

The Western Australian Aboriginal Child Health Survey

Volume 2

The Social and Emotional Wellbeing of Aboriginal Children and Young People

**Forced separation from natural family,
forced relocation from traditional
country or homeland, and social and
emotional wellbeing of Aboriginal
children and young people:
Additional notes**

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FORCED SEPARATION FROM NATURAL FAMILY, FORCED RELOCATION FROM TRADITIONAL COUNTRY OR HOMELAND, AND SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL WELLBEING OF ABORIGINAL CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE: ADDITIONAL NOTES

The 1997 Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children From Their Families, Bringing Them Home¹ documented the past laws, practices and policies that saw many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children forcibly separated from their families.

Volume Two from the WAACHS described the the relationship between forced separations and the social and emotional wellbeing of Aboriginal carers and their children.² The additional material provided here examines whether the findings reported in Volume Two would be modified in any way if the analysis were restricted to carers born prior to 1966, and who were thus at risk of being forcibly separated from their natural families as part of the government policies and practices of the day.

SUMMARY

Significant associations exist between the social and emotional wellbeing of Aboriginal carers and their children and the past policies and practices of forced separation of Aboriginal people from their natural families.

The majority of forced separations occurred in carers born prior to 1966. When restricted to carers born prior to 1966 and their children no differences were found from the findings reported in Volume Two.

Effects on carers

Aboriginal carers born prior to 1966 who were forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were:

- ◆ one and a half times more likely to have had contact with Mental Health Services in Western Australia prior to the survey
- ◆ two and a half times as likely to have been arrested or charged with an offence at some time in their life .

Effects on children

The children of Aboriginal carers born prior to 1966 who had been forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare:

- ◆ were almost twice as likely to be at high risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties after adjusting for age, sex, LORI and whether the primary carer is the birth mother of the child.



AGE OF CARERS AT TIME OF SURVEY

The household interviews were conducted in 2000–2001. Based on the date of birth of the primary carer, it is possible to infer the historical context of the time when those primary carers who were forcibly separated from natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were taken from their families.

HISTORY OF FORCED SEPARATIONS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

*Bringing Them Home*¹ traces the history of forced separations of Aboriginal children from their families in each Australian state and territory. It is not possible to identify a specific date as of which the practice of forced separation of Aboriginal children from their families ceased. In respect of Western Australia, *Bringing Them Home*¹ notes that:

“In 1972 the Department of Native Welfare was abolished and its welfare responsibilities were absorbed by the Department of Community Welfare. At the time there were 3,099 Aboriginal people in institutions, almost one in every 10 Aboriginal people in the State. The majority were children.”

Sister Kate’s, the Anglican home for Aboriginal children separated from their families, ceased operation in 1974.

The practice of separating Aboriginal children from their families was brought under the Child Welfare Act in 1951. This act required that a court be satisfied that a child was destitute or neglected. However, *Bringing Them Home*¹ notes:

“This requirement made little impact on the numbers removed in practice. The definition of destitution could be applied to the situation of many Aboriginal families with few material resources whose lifestyle was the subject of constant surveillance by government officials. . . . Between 1958 and 1961 the number of Aboriginal children committed to government care more than doubled.”

“From 1968 Aboriginal workers in the pastoral industry were entitled to equal pay. This decision led to the eviction of whole communities from pastoral stations. These families settled on the outskirts of towns in conditions of dire poverty and were extremely vulnerable to intervention by ‘the welfare’.”

“. . . . Overall the number of children committed to care between 1971 and 1973 halved and over half of those committed were returned home or placed with their extended family.”

Some 43.0 per cent (CI: 40.5%– 45.6%) of Aboriginal primary carers were born before 1966. For carers from this generation who were forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare, it is quite likely that the separation would have occurred at a time when the practice of forcibly separating Aboriginal children from their families was ongoing in Western Australia. A further 20.6 per cent (18.5%–22.8%) of Aboriginal primary carers were born in 1966–70. Any of these carers forcibly separated from their natural family, are likely to have been separated at a time when there was significant change in the practice of forced separation in Western Australia (Table 1).



