in relation to specific problems, whether respondents had known or come to know where to get good information and advice about resolving the problem, and whether respondents had been confident about achieving a fair outcome to the problem).

Perceived relevance of law

To measure perceived relevance of law (to everyday justiciable problems), the PULS adopted the Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale. This scale was developed using data from the *Community Perceptions of Law* Survey, which explored people's general tendency to see law as relevant to 60 different hypothetical situations they were presented with.[43] Established approaches to scale development and modern psychometric methods (Rasch analysis) were used to reduce the 'item pool' of 60 problem descriptions to eight problem descriptions that function as a scale of this tendency with good psychometric properties.[44]

The eight problem descriptions are:

- You asked your neighbours to stop their excessive noise at night, but nothing has changed.
- You are a month behind with your mortgage and unable to pay. The bank sends a default notice saying you have 30 days to pay or you will lose your home.
- Centrelink are demanding $100 for overpaid benefits. You think they have made a mistake.
- You think your employer is underpaying you for the hours you have worked. They disagree.
- Your asthma is being aggravated by mould caused by a leaking window in your rented home. Your landlord won't repair it.
- You have been incorrectly overcharged for your electricity for 4 months in a row
- You are behind with, and unable to pay, your credit card bill.
- Without telling you, your ex-spouse / partner arranges to take your children on a holiday on dates they would normally be with you.

For analysis reported in this volume, respondents were grouped into low, medium or high LAW scale strata.[45]

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43   As set out in Table 6 of Balmer et al. (2019).

44   The Rasch model for the final eight problem descriptions (items) had a nonsignificant item trait interaction (X^2_{48} = 62.42, p = 0.079 (a p-value greater than the Bonferroni adjusted value of 0.00625 for 8 items)) indicated overall fit to the Rasch model. Item (fit residual standard deviation = 1.31) and person (fit residual standard deviation = 1.19) were both acceptable. The person separation index of 0.81 suggested good internal consistency and ability to discriminate between respondents with differing perceptions of law relevance.

45   Further detail on how strata were derived can be found in PULS Volume 2, at p.89. Across PULS respondents, 22.9% were in the low, 49.9% in the medium, and 27.3% in the high LAW scale strata.

Legal knowledge

General legal knowledge was explored through 15 questions designed to test knowledge of legal rights across five key areas of civil law (three questions per area). The areas were selected to provide a spread of issues within some of the most common categories of justiciable problem: rented accommodation; neighbours; consumer; employment; family. The questions were designed to provide a single broad measure of legal knowledge for each respondent. Thus, all items were presented to all respondents. Items were designed in collaboration with subject matter legal experts in order to ensure they were unambiguous and had an objective correct answer.[46]

Example questions include:

- Is a rental provider (i.e., a landlord) allowed to enter a renter's home to carry out routine repairs without first telling the renter?

- Do neighbours in built-up areas have the right (i.e., are they permitted) to play loud music after midnight?

- Does a furniture shop have to take back a dining table and provide you a refund if, on delivery, you decide you no longer want it?

- Is a permanent employee at a company which has 45 employees covered by unfair dismissal laws after 7 months working there?

- If you were living with a partner you depended on financially for three years and they died suddenly without naming you in their will, would you have a good claim to some of their assets if you challenged the will?

Details of and answers to all the general legal knowledge questions are set out in an Appendix in PULS Volume 2. For analysis reported in this volume, respondents were grouped by the number of correct and confident responses they gave to the knowledge items into low (0 to 4 correct and confident), medium (5 to 9) and high (10 to 15) knowledge groups.[47]

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46   Determining the 'correct' answers to knowledge items like those in the PULS is not a trivial exercise. Legally trained VLF researchers developed and reviewed a larger pool of 24 items. They then consulted subject experts at Dispute Settlement Centre of Victoria, JobWatch, Victoria Legal Aid and Consumer Action Law Centre to explore the wording of questions, correct answers and, if there was no clear correct answer, whether wording could be altered to create a correct answer. The final set of 15 questions were designed to provide a spread of issues within common problem categories, items with a correct answer, and a relatively brief and engaging opening to the questionnaire.

47   Across PULS respondents, 22.9% were in the low, 58.1% in the medium, and 19.0% in the high knowledge groups.

Practical legal literacy

Practical legal literacy concerns the capability to obtain, understand and navigate information and services needed to deal with everyday justiciable issues. The PULS practical legal literacy questions were derived from Lisa Chew et al.'s (2004) *Short Literacy Survey* and Jolie Haun et al.'s (2012) BRIEF health literacy screening tool. Unlike the health scales, the PULS questions avoided specifically legal contexts/ interactions, as these would have been unfamiliar to many. Instead, the questions reference 'banks, the council, doctors, Centrelink, or government departments' — places familiar to most, where justiciable problems can be situated, and which are akin to legal contexts/interactions. The six PULS practical legal literacy questions asked whether, 'in dealing with' such organisations, people:

- require someone to help them read letters, brochures or information
- have difficulty filling out forms for them by themselves
- find it difficult to understand written information from them
- find it difficult to understand what they say to them when discussing matters in person
- have difficulty finding the right person to speak to
- have difficulty raising problems.

For analysis reported in this volume, practical legal literacy was categorised as 'adequate (no issues', 'adequate (some issues)', 'marginal' and 'inadequate'.[48]

Digital legal capability

To measure digital legal capability, the PULS included eight questions that follow the approach of GoOnUK's Basic Digital Skills Assessment questions,[49] refined by the English and Welsh Legal Services Board in the context of the legal needs of small businesses. The questions asked respondents whether they have or could undertake a range of online skills/tasks of differing nature and complexity "designed to be analogous to those involved in dealing with justiciable issues" (Pleasence and Denvir, 2021, p.15). The skills/tasks comprised:

- Pay a bill using online banking
- Send an email
- Make a video call on a computer or laptop using, Skype, Zoom or something similar
- Find specific information (e.g. your eligibility for government payments)
- Set up 2-step ID verification (also known as two-factor authentication)
- Do [a] tax return, claim a Centrelink benefit or similar
- Save an online document onto [a] computer
- Take a photo of your drivers' licence or another form of ID and upload it to a government website.

For analysis reported in this volume, digital legal capability was categorised as 'no support', 'minor support' and 'major support' required.[50]

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48 Further detail on how groups were derived can be found in PULS Volume 2, at p.69. Across PULS respondents, 30.6% were in the adequate (no issues), 51.3% in the adequate (some issues), 12.1% in the marginal, and 6.0% in the inadequate.

49 Ipsos Mori (2015).

50 Further detail on how groups were derived can be found in PULS Volume 2, at p.148. Across PULS respondents, 52.6% required no support, 21.7% required minor support, and 25.7% required major support.

Legal confidence

To measure legal confidence, the PULS adopted a modified form of the General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale.[51] The GLC includes questions about a dispute at different points of escalation, to address different aspects of confidence within a single coherent scenario. The GLC scale was developed using modern psychometric modelling techniques (Rasch analysis), allowing comprehensive assessment of and confirmation of good psychometric properties. Originally developed in the United Kingdom, it was re-evaluated in an Australian context in the *Community Perceptions of Law Survey*.[52] The GLC scale asks people how confident they would be about achieving a fair outcome that they would be happy with to significant legal dispute if:

- the disagreement is substantial
- the other side says they 'will not compromise'
- the other side will only speak to you through their solicitor
- a notice from court says you must complete certain forms, including setting out your case
- the problem goes to court, a barrister represents the other side, and you are on your own
- the court makes a judgement against you, which you see as unfair. You are told you have a right to appeal.

For analysis reported in this volume, respondents were grouped into low, medium or high GLC scale strata.[53]

Narratives of law

Patricia Ewick and Susan Silbey's (1998) seminal qualitative study of how people construct legality in daily life, *The Common Place of Law*, identified three overarching and competing narratives of law, whereby people see themselves as being before the law, with the law or against the law. The PULS narratives of law questions were arrived at via a preliminary survey to quantitively explore adherence to Ewick and Silbey's narratives.[54] 1,047 survey respondents were presented with 48 statements (or 'items') (16 corresponding to each narrative). Following factor analysis, the 48 items were reduced to the 12 included in the PULS; 3 for each of four narratives suggested by the analysis: that of law being 'remote' (though not necessarily majestic); arbitrary and to be actively resisted (a 'resist' narrative); a 'game' that can be played; and a 'practical' means to obtain objectives. As discussed in PULS Volume 2, the narratives are not mutually exclusive.

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51 Pleasence and Balmer (2019b).

52 The *Community Perceptions of Law Survey* was used to produce the Balmer et al. (2019) report, as well as develop items and scales for inclusion in the PULS. The survey included the GLC Scale which allowed it to be validated in Australia.

53 Further detail on how groups were derived can be found in PULS Volume 2. Across PULS respondents, 22.9% were in the low, 50.2% to the medium, and 26.9% to the high GLC confidence strata.

54 Further reference to this study will be made in subsequent PULS reporting, though those interested should contact the authors.

The PULS questionnaire asked respondents about the extent they agreed or disagreed "that, in this country, law is …"

- distant to my life
- remote (i.e. not connected or related to me)
- out of reach
- something to fight against
- something to resist
- the last place I would turn for help
- a way to get what I deserve
- good for resolving problems
- something I can use to get what I want
- something you can manipulate
- like a game you can play if you know the rules
- a competition.

For analysis, four binary variables were constructed to reflect whether or not respondents adhered to each narrative.[55]

Inaccessibility of lawyers

To measure attitudes to the accessibility of lawyers, the PULS adopted the Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale, developed through the *Community Perceptions of Law Survey*. In that survey, respondents were presented with 40 statements (or 'items') concerning lawyer accessibility. Established approaches to scale development and modern psychometric methods (Rasch analysis) were used to reduce this item pool to 10 items that function as a scale with good psychometric properties. The PULS questionnaire asked respondents about the extent they agreed or disagreed that "lawyers in Victoria …"

- are not people I'd be happy to use
- are the last people I would ever go to for help
- are not interested in the issues I face
- are not concerned with real people's lives
- are unapproachable
- are not geared up for ordinary people to use
- are slow
- are not worth the hassle
- don't take people like me seriously
- take too long to deal with issues.

For analysis in this volume, respondents were grouped into low, medium or high PIL scale strata.[56]

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55 Scores from 0 (strongly disagree) to 3 (strongly agree) for items resulted in a score of 0 to 9 for each narrative. If respondents scored 6 or more, they were categorised as adhering to a narrative. Across PULS respondents, 17.8% adhered to the remote narrative, 11.5% to the resist narrative, 45.9% to the practical narrative, and 33.3% to the game narrative.

56 Further detail on how groups were derived can be found in PULS Volume 2, at p.117. Across PULS respondents, 22.8% were in the low, 54.2 in the medium and 23.0% in the high PIL scale strata.

Trust in lawyers

The PULS questionnaire included six questions focused on trust in lawyers, three framed in terms of trust and three in terms of expectations. The questions were designed to investigate trust from a variety of perspectives. While informed by the literature on trust and the public perception of lawyers, the questions were focused on trust and perception as mediated through the perspective of clients. They centred on client interest, client finance, lawyer skill and lawyer/client commonality of purpose. The first three questions asked whether, if they used a lawyer, respondents "would trust them to ..."

- act in my best interests
- not overcharge me
- be knowledgeable and skilled in their work.

The second three questions asked whether respondents "would expect" their lawyer to ...

- act ethically and within the law
- exploit loopholes in the law
- break the rules if needed.

For analysis reported in this volume, trust in lawyers was categorised as low or high.[57]

Composite capability measures

In addition to individual capability measures, analysis reported in this volume also made use of three composite capability measures, which combined (i) the skills and confidence measures, (ii) the narratives and attitudes measures and (iii) all the measures. The methods involved in deriving these composite measures are set out in PULS Volume 2 (p.169). The composite skills/confidence measure grouped respondents into 'lowest', 'low', 'higher' and 'highest' skill strata.[58] The composite attitude measure grouped respondents into 'most negative', 'negative', 'positive' and 'most positive' attitude strata.[59] The combined composite measure categorised respondents as 'lower skill, more negative attitude', 'higher skill, more negative attitude', 'lower skill, more positive attitude' or 'higher skill, more positive attitude'.[60]

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57   Scores from 0 (most negative responses) to 3 (most positive responses) resulted in a score of 0 to 18. If respondents scored 12 or more, they were categorised as having high trust. Across PULS respondents, 64.1% belonged to the high trust group.

58   Across PULS respondents, 18.0% were in the lowest, 35.1% to the low, 31.1% in the higher and 15.9% in the highest skill strata.

59   Across PULS respondents, 14.0% were in the most negative, 41.2% in the negative, 30.6% in the positive and 14.2% in the most positive attitude strata.

60   Across PULS respondents, 32.4% were in the lower skill, more negative attitude group, 22.8% in the higher skill, more negative attitude group, 18.0% in the lower skill, more positive attitude group, and 26.8% in the higher skill, more positive attitude group.

Problem-solving strategies, the use of process and legal need

To ascertain the problem-solving strategies employed by PULS respondents when they faced justiciable problems, they were asked a short series of questions derived from the OECD/OSF (2019) guidance on the conduct of legal needs surveys. These asked whether respondents:

- obtained information from a website or app, leaflet, book or other printed material;

- obtained information, advice, or representation from family, friends, or independent sources of help ('private lawyer', 'Community Legal Centre', 'Legal Aid', 'Aboriginal Legal Service' 'another legal or advice service', 'court, or tribunal', 'ombudsman', 'police', 'government department or authority', 'local council', 'MP', 'employer', 'trade union', 'doctor or health professional', 'social worker or welfare service', 'financial service or professional', 'community, neighbourhood, religious or charitable organisation', or 'any other person or organisation';

- communicated with the other party initiated or responded to, communicated with, or attended a formal or informal dispute resolution process ('court or tribunal', 'ombudsman or other regulator/ or enforcement authority', 'mediation, conciliation or arbitration', 'Aboriginal-led decision-making meeting', 'religious authority involvement', 'community leader or organisation' involvement, 'police (or other prosecution authority)' involvement (or other prosecution authority), 'internal appeal or formal complaint' process);

- anything else, 'such as obtain or organise evidence, or make an insurance claim.

Examples were provided of the formal and informal processes. Moreover, to ascertain whether any formal or informal processes were involved in justiciable problems, even if respondents did not engage with them, they were also asked about other people's initiation of the processes listed above.

To determine whether respondents experienced unmet or met legal need, PULS questions relating to each of the OECD/OSF (2019) framework for the measurement of legal need, as illustrated in Figure 1.1 above, were used. The relevant questions were those relating to problem duration, seriousness, legal knowledge (concerning problems in hand), confidence about achieving fair and acceptable problem outcomes, process fairness, use of expert help and adequacy of support.

Demographics

The findings included in this volume relate to analyses centred on both PULS respondents' legal capability and broader demographic characteristics. The demographic characteristics included in the analyses reported in this volume comprised:

- Age
- Sex at birth
- Sexual orientation
- Whether a First Nations person
- Main language spoken at home
- Family type
- Whether a carer
- Whether in work
- Higher education level
- Geographical location
- Long-term illness/disability
- Gross annual household income
- Whether unable to eat, heat or cool home owing to lack of money (financial distress).

Forms of analysis

The findings set out in the remainder of this third volume of the findings of the PULS were arrived at through a variety of forms of bivariate and multivariate analysis. Chapters 3 (problem-solving strategy), 6 (expert help received), 7 (existence of legal need and whether or not it was met) and 8 (happiness with the progress or outcome of problems) involved similar approaches to statistical analysis. Each involved exploring the bivariate relationships between individual legal capabilities, composite capabilities and the subject matter of the chapter (i.e. strategy, help received, legal need and happiness). Strength of relationships was assessed using chi-squared tests and Pearson residuals. Chi-squared tests give a measure of overall association, while Pearson residuals allow assessment of where association is strongest. Larger residuals indicate misfit — i.e. that a given cross-tabulation cell differs from what would be expected in the absence of association between variables.

In addition to the bivariate analysis, multivariate models were fitted for each capability and composite capability to explore relationships while controlling for problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics. Problem type and demographics[61] were included in models as main effects alongside each capability or composite capability in turn. Capabilities or composite capabilities were introduced in turn to allow each to be analysed independently of the influence of others. This is important, given the close relationship between capabilities set out in PULS Volume 2.

For chapters 3 and 7, the models used were multinomial logistic regression models,[62] since strategy and legal need were nominal. For chapters 6[63] and 8, ordinal regression[64] was used, since expert help and happiness were ordinal. Stata code for the models fitted is included in Appendix 1, to allow models to be recreated and adapted with the PULS data that is available on the Victoria Law Foundation website.[65] Throughout this volume, findings from the multivariate models are contrasted with bivariate findings by comparing the statistical significance of the relationship between capabilities/composite capabilities and strategy, expert help, legal need or happiness before and after controlling for other variables. Tables setting bivariate and multivariate findings side-by-side are also provided, to allow easy comparison. For multivariate models, estimates were obtained using margins within Stata.[66] Importantly, both bivariate and multivariate approaches are informative. In

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61 Problem type involved a ten-category classification. Demographics replicated the set used in multivariate analyses in PULS Volume 2.

62 Multinomial Logistic Regression is a statistical analysis technique used to model and predict outcomes with more than two categories. It can be thought of as an extension of binary logistic regression where the dependent variable has three or more unordered categories, with the aim to estimate the probabilities of each category of the dependent variable, given a set of predictor variables. The model estimates separate sets of coefficients for each category, comparing them to a reference category or baseline. Multinomial Logistic Regression assumes that the relationship between the predictors and the outcome variable follows a linear combination on the logit scale. The model estimates the coefficients for each predictor variable, indicating their effects on the log-odds of being in each category, relative to the reference category. As for binary logistic regression these log-odds can be exponentiated to obtain odds ratios, and again, coefficients are accompanied by p-values that can be used to gauge statistical significance (e.g. see Long and Freese, 2014).

63 Chapter 6 also included an additional set of analyses, which introduce whether independent help (legal and or non-legal) was actually obtained into analysis of the relationship between capabilities and getting the expert help needed.

64 Ordinal Regression is a statistical method employed to model the relationship between a dependent variable with ordered categories and one or more independent variables. It addresses data where the outcome variable has an order, but the intervals between categories may not be consistent (for example, the extent to which respondent's got all the expert help they needed). Ordinal regression models the cumulative probability of observing a response at or below a specific category in the dependent variable. It estimates the effect of independent variables on the log-odds of being in a higher category compared to a lower one (e.g. see Long and Freese, 2014).

65 https://puls.victorialawfoundation.org.au/. Note that the fitstat command requires spost13 to be added to Stata (see Long and Freese, 2014).

66 Margins (or predictive margins, adjusted predictions, and recycled predictions) are statistics calculated from predictions of a previously fitted model at fixed values of some covariates and averaging or otherwise integrating over the remaining covariates. This has the net effect of allowing you to look at how a variable (such as knowledge of the law) relates to an outcome (such as happiness with the progress or outcome of problems) having controlled for other variables (problem type and demographic characteristics) (Williams, 2012).

2. Methodology

some instances, it is useful to know the extent to which a capability, such as knowledge relates to getting the expert help needed, with the degree to which this relationship is mediated or moderated by respondents' characteristics secondary. In others, it is useful to know the extent to which the relationship between a capability and outcome might be weakened by (or simply be a function of) respondents' other characteristics.

Sections of chapters 3, 6, 7 and 8 also set out models including all individual capability measures simultaneously, alongside problem type and demographics, to predict strategy, expert help, legal need and happiness with progress/outcome — as well as skills and attitudes composite measures alongside problem type and demographics, and combined composite capability alongside problem type and demographics. Full statistical output for these models is also included in Appendix 1.

The main aim of these models was to assess the extent to which capturing capability enhances our understanding of justiciable problem experience. The focus was on seeing whether model fit was enhanced by the inclusion of capability in addition to problem type and demographics. In addition to comparing model fit, these models also allowed examination of which relationships remained significant having controlled for problem type, demographics *and* other capabilities simultaneously. For multinomial models, Cragg and Uhlers R^2 provided a general measure of fit to the data,[67] where a higher value indicates that the model explains more about the variation in the outcome variable.[68] The AIC (Akaike Information Criterion) was also used to compare model fit while penalizing complexity. Lower AIC scores are considered to indicate better models which explain the data (fit) while keeping the model simple (fewer parameters). For ordinal models McKelvey and Zavoina's R^2 provided a general measure of fit the data,[69] again alongside the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). Choice of pseudo R^2 was informed by Langer (2016) and calculated using spost13 within Stata.[70]

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67 Cragg and Uhler (1970); Nagelkerke (1991).
68 Note, that this is a pseudo R^2 measure and unlike for linear regression, does not translate to proportion of the variance explained. However, it does provide a useful way to compare the relative explanatory power of models.
69 McKelvey and Zavoina (1975).
70 Long and Freese (2014).

For Chapter 5 problem duration was modelled on the basis of individual capabilities. Calculating justiciable problem duration using PULS data did not simply involve calculating the length of concluded problems. If only problems that were concluded were considered, problem duration would have been underestimated. To produce accurate and appropriate calculations of problem, duration, it was necessary to include ongoing problems in analysis. The same approach was used as that described in PULS Volume 1.[71] It involved fitting discrete-time event history models,[72] with problem conclusion being the 'event' and this event modelled as a function of problem duration (in discrete month units). The model estimates the probability of a problem ending in any given month, which in turn can be used to produce a 'survival function' of the percentage of problems that would be expected to remain ongoing (or survive) over time (e.g. the percentage of problems that are still ongoing after 12 months).[73] Statistical output tables for these models are not included in the appendices, but can be produced from restructured data.[74]

For Chapter 4, only bivariate analyses were used to explore process. This simpler approach was taken to reflect the structure of the data being explored and the nature of the associations that were under investigation.

With the exception of the duration analyses in Chapter 5, problems were the unit of observation in analyses, and problem-level weighting was applied.[75]

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71 Balmer et al. (2023) p.133.

72 Singer and Willett (1993). For use of similar models in a legal needs survey context see Balmer, Pleasence and Buck (2010); Patel, Balmer and Pleasence (2012), Pleasence, Balmer and Denvir (2015) and most recently, Balmer et al. (2023).

73 For this analysis, data was restructured so that each row was a month and assigned 0 if the problem was ongoing and 1 if concluded. So, a problem that lasted three months would have row entries of 0,0,1. If a problem lasted four months, but had not concluded, row entries would be 0,0,0,0. This binary variable was then modelled using binary logistic regression on the basis of time in months, time squared, time cubed, each legal capability individually, that capability's interaction with time and that capability's interaction with time squared. Model estimates were used to calculate hazard.

74 For example, for Law Scale strata in STATA software 'logistic ProblemOver TimeMonths c.TimeMonths#c.TimeMonths c.TimeMonths#c.TimeMonths#c.TimeMonths ib(first). LawScaleStrata c.TimeMonths#ib(first).LawScaleStrata c.TimeMonths#c.TimeMonths#ib(first).LawScaleStrata , coef'. It should be noted that interpretation of individual coefficients can be complicated by the inevitable correlation between monomials (e.g. between time and time squared) and it is most informative to look at the function as a whole (as set out in the figures and tables in this section). Restructured data can be requested from the Victoria Law Foundation.

75 See Roy Morgan (2023), p.44. The problem-level weight included adjustment for the number of problems reported by each individual, since larger clusters mean a decreasing probability of selection (since only one problem was followed up per person).

3. Legal Capability and What People Do

This chapter sets out PULS findings concerning the relationship between general legal capability and the strategies people adopt to resolve justiciable problems. It looks separately at the skills and confidence–related legal capability dimensions explored through the PULS, the attitude-related dimensions (including people's narratives of law) and composite measures of these dimensions.

While there were significant bivariate relationships between all the capability measures and strategy, many were weaker or non-significant once problem type and demographics were controlled for. In broad terms, the significant relationships pointed towards both higher levels of skill and more negative narratives of/attitudes to law being associated with higher levels of independent help being obtained to deal with problems.

People respond to justiciable problems in myriad ways. Some take no action, some handle problems alone, some act with the help of family or friends and some obtain independent help, including from legal services. As we detailed in PULS Volume 1, the percentages of PULS respondents falling into each of these groups were 4%, 31%, 14% and 50%,[76] respectively, with 21% obtaining help from legal services. People obtained help from a private lawyer on 13% of occasions and from Legal Aid, Community Legal Centres and Aboriginal Legal Services on 6%, 5% and 2% of occasions respectively.

As with the Legal Australia-Wide Survey, the PULS revealed that a significant proportion (30%) of people who fail to obtain independent advice provide reasons that raise concern, such as not knowing where to get help or being fatalistic as to the value of advice.

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76   These percentages have been rounded, so do not add up to 100%.

Legal capability and what people do

This chapter starts the process of unravelling the complex relationship between broad legal capability and what people do when faced with justiciable problems. The relationship between, on the one hand, people's subjective assessment of their knowledge and confidence in relation to particular problems faced and, on the other, their problem-solving behaviour was explored in PULS Volume 1. This chapter looks in turn at each of the eleven dimensions of capability detailed in PULS Volume 2 and sets out their relationship with both broad problem-solving strategy and the use of formal and informal dispute resolution processes. This is done through both bivariate and multivariate analysis. Bivariate analysis was used to identify basic associations between capability dimensions and behaviour, as they manifest in everyday life. Multivariate analysis was used to investigate the strength of associations between capability dimensions and behaviour while taking account of other factors. In the first instance, the other factors included in multivariate analysis were respondents' sociodemographic characteristics. Then, the full set of capability dimensions under study were included in analysis.

As explained in the previous chapter, while PULS data is well-suited to demonstrating the strength of both surface-level and underlying relationships between specific capabilities and behaviours, it is generally ill-suited to causal inference. However, as was also explained, the relationships between the different dimensions of legal capability and justiciable problem-solving behaviour set out in this chapter are important in a policy and practice context whatever their origins. Moreover, past research and the particular nature of some of the capabilities studied through the PULS does sometimes, where associations are demonstrated, allow some potential causal pathways to be attributed greater credibility than others. For example, the skill-related capabilities explored by the PULS can be expected to develop incrementally over relatively long periods of time and, when developed, endure. So, while it is possible that these skills may be enhanced or diminished through specific life events, it is reasonable to expect that they would more often influence behaviour within individual life events than be the product of them. In contrast, attitudes are more susceptible to being influenced by particular life events, particularly if infused with emotion, as the experience of dispute resolution will often be. Moreover, pre-existing positive attitudes towards a service (e.g. legal services) or institution (e.g. courts or tribunals), can be expected to lead to a greater tendency to use them, whereas pre-existing negative attitudes can be expected to lead to a lesser tendency. If the reverse is observed, then this would strongly suggest experience lies behind attitudes.

So, while it is important to be cautious in attributing causation to any associations identified through the PULS, there are good grounds for sometimes regarding some causal interpretations of findings as more credible than others.

Skills, confidence and justiciable problem-solving strategies

This section looks in turn at the relationship between each of the five skills and confidence-related legal capability dimensions explored in PULS Volume 2 (perceived relevance of law, legal knowledge, practical legal literacy, digital capability for law, general legal confidence) and people's problem-solving strategies, as detailed in Table 3.1. It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite skill/confidence (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and people's problem-solving strategies.

Table 3.1. Bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capability and problem-solving strategy (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Legal capability	Level	Broad problem-solving strategy							
		Did nothing		Handled alone / Informal help from family or friends		Independent help		Legal service independent help	
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low	21	4.6%	153	33.0%	147	31.7%	143	30.7%
	Medium	54	4.3%	607	47.4%	354	27.7%	265	20.7%
	High	27	3.7%	366	50.0%	222	30.3%	117	15.9%
Legal knowledge	Low	28	6.0%	207	43.5%	121	25.5%	119	25.0%
	Medium	58	4.0%	665	45.8%	442	30.4%	287	19.8%
	High	17	3.1%	254	46.3%	160	29.1%	118	21.4%
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	23	5.8%	184	46.2%	115	28.8%	77	19.3%
	Adequate (some issues)	47	3.5%	638	47.2%	393	29.0%	275	20.3%
	Marginal	13	2.8%	227	49.7%	143	31.3%	74	16.3%
	Inadequate	20	8.4%	61	25.8%	61	25.5%	96	40.2%
Digital capability for law	No support	52	3.4%	689	45.6%	449	29.7%	320	21.2%
	Minor support	27	5.2%	254	49.1%	145	28.1%	91	17.6%
	Major support	25	5.5%	183	40.8%	128	28.6%	113	25.1%
General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	12	2.3%	236	44.1%	170	31.8%	117	21.9%
	Medium	70	5.3%	605	46.2%	389	29.7%	246	18.8%
	High	21	3.4%	285	45.1%	163	25.9%	161	25.6%

As can be seen from Table 3.1 and Figures 3.1 to 3.5, different levels of each of the individual skill and confidence-related legal capabilities were associated with different patterns of problem resolution strategy. However, while the strongest bivariate association was between practical legal literacy and strategy, only the relationships between LAW and GLC scale strata and strategy remained significant once problem type and demographics were accounted for.

Perceived relevance of law

Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 show the strong bivariate relationship between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata (high, medium or low perceived relevance) and broad problem-solving strategy.[77] Those PULS respondents who least often saw law as relevant to everyday life problems least often handled justiciable problems alone or with informal help from friends or family.[78] Instead, as well as marginally more often doing nothing to resolve problems, they more often obtained independent help to resolve problems, particularly from legal services. In the case of legal services, almost twice as many of those in the 'low relevance' as the 'high relevance' stratum obtained help from a legal service.

When taking account of problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics, the association between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata and broad problem-solving strategy remained statistically significant,[79] and followed a similar pattern to that illustrated in Figure 3.1, as shown in Table 3.9.

While PULS survey data is not suited to exposing causal pathways, it is implausible to expect greater use of legal services to lead to lesser appreciation of the relevance of law to everyday life problems. More plausible is that such lesser appreciation, in common with lesser legal skills more generally, increases the likelihood that people will seek legal help once it becomes apparent that problems have a legal dimension.

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77   $\chi^2_6 = 52.99$, p < 0.001.
78   The largest absolute Pearson residuals at -4.0 and 4.5 respectively.
79   Testing the LAW scale model terms together; $\chi^2_6 = 17.39$, p = 0.008.

Figure 3.1. Bivariate relationship between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata and problem-solving strategy
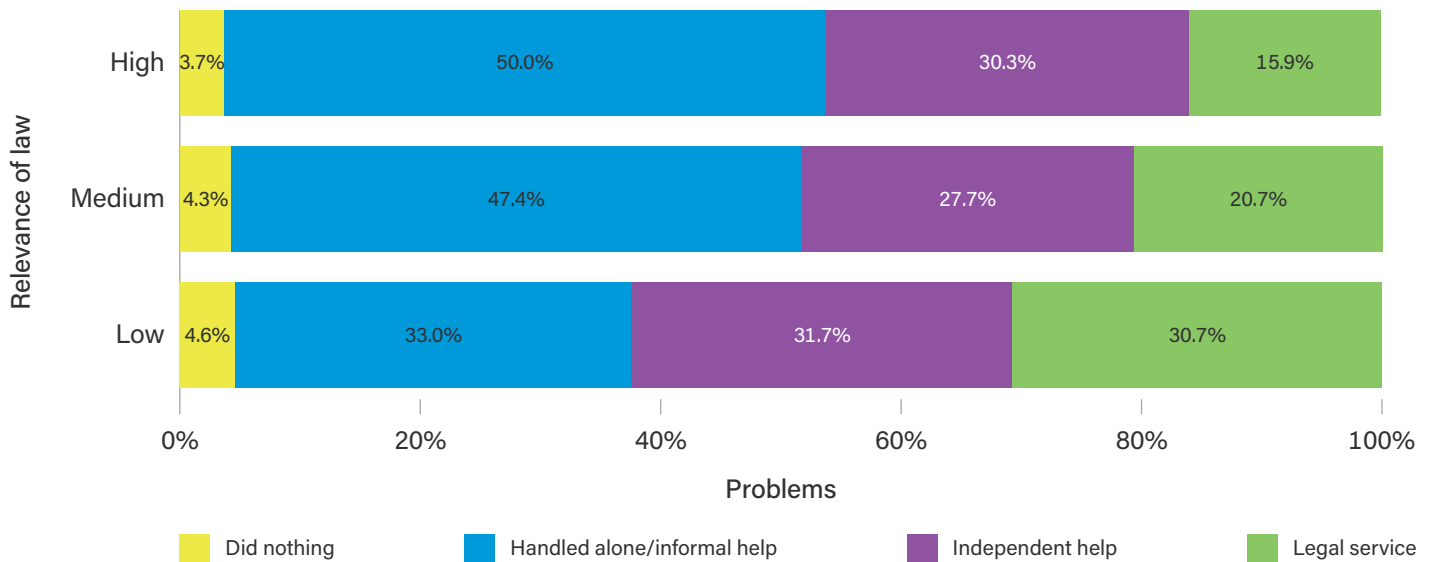
Support for this hypothesis can be found in Table 3.2, which shows the relationship between LAW scale strata, whether specific problems were characterised as 'legal' and problem-solving strategy. As can be seen, 44% of those in the low LAW scale stratum who characterised problems as legal obtained help from a legal service. This accounted for more than half of those who obtained legal services. It was also a significantly higher percentage than for either medium or high relevance stratum respondents.

More generally, within every LAW scale stratum, obtaining independent help (particularly from a legal service) was much more common for those who categorised problems as legal. Conversely, within every LAW scale stratum, doing nothing to resolve problems and handling problems alone was less common for those who categorised problems as legal. For example, those in the low LAW scale stratum handled problems they characterised as legal alone on 14% of occasions, but problems they characterised differently on 44% of occasions.

Table 3.2. Relationship between both LAW scale strata and whether specific problems were characterised as 'legal' and problem-solving strategy

General perceived relevance of law	Problem characterised as legal	Broad problem-solving strategy									
		Did nothing		Handled alone/ informal help		Independent help		Legal service		Total	
		N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
High	No	26	5.7%	254	56.1%	128	28.3%	45	9.9%	453	100%
	Yes	2	0.7%	112	40.1%	93	33.3%	72	25.8%	279	100%
	Total	28	3.8%	366	50.0%	221	30.2%	117	16.0%	732	100%
Medium	No	38	4.3%	494	55.7%	240	27.1%	115	13.0%	887	100%
	Yes	16	4.1%	113	28.8%	114	29.0%	150	38.2%	393	100%
	Total	54	4.2%	607	47.4%	354	27.7%	265	20.7%	1280	100%
Low	No	16	5.3%	131	43.7%	82	27.3%	71	23.7%	300	100%
	Yes	5	3.0%	23	13.9%	65	39.4%	72	43.6%	165	100%
	Total	21	4.5%	154	33.1%	147	31.6%	143	30.8%	465	100%

The fact that independent help became less common as LAW scale scores went up, but more common if problems were characterised as legal, highlights an important difference in what the LAW scale and PULS problem level legal characterisation question measured. The LAW scale measured the skill of recognising that law is relevant to everyday situations. The problem level legal characterisation question asked whether PULS respondents initially characterised particular problems as legal, and so was focused on whether respondents expected the resolution of particular problems to involve reference to or recourse to the law. Thus, it was quite consistent for PULS respondents to see law as relevant to justiciable problems in general (as measured by the LAW scale), but not characterise particular problems as being legal in nature (rather than, for example, as being family, social, economic or 'bad luck' problems).

Legal knowledge

Figure 3.2 shows how the relative ability of people to correctly and confidently answer the 15 PULS content of law general knowledge questions related to their broad problem-solving strategy. Based on the simple bivariate relationship illustrated, there was evidence of only a relatively weak relationship between knowledge and strategy,[80] with inaction more common for those PULS respondents in the low knowledge stratum and less common for those in higher strata. The three strata were associated with almost identical levels of use of independent help (across non-legal and legal services combined), although those PULS respondents in the low knowledge stratum more often obtained help from a legal service.

When taking account of problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics, the association between legal knowledge and broad problem-solving strategy was clearly non-significant,[81] as illustrated in Table 3.9.

Figure 3.2. Bivariate relationship between general knowledge of the content of law and problem-solving strategy

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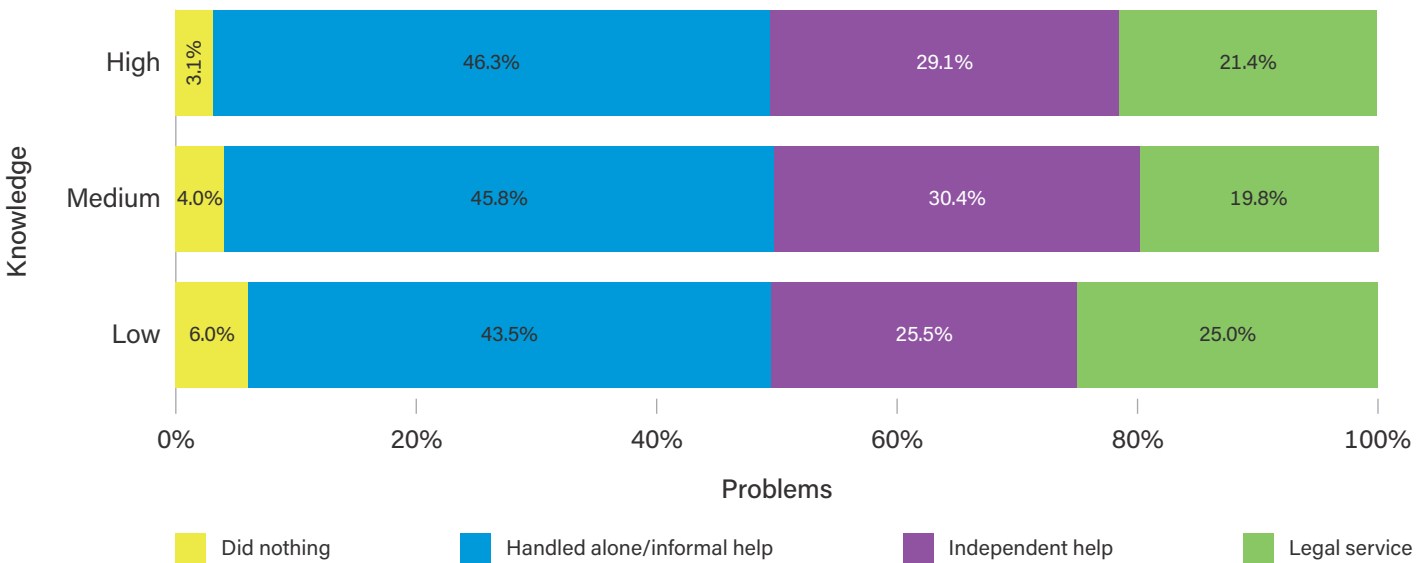
80   $x^2_6 = 13.30$, p = 0.039.
81   Testing the knowledge model terms together; $x^2_6 = 2.40$, p = 0.88.

Building on from the findings set out in PULS Volume 1, Table 3.3 displays the relationship between both general knowledge of the content of law and subjectively assessed knowledge of law relating to specific problems faced and problem-solving strategy. As can be seen, within all general knowledge strata there were significant and sometimes substantial differences in the problem-solving strategies adopted by people who did or did not understand their legal rights in relation to problems in hand. For example, only 7% of respondents in the medium knowledge stratum obtained legal help when they did not understand their legal rights in relation to problems in hand. By comparison, the figure was 23% for those who did understand their rights.

Differences were not of the same nature across different strata. In fact, differences in the strategies adopted by those who either knew or did not know their rights in relation to problems in hand were completely inverted in the case of the low and high knowledge strata. For those in the low knowledge stratum, better understanding of rights in relation to problems in hand was associated with increased inaction and handling of problems alone, at the expense of independent help (particularly from legal services). In contrast, for those in the high knowledge stratum, better understanding of rights in relation to problems in hand was associated with decreased inaction and handling of problems alone, in favour of increased independent help.

Table 3.3   **Relationship between both general knowledge of the content of law and knowledge of law relating to specific problems and problem-solving strategy**

Objective general legal knowledge	Subjective specific legal knowledge	Broad problem-solving strategy									
		Did nothing		Handled alone/ informal help		Independent help		Legal service		Total	
		N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
High	Did not understand	8	7.3%	55	50.5%	27	24.8%	19	17.4%	109	100%
	Did understand	9	2.0%	199	45.2%	133	30.2%	99	22.5%	440	100%
	Total	17	3.1%	254	46.3%	160	29.1%	118	21.5%	549	100%
Medium	Did not understand	22	7.2%	158	51.6%	105	34.3%	21	6.9%	306	100%
	Did understand	36	3.1%	507	44.2%	337	29.4%	267	23.3%	1147	100%
	Total	58	4.0%	665	45.8%	442	30.4%	288	19.8%	1453	100%
Low	Did not understand	4	4.0%	27	27.0%	32	32.0%	37	37.0%	100	100%
	Did understand	24	6.4%	180	48.0%	89	23.7%	82	21.9%	375	100%
	Total	28	5.9%	207	43.6%	121	25.5%	119	25.1%	475	100%

Looking in greater detail at PULS respondents in the low knowledge stratum, for those who said they understood the law in relation to problems in hand, how they characterised those problems was strongly associated with whether or not they obtained help from a legal service. If problems were characterised as legal, then around 40% of respondents obtained help from a legal service. If not, then fewer than 15% of respondents obtained help from a legal service. However, there was little difference in the rate of legal services use for equivalent PULS respondents who hadn't understood the law in relation to problems in hand.

Looking at those in the medium and high knowledge strata, similar characterisation linked differences were observed in the rate of accessing legal services among those who reported they understood the law in relation to problems in hand. For problems characterised as legal, 37% of respondents in the medium stratum obtained help from a legal service. For those not so characterised, the figure was 16%. The corresponding figures were 41% for problems characterised as legal and 12% for those not characterised as legal in the high knowledge stratum. In contrast to those in the low knowledge stratum, though, differences were even greater where respondents indicated that they hadn't understood the law in relation to problems in hand. In the case of these respondents, of those in the medium knowledge stratum who characterised problems as legal, 13% obtained help from a legal service, compared to just 4% of those who didn't. For those in the high knowledge stratum, the corresponding figures were 38% and 2%. This last finding might reflect a higher level of recognition of relevant limitations.

It should be noted here that the problem specific PULS knowledge question asked whether respondents 'understood or came to understand' their legal rights and responsibilities. It did not ask about knowledge level at the time problems started. This makes it even harder to address the extent to which legal knowledge relevant to the problems faced by PULS respondents might have influenced problem-solving behaviour or been a product of problem-solving behaviour. However, the fact that there was around a 20-fold difference in the rate of obtaining legal help linked to legal characterisation among those with high general legal knowledge who didn't understand the law somewhat suggests that high capability respondents who recognise a significant capability deficiency (i.e. a lack of knowledge) in relation to a specific 'legal' problem will be more likely to seek legal help to redress the deficiency.

Practical legal literacy

Figure 3.3 illustrates the highly statistically significant bivariate relationship between practical legal literacy strata ('adequate (no issues)', 'adequate (some issues)', 'marginal', 'inadequate') and broad problem-solving strategy.[82]

By far the largest difference in problem-solving behaviour was observed between those with 'inadequate' practical legal literacy and others.[83] Those with inadequate practical legal literacy much more often did nothing to resolve problems (8% of problems, compared to 4% across other practical legal literacy strata[84]), much less often handled problems on their own or with informal help from family or friends (26% of problems, compared to 48% across other practical legal literacy strata[85]) and much more often obtained independent help (66% of problems, compared

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82   $\chi^2_9 = 88.43$, p < 0.001.

83   For 9.7% of PULS problems (238 of 2,447), respondents had 'inadequate' practical legal literacy. This compares to the overall 6.0% of PULS respondents who had 'inadequate' practical legal literacy, as detailed in PULS Volume 2, indicating that issues with literacy were more common among those with problems.

84   Standardised Pearson residual = 3.2.

85   Standardised Pearson residuals = -4.5.

3. Legal Capability and What People Do

to 49% across other practical legal literacy strata). The rate at which those in the inadequate stratum obtained help from legal services was particularly notable, with more than twice as many in the inadequate stratum doing as in the adequate (no issues) stratum.[86]

Figure 3.3. Bivariate relationship between practical legal literacy and problem-solving strategy
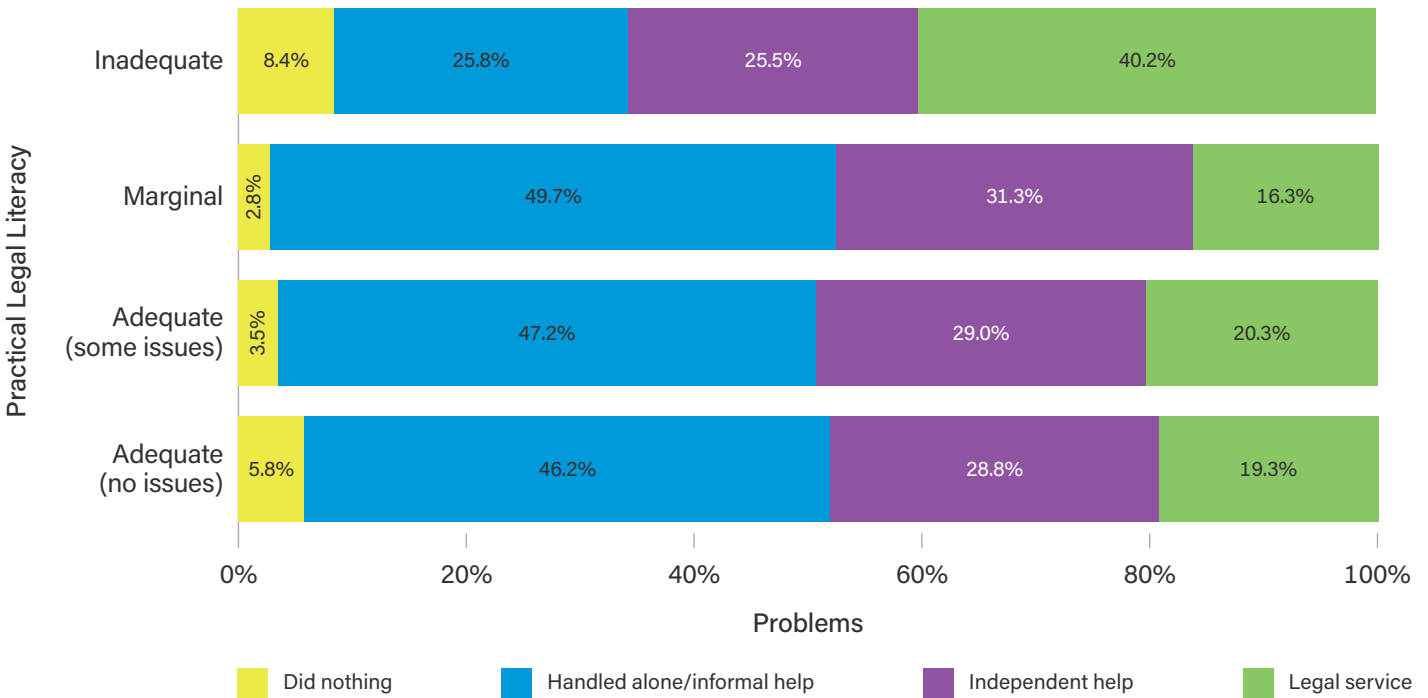
Once problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics were taken into account, the association between practical legal literacy and broad problem-solving strategy fell short of statistical significance.[87] As can be seen from Table 3.9, once other variables had been controlled for, while those with inadequate practical legal literacy still more often did nothing and less often handled problems alone, they were no longer associated with a greater likelihood of obtaining legal advice.[88]

Perhaps even more so than for general legal knowledge and perceptions of the relevance of law to everyday life, practical legal literacy (as measured through the PULS) is an indication of a likely relatively enduring skill. Thus, it seems more plausible to expect greater practical legal literacy to increase the likelihood of handling problems alone (or with only informal help from family or friends) than it is to expect that handling individual problems alone would significantly increase the broad base of skills that comprise practical legal literacy. Moreover, it is evident how inadequate practical legal literacy could act as a significant barrier to taking any form of action to deal with justiciable problems.

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86 Standardised Pearson residuals = 6.3.
87 Testing the legal literacy model terms together; x^2_9 = 14.00, p = 0.12.
88 This was in part a function of some strong relationships between practical legal literacy and respondent's characteristics (such as their educational qualifications, health and financial distress), see Balmer et al. (2023), p.74.

Digital capability for law

Figure 3.4 shows the relationship between digital capability for law (in three groups, based on required support — 'no support', 'minor support' and 'major support') and problem-solving strategy. Differences in strategy associated with levels of digital capability were relatively modest. However, in line with the other findings set out in this section, the 'major support' group was associated with lower levels of handling problems alone or with informal help from family or friends, and higher levels of legal service use, when compared to the two other groups. The lowest level of inaction was observed among the 'no support' group, although this group was also associated with a lower rate of handling problems alone than was the 'minor support' group. As a result, those in the 'minor support' group least often obtained independent help, particularly from a legal service.

Figure 3.4. Bivariate relationship between digital capability for law (degree of support required) and problem-solving strategy
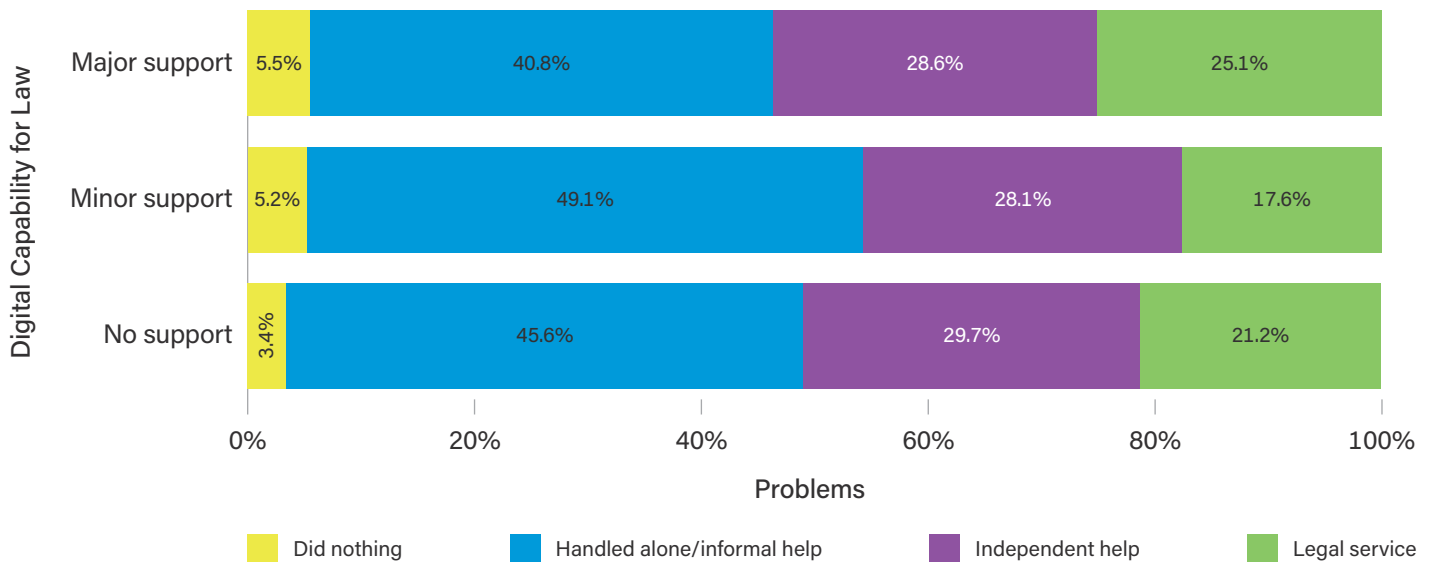
After problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics were taken into account, the association between digital capability for law and broad problem-solving strategy was not statistically significant (see Table 3.9).[89]

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89   Testing the digital capability for law model terms together; $\chi^2_6 = 5.14$, p = 0.53.

