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The hidden harm:

Alcohol's impact on children and families



Anne-Marie Laslett | Janette Mugavin | Heng Jiang | Elizabeth Manton | Sarah Callinan | Sarah MacLean | Robin Room

This research was funded by the Foundation for Alcohol Research and Education, an independent not-for-profit organisation working to stop the harm caused by alcohol

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CAPR has also undertaken a pioneering study in Australia: *The Range and Magnitude of Alcohol's Harm to Others* (also known as the 2008 HTO Study) measured alcohol-related harms to people other than the drinker ('third party harms'). The results were included in the WHO's Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health 2011, and the study is being used by the WHO as a model for such studies globally.

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Six papers published by the authors have been drawn on for aspects of the report:

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Laslett AM, Room R, Ferris J, et al. (2011). Surveying the range and magnitude of alcohol's harm to others in Australia. *Addiction* 106(9); 1603-1611.

Laslett AM, Room R & Dietze P (2013). Carer drinking and more serious child protection outcomes. *British Journal of Social Work* 43(7); 1384-1402.

Laslett AM, Room R, Dietze P & Ferris J (2012). Alcohol's involvement in recurrent child abuse and neglect cases. *Addiction* 107(10); 1786-1793.

Laslett AM, Ferris J, Dietze P & Room R (2012). Social demography of alcohol-related harm to children in Australia. *Addiction* 107(6); 1082-1089.

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The recommendations that relate to children in the last chapter of this report have been adapted from the dissertation of Laslett:

Laslett AM (2013). Alcohol and child maltreatment in Australia through the windows of child protection and a national survey [Thesis submitted in total requirement of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy]. Melbourne School of Population and Global Health, University of Melbourne.

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS, ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY	6
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	8
1. BACKGROUND	15
2. METHODOLOGY	21
3. EFFECTS UPON FAMILIES OF OTHERS' DRINKING: 2008 HTO SURVEY FINDINGS	29
4. EFFECTS OF OTHERS' DRINKING ON CHILDREN: 2008 HTO SURVEY FINDINGS	37
5. STABILITY AND CHANGE IN ALCOHOL'S HARMS TO FAMILIES AND CHILDREN OVER TIME	46
6. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF HARMS TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES FROM OTHERS' DRINKING	54
7. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, FAMILY SERVICES AND ALCOHOL-SPECIFIC SERVICES	71
8. ALCOHOL'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILD PROTECTION CASES	82
9. EXPERTS' OPINIONS ON ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES	94
10. SUMMARY, FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	99
11. CONCLUSION	110
12. REFERENCES	111
APPENDIX A: LIST OF TABLES	119
APPENDIX B: LIST OF FIGURES AND BOXES	121
APPENDIX C: THEMES AND PROMPTS FOR IN-DEPTH QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS WITH SUBSET OF HTO SURVEY RESPONDENTS	122
APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESEARCHERS	123
APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHILD PROTECTION KEY INFORMANTS	124
APPENDIX F: AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION: ALCOHOL'S HARM TO OTHERS – FOCUSING ON FAMILIES AND CHILDREN	125

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACCP	Australian Centre for Child Protection
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
ADIS	Alcohol and Drug Information System
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
Al-Anon	Al-Anon is a support organisation for friends and relatives of alcoholics and for people who have been affected by someone else's drinking
ANCD	Australian National Council on Drugs
ANPHA	Australian National Preventive Health Agency
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety
AOD	Alcohol and Other Drug
AODTS-NMDS	Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment System National Minimum Data Set
AUDIT	Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test
AVO	Apprehended Violence Order
CAPR	Centre for Alcohol Policy Research
Carers	In the context of the 2008 and 2011 Alcohol's Harm To Others (HTO) Surveys, carers are respondents who reported either that they lived in a household with children (under 18 years) or that they had responsibility for children but did not live with them (e.g. a father or mother not currently living with the child or children)
CASIS	Child and Services Information System
CCCC	Counselling, Consultancy and Continuing Care
CEoC	Closed Episode of Care
Cis	Confidence Intervals
CPS	Child Protection Services
CRIS	Client-Related Information System
FAS	Fetal Alcohol Syndrome
FDS	Family Drug Support
FSP	Family Support Program
GENACIS	Gender, Alcohol and Culture: An International Study
HTO	(Alcohol's) Harm To Others
IPV	Intimate partner violence
LEAP	Law Enforcement Assistance Program
NAAA	National Alliance for Action on Alcohol
NMDS	National Minimum Data Set

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
PDOC	Principal Drug Of Concern
PFD	Problematic family drinker: a person identified by a HTO Survey respondent amongst his/her family and intimate partners whose heavy drinking had most harmed the respondent in the previous 12 months
PLS	Plain Language Statement
PSS	Personal Safety Survey
PUP	Parents Under Pressure
QLD	Queensland
RGBE	Relatives, Girlfriends, Boyfriends and Ex-partners who do not live the respondent. This definition applies within the context of the HTO Surveys
SA	South Australia
SEIFA	Socio-Economic Index for Areas (a measure produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics)
UK	United Kingdom
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States of America
VCPS	Victorian Child Protection Service
WA	Western Australia

GLOSSARY

Carers	In the context of the 2008 and 2011 Alcohol's Harm To Others (HTO) Surveys, carers are respondents who reported either that they lived in a household with children (under 18 years) or that they had responsibility for children but did not live with them (e.g. a father or mother not currently living with the child or children)
Family members and intimate partners (or 'family members')	Immediate and extended family members and relatives in or outside the household. Family members and intimate partners include current and former partners/spouses, parents, siblings, children, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, other family members and other relatives as well as girlfriends and boyfriends. This definition applies within the context of the HTO Surveys
2008 HTO Study	The study reported in the 2010 document <i>The Range and Magnitude of Alcohol's Harm to Others</i> , including results from a survey conducted in 2008 and an analysis of register data from relevant agencies (e.g. health, social, welfare and justice)
2008 HTO Survey	The survey conducted within the 2008 HTO Study
2011 HTO Survey	The follow-up HTO Survey, conducted in 2011 and 2012
Problematic family drinker	A person identified by a HTO Survey respondent amongst their family and intimate partners whose heavy drinking had most harmed the respondent in the previous 12 months
Relatives, Girlfriend, Boyfriends and Ex-partners	A person identified by a HTO Survey respondent as someone who does not live with the respondent but is a relative, girlfriend, boyfriend or ex-partners (including ex-spouses) of the respondent. This definition applies within the context of the HTO Surveys

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

Heavy drinking is linked to a range of negative effects in families from modelling of poor drinking behaviours, family arguments and ruined family occasions and relationships to child injuries, ongoing child neglect and abuse and domestic violence.