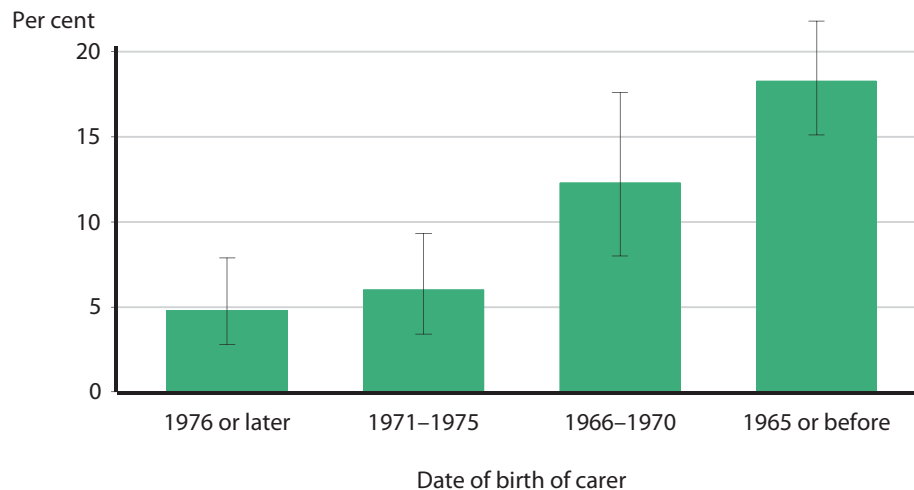
AGE OF CARER AND FORCED SEPARATION

An estimated 18.3 per cent (CI: 15.1%–21.8%) of Aboriginal primary carers born in 1965 or before were forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare (Figure 1). This represented 63.8 per cent (CI: 55.2%–71.8%) of Aboriginal carers who were forcibly separated from their natural family (Table 3).

In carers born in 1966–70, 12.3 per cent (CI: 8.0%–17.6%) were forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare, representing a further 20.5 per cent (CI: 13.5%–28.7%) of Aboriginal carers who were forcibly separated from their natural family.

In contrast, only 4.8 per cent (CI: 2.8%–7.9%) of primary carers born in 1976 or later were forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare (Tables 2 and 3).

FIGURE 1: PROPORTION OF CARERS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE, BY DATE OF BIRTH



EFFECT OF FORCED SEPARATION ON CARERS

USE OF MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

As noted in Chapter 6 of Volume Two, 22.8 per cent (CI: 20.9%–24.8%) of carers had had some contact with Mental Health Services in WA prior to the survey. This finding was based on linking the records of the approximately 95 per cent of carers who gave consent for record linkage with the Mental Health Information System.

Logistic regression modelling, restricted to carers born in 1965 or before, found that, after adjusting for sex and LORI, carers who had been forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were over one and a half times as likely (Odds Ratio 1.60; CI: 1.11–2.30) to have had contact with Mental Health Services in WA (Table 4). This is not significantly different from the result reported for all carers in Chapter 7 of Volume Two. In all carers consenting to record linkage it was found that, after adjusting for age of carer, those carers who had been forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were one



and a half times as likely (Odds Ratio 1.50; CI: 1.12–1.99) to have had contact with Mental Health Services in WA.²

WHETHER ARRESTED OR CHARGED WITH AN OFFENCE

Logistic regression modelling, restricted to carers born in 1965 or before, found that, after adjusting for sex and LORI, primary carers who had been forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were two and a half times as likely (Odds Ratio 2.55; CI: 1.70–3.82) to have been arrested or charged with an offence (Table 5).

As reported in Volume Two, among all primary carers, after adjusting for age of carer, those primary carers who had been forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were almost twice as likely (Odds Ratio 1.95; CI: 1.42–2.68) to have been arrested or charged with an offence.

FORCED SEPARATIONS OF CARERS AND EMOTIONAL OR BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES IN THEIR CHILDREN

Of those children whose primary carer was forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare, nearly one third (32.7 per cent; CI: 26.3%–39.3%) were at high risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties. This proportion is significantly higher than that found in children looked after by primary carers who had not been forcibly separated from their natural family (21.8 per cent; CI: 19.6%–24.1%) (Table 6).

In children whose primary carer was born in 1965 or before, 30.7 per cent (CI: 24.1%–38.3%) of children whose primary carer had been forcibly separated from their natural family were at high risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties compared with 19.5 percent (CI: 16.4%–22.8%) of children whose carer had not been separated from their natural family.