General legal confidence

Figure 3.5 shows how General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata (high, medium of low confidence) related to broad problem-solving strategy. Based on the simple bivariate relationship illustrated, there was a statistically significant relationship between GLC scale strata and strategy,[90] with use of legal services notably higher among those in the high confidence stratum.[91]

Figure 3.5. Bivariate relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and problem-solving strategy
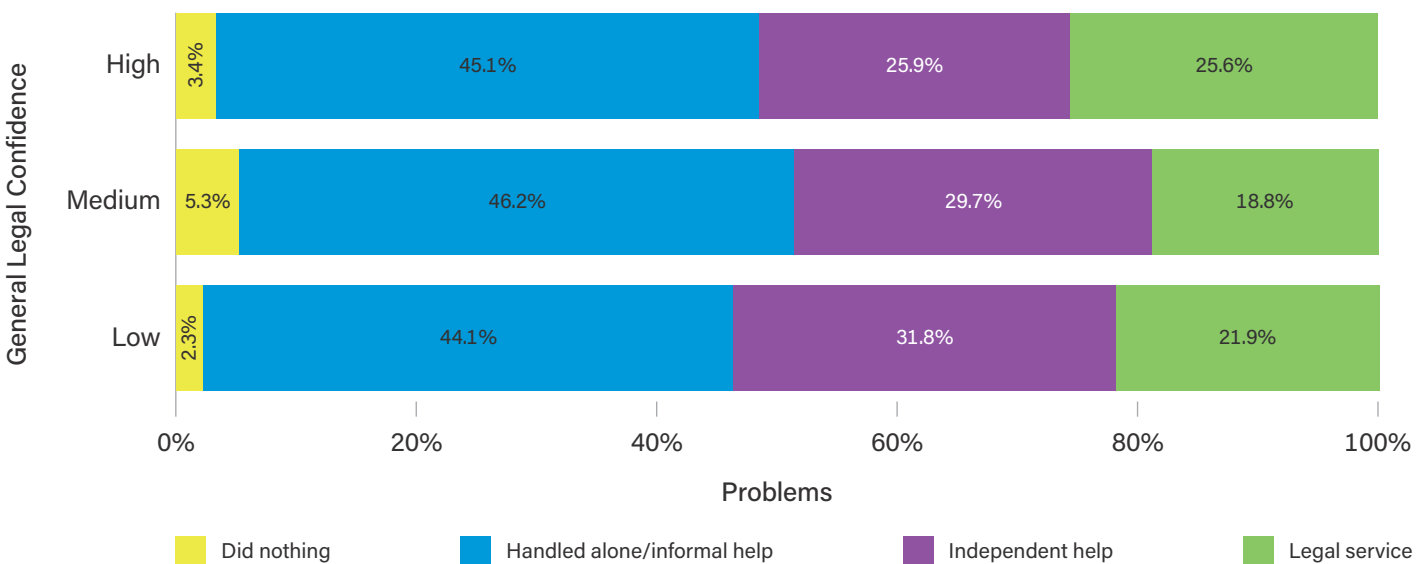
Table 3.4 shows the relationship between both people's general legal confidence, as determined by GLC scale strata, and whether they were confident they could fairly resolve specific problems and problem-solving strategy. As can be seen, whatever people's general confidence, they were more likely to have been inactive in the face of problems if they hadn't been confident they could achieve fair outcomes to problems in hand.

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90   χ^2_6 = 23.64, p < 0.001.

91   The largest absolute value residual of 2.4 was for the high confidence/legal service cell.

Table 3.4. Relationship between both GLC scale strata and confidence in achievement of fair outcomes for specific problems and problem-solving strategy

GLC scale strata	Confident of specific problem fair resolution	Broad problem-solving strategy									
		Did nothing		Handled alone/ informal help		Independent help		Legal service		Total	
		N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%	N=	%
High	No	5	4.0%	44	35.5%	41	33.1%	34	27.4%	124	100%
	Yes	16	3.2%	241	47.6%	122	24.1%	127	25.1%	506	100%
	Total	21	3.3%	285	45.2%	163	25.9%	161	25.6%	630	100%
Medium	No	26	5.6%	172	36.8%	154	33.0%	115	24.6%	467	100%
	Yes	43	5.1%	433	51.4%	235	27.9%	131	15.6%	842	100%
	Total	69	5.3%	605	46.2%	389	29.7%	246	18.8%	1309	100%
Low	No	7	2.5%	106	38.1%	97	34.9%	68	24.5%	278	100%
	Yes	5	1.9%	130	50.4%	74	28.7%	49	19.0%	258	100%
	Total	12	2.2%	236	44.0%	171	31.9%	117	21.8%	536	100%

Similarly, while there was little difference in overall rates of handling problems alone by GLC scale strata, there were substantial differences in the rates within all strata, depending on whether or not people were confident they could achieve fair outcomes to problems in hand. For example, among those in the low GLC scale stratum, while only 38% of those who were not confident they could achieve fair outcomes to problems in hand handled problems alone, the figure rose to over 50% for those who were confident.

Big differences were also observed in the rates of obtaining independent help (whether from non-legal or from legal services) within all strata, depending on whether or not people were confident they could achieve fair outcomes to problems in hand. In all cases, a greater proportion of less confident than more confident respondents obtained independent help.

As discussed in the context of legal knowledge, it should be noted that the GLC scale and problem specific PULS confidence question measure two different things, both in terms of scope and focus. The GLC scale concerns people's general confidence in relation to problems that escalate in a legalistic manner, while the problem specific confidence question asked only about confidence that a fair and acceptable outcome could be achieved to problems in hand. As only around one third of problems are characterised as legal in nature and legal process is relatively rare (courts and tribunals were involved in only 11.5% of problems and led to the conclusion of just 5.8%), it follows that basic strategy decisions would not often be driven by expectations of legal escalation, but rather by expectations that problems will conclude via independent action on the part of the parties or negotiated

settlements by parties (which account for 73.6% of actual problem outcomes). The above findings are consistent with this.

When taking problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics into account, the association between general legal confidence and broad problem-solving strategy remained very similar to that illustrated in Figure 3.5, as shown in Table 3.9.[92]

Composite skills/confidence level

Table 3.5 and Figure 3.6 show how the composite legal skill/confidence strata detailed in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2 related to broad problem-solving strategy. Based on the simple bivariate relationship illustrated, it is evident that as legal skill/confidence increased inaction became less common, while handling problems alone or with informal help from family or friends generally became more common. However, while independent help generally became less common as legal skill/confidence increased, with the lowest level of skill/confidence associated with the highest rate of obtaining independent help (56.8%, including 31.4% from legal services), the highest level of skill/confidence was also associated with a relatively high level of advice seeking, particularly from legal services (50.1%, including 27.7% from legal services). This finding, that the lowest level of skill/confidence, was associated with the highest rate of obtaining independent help is in line with the findings for all five component capabilities.

Table 3.5. **Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and problem-solving strategy (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)**

Composite skill/ confidence level	Broad problem-solving strategy							
	Did nothing		Handled alone / Informal help from family or friends		Independent help		Legal service independent help	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lowest	20	5.7%	136	37.5%	92	25.4%	114	31.4%
Low	44	4.8%	394	42.8%	289	31.4%	193	21.0%
Higher	31	3.8%	419	50.8%	254	30.8%	121	14.7%
Highest	7	2.1%	162	47.8%	76	22.4%	94	27.7%

92   Testing the GLC model terms together fell marginally short of significance; $\chi^2_6 = 12.16$, p = 0.059, though the pattern shown in the bivariate relationship remained.

When problem type, respondents' demographic characteristics and composite attitudes were controlled, the association between strategy and composite skill/confidence level fell short of statistical significance.[93] With the relationship shown in Figure 3.6 weakened, as set out in Table 3.10, particularly as regards inaction.

Figure 3.6. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and problem-solving strategy
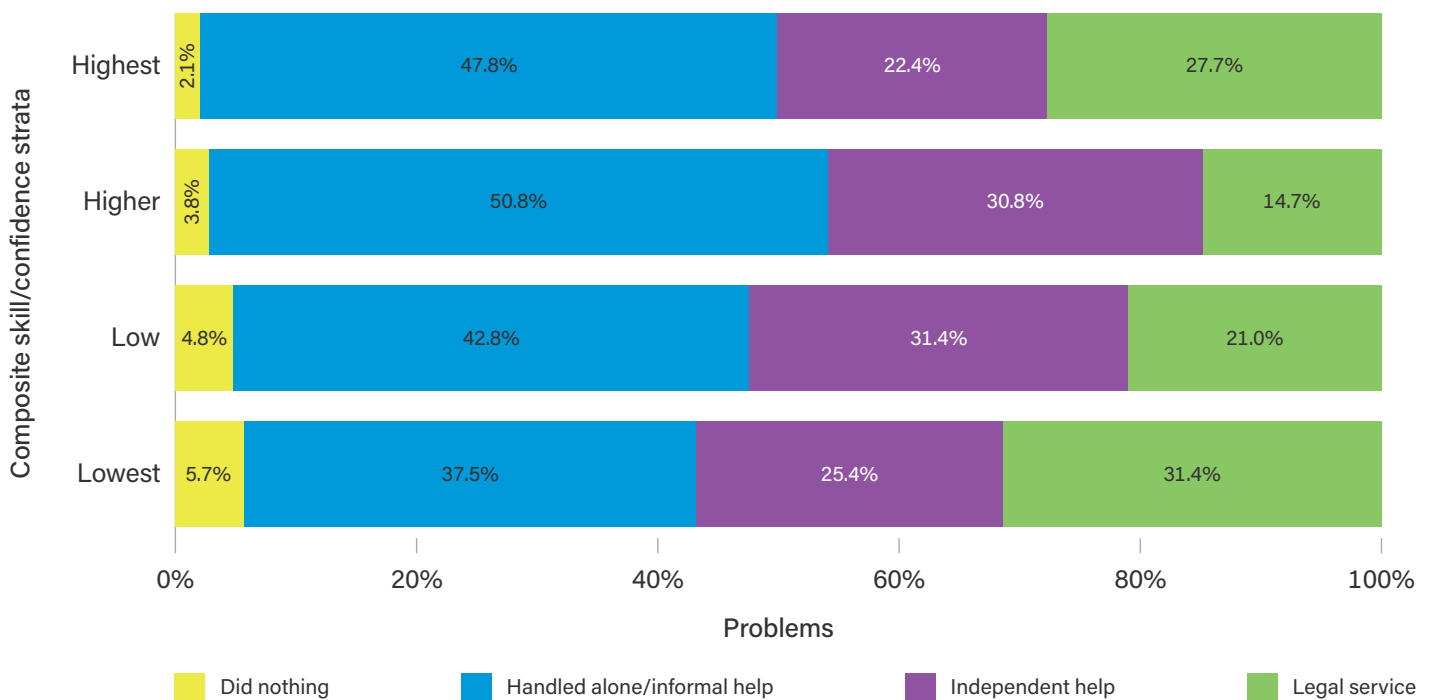
Thus, though some of the findings in this section suggest that lower levels of legal skill/confidence may act as a barrier to taking action to deal with justiciable problems, there is slightly stronger evidence that, once action is taken, lower skill/confidence increase people's perceived need for help and the likelihood of obtaining help. The idea that obtaining help decreases levels of skill doesn't seem plausible, although the situation is likely to be different for general legal confidence.

93   Testing the composite skills/confidence model terms simultaneously; $\chi^2_6 = 14.61$, p = 0.10.

Attitudes to justice and justiciable problem-solving strategies

This section looks at the relationship between the attitude-related capability dimensions explored in PULS Volume 2 (narratives of law, perceptions of the inaccessibility of lawyers and trust in lawyers) and people's problem-solving strategies, as detailed in Table 3.6. It then looks at the relationship between the level of composite attitude-related legal capability (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and people's problem-solving strategies.

Table 3.6. Bivariate relationship between attitudes to law/lawyers and problem-solving strategy (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

| Legal capability | Level | Broad problem-solving strategy | | | | | | | |
| | | Did nothing | | Handled alone / Informal help from family or friends | | Independent help | | Legal service independent help | |
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Remote narrative	Low	64	3.5%	830	46.1%	522	29.0%	384	21.4%
	High	23	5.2%	176	40.4%	161	37.1%	75	17.3%
Resist narrative	Low	74	3.9%	913	48.3%	572	30.3%	329	17.4%
	High	15	4.3%	98	28.5%	95	27.5%	137	39.8%
Practical narrative	Low	62	4.8%	574	44.7%	353	27.5%	296	23.0%
	High	33	3.5%	424	44.6%	310	32.6%	183	19.3%
Game narrative	Low	58	4.4%	635	48.8%	364	28.0%	245	18.8%
	High	25	2.6%	372	38.9%	327	34.3%	231	24.2%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata	Low	10	2.4%	225	52.9%	113	26.6%	77	18.1%
	Medium	66	5.0%	622	47.1%	380	28.8%	252	19.1%
	High	26	3.6%	272	37.8%	228	31.7%	194	26.9%
Trust in lawyers	Low	43	4.1%	433	41.3%	326	31.0%	247	23.6%
	High	54	4.7%	556	48.1%	337	29.1%	209	18.0%

As can be seen from Table 3.5 and Figures 3.1 to 3.9, different levels of adherence to each of the four narratives of law and attitude levels were associated with different patterns of problem resolution strategy. However, as with skills and confidence levels, fewer associations were observed once problem type and demographics were accounted for.

Narratives of law

Figure 3.7 shows the strong bivariate relationship observed between PULS respondents' narratives of law and broad problem-solving strategy. As can be seen, those who more strongly adhered to any of the four broad narratives — that law is a game, that it is a practical tool, that it is something to resist and that it is something remote from everyday life — were in all instances more likely to have obtained independent help, though not always legal services.

Interpretation of this finding is not straightforward, as it is likely that narratives both inform and are informed by experiences of problems, services and dispute resolution processes. For example, the narratives that law is a game played by the parties and/or a practical means to resolve problems might be expected to lead people to more often access independent help, particularly legal services. However, these narratives might also be expected to stem from or be strengthened by the use of law or legal services.

Figure 3.7. Bivariate relationship between level of adherence to narratives of law and problem-solving strategy
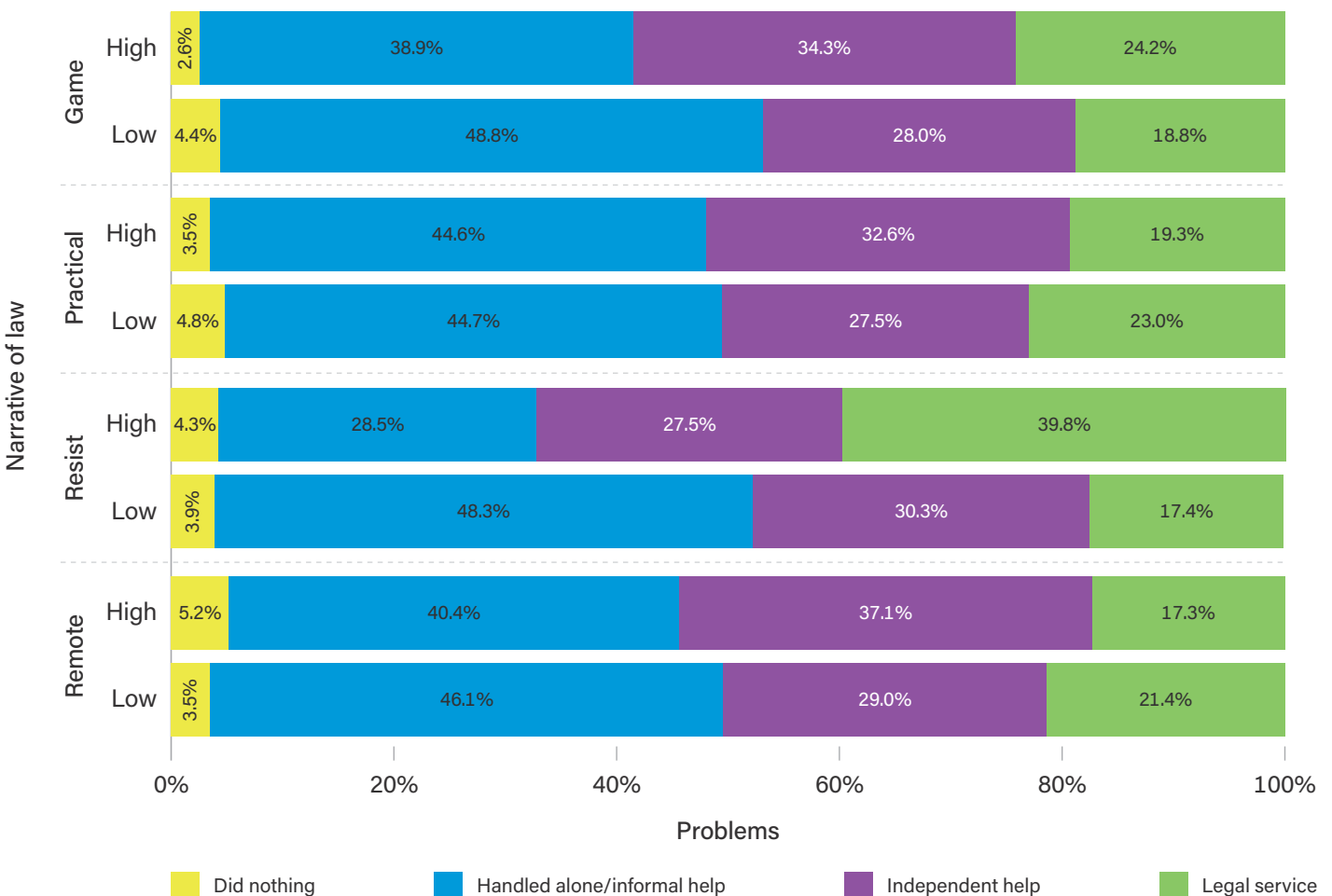
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Perhaps the most dramatic of the findings was that people who regarded law as something to be resisted much more often obtained independent help, particularly from legal services, than those who did not. In fact, almost 40% of those who adhered to the 'resist' narrative of law obtained help from legal services — far more than the 17% of those who didn't, and much more than adherents of any other narrative. However, interpreting this finding is problematic. While it might seem that seeing law as something to 'fight against', 'resist' and/or as 'the last place ... [to] turn for help' would lessen the likelihood that somebody would seek help from a legal service, seeing law in this way might also fuel desire to use any means necessary to resist legal processes.

As will be seen in the following chapters, the experience of law (and justiciable problems more generally) among those associated with the 'resist' narrative is atypical. Adherents of the 'resist' narrative were much more often involved in court or tribunal proceedings initiated by the other party or a third party than were others (12% of problems, compared to 5%). These proceedings accounted for 28% of their legal service use. Adherents of the 'resist' narrative also slightly less often initiated such proceedings (5% of problems, compared to 6%).

When problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics were controlled for in multivariate models, the associations between the 'remote', 'resist' and 'game' narratives and strategy were statistically significant, while the relationship between the 'practical' narrative and strategy was not.[94] As shown in Table 3.10, for the remote and 'game' narratives, controlling for other variables had little bearing on the relationship, while for the 'resist' narrative, the general pattern of the relationship was retained, though the strength was somewhat weakened.

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94 Testing the remote narrative terms; χ^2_3 = 12.16, p = 0.007. Testing the resist narrative terms; χ^2_3 = 15.36, p = 0.002. Testing the practical narrative terms; χ^2_3 = 3.52, p = 0.32. Testing the game narrative terms; χ^2_3 = 10.03, p = 0.018.

Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers

Figure 3.8 shows the strong bivariate relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and broad problem-solving strategy. In this case, there is a much stronger suggestion that use of legal services fuels negative attitudes towards law.

As can be seen, those who saw law as most accessible (low PIL scale strata) handled the majority of problems they faced alone or with informal help from family and friends. As a result, as well as being less likely than others to take no action to resolve problems, they also less often obtained independent help, including from legal services. So, while just 18% of PULS respondents in the low PIL scale stratum used legal services, the figure was 27% for those in the high PIL scale stratum.

Figure 3.8. **Bivariate relationship between and Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and problem-solving strategy**
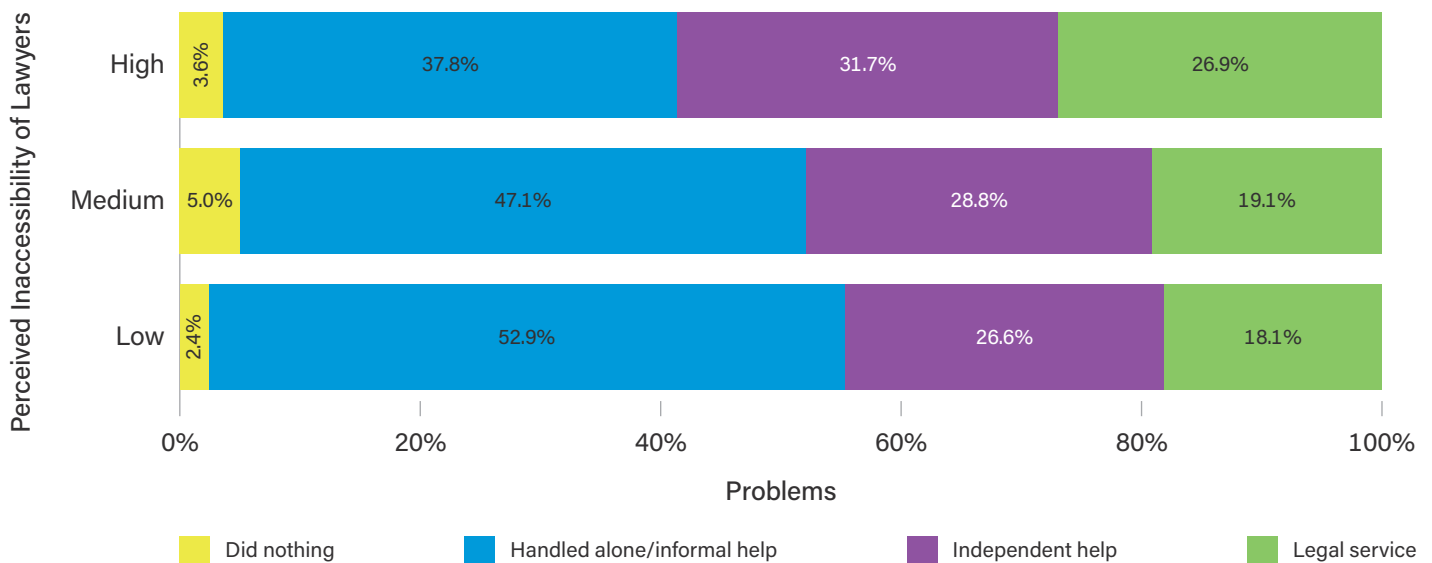
Interestingly, once problem type and respondents' demographic characteristics were controlled for in a multivariate model, the association between perceived inaccessibility of lawyers and strategy fell well short of statistical significance,[95] with the significantly weakened relationship set out in Table 3.10.

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95   Testing the PIL model terms simultaneously; $\chi^2_6 = 6.47$, p = 0.37.

Trust in lawyers

Figure 3.9 shows a similar strong bivariate relationship between trust in personal lawyers and broad problem-solving strategy. Again, this suggests that among those with problems, use of legal services relates to more negative attitudes towards law, with the low trust group more often having accessed legal services than the high trust group.

Figure 3.9. Bivariate relationship between trust in personal lawyers and problem-solving strategy
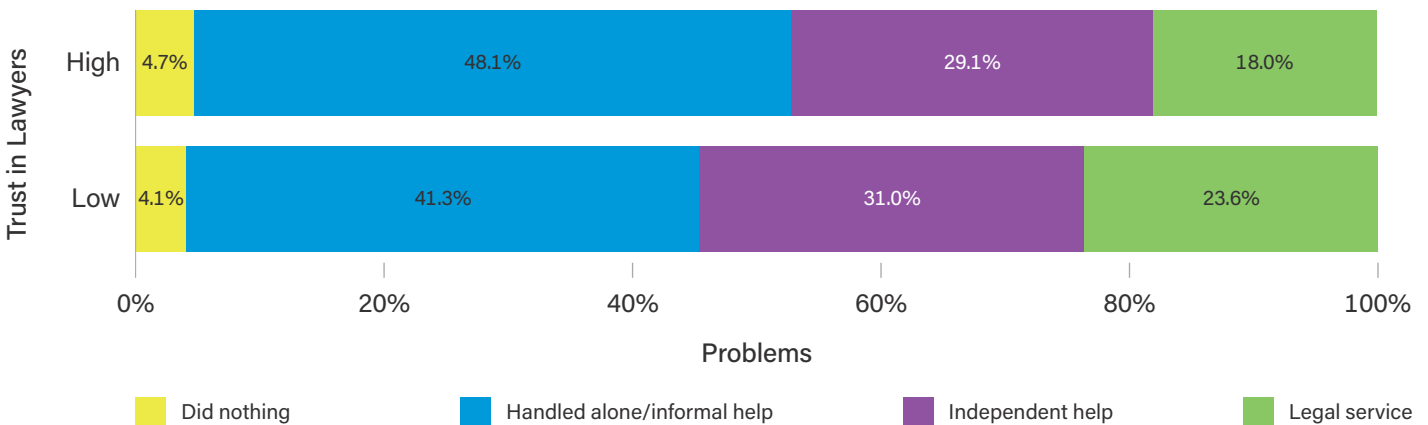
As with perceived inaccessibility of lawyers, the relationship between trust and strategy became clearly non-significant once problem type and respondent's characteristics were controlled for,[96] with the bivariate and multivariate relationships contrasted in Table 3.10.

Composite attitude level

Table 3.7 and Figure 3.10 show how the composite attitude strata detailed in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2 related to broad problem-solving strategy. Based on the simple bivariate relationship illustrated, greater use of independent help can broadly be seen to be associated with more negative attitudes towards law and lawyers.

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96   Testing the trust model terms together; $\chi^2_6 = 0.75$, p = 0.86.

Table 3.7. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and problem-solving strategy (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Composite attitude level	Broad problem-solving strategy							
	Did nothing		Handled alone / Informal help from family or friends		Independent help		Legal service independent help	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Most negative	11	2.8%	143	36.9%	134	34.6%	100	25.7%
Negative	44	5.1%	336	39.0%	284	33.0%	197	22.9%
Positive	12	2.8%	265	58.7%	128	28.3%	46	10.2%
Most positive	1	0.8%	90	52.0%	50	28.7%	32	18.5%

Figure 3.10. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and problem-solving strategy
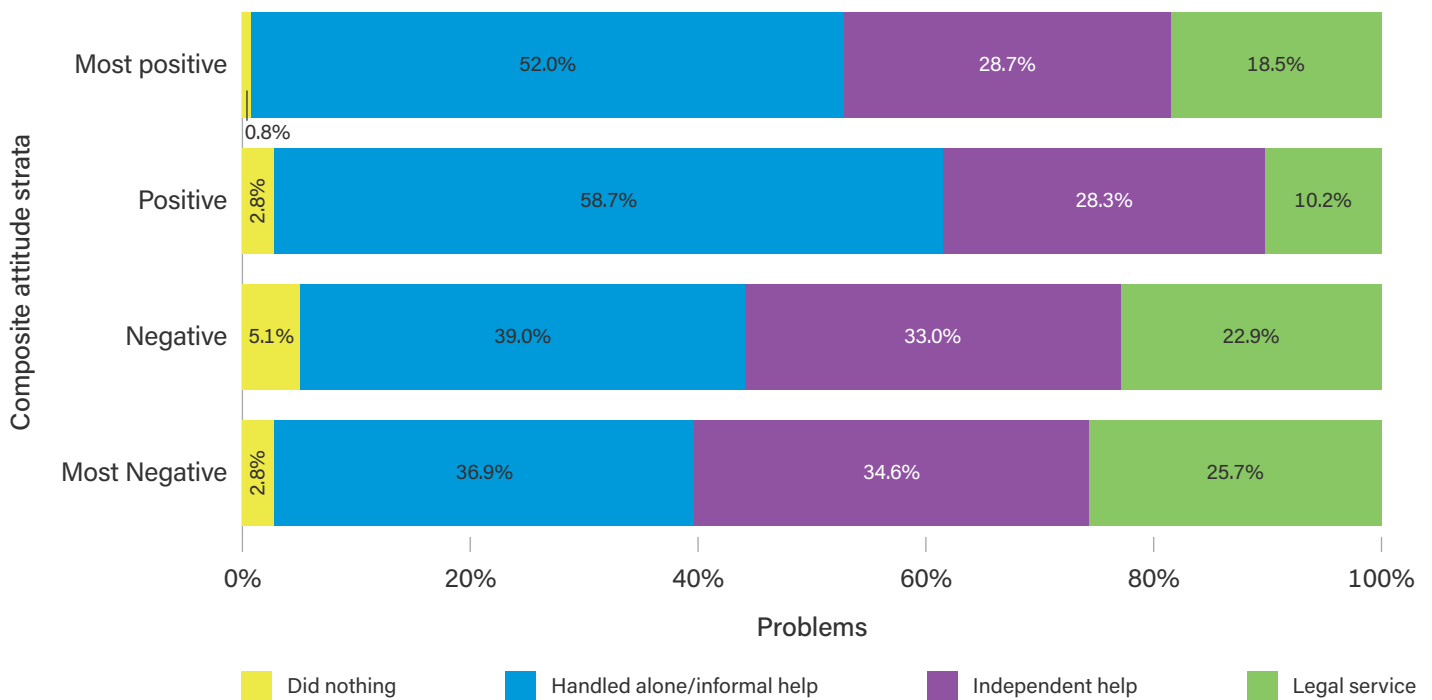
Composite attitude retained a significant association with problem-solving strategy, even after controlling for problem type, demographics and composite skills/confidence.[97] The bivariate relationship is contrasted with the relationship derived from a multivariate model controlling for other variables in Table 3.10.

97   Testing the composite attitude model terms simultaneously; $\chi^2_9 = 24.33$, p = 0.004.

Skills, confidence and attitude combined

Table 3.8 and Figure 3.11 show how combined composite skill/confidence and attitude levels related to broad problem-solving strategy. As can be seen, negative attitudes were associated with greater use of independent help, particularly from legal services, whatever PULS respondents' levels of legal skill/confidence. Then, for those with either generally negative or positive attitudes, lower skill/confidence was associated with greater use of independent help, including from legal services.

Positive attitudes were associated with a greater level of self-help, whatever PULS respondents' levels of legal skill/confidence. For those with either generally negative or positive attitudes, higher skill/confidence was associated with a greater level of self-help.

Finally, negative attitudes were associated with more inaction, whatever PULS respondents' levels of legal skill/confidence. For those with either generally negative or positive attitudes lower skill/confidence was associated with more inaction.

Table 3.8. **Bivariate relationship between combined composite skill/confidence and attitude and problem-solving strategy (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)**

Composite skill and attitude level	Broad problem-solving strategy							
	Did nothing		Handled alone / Informal help from family or friends		Independent help		Legal service independent help	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lower skill, more negative attitude	29	4.0%	258	36.0%	241	33.7%	188	26.3%
Higher skill, more negative attitude	26	4.9%	218	41.4%	175	33.1%	109	20.6%
Lower skill, more positive attitude	4	2.0%	117	55.2%	62	29.4%	28	13.4%
Higher skill, more positive attitude	10	2.4%	237	58.4%	110	27.2%	49	12.0%

Having controlled for problem type and demographic characteristics, the overall relationship between combined composite skills and attitudes and strategy fell just short of statistical significance,[98] though there were individual statistically significance model terms. For example, compared to the 'lower skill, more negative attitude' group, those in the 'lower skill, more positive attitude' and, particularly, the 'higher skill, more positive attitude' groups were significantly more likely to have handled their problem alone, rather than obtain independent help.[99] Comparing the bivariate and multivariate output in Table 3.10 shows that while differences in percentages obtaining independent legal advice were much reduced, positive attitudes continued to be associated with a greater percentage handling problems alone and a lower percentage obtaining independent help.

Figure 3.11. Bivariate relationship between combined composite skill/confidence and attitude and problem-solving strategy
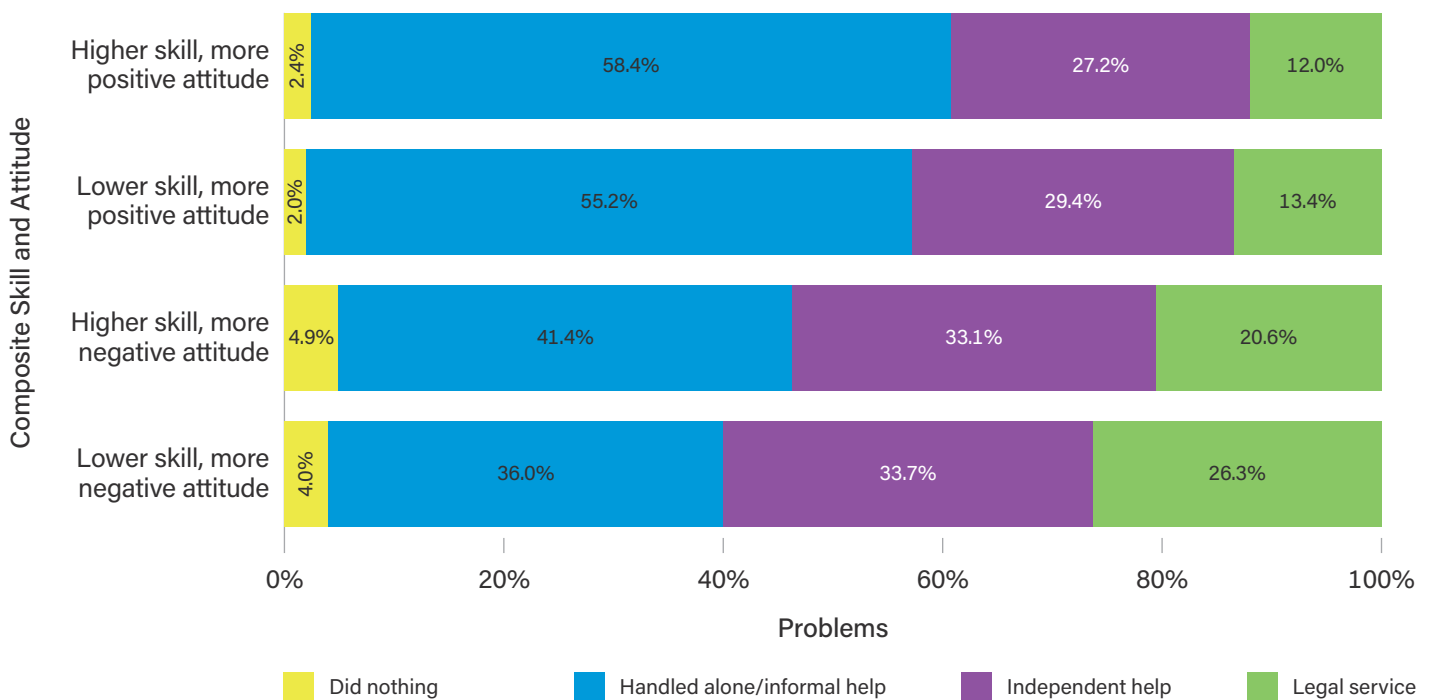
Again, it is important to recognise that PULS survey data is not well-suited to determining causal pathways, but the findings in this section start to point to a picture of lower skilled and lower confidence people seeking independent help more often, but sometimes become more negative in their attitudes towards law and lawyers as a result of their experience of problems and the help they obtain.

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98 Testing the combined composite skills and attitudes model terms simultaneously; $\chi^2_9 = 15.90$, p = 0.069.
99 z = 1.99, p = 0.046 and z = 2.61, p = 0.009 respectively.

Multivariate modelling of the relationship between legal capability and problem-solving strategy

Fitting a model including problem type and social and demographic variables, but no capability variables resulted in an R^2 of 0.200 and an AIC of 4870.53. Adding all capability variables to the model as main effects increased the R^2 to 0.287 and reduced the AIC to 3293.81, indicating a superior model with a better fit. Both measures suggested that legal capability variables made an important contribution to predicting problem-solving strategy, in addition to the contribution made by problem type and demographic characteristics. Having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities, perceived relevance of law, 'remote' narrative, and 'resist' narrative variables retained a significant relationship with broad strategy,[100] while the 'game' narrative model terms fell marginally short of statistical significance.[101]

If instead of all capability measures, a composite skill and a composite attitude variable were introduced into the model alongside problem type and demographics, this resulted in an R^2 of 0.256 and an AIC of 3493.88. Again, introducing legal capability into the model resulted in a better model. This is the same model as referenced in analysis of the relationship between composite attitudes and problem-solving strategy above, with (having controlled for other variables) a non-significant relationship between skills and strategy,[102] and a highly significant relationship between attitudes and strategy.[103]

If a single four category skill and attitude composite measure was introduced alongside problem type and demographics rather than individual skills and attitudes measures, this also resulted in a superior model compared to the model without legal capability measures, with an R^2 of 0.247 and an AIC of 3517.82. Having controlled for other variables, the overall relationship between the combined four category skills and attitudes measure and broad strategy fell short of statistical significance (i.e. testing combined composite model terms together),[104] though as can be seen in the full statistical output in the appendices, there were individual statistically significant model terms.

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100 Testing the Law scale variables together; $\chi^2_6 = 20.21$, p = 0.003. Testing the remote narrative variables together; $\chi^2_3 = 10.83$, p = 0.013. Testing the resist narrative variables together; $\chi^2_3 = 12.19$, p = 0.007.

101 Testing the game narrative variables together; $\chi^2_2 = 7.55$, p = 0.056. Note, that there were individual significant terms associated with the game narrative as can be seen in the full statistical output tables in the appendices.

102 Testing the composite skills model terms; $\chi^2_9 = 14.61$, p = 0.10.

103 Testing the composite attitudes model terms; $\chi^2_9 = 24.33$, p = 0.004.

104 Testing the combined skills and attitudes model terms; $\chi^2_9 = 15.90$, p = 0.069.

As discussed above for both individual legal capabilities and composite measures, the fact that capability made a significant contribution to understanding problem-solving strategy did not mean that individual relationships were unaffected by the introduction of other variables. In fact, in some cases, strong and significant relationships became clearly non-significant once other variables were introduced. Simple bivariate findings are contrasted with estimates derived from multivariate models (controlling for other variables) in Table 3.9 for individual legal capabilities and in Table 3.10 for composite measures. Specifically, Table 3.9 shows the bivariate relationship between each capability and problem-solving strategy, followed by the relationship between each capability and strategy having controlled for problem type and demographics, before finally showing the relationship between each capability and strategy having controlled for problem type, demographics *and* other capabilities. Table 3.10 shows the bivariate relationship between composite legal capability measures and strategy, followed by the relationship having controlled for problem type and demographics.

In summary, whether legal capability was entered into the model as individual variables or as composite variables, it made a significant contribution to predicting the broad problem-solving strategy adopted by respondents, even having controlled for problem type and demographics.

Statistical models referenced in this section are set out in full in Appendix 1.

Table 3.9. The relationship between individual legal capabilities and problem-solving strategy in simple bivariate terms, having controlled for problem type and demographics, and having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Legal capability	Level	Bivariate relationship				Controlling for problem type, demographics and individual capabilities				Controlling for problem type, demographics and all capabilities			
		Did nothing	Handled alone / Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help	Did nothing	Handled alone / Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help	Did nothing	Handled alone / Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Relevance of Law (LAW)	Low relevance	4.6%	33.0%	31.7%	30.7%	4.1%	35.3%	32.8%	27.8%	4.7%	33.3%	34.1%	27.9%
	Medium relevance	4.3%	47.4%	27.7%	20.7%	4.4%	46.9%	27.7%	21.0%	3.2%	45.5%	31.1%	20.3%
	High relevance	3.7%	50.0%	30.3%	15.9%	4.0%	50.6%	29.2%	16.2%	4.5%	50.1%	29.9%	15.5%
Knowledge	Low	6.0%	43.5%	25.5%	25.0%	5.2%	42.6%	29.6%	22.5%	6.0%	45.0%	29.0%	19.9%
	Medium	4.0%	45.8%	30.4%	19.8%	4.0%	46.7%	29.2%	20.0%	3.6%	46.0%	31.7%	18.7%
	High	3.1%	46.3%	29.1%	21.4%	3.6%	45.8%	28.4%	22.1%	2.4%	42.2%	32.1%	23.4%
Practical Legal Literacy (PLL)	Adequate (no issues)	5.8%	46.2%	28.8%	19.3%	4.7%	43.7%	27.9%	23.7%	5.7%	40.6%	33.2%	20.6%
	Adequate (some issues)	3.5%	47.2%	29.0%	20.3%	3.3%	46.0%	29.2%	21.5%	3.4%	45.8%	29.8%	21.0%
	Marginal	2.8%	49.7%	31.3%	16.3%	3.8%	51.0%	28.2%	17.1%	2.8%	48.4%	32.9%	15.9%
	Inadequate	8.4%	25.8%	25.5%	40.2%	11.2%	34.4%	31.8%	22.5%	5.1%	35.6%	36.6%	22.7%
Digital Capability for Law (DCL)	No support	3.4%	45.6%	29.7%	21.2%	3.4%	46.3%	29.4%	20.9%	3.6%	44.5%	30.7%	21.2%
	Minor support	5.2%	49.1%	28.1%	17.6%	5.3%	47.8%	28.5%	18.5%	4.3%	47.1%	33.1%	15.5%
	Major support	5.5%	40.8%	28.6%	25.1%	5.6%	41.5%	29.1%	23.8%	3.6%	41.8%	32.5%	22.1%
General Legal Confidence (GLC)	Low	2.3%	44.1%	31.8%	21.9%	2.6%	45.9%	29.7%	21.9%	2.6%	46.3%	28.5%	22.6%
	Medium	5.3%	46.2%	29.7%	18.8%	5.3%	46.7%	30.0%	18.1%	3.8%	44.2%	33.5%	18.5%
	High	3.4%	45.1%	25.9%	25.6%	3.3%	43.9%	27.0%	25.9%	4.6%	44.8%	29.6%	20.9%
Remote narrative	Low	3.5%	46.1%	29.0%	21.4%	3.5%	45.6%	29.2%	21.7%	3.5%	44.8%	29.8%	21.8%
	High	5.2%	40.4%	37.1%	17.3%	5.8%	43.8%	36.1%	14.4%	4.7%	44.0%	37.2%	14.1%
Resist narrative	Low	3.9%	48.3%	30.3%	17.4%	4.0%	47.7%	29.7%	18.6%	3.7%	46.5%	31.5%	18.3%
	High	4.3%	28.5%	27.5%	39.8%	4.4%	33.1%	32.2%	30.3%	4.0%	34.7%	31.5%	29.8%
Practical narrative	Low	4.8%	44.7%	27.5%	23.0%	5.2%	45.6%	28.3%	20.9%	4.4%	45.2%	29.7%	20.7%
	High	3.5%	44.6%	32.6%	19.3%	3.2%	44.0%	31.2%	21.6%	3.1%	44.3%	33.3%	19.3%
Game narrative	Low	4.4%	48.8%	28.0%	18.8%	4.2%	48.0%	28.3%	19.6%	4.5%	47.1%	29.2%	19.2%
	High	2.6%	38.9%	34.3%	24.2%	2.9%	40.5%	33.7%	22.9%	2.7%	41.2%	34.6%	21.5%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	2.4%	52.9%	26.6%	18.1%	2.2%	47.9%	26.8%	23.1%	2.9%	45.1%	29.7%	22.3%
	Medium	5.0%	47.1%	28.8%	19.1%	5.1%	45.8%	28.8%	20.2%	4.1%	43.3%	31.9%	20.6%
	High	3.6%	37.8%	31.7%	26.9%	3.8%	43.5%	31.2%	21.5%	3.5%	47.4%	30.8%	18.3%
Trust in lawyers	Low	4.1%	41.3%	31.0%	23.6%	4.4%	43.7%	30.9%	20.9%	4.0%	44.4%	32.1%	19.6%
	High	4.7%	48.1%	29.1%	18.0%	4.5%	46.3%	29.3%	20.0%	3.5%	45.1%	30.7%	20.7%

Table 3.10. The relationship between composite legal capability and problem-solving strategy, in simple bivariate terms and having controlled for problem type and demographics (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Level		Bivariate relationships				Controlling for problem type and demographics			
		Did nothing	Handled alone/ Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help	Did nothing	Handled alone/ Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Composite skill/ confidence level	Lowest skill	5.7%	37.5%	25.4%	31.4%	3.0%	36.4%	33.9%	26.6%
	Low skill	4.8%	42.8%	31.4%	21.0%	4.4%	46.1%	31.3%	18.1%
	Higher skill	3.8%	50.8%	30.8%	14.7%	3.2%	46.9%	33.6%	16.3%
	Highest skill	2.1%	47.8%	22.4%	27.7%	4.0%	42.4%	27.1%	26.5%
Composite attitude level	Most negative attitude	2.8%	36.9%	34.6%	25.7%	2.5%	43.7%	33.8%	20.0%
	Negative attitude	5.1%	39.0%	33.0%	22.9%	5.2%	39.5%	34.0%	21.3%
	Positive attitude	2.8%	58.7%	28.3%	10.2%	3.0%	53.4%	27.9%	15.7%
	Most positive attitude	0.8%	52.0%	28.7%	18.5%	1.0%	49.6%	28.9%	20.6%
Composite skill and attitude level	Lower skill, more negative attitude	4.0%	36.0%	33.7%	26.3%	4.6%	40.0%	34.0%	21.4%
	Higher skill, more negative attitude	4.9%	41.4%	33.1%	20.6%	3.9%	41.1%	34.6%	20.3%
	Lower skill, more positive attitude	2.0%	55.2%	29.4%	13.4%	2.5%	51.9%	28.0%	17.6%
	Higher skill, more positive attitude	2.4%	58.4%	27.2%	12.0%	2.4%	53.3%	27.4%	16.8%

4. Legal Capability and Process

This chapter sets out PULS findings concerning the relationship between general legal capability and use of the main informal and formal processes employed to resolve justiciable problems, with a particular focus on the use of courts and tribunals, whether initiated by PULS respondents, the 'other side' in the problems they faced or third parties. There were significant bivariate relationships between most capability measures and involvement of, particularly, court or tribunal process in problem resolution, with the lowest levels of skill and most negative attitudes being associated with the highest level of involvement.

However, while low skills and negative attitudes were associated with high levels of court and tribunal process, they were also associated with process being initiated by 'the other side'. PULS respondents with high skills and positive attitudes were associated with initiating such process. In broad terms, being taken to court is more common for those with lower skill levels and the experience appears to bring about or exacerbate negative attitudes.

As described in PULS Volume 1, independent of the strategies that people adopt to resolve justiciable problems, problems can involve the use of one or more of a wide range of informal and formal dispute resolution processes.[105] Some are community based, while others comprise the central pillars of the formal justice system.

The most commonly reported process reported by PULS respondents was communication between the parties. This occurred in the course of 83% of problems. Forty-two per cent of problems involved other forms of process, with 88% of these problems also involving communication between the parties.

This chapter sets out the relationship between legal capability and the involvement in problem resolution of the main institutionalised forms of informal and formal dispute resolution process: court and tribunal proceedings (involved in the resolution of 11.5% of PULS sample problems), referral to ombudsmen, regulators and enforcement authorities (12.4% of problems) and mediation, conciliation and arbitration (14.6% of problems). It looks first at overall patterns of involvement, then separately at involvement initiated by PULS respondents and involvement initiated by others.

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105 Full details of the frequency of use of such processes can be found in Volume 1, at p.119.

Skills, confidence and process

This section looks in turn at the relationship between the five skills and confidence-related legal capability dimensions investigated by the PULS and the involvement in problem resolution of the main institutionalised forms of informal and formal dispute resolution process, as detailed in Table 4.1. It also looks at the relationship between levels of composite skills/confidence (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and the involvement of these dispute resolution processes.

For four of the five skills and confidence-related legal capabilities explored through the PULS there were significant differences in the rates of 'court or tribunal' and 'mediation, conciliation or arbitration' involvement in justiciable problem resolution by capability level. For Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata, general knowledge of the content of law, practical legal literacy and General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata, PULS respondents with the lowest level of skills or confidence most often reported that problems involved one or both of these processes.[106] There was no statistically significant difference in rates for digital capability for law groups.

Table 4.1. Bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capability and involvement of dispute resolution processes (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Legal capability	Level	Court or tribunal	Ombudsman, regulator, enforcement authority	Mediation, conciliation or arbitration
Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low	19.5%	12.3%	21.9%
	Medium	9.5%	12.8%	13.9%
	High	10.1%	11.8%	11.1%
Legal knowledge	Low	19.0%	13.0%	19.6%
	Medium	8.6%	13.3%	12.9%
	High	12.9%	9.5%	14.6%
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	8.0%	6.2%	9.8%
	Adequate (some issues)	11.4%	14.5%	14.0%
	Marginal	11.8%	6.7%	9.4%
	Inadequate	18.8%	22.9%	37.6%
Digital capability for law	No support	12.0%	14.3%	15.2%
	Minor support	11.0%	7.0%	13.3%
	Major support	10.8%	12.3%	14.1%
General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	16.5%	12.8%	17.1%
	Medium	10.1%	12.6%	14.0%
	High	10.3%	11.8%	13.5%

106 Testing the bivariate relationships (court or tribunal process): $\chi^2_2 = 34.56$, $p < 0.001$ (LAW scale strata); $\chi^2_2 = 38.64$, $p < 0.001$ (knowledge); $\chi^2_3 = 17.39$, $p < 0.001$ (practical legal literacy); $\chi^2_2 = 16.36$, $p < 0.001$ (GLC scale strata). Testing the bivariate relationships (mediation, etc.): $\chi^2_2 = 27.94$, $p < 0.001$ (LAW scale strata); $\chi^2_2 = 12.54$, $p < 0.01$ (knowledge); $\chi^2_3 = 117.03$, $p < 0.001$ (practical legal literacy).

As can be seen in Table 4.1, while 20% of those in the low LAW scale stratum reported that their sample problem involved court or tribunal proceedings, the figure was just 10% for those in the high stratum.[107] For mediation, conciliation or arbitration, the figures were 22% and 11% respectively.[108]

The story was similar for general knowledge of the content of law, with 19% of those in the low knowledge stratum reporting court or tribunal proceedings, compared to just 13% for those in the high stratum (with figures of 20% and 15%, respectively, for mediation, conciliation or arbitration).[109] For practical legal literacy, 19% of those in the 'inadequate' group reported court or tribunal proceedings, compared to 8% for those in the 'adequate (no issues)' group (with figures of 38% and 10%, respectively, for mediation, conciliation or arbitration).[110] For legal confidence, 17% of those in the low GLC scale stratum reported court or tribunal proceedings, compared to 8% for those in the high stratum (with figures of 17% and 14%, respectively, for mediation, conciliation or arbitration).[111]

As shown by Table 4.2, these individual results were reflected more broadly in the significant relationships observed between composite skill/confidence and both 'court or tribunal' and 'mediation, conciliation or arbitration' involvement in justiciable problem resolution.[112]

In the case of mediation, conciliation or arbitration, the nature of the relationship is straightforward. Use of process increases as skill/confidence decreases. While 20% of those with the lowest level of skill/confidence reported the use of mediation, conciliation or arbitration as part of problem resolution, the figure was just 12% for those with the highest level.[113]

Table 4.2. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and involvement of dispute resolution processes (percentages of all problems, darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Composite skill/ confidence level	Court or tribunal	Ombudsman, regulator, enforcement authority	Mediation, conciliation or arbitration
Lowest	18.5%	11.9%	20.4%
Low	10.5%	13.2%	15.6%
Higher	9.4%	12.9%	12.5%
Highest	12.8%	10.2%	11.8%

107 The largest absolute value residual of 5.0 was for the low relevance/court or tribunal cell.
108 The largest absolute value residual of 4.2 was for the low relevance/court or tribunal cell.
109 The largest absolute value residuals were 4.8 for the low knowledge/court or tribunal cell and 2.8 for the low knowledge/mediation etc. cell.
110 The largest absolute value residuals were 17.39 for the inadequate/court or tribunal cell and 9.2 for the inadequate/mediation etc. cell.
111 The largest absolute value residual of 3.4 was for the low confidence/court or tribunal cell.
112 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_3 = 22.16$, $p < 0.001$.
113 The largest absolute value residual of 2.8 was for the lowest/mediation etc. cell.