The 2008 Harm to Others (HTO) Survey reported in *The Range and Magnitude of Alcohol's Harm to Others* (Laslett et al. 2010) showed that the majority of Australians had been affected by others' drinking in the last year and many had been seriously affected. Amongst those more seriously affected were family members, including children. The Centre for Alcohol Policy Research (CAPR) conducted a follow-up HTO Survey in 2011, which showed that many Australians were affected in an ongoing way by others' drinking.

This report focuses on the findings that relate to children and families from these surveys and collates other data from a range of sources to supplement these findings to analyse how Australian children and families have been affected by the drinking of others, especially family members. The research questions addressed are:

1. How common and what are the effects of heavy drinking upon families and children?
 - a. How do these effects vary in different relationships?
 - b. Are there differences in the ways in which parents, siblings and grandparents are harmed by and care for those in their families?
 - c. Do the effects vary depending on whether the respondent or child is or is not living with the heavy drinker, and whether the drinker is an immediate family member?
2. To what extent do the effects upon children and families persist or change over time?
3. What is the qualitative nature and impact of harms to children and families from others' drinking?
4. What services are available for families and children if they have been affected by the drinking of those around them?
5. What types of service and policy interventions are likely to improve the situations of those affected by others' drinking?

METHODOLOGY

This report includes multiple sub-studies involving a variety of quantitative and qualitative approaches and data sources to elicit the effects of alcohol's harms on children and families in Australia. This includes the nationally-representative cross-sectional 2008 HTO Survey of 2,649 respondents, focusing in particular on the 1,142 respondents in families with children, the follow-up 2011 HTO Survey of 1,106 respondents, and a range of registry or agency response data from the alcohol and other drugs (AOD) treatment, police, family violence and child protection systems. By revisiting a sample of those surveyed in 2008, the 2011 HTO Survey allows examination of the stability and change in harm from others' drinking, and what predicts changes in these harms from 2008 to their level in 2011.

In addition to these quantitative data sources, in-depth qualitative interviews were completed with a sub-sample of those HTO Survey respondents who reported that children in their families had been negatively affected by others' drinking. Finally, to gain insight into the interventions and preventive approaches that would be most effective in reducing alcohol's harm to children and families, individual interviews and focus groups were conducted with key informants from child and family services, AOD service providers, policy makers and academic researchers.

KEY FINDINGS

- Heavy drinking can be linked to a range of negative effects on children and families including modelling of poor drinking behaviours, family arguments, injury, neglect, abuse and violence.
- More than a quarter (26 per cent) of respondents reported experiencing harm from the drinking of family members in at least one of the two HTO Surveys (2008 and 2011).
- Past harm was the strongest predictor of future harm for children and families, as well as the number of adult heavy drinkers in respondents' household and among their relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners. Half (50 per cent) of adult respondents harmed in 2008 were also harmed in 2011 and 35 per cent of children harmed in 2008 continued to be harmed in 2011.
- Interviews revealed that children experienced a range of harms, with the most common of these being witnessing verbal or physical conflict, or witnessing drinking or inappropriate behaviour. Children were also verbally abused, left in an unsupervised or unsafe situation, physically hurt or exposed to domestic violence because of others' drinking.
- Parental or carer drinking plays a large role in child protection cases, with available data indicating that alcohol abuse is associated with between 15 and 47 per cent of child abuse cases each year across Australia.
- In 2011 there were 29,684 police-reported incidents of alcohol-related domestic violence in Australia for states and territories where data is available.
- Over a million children (22 per cent of all Australian children) are affected in some way by the drinking of others, 142,582 children (3 per cent of all Australian children) are substantially affected and 10,166 (0.2 per cent of all Australian children) are already within the child protection system where a carer's problematic drinking has been identified as a factor.
- Findings from this report highlight the need for governments to invest in strategies that reduce alcohol-related problems in families, including primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. It is important to acknowledge that many families struggling with parental alcohol misuse are not in the service system at all and are 'hidden' to authorities. Therefore population-wide policies which reduce alcohol problems across the community are needed to reduce and prevent further harms from occurring in families.

EFFECTS OF OTHERS' DRINKING ON ADULT FAMILY MEMBERS

In 2008, an estimated 2,791,964 Australians (17 per cent of the adult population) were negatively affected "a lot" or "a little" by a family member or intimate partner's drinking. This number includes an estimated 1,300,727 Australians who were substantially negatively affected (i.e. affected "a lot") by that person's drinking.

Of the 446 respondents in the 2008 HTO Survey who reported a family member or intimate partner as the person whose drinking had most affected them:

- 28 per cent named a partner or ex-partner, 14 per cent a parent, 19 per cent a child, 20 per cent a sibling, 17 per cent another relative and three per cent a boyfriend or girlfriend
- 34 per cent lived in the same household as the problematic family drinker
- women who had been affected were more likely to report that they had been negatively affected "a lot" by the family member's drinking (41 per cent) than men (21 per cent)
- being emotionally hurt or neglected (66 per cent) was the most common specified harm reported because of a family member's drinking, followed by having a social occasion negatively affected (65 per cent) and being involved in a serious argument (63 per cent).

EFFECTS OF OTHERS' DRINKING ON CHILDREN

Respondents in the 2008 HTO Survey who lived with or were responsible for children provided insight into the ways their children were affected by the drinking of others, with one in five carers (22 per cent) reporting that their children had been affected in some way by others' drinking in the last year. The harm children were reported to have experienced was most often verbal abuse and described as "a little" harm rather than "a lot":

- twelve per cent of carers reported that their children were verbally abused, left in an unsupervised or unsafe situation, physically hurt or exposed to domestic violence because of others' drinking in 2008
- among respondents who reported that their children were affected, the median number of times their children were affected in the preceding 12 months was three.

