Law reform

Casework, bloody casework

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Community legal centres have utilised casework to achieve a range of legal and social changes. This article demonstrates how a series of unconnected and individual cases are important to the collective processes leading to law reform.

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When legal eagles talk of important cases, they almost invariably make reference to cases which have proceeded in the superior courts. In the 20 years since they began, Australian Community Legal Centres (CLCs) have run a significant number of such cases, generally in areas which have traditionally received little attention from the private legal profession. CLCs have also been involved in many cases which have been important in a collective sense. This article does not cover all areas of significant CLC casework. I have sought to highlight some interesting areas of casework but am in no way suggesting that cases/areas not referred to are not significant. Space and time constraints have prevented a more exhaustive review of this area.

Value of casework

Casework needs to be viewed as one mechanism which may assist CLCs in achieving their objectives. If centres wish to retain their funding from Commonwealth and State Governments, there is no doubt that they will have to continue to provide casework services. While we would all like it to be otherwise, there is no doubt that it is the casework service delivery of centres which is attractive to our funders. Accepting limitation, it is then for centres to structure their casework in a fashion which will stretch the benefits of that work beyond the individual clients assisted. This 'benefit stretching' can occur in a range of ways including:

- changing existing interpretations of particular laws,
- leading to amendment of statutes,
- maintaining or increasing the accountability of groups or individuals in positions of power,
- changing the practices adopted by particular industries.

Role of test cases

The test case work of CLCs has naturally focused on those areas of law which have tended to be neglected by the private legal profession. Significant groups of the community had traditionally been denied any real opportunity to exert their legal rights. The emergence of CLCs provided such groups with the opportunity to have relevant areas of legislation and administrative practice tested. Change could more easily be pursued through the courts rather than through the political process alone.

Some of the significant areas of CLC test case activity have been housing, prisons, consumer credit, domestic violence, social security, discrimination and police.

Housing

Housing has been a major CLC focus, both for specialist tenancy services and more generalist centres. In those States where residential tenancy disputes are dealt with by a specialist tribunal rather than the local courts, CLCs have run many cases which have assisted in defining the legislative limits of such tribunals.[1] This role has been very important because the overwhelming majority of applications to such tribunals have been made by or on behalf of landlords. In 1990-91, only 7% of applications made to the Victorian Residential Tenancies Tribunal were made by tenants.[2]

Victorian CLCs were involved in providing legal support to the Squatters Union of Victoria during a public squat campaign in 1983.[3] Occupants of a South Yarra mansion owned by Telecom, 'Bona Vista', became the subject of proceedings which ended up before the High Court of Australia. On Saturday morning, 8 October 1983, Mr Justice Wilson of the High Court ordered the release from prison of squatters gaoled for being in contempt of a Victorian Supreme Court Order. The decision of the High Court 'demonstrated that a powerless group can challenge an alleged denial of civil rights. However, [it] was not to do with housing nor, the plight of the homeless'.[4]

A significant case was recently run in New South Wales by the Public Interest Advocacy Centre in relation to 'no cause evictions'. In a decision which may well have wide implications, it has been decided by the Supreme Court that natural justice must be accorded to a public tenant before 'no cause eviction' proceedings are taken. The Supreme Court decision in *Nicholson v The New*

South Wales Land and Housing Corporation (unreported, NSW Sup. Ct, Badgery-Parker J, 24 December 1991) represents the culmination of three years of work by CLCs and other groups on the issue of 'no cause evictions'. As a result public tenants must be told the reasons for their eviction and be given an opportunity to query those reasons. (The Corporation lodged an appeal against the judgment but this was withdrawn on the steps of the Court of Appeal on 17 August 1992.)

Prisons

Community legal centres have been heavily involved in prison issues for many years. This involvement has often had a community action focus, perhaps best exemplified by the 'Wring Out Fairlea' actions held in Melbourne in 1988 and 1989. Victorian CLC workers were heavily involved in these protest actions which saw Fairlea Womens Prison completely encircled by women linking arms. These actions were supported by the release by Fitzroy Legal Service of the 'Women and Imprisonment' report[5] which chronicled the enormous difficulties confronting women in prisons.