Adjusting for age, sex, LORI and whether the primary carer is the birth mother of the child, Logistic regression modelling found that children whose primary carer had been forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were over twice as likely (Odds Ratio 2.34; CI: 1.27–4.32) to be at high risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties compared with children whose primary carer was Aboriginal but had not been separated from their natural family (*see Volume Two*²).

When restricted to children whose primary carer was born in 1965 or before, the equivalent Logistic regression model found that children whose primary carer was forcibly separated from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare were almost twice as likely (Odds Ratio 1.84; CI: 1.16–2.92) to be at high risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties (Table 7).



EFFECTS OF FORCED SEPARATIONS FROM NATURAL FAMILY

The survey asked Aboriginal carers whether they were taken away from their natural family by a mission, the government or welfare. Respondents were not asked to identify which of these entities took them, where or when they were taken or under what circumstances this took place. The only information collected was whether they were taken away.

The survey collected data on children aged 0–17 years and their carers. There was a wide distribution of ages of primary carers. Over the period of time spanned by the lives of the carers in the survey there has been substantial change in government policy and practice regarding the treatment of Aboriginal children. Although the survey did not specifically differentiate between forced separations that were properly justified on child welfare grounds and those that occurred as part of the general practice of removing Aboriginal children from their families that was essentially phased out by the early 1970s, it is possible to infer the probable historical context for separations based on the ages of the carers concerned.

Some 63 per cent of carers who were forcibly separated from their natural family were born prior to 1966 making it highly likely that their separation occurred before the general practice of forced separations was phased out. An additional 20 per cent of carers who were forcibly separated from their natural family were born between 1966 and 1969 where there is still a strong probability that these separations would have occurred before the general practice of forced separations was phased out.

Analysis restricted to carers born prior to 1966 yielded the same findings as that reported for all carers (adjusting for age) in Volume Two. Carers forcibly separated from their natural family were more likely to have been arrested or charged with an offence, and were more likely to have had contact with Mental Health Services in WA. Further, the children of these carers were almost twice as likely to be at high risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties.

These findings indicate that the effects of forced separations reported in Volume Two cannot be explained solely by the small proportion of removals that may have been justified under modern child welfare guidelines. The findings show that the effects of the past practice of forcibly separating children from their natural families are still being felt today.

The separation of children from their families was often justified by the belief that children would benefit from the better standards of care that could be provided by government institutions, missions and foster and adoptive parents. While the survey findings show several areas where the children who were separated have fared worse than other children who were not separated from their natural families, and that as adults adverse effects have been found in the second generation (the children of those children who were separated from their natural families) the survey has not found any measure where children separated from their natural families have done better than children who were not separated.



ENDNOTES

1. Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission. *Bringing Them Home: Report of the national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*. Canberra: HREOC; 1997.
2. Zubrick SR, Silburn SR, Lawrence DM, Mitrou FG, Dalby RB, Blair EM, Griffin J, Milroy H, De Maio JA, Cox A, Li J. *The Western Australian Aboriginal Child Health Survey: The social and emotional wellbeing of Aboriginal children and young people*. Perth: Curtin University of Technology and Telethon Institute for Child Health Research; 2005.



DETAILED TABLES

TABLE 1: ABORIGINAL PRIMARY CARERS, BY DATE OF BIRTH

<i>Age of carer</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
1976 or later	2 030	(1 830 - 2 240)	19.6	(17.7 - 21.6)
1971–1975	1 750	(1 550 - 1 960)	16.8	(14.9 - 18.8)
1966–1970	2 130	(1 920 - 2 370)	20.6	(18.5 - 22.8)
1965 or before	4 460	(4 180 - 4 750)	43.0	(40.5 - 45.6)
Total	10 400	(10 100 - 10 600)	100.0	

TABLE 2: ABORIGINAL PRIMARY CARERS — FORCED SEPARATION FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE, BY DATE OF BIRTH