Almost half (46 per cent) of the 135 respondents whose children had been affected in one or more of the ways specified in the Survey reported that a child in the family was affected by the drinking of the child's parent or step-parent, the carer's partner or ex-partner or the child's guardian.

Twelve per cent of respondents also reported that their children were negatively affected by the drinking of siblings, and 15 per cent reported that they were affected by other family members and relatives. Fifteen per cent of carers reported that their children were affected by family, friends or people their child was in contact with, such as a coach, teacher or priest, and 12 per cent reported that they had been affected by unspecified others. A small number of respondents reported that their children had been affected by more than one relationship.

There was substantial overlap between harms to children and to the respondent themselves. Altogether 22 per cent of all respondents in the 2008 HTO Survey reported that they themselves or a child in their family had been affected by others' drinking. Based on population figures, this is equivalent to an estimated 3,613,130 Australian adults being affected by a family member's drinking or reporting that their child had been affected by other's drinking. Furthermore, around four per cent of all respondents (equivalent to an estimated 706,202 Australian adults) reported that both they and one or more children in their families had been affected by others' drinking.

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN ALCOHOL'S HARMS TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES OVER TIME

ADULT FAMILY MEMBERS

Based on the 1,104 respondents who completed both the 2008 and the 2011 HTO Surveys, one-quarter (26 per cent) of respondents reported harm from the drinking of family members in at least one of the HTO Surveys. Overall, nine per cent reported experiencing persistent harm (i.e. harm in both 2008 and 2011). Seven per cent reported new harms from family members' drinking in 2011, while nine per cent reported discontinuation of harms experienced in 2008.

In the model predicting harm to respondents from family members' and intimates partners' drinking, past harm was the strongest predictor of harm in 2011. In addition, the number of adult heavy drinkers in their household and among their relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners had substantial impact.

CHILDREN

According to carers who completed both surveys, children also experienced persistent harm, with seven per cent reporting that children in their family had been harmed by others' drinking in both years and 35 per cent of carers whose children were harmed by others' drinking in 2008 reported that children in their family were harmed again, or still, by the drinking of others in 2011.

This study provides strong longitudinal evidence that past harm and the drinking patterns of others in the carer's household and among their relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners predict whether

children experience harms from others' drinking over time. However, there is also some evidence that continuity in harm to children was less evident than continuity in harm to carers, suggesting that carers may be more likely to tolerate the harms to themselves rather than to their children.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF HARMS TO CHILDREN FROM OTHERS' DRINKING

In the 20 in-depth interviews held with carers who had reported harms to children in either the 2008 or the 2011 HTO Survey, the drinker reported to be causing harm to children was most often a man, and usually the father of the affected children (in cases where the problematic drinker was a woman, it was usually the mother).

If the drinker who was harming a child was not part of the immediate, or even extended, family, the interviewee was more likely to classify the harm as "a little." This suggests that a family can distance itself from drinkers outside the family who could otherwise harm their child "a lot."

Physical abuse and neglect of children were not common, even where "a lot" of harm was reported, and several respondents emphasised that the drinker had never physically harmed their child. While verbal and emotional abuse were more common, the most common harm reported among children experiencing "a lot" of harm was the witnessing of conflicts such as physical or verbal abuse. For children who were harmed "a little" the most common harm reported was witnessing drinking or inappropriate behaviour, especially beyond the extended family.

Fear, behavioural problems, and shame were some of the outcomes for children (as reported by interviewees). There was no clear pattern about which children suffered and which prospered, as children in the same family reacted differently to the same (or very similar) circumstances.

The main impact on the family of having a parent whose drinking was harming children was that the other parent was prepared to leave the relationship. While separation removed some children from the harm of daily exposure to a problematic drinker, it did not mean that they were now unaffected by that person, as parents still had access rights and the custodial parent worried about the harms the drinker could still inflict.

The most commonly used source of support for dealing with harm to children from another's drinking was the immediate and extended family. If respondents did not have such support they used a variety of other sources, or they did not receive support and struggled. In a culture in which religious communities often do not play a major role in people's lives, their capacity to offer support was limited, although very helpful for those who had such a connection. Friends were not widely favoured as a source of support because of the perceived stigma of having alcohol-related problems in the family.

Formal services and medical professionals were perceived to be focused on supporting the drinker, rather than other family members, in dealing with the impacts of that person's drinking. Clinicians' commitments to confidentiality principles aimed at protecting the rights of the drinker, and the focus by formal services and health professionals on the drinker, meant that sometimes the impact on others of harm from drinking was greater than it might have been.

Another finding was the under-acknowledged role that workplaces could play in supporting those people who were dealing with the unpredictability associated with the drinker in their family, especially when it was disrupting the family routine and affecting children's lives. This included flexibility in terms of hours and work locations.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, FAMILY SERVICES AND ALCOHOL-SPECIFIC SERVICES

There are a range of services that respond to families experiencing problems associated with others' drinking, from police to telephone helplines. In general, research rarely records or examines the numbers of services that are used by families and friends affected by others' drinking in the Australian context.

Police responses often reflect the more serious types of alcohol-related harms, such as assaults, but obtaining national estimates on the proportion of family incidents where alcohol is involved is difficult due to different reporting practices across Australian states and territories. This report indicates that in 2011 there were:

- 10,706 incidents of alcohol-related domestic violence in New South Wales (NSW) (2010–2011)
- 11,732 family incidents with definite alcohol involvement in Victoria (2010–2011)
- 4,848 alcohol-related domestic assaults in Western Australia (WA) (2010–2011)
- 2,398 in the Northern Territory (NT) (2011).

This equates to a total of 29,684 incidents, excluding other states and the Australian Capital Territory where this information was not available. In the case of Victoria, WA and the NT, the numbers of alcohol-related family incidents have been steadily rising.

AOD services also provide support to family members of problem drinkers. For example:

- 6,720 closed episodes of care were provided to individuals seeking treatment related to someone else's alcohol and/or drug use by publicly-funded AOD services across Australia in 2011–12
- across Australia in 2012–2013, 5,966 calls were received by the Family Drug Support Helpline and 258 contacts were registered by CounsellingOnline from individuals concerned about a family member's drinking.