Several of the people involved in the establishment of Redfern Legal Centre (NSW) in 1977 were also involved in providing legal services to prisoners.[6] Redfern, and later the Marrickville and Macquarie Legal Centres, became involved in regular visits to gaols, advising prisoners on a range of issues. One significant case from this time was *MacPherson v The Crown* (1981) 147 CLR 512 where the High Court dealt with issues concerning the admissibility of confessional evidence and what information a trial judge is required to give an unrepresented accused.[7]

These New South Wales CLCs were also involved in lobbying for the establishment of the Prisoners Legal Service by the then Legal Services Commission of New South Wales in mid 1981.[8] Redfern Legal Centre in particular has maintained an involvement in prison-related issues, running cases including:

- *Vella v Commissioner of Australian Federal Police* (1985) 9 FCR 81. Mr Vella was a Commonwealth prisoner who was released and subsequently rearrested. Proceedings were taken to obtain his release on the basis that there was no power to return him to custody even if the original release had been mistaken. Mr Vella was successful in the Full Federal Court.

  Attorney General (Commonwealth) v Burcher (1986) 86 ALR 457. In this case, the High Court accepted that Mr Burcher, a Commonwealth prisoner, was entitled to remission of his sentence in accordance with the law in the State in question.

There have also been significant case law victories achieved by the Prisoners Legal Service in Queensland. In *Hogan's case* (1990) 51 A Crim R 46, the Queensland Full Supreme Court ruled that prisoners would not be criminally liable for offences involving breach of Corrective Services Commission Rules unless the rules in question had previously been brought to the prisoner's attention.

In *Lord's case*[9] the Queensland Supreme Court held the Brisbane Regional Community Corrections Board had denied procedural fairness to Mr Lord, a parolee. The Board had purported to revoke Lord's parole on the basis of a report from his parole officer but had not given Lord any opportunity to comment on this report or to address the Board in relation to its decision.

Credit

Community legal centres have been particularly successful in running major cases in the consumer credit area. Many important decisions of, in particular, the Credit Tribunal in Victoria and Commercial Tribunal in NSW have been instituted by CLCs.[10] Specialist CLCs in those two States and the Redfern Legal Centre have been heavily involved.

Community legal centres have worked in conjuction with financial counsellors to challenge many finance industry practices which had previously been subject to very little scrutiny. The civil penalty provisions which exist in the consumer credit legislation in most States have increased the impact resulting from these cases.[11]

There have also been successful objections made to applications for credit providers licences. In September 1989, following a 14-month hearing, (120 sitting days, 80 witnesses and 11 500 pages of transcript) the Victorian Credit Licensing Authority refused to grant a credit providers licence to HFC Financial Services Ltd. The hearing followed the lodging in 1987 of objections by the Victorian Consumer Credit Legal Service and Director of Consumer Affairs to HFC's licence application.[12]

An appeal to the Victorian Supreme Court was lodged by HFC but was not heard as negotiations between the Victorian Ministry of Consumer Affairs and HFC led to a credit providers licence being granted subject to a series of conditions including payment by HFC of more than $3 million over ten years for the establishment of a Consumer Law Centre in Victoria.[13]

Violence against women and children

Community legal centres which provide services specifically for women have tended to focus on community education and law reform activities rather than casework. This is to be expected given the statewide focus of such services. This has still allowed a significant casework related role to be played in terms of resourcing other community groups and sympathetic private practice lawyers who are acting for women in important cases. Two of the many examples of this are:

- the support recently provided by the Womens Legal Service in Queensland to Dagma Stephenson, a woman charged with the murder of her husband who had subjected her to violent abuse for 22 years until his death in 1991. A Queensland Supreme Court jury found Dagma Stephenson not guilty on the basis that she acted in self-defence;[14]
- the support given by Womens Legal Resource Group (WLRG) in Victoria to those acting for Sandra and Tracey Collis, sisters who were gaoled for perjury in relation to complaints made to police regarding sexual abuse by their father during their childhood.[15] After the Court of Criminal Appeal upheld the convictions but reduced the length of the gaol sentences, various community organisations, with substantial input from WLRG, were involved in an intensive campaign to have the Collis Sisters receive pardons. The campaign was ultimately successful.