<i>Carer forcibly separated from natural family?</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
1976 or later				
Not separated	1 830	(1 640 - 2 040)	90.1	(86.8 - 92.8)
Separated	100	(50 - 160)	4.8	(2.8 - 7.9)
Not known	100	(70 - 150)	5.1	(3.5 - 7.4)
Total	2 030	(1 830 - 2 240)	100.0	
1971–1975				
Not separated	1 580	(1 390 - 1 780)	90.3	(85.7 - 93.7)
Separated	100	(60 - 170)	6.0	(3.4 - 9.3)
Not known	70	(30 - 130)	3.8	(1.8 - 7.3)
Total	1 750	(1 550 - 1 960)	100.0	
1966–1970				
Not separated	1 760	(1 560 - 1 970)	82.4	(76.3 - 87.4)
Separated	260	(170 - 390)	12.3	(8.0 - 17.6)
Not known	110	(50 - 210)	5.3	(2.4 - 9.8)
Total	2 130	(1 920 - 2 370)	100.0	
1965 or before				
Not separated	3 410	(3 150 - 3 680)	76.4	(72.0 - 80.4)
Separated	820	(670 - 990)	18.3	(15.1 - 21.8)
Not known	230	(120 - 390)	5.3	(2.8 - 8.6)
Total	4 460	(4 180 - 4 750)	100.0	
Total				
Not separated	8 580	(8 250 - 8 890)	82.7	(80.0 - 85.1)
Separated	1 280	(1 090 - 1 490)	12.3	(10.6 - 14.3)
Not known	520	(360 - 710)	5.0	(3.4 - 6.8)
Total	10 400	(10 100 - 10 600)	100.0	



TABLE 3: ABORIGINAL PRIMARY CARERS — DATE OF BIRTH, BY WHETHER FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE

Age of carer	Number	95% CI	%	95% CI
Not separated				
1976 or later	1 830	(1 640 - 2 040)	21.4	(19.3 - 23.6)
1971–1975	1 580	(1 390 - 1 780)	18.4	(16.2 - 20.6)
1966–1970	1 760	(1 560 - 1 970)	20.5	(18.3 - 22.8)
1965 or before	3 410	(3 150 - 3 680)	39.7	(37.1 - 42.5)
Total	8 580	(8 250 - 8 890)	100.0	
Separated				
1976 or later	100	(50 - 160)	7.6	(4.3 - 12.1)
1971–1975	100	(60 - 170)	8.1	(4.6 - 12.7)
1966–1970	260	(170 - 390)	20.5	(13.5 - 28.7)
1965 or before	820	(670 - 990)	63.8	(55.2 - 71.8)
Total	1 280	(1 090 - 1 490)	100.0	
Not known				
1976 or later	100	(70 - 150)	20.1	(12.4 - 30.1)
1971–1975	70	(30 - 130)	12.7	(5.8 - 24.2)
1966–1970	110	(50 - 210)	21.9	(10.9 - 36.4)
1965 or before	230	(120 - 390)	45.3	(29.1 - 60.1)
Total	520	(360 - 710)	100.0	
Total				
1976 or later	2 030	(1 830 - 2 240)	19.6	(17.7 - 21.6)
1971–1975	1 750	(1 550 - 1 960)	16.8	(14.9 - 18.8)
1966–1970	2 130	(1 920 - 2 370)	20.6	(18.5 - 22.8)
1965 or before	4 460	(4 180 - 4 750)	43.0	(40.5 - 45.6)
Total	10 400	(10 100 - 10 600)	100.0	

TABLE 4: CARERS BORN IN 1965 OR BEFORE CONSENTING TO RECORD LINKAGE — LIKELIHOOD OF HAVING HAD CONTACT WITH MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES IN WA, ASSOCIATED WITH FORCED SEPARATION FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE, AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Parameter	Parameter estimates		
	Significance (p value)	Odds Ratio	95% CI
Sex			
Male		1.00	
Female	<0.001	1.83	(1.37 - 2.45)
Level of relative isolation			
None		1.00	
Low	0.085	1.32	(0.96 - 1.82)
Moderate	0.478	0.87	(0.59 - 1.28)
High	0.016	0.40	(0.19 - 0.84)
Extreme	0.003	0.33	(0.17 - 0.68)
Carer taken from natural family			
No		1.00	
Yes	0.011	1.60	(1.11 - 2.30)
Don't want to answer	0.344	0.67	(0.30 - 1.53)
Not Aboriginal	0.406	1.16	(0.82 - 1.64)