ALCOHOL'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILD PROTECTION CASES

Carer alcohol abuse is associated with between 15 and 47 per cent of child abuse cases across Australia, and predicts protective interventions and court interventions.

In 2006–07 (using the best and most recently available data), 10,166 substantiated cases of child abuse and neglect across Australia are estimated to have involved alcohol; this equates to an estimated 12,658 children in 2012–13.

EXPERTS' OPINIONS ON ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

The current study also sought views of experts in both the child protection and AOD fields. From these interviews it is apparent that the AOD and child protection sectors recognise the importance of each other's work, but have only recently begun to take action to improve the synergy in their practices. The research in this area is underdeveloped, and there is a clear need to develop recommendations for implementation and evaluation of a range of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention interventions that target alcohol problems of families and parents.

To better understand and address the needs of families and children in the future, it would be useful to expand the number of key informants consulted and include more people from diverse sectors, for example relationship services, mental health and domestic violence service managers and researchers, senior police and criminologists. The establishment of an ongoing expert panel is a possible approach to better link professionals in this key area.

A PUBLIC HEALTH APPROACH TO PREVENTING AND MANAGING ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

This report introduces a pyramid model that describes both the problems associated with others' drinking that families and children experience over a one year period and the various responses required to manage these problems (e.g. child protection and police service responses). The pyramid has five tiers.

This model highlights the numbers of children estimated to be at various levels of risk of alcohol-related harms and demonstrates the varied policy and program responses needed to address the different levels of harms. It examines these responses through a public health lens, focusing on the need to prevent alcohol-related harm among those not currently affected, while also providing targeted support to people who are currently affected.

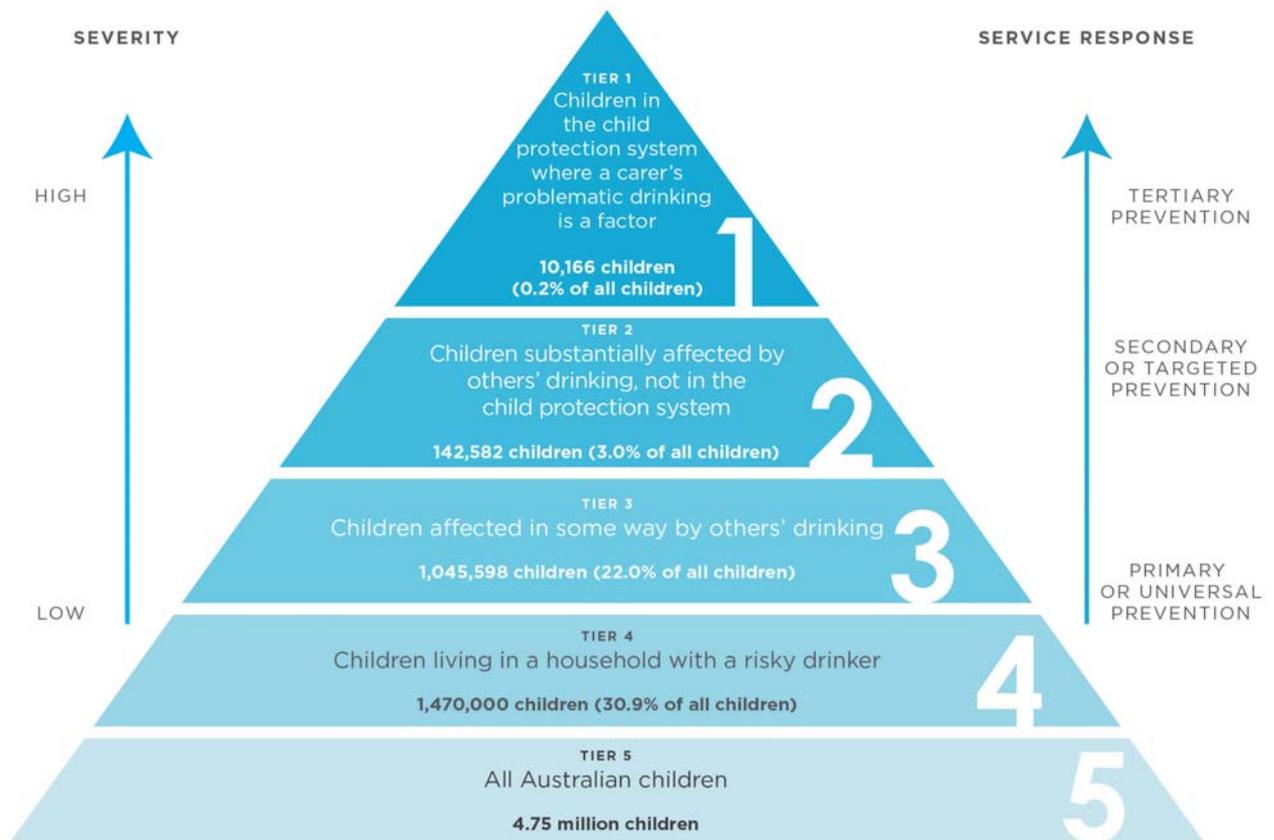


Figure 1 Pyramid model of children at risk of alcohol-related harms

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A range of service innovations and improvements are recommended in this report. These fall primarily into recommendations to address:

- defining and screening for alcohol and family problems
- improving surveillance and communication between services
- data quality and access to enhance problem management
- specific child protection service initiatives
- specific AOD service initiatives.

A key issue across Child Protection Services (CPS) is the appropriate and consistent collection, collation and availability of data relating to alcohol's involvement in a variety of family and child protection problems.

Governments have considerable opportunities and responsibilities to manage risks to families and children in the broader environment by making policy decisions, including alcohol policy decisions that affect primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. The large numbers of children and families affected at each tier of the pyramid suggest that a public health approach to managing alcohol-related child and family harms is warranted, in addition to tertiary approaches provided by CPS and other family support agencies.