Social security

Community Legal Centres have run many important cases in the area of welfare rights. One early example is the 1977 challenge by Fitzroy Legal Service to the Federal Government's policy not to pay unemployment benefits to school leavers until the start of the following school year.[16]

Mr Justice Stephen in the High Court of Australia felt unable to make an Order that the plaintiff, Karen Green was qualified to receive unemployment benefits. Stephen J did, however, declare that the Director-General of Social Security should have considered

Green's claim in accordance with the factors listed in the *Social Security Act* 1947. This meant that the fact that a person was a school leaver could not, of itself, be decisive in refusing a claim for unemployment.[17] Sadly, the Fraser Government evidently took very little notice of the High Court declaration.[18]

A slightly different example is that of Norwood Legal Service's involvement in a series of cases which helped increase the scope of the handicapped child's allowance. These cases were among the first to be run before the Social Security Appeals Tribunal in relation to this particular allowance.[19]

Discrimination

Kingsford Legal Centre was heavily involved in running cases on discrimination issues during the 1980s. In fact, they ran up to 75 such cases a year and on six occasions handled matters before the High Court of Australia. The interplay of State and Commonwealth anti-discrimination law saw a range of constitutional issues considered by the High Court.[20] The cases had been run under New South Wales rather than Commonwealth legislation due to factors including:

- the potential liability for costs if the cases were pursued in the Federal Court of Australia; and
- the unenforcability of Orders made by the Commonwealth Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.

PIAC was involved in the High Court case of *Australian Iron and Steel v Banovic* (1989) EOC 92-271. By a 3:2 majority, the High Court upheld claims by eight women ironworkers that their retrenchment under a 'last on-first off' policy amounted to direct discrimination.[21]

Police

This has been one area of traditional CLC casework which has also been well serviced by the private legal profession. This has meant centres have focused on those less lucrative aspects such as the handling of police complaints.

An interesting example of CLC work in this area is the involvement of Flemington-Kensington Legal Service in the Police Shootings Inquiry conducted by the Victorian Coroner. The Service assisted in establishing a mutual support group for the relatives of Flemington men who had been killed by Victorian police officers. This group convened a public meeting on the issue in June 1989 which was attended by between 600 and 700 people. There were calls for an Inquiry into the shootings which ultimately resulted in the announcement that a special set of inquests would be conducted.

The Service was granted standing to appear before the Inquiry and made submissions in relation to the deaths of three Flemington men. The Service has also produced a community newsletter to provide information on the inquests as well as allowing people to have their say about what has occured.[22] The findings of the Coroner have not yet been released.

Collectively important cases

As mentioned earlier, CLCs are also involved in running what can be described as collectively important cases. One area which provides a clear example of this is the accountability of police, particularly in their dealings with young people. The guidelines for legal assistance used by the various Legal Aid Commissions (or Services) around the country are such that people charged with various summary offences are not eligible for legal assistance. Almost invariably, these young people are unable to afford representation for their court hearings. Further, there are many such people who require assistance well before any court proceedings. Legal centre staff have often been involved in assisting people who are being interrogated by police. This sort of work is clearly of an ongoing nature and needs to be coupled with other initiatives such as advocating for change in the way police training is conducted and improving the formal accountability structures which exist.

Police practices have been a priority issue for legal centres for all of their 20 years. NSW legal centres initiated a telephone hotline service back in the early 1980s to assist young people who were in police custody.[23] Since then there have been other such services established elsewhere. Fitzroy Legal Service launched its Alphaline Service in 1985 which provided 24-hour advice and, if need be, at-the-station assistance to young people who had been detained by police.[24] The service relied on a roster of 30 volunteers and, although there have been times when the number of volunteers has declined, it continues to operate and has been combined with involvement in the recruit training program for the Victoria Police.