TABLE 5: PRIMARY CARERS BORN IN 1965 OR BEFORE — LIKELIHOOD OF HAVING BEEN ARRESTED OR CHARGED WITH AN OFFENCE ASSOCIATED WITH WHETHER CARER WAS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM THEIR NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE, AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Parameter estimates			
Parameter	Significance (p value)	Odds Ratio	95% CI
Sex			
Male		1.00	
Female	<0.001	0.21	(0.13 - 0.34)
Level of relative isolation			
None		1.00	
Low	0.228	1.26	(0.87 - 1.83)
Moderate	0.908	1.03	(0.67 - 1.56)
High	0.122	1.65	(0.88 - 3.10)
Extreme	0.947	0.98	(0.54 - 1.78)
Primary carer forcibly separated from natural family?			
No		1.00	
Yes	<0.001	2.55	(1.70 - 3.82)
Don't want to answer	0.328	0.67	(0.30 - 1.50)
Not Aboriginal	0.012	0.56	(0.36 - 0.88)

TABLE 6: CHILDREN 4 TO 17 YEARS — RISK OF CLINICALLY SIGNIFICANT EMOTIONAL OR BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES, BY DATE OF BIRTH OF PRIMARY CARER AND WHETHER CHILD'S PRIMARY CARER WAS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE

Primary carer forcibly separated from natural family?	Risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties	Number	95% CI	%	95% CI
1976 or later					
Not separated	Low	530	(380 - 710)	51.3	(41.2 - 61.8)
	Moderate	180	(110 - 280)	17.7	(11.8 - 24.3)
	High	320	(210 - 470)	31.1	(23.0 - 40.6)
	Total	1 030	(780 - 1 320)	100.0	
Separated	Low	50	(20 - 110)	45.9	(9.9 - 81.6)
	Moderate	10	(0 - 90)	11.0	(0.4 - 64.1)
	High	50	(10 - 180)	43.1	(11.8 - 88.2)
	Total	110	(40 - 230)	100.0	
Not known	Low	70	(20 - 190)	63.2	(26.2 - 87.8)
	Moderate	20	(10 - 40)	14.2	(4.5 - 36.1)
	High	30	(10 - 60)	22.6	(5.0 - 53.8)
	Total	120	(50 - 220)	100.0	
Not applicable	Low	80	(30 - 190)	45.3	(15.7 - 84.3)
	Moderate	20	(0 - 70)	13.2	(3.4 - 39.6)
	High	80	(10 - 230)	41.6	(9.9 - 81.6)
	Total	180	(80 - 370)	100.0	
Total	Low	730	(560 - 960)	51.1	(41.1 - 60.7)
	Moderate	230	(150 - 340)	16.3	(11.3 - 22.6)
	High	470	(310 - 680)	32.6	(24.1 - 42.3)
	Total	1 440	(1 140 - 1 780)	100.0	

Continued . . .



TABLE 6 (continued): CHILDREN 4 TO 17 YEARS — RISK OF CLINICALLY SIGNIFICANT EMOTIONAL OR BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES, BY DATE OF BIRTH OF PRIMARY CARER AND WHETHER CHILD'S PRIMARY CARER WAS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE

<i>Primary carer forcibly separated from natural family?</i>	<i>Risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
1971–1975					
Not separated	Low	1 640	(1 360 - 1 960)	58.9	(52.9 - 64.5)
	Moderate	430	(340 - 550)	15.5	(12.6 - 19.0)
	High	710	(560 - 890)	25.6	(20.6 - 31.2)
	Total	2 790	(2 420 - 3 180)	100.0	
Separated	Low	120	(60 - 200)	59.6	(31.6 - 86.1)
	Moderate	20	(0 - 190)	8.5	(0.0 - 60.2)
	High	60	(20 - 140)	31.8	(11.8 - 61.6)
	Total	200	(110 - 330)	100.0	
Not known	Low	60	(30 - 110)	39.1	(18.4 - 67.1)
	Moderate	20	(0 - 40)	12.0	(3.6 - 29.8)
	High	70	(30 - 160)	48.9	(21.3 - 73.4)
	Total	150	(90 - 240)	100.0	
Not applicable	Low	290	(170 - 480)	57.8	(39.4 - 73.7)
	Moderate	70	(40 - 120)	14.3	(7.9 - 24.4)
	High	140	(70 - 270)	27.9	(12.7 - 47.2)
	Total	490	(330 - 710)	100.0	
Total	Low	2 110	(1 780 - 2 480)	58.0	(52.5 - 63.3)
	Moderate	540	(430 - 680)	14.8	(11.9 - 18.1)
	High	990	(800 - 1 200)	27.2	(22.5 - 32.4)
	Total	3 630	(3 220 - 4 090)	100.0	
1966–1970					
Not separated	Low	2 960	(2 580 - 3 360)	67.5	(62.4 - 72.0)
	Moderate	480	(380 - 590)	10.9	(8.9 - 13.4)
	High	950	(750 - 1 180)	21.6	(17.5 - 26.3)
	Total	4 380	(3 940 - 4 860)	100.0	
Separated	Low	350	(230 - 490)	57.5	(39.4 - 73.7)
	Moderate	50	(30 - 70)	7.9	(4.6 - 12.1)
	High	210	(80 - 420)	34.6	(17.9 - 54.3)
	Total	600	(410 - 860)	100.0	
Not known	Low	330	(200 - 540)	66.7	(51.6 - 79.6)
	Moderate	50	(30 - 80)	10.6	(6.1 - 17.5)
	High	110	(60 - 190)	22.7	(11.5 - 36.0)
	Total	490	(320 - 710)	100.0	
Not applicable	Low	540	(340 - 790)	66.0	(52.2 - 78.2)
	Moderate	80	(40 - 180)	10.4	(3.6 - 19.9)
	High	190	(110 - 310)	23.7	(13.6 - 36.6)
	Total	820	(590 - 1 120)	100.0	
Total	Low	4 170	(3 730 - 4 660)	66.3	(62.0 - 70.4)
	Moderate	660	(550 - 800)	10.5	(8.8 - 12.6)
	High	1 460	(1 210 - 1 760)	23.2	(19.4 - 27.4)
	Total	6 300	(5 770 - 6 840)	100.0	