While tertiary services such as CPS have an integral coordinating role in addressing the problems of the children who have been most severely abused or neglected by carers with alcohol misuse problems, AOD services are critical to the prevention of child abuse and neglect. By targeting families at risk and assisting them, they have the potential to address carers' alcohol problems and forestall their entry into a range of crisis response services. Both the service needs of drinkers within families and of other family members affected need to be understood and met by a range of service options at this level.

It is critical that communities and governments invest in strategies that diminish alcohol-related problems in families and communities in general, and in particular amongst those who are most vulnerable and in need. The child protection and AOD sectors must be adequately resourced to allow them to provide effective programs and ensure that there is close communication and referral between these systems.

Many (and arguably most) families struggling with parental alcohol misuse are most likely not in the service system at all and may be 'hidden' to authorities. Therefore, the findings of this report support the implementation of universal measures to prevent or limit the effects of drinking on the families and children of Australia, alongside comprehensive coordinated multi-sectoral services for families with multiple risk factors.

Finally, this report underscores a number of key research gaps that remain, suggesting areas for future population research, service and system evaluation and intervention research.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The nature and extent of harm that drinkers experience because of their own drinking has been well documented both in Australia and internationally. However, far less understood is the harm that drinkers do to others, including families and children, as a result of their problematic drinking.

The first Australian 'Harm to Others' (HTO) study was published in 2010 as *The Range and Magnitude of Alcohol's Harm to Others* (Laslett et al. 2010). This study involved a population survey (2008 HTO Survey) and analysis of secondary data from a range of government department data systems (e.g. health, social, welfare and justice). The findings provided a systematic and detailed insight into the extent to which Australians reported they had been negatively affected by someone else's drinking, including the impact on respondents from the drinking of strangers, co-workers, friends, families and children.

This report aims to expand the knowledge base relating to harm to children and families from others' drinking in Australia by exploring two sets of issues often considered separately: effects on the family generally (including couple relationships) and effects on children. The research takes a mixed methods approach using quantitative and qualitative data to demonstrate how the drinking of carers and others affects children and families, including how these problems present in child protection systems, family support services, alcohol and drug treatment systems and police services, as well as in the general population. Using a public health approach, the data collected through general population surveys and service system data is brought together in a single frame to describe the range of alcohol-related harms experienced by children and families, as well as discuss their prevention and management.

1.2 ALCOHOL'S EFFECTS ON FAMILIES

Families take many forms. They can provide support and love, but they also have the potential to limit or damage the development of their members. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) states that it is the fundamental right of children to develop and be safe within their family, protected from harm and supported to reach their full potential (UNICEF 1989). Effects of heavy drinking upon families can include arguments, disharmony, divorce, domestic violence and inadequate role performance by various family members. People who are seeking treatment for their own alcohol problems are often dealing with financial problems, separations and divorces, stress, and poor health (Keenan et al. 2013; Orford et al. 2010; Rodriguez et al. 2001; Room et al. 1991) which often have flow-on effects within their families (Orford et al. 2005). Families in which both parents drink heavily have been found to be at even greater risk of harm (Haugland 2005), yet in contrast, the lack of a protective adult in single-parent families is often noted by child protection workers as a feature of child maltreatment (Department of Human Services 1999).

Alcohol is involved in a significant proportion of cases of violence against intimate partners both in and outside the household. In assessing intimate partner violence in population surveys in the United States (US), Leonard (2001) estimated that 25-50 per cent of domestic violence incidents involve alcohol. The Australian component of the International Violence Against Women study found that one in three (35 per cent of) recent domestic violence incidents were alcohol-related, with 32 per cent of women reporting that their partner was drinking at the time of the most recent violent act (Mouzos & Makkai 2004). In analyses based on victimisation data from the 2005 Australian Personal Safety Survey, it was estimated that alcohol contributed to 50 per cent of all partner violence, and 73 per cent of physical assaults by a partner (Laslett et al. 2010).

Alcohol also features strongly in domestic assaults that come to official notice. In an evaluation of trends in police data across the state of New South Wales (NSW) between 2001 and 2010, police recorded 41 per cent of domestic assaults as alcohol-related – i.e. where alcohol was noted as 'present' (Grech & Burgess 2011).

Research on family violence has concentrated on spousal relationships and identified many of the difficulties for female spouses and their children living with heavy drinkers. In Australia, the narrative of the family affected by drinking and domestic violence was elucidated in research conducted with members of Al-Anon (Zajdow 2002) in which children and their mothers were hurt by violent and drunken fathers, financially disadvantaged and isolated. The primary focus of this work was on how spouses of alcohol-dependent men had been affected and coped. Interviews with women in other countries who live with heavy-drinking men also provide moving insights into the many problems they and their children experience, including physical violence, verbal abuse and destruction of their belongings (Kempe et al. 1962; Orford et al. 2005). Quantitative studies, such as *Gender, Alcohol and Culture: an International Study (GENACIS)*, have identified many types, and a range of prevalence, of problems for drinkers' families across many countries, including domestic violence (Graham et al. 2008; Obot & Room 2005).

Family life can be difficult for both those who drink heavily and others who are affected by their drinking. Holmila et al. (2013) describe the dramatically worse outcomes for mothers in Finland who misuse AOD. These mothers are more likely to die, have concomitant mental health problems and have their children removed from their care than other women. The disadvantage apparent in the lives of these mothers is extensive; they are much more likely than those who do not misuse substances to be single parents without support, and to have less education and lower incomes.

The consequences of heavy drinking can be heartbreaking both for the drinkers and for other members of their families. A 2010 issue of *Drugs, Education, Prevention and Policy* focused on understanding families' experience of problems relating to alcohol or drug use. The studies highlighted were predominantly conducted in the United Kingdom (UK), with some from other parts of Europe, Mexico, and one study involving Indigenous Australians. An article in this issue summarised 20 years of qualitative research on the experiences of people affected by a family member's drinking or drug taking, and concluded that the greatest concern interviewees had was the effects on children. The effects emphasised by interviewees included exposure to violence or neglect, interference with the upbringing of children, the effects on home life of late night noise and the presence of drinkers, the restriction of social life, and fear of shame and criticism (Orford et al. 2010).