Community Legal Centres must keep in mind the need to avoid becoming part of the court system in a way which means that they are simply assisting an unjust system to process the cases which are put before it. Centres need to focus on the importance of challenging the existing legal system whenever and wherever this is appropriate. Workers in centres may feel unable to criticise a system if they are 'too close' to it. It is vital that centres retain their independence so as to facilitate this critical role in relation to the workings of the court system.

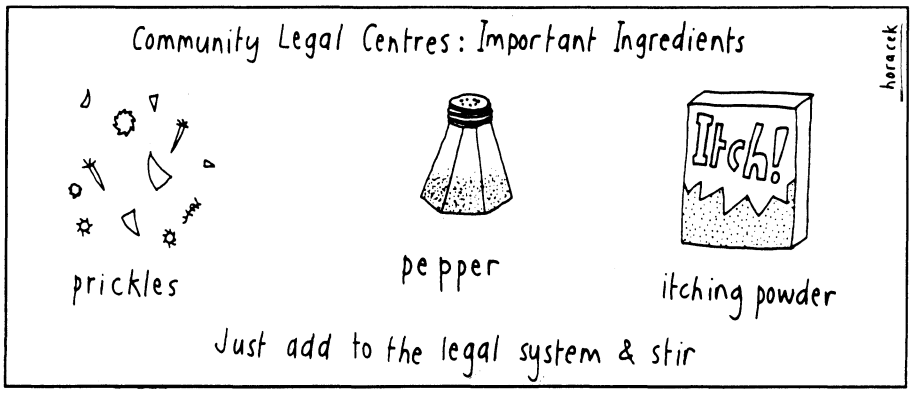
Clearly there are certain types of cases which have been very important because of the way that they have acted as a springboard for further action. Two interesting examples of such cases (there are of course many others from around the country) follow.

The minimum fines campaign

At the 1985 State Conference of Victorian Community Legal Centres a decision was taken to concentrate law reform activity for that year onto a specific and seemingly achievable objective with a view to having 'a law' changed by the end of that year.[25] After discussing the options, the one selected related to provisions of the *Motor Car Act* which stipulated minimum fines of $500 for the offences of driving an uninsured motor vehicle and driving without being licensed and $200 for driving an unregistered motor vehicle. Why was this area chosen? Purely and simply because of the very large number of cases of this nature which CLC workers were encountering and the very clear injustice which was occurring in those cases. Following some limited media coverage, the Federation, together with the staff Law Reform Group of the Legal Aid Commission of Victoria, submitted a report to the Minister for Transport outlining the problems and before long the Minister agreed to meet with members of the campaign group. The result of the meeting was the inclusion in the *Motor Car (Further Amendment) Act* 1985 of the exact amendments recommended by the campaign. The Act was in operation by early November 1985.

'Urgent Repairs Needed'

In October 1988 the Federation of Community Legal Centres (Victoria) published a Discussion Paper on the urgent need for reform of the law concerning motor vehicle property damage.[26] Why were centres interested in this problem? The major reason, again, was the very significant part of CLC casework made up of car accident cases. The weaknesses and defects of



the law in this area were all the more evident to the legal centre workers involved in the group by reason of their casework experience. One major focus of concern was the enormous expense involved in taking cases of this nature to court. The Federation's report recommended that such cases be taken out of the Magistrates Court system and be dealt with by an informal specialist tribunal limiting legal representation.

This proposal was adopted in a draft Bill by the Victorian ALP Government. After intense lobbying by the private legal profession, the Bill was not proceeded with when it became clear that the National Party would join the Liberal Party in opposing the proposal. While this was most unfortunate, perhaps there was a consolation prize in terms of insurance companies now offering to indemnify drivers who have third party property damage insurance and who have an accident with an uninsured driver which was not their fault. Although the coverage differs between insurance companies, it is generally the case that such a driver, if the party at fault can be identified, will be covered for the first $4000 of damage to their vehicle.