4. Legal Capability and Process

However, a more complex relationship was observed between composite skill/confidence and court or tribunal proceedings. Here, while the lowest skill/confidence level was still associated with the highest level of court or tribunal involvement, the lowest level of involvement was associated with the middle levels.[114] This can also be seen for the majority of the individual measures set out in Table 4.1.

Looking deeper into this relationship, it is evident that who initiates court or tribunal proceedings is an important additional factor. As is clear from Table 4.3, those with the lowest level of skill/confidence were far more likely than others to have court or tribunal proceedings brought against them, while those with the highest level were far more likely than others to have brought court or tribunal proceedings against others.[115] When PULS respondents with the lowest level of skill/confidence reported that justiciable problems had involved court or tribunal proceedings, they had initiated the proceedings on 32% of occasions and had proceedings brought against them on 45% of occasions.[116] The corresponding figures for those with the highest level of skill/confidence were 70% and 12%.[117] So, while those with the lowest level of skill/confidence reported relatively high levels of court or tribunal process on account of such process being used against them, those with the highest level of skill/confidence reported elevated levels of court or tribunal process on account of using such process against others.

Table 4.3. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and court and tribunal process, by initiating party[118] (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

| Composite skill/ confidence level | Initiation of court/tribunal process | | | | | |
| | You (the respondent) | | The other party | | Third party | |
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lowest	21	31.9%	30	44.9%	16	23.2%
Low	50	52.4%	24	25.1%	22	22.5%
Higher	38	48.9%	17	21.2%	23	29.9%
Highest	30	70.1%	5	12.1%	8	17.8%

114 The largest absolute value residual of 3.8 was for the lowest/court or tribunal cell.

115 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_6 = 22.40$, $p < 0.001$.

116 The residuals were -2.1 and 2.9, respectively.

117 The residuals were 2.0 and 1.9, respectively.

118 Respondents were asked across a range of processes "Who initially took this action or got these organisations involved?" Third party here includes both "the third party responsible for the process" and "another third party".

Table 4.4 sets out the relationship between each of the five individual skill/confidence-related legal capability measures and the initiation of court or tribunal process. As can be seen, the picture is not so clear as that suggested by Table 4.3. However, a very similar and distinct pattern can be seen in the case of practical legal literacy. Moreover, the other party to disputes was much more often reported to have initiated court or tribunal process by respondents in the lowest LAW scale and general knowledge strata than by respondents in the highest LAW scale and general knowledge strata.

Table 4.4. **Bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capability and court and tribunal process, by initiating party (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)**

| Legal capability | Level | Initiation of court/tribunal process | | | | | |
| | | You (the respondent) | | The other party | | Third party | |
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low relevance	45	49.4%	43	47.1%	3	3.5%
	Medium relevance	59	48.3%	17	14.3%	46	37.5%
	High relevance	38	51.1%	17	22.5%	19	26.4%
Legal knowledge	Low	41	45.1%	30	32.8%	20	22.1%
	Medium	68	54.2%	30	23.9%	27	21.9%
	High	32	46.1%	17	24.4%	21	29.5%
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	13	40.9%	9	28.1%	10	31.0%
	Adequate (some issues)	89	57.9%	19	12.2%	46	29.8%
	Marginal	28	51.7%	16	30.4%	10	17.9%
	Inadequate	10	23.0%	32	71.0%	3	6.0%
Digital capability for law	No support	102	56.6%	46	25.4%	33	18.1%
	Minor support	15	26.1%	25	43.6%	17	30.3%
	Major support	24	49.7%	6	12.6%	18	37.7%
General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	49	55.7%	16	18.6%	23	25.8%
	Medium	53	39.8%	46	35.1%	33	25.1%
	High	39	60.2%	14	21.2%	12	18.7%

Attitudes and process

This section looks at the relationship between the attitude-related capability dimensions explored in the PULS and the use of the main informal and formal dispute resolution processes employed in the resolution of justiciable problems. It also looks at the relationship between levels of composite attitude-related legal capability (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and the use of dispute resolution processes.

As shown by Table 4.5, for two of the four narratives of law explored through the PULS there were significant differences in the rates of 'court or tribunal' involvement in justiciable problem resolution by level of adherence to the narrative. Those who adhered to the 'resist' narrative much more often reported having been involved in court or tribunal proceedings in relation to their sample problem, compared to those who didn't adhere to the narrative (18% of problems, compared to 11%).[119] In contrast, those who adhered to the 'practical' narrative much less often reported having been involved in court or tribunal proceedings, compared to those who didn't adhere to the narrative (9% of problems, compared to 15%).[120]

Those who adhered to the 'resist' narrative also much more often reported having been involved in mediation, conciliation or arbitration than those who didn't (30% of problems, compared to 13%).[121] Similarly, those who adhered to the 'game' narrative much more often reported having been involved in mediation, conciliation or arbitration than those who didn't (20% of problems, compared to 12%).[122]

Turning to attitudes to lawyers, those who fell into the high PIL scale stratum (who regarded lawyers as less accessible) had much more often been involved in court or tribunal proceedings than those in the medium or low strata (17% of sample problems, compared to 10% and 8% respectively).[123] Those who fell into the high PIL scale stratum had also much more often been involved in mediation, conciliation or arbitration than those in the medium or low strata (25%, 11% and 8% respectively).[124] Similarly lower trust in lawyers was associated with (not significantly) more court or tribunal proceedings, but (much) more mediation, conciliation or arbitration.[125]

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119   Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_1 = 13.19$, p < 0.001.
120   Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_1 = 17.45$, p < 0.001.
121   Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_1 = 63.97$, p < 0.001.
122   Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_1 = 27.37$, p < 0.001.
123   Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_2 = 34.60$, p < 0.001.
124   Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_2 = 96.28$, p < 0.001.
125   Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_2 = 31.30$, p < 0.001 (mediation etc.).

Table 4.5. Bivariate relationship between attitude-related legal capability and involvement of dispute resolution processes (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Legal capability	Level	Court or tribunal	Ombudsman, regulator, enforcement authority	Mediation, conciliation or arbitration
Remote narrative	Low	12.1%	13.6%	14.6%
	High	10.2%	11.7%	16.0%
Resist narrative	Low	10.8%	12.4%	12.7%
	High	17.7%	16.6%	29.6%
Practical narrative	Low	14.6%	12.9%	16.5%
	High	8.7%	12.1%	13.5%
Game narrative	Low	12.0%	11.4%	12.0%
	High	11.5%	14.9%	20.1%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	7.5%	6.1%	7.5%
	Medium	9.7%	12.9%	11.1%
	High	17.4%	15.3%	25.3%
Trust in lawyers	Low	13.1%	15.3%	19.7%
	High	11.1%	10.7%	11.1%

Table 4.6 presents the relationship between composite attitude strata and involvement in dispute resolution processes. As can be seen, for all three process categories, more negative overall attitudes were associated with greater involvement in processes.[126]

Table 4.6. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and involvement dispute resolution processes (percentages of all problems, darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Composite attitude level	Court or tribunal	Ombudsman, regulator, enforcement authority	Mediation, conciliation or arbitration
Most negative	15.4%	18.5%	29.9%
Negative	14.9%	15.4%	15.6%
Positive	6.3%	11.9%	10.0%
Most positive	8.5%	7.4%	9.2%

As with skill/confidence, there were also different origins to court or tribunal proceedings associated with those with overall positive and negative attitudes. Compared to those with overall negative attitudes, who more often had court or tribunal proceedings brought against them, PULS respondents with positive attitudes were more likely to have initiated the court or tribunal proceedings.

Table 4.7. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and court and tribunal process, by initiating party (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Composite attitude level	Initiation of court/tribunal process					
	You (the respondent)		The other party		Third party	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Most negative	27	45.4%	10	16.3%	23	38.4%
Negative	68	53.0%	48	37.2%	13	9.8%
Positive	16	55.2%	2	8.2%	10	36.6%
Most positive	9	61.3%	3	19.0%	3	19.7%

126 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_3 = 26.39$, $p < 0.001$ (court or tribunal); $\chi^2_3 = 15.02$, $p < 0.01$ (Ombudsman etc.); $\chi^2_3 = 71.41$, $p < 0.001$ (mediation etc.).

As can be seen in Table 4.8, there was a stark difference in the origin of court or tribunal proceedings associated with level of adherence to the 'resist' narrative of law.[127] So, for example, while 55% of those who adhered to the 'resist' narrative had proceedings brought against them by the other party to disputes, the figure was only 18% for those who didn't. In contrast, half as many of those who adhered to the 'practical' narrative of law had proceedings brought against them by the other party to disputes, compared to those who didn't adhere to the narrative.

Turning to attitudes to lawyers, those who fell into the high PIL scale stratum had proceedings brought against them by the other party to disputes on 24% of occasions, compared to on just 9% of occasions for those in the low PIL scale stratum.[128] Similarly, those with low trust in lawyers had proceedings brought against them by the other party to disputes on 35% of occasions, compared to on 17% of occasions for those with high trust in lawyers.[129]

Going to law is associated with positive attitudes, having law come to you is associated with negative attitudes.

Table 4.8. **Bivariate relationship between attitude-related legal capability and court and tribunal process, by initiating party (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)**

| Legal capability | Level | Initiation of court/tribunal process | | | | | |
| | | You (the respondent) | | The other party | | Third party | |
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Remote narrative	Low	109	50.2%	52	23.9%	56	25.9%
	High	27	60.2%	14	30.9%	4	8.9%
Resist narrative	Low	113	55.2%	37	18.2%	54	26.6%
	High	18	29.6%	34	55.1%	9	15.3%
Practical narrative	Low	77	41.4%	59	31.7%	50	26.9%
	High	56	66.9%	12	15.0%	15	18.1%
Game narrative	Low	86	54.9%	38	24.2%	33	20.9%
	High	48	44.1%	31	28.6%	30	27.3%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata	Low	20	62.8%	3	9.1%	9	28.1%
	Medium	59	45.5%	44	34.4%	26	20.1%
	High	62	49.8%	29	23.5%	33	26.7%
Trust in lawyers	Low	55	39.7%	48	34.7%	35	25.6%
	High	78	60.7%	22	16.8%	29	22.4%

127 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_2 = 33.86$, p < 0.001. The largest absolute value residual of 4.4 was for the resist/other party cell.
128 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_3 = 9.62$, p < 0.05. The largest absolute value residual of -1.9 was for the low/other party cell.
129 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_2 = 13.91$, p < 0.001.

Skills, confidence and attitude combined

As can be seen from Table 4.9, those PULS respondents with 'more negative attitude, lower skill' most often saw problem resolution involve one of the main institutionalised informal dispute resolution processes.[130] However, those with 'more positive attitudes, higher skill' were not necessarily involved in such processes least often. In the case of court or tribunal proceedings and involvement of an ombudsman, regulator or enforcement authority, the lowest level of formal process involvement was associated with those with more positive attitudes but lower skill/confidence.

Overall, the involvement of dispute resolution processes was primarily associated with attitude, with levels then differing by skill/confidence within attitude groups.

Looking in more detail at court or tribunal involvement, in problem resolution, it can be seen that attitudes and skills are operating differently.[131] As can be seen from Table 4.10, there is a very clear and distinctive pattern in relation to court or tribunal process being initiated by the other party. Process being initiated by the other party was most often seen for those with more negative attitudes and then, within attitude groups, for those with lower skill/confidence. Again, this points to those with higher skills being more likely than others to initiate court or tribunal proceedings, rather than have proceedings brought against them, and those with more negative attitudes being more likely than others to have had proceedings brought against them.

Notably, despite the very small numbers, Table 4.10 also points to the possibility that those with more positive attitudes to law and lawyers might also be somewhat more inclined than others to initiate court or tribunal proceedings. This again highlights the difficulty of drawing causal inference from PULS survey data.

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130 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_3 = 29.72$, p < 0.001 (court or tribunal); Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_3 = 22.07$, p < 0.001 (Ombudsman etc.); Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_3 = 35.43$, p < 0.001 (mediation etc.).

131 Testing the bivariate relationships: $\chi^2_6 = 14.13$, p < 0.001. The largest absolute value residuals of -1.9 and 2.0 were for the more positive attitude, higher skill/other party and more positive attitude, higher skill/third party cells, respectively.

Table 4.9 Bivariate relationship between combined composite skill/confidence and attitude and involvement of dispute resolution processes (percentages of all problems, darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Composite skill and attitude level	Court or tribunal	Ombudsman, regulator, enforcement authority	Mediation, conciliation or arbitration
More negative attitude, lower skill	16.6%	18.4%	22.0%
More negative attitude, higher skill	12.9%	13.5%	17.5%
More positive attitude, lower skill	5.3%	6.3%	10.8%
More positive attitude, higher skill	7.8%	13.1%	9.4%

Table 4.10. Bivariate relationship between combined composite skill/confidence and attitude and court and tribunal process, by initiating party (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Composite skill and attitude level	Court initiation					
	You (the respondent)		The other party		Third party	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
More negative attitude, lower skill	54	45.4%	40	33.9%	25	20.7%
More negative attitude, higher skill	40	59.1%	17	25.0%	11	15.8%
More positive attitude, lower skill	8	71.6%	2	15.6%	1	12.8%
More positive attitude, higher skill	17	52.8%	3	9.6%	12	37.6%

5. Legal Capability and Problem Duration

A foundational maxim of the justice system is that justice delayed is justice denied. Using findings from discrete-time event history modelling, this chapter sets out PULS findings concerning the relationship between general legal capability and problem duration. Problem duration was found to vary with most aspects of capability studied, with longer problem duration associate with lower levels of skill and confidence and more negative narratives of law and attitudes to lawyers.

As noted in Chapter 1 of this volume and explained in PULS Volume 1, the OECD/OSF framework for the measurement of legal need incorporated justiciable problem duration as its first component.[132] The framework followed the lead of the authors of the 2012 Colombian legal needs survey, who argued that "even complex cases should have some kind of substantive decision after two years." (La Rota, Lalinde and Uprimny, 2013, pp.99-100). Thus, while there may be good reasons why some problems take more than two years to resolve, it was argued that problems ongoing beyond two years should generally be regarded as involving an unmet legal need. As detailed in PULS Volume 1, this amounts to a significant proportion of justiciable problems. Just under 19% of PULS problems were reported to have lasted beyond two years.[133]

The following analysis sets out the duration of problems (how long remain ongoing over time — also known as the survival function), exploring how this varies for different capabilities and composite capabilities.

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132 Since a foundational maxim of the justice system is that justice delayed is justice denied. The idea has endured for millennia, having been articulated in sources from the Pirkei Avot to Magna Carta, as well as contemporary justice policy debate and in relation to court time standards. For example, in the context of backlogs of family law cases (https://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/report-on-government-services/2020/justice/courts (accessed on 16th April 2024)), the president of the Law Council of Australia, Pauline Wright, stated "Justice delayed is justice denied, particularly when some of these cases involve some of the most vulnerable in our community and allegations of domestic violence…". (https://lawcouncil.au/media/media-releases/family-courts-need-urgent-funding-injection-says-law-council (accessed on 16th April 2024)). Sourdin and Burstyner (2014) also note the consistency between historical acknowledgments of the importance of duration and recent research highlighting the relationship between duration and perceptions of justice and fairness.

133 Balmer et al. (2023).

Skills, confidence and justiciable problem duration

This section looks in turn at the relationship between the five skills and confidence-related legal capability dimensions explored in the PULS and problem duration (Table 5.1). It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite skills/confidence (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and problem duration (Table 5.2).

Table 5.1. Problem duration by skill and confidence-related legal capability (colours represent higher (red) or lower (green) percentages of problems remaining after a given number of months)

Legal capability	Level	Percentage of problems ongoing after (months)						
		1	3	6	12	24	36	60
Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low	91.9%	78.9%	65.4%	49.8%	37.0%	32.2%	28.8%
	Medium	88.5%	71.8%	56.5%	41.7%	32.4%	29.8%	28.5%
	High	88.5%	71.9%	56.6%	41.8%	32.3%	29.7%	28.4%
Legal knowledge	Low	87.1%	69.1%	53.2%	38.6%	30.0%	27.8%	26.9%
	Medium	88.7%	72.2%	56.9%	42.0%	32.4%	29.6%	28.2%
	High	92.1%	79.5%	66.3%	51.1%	38.5%	33.7%	30.2%
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	88.5%	71.5%	55.2%	38.8%	27.4%	23.8%	21.6%
	Adequate (some issues)	88.7%	72.2%	56.8%	41.5%	31.3%	28.4%	26.8%
	Marginal	91.3%	77.9%	64.6%	50.4%	40.1%	36.8%	35.0%
	Inadequate	92.4%	81.1%	70.2%	59.4%	52.5%	50.7%	50.0%
Digital capability for law	No support	88.5%	71.7%	56.1%	41.0%	31.1%	28.2%	26.7%
	Minor support	89.8%	74.2%	59.0%	42.9%	31.1%	27.2%	24.7%
	Major support	90.7%	76.8%	63.3%	49.5%	40.1%	37.3%	35.8%
General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	92.0%	79.4%	66.6%	52.3%	41.1%	37.2%	34.7%
	Medium	88.2%	71.1%	55.4%	40.1%	30.3%	27.5%	26.1%
	High	88.8%	72.3%	56.9%	41.8%	31.8%	28.9%	27.3%

As can be seen from Table 5.1 and Figures 5.1 to 5.5, different levels of each of the individual skill and confidence-related legal capabilities were associated with different patterns of problem duration. In all cases other than general legal knowledge, lower levels of capability were associated with longer problem duration, although the nature of patterns varied somewhat as between legal capability dimensions.

Perceived relevance of law

As can be seen from Figure 5.1, the problem duration pattern for PULS respondents in the high and medium Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata was almost identical, the yellow (medium) curve is almost entirely hidden behind the high (green) curve, with the majority of problems concluded by the nine-month mark. For PULS respondents in the low LAW scale stratum, it took over a year for half of problems to conclude. However, while in initial months and years the low LAW scale stratum was associated with somewhat longer problem duration, this difference reduced over time, and there was no noticeable difference between strata from four years onwards. After five years, there were approximately 30% of problems still ongoing for those in all strata.

Figure 5.1. Duration of justiciable problems by Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata
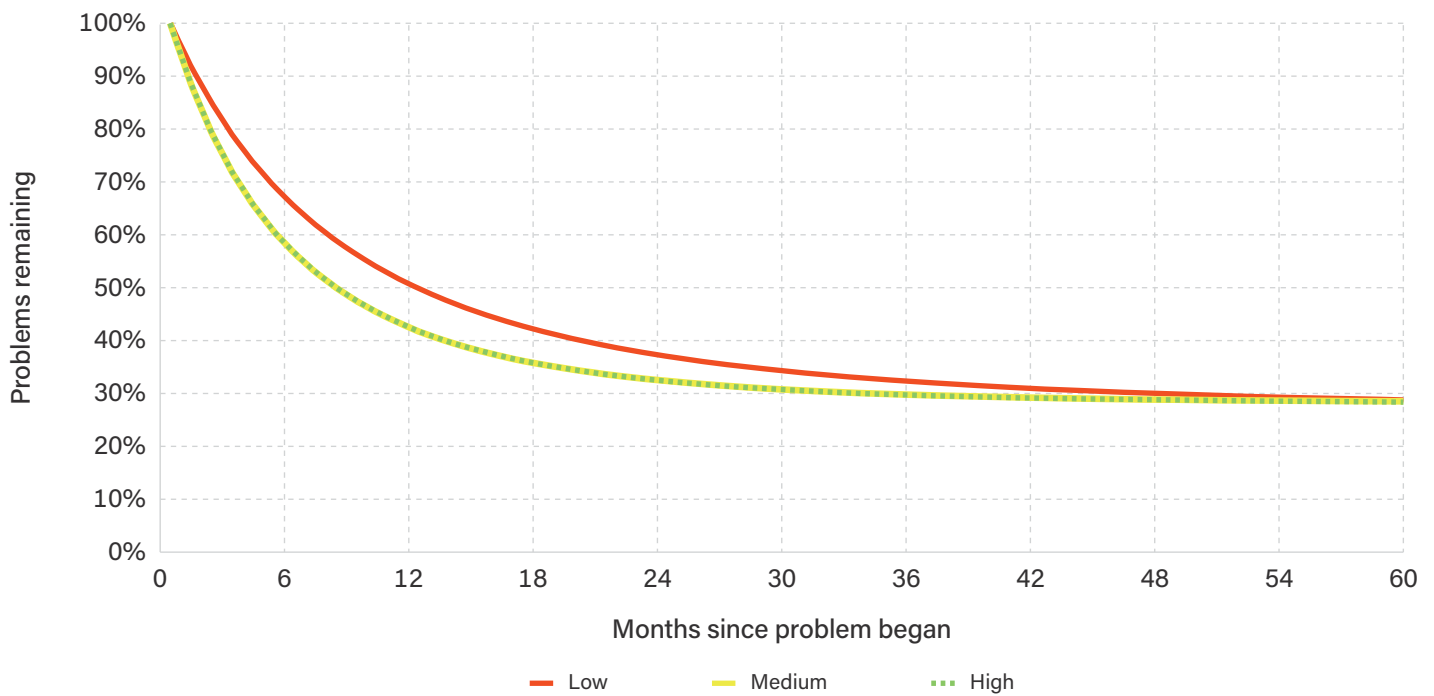
Legal knowledge

As can be seen from Figure 5.2, although there was convergence between PULS respondents with different levels of general knowledge of the content of law as problems endured beyond multiple years, those in the high knowledge stratum were associated with longer duration problems than others. Slightly more than half of problems reported by high knowledge stratum respondents were still ongoing at the 12-month mark. For those in the medium knowledge stratum, 50% of problems had concluded by the nine-month mark and for those in the low knowledge stratum, 50% of problems had concluded within eight months. The problem duration pattern for PULS respondents in the medium and low knowledge strata was fairly similar, with notable difference only observed for the high stratum. However, after five years, there were approximately 30% of problems still ongoing for those in all strata.

Figure 5.2. Duration of justiciable problems by knowledge of the content of law
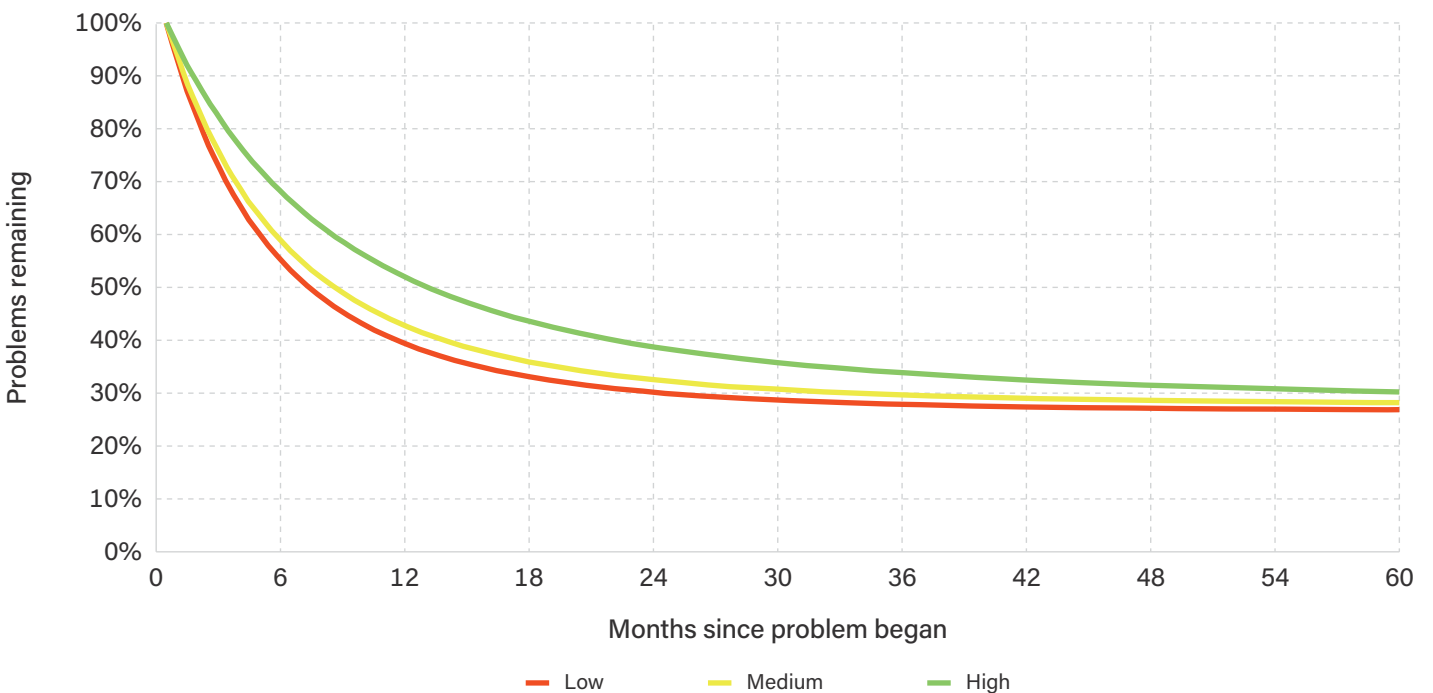
Practical legal literacy

Figure 5.3 illustrates patterns of problem duration for those with different levels of practical legal literacy. As can be seen, problems tended to last less time, with fewer remaining over time, as practical legal literacy levels increased. For those with an adequate level of practical legal literacy, a majority of problems concluded within eight months. However, for those with an inadequate level of practical legal literacy, the majority of problems were still ongoing after three years. Moreover, for these people, around half of their problems were still ongoing after five years, compared to fewer than a quarter of problems for those with the highest level of practical legal literacy. Overall, only around 30% of PULS problems were ongoing after five years.

The relationship between duration and practical legal literacy evident from Table 5.1 and Figure 5.3, when compared to the relationship between duration and other skill and confidence-related legal capability dimensions, suggests practical legal literacy plays a central role in people's ability to swiftly progress problem resolution. After 30 months, those with the lowest level of practical legal literacy had more than twice as many of their problems still ongoing as those with the highest level, and the gap only widened as time went on. In fact, it can be seen from Figure 5.3 that beyond 30 months, those with the lowest level of practical legal literacy made no headway with their problems.

Figure 5.3. Duration of justiciable problems by practical legal literacy
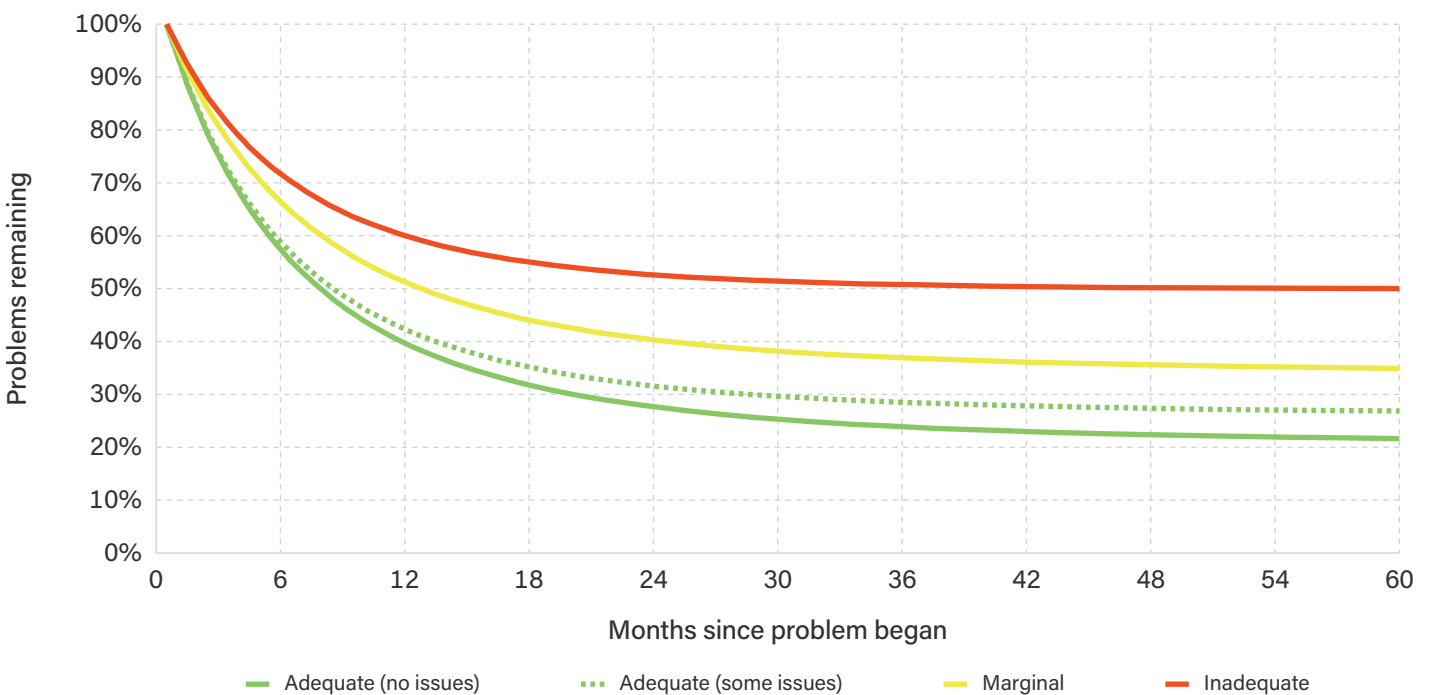
Digital capability for law

As can be seen from Figure 5.4, there were also differences in problem duration by respondents' level of digital capability for law. Specifically, those requiring 'major support' reported more persistent problems. The difference between the major support group and other groups was around ten percentage points after three years. As with practical legal literacy, this difference remained as time passed. After five years, more than one-third of problems reported by those requiring major support were still ongoing, compared to only around one-quarter for other PULS respondents.

Figure 5.4. Duration of justiciable problems by level of digital capability for law
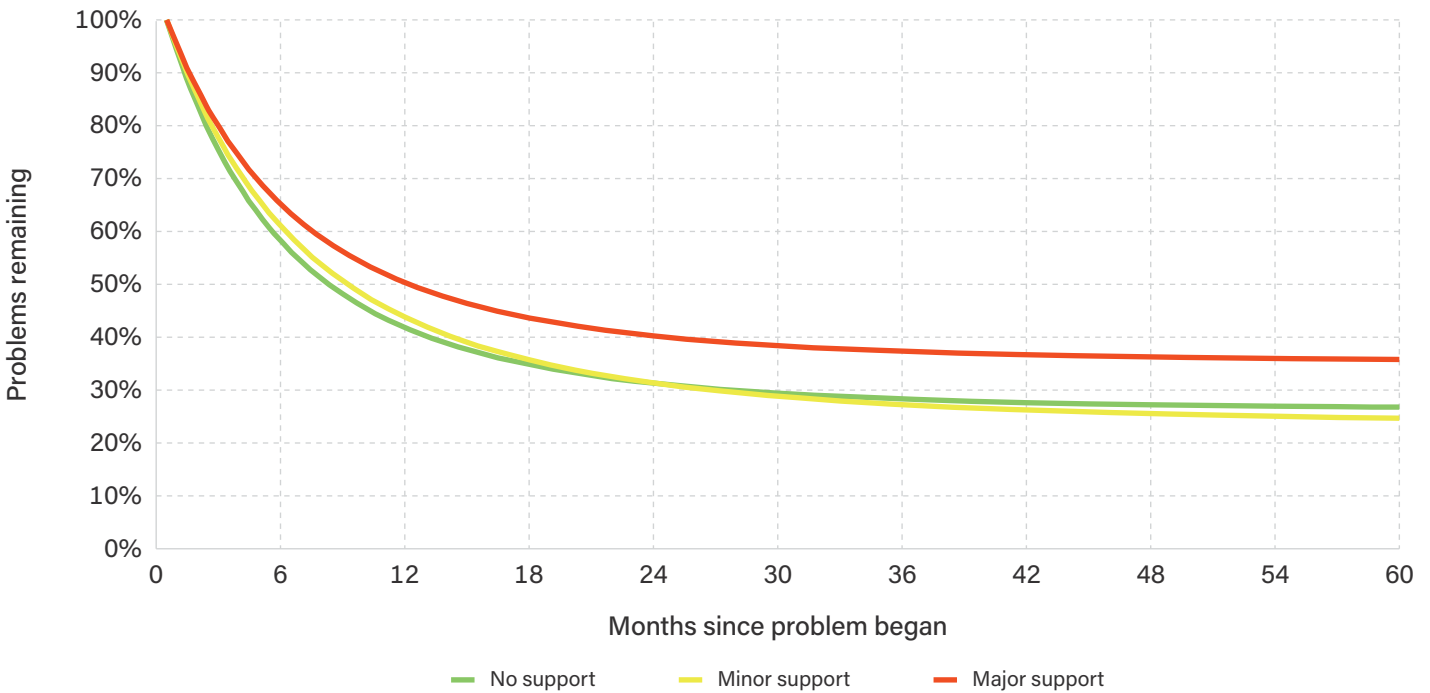
General legal confidence

As illustrated by Figure 5.5, while those in the medium and high General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata were associated with similar patterns of problem duration, those in the low GLC scale stratum were associated with longer-lasting problems. There was around ten percentage points difference between low and other strata after one, two and three years.

As has been noted in previous chapters, and discussed at length in Chapter 1, PULS data is not well suited to the determination of paths of causation. So, while it can be argued that it is more credible to suppose that the relationship between, say, practical legal literacy and problem duration is one in which shorter duration is more of a product of greater capability than a source of or independent of greater capability, in the case of legal confidence the direction (or existence) of causal paths is unclear. While the literature concerning Bandura's (1997) concept of self-efficacy points to confidence being an important driver of behaviour and outcomes across domains (Pleasence and Balmer, 2024), confidence can also be impacted by behaviour and outcomes. The extent to which confidence promotes speedy problem resolution and/or is diminished by sluggish problem resolution is beyond PULS data.

Figure 5.5. Duration of justiciable problems by General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata
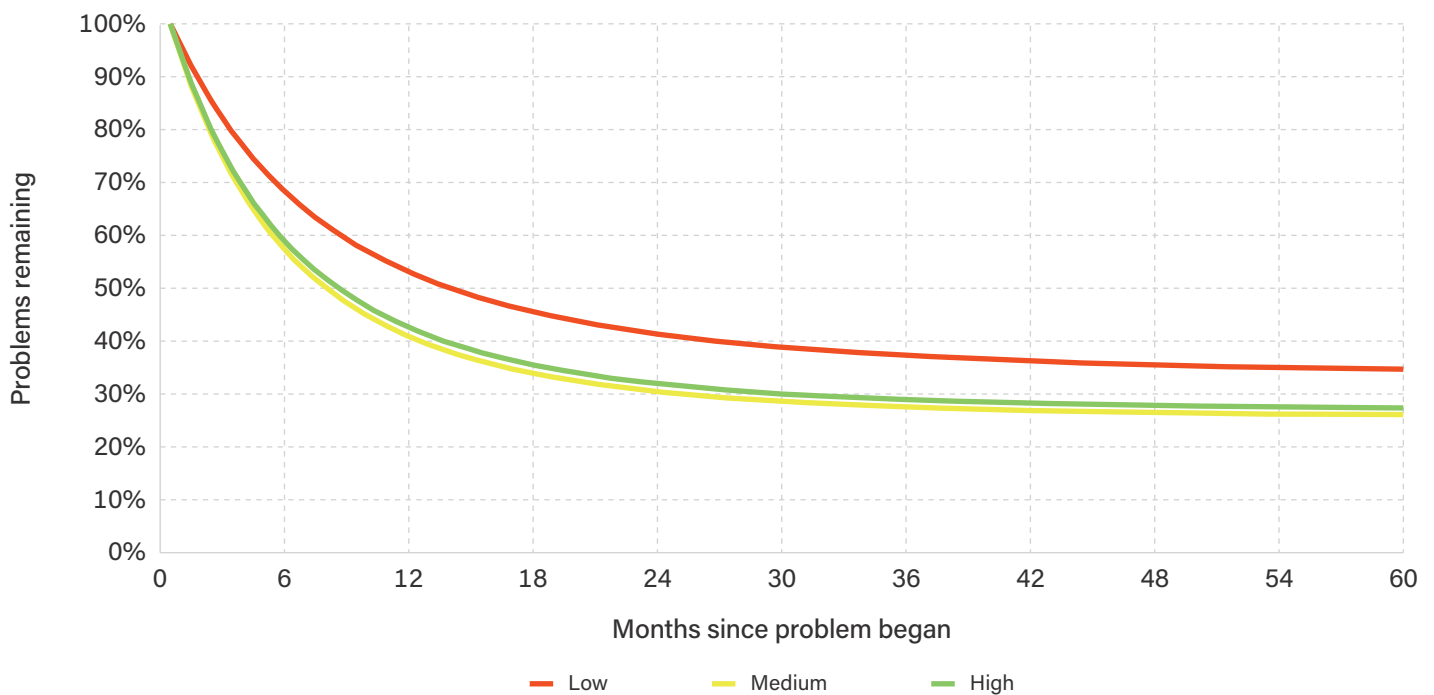
Composite skill/confidence level

Table 5.2 and Figure 5.6 show the relationship between problem duration and composite skill/confidence level. As can be seen, in broad terms, as composite skill/confidence level increases, problem duration decreases, with the percentage of ongoing problems falling more quickly over time. While those with the highest composite skill/confidence level saw half their problems concluded within nine months, it took 13 months for those with the lowest composite skill/confidence level to reach the same position. Differences persisted. So, after five years, while just 23% of problems were ongoing for those with the highest composite skill/confidence level, the figure was 35% for those with the lowest level.

Table 5.2.   Problem duration by composite skill/confidence level (colours illustrate higher (red) or lower (green) percentages of problem remaining after a given number of months)

Composite skill/confidence level	Percentage of problems ongoing after (months)						
	1	3	6	12	24	36	60
Lowest	91.6%	78.6%	65.5%	51.3%	40.7%	37.3%	35.2%
Low	89.9%	74.9%	60.4%	45.5%	35.1%	31.9%	30.1%
Higher	87.8%	70.2%	54.2%	38.9%	29.2%	26.5%	25.2%
Highest	89.2%	73.1%	57.3%	40.9%	29.2%	25.3%	22.9%

Figure 5.6. Problem duration by composite skill/confidence level
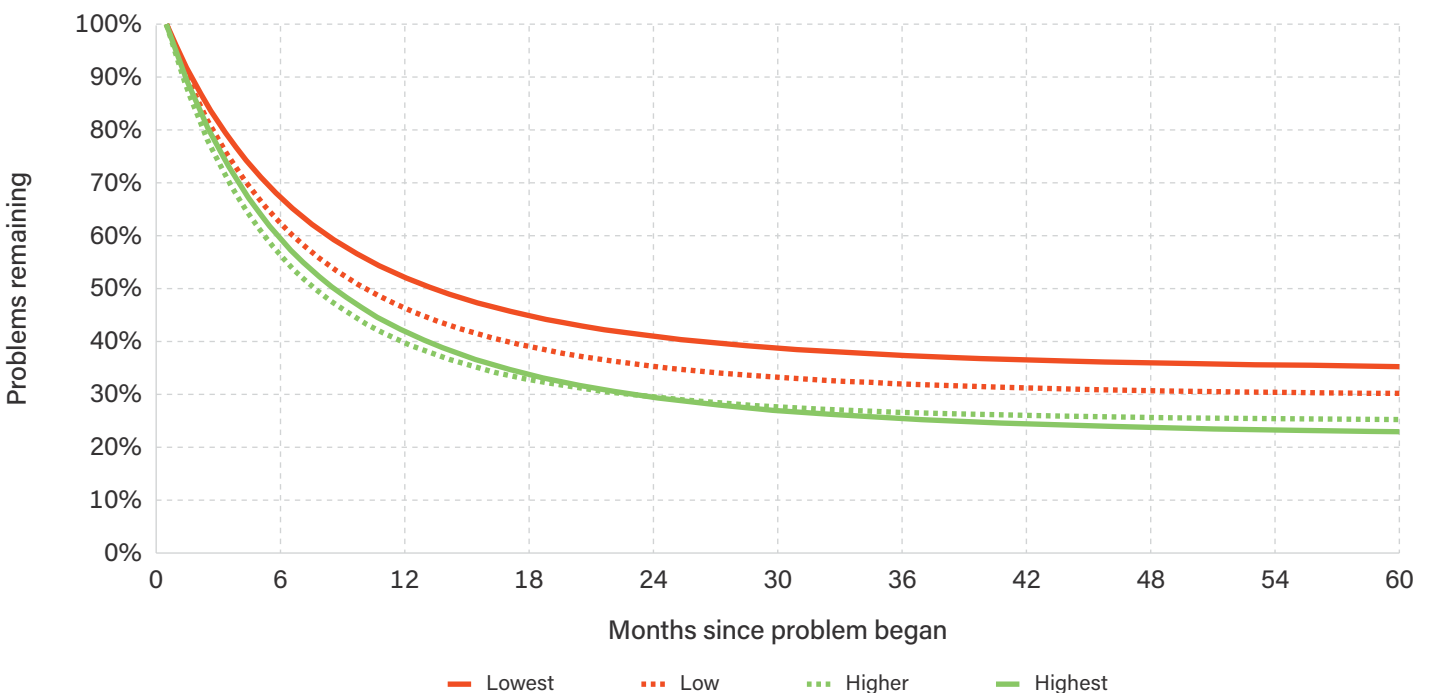
Attitudes and justiciable problem duration

This section looks in turn at the relationship between the attitude-related capability dimensions investigated through the PULS and problem duration (Table 5.3). It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite attitude legal capability (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and problem duration (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3. Problem duration by attitude-related legal capability (colours illustrate higher (red) or lower (green) percentages of problems remaining after a given number of months)

Legal capability	Level	Percentage of problems ongoing after (months)						
		1	3	6	12	24	36	60
Remote narrative	Low	89.3%	73.3%	58.1%	42.6%	31.9%	28.6%	26.8%
	High	90.6%	76.4%	62.8%	48.8%	39.1%	36.2%	34.7%
Resist narrative	Low	89.0%	72.9%	57.8%	42.7%	32.7%	29.7%	28.1%
	High	91.0%	77.3%	63.7%	49.1%	38.3%	34.6%	32.3%
Practical narrative	Low	90.1%	75.1%	60.6%	45.7%	35.1%	31.8%	29.9%
	High	88.7%	72.0%	56.4%	41.0%	30.6%	27.5%	25.8%
Game narrative	Low	88.2%	71.0%	55.1%	39.5%	29.3%	26.4%	24.8%
	High	91.2%	77.7%	64.3%	50.1%	39.7%	36.5%	34.6%
Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata	Low	86.7%	67.9%	51.2%	35.6%	26.0%	23.4%	22.0%
	Medium	88.7%	72.2%	56.6%	41.1%	30.7%	27.6%	25.9%
	High	92.4%	80.5%	68.4%	54.9%	44.5%	41.0%	38.9%
Trust in Lawyers	Low	90.7%	76.5%	62.2%	46.7%	35.1%	31.2%	28.7%
	High	88.8%	72.5%	57.3%	42.4%	32.6%	29.8%	28.4%

Narratives of law

Table 5.3 and Figure 5.7 show the justiciable problem duration pattern for those adhering to each of the four narratives of law: 'remote', 'resist', 'practical' and 'game'.[134] As can be seen, the problem duration patterns for PULS respondents adhering to the 'remote', 'resist' and 'game' narratives were very similar, with the majority of problems concluded by the 12-month mark. In contrast, for PULS respondents adhering to the 'practical' narrative it took just eight months for half of problems to conclude. This difference persisted. So, after five years, while only around one-quarter of 'practical' narrative respondents problems were still ongoing, around one-third of the problems of adherents to other narratives were still ongoing.

Figure 5.7. Duration of justiciable problems by narratives of law

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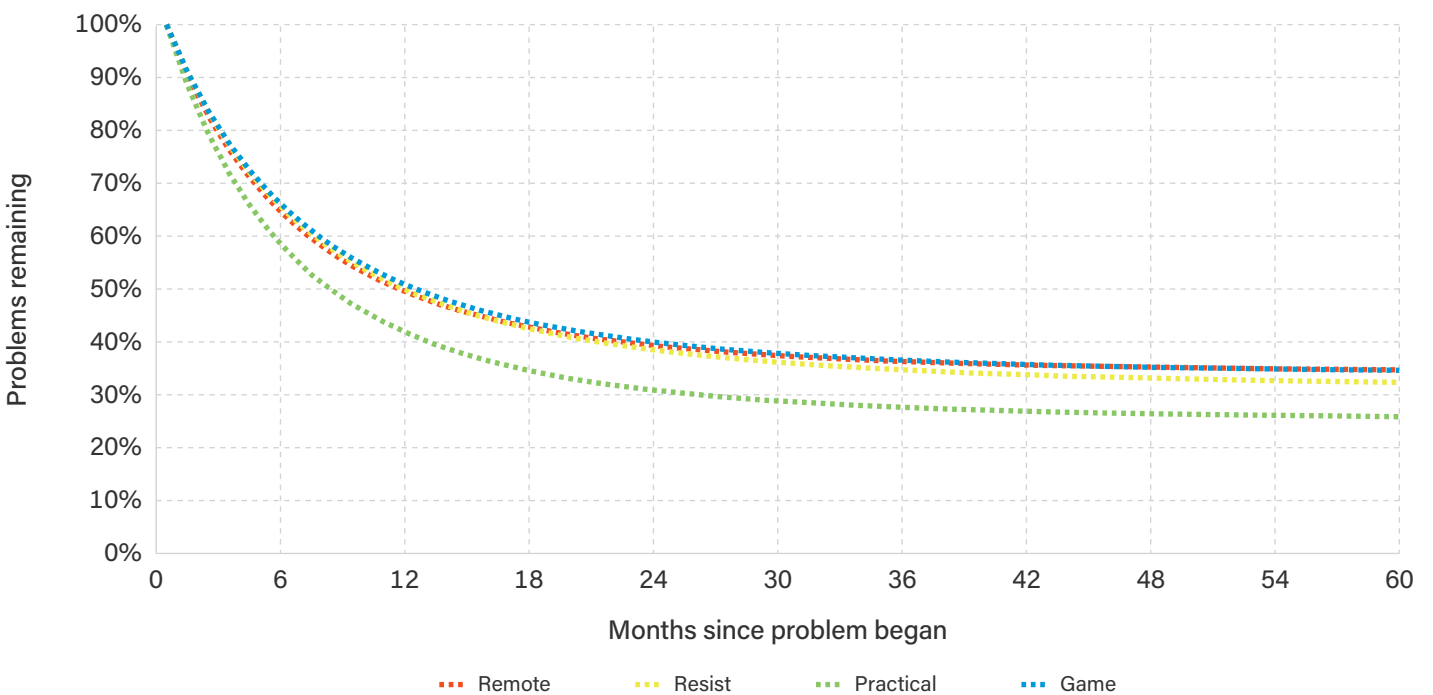
134 Note, that these are not mutually exclusive groups and are derived from four separate models (one for each narrative). To make the figure clear, those not affirming each of the four
narratives were excluded from the figure.

Public Understanding of Law Survey | A New Perspective on Legal Need and Legal Capability

Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers

Figure 5.8 shows the relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and problem duration. As can be seen, there were sizeable differences in the patterns of problem duration associated with different levels PIL scale strata. Those in the high stratum, who perceived lawyers to be less accessible, tended to have problems that lasted longer. The difference between those in the high and low strata grew quickly over time and approached 20 percentage points by the end of the first year. This substantial difference then persisted. After five years, while 39% of the problems of those in the high PIL scale stratum were still ongoing, the figure was just 22% for those in the low PIL scale stratum.

Figure 5.8. Problem duration by Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata
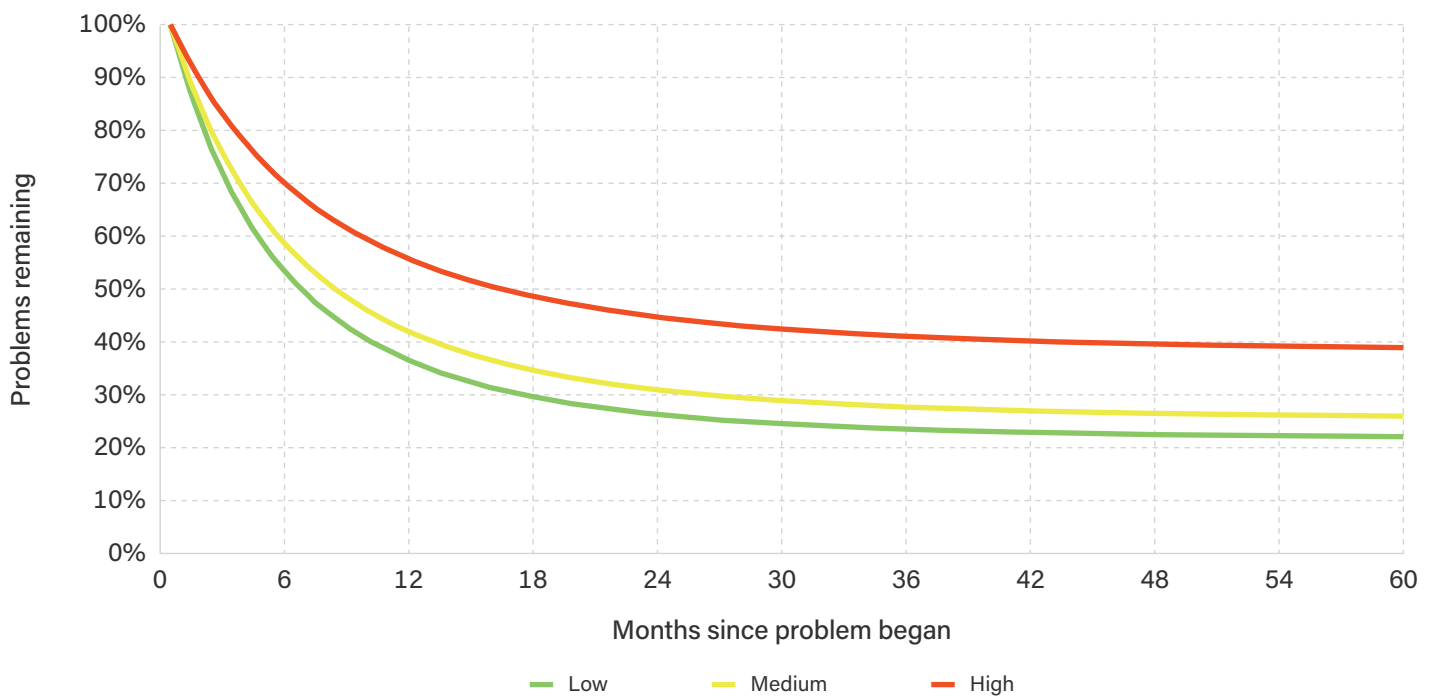
Trust in lawyers

As illustrated in Figure 5.9, there was little difference in the duration of problems based on whether respondents had lower or higher trust in personal lawyers.