Continued . . .



Forced separation from natural family, forced relocation from traditional country or homeland, and social and emotional wellbeing of Aboriginal children and young people: Additional notes

TABLE 6 (continued): CHILDREN 4 TO 17 YEARS — RISK OF CLINICALLY SIGNIFICANT EMOTIONAL OR BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES, BY DATE OF BIRTH OF PRIMARY CARER AND WHETHER CHILD'S PRIMARY CARER WAS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE

<i>Primary carer forcibly separated from natural family?</i>	<i>Risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
1965 or before					
Not separated	Low	5 110	(4 640 - 5 600)	71.0	(67.3 - 74.6)
	Moderate	680	(540 - 840)	9.5	(7.7 - 11.6)
	High	1 400	(1 160 - 1 680)	19.5	(16.4 - 22.8)
	Total	7 190	(6 640 - 7 770)	100.0	
Separated	Low	1 000	(800 - 1 260)	55.6	(47.9 - 63.6)
	Moderate	250	(150 - 390)	13.7	(8.5 - 19.7)
	High	550	(410 - 730)	30.7	(24.1 - 38.3)
	Total	1 800	(1 480 - 2 150)	100.0	
Not known	Low	510	(320 - 740)	63.3	(45.8 - 77.3)
	Moderate	100	(40 - 210)	12.8	(5.8 - 24.2)
	High	190	(70 - 380)	23.9	(12.1 - 42.2)
	Total	800	(520 - 1 140)	100.0	
Not applicable	Low	920	(690 - 1 210)	64.8	(54.8 - 74.7)
	Moderate	130	(60 - 230)	9.4	(4.9 - 16.5)
	High	370	(240 - 530)	25.8	(17.9 - 36.1)
	Total	1 420	(1 130 - 1 760)	100.0	
Total	Low	7 540	(7 010 - 8 080)	67.2	(63.9 - 70.3)
	Moderate	1 160	(970 - 1 390)	10.4	(8.7 - 12.3)
	High	2 520	(2 190 - 2 860)	22.4	(19.8 - 25.3)
	Total	11 200	(10 600 - 11 800)	100.0	
Date of birth of primary carer not stated					
Not separated	Low	190	(100 - 320)	89.6	(79.0 - 96.8)
	Moderate	10	(0 - 20)	2.8	(0.4 - 12.5)
	High	20	(10 - 30)	7.6	(2.1 - 17.9)
	Total	210	(120 - 350)	100.0	
Separated	Low	10	(0 - 30)	31.0	(3.7 - 71.0)
	Moderate	0	(0 - 60)	0.0	(0.0 - 84.2)
	High	30	(10 - 50)	69.0	(29.0 - 96.3)
	Total	40	(20 - 70)	100.0	
Not known	Low	0	(0 - 60)	.	
	Moderate	0	(0 - 60)	.	
	High	0	(0 - 60)	.	
	Total	0	(0 - 60)	.	
Not applicable	Low	50	(10 - 160)	68.4	(2.5 - 100.0)
	Moderate	10	(0 - 50)	7.3	(0.4 - 57.9)
	High	20	(0 - 160)	24.3	(0.0 - 84.2)
	Total	70	(10 - 320)	100.0	
Total	Low	250	(140 - 400)	78.0	(57.8 - 92.9)
	Moderate	10	(0 - 40)	3.5	(0.4 - 10.5)
	High	60	(20 - 130)	18.5	(7.2 - 36.4)
	Total	320	(180 - 510)	100.0	