Issues with test cases

Test cases can be extremely resource intensive, as well as requiring expertise in the operations of the higher courts. This has resulted, to a considerable degree, in reliance on grants of assistance being provided by State Legal Aid Commissions and, before the establishment of Commissions, by the Australian Legal Aid Office. For example, *Green v Daniels* was funded by the Australian Legal Aid Office.[27] On the night before the Saturday morning High Court hearing in relation to the 'Bona Vista' squatters, the Director of the Victorian Legal Aid Commission was working late (in a meeting about CLC funding). This meant that assistance could be obtained on the spot.[28]

As well as being resource intensive, there can be a long delay before such cases finally get to court for final determination. Often the matter involved will no longer be a hot issue when the court's decision is made. Delays can also create difficulties for the clients in such cases. *Green v Daniels* again provides a good example. The High Court proceedings were commenced on behalf of two school leavers but the enthusiasm of one of the plaintiffs faded away before the matter reached the court.[29]

It may well be that injunctive work, designed to prevent something from occurring until the case can be heard in full on its merits, will be the most effective. Such cases are of a negative character in that they involve reacting to and attempting to prevent some action/initiative proposed by another party. It should always be kept in mind that a test case victory can very easily be overturned by a change to the relevant statute. In superior court cases you may simply be reacting to an appeal lodged by the other party involved in the case. A good example of this is the lengthy journey that led West Heidelberg Legal Service to the High Court over a case dealing with police powers of entry.[30] After succeeding at the Preston Magistrates' Court hearing, the Legal Service would have been quite happy to have had matters left there. Clearly the Victoria Police had other ideas, ending with the High Court reversing the magistrate's decision. Other examples include the discrimination cases run by Kingsford Legal Centre which have been referred to earlier in this article.[31]

A significant lack of control over the court process and the need to rely on conservative judges has resulted in many groups shying away from the running of test cases. In many instances environmental groups have relied more on the political system than on the court system in their attempts to prevent certain developments. While court actions have certainly been taken, this has often been as a last resort when other efforts have not been successful.

Test cases can create a problem for centres of having to live up to unrealistic expectations. In effect, centres can become victims of their own publicity with many clients, quite naturally, considering that their cases involve special issues and that they should receive special attention. To deal with this, it is important for centres to work in with a range of other groups. Apart from sharing the workload (and hopefully the credit for the cases), this also encourages a broader focus whereby the legal case becomes just one of a number of mechanisms which can be used for a particular purpose.

Casework campaigns will often be of an ongoing nature and those involved will need to be very persistent. An example of such persistence is the campaign by Victorian CLCs (as well as many other groups and individuals) against Waltons Stores and their credit sale tactics. The *Legal Service Bulletin* of October 1976 referred to CLCs working to increase the scrutiny of the activities of Waltons and of its Finance Company affiliate.[32] This involved the defending of summonses by Legal Services together with the Services requiring proof of all claims made by Waltons. This campaign (in various guises) ran in Victoria throughout the 1980s. When the Waltons stores closed in 1983, the focus of the campaign changed to the debt collection agency which had purchased the company's book debts. The West Heidelberg Community Legal Service still remains involved in the Waltons Action Group.

One Waltons Action Group case highlights an unusual problem that can arise in the running of test cases. In the late 1980s, the credit recovery agent which had bought the Waltons book debts, CRM, was required to make application for a licence to provide credit. The application was opposed by a solicitor at the West Heidelberg Legal Service, Gary Sullivan, in effect, on behalf of the Waltons Action Group. The wording of the relevant legislation meant that the objection could not be lodged by the group, but had to be lodged by an individual. As such, the objection was lodged in Gary Sullivan's name and after a protracted hearing that the magistrate not only granted the Credit Providers Licence but also ordered that Gary Sullivan pay legal costs in excess of $8000. Luckily the Federation of Community Legal Centres

(Victoria) agreed to these costs being taken from the Legal Aid Commission's Legal Centre Funding Pool.