Figure 5.9. Problem duration by trust in lawyers
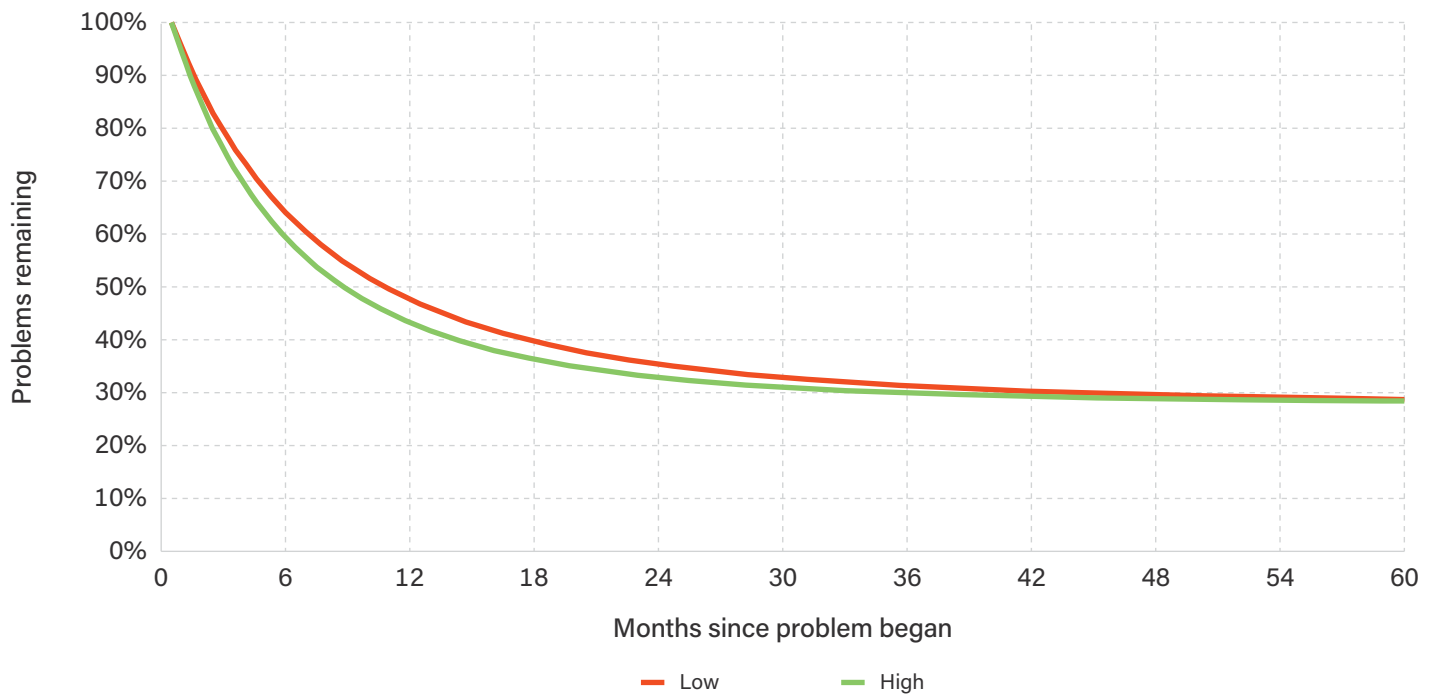
Composite attitude level

Table 5.4 and Figure 5.10 show the relationship between problem duration and composite attitude-related legal capability level. As can be seen, as composite attitude level becomes more positive, problem duration decreases, with the percentage of ongoing problems falling much more quickly for those in the most positive group than for those in the most negative group over the first year. So, after 12 months, while just 33% of the problems faced by those in the most positive group were still ongoing, the figure was 56% for those in the most negative group — a difference of 23 percentage points. This difference then persisted. So, after five years, while just 19% of problems were ongoing for those in the most positive group, the figure was 38% for those in the most negative group. These differences in problem duration for those in different composite attitude groups were even more substantial than those observed in relation to composite skill and confidence groups.

Table 5.4. Problem duration and composite attitude level (colours illustrate higher (red) or lower (green) percentages of problems remaining after a given number of months)

Composite attitude level	Percentage of problems ongoing after (months)						
	1	3	6	12	24	36	60
Most negative	92.9%	81.7%	69.8%	56.1%	44.9%	40.8%	38.2%
Negative	90.5%	76.0%	61.5%	45.9%	34.3%	30.4%	28.0%
Positive	87.7%	70.3%	55.0%	41.0%	32.8%	30.8%	30.1%
Most positive	85.8%	66.0%	48.5%	32.7%	22.9%	20.2%	18.6%

5. Legal Capability and Problem Duration

Figure 5.10. Problem duration and composite attitude level

Chart: Y-axis "Problems remaining" from 0% to 100%; X-axis "Months since problem began" from 0 to 60. Legend: Most negative, Negative, Positive, Most positive.
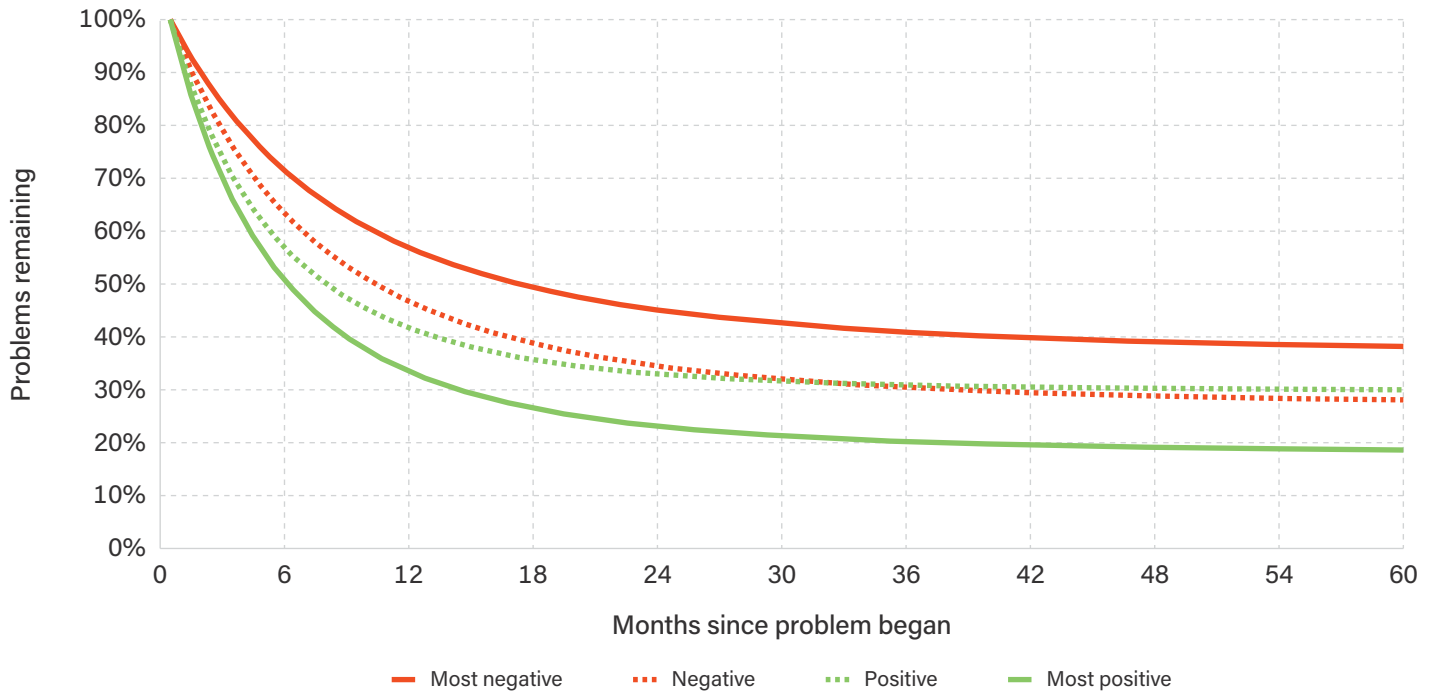
While recognising the limitations of the PULS data, in this and the previous two chapters we have argued that the most credible interpretation of the PULS findings is that people's skills influence (more than they are influenced by) their help-seeking strategy, their initiation of dispute resolution processes and the speed of problem resolution. We have also argued that attitudes appear to be influenced by (more than they influence) experience of problems and the use of legal services and processes (particularly when processes are initiated by others). The associations presented above between attitudes, behaviour and experience are more challenging to interpret, as there is clear potential for bidirectionality of causation. Overarching narratives are ambiguous as to duration. Resistance may involve intransigence or stem from attrition. Gaming could involve speedy escalation or leisurely avoidance. Positive attitudes may spur on behaviour (such as seeking help or initiating process), so speeding up problem resolution, or stem from the experience of speedy problem resolution. However, whatever the mechanisms at play behind the PULS findings relating to duration, clear association are apparent, which give rise to both optimism and cause for concern.

Skills, confidence and attitude combined

Table 5.5 and Figure 5.11 combine skills, confidence and attitudes into a single measure. As can be seen, the combination of low skills and negative attitudes was associated with the longest justiciable problem durations. As suggested in the previous section, the association between attitudes and duration predominates, with skill operating as a differentiator within the positive and negative attitude groupings.

Table 5.5. **Problem duration by combined composite skill/confidence and attitude (colours illustrate higher (red) or lower (green) percentages of problem remaining after a given number of months)**

| Combined skill and attitude level	Percentage of problems ongoing after (months)						
	1	3	6	12	24	36	60
More negative attitude, lower skill	92.0%	79.5%	66.7%	52.3%	41.1%	37.3%	35.0%
More negative attitude, higher skill	90.2%	75.3%	60.4%	44.5%	32.8%	28.8%	26.4%
More positive attitude, lower skill	89.3%	73.4%	58.1%	42.5%	31.7%	28.3%	26.4%
More positive attitude, higher skill	86.5%	67.7%	51.3%	36.7%	28.2%	26.1%	25.2%

Figure 5.11. Problem duration by combined composite skill/confidence and attitude
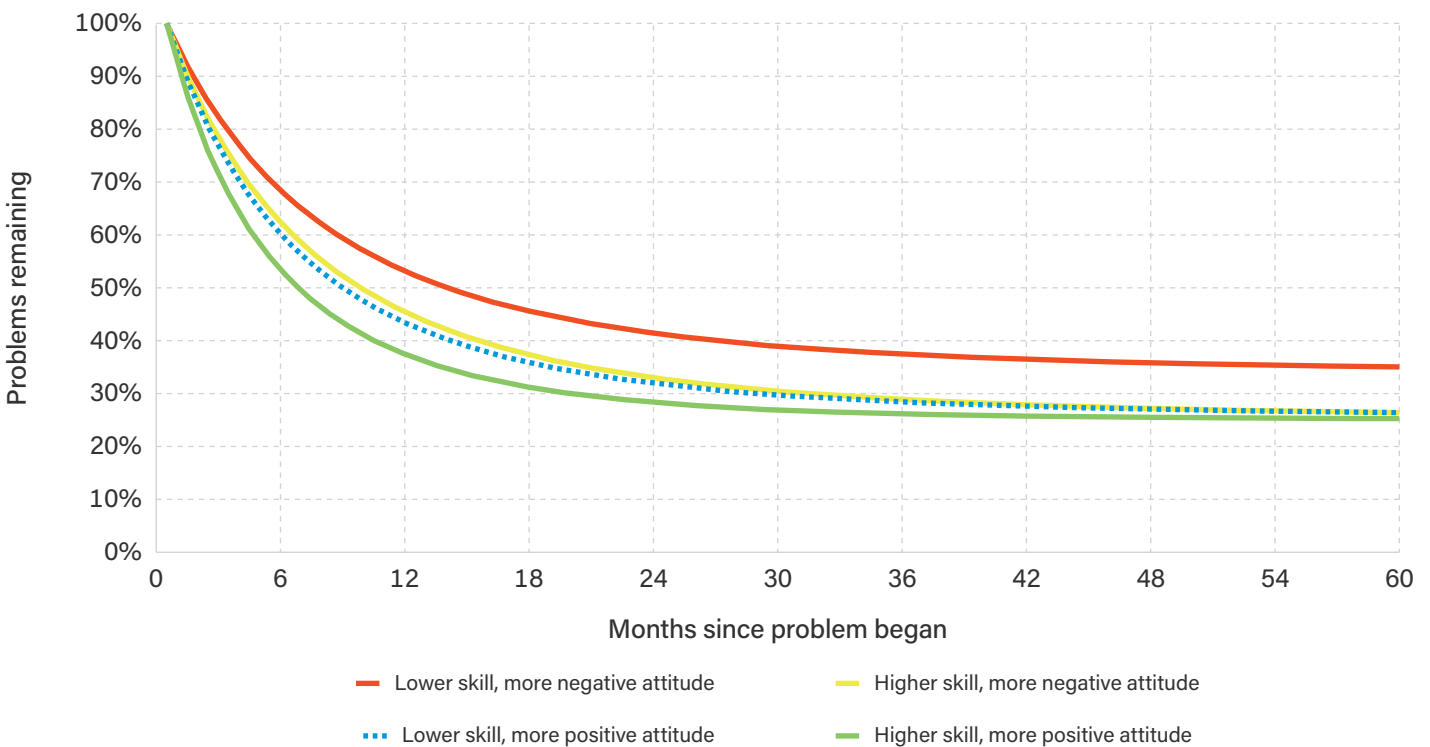
6. Legal Capability and the Help You Get

This chapter sets out PULS findings concerning the relationship between legal capability and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed to deal with justiciable problems. After detailing overall patterns, it looks in greater detail at differences in adequacy of support for those who obtained independent help and those who did not, with a particular focus on legal services. Aside from whether or not PULS respondents adhered to the 'resist' narrative of law, there were significant bivariate relationships between all capability measures and adequacy of help, with the great majority remaining significant after controlling for problem type and demographics.

The broad narrative that emerged was that higher skills and more positive attitudes were associated with a greater tendency to obtain all the expert help that was felt to be needed. Going beyond this, there was relatively little difference in the findings as between PULS respondents who got or did not get independent help or between those who got or did not get legal help, particularly in the private sector.

When asked whether they had been able to get all the expert help that they needed, 60% of PULS respondents indicated they had, with 20% strongly agreeing with the proposition. The remaining 40% of respondents felt they had not got the expert help they needed, with 9% strongly disagreeing with the proposition. While those whose problems had concluded more often said they got the help they needed (66%, compared to 48% if problems were ongoing), it was evident that a substantial number of both respondent groups did not receive the level of support they felt necessary to resolve problems fairly and satisfactorily.

Whether people are able to get the expert support they need in order to appropriately deal with justiciable problems is a core element of the OECD/OSF framework for the measurement of legal need.

This chapter sets out the relationship between legal capability and whether or not respondents got all the expert help they felt they needed to resolve their justiciable problems. It then looks at the picture for both those who did and did not obtain help. Chapter 7 then sets out the relationship between legal capability and legal need.

Skills, confidence and getting the expert help you need

This section looks in turn at the relationship between the five skills and confidence-related legal capability dimensions explored in the PULS and the extent to which respondents agreed they obtained all the expert help they needed. It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite skill/confidence (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and problem duration.

Table 6.1 sets out the simple bivariate relationship between skill/confidence-related legal capabilities and the extent to which PULS respondents agreed they were able to get all the expert help needed to resolve justiciable problems. As can be seen, in the case of every one of the five individual skill/confidence-related legal capability measures, high capability corresponded with a greater proportion of respondents strongly agreeing that they had obtained adequate expert help. Except in the case of legal knowledge, low capability corresponded with a greater proportion of respondents strongly disagreeing that they had obtained adequate expert help. The simple bivariate picture was far less clear for those who were not strong in their conviction about the adequacy of support obtained, but — as is detailed further below — became clearer once problem type and demographic factors were also taken into account.

Table 6.1. Bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capability and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Legal capability	Level	Able to get all the expert help needed							
		Strongly agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low	62	13.3%	205	44.2%	140	30.1%	58	12.5%
	Medium	231	18.1%	544	42.5%	401	31.3%	103	8.1%
	High	200	27.4%	238	32.6%	222	30.4%	71	9.7%
Legal knowledge	Low	48	10.2%	218	45.9%	186	39.1%	23	4.8%
	Medium	273	18.8%	595	41.0%	425	29.3%	158	10.9%
	High	172	31.3%	174	31.7%	152	27.7%	51	9.2%
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	150	37.5%	142	35.5%	69	17.3%	39	9.7%
	Adequate (some issues)	274	20.2%	552	40.9%	418	30.9%	108	8.0%
	Marginal	48	10.5%	203	44.4%	160	35.0%	46	10.1%
	Inadequate	19	8.2%	77	32.4%	103	43.4%	38	16.0%
Digital capability for low	No support	309	20.5%	612	40.5%	463	30.7%	125	8.3%
	Minor support	119	23.0%	181	35.1%	170	32.9%	47	9.1%
	Major support	65	14.6%	195	43.3%	130	28.9%	60	13.3%
General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	49	9.1%	205	38.3%	198	37.0%	83	15.6%
	Medium	207	15.8%	562	42.9%	430	32.8%	111	8.5%
	High	238	37.7%	221	35.1%	135	21.3%	37	5.9%

Relevance of law

As can be seen from Figure 6.1, there was a highly significant bivariate relationship between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed.[135] The more that respondents perceived law to be relevant in everyday life, the more often they strongly agreed they got all the expert help they needed.[136] As shown in Table 6.6 below, this relationship between LAW scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed was still visible once problem type and demographic characteristics were also included in analysis. In fact, the relationship became more coherent, with the same direction of association for both 'strongly agree' and 'agree' categories and for both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' categories. However, despite being more coherent in appearance, the relationship fell short of conventional statistical significance within the statistical model.[137]

Figure 6.1. Bivariate relationship between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed
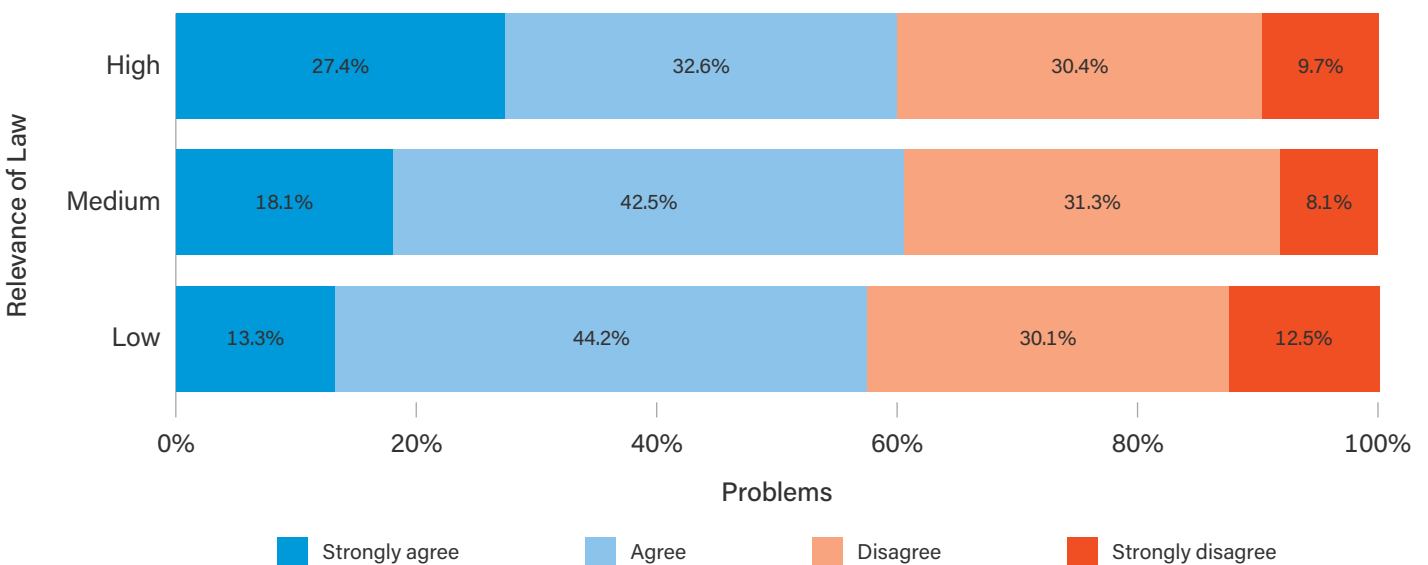
135 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_6 = 54.28$, p < 0.001.
136 The single largest absolute Pearson residual was associated with strongly agree for the highly relevant group at 4.5.
137 Testing the Perceived Relevance of Law model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 4.41$, p = 0.11.

Knowledge of law

As illustrated in Figure 6.2, there were highly significant differences in the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed by the level of their general knowledge of the content of law.[138] Those with a high level of knowledge far more often strongly agreed that they got the expert help they needed, particularly when compared to those with a low level of knowledge.[139] So, while 31% of PULS respondents with a high level of knowledge strongly agreed that they got the expert help they needed, the figure was just 10% for those with a low level of knowledge.

As shown in Table 6.6 below, the relationship between general knowledge of the content of law, and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed, was still visible and remained statistically significant even after problem type and demographic characteristics were also included in analysis.[140] However, as can be seen from the table, the relationship was somewhat weakened once problem type and demographic characteristics were accounted for.

Figure 6.2. Bivariate relationship between level of knowledge of the content of law and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed

Knowledge	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
High	31.3%	31.7%	27.7%	9.2%
Medium	18.8%	41.0%	29.3%	10.9%
Low	10.2%	45.9%	39.1%	4.8%

Problems
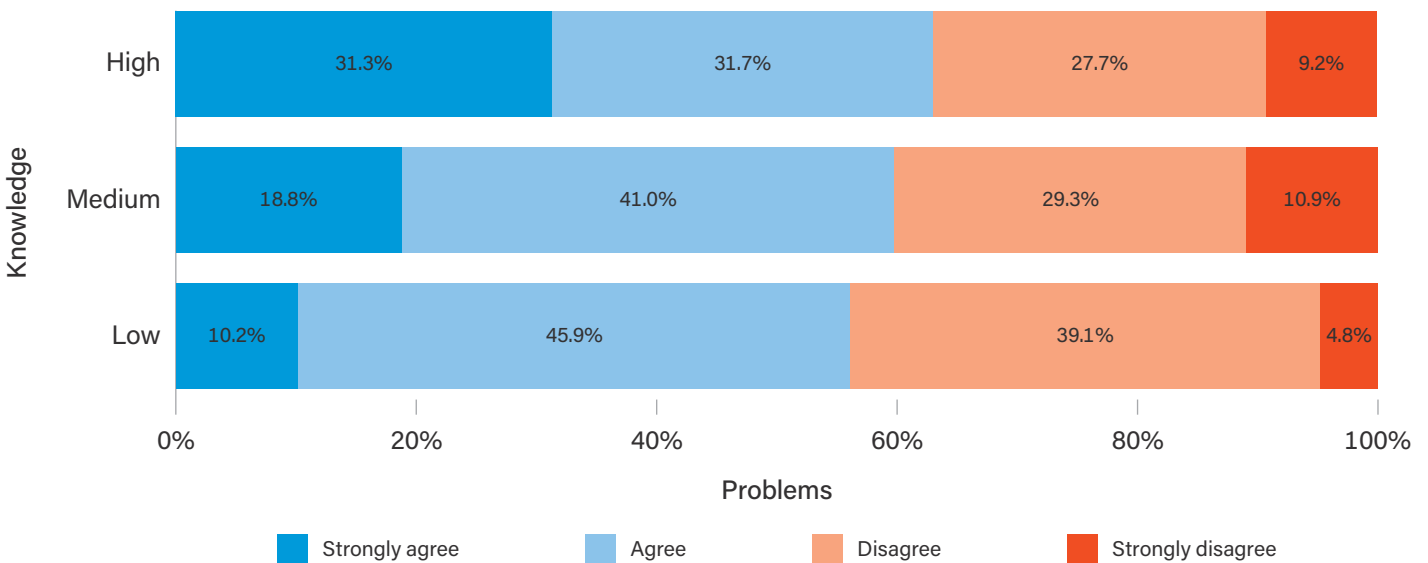
138 $\chi^2_6 = 101.26$, p < 0.001.
139 Pearson residuals of 6.0 and -4.8 respectively.
140 Testing the knowledge model terms together; $\chi^2_2 = 10.57$, p < 0.005.

Practical legal literacy

As illustrated in Figure 6.3, the PULS also revealed a very strong bivariate relationship between practical legal literacy and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed to resolve justiciable problems.[141] Those with no issues regarding their practical legal literacy far more often agreed that they got the expert help they needed than others. So, while 38% of PULS respondents with no issues regarding their practical legal literacy strongly agreed that they got the expert help they needed, the figure was just 8% for those with inadequate practical legal literacy — less than a quarter the level of that for those with no issues.[142] In contrast, while 16% of PULS respondents with inadequate practical legal literacy strongly disagreed that they had got all the expert help they needed, the figure was just 10% for those with no issues.

As shown in Table 6.6 below, the relationship between practical legal literacy and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed was still clearly visible and remained highly statistically significant once problem type and demographic characteristics were included in analysis.[143] In fact, the relationship evident in Table 6.5 is more coherent than that suggested by Figure 6.3, with the same strong direction of association for both 'strongly agree' and 'agree' categories and for both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' categories. Even after accounting for problem type and demographics, those with no issues regarding their practical legal literacy strongly agreed that they got the expert help they needed twice as often as those with inadequate practical legal literacy.

Figure 6.3. Bivariate relationship between practical legal literacy and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed
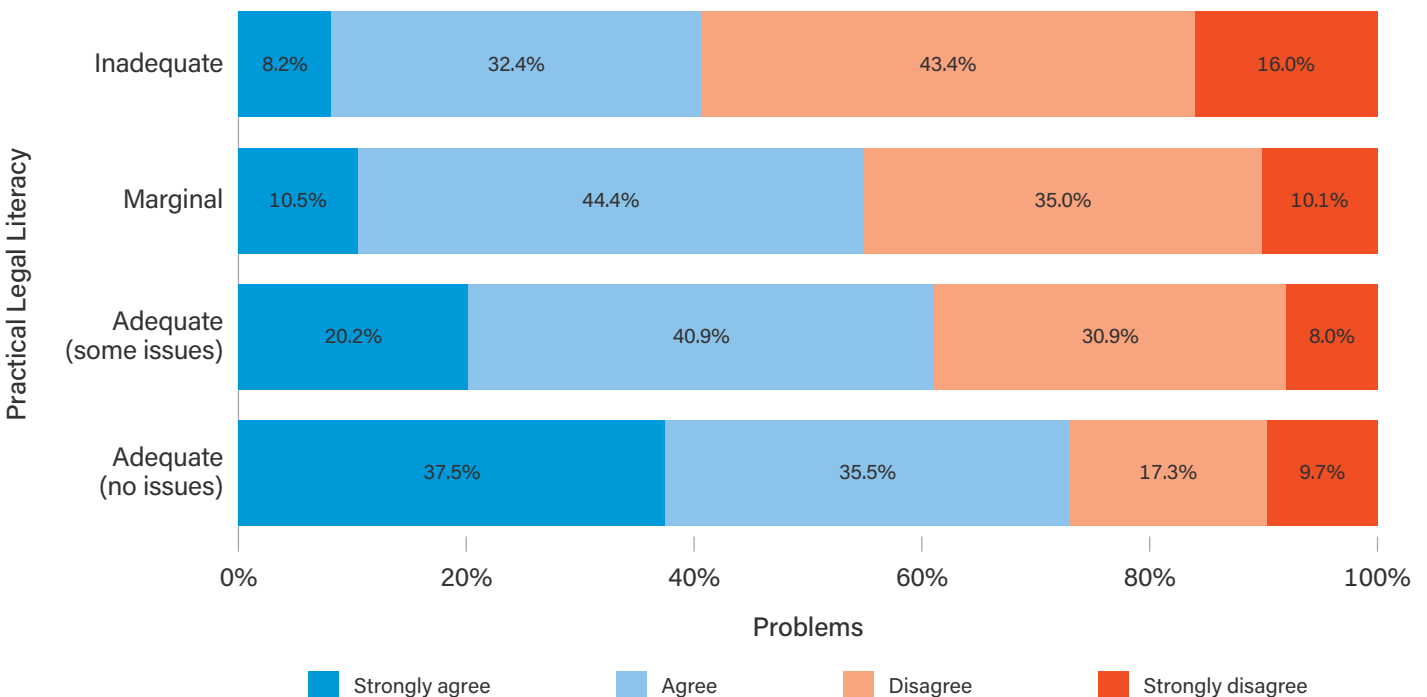
141   Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_9 = 159.53$, p < 0.001.
142   The single highest Pearson residual was associated 'strongly agree' in the adequate (no issues) group.
143   Testing the knowledge model terms together; $\chi^2_2 = 10.57$, p < 0.005.

Digital capability for law

Although not as strong as the relationships described above, Figure 6.4 illustrates a significant bivariate relationship between digital capability for law and the extent to which respondents got all the expert help they needed.[144] Those requiring no support for common digital tasks far more often agreed that they got the expert help they needed than those requiring major support.   So, while 21% of those requiring no support agreed that they got the expert help they needed, the figure was 15% for those requiring major support.

However, Table 6.6 shows that this pattern collapsed once problem type and demographic characteristics were also included in analysis, with the relationship no longer statistically significant.[146]

Figure 6.4. **Bivariate relationship between digital capability for law and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed**

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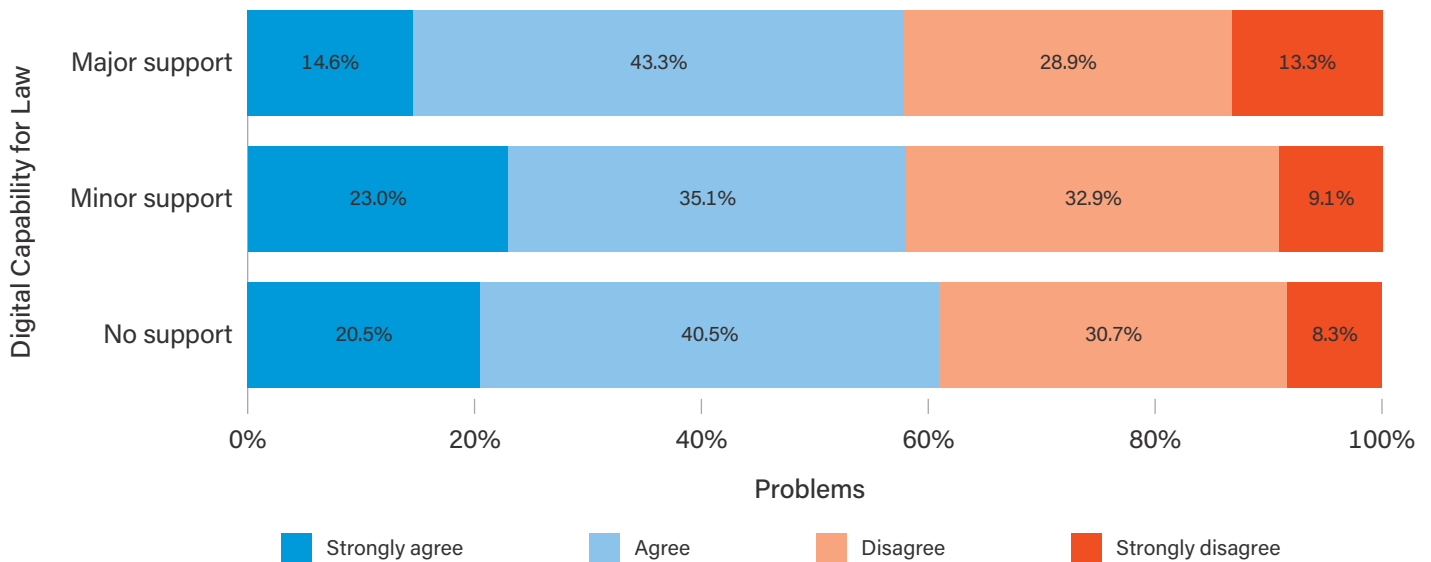
144   Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_6 = 24.85$, $p < 0.001$.
145   Pearson residual of -2.6 for the major support group.
146   Testing the digital capability for law model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 1.89$, $p = 0.39$.

General legal confidence

As illustrated in Figure 6.5, and similar to the picture for practical legal literacy, there was a very strong bivariate relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help needed to resolve justiciable problems.[147] Those in the high GLC scale stratum far more often agreed they got all the expert help they needed than did others. So, while 38% of those in the high GLC scale stratum strongly agreed that they got the help they needed, the figure was just 9% for those in the 'low' stratum — again less than a quarter the level of that for the high stratum.[148] Those in the low stratum most often strongly disagreed that they got the help they needed (16%),[149] while those in the high stratum least often disagreed (6%).

Table 6.6 below shows that the relationship between GLC scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed was clearly visible and remained highly statistically significant even once problem type and demographic characteristics were included in analysis.[150] Although moderated, the relationship evident in Table 6.5 is slightly more coherent than that suggested by Figure 6.5, with the same clear direction of association for both 'strongly agree' and 'agree' categories and for both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' categories. Even after accounting for problem type and demographics, those in the high GLC scale stratum strongly agreed that they got the expert help they needed almost twice as often as those in the low stratum.

Figure 6.5. **Bivariate relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed**

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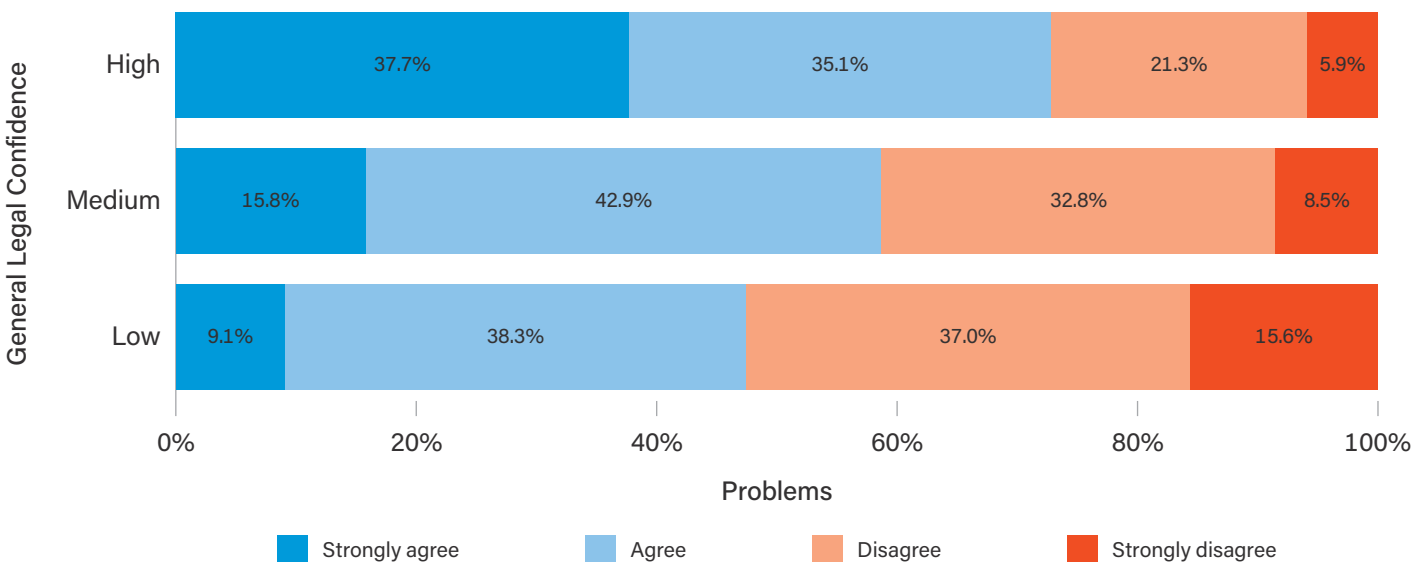
147 χ^2_4 = 207.06, p < 0.001.

148 Pearson residuals of 10.0 and -5.6 respectively. These were the largest absolute residuals and greatest sources of misfit.

149 Pearson residual of 4.7.

150 Testing the knowledge model terms together; χ^2_2 = 10.57, p < 0.005.

Composite skill/confidence level

Table 6.2 and Figure 6.6 show the relationship between composite skill/confidence level and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed to resolve justiciable problems. As can be seen, there was a very clear relationship between legal skill/confidence level and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed.[151] Higher skill/confidence was associated with respondents more often feeling they got the expert help they needed. So, while 48% of those with the highest level of skill/confidence strongly agreed that they got the help they needed, the figure was just 8% for those with the lowest level.

Table 6.2. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

Composite skill/ confidence level	Able to get all the expert help needed							
	Strongly agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lowest	30	8.4%	133	36.7%	142	39.3%	56	15.6%
Low	103	11.2%	422	45.9%	306	33.2%	89	9.7%
Higher	197	23.8%	328	39.7%	236	28.6%	65	7.9%
Highest	161	47.5%	91	27.0%	66	19.4%	21	6.2%

As is illustrated in Table 6.7, controlling for problem type and demographics somewhat reduced the strength of the relationship between composite skill/confidence and getting all the help needed, though the relationship remained statistically significant.[152]

Figure 6.6. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed

151 $\chi^2_9 = 263.44$, p < 0.001.
152 Testing the composite skill group model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 15.46$, p = 0.002.

Attitudes and getting the expert help you need

This section looks at the relationship between the attitude-related capability dimensions investigated through the PULS and the extent to which respondents agreed that they obtained all the help they needed. It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite attitude legal capability (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and the extent to which respondents agreed that they obtained all the help they needed.

Table 6.3 sets out the simple bivariate relationship between attitude-related legal capabilities and the extent to which PULS respondents agreed they were able to get all the expert help needed to resolve problems. As can be seen, positive attitudes corresponded with a greater proportion of respondents strongly agreeing that they had obtained adequate expert help. Except in the case of the 'resist' narrative, negative attitudes corresponded with a greater proportion of respondents strongly disagreeing that they had obtained adequate expert help.

Table 6.3. Bivariate relationship between attitude-related legal capability and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

| Legal capability | Level | Able to get all the expert help needed | | | | | | | |
| | | Strongly agree | | Agree | | Disagree | | Strongly disagree | |
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Remote narrative	Low	394	21.9%	759	42.2%	511	28.4%	137	7.6%
	High	65	14.9%	130	29.8%	170	39.0%	71	16.3%
Resist narrative	Low	386	20.4%	768	40.7%	564	29.8%	171	9.0%
	High	57	16.6%	146	42.3%	118	34.1%	25	7.1%
Practical narrative	Low	236	18.4%	515	40.1%	405	31.6%	127	9.9%
	High	220	23.1%	391	41.1%	269	28.4%	70	7.4%
Game narrative	Low	272	20.8%	578	44.4%	360	27.6%	93	7.1%
	High	173	18.1%	341	35.7%	336	35.2%	105	11.0%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata	Low	175	41.0%	131	30.8%	96	22.6%	24	5.6%
	Medium	221	16.7%	627	47.5%	378	28.7%	94	7.1%
	High	96	13.4%	226	31.4%	286	39.7%	112	15.5%
Trust in lawyers	Low	152	14.4%	433	41.3%	376	35.8%	88	8.4%
	High	318	27.5%	431	37.3%	295	25.5%	112	9.6%

Narratives of law

As illustrated in Figure 6.7, there was considerable variation in the manner in which different narratives of law related to the extent respondents agreed they had got all the expert help they needed to resolve justiciable problems. PULS respondents who adhered to the 'remote' narrative, and to a lesser extent those who adhered to the 'game' narrative, less often agreed that they had got all the expert help they needed. The relationships were statistically significant,[153] and remained so after problem type and demographics were controlled for.[154]

In contrast, there was some indication that those who adhered to the 'practical' narrative more often agreed they obtained all the help they needed,[155] and again the relationship remained significant after problem type and demographics were controlled for.[156]

The bivariate relationship between adherence to the 'resist' narrative and the extent to which respondents agreed they got the help they needed was not significant. This remained the case after problem type and demographics were controlled for.[157]

Figure 6.7. Bivariate relationship between level of adherence to narratives of law and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed
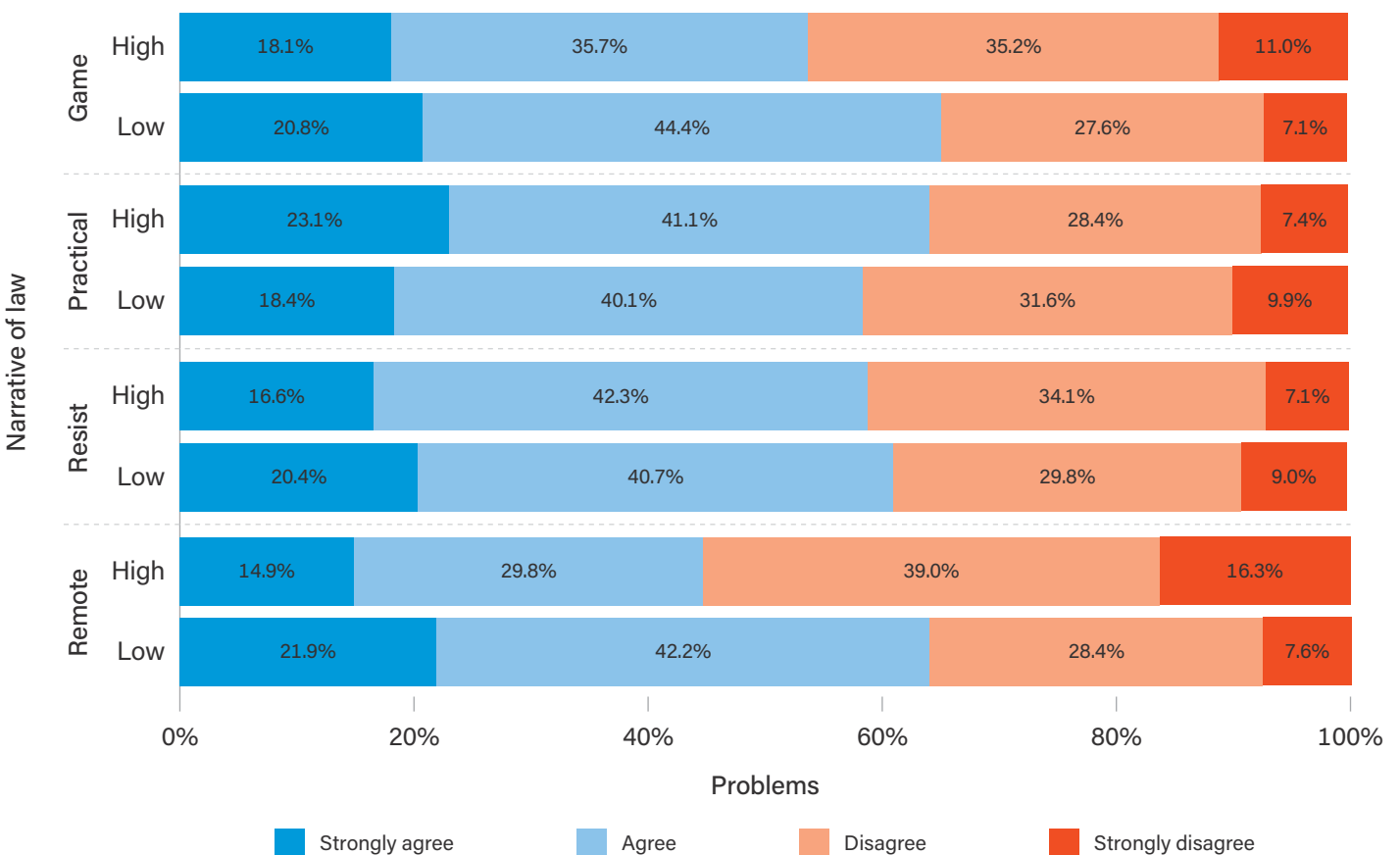
153 $x^2_3 = 63.16$, p < 0.001 (remote), $x^2_3 = 31.82$, p < 0.001 (game).
154 Testing the remote model term; $x^2_1 = 12.41$, p < 0.001. Testing the game model term; $x^2_1 = 6.83$, p = 0.009.
155 Testing the bivariate relationship; $x^2_3 = 12.08$, p = 0.007.
156 Testing the practical model term; $x^2_1 = 5.33$, p = 0.021.
157 For the bivariate relationship; $x^2_3 = 5.33$, p = 0.15. Testing the resist model term in the multivariate model also controlling for problem type and demographics; $x^2_1 = 0.17$, p = 0.68.

Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers

Figure 6.8 illustrates the strong relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they had got all the expert help they needed to resolve justiciable problems.[158] Most notably, those in the low PIL scale stratum (who saw lawyers as more accessible) most often strongly agreed they got all the help they needed, while those in the high stratum most often strongly disagreed.[159] So, while 41% of those in the low PIL scale stratum strongly agreed that they got all the help they needed, the figure was just 13% for those in the high PIL scale stratum.

As can be seen from Table 6.6, the relationship between PIL scale strata and the extent to which people agreed they got the expert help they needed remained highly statistically significant once problem type and demographics were accounted for,[160] though the strength of the relationship was reduced.

Figure 6.8. Bivariate relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed

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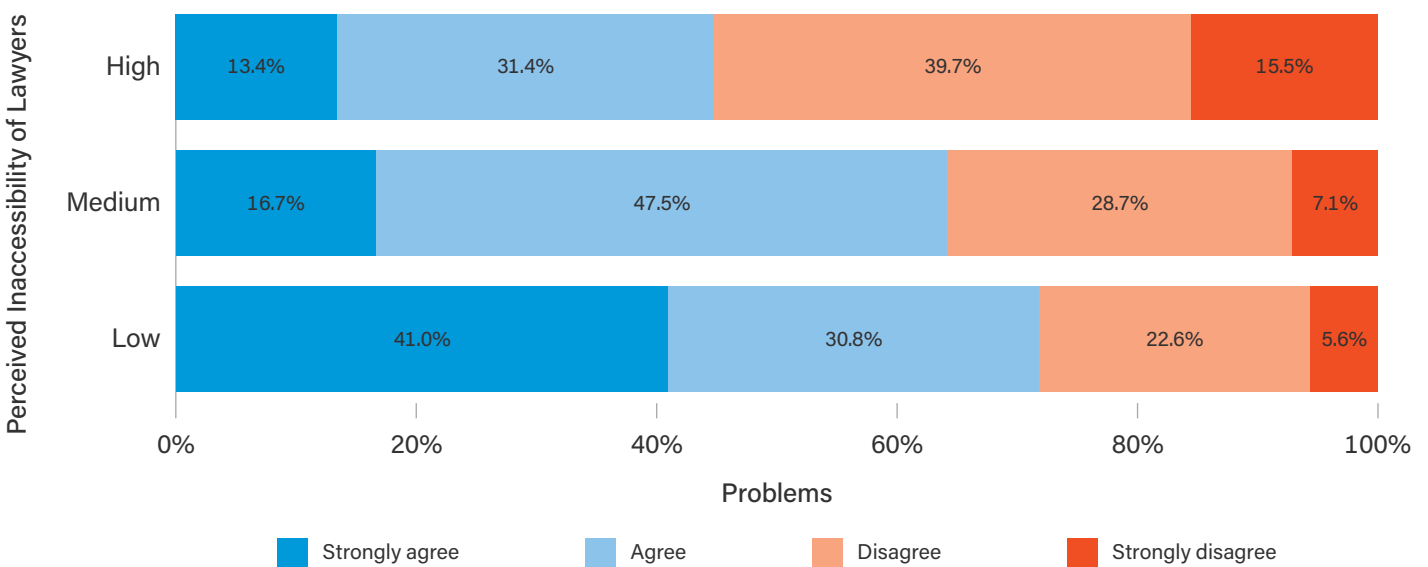
158 χ^2_3 = 232.16, p < 0.001.
159 These were the two largest absolute Pearson residuals, at 9.8 and 5.5 respectively.
160 Testing the PIL model terms; χ^2_2 = 37.17, p < 0.001.

Trust in lawyers

Figure 6.9 illustrates the significant relationship between PULS respondents' level of trust in personal lawyers and the extent to which they agreed they got all the expert help they needed to resolve sample problems.[161] As can be seen, almost twice as many of those in the high than the low trust group strongly agreed they had got all the expert help they needed.[162]

Figure 6.9. Bivariate relationship between trust in lawyers and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed
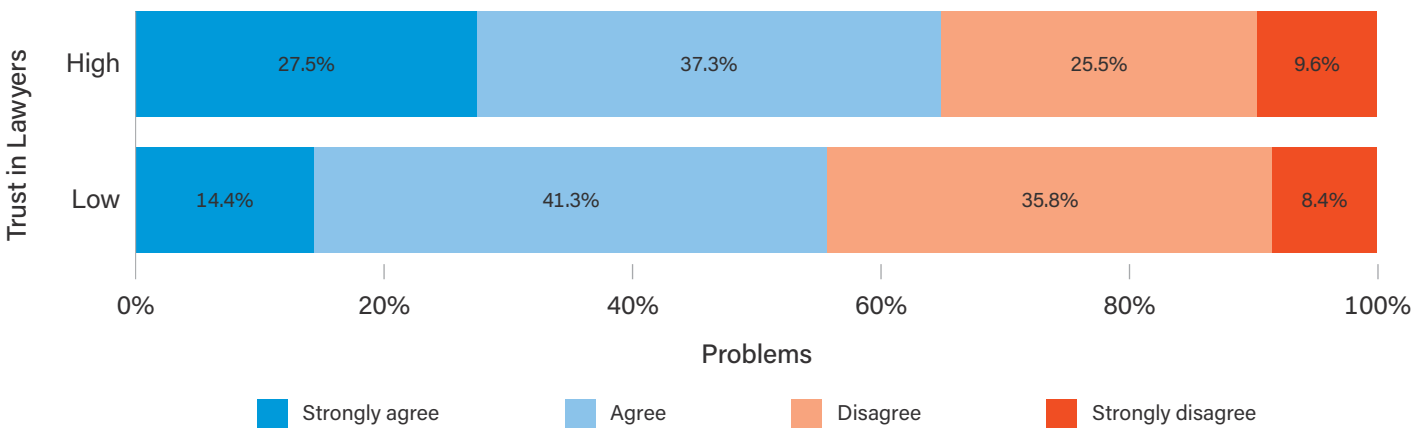
The relationship between trust and the extent respondents agreed they got all the help needed to resolve problems remained significant after controlling for problem type and demographics.[163] In fact, as can be seen from Table 6.6, a slightly clearer pattern emerged from this multivariate analysis, with the same direction of association for both 'strongly agree' and 'agree' categories and for both 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' categories.
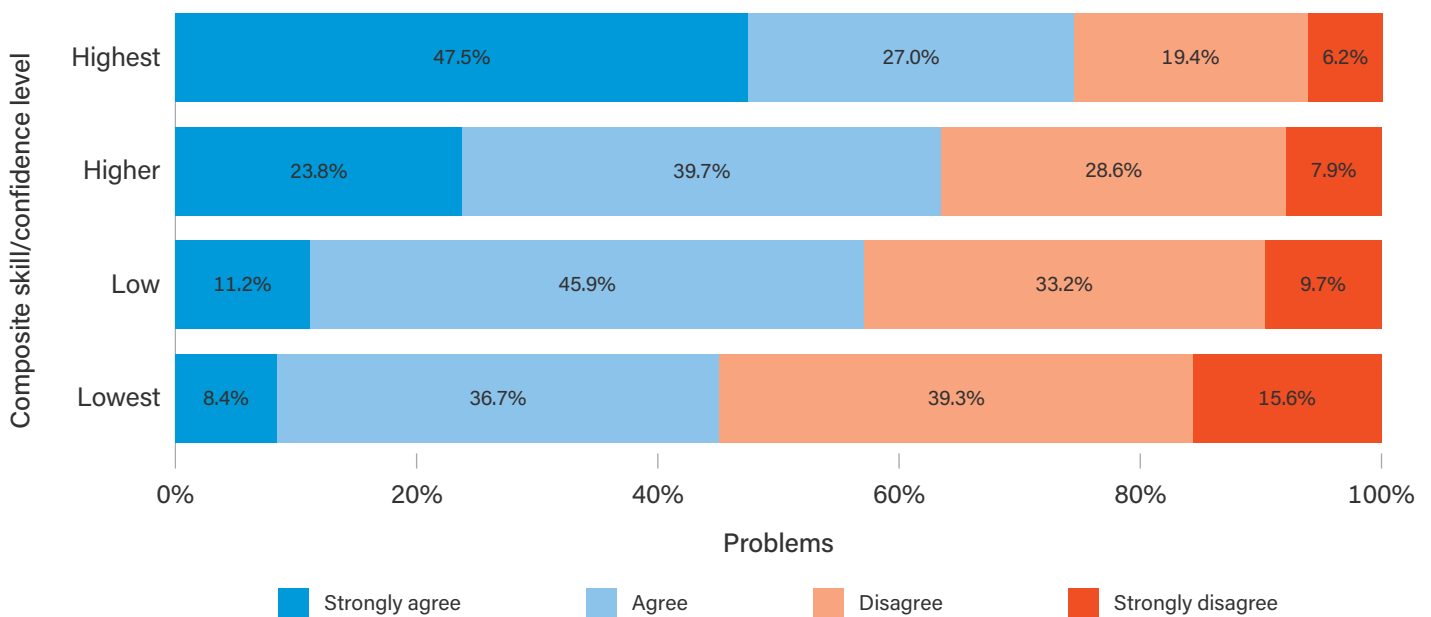
Composite attitude level

Table 6.4 and Figure 6.10 show the relationship between composite attitude level and the extent respondents agreed they got all the help needed to resolve problems. The relationship was clearly statistically significant,[164] with more positive attitudes associated with an increase in the proportion of respondents who strongly agreed they were able to get all the expert help they needed. So, while 48% of those with the most positive attitudes strongly agreed they were able to get all the expert help they needed, the figure was just 11% for those with the most negative attitudes.