How other members of the family (including fathers, grandparents and siblings) are affected by the drinking of a family member is less often recorded, although Baldock (2006) has described some of the effects and impacts upon grandparents caring for grandchildren because of their children's drinking. Kunstsche et al. (2009) described how the heavy drinking of older siblings and friends was associated with more delinquent behaviour in younger teenagers. Child-to-mother violence and elder abuse has also begun to be recognised and quantified in Australia, although the involvement of alcohol misuse has not always been identified in these studies (Edenborough et al. 2008).

The causal role of alcohol in adversely affecting relationships can be a matter of dispute. There is no disagreement that a parent's drinking and associated activities can take time away from family life and relationships, can distract or incapacitate a parent from protective and caring roles, or can sap family resources to the detriment of other family members. But the exact role of alcohol in intimate partner violence is complex and contested (Leonard 2005). This reflects differing criteria for causality (Room & Rossow 2001): alcohol is rarely a necessary or sufficient cause of violence, but on the other hand the violence might not have occurred without the drinking. Of concern to those within the domestic violence field is that alcohol may be used to excuse violence against partners. Often, the objection is about moral responsibility and blame; it is feared that describing alcohol as causal will remove responsibility from the drinking perpetrator (Transition House 2013). This report does not address issues of personal responsibility for adverse events and conditions in families. Rather, it examines alcohol's involvement in adverse events and conditions within families and, to the extent this may be determinable, the question of whether the event or condition would not have occurred if the drinking had not occurred (Room & Rossow 2001).

Despite the lack of consensus about the aetiology of alcohol-related intimate partner violence, alcohol emerges as a consistent risk factor in its perpetration (Abramsky et al. 2011). The association of heavy episodic drinking (binge drinking) patterns with more aggression within relationships and increased severity of injury is consistent across several studies (Connor et al. 2011; Foran & O'Leary 2008; Graham, et al. 2011; Testa et al. 2003). Graham et al. (2011) analysed the relationship between alcohol and partner aggression severity using data from a range of 13 developing and developed countries and found a consistent relationship between alcohol use and increased severity of partner aggression even across diverse cultures. Specifically, they found that aggression was more severe when one or both partners

were drinking than when neither was. Studies also show women experience a heightened risk of partner violence on days that men have been drinking (Fals-Stewart et al. 2005).

In terms of prevention, Leonard argued that "...it is critical that research regarding alcohol and domestic violence move beyond simple studies of association and begin to frame these questions with an eye toward policy implications" (Leonard 2001, p. 235). A recent issues paper by Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) called for urgent responses to this issue, arguing that interventions should address both alcohol misuse and attitudes that are supportive of violence against women (Braaf 2012).

1.3 ALCOHOL'S EFFECTS UPON PARENTING AND CHILDREN

1.3.1 DRINKING AND PARENTING: ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR

Alcohol is widely used in Australia (Bittman & Wajcman 2000). Although most adults consider it inappropriate for an intoxicated adult to be in charge of young children (Dawe et al. 2007; Maloney et al. 2010; NSW Department of Community Services 2006), a recent poll of Australians found that 79 per cent of drinkers with children under 18 years living in their home reported consuming alcohol around their children (FARE 2013). The vast majority of Australian children (and families) are exposed to drinking situations, and it is likely that in these situations alcohol is not always responsibly consumed.

Both norms and behaviours concerning drinking by carers are important in understanding the risks for children and other family members in different contexts. There are situations where drinking by adult carers appears to be more acceptable; for example, if only one or two drinks are consumed. A survey of adults' attitudes to parents drinking around small children in Victoria, Australia found that most respondents felt no drinking (49 per cent) or consumption of only one or two drinks (45 per cent) was considered acceptable (Matthews 2012). Only six per cent thought it was okay to drink "enough to feel the effects." While children may not be at risk because of their parents' moderate drinking, there is evidence that children are exposed to a range of different drinking patterns of their parents and others at social occasions (Adamson & Templeton 2012; Allan et al. 2012; Cook 2005; Jayne et al. 2011; Velleman & Templeton 2007).

In a Finnish study, drinking to intoxication while responsible for small children was unanimously disapproved of. However, 40 per cent of respondents regarded such drinking as acceptable if someone else was in charge of the children - for example, if the mother is in charge, while the father drinks (Raitasalo 2011). Respondents in this study reported that children were present at 12 per cent of their drinking occasions, and that 24 per cent of all drinking occasions were heavy-drinking occasions (estimated to be at a blood alcohol concentration level of .05% or greater), suggesting that while respondents may disapprove of drinking around children, many still do so. Women's attitudes and drinking behaviours were significantly correlated with each other in this study, whereas men's were not, suggesting that men were more likely to drink around children regardless of their reported general disapproval of drinking to intoxication around children. Of course, the lack of correlation may also mean that some men are not drinking around children although approving of it.

Estimates of the proportion of children living with or exposed to heavy drinking of a family member are available from various countries, though the criterion of 'problematic drinking' varies in its designation and meaning. Indeed the estimates of the proportion of children living with problematic drinkers vary widely between countries: in 2006 in Lithuania a reported three per cent of children aged 0-18 years grew up with a parent who misused alcohol, whereas in Finland and Poland the corresponding figures were around ten per cent and 19 per cent respectively (Harwin et al. 2010). In the US it has been estimated that one in four children is exposed to the effects of alcohol abuse or dependence of a family member (Grant 2000), and in the UK an estimated 30 per cent of children (or 3.3-3.5 million) live with at least one binge drinking parent (Manning et al. 2009).

As in other countries, while Australians do not approve of drinking too much when parenting, those of child-bearing and child-raising age often drink at risky levels. Dawe et al. (2007) estimated that 13 per cent of children are at risk of exposure to short-term risky drinking in Australian households by at least one adult. Further analysis suggested that around 25 per cent of fathers and ten per cent of mothers (in couple-plus-children families) had drunk at short-term risky levels (greater than 5/7 drinks

for women/men on an occasion respectively) two or more times a month in the past year (Dawe et al. 2007). Maloney et al. (2010) reported that Australian mothers and fathers are less likely to binge-drink than others in their age group, and that fathers were more likely than mothers to report problematic drinking patterns. However, these parents may choose only to drink at risky levels when their children are not with them, and whether parents' drinking occasions were in the presence or absence of their children was not specified in the Dawe et al. (2007) and Maloney et al. (2010) studies. This is a common feature of national drinking surveys, which often do not ask whether children were present for the parents' drinking, or whether children were harmed because of a carers' or others' drinking.