Casework overload

Cases involving positive publicity can create difficulties for centres in that an expectation is developed within the community that the centre will take on particular cases or do other particular work. If a centre advocates strongly on behalf of a group then this will (just as it should) result in more members of that particular group directing their requests for assistance to that centre and adding new strains to an already excessive caseload.

One interesting example of how this 'when do you say no?' question has been dealt with in a positive way, is that of the Lay Advocacy Scheme being run by the Mental Health Legal Centre in Victoria. The centre found itself in a situation where its salaried staff could not come close to meeting the demand for representation at Mental Health Review Board hearings. The centre decided to channel some resources into training non-lawyers to act as advocates before the Review Board. During mid-1991, the centre ran a 14-week course for these lay advocates and they have been appearing for legal centre clients on average five or six times each week.[33] The second group of 12 advocates are now being trained. They will be doing a 17-week course. The lawyers employed by the centre have been able to direct their attention to other policy-related cases and research and the centre finds itself in the happy position of being able to say 'yes' to all requests for assistance at Mental Health Review Board hearings.

Other uses of casework

Media

Media casework can be very significant in relation to a range of non-court-based reform work. The 'at the coal face' image of legal centres gives their statements on a variety of issues considerable credibility. The compelling circumstances in which legal centre clients often unfortunately find themselves have, in many instances, been used by centres to highlight the injustices of the legal system. The 'power of the anecdote' should not be underestimated, especially where it is possible to obtain media coverage in relation to an issue. The media's pre-occupation with having real live victims available to outline their plight may work in favour of legal centre initiatives on some occasions but there are certainly instances where it creates difficulties.

Government inquiries

Casework has also provided a useful foundation in the submissions made by CLCs to a variety of government inquiries and committees. If the very sizeable submissions made by the legal centre umbrella bodies in various States and by the National Association to the National Legal Aid Advisory Committee (NLAAC)[34] and the inquiry into the Costs of Justice by the Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs are anything to go by, legal centres are being required to direct more and more of their resources to this kind of work.

The involvement of CLCs in juvenile justice issues resulted in substantial submissions being made to the various bodies which considered these issues in several States during the mid and late 1980s. The Public Interest Advocacy Centre was involved with other members of the Juvenile Justice Coalition in the production of the *Kids In Justice Report*[35] which was released in 1990. This comprehensive report had the effect of turning around the bureaucratic and political debate on juvenile justice issues in New South Wales. The report gave the then Greiner Government the opportunity to back away from its increasingly problematic stance on law and order issues. A Parliamentary Inquiry was established following the report's release and this resulted in the establishment in November 1991 of the Juvenile Justice Advisory Council.

In Victoria, the Federation of Community Legal Centres had a strong presence before the Inquiry by the Carney Committee in relation to child welfare law.[36] It is interesting to note that the *Children and Young Person's Act* 1989 (Vic.) has finally come into full operation with the proclamation of a number of outstanding clauses.[37]

Conclusion

This article has attempted to illustrate that in relation to CLC casework the word 'important' can have a range of meanings. Test cases run in the higher courts have, in many instances, had a very significant impact. Perhaps they have also improved the standing of the CLC movement in the eyes of the legal profession (is that really a good thing)? The instances where legal centres have utilised their casework base to attempt a range of legal and social changes, show clearly that what might otherwise be a series of unconnected and insignificant cases (bearing in mind that every case is important to the people involved) can become important in a collective sense.

Casework needs to be seen in the context of the importance of working with other groups of interested people and using a range of mechanisms to achieve common objectives. Working with other groups broadens the focus so that the legal case is one of a number of mechanisms which can be used, depending on the circumstances, rather than it being viewed as the be all and end all of reform work.

Those who have been involved in the CLC movement over the past 20 years can look back with considerable pride at their achievements in greatly increasing the access of a wide range of people to the legal system and promoting more just and equitable outcomes from that system on behalf of those people.

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power imbalance, disengagement and harm of some sort, mediation is not appropriate in *any* family law matters.