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161 $\chi^2_3 = 66.26$, p < 0.001.
162 The largest absolute Pearson residuals of 4.6 (high trust) and -4.8 (low trust).
163 Testing the trust in lawyers model term; $\chi^2_1 = 9.43$, p = 0.002.
164 $\chi^2_9 = 149.91$, p < 0.001.

Table 6.4. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Composite attitude level	Able to get all the expert help needed							
	Strongly agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Most negative	43	11.0%	140	36.0%	150	38.8%	55	14.2%
Negative	148	17.2%	366	42.5%	287	33.3%	60	7.0%
Positive	119	26.4%	191	42.3%	108	24.0%	33	7.2%
Most positive	83	47.7%	58	33.5%	21	12.1%	12	6.7%

The relationship between composite attitude and the extent to which respondents agreed they got the help needed remained highly statistically significant even after controlling for problem type and demographics.[165] As can be seen from Table 6.7, the pattern of responses remained similar, if somewhat diluted, in the output of this multivariate analysis.

Figure 6.10. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents got all the expert help they needed

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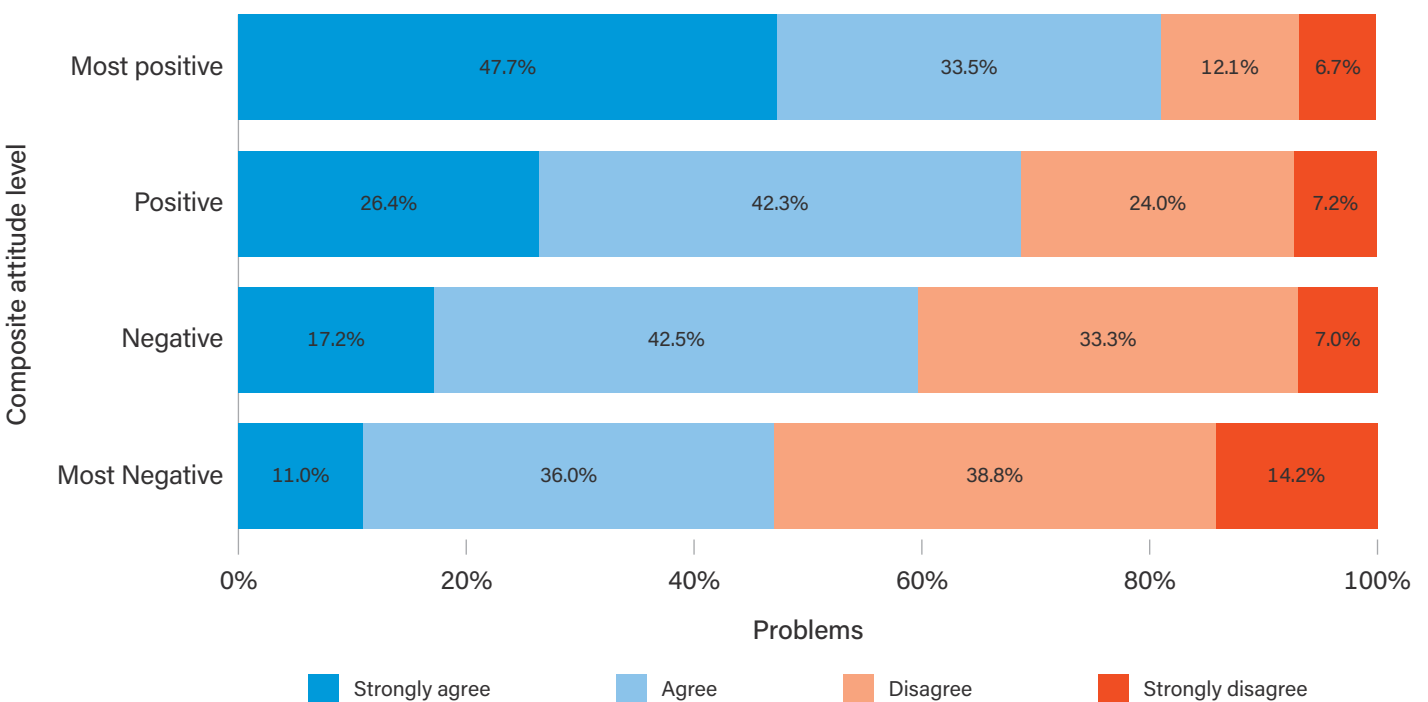
165 Testing the composite attitude group model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 21.52$, $p < 0.001$.

Skills, confidence and attitude combined

Table 6.5 and Figure 6.11 combine skills, confidence and attitudes into a single measure. As can be seen, there was a strong relationship between combined skills and attitudes and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed to resolve problems.[166]

The combination of higher skills and more positive attitudes was associated with a particularly high percentage of respondents strongly agreeing that they had got all the help they needed, while the combination of lower skills and more negative attitudes was associated with a particularly high percentage of respondents disagreeing that they had done so.[167]

Table 6.5.   **Bivariate relationship between combined composite skill/confidence and attitude and the extent to which respondents agreed that they got all the expert help that they needed (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)**

Combined composite skill and attitude level	Able to get all the expert help needed							
	Strongly agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lower skill, more negative attitude	74	10.4%	299	41.8%	271	37.8%	71	9.9%
Higher skill, more negative attitude	116	22.0%	205	38.8%	162	30.8%	44	8.4%
Lower skill, more positive attitude	36	17.2%	101	47.8%	51	23.9%	24	11.1%
Higher skill, more positive attitude	165	40.7%	141	34.8%	79	19.5%	21	5.1%

As can be seen from Table 6.7, the PULS response pattern evident in Table 6.5 and Figure 6.11 largely remained after controlling for problem type and demographic characteristics, with the relationship between capability and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the help they needed still highly statistically significant.[168]

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166   Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_9 = 162.67$, $p < 0.001$.
167   These were the largest absolute Pearson residuals of 8.6 and -6.2 respectively.
168   Testing the combined skill and attitude composite group model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 35.17$, $p < 0.001$.

Figure 6.11. Bivariate relationship between combined composite skill/confidence and attitude and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed
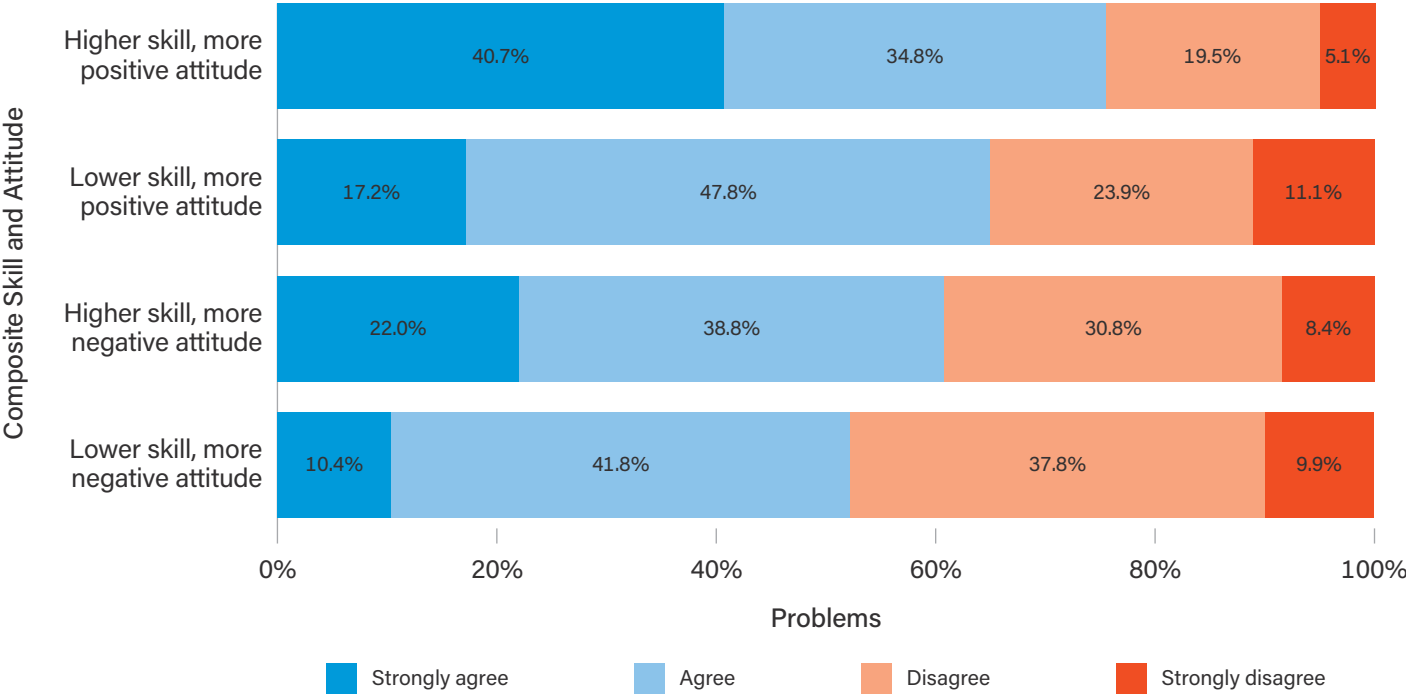
Multivariate modelling of the relationship between legal capability and adequacy of expert help

Fitting a model including problem type and social and demographic variables, but without capability variables resulted in an R^2 of 0.093 and an AIC of 6082.59. Adding all capability variables to the model as main effects resulted in an increase in R^2 to 0.201, indicating a better fitting model and a lower AIC of 4211.14, suggesting a better model overall. For both fit statistics, the addition of legal capability variables made an important contribution to predicting the extent to which respondents felt they got the expert help that they needed. Having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities, Digital Capability for Law, Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers and General Legal Confidence retained a significant relationship to the extent to which people got the help they needed.[169]

If instead of all capability measures, a composite skill and a composite attitude variable were introduced into the model alongside problem type and demographics, this resulted in an R^2 of 0.176 and an AIC of 4451.39. As above, introducing capability measures resulted in a better fitting model. This is the same model as referenced in analysis of the relationship between composite attitudes and getting the expert help needed above, with (having controlled for other variables) a significant relationship between both skills and attitudes and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed.[170]

If a single four category skill and attitude composite measure was introduced alongside problem type and demographics (rather than individual skills and attitudes measures), there was also an improvement in fit compared to the model without legal capability measures, with an R^2 of 0.155 and an AIC of 4483.53. This model was also referred to in analysis of the relationship between combined attitudes and skills and getting the expert help needed above, and as above, having controlled for other variables, there remained a highly significant relationship between the combined four category skills and attitudes measure and the extent to which people obtained the expert help they needed.[171]

Whether legal capability was entered into the model as individual variables or as composite variables, it made a significant contribution to predicting the extent to which people obtained the expert help they needed, even having controlled for problem type and respondent's social and demographic characteristics.

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169 Testing the digital capability variables together; $x^2_2 = 6.52$, p = 0.039. Testing the PIL variables together; $x^2_4 = 9.91$, p = 0.007. Testing the GLC variables together; $x^2_2 = 13.95$, p < 0.001.
170 Testing the composite skill group model terms; $x^2_3 = 15.46$, p = 0.002. Testing the composite attitude group model terms; $x^2_3 = 21.52$, p < 0.001.
171 Testing the combined skill and attitude composite group model terms; $x^2_3 = 35.17$, p < 0.001.

As discussed above for both individual and composite measures, while capability makes an important contribution to understanding the extent to which people got the help they needed, controlling for problem type and demographics frequently lessened the strength of relationships. This was no major surprise, since PULS Volume 2 highlighted the relationships between respondent's characteristics and their legal capabilities. In several cases, introduction of demographics diminished the relationship between getting the help needed and specific legal capabilities, though the pattern of the relationship was often maintained. The difference in relationships between simple (bivariate) cross tabulations and when derived from more complex multivariate modelling is illustrated for each legal capability in Table 6.6 and for composite capability measures in Table 6.7. Specifically, Table 6.6 shows the simple bivariate relationship between each capability and getting the expert help needed; followed by the relationship between each capability and getting the help needed having controlled for problem type and demographics; and finally the relationship between each capability and getting the expert help needed, having controlled for problem type, demographics *and* other capabilities. Table 6.7 shows the bivariate relationship between composite legal capability measures and getting the expert help needed, followed by the relationship having controlled for problem type and demographics.

To summarise, legal capability makes an important contribution to predicting the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, in addition to contribution of problem type and social demographic characteristics. In a number of cases, the introduction of problem type and demographics diminished the strength of the relationship, but significant relationships between skills, attitudes and getting the help needed remained.

Statistical models referenced in this section are set out in full in Appendix 1.

Table 6.6. The relationship between individual legal capabilities and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed in simple bivariate terms, having controlled for problem type and demographics, and having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Legal capability	Level	Bivariate relationship				Controlling for problem type, demographics and individual capabilities				Controlling for problem type, demographics and all capabilities			
		Did nothing	Handled alone / Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help	Did nothing	Handled alone / Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help	Did nothing	Handled alone / Informal help	Ind. help	Legal service ind. help
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Relevance of Law (LAW)	Low relevance	13.3%	44.2%	30.1%	12.5%	16.3%	37.9%	34.5%	11.3%	21.5%	40.4%	29.6%	8.4%
	Medium relevance	18.1%	42.5%	31.3%	8.1%	20.1%	40.2%	30.8%	8.9%	21.8%	40.5%	29.4%	8.3%
	High relevance	27.4%	32.6%	30.4%	9.7%	22.2%	41.0%	28.9%	7.9%	23.6%	41.1%	27.8%	7.5%
Knowledge	Low	10.2%	45.9%	39.1%	4.8%	16.6%	38.4%	34.0%	11.0%	22.3%	40.8%	28.9%	8.0%
	Medium	18.8%	41.0%	29.3%	10.9%	19.0%	39.9%	31.7%	9.5%	21.1%	40.4%	29.9%	8.6%
	High	31.3%	31.7%	27.7%	9.2%	26.1%	42.0%	25.5%	6.5%	25.0%	41.4%	26.6%	6.9%
Practical Legal Literacy (PLL)	Adequate (no issues)	37.5%	35.5%	17.3%	9.7%	31.6%	42.8%	20.9%	4.6%	28.0%	42.2%	24.1%	5.7%
	Adequate (some issues)	20.2%	40.9%	30.9%	8.0%	19.7%	41.2%	30.6%	8.5%	22.5%	41.4%	28.5%	7.6%
	Marginal	10.5%	44.4%	35.0%	10.1%	16.2%	39.1%	34.2%	10.6%	19.7%	40.3%	31.0%	9.0%
	Inadequate	8.2%	32.4%	43.4%	16.0%	11.0%	33.5%	39.9%	15.6%	15.3%	37.6%	35.3%	11.9%
Digital Capability for Law (DCL)	No support	20.5%	40.5%	30.7%	8.3%	20.0%	40.0%	31.0%	9.1%	20.2%	39.8%	30.8%	9.2%
	Minor support	23.0%	35.1%	32.9%	9.1%	22.2%	40.9%	28.9%	8.0%	27.3%	41.5%	25.0%	6.3%
	Major support	14.6%	43.3%	28.9%	13.3%	17.8%	38.8%	33.0%	10.3%	26.1%	41.4%	25.9%	6.7%
General Legal Confidence (GLC)	Low	9.1%	38.3%	37.0%	15.6%	11.4%	34.9%	39.4%	14.3%	16.2%	38.9%	34.2%	10.7%
	Medium	15.8%	42.9%	32.8%	8.5%	17.7%	40.8%	32.4%	9.1%	20.4%	41.3%	30.1%	8.2%
	High	37.7%	35.1%	21.3%	5.9%	33.0%	43.2%	19.7%	4.1%	30.0%	42.7%	22.3%	4.9%
Remote narrative	Low	21.9%	42.2%	28.4%	7.6%	22.2%	41.0%	29.0%	7.8%	22.8%	41.0%	28.5%	7.7%
	High	14.9%	29.8%	39.0%	16.3%	13.5%	35.4%	37.6%	13.5%	20.0%	39.9%	30.9%	9.1%
Resist narrative	Low	20.4%	40.7%	29.8%	9.0%	19.7%	41.0%	30.6%	8.7%	22.0%	40.4%	29.3%	8.3%
	High	16.6%	42.3%	34.1%	7.1%	21.1%	41.5%	29.3%	8.1%	24.8%	41.1%	27.0%	7.1%
Practical narrative	Low	18.4%	40.1%	31.6%	9.9%	18.6%	40.1%	32.0%	9.4%	22.5%	40.6%	28.8%	8.1%
	High	23.1%	41.1%	28.4%	7.4%	23.1%	41.8%	27.8%	7.3%	22.3%	40.6%	29.0%	8.1%
Game narrative	Low	20.8%	44.4%	27.6%	7.1%	22.0%	42.0%	28.7%	7.2%	23.9%	41.3%	27.6%	7.3%
	High	18.1%	35.7%	35.2%	11.0%	16.7%	39.4%	34.0%	9.9%	20.0%	40.0%	30.9%	9.0%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	41.0%	30.8%	22.6%	5.6%	33.5%	42.9%	19.5%	4.0%	26.9%	42.7%	24.7%	5.7%
	Medium	16.7%	47.5%	28.7%	7.1%	19.7%	41.7%	30.6%	8.1%	23.9%	42.3%	27.1%	6.7%
	High	13.4%	31.4%	39.7%	15.5%	12.7%	36.1%	38.3%	12.9%	15.5%	38.1%	35.2%	11.2%
Trust in lawyers	Low	14.4%	41.3%	35.8%	8.4%	18.1%	38.3%	33.4%	10.2%	21.3%	40.4%	29.8%	8.5%
	High	27.5%	37.3%	25.5%	9.6%	24.4%	40.8%	27.6%	7.2%	23.2%	41.0%	28.1%	7.6%

Table 6.7. The relationship between composite legal capability and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, in simple bivariate terms and having controlled for problem type and demographics (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

	Level	Bivariate relationships				Controlling for problem type and demographics			
		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Composite skill/ confidence level	Lowest skill	8.4%	36.7%	39.3%	15.6%	18.2%	40.4%	32.2%	9.2%
	Low skill	11.2%	45.9%	33.2%	9.7%	16.6%	39.4%	33.8%	10.2%
	Higher skill	23.8%	39.7%	28.6%	7.9%	22.3%	42.2%	28.3%	7.2%
	Highest skill	47.5%	27.0%	19.4%	6.2%	33.2%	42.7%	20.0%	4.2%
Composite attitude level	Most negative attitude	11.0%	36.0%	38.8%	14.2%	13.8%	37.4%	36.8%	12.0%
	Negative attitude	17.2%	42.5%	33.3%	7.0%	19.6%	41.5%	30.7%	8.2%
	Positive attitude	26.4%	42.3%	24.0%	7.2%	24.2%	43.0%	26.5%	6.3%
	Most positive attitude	47.7%	33.5%	12.1%	6.7%	37.0%	42.1%	17.5%	3.4%
Composite skill and attitude level	Lower skill, more negative attitude	10.4%	41.8%	37.8%	9.9%	14.7%	38.4%	35.9%	11.0%
	Higher skill, more negative attitude	22.0%	38.8%	30.8%	8.4%	20.0%	42.0%	30.1%	7.8%
	Lower skill, more positive attitude	17.2%	47.8%	23.9%	11.1%	19.1%	41.6%	31.1%	8.2%
	Higher skill, more positive attitude	40.7%	34.8%	19.5%	5.1%	35.0%	42.8%	18.5%	3.7%

Legal capability, obtaining independent help and getting the expert help needed

Not all of those who obtained independent help, either from a legal service or other source got all the expert help they needed. Conversely, not all of those who felt they got all the expert help needed obtained independent help. For some, help was not considered necessary.

As is illustrated in Figure 6.12, there was surprisingly little difference in the extent to which people who got and didn't get independent help said they had got all the expert help they needed. Of those respondents who obtained independent help, legal or non-legal, 60.1% agreed or strongly agreed that they got all the help they needed, almost the same as the 59.5% for those who did not. Looking only at legal services, the gap was greater, but still not large. Of those respondents who obtained legal help, 65.1% agreed or strongly agreed that they got all the help they needed, compared to 58.4% for those who did not.

Figure 6.12. The relationship between the independent help respondents obtained and the extent to which they felt they got all the expert help they needed
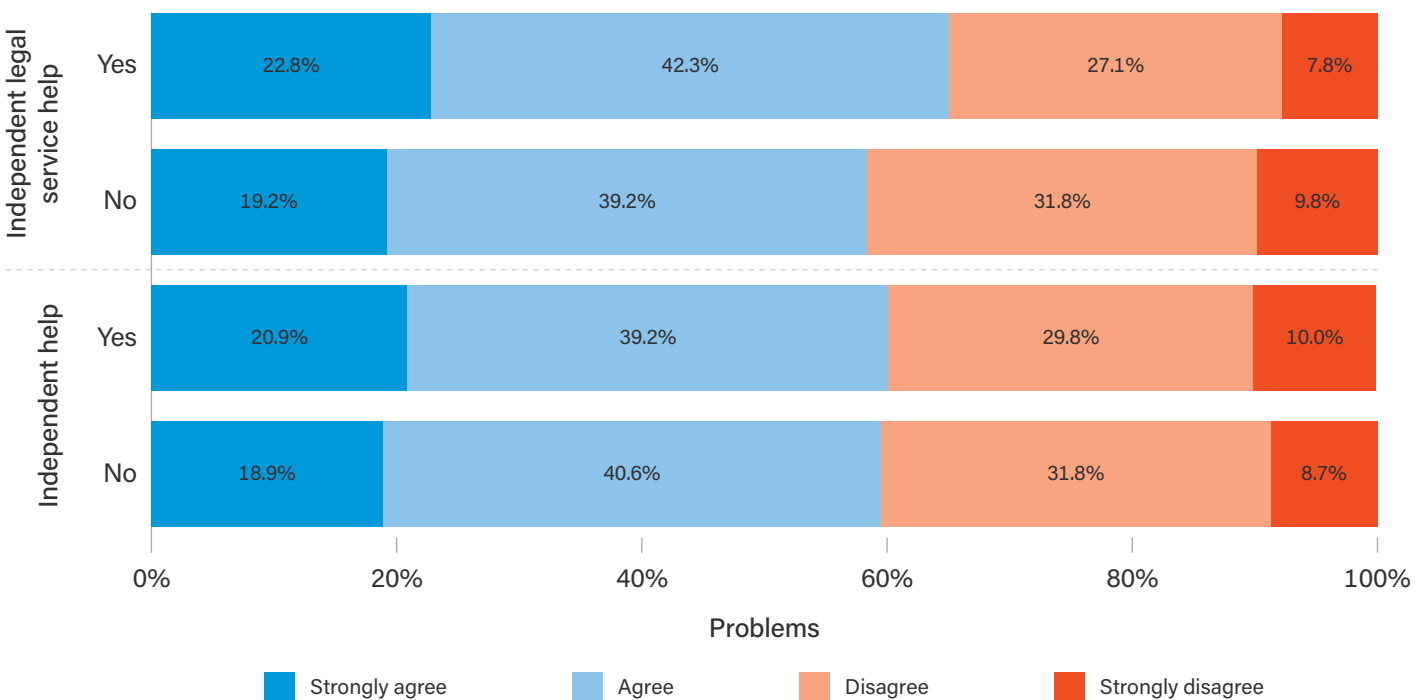
Using primarily the skill and attitude-related composite legal capability measures, this section revisits the relationship between legal capability and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed, while also considering whether or not independent help was actually obtained. It reveals that the powerful relationships between capability and getting the help needed held both where respondents obtained and did not obtain independent help.

Legal capability, legal help and adequacy of help

Figure 6.13 and Table 6.8 show the relationship between the two composite skill and attitude-related legal capability measures and the extent to which respondents got all the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents obtained independent help from a legal service. As can be seen, there was a strong relationship between both composite capability measures and the extent to which respondents agreed they got all the expert help they needed, irrespective of whether legal help was obtained. Whether or not legal help was obtained, the higher the level of respondents' skills and the more positive their attitudes, the more often they agreed they got all the expert help they needed.[172]

Figure 6.13. The relationship between composite skill and composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents actually obtained independent help from a legal service
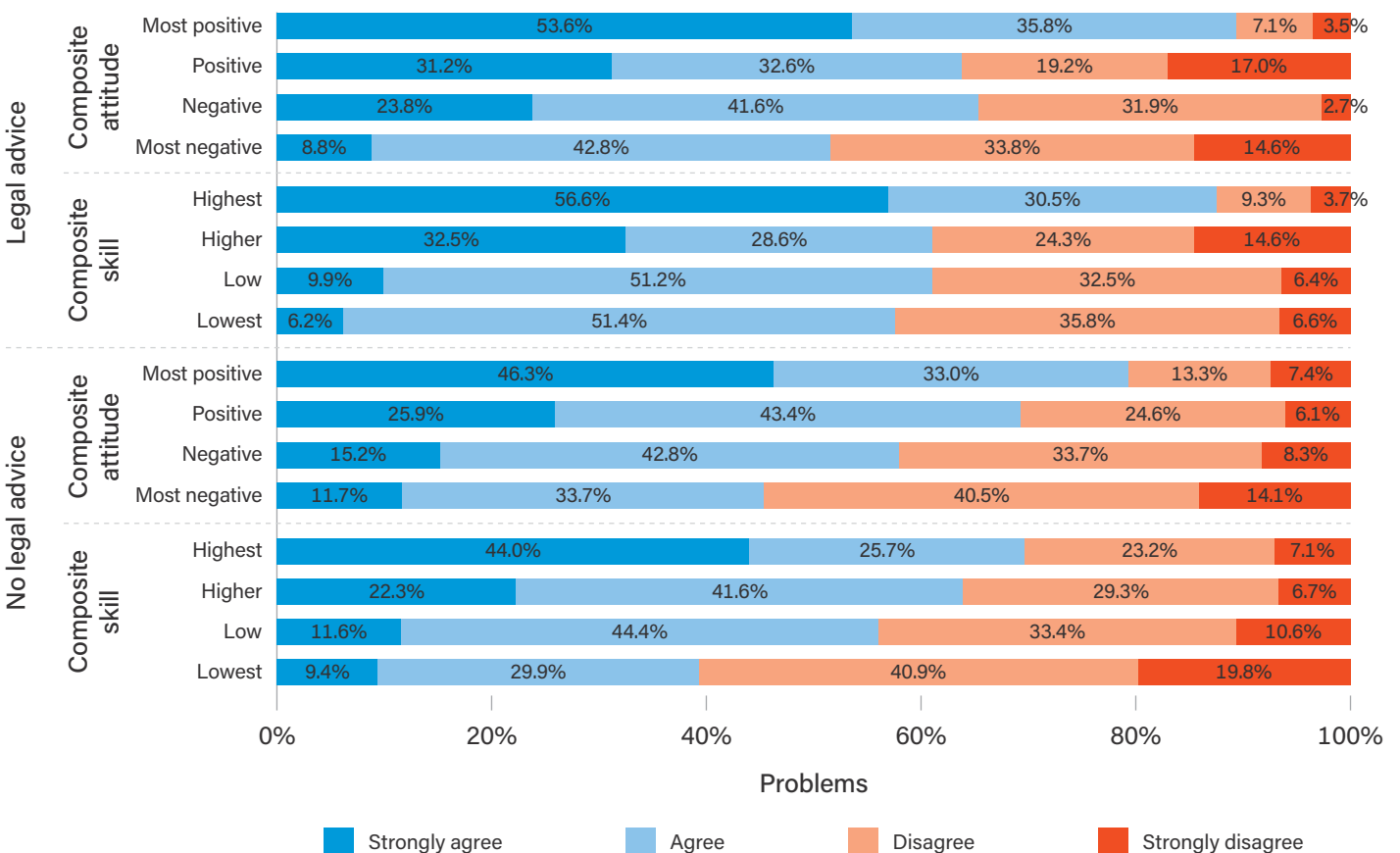
172 Relationships were tested statistically using two ordinal regression models. The first predicting the extent to which respondents got the help they needed based on their composite skill, whether they obtained legal service independent help and the interaction of the two, and the second replacing composite skill with composite attitude. In the first, the interaction terms (tested together) were clearly non-significant ($x^2_3 = 2.80$, p = 0.43), the legal service main effect was non-significant ($x^2_1 = 3.27$, p = 0.07), but the skill main effect terms (tested together) were highly statistically significant ($x^2_3 = 42.15$, p < 0.001). In the second, the interaction terms (tested together) were clearly non-significant ($x^2_3 = 1.22$, p = 0.75), the legal service main effect was clearly non-significant ($x^2_1 = 0.05$, p = 0.82), but the attitude main effect terms (tested together) were again highly statistically significant ($x^2_3 = 44.25$, p < 0.001).

6. Legal Capability and the Help You Get

The fact that, when PULS respondents obtained no legal help, both skill and attitude-related legal capability were strongly associated with the extent to which they agreed they obtained all the help they needed was not surprising. Skills and attitudes relate to success in getting what you need when handling issues alone. So, although people will have sought help more often when they assessed problem resolution to be beyond their own abilities, and this may have been different for higher and lower legal capability respondents, it is reasonable to expect that those respondents with greater capability will less often have required help than those with lesser capability, so more often have been content to not obtain help and more often considered that they obtained all the help they needed on occasions when no legal help was obtained.

Table 6.8. The relationship between composite skill and composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents actually obtained independent help from a legal service. Columns are individually coloured from dark (highest values) to light (lowest values)

Legal help	Capability	Level	Able to get all the expert help needed			
			Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
No	Composite skill	Lowest	9.4%	29.9%	40.9%	19.8%
		Low	11.6%	44.4%	33.4%	10.6%
		Higher	22.3%	41.6%	29.3%	6.7%
		Highest	44.0%	25.7%	23.2%	7.1%
	Composite attitude	Most negative	11.7%	33.7%	40.5%	14.1%
		Negative	15.2%	42.8%	33.7%	8.3%
		Positive	25.9%	43.4%	24.6%	6.1%
		Most positive	46.3%	33.0%	13.3%	7.4%
Yes	Composite skill	Lowest	6.2%	51.4%	35.8%	6.6%
		Low	9.9%	51.2%	32.5%	6.4%
		Higher	32.5%	28.6%	24.3%	14.6%
		Highest	56.6%	30.5%	9.3%	3.7%
	Composite attitude	Most negative	8.8%	42.8%	33.8%	14.6%
		Negative	23.8%	41.6%	31.9%	2.7%
		Positive	31.2%	32.6%	19.2%	17.0%
		Most positive	53.6%	35.8%	7.1%	3.5%

Of course, it might be hoped that legal skills and attitudes would matter less if independent legal help is obtained, as legal assistance exists to make up for legal capability deficits. However, this was not the case, with a similarly powerful relationship evident when legal help was obtained.

As Galanter (1974) argued half a century ago in his seminal paper 'Why the Haves Come Out Ahead: Speculations on the Limits of Legal Change', there are reasons to believe that low skills and/or more negative attitudes will relate to respondents using legal advice that is of poorer quality and/or ill-suited to the issue at hand, or that low skills and/or negative attitudes will relate to a reduced ability to extract value and/or make the most of legal advice, particularly if lesser legal capability is tied to other aspects of disadvantage. In any event, legal help, once obtained, did not reduce the benefits of higher legal capability and far less often met the needs of those with lower legal capability.

Legal capability, publicly funded legal services and adequacy of help

A strong relationship between legal capability and getting the help needed was also evident for users of both publicly funded and privately funded legal services; although the relationship was particularly strong for privately funded services, as is illustrated in Figure 6.14.[173]

Figure 6.14. The relationship between composite skill and composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, for problems where help was obtained from a publicly funded or from a privately funded independent legal service
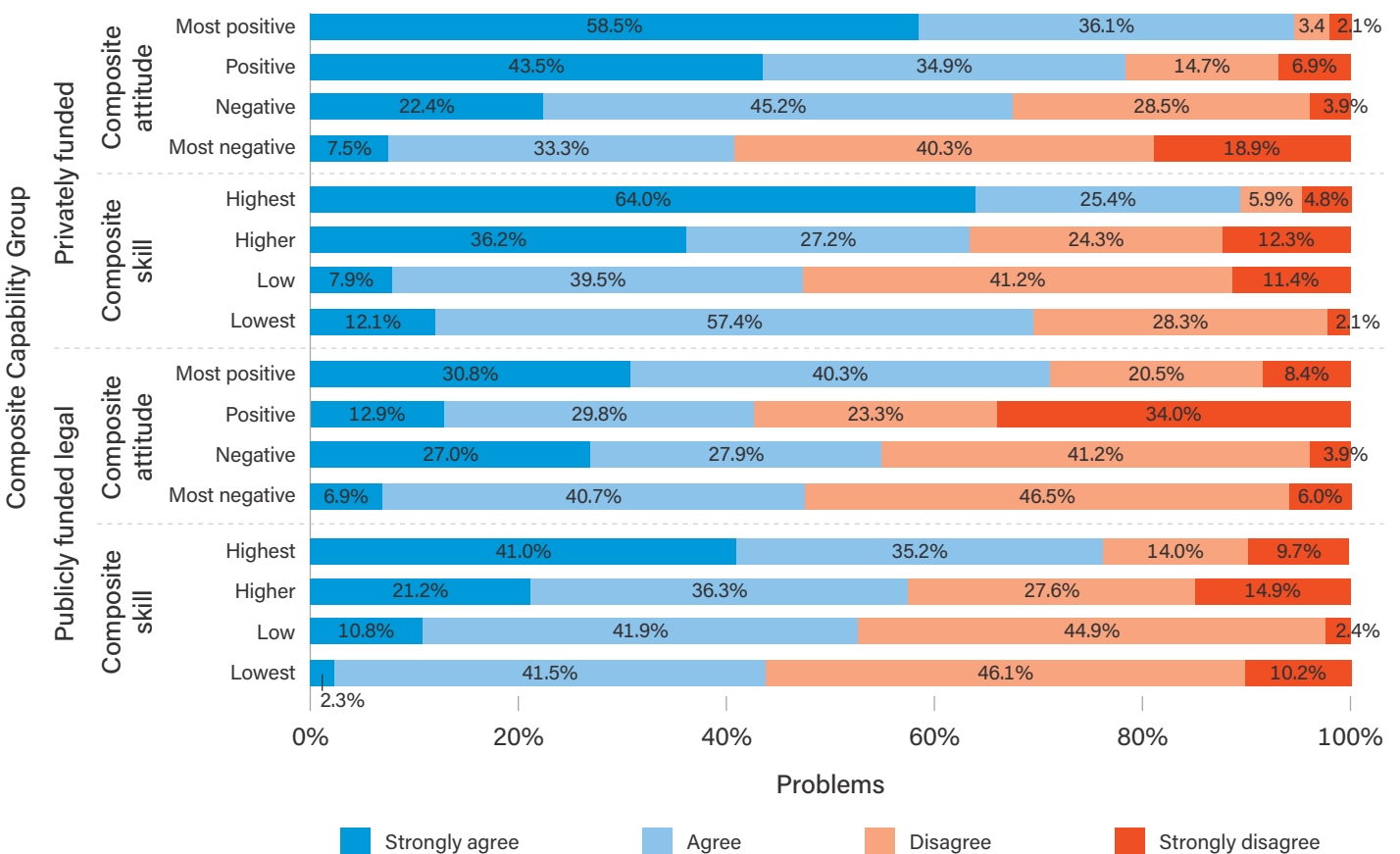
173 Some of these findings should be interpreted with some caution, since numbers were relatively small in some cases. In particular, the 'positive attitude' bar for those using publicly funded independent legal services was only made up of 21 responses and the 'most positive attitude' bar made up of only 7 responses. More generally, these small numbers were a function of users of publicly funded independent legal services exhibiting far more negative attitudes than those using private lawyers, or those who did not obtain independent legal advice.

Legal capability, non-legal help and adequacy of help

The relationship between capability and getting the help needed was not unique to independent legal advice. As is illustrated by Figure 6.15 and Table 6.9, the relationship between composite skill and attitude capability measures and the extent to which PULS respondents got the expert help they needed was also observed irrespective of whether respondents obtained independent help from a non-legal service.

As in the case of independent legal help, when respondents got independent help from a non-legal source, those with lower skills or more negative attitudes were far less likely to get the expert help they needed.[174]

Moreover, unlike in the case of independent legal help, those who got independent help from a non-legal source were more likely to report not having got all the expert help they needed than those who didn't get help from a non-legal source.

Figure 6.15. The relationship between composite skill and composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents actually obtained independent help from a non-legal service

Strongly agree   Agree   Disagree   Strongly disagree
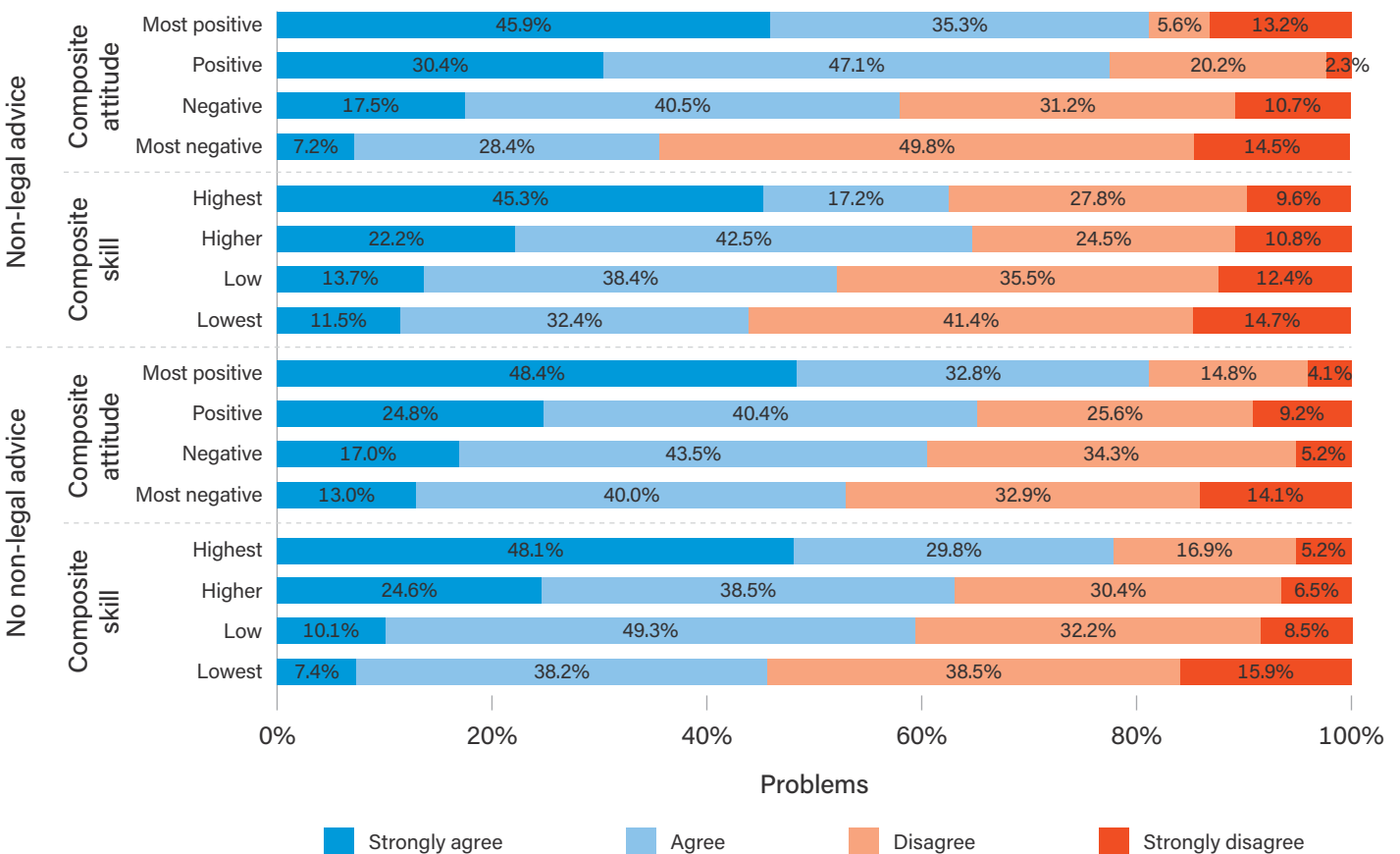
174 As previously, relationships were tested statistically using two ordinal regression models. The first predicting the extent to which respondents got the help they needed based on their composite skill, whether they obtained non-legal service independent help and the interaction of the two, and the second replacing composite skill with composite attitude. In the first, the interaction terms (tested together) were clearly non-significant ($x^2_3 = 0.86$, $p = 0.84$), the non-legal service main effect was clearly non-significant ($x^2_1 = 0.02$, $p = 0.92$), but the skill main effect terms (tested together) were highly statistically significant ($x^2_3 = 51.12$, $p < 0.001$). In the second, the interaction terms (tested together) were non-significant ($x^2_3 = 5.95$, $p = 0.11$), the legal service main effect was non-significant ($x^2_1 = 2.99$, $p = 0.08$), but the attitude main effect terms (tested together) were again highly statistically significant ($x^2_3 = 31.14$, $p < 0.001$).

Table 6.9. The relationship between composite skill and composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents actually obtained independent help from a non-legal service. Columns are individually coloured from dark (highest values) to light (lowest values)

Independent (non-legal) help	Capability	Level	Able to get all the expert help needed			
			Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
No	Composite skill	Lowest	7.4%	38.2%	38.5%	15.9%
		Low	10.1%	49.3%	32.2%	8.5%
		Higher	24.6%	38.5%	30.4%	6.5%
		Highest	48.1%	29.8%	16.9%	5.2%
	Composite attitude	Most negative	13.0%	40.0%	32.9%	14.1%
		Negative	17.0%	43.5%	34.3%	5.2%
		Positive	24.8%	40.4%	25.6%	9.2%
		Most positive	48.4%	32.8%	14.8%	4.1%
Yes	Composite skill	Lowest	11.5%	32.4%	41.4%	14.7%
		Low	13.7%	38.4%	35.5%	12.4%
		Higher	22.2%	42.5%	24.5%	10.8%
		Highest	45.3%	17.2%	27.8%	9.6%
	Composite attitude	Most negative	7.2%	28.4%	49.8%	14.5%
		Negative	17.5%	40.5%	31.2%	10.7%
		Positive	30.4%	47.1%	20.2%	2.3%
		Most positive	45.9%	35.3%	5.6%	13.2%

Individual legal capabilities and adequacy of legal help

Finally, Tables 6.10 and 6.11 again look at the relationship between legal capability and the extent to which PULS respondents agreed that they got all the expert help they needed by whether legal help was obtained. Table 6.10 sets out the relationships for each individual legal capability dimension explored in the PULS. Table 6.11 sets out the relationships for the combined skills and attitudes measure.

As can be seen from Table 6.10, the majority of legal capability dimensions were strongly related to the extent to which respondents agreed they got the help they needed, whether or not legal advice was obtained. Similarly, the combined skills and attitudes measure was related to the extent to which respondents agreed they got the help they needed, whether or not legal advice was actually obtained.

6. Legal Capability and the Help You Get

Table 6.10. The relationship between individual legal capability dimensions and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents actually obtained independent help from a legal service. Columns are individually coloured from dark (highest values) to light (lowest values)

Legal help	Legal capability	Level	Strongly agree Row %	Agree Row %	Disagree Row %	Strongly disagree Row %
No	Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low relevance	14.6%	36.0%	34.7%	14.7%
		Medium relevance	16.6%	44.4%	30.9%	8.0%
		High relevance	25.8%	32.3%	31.8%	10.1%
	Knowledge	Low	10.9%	43.3%	40.4%	5.5%
		Medium	17.6%	41.1%	30.1%	11.2%
		High	30.4%	30.8%	29.4%	9.4%
	Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	34.8%	36.5%	19.4%	9.2%
		Adequate (some issues)	18.6%	40.3%	32.5%	8.7%
		Marginal	11.4%	45.0%	34.7%	8.9%
		Inadequate	11.2%	21.0%	44.4%	23.4%
	Digital capability for law	No support	19.2%	41.6%	31.0%	8.1%
		Minor support	22.2%	34.1%	33.8%	10.0%
		Major support	15.2%	37.3%	32.1%	15.4%
	General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	7.9%	36.1%	38.3%	17.6%
		Medium	15.8%	42.7%	33.4%	8.1%
		High	36.9%	34.1%	22.5%	6.5%
	Remote narrative	Low	21.0%	41.0%	30.2%	7.8%
		High	14.4%	30.6%	37.0%	18.1%
	Resist narrative	Low	19.3%	40.9%	30.7%	9.1%
		High	18.8%	38.1%	35.4%	7.7%
	Practical narrative	Low	19.1%	39.6%	32.0%	9.3%
		High	21.0%	39.6%	30.9%	8.5%
	Game narrative	Low	19.6%	43.8%	29.1%	7.5%
		High	19.1%	34.7%	34.7%	11.6%
	Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	36.9%	31.9%	24.9%	6.2%
		Medium	16.1%	46.9%	29.6%	7.5%
		High	13.7%	28.5%	41.2%	16.6%
	Trust in lawyers	Low	15.0%	38.4%	38.6%	8.0%
		High	24.8%	39.6%	25.3%	10.3%

Table 6.10. The relationship between individual legal capability dimensions and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents actually obtained independent help from a legal service. Columns are individually coloured from dark (highest values) to light (lowest values) (cont.)

Legal help	Legal capability	Level	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
			Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Yes	Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low relevance	10.3%	62.5%	19.8%	7.4%
		Medium relevance	23.7%	35.2%	32.8%	8.2%
		High relevance	35.8%	33.7%	22.9%	7.5%
	Legal knowledge	Low	8.0%	53.9%	35.4%	2.7%
		Medium	24.0%	40.4%	26.0%	9.6%
		High	34.7%	35.3%	21.4%	8.6%
	Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	48.8%	31.4%	8.4%	11.3%
		Adequate (some issues)	26.6%	43.2%	24.7%	5.5%
		Marginal	6.0%	40.9%	36.4%	16.7%
		Inadequate	3.6%	49.4%	41.9%	5.1%
	Digital capability for law	No support	25.2%	36.4%	29.5%	9.0%
		Minor support	27.0%	39.6%	28.5%	4.8%
		Major support	12.6%	61.2%	19.1%	7.1%
	General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	13.4%	45.9%	32.2%	8.4%
		Medium	15.9%	43.5%	30.6%	10.0%
		High	40.0%	37.9%	17.9%	4.1%
	Remote narrative	Low	25.0%	46.6%	21.6%	6.8%
		High	16.9%	26.4%	48.7%	7.9%
	Resist narrative	Low	25.7%	39.5%	25.8%	9.0%
		High	13.1%	48.5%	32.1%	6.3%
	Practical narrative	Low	16.1%	41.8%	30.2%	11.9%
		High	32.2%	47.4%	17.8%	2.7%
	Game narrative	Low	26.4%	47.1%	21.1%	5.4%
		High	15.3%	38.6%	37.0%	9.1%
	Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	59.6%	25.6%	11.9%	2.9%
		Medium	19.5%	49.9%	24.8%	5.8%
		High	12.4%	39.3%	35.8%	12.5%
	Trust in lawyers	Low	12.6%	50.8%	26.7%	9.9%
		High	39.7%	27.1%	26.5%	6.8%

Table 6.11. The relationship between combined composite skill and attitudes and the extent to which respondents got the expert help they needed, split by whether or not respondents actually obtained independent help from a legal service. Columns are individually coloured from dark (highest values) to light (lowest values)

Independent legal advice	Skill/attitude	Able to get all the expert help needed			
		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
No	More negative attitude, lower skill	10.4%	39.5%	37.7%	12.4%
	More negative attitude, higher skill	19.0%	40.9%	32.9%	7.2%
	More positive attitude, lower skill	17.5%	48.3%	23.6%	10.6%
	More positive attitude, higher skill	38.7%	35.8%	21.1%	4.5%
Yes	More negative attitude, lower skill	10.2%	48.5%	38.3%	3.1%
	More negative attitude, higher skill	33.4%	30.9%	22.7%	13.0%
	More positive attitude, lower skill	14.7%	44.8%	25.6%	14.9%
	More positive attitude, higher skill	55.4%	27.3%	7.8%	9.5%

7. Legal Capability and Legal Need

This chapter sets out PULS findings concerning the relationship between general legal capability and patterns of legal need and whether it is met. Aside from LAW scale strata, there were significant bivariate relationships between all capability measures and patterns of legal need, although many relationships were not significant after controlling for problem type and demographics. Nevertheless, a broad picture emerged (excepting the case of legal knowledge) of legal need and unmet legal need being more common among PULS respondents with lower skills and confidence, and more negative attitudes to law and lawyers.