Continued . . .



TABLE 6 (continued): CHILDREN 4 TO 17 YEARS — RISK OF CLINICALLY SIGNIFICANT EMOTIONAL OR BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES, BY DATE OF BIRTH OF PRIMARY CARER AND WHETHER CHILD'S PRIMARY CARER WAS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE

<i>Primary carer forcibly separated from natural family?</i>	<i>Risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
Total					
Not separated	Low	10 400	(9 800 - 11 000)	66.8	(64.1 - 69.3)
	Moderate	1 780	(1 580 - 2 000)	11.4	(10.2 - 12.8)
	High	3 400	(3 030 - 3 790)	21.8	(19.6 - 24.1)
	Total	15 600	(15 000 - 16 200)	100.0	
Separated	Low	1 530	(1 290 - 1 810)	55.6	(48.8 - 62.2)
	Moderate	320	(210 - 490)	11.7	(8.0 - 16.9)
	High	900	(690 - 1 160)	32.7	(26.3 - 39.3)
	Total	2 760	(2 360 - 3 180)	100.0	
Not known	Low	970	(710 - 1 310)	62.1	(52.5 - 71.2)
	Moderate	190	(120 - 290)	12.1	(7.7 - 17.4)
	High	400	(250 - 600)	25.8	(17.7 - 35.7)
	Total	1 560	(1 200 - 2 000)	100.0	
Not applicable	Low	1 880	(1 520 - 2 260)	62.8	(55.6 - 69.7)
	Moderate	320	(210 - 450)	10.7	(7.4 - 14.7)
	High	790	(590 - 1 050)	26.5	(20.5 - 33.7)
	Total	2 990	(2 540 - 3 480)	100.0	
Total	Low	14 800	(14 300 - 15 300)	64.6	(62.2 - 66.9)
	Moderate	2 610	(2 360 - 2 890)	11.4	(10.3 - 12.6)
	High	5 490	(5 020 - 5 980)	24.0	(21.9 - 26.1)
	Total	22 900	(22 800 - 22 900)	100.0	



TABLE 7: CHILDREN 4 TO 17 YEARS WHOSE PRIMARY CARER WAS BORN IN 1965 OR BEFORE — RISK OF CLINICALLY SIGNIFICANT EMOTIONAL OR BEHAVIOURAL DIFFICULTIES ASSOCIATED WITH WHETHER CHILD’S PRIMARY CARER WAS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM NATURAL FAMILY BY A MISSION, THE GOVERNMENT OR WELFARE

High risk of clinically significant emotional or behavioural difficulties			
<i>Parameter</i>	<i>Significance (p value)</i>	<i>Odds Ratio</i>	<i>95% CI</i>
Age group			
4 - 7 years		1.00	
8 - 11 years	0.895	1.02	(0.73 - 1.43)
12 - 14 years	0.900	1.02	(0.70 - 1.49)
15 - 17 years	0.003	0.49	(0.30 - 0.77)
Level of Relative Isolation			
None		1.00	
Low	0.435	0.85	(0.56 - 1.28)
Moderate	0.341	0.78	(0.46 - 1.30)
High	0.060	0.41	(0.16 - 1.04)
Extreme	0.001	0.22	(0.09 - 0.54)
Sex			
Male		1.00	
Female	0.001	0.60	(0.45 - 0.80)
Primary carer is child’s birth mother?			
No		1.00	
Yes	0.337	0.84	(0.59 - 1.20)
Primary carer forcibly separated from natural family?			
No		1.00	
Yes	0.010	1.84	(1.16 - 2.92)
Not known	0.605	1.19	(0.62 - 2.27)
Not applicable	0.355	1.25	(0.78 - 1.98)





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