1.3.2 IMPACTS ON CHILDREN

There is little doubt that living with a problem drinker can have pernicious effects on children. Problematic alcohol use by parents has been shown to produce various impacts for children, both while they are growing up and as adults, particularly in relation to their own subsequent AOD use or depression (Kelley et al. 2011; Morgan & McAtamney 2009).

Velleman and Templeton (2007) summarise years of work and describe a range of ways in which children living in families with a heavy-drinking parent are reported to have been affected, including by disruptions to family rituals such as birthdays, by changes in and reversal of parent-child roles, by disturbed school attendance, eating and bedtime routines, by limited or more aggressive communication, by diminished social connectedness, and by lack of finances and worsening relationships.

At one end of the spectrum of harm, parental drinking may mean parents model poor drinking behaviours. Research suggests that parental drinking patterns, of both mothers and fathers, can contribute to increased problematic drinking patterns for their children (Raitasalo 2011; Smith et al. 1999; Wilks et al. 2006; Yu 2003). Parents may also find it difficult to maintain routines and, for instance, be unable to take children to organised early morning sports matches because they are 'hung over' (Velleman & Templeton 2007). At the other extreme, parental drinking may play a role in accidental child deaths, infanticide, assault, and extreme cases of neglect and child abuse (Victorian Child Death Review Committee 2009). Problems associated with a parent's drinking may be limited (e.g. affecting supervision at one-off social functions) or ongoing, such as potentially affecting a child's development over many years if the child is inadequately fed, clothed and looked after (Laslett et al. 2010).

A small Australian mixed methods action research study of parents in treatment for drug or alcohol dependencies and their children showed that intoxication and withdrawal could impair parents' ability to prepare meals, maintain household cleaning, keep school routines, respond to children's emotional needs, and supervise and manage risk of injury, including neglect or harm of their children by others (Gruenert et al. 2004). Parents in this study reported that during times of active alcohol or other drug use they themselves were more irritable, intolerant or impatient toward their children, used harsher discipline, were less responsive to their children's needs, yelled more and let go of routines, including getting their children to school. They also reported that they let their children take on adult roles, including caring for younger siblings (Gruenert et al. 2004).

Other studies have shown a range of negative effects on children of problem drinkers, including depression and reduced intellectual development (Barber & Crisp 1994; Dawe et al. 2007; Straussner 1994). Dawe et al. (2007) reviewed and summarised case-control studies comparing children of alcohol-dependent parents with children of non-alcohol-dependent parents, and reported that these provide some evidence that higher levels of internalising disorders (e.g. anxiety and depression) and externalising disorders (e.g. conduct disorder and aggression) were more common in children of alcohol-dependent parents than non-alcohol-dependent parents. On the other hand, only a minority of children of alcohol-dependent parents were negatively affected (West & Prinz 1987 cited in Dawe et al. 2007).

Dawe et al (2007) have also summarised the international literature on the impact of a family member's drug use (including alcohol) on children between the ages of two and 12 years. They discuss neglect, harm or abuse (which in severe cases are the potential triggers for intervention by child protection agencies), exposure to hostility and conflict, the impact of alcohol on family functioning, and the associated child behavioural problems.

A few studies have provided the perspective of affected children themselves on the harms experienced from a parent's or carer's drinking. In an Australian survey of children who called the telephone help service

'Childline', parental alcohol misuse was identified by children as connected to a broad range of problems, including the child running away, violence in the home, physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect and poor family relationships (Tomison 1996). In the UK and Finland, focus groups with children and reviews of the literature revealed that children of substance-using parents felt ashamed, that they had missed out on their childhood, had normalised negative situations that a child should not have to deal with, and had felt anxious about their own safety. In addition, children reported being concerned for their parents in relation to the effects of their drinking. They were upset by their parents' quarrelling and violence when they drank, and felt that their families did not function as they should (Adamson & Templeton 2012; Raitasalo 2011). They felt they were not prioritised in their parents' lives and that they were neglected and physically hurt. Importantly, however, Raitasalo (2011) noted that in Finland many of these children had developed methods for coping with some of these problems and had suggestions about what might help other children in the same situations.

1.3.3 EVIDENCE FROM HEALTH AND SOCIAL STATISTICS

Data relating to alcohol-related harm to children because of their parents' and others' drinking are not routinely collected in health or social statistics. The involvement of alcohol in a person's own injuries is often ascertained, as it affects the way the patient is managed clinically. However, when an injury or problem is caused by someone else, intoxication of that third party is not routinely captured. For example, a child who drowns in a bathtub or falls from a height may not have been adequately supervised at the time of the incident because the carer was intoxicated, but this will not be recorded by medical services. On the other hand, where investigations of child deaths are undertaken in Australia, carer alcohol problems are a common feature. In NSW in 2003, 68 assault and neglect deaths of children aged 0-17 years were investigated, and in 19 per cent of these cases carers with a history of alcohol abuse were identified (NSW Child Death Review Team 2003). In these types of investigations, questions about the drinking patterns of carers are asked, although often in non-standardised ways. In Victoria, a similar review panel found that of the 28 deaths among child clients of Protective Services Victoria in the 2010-2011 year, parental alcohol problems were identified in half of these cases (Victorian Child Death Review Committee 2009).

Additional information about how children have been affected (often severely) by others' drinking comes from child protection sources. Parental substance abuse has been linked to confirmed cases of child abuse in many studies from different countries in the *World Report on Violence Against Children* (Pinheiro 2006; Krug et al. 2002), and in other studies from the UK (Forrester & Harwin 2008) and North America (Fluke & Shusterman 2005; Trocme et al. 2005).