As detailed in PULS Volume 1, PULS data was used to produce two measures of met and unmet legal need.[175] A narrow measure required legal services to be accessed for needs to be met. A broad measure required only independent advice to be accessed. Overall, the PULS indicated that legal needs arose in relation to 63% of reported problems. On the basis of the narrow measure, just one in ten of these legal needs were met (6% of problems overall). On the basis of the broad measure, slightly more than one in five of these needs were met (14% of problems overall).

Obtaining help from a legal service did not mean legal needs were met. Of those PULS problems which gave rise to a legal need and about which legal advice was obtained, still around two-thirds of needs were categorised as unmet. Looking in more detail at those who obtained legal advice, but whose legal need were still unmet, just over 60% indicated that support was inadequate, and just under 60% had problems which had gone on for more than two years, despite assistance. Within the OECD/OSF (2019) framework for the measurement of legal need, both these eventualities mean legal needs should be categorised as unmet.

This chapter sets out the relationship between legal capability and legal need.

175 The protocol for categorising problems as having no legal need, met legal need, or unmet legal need can be found on page 14 above and in greater detail in the PULS Volume 1 (Balmer et al., 2023).

Skills, confidence and legal need

This section looks in turn at the relationship between the five skills and confidence-related legal capability dimensions explored in the PULS and legal need. It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite skill/confidence (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and legal need.

As can be seen from Table 7.1 — which sets out the simple bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capabilities and whether or not legal needs arose and whether they were met (using the broad definition of advice) — apart from in the case of general legal knowledge of the content of law, higher levels of legal skill or confidence corresponded with a lesser proportion of problems involving legal need and fewer problems involving unmet legal need. However, as is explained below, not all these relationships reached statistical significance.

Looking just at those problems that gave rise to a legal need, higher levels of legal skill or confidence corresponded with a greater proportion of needs being met, apart from in the case of practical legal literacy. However, as is detailed below, inadequate practical legal literacy was associated with the highest proportion of problems giving rise to legal need, by a considerable margin.

As can be seen from Table 7.6 below, the relationships between skill and confidence-related legal capabilities and legal need were much diminished once problem type and demographic factors were taken into account in a multivariate analysis, with just two of five statistically significant.

Table 7.1. Bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capability and legal need (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

| Legal capability | Level | Legal need (broad definition of advice) | | | | | |
| | | Unmet legal need | | Legal need met | | No legal need | |
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low relevance	238	52.3%	66	14.4%	152	33.3%
	Medium relevance	604	48.8%	179	14.4%	456	36.8%
	High relevance	307	45.4%	88	13.1%	280	41.5%
Legal knowledge	Low	193	41.7%	59	12.9%	210	45.4%
	Medium	690	49.3%	191	13.6%	519	37.1%
	High	267	52.4%	83	16.2%	160	31.4%
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	156	42.5%	48	13.0%	163	44.5%
	Adequate (some issues)	591	45.4%	165	12.7%	547	42.0%
	Marginal	244	55.6%	64	14.5%	131	29.8%
	Inadequate	140	60.5%	55	23.9%	36	15.6%
Digital capability for law	No support	674	46.7%	198	13.7%	570	39.6%
	Minor support	230	45.9%	78	15.6%	193	38.5%
	Major support	245	57.5%	56	13.2%	125	29.2%
General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	306	58.2%	59	11.2%	161	30.6%
	Medium	601	47.5%	163	12.9%	501	39.6%
	High	242	41.8%	111	19.2%	226	39.0%

Perceived relevance of law

As illustrated by Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1, in raw numerical terms, as people's perception of law in everyday life increased, they less often faced problems that gave rise to a legal need or involved an unmet legal need. However, the bivariate relationship between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata and legal need fell slightly short of statistical significance,[176] and fell well short of significance once problem type and demographics were controlled for in a multivariate model.[177] Details of the relationship, once problem type and demographics were controlled for, are set out in Table 7.6.

Figure 7.1. Bivariate relationship between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata and legal need

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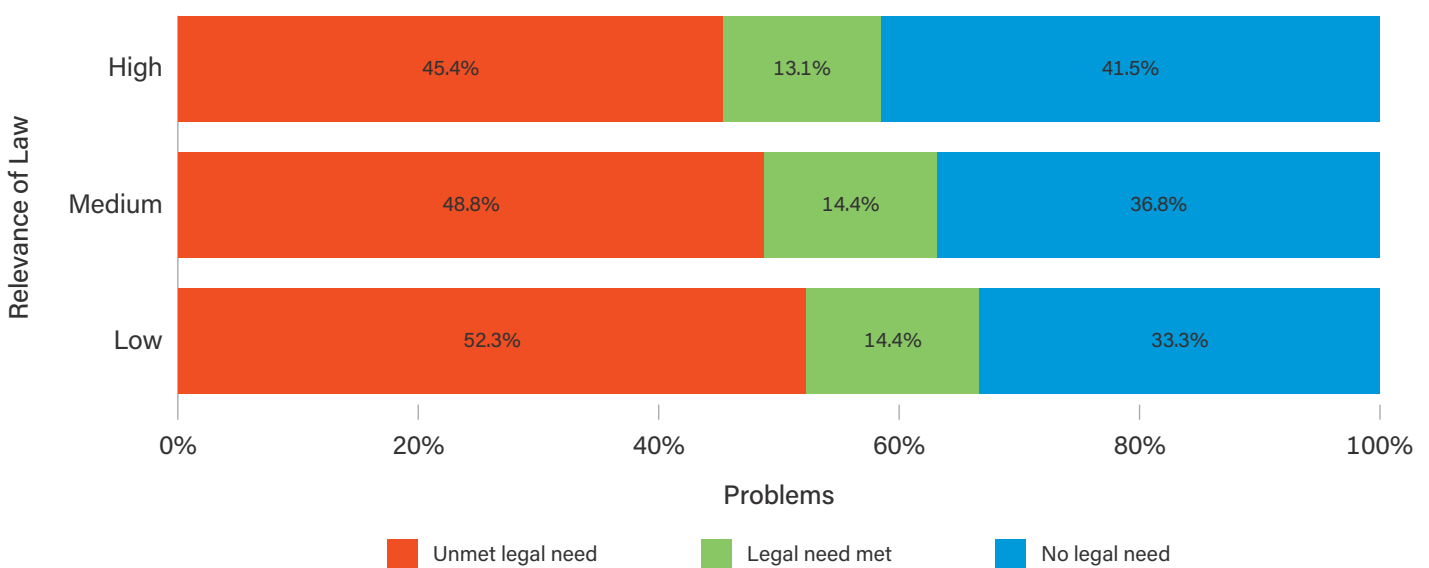
176 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_4 = 8.37$, p = 0.078.
177 Testing the LAW Scale model terms together; $\chi^2_4 = 2.26$, p = 0.69.

Legal knowledge

Unexpectedly, given the role of legal understanding in the OECD/OSF (2019) conceptualisation of legal need, the significant relationship between general knowledge of the content of law and legal need involved the problems faced by those with low levels of knowledge less often giving rise to legal need and less often involving unmet legal need than other problems.[178] This is illustrated in Figure 7.2. While 54% of problems faced by those with a low level of legal knowledge gave rise to a legal need, the figure was 69% for those with a high level. Conversely, While 42% of problems faced by those with a low level of legal knowledge involved unmet legal need, the figure was 52% for those with a high level.

However, when legal needs arose, there was almost no difference in the proportion that were met between those with low and those with high knowledge levels. In the case of PULS respondents with a low level of legal knowledge, 23.4% of legal needs were met. In the case of PULS respondents with a high level of legal knowledge, 23.7% of legal needs were met.

The relationship between legal knowledge and legal need remained significant even after problem type and demographics were controlled for in a multivariate model.[179] However, as shown in Table 7.6, once problem type and demographics were controlled for, the relationship between legal knowledge and legal need was reduced. This can be partly attributed to the fact that both legal knowledge and legal need have been shown to be related to a number of the same social and demographic characteristics, including health/disability and language spoken at home. Details are set out in PULS Volumes 1 and 2 (Balmer et al., 2023, p.45, Balmer et al., 2024, p.47).

Figure 7.2. Bivariate relationship between legal knowledge of the content of law and legal need

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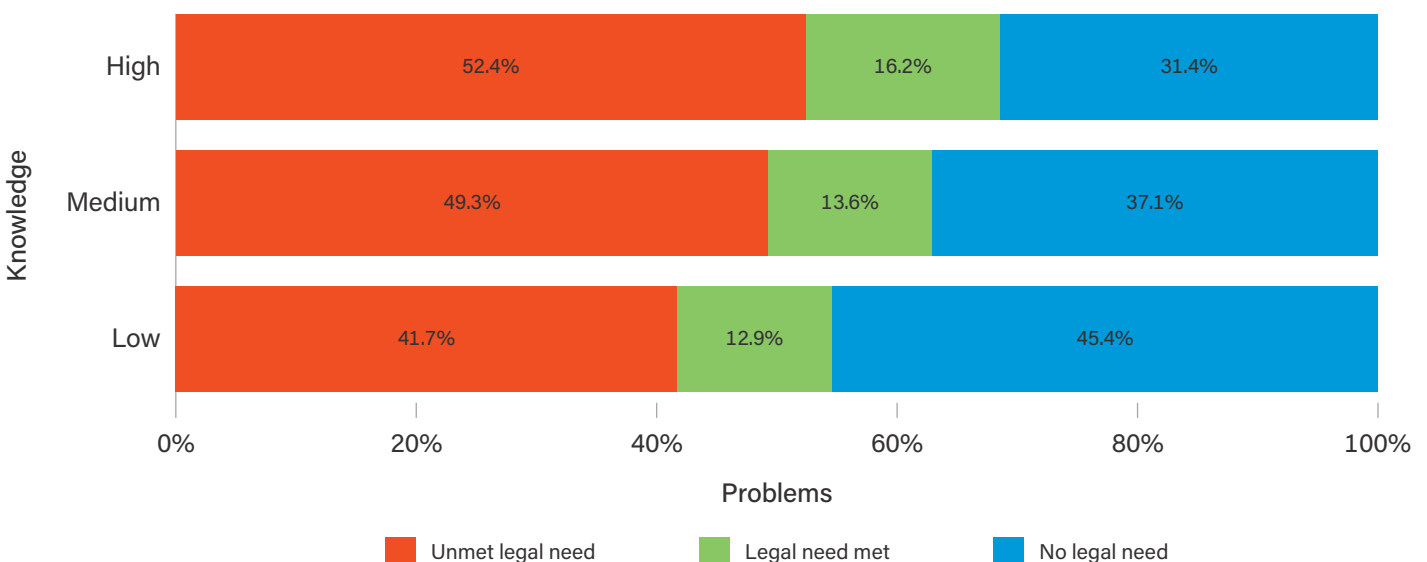
178 $\chi^2_4 = 21.53$, p < 0.001. The single highest Pearson residual, at 2.8, was for no legal need among problems faced by those with low legal knowledge levels.

179 For example, compared to the low knowledge group, those in the high knowledge group were significantly more likely to belong to the unmet legal need group, rather than the 'no legal need' reference category; z = 2.57, p = 0.010. Model code and margins (derived from the model and controlling for other variables) can be found in Appendix Z.

Practical legal literacy

As shown in Figure 7.3, there was a powerful relationship between practical legal literacy and legal need.[180] In particular, inadequate practical legal literacy was associated with a very low percentage of problems giving rise to no legal need (16%) and the highest percentage of problems involving both unmet and met legal need (61% and 24%, respectively).[181] However, after controlling for problem type and demographics, the overall relationship between practical legal literacy and legal need fell short of statistical significance.[182] The diminished relationship can be seen in Table 7.6. This can be partly attributed to the fact that both practical legal literacy and legal need have been shown to be related to a number of the same social and demographic characteristics, including education level and health/disability status. Details are set out in Volumes 1 (at p.75) and 2 (at p.75).

Figure 7.3. Bivariate relationship between practical legal literacy and legal need

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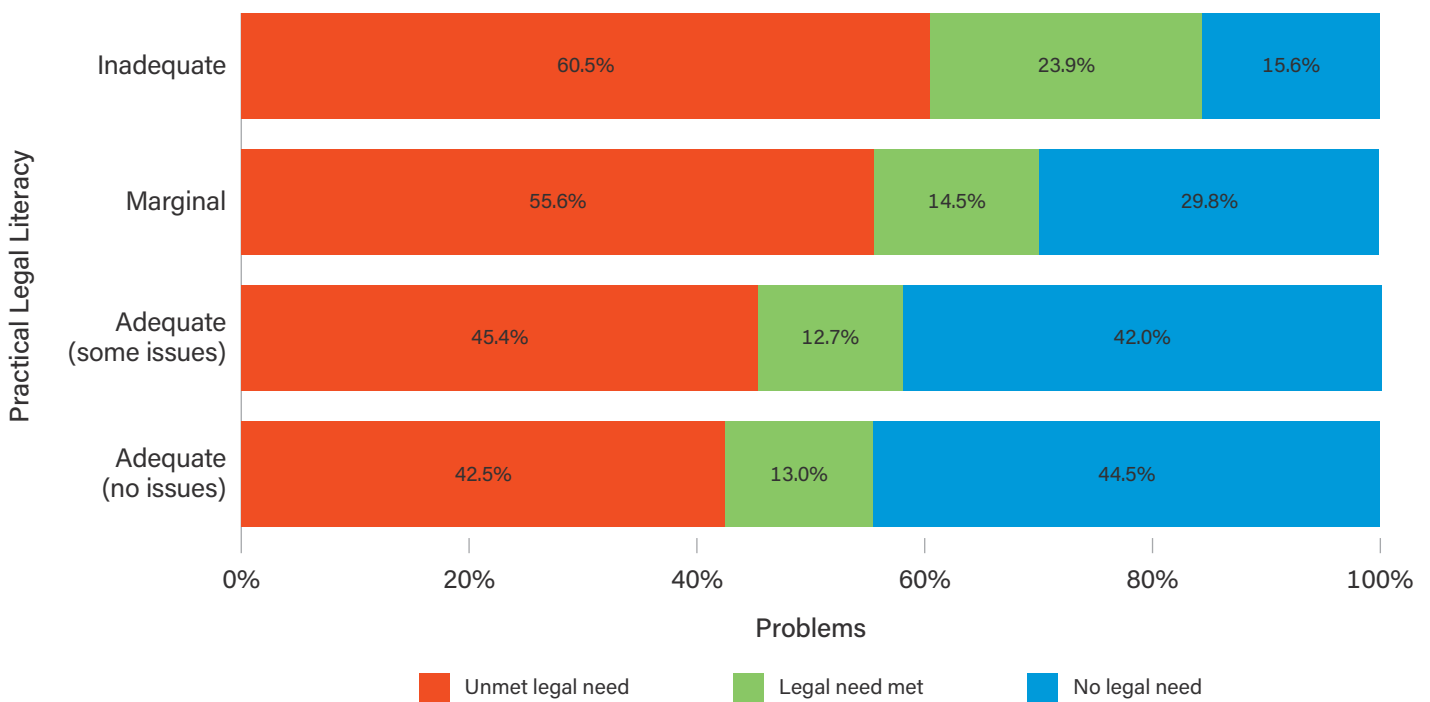
180 Testing the bivariate relationship; χ^2_6 = 82.64, p < 0.001.

181 Pearson residuals of -5.4 (no legal need), 3.9 (met legal need) and 2.7 (unmet legal need) for the 'inadequate' practical legal literacy group. Percentages do not add up to 100% because of rounding.

182 Testing the Practical Legal Literacy model terms; χ^2_6 = 8.74, p = 0.19.

Digital capability for law

As illustrated by Figure 7.4, there was a highly significant bivariate relationship between digital capability for law and legal need.[183] In particular, problems faced by those requiring major support for digital tasks much more often gave rise to legal need and unmet legal need.[184] For example, while 71% of problems faced by those requiring major support gave rise to legal needs, the figure was just 60% for problems faced by those requiring no support.

As can be seen from Table 7.6, controlling for problem type and demographics resulted in a substantial diminution of this relationship, with digital capability multivariate model terms clearly non-significant.[185] This can be partly attributed to the fact that both digital capability for law and legal need have been shown to be related to a number of the same social and demographic characteristics, including education level and employment status. Details are set out in Volumes 1 and 2 (Balmer et al., 2023, p.153, Balmer et al., 2024, p.75).

Figure 7.4. Bivariate relationship between digital capability for law and legal need
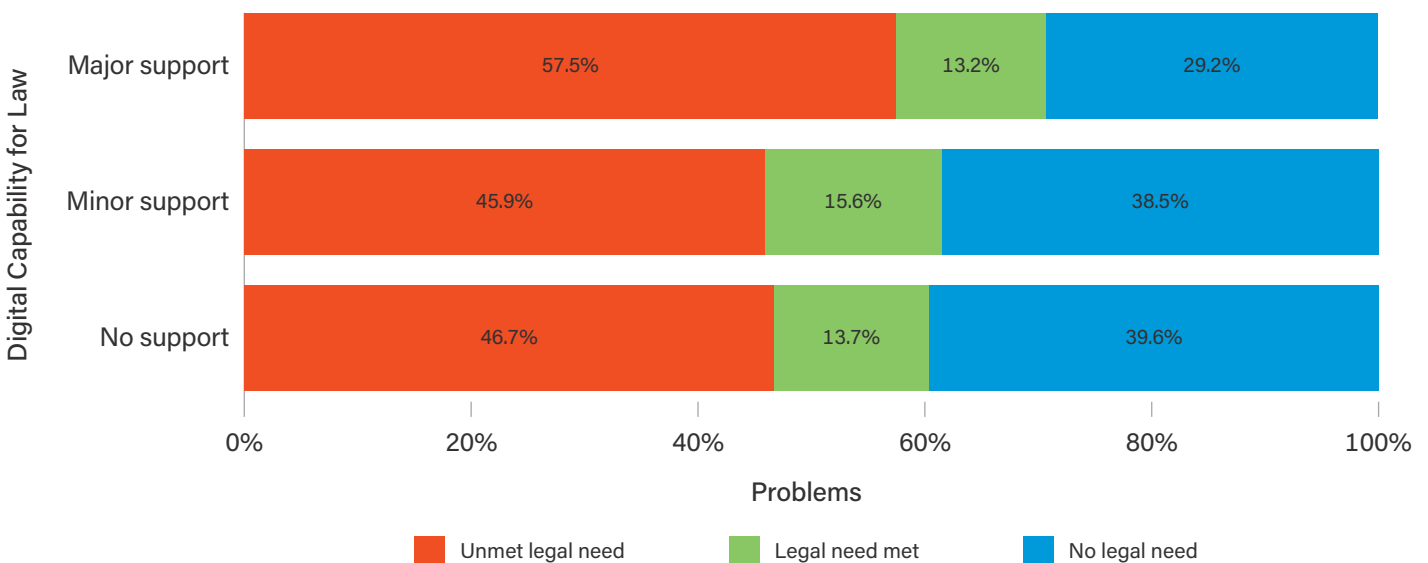
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General legal confidence

Figure 7.5 illustrates the strong and statistically significant bivariate relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and legal need.[186] As can be seen, problems faced by those in the low GLC scale stratum more often gave rise to a legal need and more often involved unmet legal need than problems faced by others.[187] In contrast, problems faced by those in the high GLC scale stratum were associated with the lowest level of unmet legal need and highest level of met legal need.[188] The percentage of needs that were met was particularly high for those in the high GLC scale stratum, at 31.4%. The significant relationship between legal confidence and legal need remained even after having controlled for problem type and demographics,[189] though was less marked (Table 7.6).

Figure 7.5. Bivariate relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and legal need
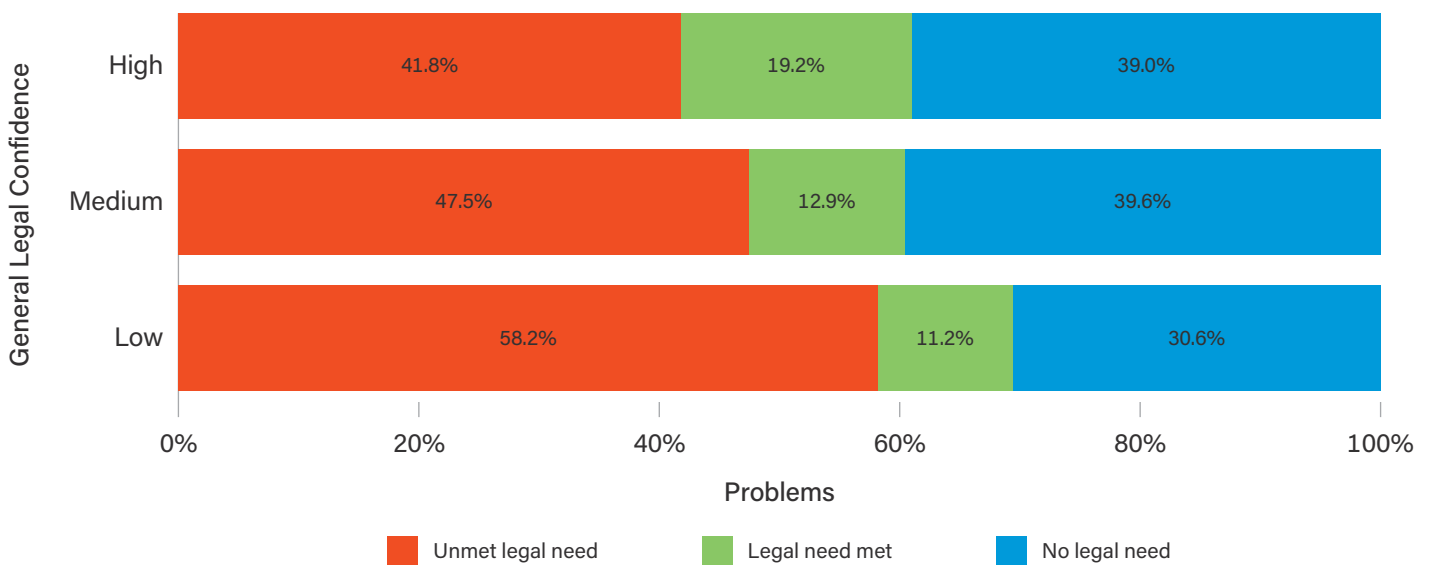
186 $\chi^2_4 = 39.34$, p < 0.001.
187 Pearson residuals of 3.2 and -2.6 respectively.
188 Pearson residuals of -2.3 and 3.3 respectively.
189 Testing the GLC model terms; $\chi^2_4 = 10.76$, p = 0.030.

Composite skill/confidence level

Table 7.2 and Figure 7.6 illustrate the strong bivariate relationship between level of composite skill and confidence-related legal capability and legal need,[190] with higher skill/confidence associated with problems less often giving rise to legal need and lower levels of unmet legal need. Higher skill/confidence was also associated with a greater proportion of needs being met. For example, where there was a legal need, 31% were met in the case of those with the highest skills and confidence, while the figure was just 21% for those with the lowest skills and confidence.

Table 7.2. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and legal need (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

Composite skill and confidence level	Legal need (broad definition of advice)					
	Unmet legal need		Legal need met		No legal need	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lowest	210	58.7%	55	15.5%	92	25.7%
Low	433	49.1%	119	13.5%	330	37.4%
Higher	374	46.5%	106	13.2%	325	40.4%
Highest	114	38.6%	51	17.4%	130	44.1%

However, after controlling for problem type and demographics, the relationship became incoherent and non-significant (see Table 7.7), reflecting the association between both problem and demographic characteristics and both composite skill/confidence level and legal need.

Figure 7.6. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and legal need
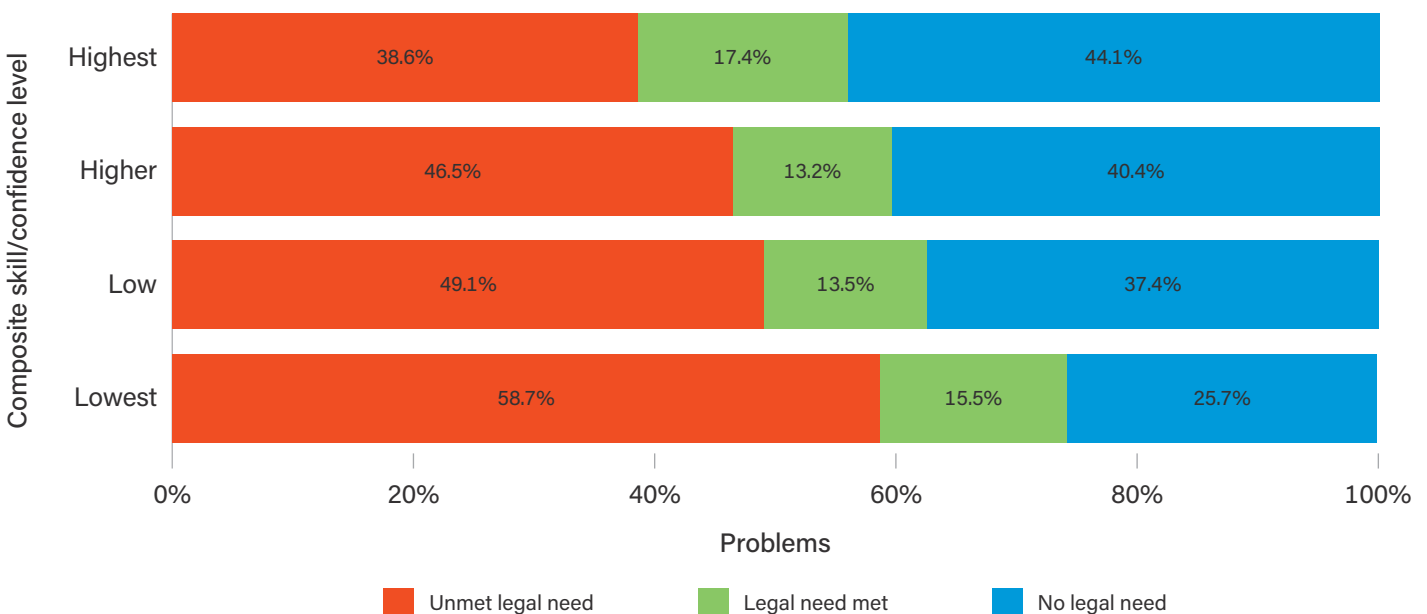
190 $\chi^2_6 = 36.07$, p < 0.001.

Attitudes and legal need

This section looks at the relationship between the attitude-related capability dimensions investigated through the PULS and legal need. It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite attitude legal capability (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and legal need.

As can be seen from Table 7.3 — which sets out the simple bivariate relationship between attitude-related legal capabilities and whether or not legal needs arose and whether they were met — more negative attitudes towards law and lawyers corresponded with higher levels of legal need and unmet legal need.

Table 7.3. Bivariate relationship between attitude-related legal capability and legal need (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column).

Legal capability	Level	Legal need (broad definition of advice)					
		Unmet legal need		Legal need met		No legal need	
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Remote narrative	Low	764	44.4%	268	15.6%	688	40.0%
	High	269	64.0%	35	8.3%	116	27.7%
Resist narrative	Low	873	47.8%	230	12.6%	722	39.6%
	High	159	49.2%	78	24.1%	86	26.7%
Practical narrative	Low	621	50.4%	161	13.1%	450	36.5%
	High	411	45.1%	152	16.6%	349	38.3%
Game narrative	Low	549	43.8%	189	15.1%	515	41.1%
	High	486	53.4%	131	14.4%	293	32.2%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata	Low	130	33.6%	60	15.7%	195	50.7%
	Medium	533	41.6%	192	15.0%	557	43.5%
	High	483	69.5%	81	11.6%	131	18.9%
Trust in lawyers	Low	538	53.2%	145	14.3%	329	32.5%
	High	497	45.7%	160	14.7%	431	39.6%

Looking just at those problems that gave rise to a legal need, more positive attitudes generally corresponded with a greater proportion of needs being met, apart from in the case of the 'resist' narrative of law.

As can be seen from Table 7.6 below, the relationships between attitude-related legal capabilities and legal need broadly remained once problem type and demographic factors were taken into account, although differences were slightly reduced and not all relationships reached statistical significance.

Narratives of law

As illustrated in Figure 7.7, there was a significant bivariate relationship between each of the four narratives of law and legal need. As can be seen, problems faced by those adhering to the 'remote' narrative were associated with a very high level of unmet legal need,[191] while problems faced by those adhering to the 'resist' narrative were associated with a high level of legal need, but also a high level of needs being met.[192] In fact, those adhering to the 'resist' narrative were the only PULS respondents with negative attitudes who were associated with a higher rate of needs being met than their positive attitude counterparts (33%, compared to 21% of problems). Problems faced by those adhering to the 'game' narrative more often involved legal need and, also, unmet legal need, than those faced by others.[193]

While the relationship with legal need was not as strong in the case of problems faced by those adhering to the 'practical' narrative, seeing the law as practical was associated with somewhat higher met legal need and lower unmet legal need.[194]

While the strength of the relationship between each of the narratives and legal need reduced slightly after controlling for problem type and demographics, the general direction of relationships was largely unchanged (as shown in Table 7.6).[195]

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191 Pearson residual of 4.7.
192 Pearson residuals of -3.2 and 4.7 respectively.
193 Pearson residuals of -2.5 and 2.4 respectively.
194 Pearson residuals of 1.6 and -1.3 respectively.
195 In the case of the remote and game narratives, testing model terms together reinforced statistical significance; χ^2_2 = 11.64, p = 0.003 and χ^2_2 = 6.77, p = 0.034. Testing the model terms for the resist narrative fell just short of significance; χ^2_2 = 5.96, p = 0.051, though the 'legal need met' term was significant; z = 2.19, p = 0.028. Testing the model terms for the practical narrative fell short of significance; χ^2_2 = 3.85, p = 0.15.

Figure 7.7. Bivariate relationship between level of adherence to narratives of law and legal need
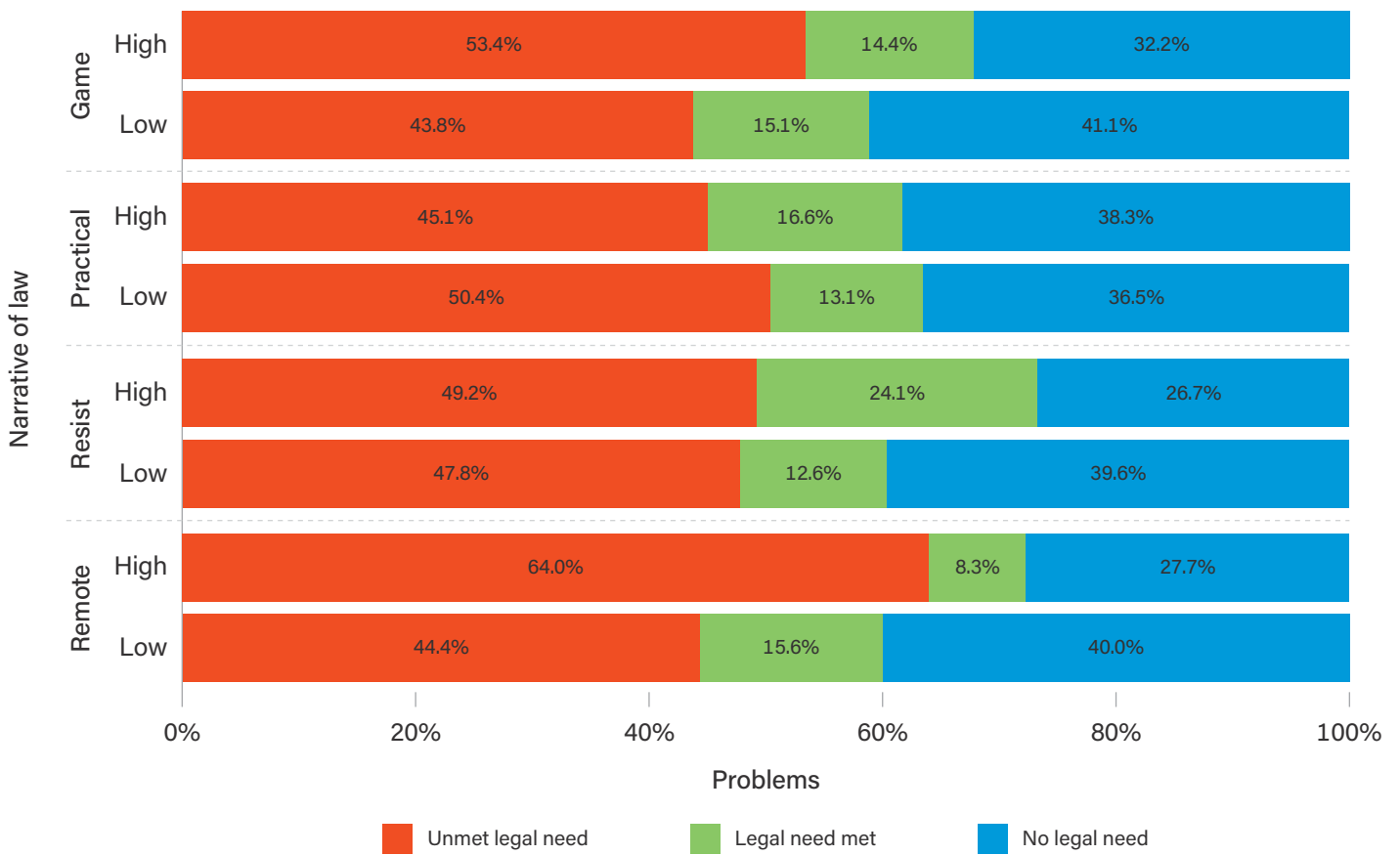
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers

As is illustrated in Figure 7.8, there was a strong and significant bivariate relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and legal need. For example, those in the high PIL scale stratum faced fewer problems involving no legal need and far more problems involving unmet legal need, as compared to both those in the medium and, particularly, the high stratum.[196] When legal need arose, the percentage of needs that remained unmet also rose with perceived inaccessibility.[197] Even after controlling for problem type and demographic characteristics, the relationship between PIL scale strata and legal need remained highly statistically significant,[198] despite some reduction in the strength of the relationship. This can be seen in Table 7.6.

Figure 7.8. Bivariate relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and legal need
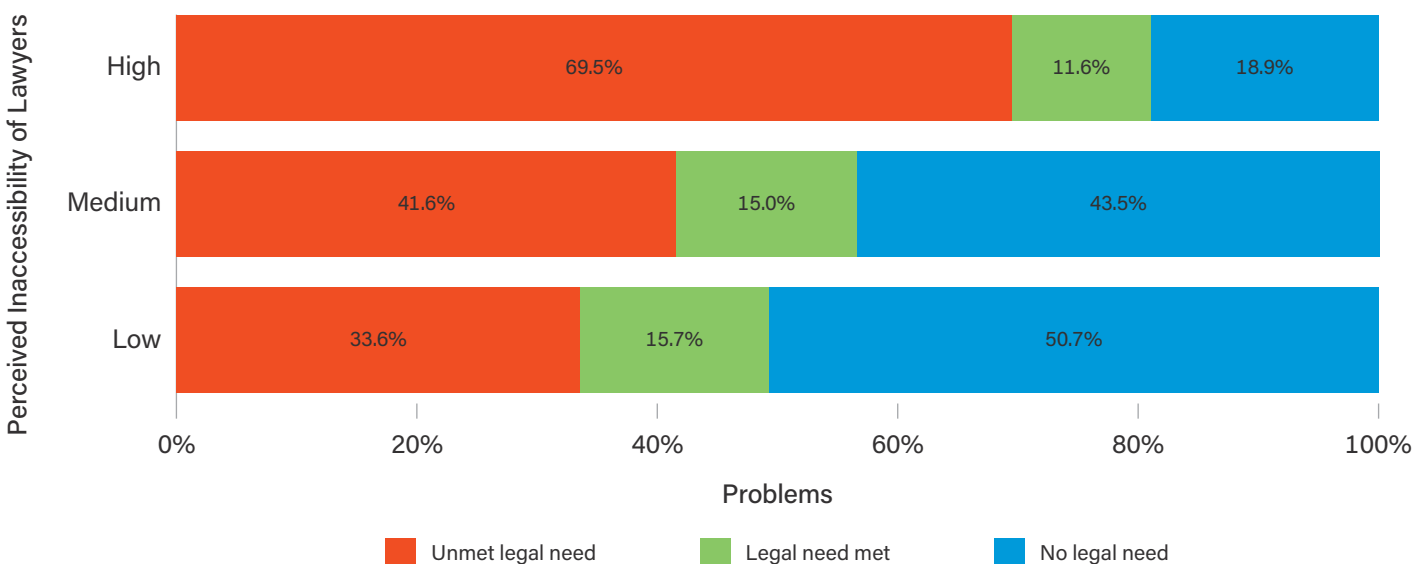
196 Pearson residuals of -8.0 and 7.9 respectively.

197 Which can be calculated from Figure 6.8; 68.4% unmet for 'low', 73.5% unmet for 'medium', and 85.6% unmet for 'high'.

198 Testing the PIL model terms together; $\chi^2_4 = 42.39$, p < 0.001.

Trust in lawyers

While not as strong a relationship as for some other capabilities, there was also a significant bivariate relationship between trust in lawyers and legal need.[199] As can be seen from Figure 7.9, low trust in lawyers was associated with fewer problems involving no legal need and a somewhat higher level of unmet legal need.[200] After problem type and social and demographic characteristics were controlled for in a multivariate model, the relationship between trust in lawyers and legal ceased to be statistically significant (Table 7.6).[201]

Figure 7.9. Bivariate relationship between trust in lawyers and legal need

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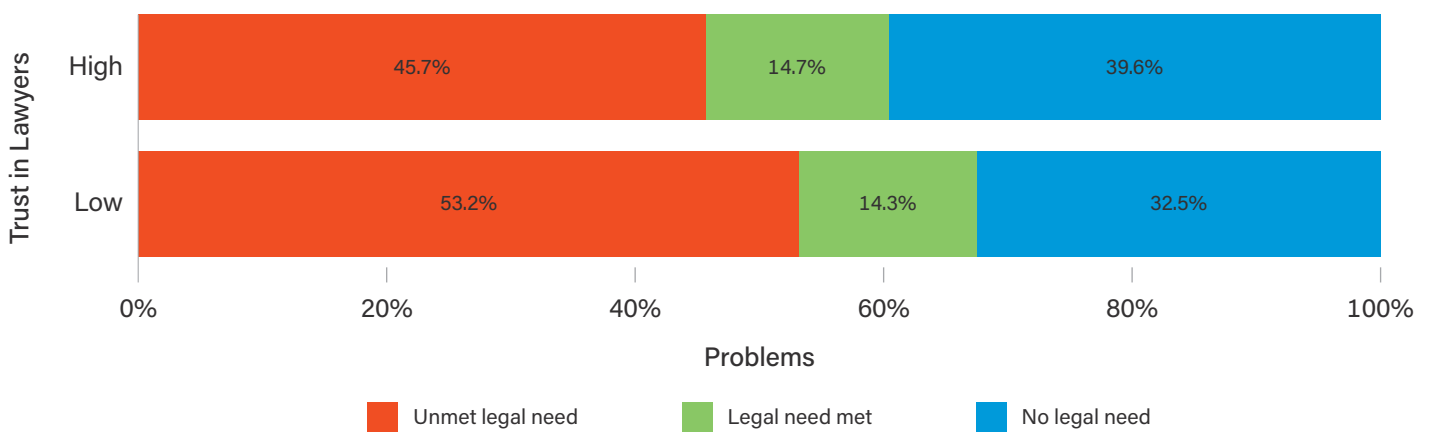
199 $\chi^2_2 = 13.32$, p < 0.001.

200 Pearson residuals of 1.8 and -1.9, respectively.

201 Testing the trust model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 1.69$, p = 0.43.

Composite attitudes

As can be seen from Table 7.4 and Figure 7.10, there was a strong bivariate relationship between composite attitude-related legal capability and legal need,[202] with more positive attitudes associated with problems less often giving rise to legal need and much lower levels of unmet legal need. When needs arose, more positive attitudes were also associated with a greater proportion of needs being met. For example, while 29% of legal needs were met in the case of those with the most positive attitudes, the figure was just 13% for those with the most negative attitudes.

Table 7.4. **Bivariate relationship between composite attitude levels and legal need (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column).**

Composite attitude level	Legal need (broad definition of advice)					
	Unmet legal need		Legal need met		No legal need	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Most negative	255	69.0%	37	10.1%	77	20.9%
Negative	414	49.5%	152	18.1%	271	32.4%
Positive	152	36.4%	54	12.9%	213	50.8%
Most positive	62	37.2%	26	15.5%	78	47.3%

202 χ^2_6 = 119.69, p < 0.001.

As can be seen from Table 7.7, the strength of the relationship between attitudes and legal need reduced somewhat once problem type and demographic characteristics were controlled for, though it remained highly statistically significant.[203] While PULS data does not extend to changes in levels of skills or attitudes over time, or the extent to which problem experience might drive change, the findings again suggest that skills are an important determinant of behaviour and success, and attitudes are an important consequence of experience.

Figure 7.10. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude levels and legal need

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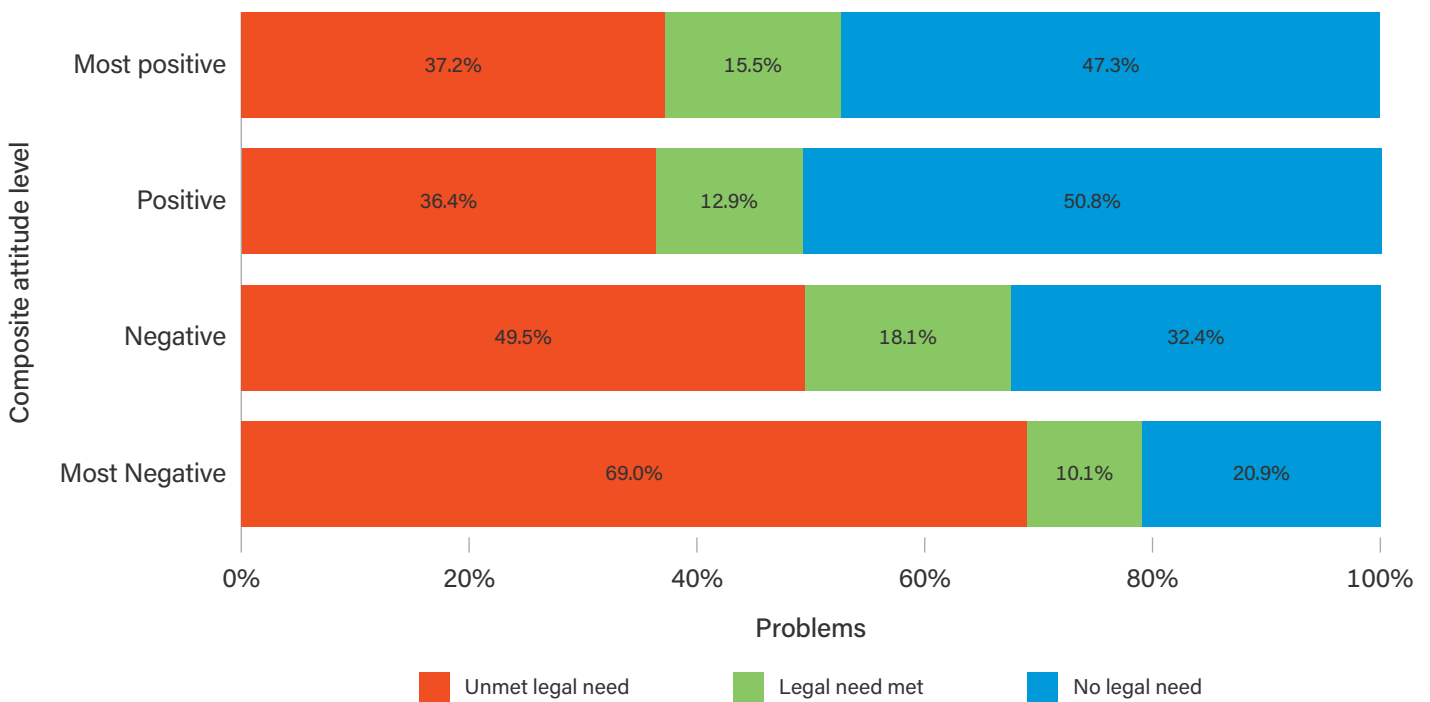
203 Testing the composite attitudes model terms; $x^2_6 = 26.87$, $p < 0.001$.

Skills, confidence and attitude combined

Table 7.5 and Figure 7.11 combine skills, confidence and attitudes into a single measure. As can be seen, there was a strong relationship between combined skills and attitudes and legal need. As can be seen, there was a highly significant bivariate relationship between combined composite skills and attitudes and legal need,[204] with higher skills and a more positive attitude associated with problems least often giving rise to legal needs and the lowest level of unmet legal need.

Table 7.5. Bivariate relationship between combined skills and attitudes and legal need (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column).

| | | Legal need (broad definition of advice) | | | | | |
| | | Unmet legal need | | Legal need met | | No legal need | |
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Skill and attitude composite measures	More negative attitude, lower skill	386	56.0%	113	16.4%	191	27.7%
	More negative attitude, higher skill	281	55.0%	76	14.8%	154	30.2%
	More positive attitude, lower skill	87	42.8%	23	11.6%	92	45.6%
	More positive attitude, higher skill	122	32.5%	56	15.0%	197	52.5%

The combined composite skills and attitudes measure remained statistically significant even after problem type and demographics were controlled for in a multivariate model,[205] though the strength of the relationship was reduced. This can be seen in Table 7.7.

Figure 7.11. Bivariate relationship between combined skills and attitudes and legal need
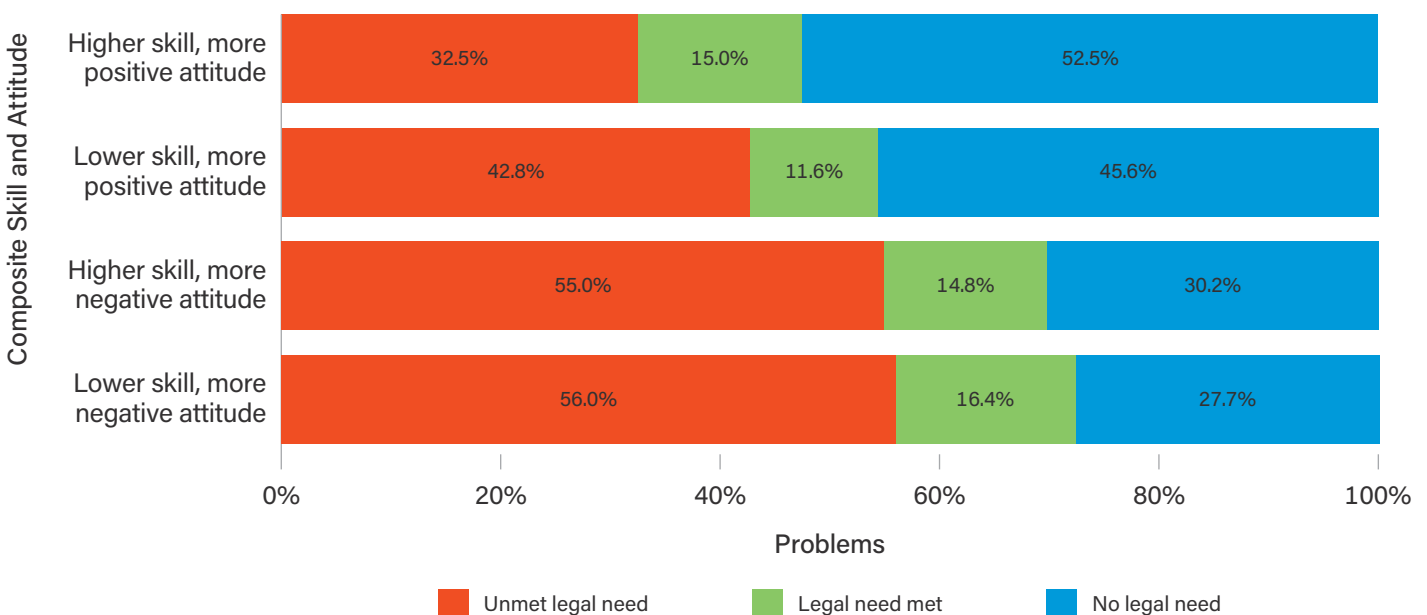
Multivariate modelling of the relationship between legal capability and legal need

Fitting a model including problem type and social and demographic variables, but no capability variables resulted in an R^2 of 0.360 and an AIC of 3961.42. If all capability variables were added to the model as main effects, this resulted in an increase in R^2 to 0.463, indicating a model with better fit, and a lower AIC of 2763.00, indicating a better overall model. On both measures, the addition of legal capability variables made an important contribution to predicting the presence of legal need and whether or not it was met. Having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities, 'resist' narrative variables and Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers variables in particular retained a highly significant relationship with legal need.[206]

If instead of all capability measures, a composite skill and a composite attitude variable were introduced into the model alongside problem type and demographics, this resulted in an R^2 of 0.412 and an AIC of 2967.32. Again, introducing capability measures resulted in a better model. This is the same model as referenced in analysis of the relationship between composite attitudes and legal need above, with (having controlled for other variables) a non-significant relationship between skills and legal need,[207] and a highly significant relationship between attitudes and legal need.[208]

If a single four category skill and attitude composite measure was introduced alongside problem type and demographics (rather than individual skills and attitudes measures), the result was also an improvement in fit compared to the model without legal capability measures, with an R^2 of 0.403 and an AIC of 2978.02. Again, this model was also referred to in analysis of the relationship between combined attitudes and skills and legal need above. As previously, having controlled for other variables, there remained a highly significant relationship between the combined four category skills and attitudes measure and legal need.[209]

As discussed above for both individual and composite measures, that is not to say that the relationship between legal need and capabilities are unaffected by the introduction of other variables. In some cases, introduction of demographics diminishes the relationship between legal need and specific legal capabilities, and in others it has little effect. This is illustrated for each legal capability in Table 7.6 and for composite capability measures in Table 7.7. Table 7.6 shows the simple bivariate relationship between each capability and legal need, followed by the relationship between each capability and legal need having controlled for problem type and demographics, before finally showing the relationship between each capability and legal need having controlled for problem type, demographics *and* other capabilities. Table 7.7 shows the bivariate relationship between composite legal capability measures and legal need, followed by the relationship having controlled for problem type and demographics.

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206 Testing the resist narrative variables together; $\chi^2_2 = 13.91$, p = 0.001. Testing the PIL variables together; $\chi^2_4 = 24.41$, p < 0.001.
207 Testing the composite skills model terms; $\chi^2_6 = 4.06$, p = 0.67.
208 Testing the composite attitudes model terms; $\chi^2_6 = 26.87$, p < 0.001.
209 Testing the combined skills and attitudes model terms; $\chi^2_6 = 22.10$, p = 0.001.

In summary, whether legal capability was entered into the model as individual variables or as composite variables, it made a significant contribution to predicting the presence of legal need and whether or not it was met, even having controlled for problem type and demographics. Interestingly, the introduction of problem type and demographic characteristics diminished the relationship between skills and legal need far more than the relationship between attitudes and legal need. In simple terms, this would suggest that skills forge experience, while attitudes are shaped by experience.

Statistical models referenced in this section are set out in full in Appendix 1.

7. Legal Capability and Legal Need

Table 7.6. The relationship between individual legal capabilities and legal need in simple bivariate terms, having controlled for problem type and demographics, and having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities (darker colour indicates higher value within a column).