Mediation is suitable for one-off problems which can be operationalised, segmented and resolved according to the compromises and needs of the parties involved. The disputes where mediation is appropriate and desirable as a viable form of alternative dispute resolution are disputes such as problems with neighbours ('you play loud music late at night!'); 'you flush the toilet always during my meal times and my dining room adjoins your toilet'; 'your dog always poos on my front lawn!'); commercial disputes and business transactions, motor vehicle accidents and small claims type agreements.

By way of conclusion, let me anticipate and respond to some possible criticisms of my comments.

1. I do adopt a very broad all-inclusive view of violence in the literal sense of violation by one party of another party's rights, power, self-esteem, confidence and development. It covers the full gamut of physical, emotional, verbal and sexual harm.

2. Adopting such a definition, I view all relationships as being violent, the degree, extent, meaning, intention and impact of such violence obviously differing.

3. Most agree that mediation is inappropriate in cases of family violence. Given my broad definition of violence, mediation is therefore inappropriate in all family law disputes.

4. My absolute prohibition on mediation denies parties — particularly women — the choice and the option of participating in the mediation process. Some women may feel strong, articulate and emotionally powerful enough to participate in mediation and not be threatened by the other side. I acknowledge these as a small minority of women, but I do not trust the processes by which these women are identified by others nor identified by themselves. Self-assessment is as fraught with danger as assessment by service providers.

5. I discount mediation as an alternative form of dispute resolution in family law disputes but in doing so I do not adopt litigation as the only acceptable process. Mediation does not change the legal system. It works because of the legal system. It is really legal 'medication' where the letter 'c' representing courts and the adversarial system has been removed. It changes nothing. I have reservations about the adversarial process and our legal system and I suggest that we have to be creative and explore other options.

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37. The outstanding provisions came into effect in June 1992.

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Access to Justice: The Future of Paralegal Professionals, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, 1991; Noone, M., 'Paralegals in the Community's Interest?' in Vernon, J. and Regan, F., above, pp.25-38; Statsky, W., *Introduction to Paralegalism*, West Publishing Company, New York, 1974; Murray, J., 'The Paralegal Police Prosecutor — For How Long?' and Drew, K., 'The New South Wales Policy Prosecution', both in Vernon, J. and Regan, F. (eds) *Improving Access to Justice*, above, pp.97-101, pp.103-6; Basten, B., and Disney, J., 'Representation by Special Advocates', (1975) 1 *University of New South Wales Law Journal*, 170; Hanks, P., 'Improved Access to Law: Without Lawyers', in Goldring, J. et al (eds), *Access to Law*, second seminar on Australian Lawyers and Social Change, Australian National University Press, 1980, p.272; Emshoff, J., Davidson, W., Connor, R., 'Training Prison Inmates as Paralegals: An Experimental Project', (1980) 8 *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27-38; Zemans, F., 'The Public Sector Paralegal in Ontario: Community Legal Worker', (1981) 4 *Canadian Legal Aid Bulletin*, 130; Noone, M., 'Paralegals in the Community's Interest?' in Vernon, J. and Regan, F., above, pp.29-30.
17. By 'legal culture' I mean a narrow world view that is confirmed, if not inculcated from the very first law lecture, or in the case of paralegals, from the first official contact with the business end of a legal enterprise. This culture enshrines dominant and cherished western values, in particular an adversarial model of truth, a reverential attitude to facts, a faith in legal solutions to social problems, a sociological blindness to power imbalances in human relationships outside the legalised definition of natural justice, individuation of solutions to disputes, and a too ready if not irresponsible embracement of some traditional sources of forensic knowledge, specifically psychiatry. For further discussion see Lowry, M., 'Law School Socialisation in the United States', (1983) 3 *Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice*, 245-55.
18. Johnstone, Q., and Weglinisky, M., *Paralegals, Progress and Prospects of a Satellite Occupation*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1985.
19. For a critical analysis of community legal centres in Brisbane see Parker, C., above.
20. Moore, 'People as Lawyers', above, p.131.
21. Parker, above, pp.92-93.