Legal capability	Level	Bivariate relationships			Controlling for problem type and demographics			Controlling for problem type, demographics and other capability measures		
		Unmet legal need	Legal need met	No legal need	Unmet legal need	Legal need met	No legal need	Unmet legal need	Legal need met	No legal need
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low relevance	52.3%	14.4%	33.3%	51.1%	12.8%	36.1%	52.8%	15.9%	31.3%
	Medium relevance	48.8%	14.4%	36.8%	48.3%	14.8%	36.9%	49.4%	14.6%	36.1%
	High relevance	45.4%	13.1%	41.5%	46.2%	13.7%	40.1%	46.0%	15.8%	38.2%
Legal knowledge	Low	41.7%	12.9%	45.4%	42.2%	13.3%	44.4%	42.9%	14.6%	42.5%
	Medium	49.3%	13.6%	37.1%	49.2%	13.8%	37.0%	49.1%	14.9%	35.9%
	High	52.4%	16.2%	31.4%	51.3%	15.5%	33.2%	52.9%	16.0%	31.1%
Practical Legal Literacy (PLL)	Adequate (no issues)	42.5%	13.0%	44.5%	47.9%	14.8%	37.3%	50.8%	13.4%	35.8%
	Adequate (some issues)	45.4%	12.7%	42.0%	46.7%	13.0%	40.4%	49.9%	13.3%	36.8%
	Marginal	55.6%	14.5%	29.8%	52.7%	14.5%	32.8%	49.5%	17.0%	33.5%
	Inadequate	60.5%	23.9%	15.6%	50.0%	20.4%	29.6%	39.3%	26.3%	34.3%
Digital Capability for Law (DCL)	No support	46.7%	13.7%	39.6%	47.3%	14.2%	38.5%	48.4%	14.5%	37.2%
	Minor support	45.9%	15.6%	38.5%	46.8%	14.8%	38.4%	46.4%	17.5%	36.1%
	Major support	57.5%	13.2%	29.2%	53.2%	12.9%	33.9%	55.1%	15.1%	29.8%
General Legal Confidence (GLC)	Low	58.2%	11.2%	30.6%	53.8%	11.3%	34.9%	49.4%	13.4%	37.3%
	Medium	47.5%	12.9%	39.6%	47.8%	12.9%	39.3%	49.6%	14.4%	36.1%
	High	41.8%	19.2%	39.0%	44.2%	19.1%	36.7%	47.4%	17.8%	34.8%
Remote	Low	44.4%	15.6%	40.0%	45.7%	15.6%	38.7%	48.2%	16.4%	35.4%
	High	64.0%	8.3%	27.7%	57.5%	8.4%	34.1%	51.3%	10.0%	38.7%
Resist	Low	47.8%	12.6%	39.6%	48.5%	13.0%	38.5%	49.6%	13.2%	37.1%
	High	49.2%	24.1%	26.7%	45.3%	21.4%	33.3%	46.6%	27.1%	26.3%
Practical	Low	50.4%	13.1%	36.5%	49.0%	12.8%	38.2%	48.3%	14.6%	37.1%
	High	45.1%	16.6%	38.3%	46.2%	17.2%	36.6%	49.7%	15.8%	34.5%
Game	Low	43.8%	15.1%	41.1%	44.6%	15.3%	40.1%	47.1%	14.9%	38.0%
	High	53.4%	14.4%	32.2%	51.8%	14.3%	33.9%	51.7%	15.8%	32.5%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	33.6%	15.7%	50.7%	38.4%	18.2%	43.4%	41.1%	19.8%	39.1%
	Medium	41.6%	15.0%	43.5%	44.3%	14.5%	41.2%	44.4%	16.4%	39.2%
	High	69.5%	11.6%	18.9%	62.1%	12.1%	25.8%	63.0%	11.3%	25.7%
Trust in lawyers	Low	53.2%	14.3%	32.5%	51.1%	13.7%	35.1%	48.5%	15.20%	36.2%
	High	45.7%	14.7%	39.6%	47.3%	15.4%	37.4%	49.2%	15.10%	35.7%

Table 7.7. The relationship between composite legal capability and legal need in simple bivariate terms, and having controlled for problem type and demographics (darker colour indicates higher value within a column).

		Bivariate relationships			Controlling for problem type and demographics		
		Unmet legal need	Legal need met	No legal need	Unmet legal need	Legal need met	No legal need
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Composite skill/confidence level	Lowest skill	58.7%	15.5%	25.7%	44.1%	18.1%	37.9%
	Low skill	49.1%	13.5%	37.4%	50.3%	13.6%	36.1%
	Higher skill	46.5%	13.2%	40.4%	50.9%	14.3%	34.9%
	Highest skill	38.6%	17.4%	44.1%	45.8%	18.4%	35.8%
Composite attitude level	Most negative attitude	69.0%	10.1%	20.9%	62.9%	10.5%	26.6%
	Negative attitude	49.5%	18.1%	32.4%	49.2%	17.8%	33.0%
	Positive attitude	36.4%	12.9%	50.8%	40.4%	14.0%	45.6%
	Most positive attitude	37.2%	15.5%	47.3%	42.8%	16.4%	40.7%
Combined composite skill and attitude level	More negative attitude, lower skill	56.0%	16.4%	27.7%	51.6%	16.3%	32.1%
	More negative attitude, higher skill	55.0%	14.8%	30.2%	55.1%	14.4%	30.5%
	More positive attitude, lower skill	42.8%	11.6%	45.6%	45.6%	10.6%	43.8%
	More positive attitude, higher skill	32.5%	15.0%	52.5%	38.7%	17.3%	44.0%

8. Legal Capability and Satisfaction with Outcomes or Progress

This chapter sets out the relationship between legal capability and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems. While no relationship was found between LAW scale strata, legal knowledge or digital legal capability and happiness with outcome/progress, there was a strong association between higher practical legal literacy and such happiness, even after controlling for other factors.

Significant bivariate relationships were found between all attitude measures and happiness with outcome/progress, though only a few remained significant after controlling for other factors. Nevertheless, PULS findings indicated that positive attitudes to law and lawyers were associated with higher levels of happiness with outcome/progress.

PULS respondents were asked how happy they were with the outcome of problems or, if problems were ongoing, the progress of problems. For problems that had resolved, or that all parties had given up efforts to resolve, 65% of respondents were happy with sample problem outcomes, with 42% being entirely happy and 23% happy in part. Of the remainder, 20% were not at all happy with problem outcomes. Combining these responses with those relating to ongoing problems, using the approach set out in PULS

Volume 1,[210] 54% of PULS respondents reported being entirely (30%) or in part (24%) happy with problem outcomes or progress, while 46% of respondents were either not really (20%) or not at all (27%) happy with problem outcomes or progress.[211]

This chapter sets out the relationship between legal capability and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of their justiciable problems.

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210 Balmer et al. (2023), p.145.
211 N=2,476.

Skills, confidence and happiness with the outcome or progress of problems

This section looks in turn at the relationship between the five skills and confidence-related legal capability dimensions explored in the PULS and respondents' happiness with problem outcomes or, if problems were ongoing, progress (Table 8.1). It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite skill/confidence (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and happiness with problem outcomes or progress (Table 8.2).

Table 8.1 sets out the simple bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capabilities and the extent to which PULS respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems. As can be seen from Table 8.1, just two of the five skill and confidence-related legal capability dimensions explored through the PULS exhibited a relationship with whether or not respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems; practical legal literacy and general legal confidence.

As explained in Chapter 1, while PULS data is not generally suited to causal inference, capability domains such as practical legal literacy comprise skills that are unlikely to substantially develop or degrade in the context of single life episodes, so making it more credible that they feed into specific behaviour and outcomes than that they stem from them. In contrast, confidence and attitudes can be markedly impacted on by single life episodes, so making it likely that they both feed into and follow from specific behaviour and outcomes.

Table 8.1. Bivariate relationship between skill and confidence-related legal capability and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their justiciable problems (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

Legal capability	Level	Happy with Outcome or Progress							
		Yes, entirely		Yes, in part		No, not really		No, not at all	
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata	Low	135	29.0%	109	23.5%	76	16.4%	145	31.1%
	Medium	386	30.2%	297	23.2%	274	21.4%	322	25.2%
	High	226	30.8%	178	24.4%	133	18.1%	195	26.6%
Knowledge	Low	157	33.1%	108	22.7%	98	20.5%	113	23.7%
	Medium	433	29.8%	356	24.5%	275	18.9%	389	26.8%
	High	156	28.5%	121	22.0%	111	20.3%	160	29.2%
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	149	37.3%	91	22.9%	78	19.6%	81	20.3%
	Adequate (some issues)	429	31.7%	361	26.7%	252	18.6%	310	22.9%
	Marginal	121	26.5%	98	21.5%	101	22.2%	136	29.9%
	Inadequate	33	13.9%	32	13.6%	45	18.9%	127	53.5%
Digital capability for law	No support	441	29.2%	380	25.2%	294	19.5%	394	26.1%
	Minor support	166	32.1%	97	18.7%	103	19.9%	151	29.3%
	Major support	139	30.9%	107	23.9%	87	19.3%	117	25.9%
General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata	Low	126	23.60%	115	21.4%	104	19.5%	190	35.5%
	Medium	410	31.30%	305	23.3%	247	18.8%	348	26.6%
	High	210	33.30%	165	26.2%	132	21.0%	123	19.5%

Perceived relevance of law

As illustrated in Figure 8.1, despite a somewhat higher percentage of those in the low Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale stratum indicating they were not at all happy with the outcome or progress of problems, the overall bivariate relationship between perceived relevance of law and happiness with progress or outcome of problems fell short of statistical significance.[212] Having controlled for problem type and demographics in a multivariate model, the relationship fell even further short of significance.[213]

Figure 8.1. Bivariate relationship between Perceived Relevance of Law (LAW) scale strata and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems

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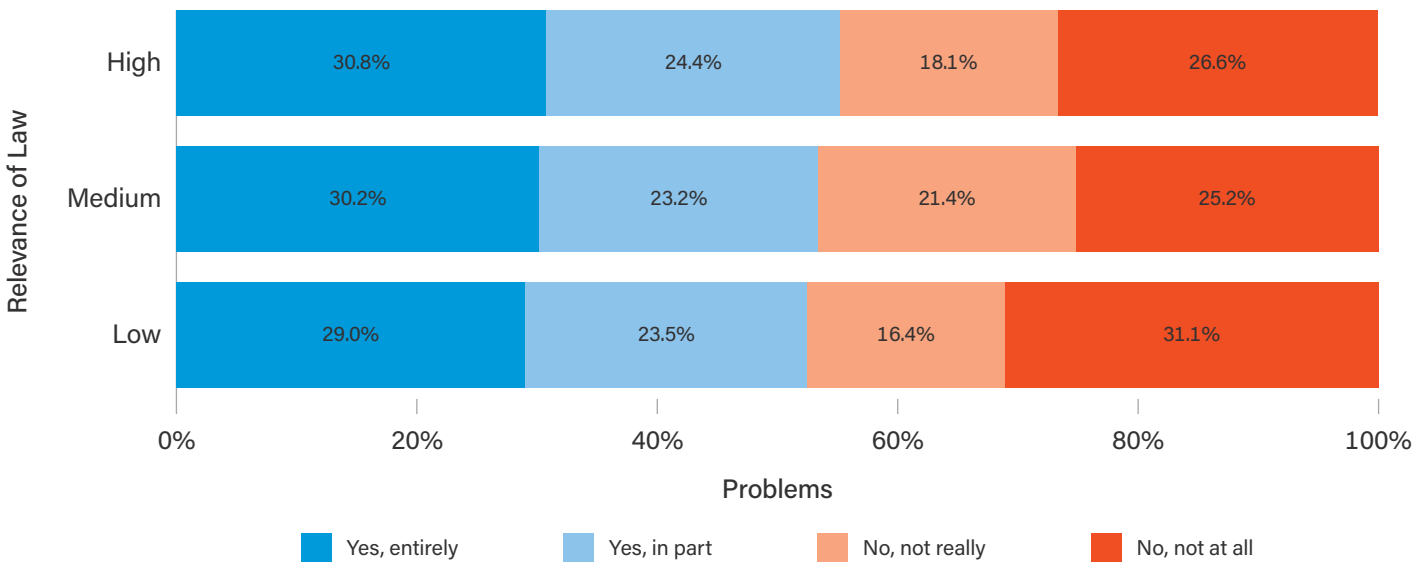
212 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_6 = 10.63$, $p = 0.10$.
213 Testing the relevance of law model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 0.79$, $p = 0.67$.

Knowledge of law

As shown in Figure 8.2, there was also little evidence of a bivariate relationship between respondents' knowledge of the content of law and their happiness with the outcome or progress of their problems.[214] The relationship remained clearly non-significant having controlled for problem, type and demographics in a multivariate model.[215]

Figure 8.2. Bivariate relationship between level of general knowledge of the content of law and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of justiciable problems

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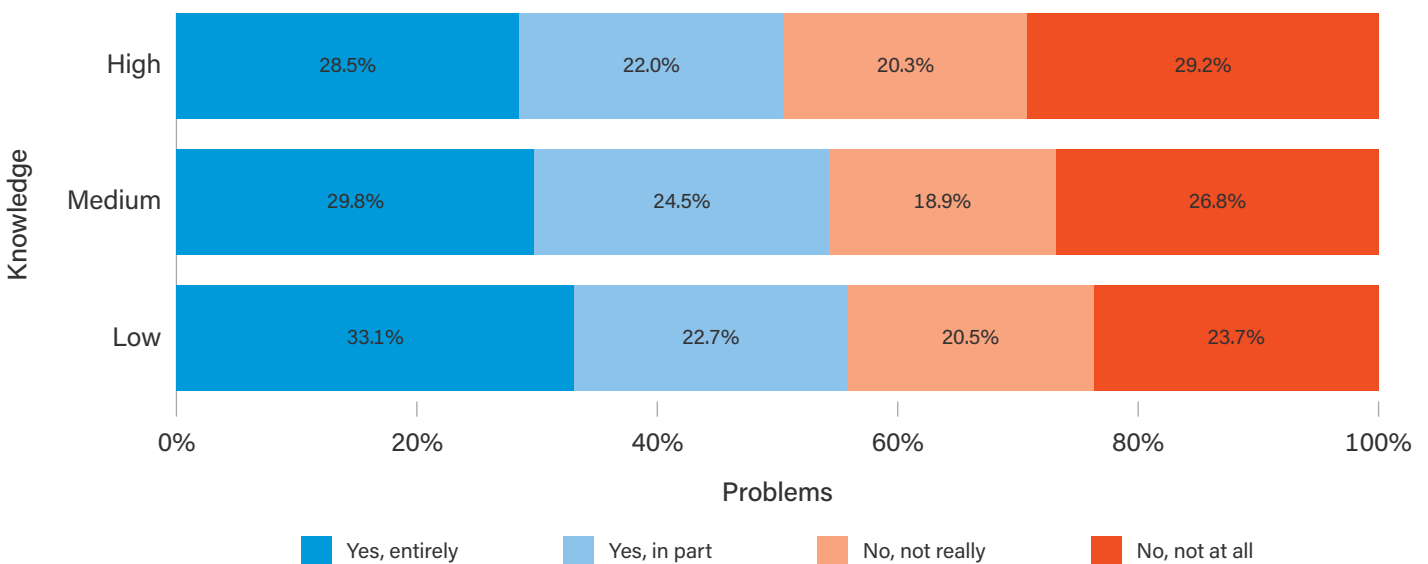
214 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_6 = 6.58$, p = 0.36.
215 Testing the knowledge model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 0.16$, p = 0.92.

Practical legal literacy

As shown in Figure 8.3, there was a very strong relationship between practical legal literacy and happiness with problem outcomes or progress.[216] The greater the practical legal literacy issues, the more often respondents were unhappy. The percentage of respondents with inadequate practical legal literacy who indicated that they were not at all happy with outcomes or progress was particularly high, at 54%,[217] particularly when contrasted with the figure of 20% for those with no issues.

Looking at concluded and ongoing problems separately, while the relationship was evident and very strong in both instances,[218] levels of unhappiness were generally much greater in the case of ongoing problems. So, for example, while 45% of those with inadequate practical legal literacy were not at all happy with the outcome of concluded problems, compared to 15% of those with no practical legal literacy issues, the corresponding figures were 64% and 31% in the case of ongoing problems. Similarly, while just 22% of those with inadequate practical legal literacy were entirely happy with the outcome of concluded problems, compared to 50% of those with no issues, the figures were just 5% and 10% for ongoing problems (rising to 17% and 48%, respectively, if also including problems about which respondents were happy in part).

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216 Testing the bivariate relationship; χ^2_9 = 128.50, p < 0.001.
217 A Pearson residual of 8.0.
218 Testing the bivariate relationship for concluded problems; χ^2_{12} = 96.12, p < 0.001. Testing the bivariate relationship for ongoing problems; χ^2_9 = 85.32, p < 0.001.

The relationship between practical legal literacy and happiness with problem outcomes or progress remained statistically significant even having controlled for problem type and demographics in a multivariate model,[219] and while the strength of the relationship was somewhat reduced, it still followed a comparable patter to Figure 8.3 (see Table 8.6 which contrasts bivariate and multivariate approaches).

Figure 8.3. Bivariate relationship between practical legal literacy and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems
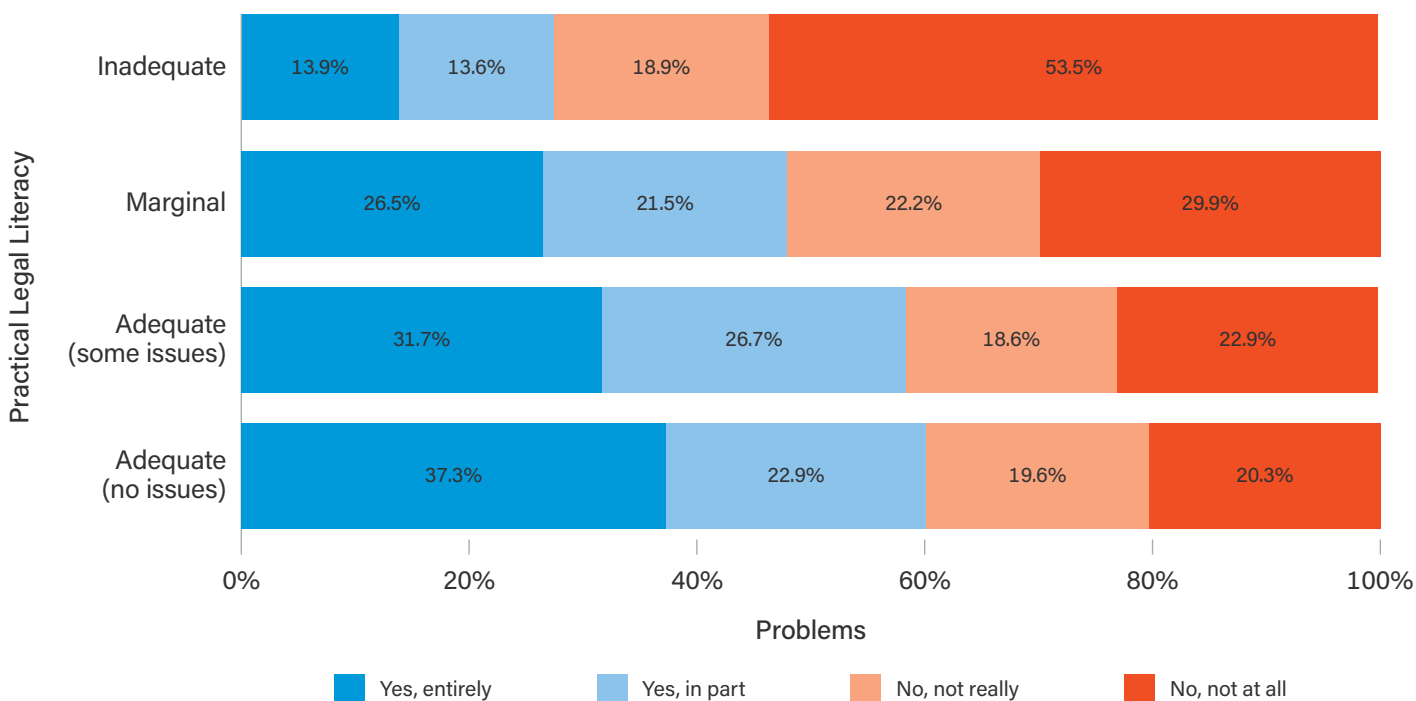
219 Testing the practical legal literacy model terms; $x^2_3 = 11.81$, p = 0.008.

Digital capability for law

As illustrated in Figure 8.4, the bivariate relationship between digital capability for law and happiness with the outcome or progress of problems was not statistically significant.[220] The relationship remained clearly non-significant once other variables had been controlled for in a multivariate model.[221]

Figure 8.4. Bivariate relationship between digital capability for law and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems

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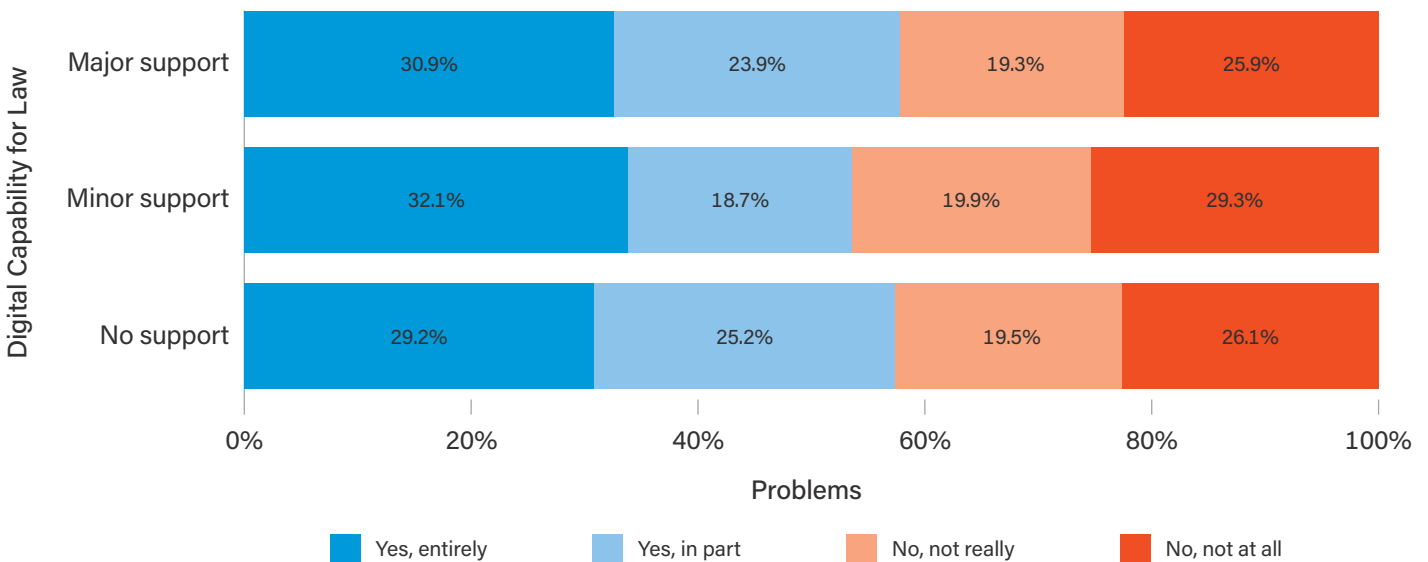
220 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_6 = 9.45$, p = 0.15.
221 Testing the digital capability for law model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 1.06$, p = 0.59.

General legal confidence

As illustrated in Figure 8.5, there was a highly significant bivariate relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and happiness with problem outcome or progress.[222] In particular, respondents in the high GLC scale stratum were less often not at all happy with problem outcome or progress,[223] while those in the low GLC scale stratum were less often entirely happy and more often not at all happy.[224]

As with practical legal literacy, the relationship was evident and significant in the case of both concluded and (particularly) ongoing problems,[225] though overall levels of unhappiness were much greater in the case of ongoing problems.

The relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and happiness with problem outcome or progress remained statistically significant after controlling for problem type and demographics in a multivariate model,[226] with estimates derived from the model indicating a relationship of similar form. Details are set out in Table 8.6.

Figure 8.5. Bivariate relationship between General Legal Confidence (GLC) scale strata and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems
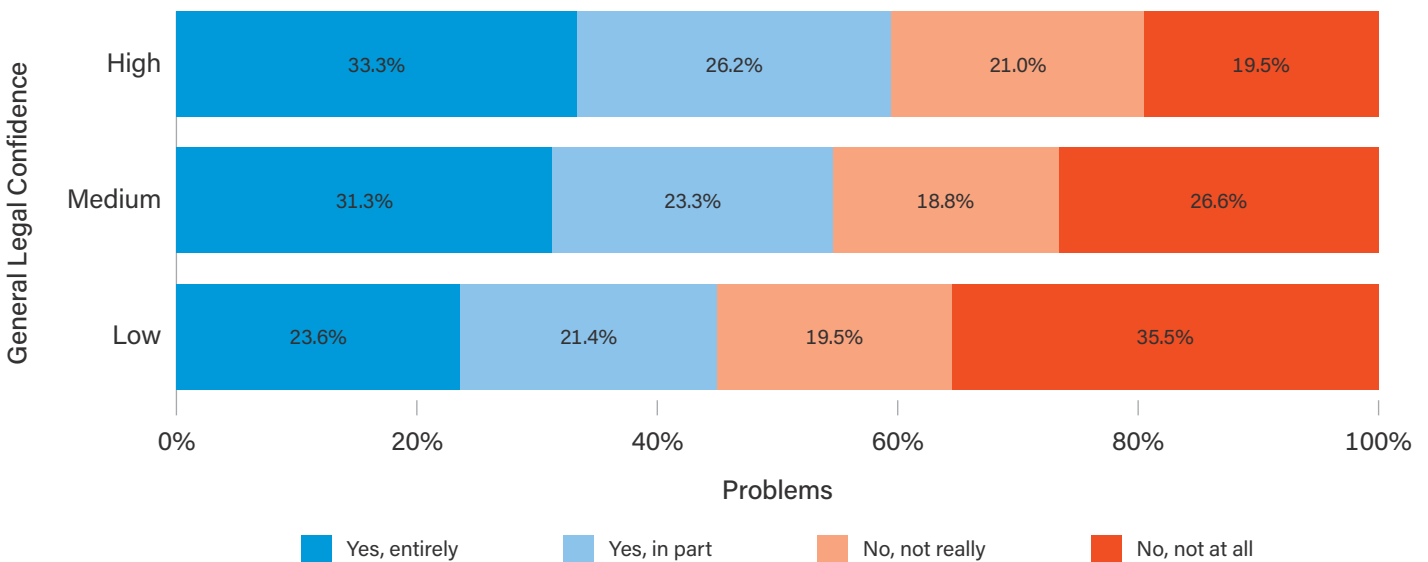
222 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_6 = 41.95$, $p < 0.001$.
223 A Pearson residual of -3.5.
224 Pearson residuals of -2.8 and 3.9 respectively.
225 Testing the bivariate relationship for concluded problems; $\chi^2_6 = 20.82$, $p = 0.002$. Testing the bivariate relationship for ongoing problems; $\chi^2_6 = 38.12$, $p < 0.001$.
226 Testing the general legal confidence model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 10.61$, $p = 0.005$.

Composite skill/confidence level

Table 8.2 and Figure 8.6 show the highly significant bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of their justiciable problems.[227] As can be seen, those with the lowest skill/confidence level were least often entirely happy and most often not at all happy.[228]

Table 8.2. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their justiciable problems (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

Composite skill/ confidence level	Happy with Outcome or Progress							
	Yes, entirely		Yes, in part		No, not really		No, not at all	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lowest	74	20.4%	73	20.2%	81	22.3%	134	37.1%
Low	285	30.9%	209	22.7%	175	19.0%	252	27.4%
Higher	276	33.5%	198	24.0%	150	18.1%	202	24.4%
Highest	97	28.8%	103	30.5%	70	20.8%	67	19.9%

However, when problem type, demographics and composite attitude level were controlled for in a multivariate model, the relationship ceased being statistically significant.[229] This is illustrated in Table 8.7, which contrasts the simple bivariate relationship with estimates derived from multivariate analysis.

227 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_9 = 48.30$, p < 0.001.
228 The largest absolute Pearson residuals of -3.3 and 3.8 respectively.
229 Testing the composite skill/confidence model terms together; $\chi^2_3 = 3.35$, p = 0.34.

Figure 8.6. Bivariate relationship between composite skill/confidence level and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems
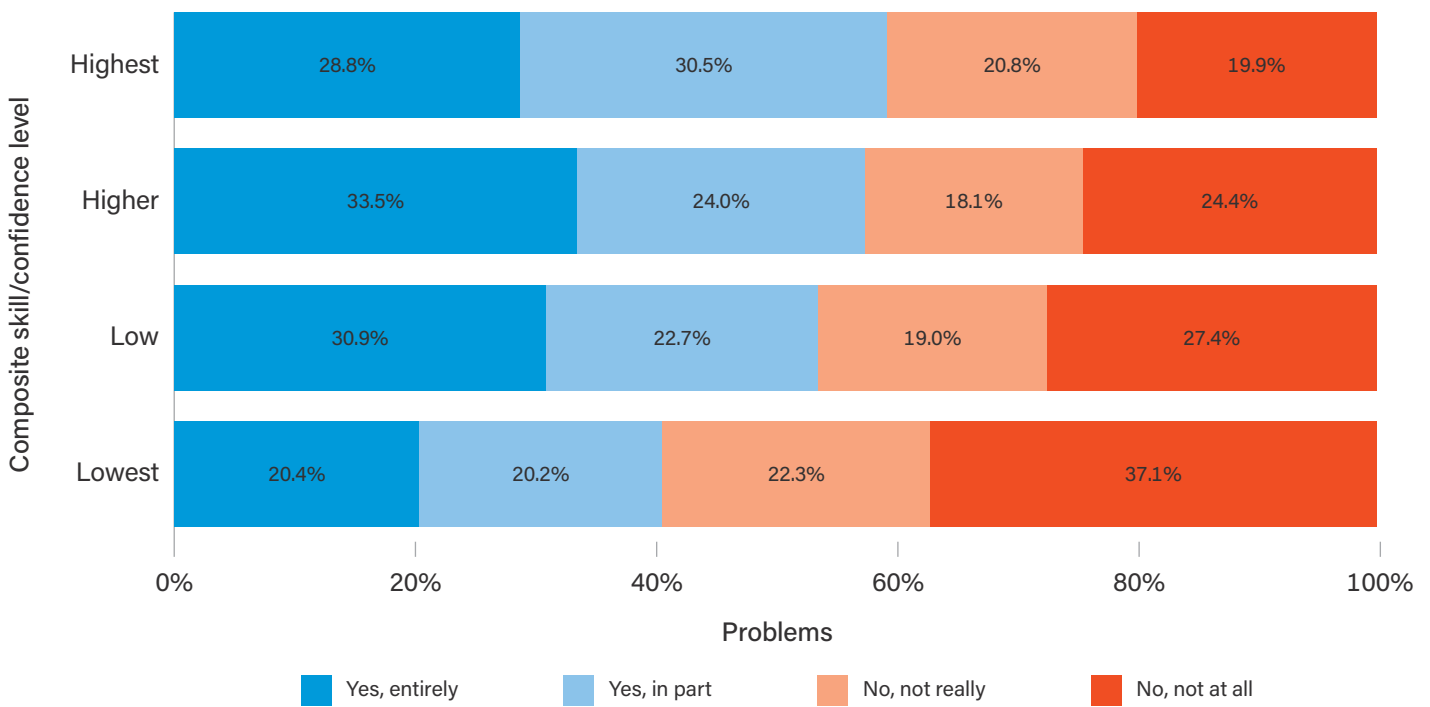
Attitudes and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems

This section looks at the relationship between the attitude-related capability dimensions investigated through the PULS and happiness with problem outcomes or progress. It then looks at the relationship between levels of composite attitude legal capability (explained in Chapter 11 of PULS Volume 2) and happiness with problem outcomes or progress.

Table 8.3 sets out the simple bivariate relationships between attitude-related legal capabilities and the extent to which PULS respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of their justiciable problems. All the bivariate relationships were statistically significant, though only those involving the 'game' narrative and Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata remained significant once problem type and demographics were accounted for.

Table 8.3. Bivariate relationship between attitude-related legal capability and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of their justiciable problems (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

Legal capability	Level	Happy with Outcome or Progress							
		Yes, entirely		Yes, in part		No, not really		No, not at all	
		N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Remote narrative	Low	544	30.2%	458	25.4%	353	19.6%	446	24.7%
	High	127	29.3%	80	18.4%	76	17.4%	152	34.9%
Resist narrative	Low	604	32.0%	436	23.1%	355	18.8%	493	26.1%
	High	85	24.8%	71	20.5%	75	21.8%	114	33.0%
Practical narrative	Low	395	30.8%	262	20.4%	252	19.6%	375	29.2%
	High	297	31.3%	246	25.9%	176	18.5%	231	24.3%
Game narrative	Low	463	35.5%	285	21.9%	239	18.4%	315	24.2%
	High	221	23.1%	236	24.7%	207	21.7%	292	30.5%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	164	38.5%	107	25.1%	83	19.6%	71	16.8%
	Medium	445	33.7%	334	25.3%	268	20.3%	273	20.7%
	High	134	18.6%	142	19.7%	129	18.0%	315	43.8%
Trust in lawyers	Low	275	26.2%	233	22.2%	223	21.3%	318	30.3%
	High	396	34.2%	257	22.2%	210	18.1%	293	25.4%

Narratives of law

Figure 8.7 sets out the bivariate relationship between adherence to each narrative of law and happiness with problem outcome or progress. There were significant bivariate relationships in all cases.[230]

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230 Testing the bivariate relationships; $x^2_3 = 21.74$, p < 0.001 (remote), $x^2_3 = 12.39$, p = 0.006 (resist), $x^2_3 = 12.44$, p = 0.006 (practical), $x^2_3 = 41.35$, p < 0.001 (game).

When PULS respondents viewed the law as practical, they were less often unhappy with problem outcome or progress than others.[231] However, in the case of the 'remote', 'resist' and 'game' narratives, those who adhered to those narratives were more often unhappy with problem outcome or progress than others.[232]

Only the relationship between the 'game' narrative and the extent to which respondents were happy with problem outcome or progress remained statistically significant once problem type and demographics were controlled for in multivariate models.[233] The three other relationships became clearly non-significant.[234] This can be seen in Table 8.6.

Figure 8.7. Bivariate relationship between level of adherence to narratives of law and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems

Legend: Yes, entirely | Yes, in part | No, not really | No, not at all

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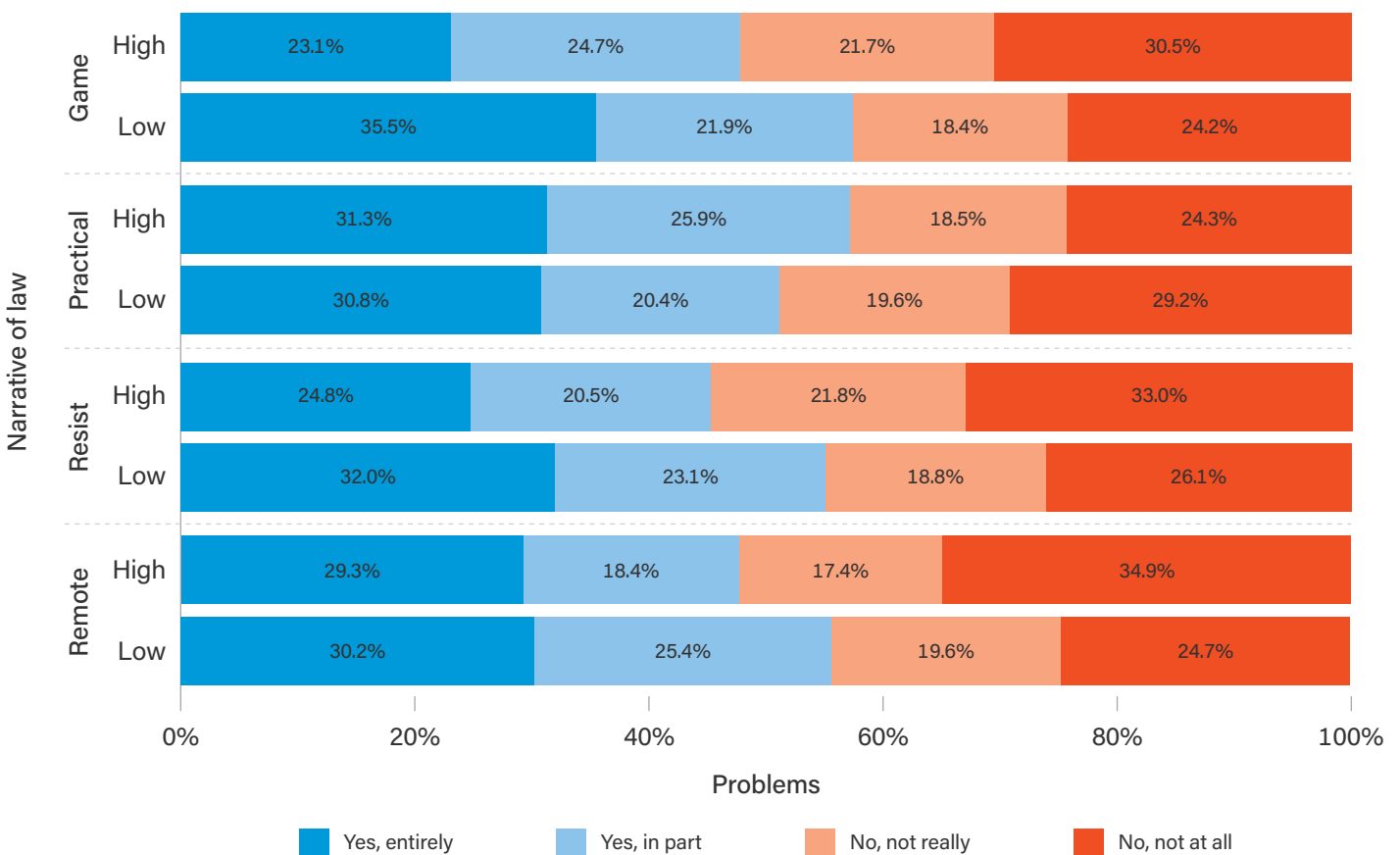
231 The single highest Pearson residual, 2.0, was associated with 'yes, in part' for the high group.

232 For the remote narrative, the largest absolute Pearson residual was associated with 'no, not at all' for the 'high' group (3.3). For the resist narrative, the largest absolute Pearson residuals were associated with 'yes, entirely' (-2.1) and 'no, not at all' (2.1) for the 'high' group. For the game narrative, the largest absolute Pearson residuals were associated with 'yes, entirely' for the 'low' group (3.5) and 'yes, entirely' for the for the 'high' group (-4.0).

233 Testing the game model term; $x^2_1 = 8.08$, p = 0.005.

234 Testing the remote model term; $x^2_1 = 0.55$, p = 0.46. Testing the resist model term; $x^2_1 = 0.52$, p = 0.47. Testing the practical model term; $x^2_1 = 0.16$, p = 0.68.

Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers

As shown in Figure 8.8, there was a very strong and highly significant relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and happiness with problem outcome or progress.[235] Those in the low PIL scale stratum (who saw lawyers as more accessible) were far more often entirely happy and far less often not at all happy than others.[236] In contrast, those in the high PIL scale stratum were far less often entirely happy and far more often not at all, happy with problem outcome or progress than others.[237]

The relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and happiness with problem outcome or progress remained highly statistically significant even after having controlled for problem type and demographics in a multivariate model.[238] As can be seen in Figure 8.3, the pattern derived from model estimates was similar (if marginally diminished) to that derived from raw PULS data.

Figure 8.8. Bivariate relationship between Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) scale strata and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems

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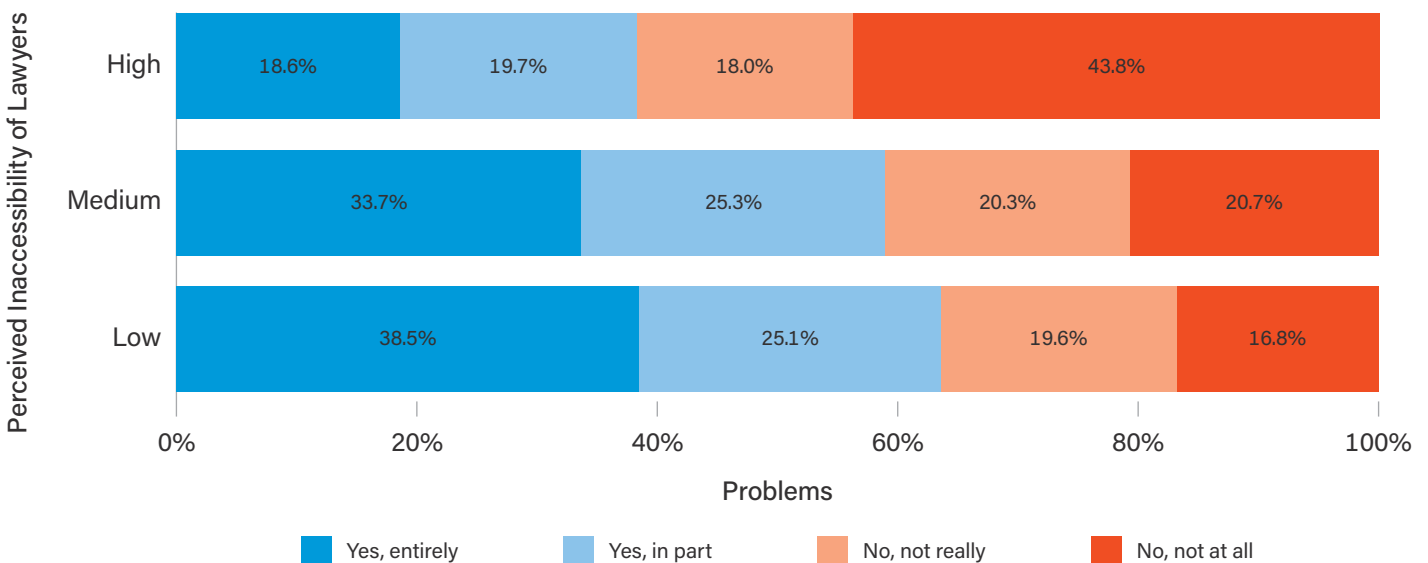
235 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_6 = 167.46$, p < 0.001.
236 Pearson residuals of 3.1 and -4.0 respectively.
237 Pearson residuals of -5.6 and 8.8 respectively.
238 Testing the inaccessibility of lawyers model terms; $\chi^2_2 = 27.90$, p < 0.001.

Trust in lawyers

As illustrated in Figure 8.9, there was a significant difference in happiness with problem outcomes or progress depending upon respondents' level of trust in personal lawyers.[239] Those with a high level of trust were more often happy with problem outcomes or progress, as compared to those with a low level.[240]

The relationship between trust in personal lawyers and happiness with problem outcome or progress fell short of statistical significance once problem type nad demographics were controlled for in a multivariate model.[241] The diminished relationship is set out in Table 8.6.

Figure 8.9. **Bivariate relationship between trust in lawyers and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their justiciable problems**
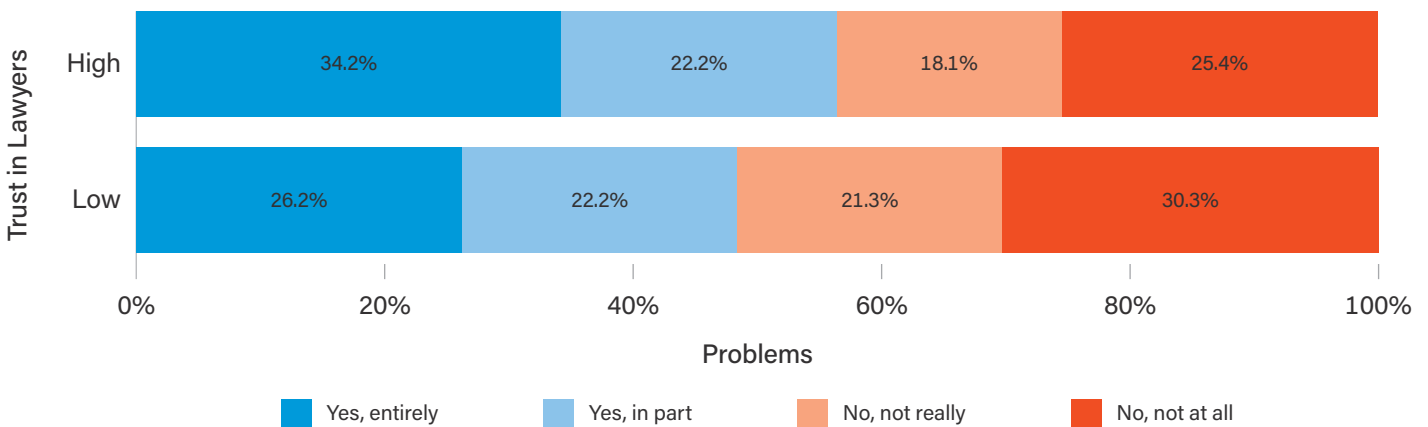
239 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_3 = 19.26$, p < 0.001.
240 The highest absolute Pearson residuals were for the 'yes, entirely' happiness category, with -2.5 for the low trust group and 2.4 for the high trust group.
241 Testing the trust in lawyers model terms; $\chi^2_1 = 1.24$, p = 0.27.

Composite attitude level

Table 8.4 and Figure 8.10 show the relationship between composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents were happy with problem outcomes or progress. As can be seen, the relationship was very strong.[242] Happiness with outcomes or progress increased alongside attitudes becoming more positive. So, those with the most positive attitudes were only infrequently 'not at all' happy with outcomes or progress, and almost half of them were 'entirely' happy.[243] In contrast, 40% of those with the most negative attitudes were not at all happy with outcomes or progress,[244] compared to just 10% of those with the most positive attitudes.

Table 8.4.   **Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)**

Composite attitude level	Happy with Outcome or Progress							
	Yes, entirely		Yes, in part		No, not really		No, not at all	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Most negative	93	24.1%	67	17.2%	73	18.9%	154	39.8%
Negative	232	27.0%	206	23.9%	164	19.1%	258	30.0%
Positive	168	37.3%	87	19.3%	105	23.3%	91	20.1%
Most positive	82	47.5%	42	24.2%	32	18.2%	17	10.0%

While the strength of the relationship was slightly reduced, it remained highly statistically significant even after accounting for problem type, demographics and composite skill/confidence-related legal capability.[245] Patterns based on raw data and model estimates are set out in Table 8.7.

242 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_9 = 93.00$, p < 0.001.
243 Pearson residuals of -4.5 and 4.0 respectively.
244 An associated Pearson residual of 4.5.
245 Testing the composite attitude model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 21.90$, p < 0.001.

Figure 8.10. Bivariate relationship between composite attitude level and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of justiciable problems
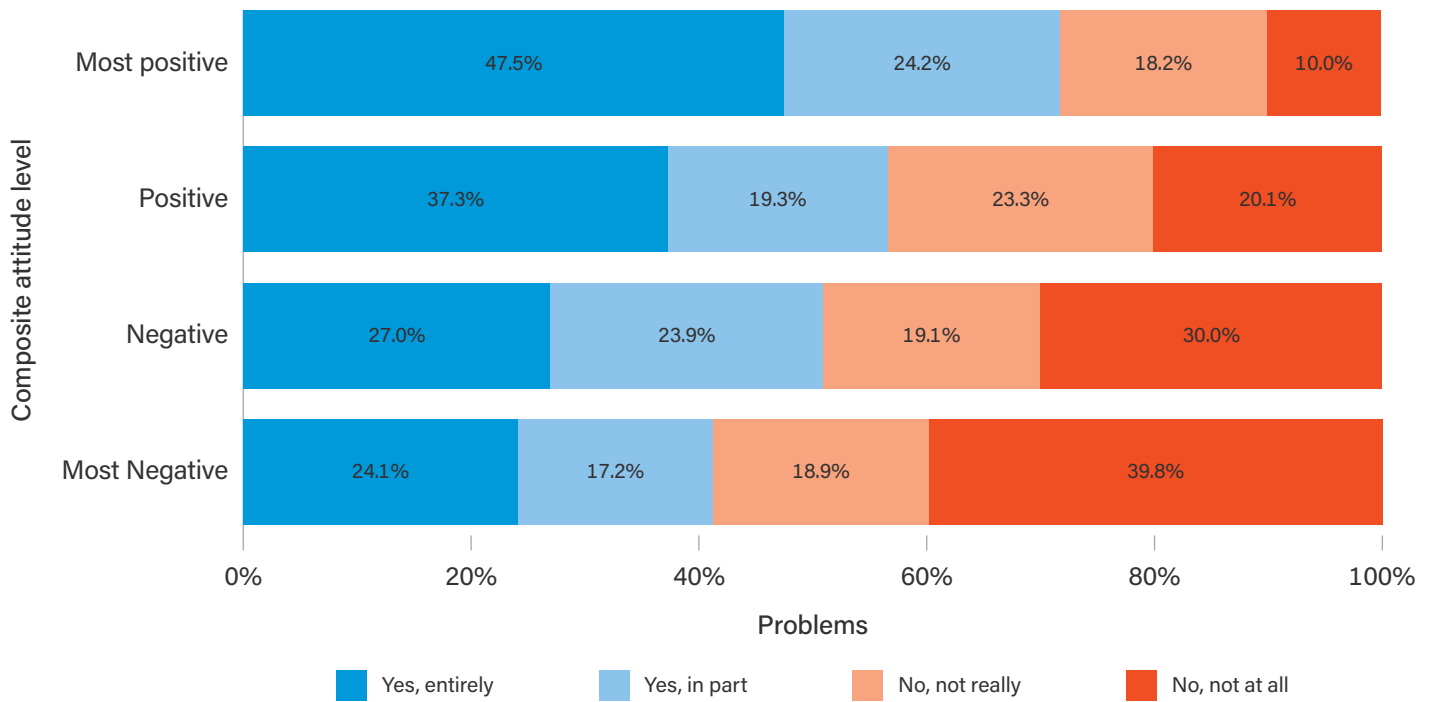
Skills, confidence and attitude combined

Table 8.5 and Figure 8.11 combine skills, confidence and attitudes into a single measure, and relate this to the extent to which respondents were happy with justiciable problem outcome or progress. As can be seen, there was a strong and statistically significant relationship between combined composite skill and attitude levels and respondents happiness with problem outcome or progress.[246] In particular, those in the 'higher skill, more positive attitude' group were less often 'not at all' happy than others.[247] There was also a big contrast between the two positive and two negative attitude groups in the frequency with which respondents reported being 'entirely' happy.

Table 8.5. Bivariate relationship between combined skills and attitudes and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their justiciable problems (darker colours indicate higher values for a given column)

Combined composite skill and attitude level	Happy with Outcome or Progress							
	Yes, entirely		Yes, in part		No, not really		No, not at all	
	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %
Lower skill, more negative attitude	190	26.6%	141	19.8%	143	20.0%	241	33.7%
Higher skill, more negative attitude	133	25.3%	131	24.9%	93	17.7%	169	32.1%
Lower skill, more positive attitude	87	41.1%	32	14.9%	38	18.0%	55	26.0%
Higher skill, more positive attitude	158	38.8%	97	23.9%	98	24.2%	53	13.1%

As is illustrated in Table 8.7, the relationship between combined composite skill and attitude-related legal capabilities and respondents' happiness with problem outcome or progress remined having significant after controlling for problem type and demographics.[248] However, as can be seen from Table 8.7, the strength of the relationship was diminished.

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246 Testing the bivariate relationship; $\chi^2_9 = 84.16$, p < 0.001.
247 The single largest Pearson residual at -5.7.
248 Testing the combined composite skill and attitude model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 13.24$, p = 0.004.

Figure 8.11. Bivariate relationship between combined skills and attitudes and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their justiciable problems
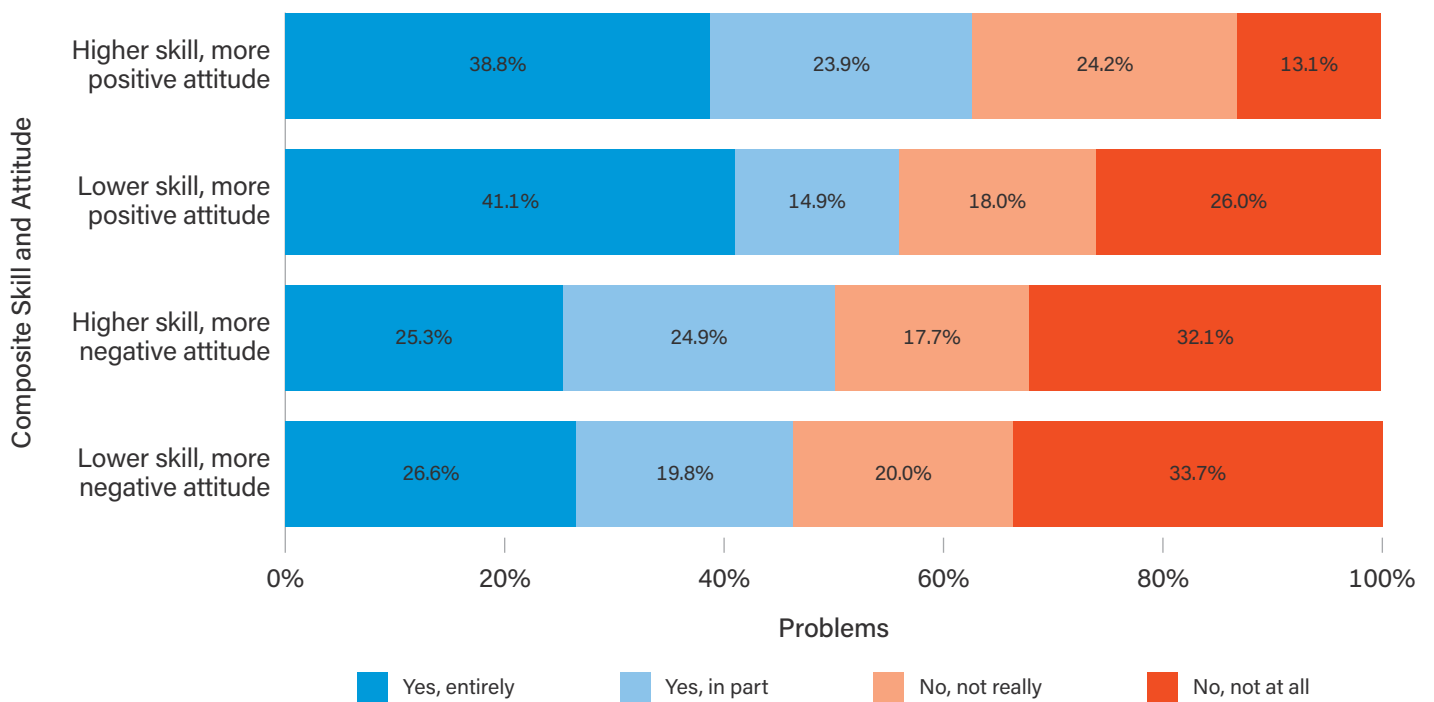
Multivariate modelling of the relationship between legal capability and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their justiciable problems

Fitting a model including problem type and social and demographic variables, but without capability variables resulted in an R^2 of 0.164 and an AIC of 6393.65. Adding all capability variables to the model as main effects resulted in an increase in R^2 to 0.244, indicating a better fitting model and a lower AIC of 4493.37, suggested a better model overall. Whichever fit statistic was referred to, the addition of legal capability variables made an important contribution to predicting the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their problems. Having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities, Perceived Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL) retained a statistically significant relationship to the extent to which people got the help they needed.[249] Elsewhere, the law as a 'game' narrative model term fell marginally short of significance,[250] and while the practical legal literacy model terms were not statistically significant overall,[251] there was a significant difference in happiness between the 'inadequate' group and the 'adequate (no issues)' reference category.[252]

If instead of all capability measures, a composite skill and a composite attitude variable were introduced into the model alongside problem type and demographics, this resulted in an R^2 of 0.209 and an AIC of 4752.18. As above, introducing capability measures resulted in a better fitting model. This is the same model as referenced in analysis of the relationship between composite attitudes and happiness with progress or outcome above, with (having controlled for other variables) a significant relationship remaining between attitudes and the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their problems,[253] but not between skills and happiness.[254]

If a single four category skill and attitude composite measure was introduced alongside problem type and demographics (rather than individual skills and attitudes measures), there was also an improvement in fit compared to the model without legal capability measures, with an R^2 of 0.200 and an AIC of 4768.74. This model was also referred to in analysis of the relationship between combined attitudes and skills and happiness with progress or outcome above, and as above, having controlled for other variables, there remained a statistically significant relationship between the combined composite skills and attitudes measure and the extent to which people were happy with the progress or outcome of their problem.[255]

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249 Testing the perceived inaccessibility of lawyers terms together; $\chi^2_2 = 13.57$, p = 0.001.
250 Testing the law as a game model term; $\chi^2_1 = 3.54$, p = 0.060.
251 $\chi^2_3 = 5.54$, p = 0.14.
252 Testing the 'inadequate' model term; $\chi^2_1 = 5.01$, p = 0.025.
253 Testing the composite attitude group model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 21.90$, p < 0.001.
254 Testing the composite skill group model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 3.35$, p = 0.34.
255 Testing the combined skill and attitude composite group model terms; $\chi^2_3 = 13.24$, p = 0.004.

Again, whether legal capability was entered into the model as individual variables or as composite variables, it made a significant contribution to predicting the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their problems, even having controlled for problem type and respondent's social and demographic characteristics.

As discussed above for both individual and composite measures, while capability makes an important contribution to understanding the extent to which people were happy with the progress or outcome of their problems, in several cases, controlling for problem type and demographics lessened the strength of relationships. Again, this reflected the relationship between respondent's characteristics and their legal capabilities discussed in the second volume of the PULS. In the model including all capability measures simultaneously, many previously significant relationships fell well short of significance, reflecting strong relationships between capabilities that were also explored in the second volume.[256] The difference in relationships between simple (bivariate) cross-tabulations and when derived from more complex multivariate modelling is illustrated for each legal capability in Table 8.6 and for composite capability measures in Table 8.7. Table 8.6 shows the bivariate relationship between each capability and happiness with the progress or outcome of problems, followed by the relationship between each capability and happiness having controlled for problem type and demographics, before finally showing the relationship between each capability and happiness having controlled for problem type, demographics *and* other capabilities. Table 8.7 shows the bivariate relationship between composite legal capability measures and happiness with progress or outcome, followed by the relationship having controlled for problem type and demographics.

In summary, legal capability made an important contribution to predicting the extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their problems, in addition to contribution of problem type and social demographic characteristics. In several instances, the introduction of problem type and demographics diminished the strength of the relationship, but significant relationships between skills, attitudes and happiness with progress or outcome remained.

Statistical models referenced in this section are set out in full in Appendix 1.

256 Balmer et al. (2023).

8. Legal Capability and Satisfaction with Outcomes or Progress

Table 8.6. The relationship between individual legal capabilities and the extent to which respondents were happy with outcome or progress of their justiciable problems in simple bivariate terms, having controlled for problem type and demographics, and having controlled for problem type, demographics and other capabilities (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

Legal capability	Level	Bivariate relationships				Controlling for problem type, demographics and individual capabilities				Controlling for problem type, demographics and all capabilities			
		Yes, entirely	Yes, in part	No, not really	No, not at all	Yes, entirely	Yes, in part	No, not really	No, not at all	Yes, entirely	Yes, in part	No, not really	No, not at all
		Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %	Row %
Knowledge	Low	33.1%	22.7%	20.5%	23.7%	30.8%	24.0%	19.4%	25.8%	34.3%	21.3%	19.2%	25.3%
	Medium	29.8%	24.5%	18.9%	26.8%	29.8%	23.9%	19.6%	26.7%	31.2%	21.0%	19.9%	27.9%
	High	28.5%	22.0%	20.3%	29.2%	29.3%	23.8%	19.8%	27.2%	29.3%	20.7%	20.3%	29.7%
General Legal Confidence (GLC)	Low	23.6%	21.4%	19.5%	35.5%	23.1%	22.5%	21.1%	33.3%	29.1%	20.7%	20.3%	29.8%
	Medium	31.3%	23.3%	18.8%	26.6%	30.4%	24.1%	19.6%	25.9%	31.0%	21.0%	20.0%	28.0%
	High	33.3%	26.2%	21.0%	19.5%	34.5%	24.5%	18.6%	22.5%	33.3%	21.2%	19.5%	26.0%
Practical Legal Literacy (PLL)	Adequate (no issues)	37.3%	22.9%	19.6%	20.3%	33.4%	25.1%	19.0%	22.6%	33.9%	21.6%	19.6%	24.9%
	Adequate (some issues)	31.7%	26.7%	18.6%	22.9%	31.0%	24.8%	19.6%	24.5%	32.6%	21.5%	19.9%	26.0%
	Marginal	26.5%	21.5%	22.2%	29.9%	27.3%	24.2%	20.5%	27.9%	29.4%	21.1%	20.6%	28.9%
	Inadequate	13.9%	13.6%	18.9%	53.5%	16.3%	19.8%	21.8%	42.0%	18.6%	18.0%	21.7%	41.7%
Relevance of Law (LAW)	Low relevance	29.0%	23.5%	16.4%	31.1%	27.6%	23.5%	20.1%	28.8%	28.6%	20.7%	20.4%	30.3%
	Medium relevance	30.2%	23.2%	21.4%	25.2%	30.6%	24.0%	19.5%	26.0%	31.4%	21.0%	19.9%	27.6%
	High relevance	30.8%	24.4%	18.1%	26.6%	30.1%	23.9%	19.6%	26.4%	32.3%	21.1%	19.7%	26.9%
Digital Capability for Law (DCL)	No support	29.2%	25.2%	19.5%	26.1%	30.0%	23.9%	19.6%	26.5%	30.7%	20.9%	20.0%	28.4%
	Minor support	32.1%	18.7%	19.9%	29.3%	27.8%	23.5%	20.1%	28.6%	29.4%	20.7%	20.2%	29.6%
	Major support	30.9%	23.9%	19.3%	25.9%	31.7%	24.1%	19.2%	25.0%	36.8%	21.3%	18.6%	23.3%
Remote narrative	Low	30.2%	25.4%	19.6%	24.7%	30.1%	24.4%	19.2%	26.2%	30.4%	20.8%	19.9%	28.8%
	High	29.3%	18.4%	17.4%	34.9%	27.7%	24.0%	19.8%	28.4%	35.6%	21.2%	18.8%	24.4%
Resist narrative	Low	32.0%	23.1%	18.8%	26.1%	31.2%	23.0%	19.3%	26.6%	31.5%	21.0%	19.9%	27.6%
	High	24.8%	20.5%	21.8%	33.0%	28.4%	22.6%	19.8%	29.2%	29.8%	20.8%	20.2%	29.2%
Practical narrative	Low	30.8%	20.4%	19.6%	29.2%	30.3%	23.0%	19.3%	27.4%	31.2%	21.0%	19.9%	27.9%
	High	31.3%	25.9%	18.5%	24.3%	31.3%	23.1%	19.1%	26.5%	31.3%	21.0%	19.9%	27.8%
Game narrative	Low	35.5%	21.9%	18.4%	24.2%	32.9%	23.9%	19.3%	23.9%	33.4%	21.4%	19.5%	25.7%
	High	23.1%	24.7%	21.7%	30.5%	25.9%	22.8%	20.9%	30.4%	27.9%	20.7%	20.7%	30.7%
Inaccessibility of Lawyers (PIL)	Low	38.5%	25.1%	19.6%	16.8%	36.5%	25.2%	18.3%	20.1%	33.7%	21.9%	19.8%	24.6%
	Medium	33.7%	25.3%	20.3%	20.7%	32.2%	25.0%	19.5%	23.3%	34.3%	21.9%	19.7%	24.1%
	High	18.6%	19.7%	18.0%	43.8%	20.1%	21.8%	22.0%	36.0%	22.3%	19.6%	21.9%	36.2%
Trust in lawyers	Low	26.2%	22.2%	21.3%	30.3%	28.6%	22.3%	20.2%	28.9%	31.8%	21.0%	19.7%	27.4%
	High	34.2%	22.2%	18.1%	25.4%	31.4%	22.7%	19.6%	26.4%	30.8%	20.9%	19.9%	28.4%

Table 8.7. The relationship between composite legal capability and the extent to which respondents were happy with the outcome or progress of their justiciable problems in simple bivariate terms, and having controlled for problem type and demographics (darker colour indicates higher value within a column)

		Bivariate relationships				Controlling for problem type and demographics			
		Yes, entirely Row %	Yes, in part Row %	No, not really Row %	No, not at all Row %	Yes, entirely Row %	Yes, in part Row %	No, not really Row %	No, not at all Row %
Skill composite measure	Lowest skill	20.4%	20.2%	22.3%	37.1%	24.3%	20.6%	21.4%	33.8%
	Low skill	30.9%	22.7%	19.0%	27.4%	31.8%	22.0%	20.0%	26.2%
	Higher skill	33.5%	24.0%	18.1%	24.4%	31.3%	22.0%	20.1%	26.6%
	Highest skill	28.8%	30.5%	20.8%	19.9%	28.7%	21.6%	20.7%	29.1%
Positive attitude composite measure	Most negative attitude	24.1%	17.2%	18.9%	39.8%	26.3%	21.4%	21.3%	30.9%
	Negative attitude	27.0%	23.9%	19.1%	30.0%	27.6%	21.7%	21.1%	29.6%
	Positive attitude	37.3%	19.3%	23.3%	20.1%	31.9%	22.4%	20.1%	25.6%
	Most positive attitude	47.5%	24.2%	18.2%	10.0%	46.1%	22.1%	16.0%	15.7%
Skill and attitude composite measures	Lower skill, more negative attitude	26.6%	19.8%	20.0%	33.7%	27.3%	21.5%	21.1%	30.0%
	Higher skill, more negative attitude	25.3%	24.9%	17.7%	32.1%	27.1%	21.5%	21.2%	30.2%
	Lower skill, more positive attitude	41.1%	14.9%	18.0%	26.0%	33.0%	22.4%	19.9%	24.8%
	Higher skill, more positive attitude	38.8%	23.9%	24.2%	13.1%	37.7%	22.6%	18.6%	21.1%

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Statistical models

This appendix provides Stata code and model output for a range of models included in chapters 3, 6, 7 and 8. It can be used to recreate and build upon models included in this volume in conjunction with the PULS data available from the Victoria Law Foundation.

Stata code and output for Chapter 3 models

Multinomial logistic regression model for problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type and demographics

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first). xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first). zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability ib(first). xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first). xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Introducing individual capability variables

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).GLCStataADJUSTED [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).PLLgroups [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).LawScaleStrata [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).Digicap3group [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).REMOTE6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).RESIST6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).PRACTICAL6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).GAME6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).PILstrata [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).TrustinLawyers2 [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Introducing composite capability variables

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).
xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).
zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability ib(first).
xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).
xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).
SkillGroup ib(first).PosAttitudeFactorGroup [pweight =
WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).SkillandAttitude [pweight =
WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Introducing all individual capability measures together

mlogit BroadstrategyVersion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 ib(first).
GLCStataADJUSTED ib(first).PLLgroups ib(first).
LawScaleStrata ib(first).Digicap3group ib(first).
REMOTE6plus ib(first).RESIST6plus ib(first).
PRACTICAL6plus ib(first).GAME6plus ib(first).
PILstrata ib(first).TrustinLawyers2 [pweight =
WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Table A1.   Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome)

Did nothing					
Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Age group	18-24	0.000	-	-	-
	25-34	-0.388	0.742	-0.520	0.601
	35-44	-0.230	0.743	-0.310	0.756
	45-54	-0.478	0.759	-0.630	0.529
	55-64	-1.425	0.901	-1.580	0.114
	65+	-1.571	0.953	-1.650	0.099
	Refused	-0.226	1.029	-0.220	0.826
Sex at birth	Male	0.000	-	-	-
	Female	-0.436	0.409	-1.070	0.286
Sexual orientation	Straight (heterosexual)	0.000	-	-	-
	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, other term	-3.264	1.249	-2.610	0.009
	Prefer not to say	-16.675	1.558	-10.700	0.000
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.416	0.844	0.490	0.622
Main language spoken	English	0.000	-	-	-
	Other	0.316	0.498	0.640	0.525
Family status	Married, children	0.000	-	-	-
	Married, no children	1.137	0.690	1.650	0.100
	De facto, children	1.370	0.858	1.600	0.110
	De facto, no children	1.588	0.798	1.990	0.047
	Single, children	2.186	0.751	2.910	0.004
	Single, no children	1.597	0.662	2.410	0.016
Carer	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.780	0.493	1.580	0.114
Work	Yes	0.000	-	-	-
	No	0.337	0.533	0.630	0.527
Highest education	Lower than year 12 or equivalent	0.000	-	-	-
	Year 12 or equivalent	0.078	0.786	0.100	0.921
	Trade/vocational certs/diplomas	0.312	0.661	0.470	0.637
	Degree or higher	0.357	0.744	0.480	0.631
Geography	Major Cities	0.000	-	-	-
	Inner Regional	0.555	0.380	1.460	0.144
	Outer Regional and Remote	-0.538	1.137	-0.470	0.636
Long-term illness or disability	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.501	0.487	1.030	0.303

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Did nothing					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Mental distress (K6)	None or low	0.000	-	-	-
	Moderate	0.445	0.420	1.060	0.290
	Severe	0.202	0.684	0.300	0.767
Gross annual household income	Quintile 1 - $0 to $39,988	0.000	-	-	-
	Quintile 2 - $39,989 to $70,564	-0.010	0.582	-0.020	0.986
	Quintile 3 - $70,565 to $110,292	-2.698	0.729	-3.700	0.000
	Quintile 4 - $110,293 to $165,256	-0.268	0.551	-0.490	0.627
	Quintile 5 - $165,256 or more	-2.459	0.833	-2.950	0.003
	Prefer not to say	-0.344	0.726	-0.470	0.636
Unable to eat, heat or cool home	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-1.201	0.716	-1.680	0.094
Problem type	Goods and services	0.000	-	-	-
	Housing	-0.051	0.569	-0.090	0.929
	Family	-1.391	0.937	-1.480	0.138
	Injury	-1.802	1.002	-1.800	0.072
	Employment	-1.925	0.965	-1.990	0.046
	Government payments	-2.060	0.973	-2.120	0.034
	Fines	1.533	0.587	2.610	0.009
	Government and public services	-15.592	0.624	-24.980	0.000
	Debt or money	0.985	0.734	1.340	0.179
	Business or investment property	-0.484	1.295	-0.370	0.709
Knowledge	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.784	0.461	-1.700	0.089
	High	-1.373	0.624	-2.200	0.028
General legal confidence	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.325	0.526	0.620	0.537
	High	0.717	0.591	1.210	0.225
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	0.000	-	-	-
	Adequate (some issues)	-0.536	0.455	-1.180	0.239
	Marginal	-0.874	0.635	-1.380	0.169
	Inadequate	-0.302	0.784	-0.390	0.700

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Did nothing					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Perceived relevance of law	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.328	0.496	-0.660	0.509
	High	0.232	0.507	0.460	0.647
Digital legal capability	No support	0.000	-	-	-
	Minor support	0.174	0.455	0.380	0.702
	Major support	-0.078	0.581	-0.130	0.893
Remote narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.146	0.414	0.350	0.725
Resist narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.004	0.473	-0.010	0.994
Practical narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.599	0.403	-1.490	0.137
Game narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.894	0.411	-2.170	0.030
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.357	0.657	0.540	0.587
	High	0.204	0.732	0.280	0.780
Trust in lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	High	-0.123	0.397	-0.310	0.757
Constant		-1.541	1.774	-0.870	0.385

Handled alone/informal help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Age group	18-24	0.000	-	-	-
	25-34	-0.049	0.487	-0.100	0.920
	35-44	0.013	0.492	0.030	0.979
	45-54	-0.520	0.478	-1.090	0.276
	55-64	-0.481	0.532	-0.900	0.366
	65+	-0.239	0.548	-0.440	0.662
	Refused	-0.004	0.715	-0.010	0.995
Sex at birth	Male	0.000	-	-	-
	Female	0.126	0.196	0.650	0.519

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Handled alone/informal help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Sexual orientation	Straight (heterosexual)	0.000	-	-	-
	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, other term	-0.492	0.440	-1.120	0.263
	Prefer not to say	-2.287	0.922	-2.480	0.013
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.797	0.611	1.300	0.192
Main language spoken	English	0.000	-	-	-
	Other	0.159	0.265	0.600	0.549
Family status	Married, children	0.000	-	-	-
	Married, no children	0.479	0.341	1.400	0.160
	De facto, children	-0.542	0.523	-1.040	0.300
	De facto, no children	0.542	0.339	1.600	0.110
	Single, children	0.531	0.392	1.360	0.175
	Single, no children	0.803	0.327	2.450	0.014
Carer	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.211	0.298	-0.710	0.478
Work	Yes	0.000	-	-	-
	No	-0.184	0.252	-0.730	0.464
Highest education	Lower than year 12 or equivalent	0.000	-	-	-
	Year 12 or equivalent	-0.507	0.423	-1.200	0.231
	Trade/vocational certs/diplomas	-0.307	0.349	-0.880	0.378
	Degree or higher	-0.903	0.352	-2.570	0.010
Geography	Major Cities	0.000	-	-	-
	Inner Regional	-0.521	0.241	-2.160	0.031
	Outer Regional and Remote	-0.191	0.482	-0.400	0.692
Long-term illness or disability	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.055	0.232	-0.240	0.811
Mental distress (K6)	None or low	0.000	-	-	-
	Moderate	0.111	0.224	0.500	0.619
	Severe	0.165	0.366	0.450	0.653

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Handled alone/informal help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Gross annual household income	Quintile 1 - $0 to $39,988	0.000	-	-	-
	Quintile 2 - $39,989 to $70,564	0.205	0.350	0.590	0.558
	Quintile 3 - $70,565 to $110,292	-0.232	0.331	-0.700	0.482
	Quintile 4 - $110,293 to $165,256	-0.037	0.371	-0.100	0.920
	Quintile 5 - $165,256 or more	0.487	0.381	1.280	0.201
	Prefer not to say	0.319	0.448	0.710	0.476
Unable to eat, heat or cool home	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.443	0.403	-1.100	0.272
Problem type	Goods and services	0.000	-	-	-
	Housing	-1.941	0.283	-6.860	0.000
	Family	-1.665	0.500	-3.330	0.001
	Injury	-2.973	0.506	-5.880	0.000
	Employment	-2.939	0.361	-8.150	0.000
	Government payments	-1.081	0.388	-2.790	0.005
	Fines	-0.621	0.410	-1.510	0.130
	Government and public services	-2.321	0.365	-6.350	0.000
	Debt or money	-0.718	0.487	-1.470	0.140
	Business or investment property	-0.901	0.442	-2.040	0.042
Knowledge	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.085	0.285	-0.300	0.766
	High	-0.246	0.332	-0.740	0.460
General legal confidence	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.238	0.243	-0.980	0.327
	High	-0.076	0.308	-0.250	0.805
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	0.000	-	-	-
	Adequate (some issues)	0.290	0.235	1.230	0.218
	Marginal	0.263	0.306	0.860	0.390
	Inadequate	-0.312	0.418	-0.740	0.457
Perceived relevance of law	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.555	0.262	2.120	0.034
	High	0.760	0.282	2.700	0.007

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Handled alone/informal help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Digital legal capability	No support	0.000	-	-	-
	Minor support	0.012	0.255	0.050	0.964
	Major support	-0.161	0.281	-0.570	0.566
Remote narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.257	0.245	-1.050	0.294
Resist narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.445	0.293	-1.520	0.129
Practical narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.165	0.201	-0.820	0.412
Game narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.406	0.202	-2.010	0.044
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.134	0.254	-0.530	0.597
	High	0.045	0.348	0.130	0.896
Trust in lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	High	0.070	0.211	0.330	0.739
Constant		1.931	0.790	2.440	0.015

Legal service independent help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Age group	18-24	0.000	-	-	-
	25-34	0.217	0.562	0.390	0.699
	35-44	0.472	0.583	0.810	0.418
	45-54	0.082	0.554	0.150	0.882
	55-64	0.711	0.559	1.270	0.204
	65+	1.002	0.623	1.610	0.108
	Refused	0.307	0.890	0.340	0.730
Sex at birth	Male	0.000	-	-	-
	Female	-0.408	0.285	-1.430	0.152
Sexual orientation	Straight (heterosexual)	0.000	-	-	-
	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, other term	-0.083	0.526	-0.160	0.875
	Prefer not to say	0.089	1.065	0.080	0.933

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Legal service independent help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	2.210	0.600	3.690	0.000
Main language spoken	English	0.000	-	-	-
	Other	0.239	0.340	0.700	0.482
Family status	Married, children	0.000	-	-	-
	Married, no children	0.738	0.523	1.410	0.159
	De facto, children	0.929	0.489	1.900	0.057
	De facto, no children	0.285	0.540	0.530	0.597
	Single, children	1.269	0.509	2.490	0.013
	Single, no children	0.440	0.446	0.990	0.324
Carer	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.249	0.336	0.740	0.460
Work	Yes	0.000	-	-	-
	No	-0.396	0.349	-1.140	0.256
Highest education	Lower than year 12 or equivalent	0.000	-	-	-
	Year 12 or equivalent	0.131	0.424	0.310	0.758
	Trade/vocational certs/diplomas	-0.456	0.358	-1.270	0.203
	Degree or higher	-0.765	0.405	-1.890	0.059
Geography	Major Cities	0.000	-	-	-
	Inner Regional	-0.251	0.301	-0.830	0.405
	Outer Regional and Remote	-1.136	0.712	-1.590	0.111
Long-term illness or disability	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.288	0.296	0.970	0.331
Mental distress (K6)	None or low	0.000	-	-	-
	Moderate	0.347	0.287	1.210	0.228
	Severe	-0.227	0.441	-0.510	0.608
Gross annual household income	Quintile 1 - $0 to $39,988	0.000	-	-	-
	Quintile 2 - $39,989 to $70,564	-0.413	0.402	-1.030	0.304
	Quintile 3 - $70,565 to $110,292	0.114	0.405	0.280	0.778
	Quintile 4 - $110,293 to $165,256	-0.328	0.465	-0.710	0.480
	Quintile 5 - $165,256 or more	-0.109	0.485	-0.230	0.822
	Prefer not to say	0.372	0.514	0.720	0.469

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Legal service independent help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Unable to eat, heat or cool home	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.510	0.440	1.160	0.246
Problem type	Goods and services	0.000	-	-	-
	Housing	-0.160	0.459	-0.350	0.727
	Family	2.679	0.500	5.360	0.000
	Injury	0.901	0.569	1.580	0.113
	Employment	-0.406	0.518	-0.780	0.433
	Government payments	0.046	0.585	0.080	0.938
	Fines	-0.026	0.624	-0.040	0.966
	Government and public services	-0.074	0.632	-0.120	0.906
	Debt or money	0.775	0.701	1.110	0.269
	Business or investment property	0.718	0.545	1.320	0.188
Knowledge	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.204	0.374	-0.550	0.585
	High	0.150	0.422	0.360	0.722
General legal confidence	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.506	0.298	-1.700	0.090
	High	-0.172	0.352	-0.490	0.625
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	0.000	-	-	-
	Adequate (some issues)	0.153	0.322	0.470	0.636
	Marginal	-0.401	0.418	-0.960	0.338
	Inadequate	0.056	0.529	0.110	0.916
Perceived relevance of law	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.432	0.359	-1.200	0.229
	High	-0.819	0.396	-2.070	0.038
Digital legal capability	No support	0.000	-	-	-
	Minor support	-0.600	0.361	-1.660	0.096
	Major support	0.004	0.320	0.010	0.989
Remote narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.957	0.311	-3.080	0.002
Resist narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.786	0.345	2.280	0.023

Table A1. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling problem-solving strategy on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (independent help was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Legal service independent help					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Practical narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.239	0.244	-0.980	0.326
Game narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.005	0.296	0.020	0.988
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.213	0.323	-0.660	0.509
	High	-0.374	0.398	-0.940	0.347
Trust in lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	High	0.145	0.264	0.550	0.582
Constant		-0.471	1.036	-0.450	0.649

Stata code and output for Chapter 6 models

Ordinal regression model for extent to which respondents obtained the expert help they needed on the basis of problem type and demographics

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).
xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4
ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability
ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).
xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

Introducing individual capability variables

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).GLCStataADJUSTED [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6
ib(first).xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool
ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).PLLgroups [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).LawScaleStrata [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).Digicap3group [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).REMOTE6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).RESIST6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).PRACTICAL6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).GAME6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).
xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4
ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability
ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).
xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).
PILstrata [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).TrustinLawyers2 [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

Introducing composite capability variables

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).
xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4
ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability
ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).
xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).
SkillGroup ib(first).PosAttitudeFactorGroup [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander
ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus
ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).
XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).SkillandAttitude [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

Introducing all individual capability measures together

ologit L14c ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer
ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability
ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 ib(first).GLCStataADJUSTED ib(first).PLLgroups
ib(first).LawScaleStrata ib(first).Digicap3group ib(first).REMOTE6plus ib(first).RESIST6plus
ib(first).PRACTICAL6plus ib(first).GAME6plus ib(first).PILstrata ib(first).TrustinLawyers2
[pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

Table A2. Ordinal regression output modelling the extent to which respondents obtained the expert help they needed on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities

Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Age group	18-24	0.000	-	-	-
	25-34	-0.208	0.353	-0.590	0.556
	35-44	-0.056	0.378	-0.150	0.881
	45-54	-0.202	0.366	-0.550	0.580
	55-64	-0.232	0.400	-0.580	0.562
	65+	-0.421	0.404	-1.040	0.298
	Refused	-0.251	0.679	-0.370	0.712
Sex at birth	Male	0.000	-	-	-
	Female	0.329	0.157	2.100	0.036
Sexual orientation	Straight (heterosexual)	0.000	-	-	-
	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, other term	-0.325	0.348	-0.930	0.351
	Prefer not to say	-0.055	0.506	-0.110	0.913
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.609	0.437	-1.390	0.164
Main language spoken	English	0.000	-	-	-
	Other	0.237	0.190	1.250	0.212
Family status	Married, children	0.000	-	-	-
	Married, no children	0.379	0.263	1.440	0.149
	De facto, children	-0.388	0.305	-1.270	0.203
	De facto, no children	0.377	0.286	1.320	0.187
	Single, children	-0.048	0.346	-0.140	0.890
	Single, no children	0.114	0.234	0.490	0.625
Carer	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.079	0.244	0.320	0.748
Work	Yes	0.000	-	-	-
	No	0.147	0.195	0.750	0.453

Table A2. Ordinal regression output modelling the extent to which respondents obtained the expert help they needed on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (cont.)

Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Highest education	Lower than year 12 or equivalent	0.000	-	-	-
	Year 12 or equivalent	-0.237	0.327	-0.720	0.469
	Trade/vocational certs/diplomas	-0.112	0.270	-0.420	0.677
	Degree or higher	-0.135	0.268	-0.500	0.615
Geography	Major Cities	0.000	-	-	-
	Inner Regional	0.089	0.179	0.500	0.619
	Outer Regional and Remote	-1.197	0.421	-2.840	0.005
Long-term illness or disability	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.086	0.174	0.500	0.620
Mental distress (K6)	None or low	0.000	-	-	-
	Moderate	0.324	0.165	1.970	0.049
	Severe	0.315	0.272	1.160	0.247
Gross annual household income	Quintile 1 - $0 to $39,988	0.000	-	-	-
	Quintile 2 - $39,989 to $70,564	-0.275	0.274	-1.010	0.314
	Quintile 3 - $70,565 to $110,292	-0.153	0.284	-0.540	0.591
	Quintile 4 - $110,293 to $165,256	-0.313	0.297	-1.050	0.293
	Quintile 5 - $165,256 or more	-0.518	0.334	-1.550	0.121
	Prefer not to say	-0.036	0.380	-0.100	0.924
Unable to eat, heat or cool home	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.348	0.273	-1.270	0.203
Problem type	Goods and services	0.000	-	-	-
	Housing	-0.221	0.229	-0.960	0.336
	Family	-0.337	0.370	-0.910	0.363
	Injury	-0.182	0.420	-0.430	0.664
	Employment	0.310	0.259	1.190	0.232
	Government payments	0.349	0.306	1.140	0.253
	Fines	0.191	0.256	0.740	0.457
	Government and public services	0.916	0.310	2.950	0.003
	Debt or money	0.747	0.312	2.390	0.017
	Business or investment property	-0.273	0.295	-0.920	0.355
Knowledge	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.077	0.188	0.410	0.681
	High	-0.171	0.223	-0.770	0.443

Table A2. Ordinal regression output modelling the extent to which respondents obtained the expert help they needed on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (cont.)

Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
General legal confidence	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.310	0.180	-1.720	0.085
	High	-0.880	0.236	-3.720	0.000
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	0.000	-	-	-
	Adequate (some issues)	0.333	0.213	1.570	0.118
	Marginal	0.521	0.266	1.960	0.050
	Inadequate	0.858	0.379	2.270	0.023
Perceived relevance of law	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.019	0.203	-0.100	0.924
	High	-0.137	0.229	-0.600	0.551
Digital legal capability	No support	0.000	-	-	-
	Minor support	-0.448	0.192	-2.340	0.019
	Major support	-0.377	0.244	-1.540	0.123
Remote narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.190	0.211	0.900	0.367
Resist narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.177	0.233	-0.760	0.447
Practical narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.013	0.147	0.090	0.928
Game narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.253	0.160	1.580	0.115
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.174	0.211	0.820	0.411
	High	0.771	0.270	2.860	0.004
Trust in lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	High	-0.128	0.155	-0.820	0.410
Cut 1		-1.227	0.613		
Cut 2		0.845	0.625		
Cut 3		2.974	0.668		

Stata code and output for Chapter 7 models

Multinomial logistic regression model for whether legal need existed and whether or not it was met on the basis of problem type and demographics

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first). xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first). zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability ib(first). xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first). xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Introducing individual capability variables

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).GLCStataADJUSTED [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).PLLgroups [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).LawScaleStrata [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).Digicap3group [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).REMOTE6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).RESIST6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).PRACTICAL6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).GAME6plus [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).PILstrata [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).TrustinLawyers2 [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Introducing composite capability variables

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first). xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first). zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability ib(first). xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first). xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first). SkillGroup ib(first).PosAttitudeFactorGroup [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first). xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first). xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first). xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first). L2MainProblem ib(first).SkillandAttitude [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Introducing all individual capability measures together

mlogit LegalNeedversion2 ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer
ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability
ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 ib(first).GLCStataADJUSTED ib(first).PLLgroups
ib(first).LawScaleStrata ib(first).Digicap3group ib(first).REMOTE6plus ib(first).RESIST6plus
ib(first).PRACTICAL6plus ib(first).GAME6plus ib(first).PILstrata ib(first).TrustinLawyers2
[pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap], baseoutcome(2)

Table A3. **Multinomial logistic regression output modelling the existence of legal need and whether or not it was met on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (no legal need was the base model outcome)**

Unmet legal need					
Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Age group	18-24	0.000	-	-	-
	25-34	0.502	0.395	1.270	0.203
	35-44	0.558	0.446	1.250	0.211
	45-54	1.163	0.441	2.640	0.008
	55-64	0.466	0.514	0.910	0.364
	65+	0.515	0.497	1.040	0.300
	Refused	0.254	0.692	0.370	0.714
Sex at birth	Male	0.000	-	-	-
	Female	0.386	0.195	1.980	0.048
Sexual orientation	Straight (heterosexual)	0.000	-	-	-
	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, other term	-0.232	0.408	-0.570	0.569
	Prefer not to say	-0.194	0.809	-0.240	0.811
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.107	0.674	0.160	0.874
Main language spoken	English	0.000	-	-	-
	Other	0.003	0.252	0.010	0.991

Table A3. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling the existence of legal need and whether or not it was met on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (no legal need was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Unmet legal need					
Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Family status	Married, children	0.000	-	-	-
	Married, no children	0.433	0.305	1.420	0.155
	De facto, children	0.166	0.440	0.380	0.706
	De facto, no children	0.058	0.338	0.170	0.865
	Single, children	-0.053	0.400	-0.130	0.894
	Single, no children	0.104	0.299	0.350	0.728
Carer	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.140	0.257	-0.540	0.588
Work	Yes	0.000	-	-	-
	No	0.549	0.251	2.190	0.029
Highest education	Lower than year 12 or equivalent	0.000	-	-	-
	Year 12 or equivalent	-0.255	0.398	-0.640	0.522
	Trade/vocational certs/diplomas	-0.384	0.322	-1.200	0.232
	Degree or higher	-0.528	0.332	-1.590	0.111
Geography	Major Cities	0.000	-	-	-
	Inner Regional	-0.271	0.231	-1.170	0.241
	Outer Regional and Remote	-1.356	0.637	-2.130	0.033
Long-term illness or disability	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.251	0.213	1.180	0.239
Mental distress (K6)	None or low	0.000	-	-	-
	Moderate	0.493	0.201	2.450	0.014
	Severe	0.560	0.359	1.560	0.119
Gross annual household income	Quintile 1 - $0 to $39,988	0.000	-	-	-
	Quintile 2 - $39,989 to $70,564	-0.521	0.369	-1.410	0.158
	Quintile 3 - $70,565 to $110,292	-0.089	0.367	-0.240	0.808
	Quintile 4 - $110,293 to $165,256	-0.393	0.412	-0.950	0.341
	Quintile 5 - $165,256 or more	-0.654	0.424	-1.540	0.124
	Prefer not to say	-0.239	0.467	-0.510	0.609
Unable to eat, heat or cool home	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.149	0.421	0.350	0.724

Table A3. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling the existence of legal need and whether or not it was met on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (no legal need was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Unmet legal need					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Problem type	Goods and services	0.000	-	-	-
	Housing	1.099	0.279	3.930	0.000
	Family	2.196	0.379	5.800	0.000
	Injury	2.009	0.401	5.010	0.000
	Employment	2.448	0.356	6.870	0.000
	Government payments	1.433	0.380	3.770	0.000
	Fines	-0.370	0.315	-1.170	0.240
	Government and public services	1.519	0.474	3.200	0.001
	Debt or money	2.393	0.471	5.080	0.000
	Business or investment property	1.559	0.453	3.440	0.001
Knowledge	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.442	0.266	1.660	0.096
	High	0.760	0.319	2.390	0.017
General legal confidence	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.056	0.246	0.230	0.820
	High	0.055	0.298	0.180	0.854
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	0.000	-	-	-
	Adequate (some issues)	-0.067	0.239	-0.280	0.779
	Marginal	0.066	0.300	0.220	0.827
	Inadequate	-0.286	0.437	-0.660	0.512
Perceived relevance of law	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.303	0.271	-1.120	0.263
	High	-0.486	0.294	-1.650	0.098
Digital legal capability	No support	0.000	-	-	-
	Minor support	-0.011	0.244	-0.040	0.965
	Major support	0.507	0.351	1.450	0.148
Remote narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.060	0.264	-0.230	0.821
Resist narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.420	0.294	1.430	0.153
Practical narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.154	0.185	0.840	0.403

Table A3. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling the existence of legal need and whether or not it was met on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (no legal need was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Unmet legal need					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Game narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.366	0.198	1.840	0.065
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.086	0.262	0.330	0.742
	High	1.120	0.321	3.490	0.000
Trust in lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	High	0.043	0.187	0.230	0.819
Constant		-2.178	0.787	-2.770	0.006

Met legal need					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Age group	18-24	0.000	-	-	-
	25-34	-0.449	0.508	-0.880	0.377
	35-44	-0.285	0.560	-0.510	0.611
	45-54	-0.170	0.522	-0.330	0.744
	55-64	0.234	0.586	0.400	0.690
	65+	0.623	0.585	1.060	0.287
	Refused	0.192	0.708	0.270	0.786
Sex at birth	Male	0.000	-	-	-
	Female	0.306	0.238	1.280	0.199
Sexual orientation	Straight (heterosexual)	0.000	-	-	-
	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, other term	0.588	0.471	1.250	0.212
	Prefer not to say	1.517	0.885	1.710	0.086
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.218	0.765	0.280	0.776
Main language spoken	English	0.000	-	-	-
	Other	0.148	0.334	0.440	0.658
Family status	Married, children	0.000	-	-	-
	Married, no children	-1.005	0.461	-2.180	0.029
	De facto, children	1.022	0.531	1.920	0.054
	De facto, no children	-1.298	0.542	-2.390	0.017
	Single, children	-0.784	0.535	-1.470	0.143
	Single, no children	-0.741	0.422	-1.750	0.079

Table A3. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling the existence of legal need and whether or not it was met on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (no legal need was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Met legal need					
Variable	**Level**	**Coef.**	**Std. Err.**	**z**	**p**
Carer	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.253	0.341	0.740	0.458
Work	Yes	0.000	-	-	-
	No	-0.286	0.324	-0.880	0.378
Highest education	Lower than year 12 or equivalent	0.000	-	-	-
	Year 12 or equivalent	-0.821	0.506	-1.620	0.105
	Trade/vocational certs/diplomas	-0.333	0.437	-0.760	0.447
	Degree or higher	-0.831	0.457	-1.820	0.069
Geography	Major Cities	0.000	-	-	-
	Inner Regional	-0.151	0.335	-0.450	0.653
	Outer Regional and Remote	-0.185	0.657	-0.280	0.778
Long-term illness or disability	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.363	0.284	1.280	0.201
Mental distress (K6)	None or low	0.000	-	-	-
	Moderate	-0.258	0.303	-0.850	0.396
	Severe	0.455	0.424	1.070	0.283
Gross annual household income	Quintile 1 - $0 to $39,988	0.000	-	-	-
	Quintile 2 - $39,989 to $70,564	-0.575	0.481	-1.190	0.232
	Quintile 3 - $70,565 to $110,292	0.183	0.486	0.380	0.707
	Quintile 4 - $110,293 to $165,256	0.110	0.515	0.210	0.832
	Quintile 5 - $165,256 or more	-0.006	0.576	-0.010	0.991
	Prefer not to say	0.339	0.580	0.580	0.559
Unable to eat, heat or cool home	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.545	0.522	1.050	0.296
Problem type	Goods and services	0.000	-	-	-
	Housing	1.349	0.383	3.520	0.000
	Family	1.959	0.468	4.190	0.000
	Injury	2.383	0.538	4.430	0.000
	Employment	2.355	0.475	4.950	0.000
	Government payments	1.054	0.517	2.040	0.041
	Fines	-1.293	0.499	-2.590	0.010
	Government and public services	1.493	0.564	2.650	0.008
	Debt or money	1.742	0.645	2.700	0.007
	Business or investment property	1.105	0.720	1.540	0.125

Table A3. Multinomial logistic regression output modelling the existence of legal need and whether or not it was met on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (no legal need was the base model outcome) (cont.)

Met legal need					
Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Knowledge	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.295	0.375	0.790	0.431
	High	0.602	0.425	1.420	0.157
General legal confidence	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.142	0.319	0.450	0.656
	High	0.460	0.363	1.270	0.205
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	0.000	-	-	-
	Adequate (some issues)	-0.056	0.331	-0.170	0.865
	Marginal	0.385	0.396	0.970	0.331
	Inadequate	0.873	0.506	1.730	0.084
Perceived relevance of law	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.325	0.349	-0.930	0.351
	High	-0.315	0.371	-0.850	0.395
Digital legal capability	No support	0.000	-	-	-
	Minor support	0.280	0.316	0.890	0.376
	Major support	0.388	0.401	0.970	0.334
Remote narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.738	0.378	-1.950	0.051
Resist narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	1.361	0.375	3.620	0.000
Practical narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.207	0.260	0.790	0.427
Game narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.317	0.282	1.120	0.261
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.240	0.317	-0.760	0.449
	High	-0.059	0.421	-0.140	0.888
Trust in lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	High	0.010	0.251	0.040	0.970
Constant		-1.621	1.041	-1.560	0.120

Stata code and output for Chapter 8 models

Ordinal regression model for extent to which respondents were happy with the progress or outcome of their problems on the basis of problem type and demographics

```
ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).
xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation
ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).
xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer
ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).
zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability ib(first).
xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).
xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]
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Introducing individual capability variables

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ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]
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ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).GLCStataADJUSTED [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]
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ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6
ib(first).xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool
ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).PLLgroups [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]
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ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).LawScaleStrata [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]
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ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).Digicap3group [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]
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ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).REMOTE6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]
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ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).RESIST6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).PRACTICAL6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).GAME6plus [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6
ib(first).xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool
ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).PILstrata [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

testparm i.PILstrata

ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).TrustinLawyers2 [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

Introducing composite capability variables

ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).
xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation
ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).
xMainLanguage ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer
ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).
zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability ib(first).
xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome ib(first).
xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).
SkillGroup ib(first).PosAttitudeFactorGroup [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup
ib(first).xSex ib(first).xSexualOrientation ib(first).
xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary
ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).zGeography3 ib(first).
xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).
xIncome ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).
L2MainProblem ib(first).SkillandAttitude [pweight
= WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

Introducing all individual capability measures together

ologit HappywithProgressOutcome ib(first).xAgeGroup ib(first).xSex ib(first).
xSexualOrientation ib(first).xAboriginalTorresStraitIslander ib(first).xMainLanguage
ib(first).xFamilyStatus ib(first).xCarer ib(first).xWorkBinary ib(first).XHighestEd4 ib(first).
zGeography3 ib(first).xIllnessorDisability ib(first).xMentalDistress3K6 ib(first).xIncome
ib(first).xUnabletoeatheatorcool ib(first).L2MainProblem ib(first).CorrConfGroups3 ib(first).
GLCStataADJUSTED ib(first).PLLgroups ib(first).LawScaleStrata ib(first).Digicap3group
ib(first).REMOTE6plus ib(first).RESIST6plus ib(first).PRACTICAL6plus ib(first).GAME6plus
ib(first).PILstrata ib(first).TrustinLawyers2 [pweight = WEIGHTproblemlevelSTATEWIDEcap]

Table A4. **Ordinal regression output modelling happiness with the progress or outcome of problems on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities**

Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Age group	18-24	0.000	-	-	-
	25-34	0.204	0.364	0.560	0.576
	35-44	0.337	0.387	0.870	0.384
	45-54	0.291	0.366	0.800	0.426
	55-64	0.288	0.377	0.760	0.445
	65+	0.280	0.426	0.660	0.512
	Refused	-0.233	0.681	-0.340	0.733
Sex at birth	Male	0.000	-	-	-
	Female	0.165	0.142	1.160	0.245
Sexual orientation	Straight (heterosexual)	0.000	-	-	-
	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, other term	-0.072	0.305	-0.240	0.813
	Prefer not to say	-0.537	0.588	-0.910	0.361
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.390	0.429	0.910	0.363
Main language spoken	English	0.000	-	-	-
	Other	0.361	0.207	1.740	0.081
Family status	Married, children	0.000	-	-	-
	Married, no children	0.226	0.273	0.830	0.407
	De facto, children	-0.500	0.312	-1.600	0.109
	De facto, no children	0.225	0.288	0.780	0.435
	Single, children	-0.057	0.319	-0.180	0.857
	Single, no children	-0.084	0.276	-0.310	0.760
Carer	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.129	0.211	0.610	0.540
Work	Yes	0.000	-	-	-
	No	0.046	0.210	0.220	0.825

Table A4. Ordinal regression output modelling happiness with the progress or outcome of problems on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (cont.)

Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Highest education	Lower than year 12 or equivalent	0.000	-	-	-
	Year 12 or equivalent	-0.208	0.318	-0.650	0.513
	Trade/vocational certs/diplomas	-0.170	0.269	-0.630	0.528
	Degree or higher	-0.143	0.279	-0.510	0.609
Geography	Major Cities	0.000	-	-	-
	Inner Regional	-0.194	0.177	-1.100	0.273
	Outer Regional and Remote	0.136	0.385	0.350	0.724
Long-term illness or disability	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.163	0.173	0.940	0.346
Mental distress (K6)	None or low	0.000	-	-	-
	Moderate	0.221	0.173	1.280	0.200
	Severe	0.500	0.309	1.620	0.105
Gross annual household income	Quintile 1 - $0 to $39,988	0.000	-	-	-
	Quintile 2 - $39,989 to $70,564	0.123	0.251	0.490	0.623
	Quintile 3 - $70,565 to $110,292	0.171	0.286	0.600	0.549
	Quintile 4 - $110,293 to $165,256	0.218	0.300	0.730	0.466
	Quintile 5 - $165,256 or more	0.260	0.328	0.790	0.428
	Prefer not to say	0.655	0.406	1.610	0.107
Unable to eat, heat or cool home	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.130	0.305	0.430	0.669
Problem type	Goods and services	0.000	-	-	-
	Housing	0.448	0.206	2.170	0.030
	Family	1.451	0.267	5.420	0.000
	Injury	0.978	0.275	3.560	0.000
	Employment	1.677	0.273	6.160	0.000
	Government payments	0.858	0.417	2.050	0.040
	Fines	0.248	0.268	0.930	0.354
	Government and public services	1.458	0.328	4.440	0.000
	Debt or money	1.310	0.363	3.610	0.000
	Business or investment property	0.726	0.306	2.380	0.017
Knowledge	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	0.163	0.214	0.760	0.445
	High	0.272	0.275	0.990	0.323
General legal confidence	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.107	0.203	-0.530	0.597
	High	-0.226	0.244	-0.930	0.353

Table A4. Ordinal regression output modelling happiness with the progress or outcome of problems on the basis of problem type, demographics and individual legal capabilities (cont.)

Variable	Level	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	p
Practical legal literacy	Adequate (no issues)	0.000	-	-	-
	Adequate (some issues)	0.067	0.191	0.350	0.724
	Marginal	0.239	0.267	0.890	0.371
	Inadequate	0.914	0.409	2.240	0.025
Perceived relevance of law	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.157	0.248	-0.630	0.528
	High	-0.203	0.257	-0.790	0.430
Digital legal capability	No support	0.000	-	-	-
	Minor support	0.068	0.193	0.350	0.726
	Major support	-0.327	0.279	-1.170	0.240
Remote narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.277	0.222	-1.250	0.212
Resist narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.095	0.241	0.390	0.694
Practical narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	-0.007	0.150	-0.050	0.962
Game narrative	No	0.000	-	-	-
	Yes	0.299	0.159	1.880	0.060
Perceived inaccessibility of lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	Medium	-0.031	0.201	-0.150	0.878
	High	0.651	0.252	2.590	0.010
Trust in lawyers	Low	0.000	-	-	-
	High	0.056	0.155	0.360	0.720
Cut 1		0.803	0.652		
Cut 2		1.858	0.650		
Cut 3		2.912	0.657		