1.3.4 POPULATION SURVEY DATA

Research on the effects of parental drinking upon children in general population samples is rare. Studies of children's exposure to drinking patterns exist, but whether this exposure results in harm is not reported. In part, this may reflect legal requirements that positive answers must be reported to authorities, hence such questions may not be asked. Drinking has been linked to lack of surveillance of children and increased risk of injuries in three large-scale studies in the US. In a large sample of US families, Bijur (1992) found that children of mothers categorised as problem drinkers had twice the risk of serious injury of children of mothers who were non-drinkers, although other measures of mothers' alcohol consumption were unrelated to child injuries, as were all measures of fathers' drinking. In another US study, Crandall et al. (2006) surveyed 5,000 'fragile' families and found that maternal alcohol use in the past month was associated with injury to children under 12 months old.

In a large community sample analysed prospectively, parental substance use (including both alcohol and other drugs) was a significant and strong predictor of physical abuse and neglect, providing longitudinal evidence of the association between substance misuse and child abuse and neglect. The presence of parental substance abuse tripled the risk of experiencing the measures of child abuse or neglect utilised in the study (Chaffin et al. 1996).

A US general population survey found that 2.3 per cent of parent respondents (one randomly selected parent per selected child in the household) reported having been so drunk or high in the last year that they had a problem taking care of their child (Straus et al. 1998). An analysis of Scottish personal safety survey data found that one per cent of children had witnessed partner-to-partner domestic violence in

the household when the adult held responsible had been drinking (Manning et al. 2009). Information on whether children were present in alcohol-related incidents of domestic violence is not available for Australia, although Personal Safety Surveys in Australia reported lower levels of alcohol-related domestic violence incidents in the past year (with such incidents reported by 1.1 per cent of females and 0.4 per cent of males) compared with Scotland (Laslett et al. 2010).

In the US, ecological studies of child maltreatment, parental drinking patterns and alcohol availability (as measured by license outlet density) have been undertaken (Gmel 2014). The results of these studies with respect to alcohol are mixed, with frequency of drinking showing greater effect than volume, and on- and off-premise outlet density showing sometimes positive and sometimes negative associations depending on whether corporal punishment or severe maltreatment of children were examined as outcomes, whether bars and restaurants were examined together, the type of analysis undertaken and whether individual-level factors were taken into account. Although outlet density results were more mixed, these analyses did show that self-reported drinking frequencies in bars and at home/parties were positively associated with corporal punishment and severe physical abuse, and frequencies of drinking in restaurants were negatively associated with these outcomes (Freisthler & Gruenewald 2013).

No such ecological studies exist in Australia and, more generally, there are limited quantitative data on how different drinking patterns of parents (e.g. 'binge drinking') may directly affect children along a continuum of harm in the general population. In the UK, it has been noted that "there is a dearth of work which has considered the numbers of children who are affected by parental alcohol misuse (and who can be affected at all levels of consumption, not just parents who are dependent drinkers). Tackling this gap is a key first step in understanding the size of the problem and developing the most appropriate practice and policy response to what is believed to be a very significant issue" (Adamson & Templeton 2012, p. 33).

The first Australian Harm to Others (HTO) Survey conducted in 2008, and reported in *The Range and Magnitude of Alcohol's Harm to Others*, included a chapter on the effects of alcohol upon children as measured in the Victorian Child Protection Service (VCPS) and a general population survey, and thus began to address this deficit (Laslett et al. 2010). This work is extended in the current report.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study examines how commonly family members, and particularly children, are adversely affected by others' drinking. The research questions addressed are:

1. How common and what are the effects of heavy drinking upon families and children?
 - a. How do these effects vary in different relationships?
 - b. Are there differences in the ways in which parents, siblings and grandparents are harmed by and care for those in their families?
 - c. Do the effects vary depending on whether the respondent is or is not living with the heavy drinker, and whether the drinker is a nuclear or extended family member?
2. To what extent do the effects upon children and families persist or change over time?
3. What is the qualitative nature and impact of harms to children and families from others' drinking?
4. What services are available for families and children if they have been affected by the drinking of those around them?
5. What types of service and policy interventions are likely to improve the situations of those affected by others' drinking?

2

METHODOLOGY

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This report includes multiple sub-studies involving a variety of quantitative and qualitative data sources and approaches to elicit the effects of alcohol's harms on families and children in Australia. This chapter details the methods used in each of the sub-studies and describes the measures used.

The quantitative data sources used to measure alcohol-related problems for families and children from others' drinking were survey data, registry data and document reviews including existing published data tables. Three chapters use survey data (Chapters 3, 4 and 5). Chapters 7 and 8 detail information on more severe alcohol-related problems of families and children, and describe the AOD treatment system responses using registry data sets and document reviews.

Qualitative data were obtained via individual interview and focus groups to inform two distinct aspects of the report. Chapter 6 provides an in-depth understanding of the nature of harms to children from others' drinking and the impact on children and families and Chapter 9 presents insights based on key informants' views on current service delivery and policy responses to families experiencing alcohol-related harm.

2.1 2008 AND 2011 HTO SURVEY DATA

2.1.1 DATA SOURCES

The 2008 HTO Survey was the first Australian survey to examine alcohol's harm to others, involving a representative cross-sectional national sample of 2,649 Australian adults. The 2008 HTO Survey questionnaire captured the number of heavy drinkers (if any) in respondents' lives, and adverse consequences to the respondent (or the respondent's child) in the previous 12 months from the drinking of family, friends, co-workers and strangers or those not well known to the respondent (Wilkinson et al. 2009; Laslett et al. 2010). These data provide prevalence estimates of alcohol's harm to others. For more detail on this questionnaire and survey methodology see Wilkinson et al. (2009).

The 2011 HTO Survey was a follow-up survey in which individuals who completed the 2008 HTO Survey and agreed to be recontacted were invited to take part. A total of 1,106 respondents completed the 2011 HTO Survey between October 2011 and February 2012. The response rate for the follow-up survey was 42 per cent of the initial 2008 sample and 48 per cent of those in that sample who agreed to participate in future studies. For the most part, the 2011 HTO Survey included the same set of questions as those asked in 2008. However, a small number of additional questions were added, for example to capture change in household composition between 2008 and 2011, and some specific consequences of harm. Details on the rationale, methodology and results of this study have been described fully in the report titled *Beyond the drinker: Longitudinal patterns in alcohol's harm to others* (Laslett et al. 2015).

This report focuses on a sub-sample of 2008 and 2011 HTO Survey respondents who reported experiencing harm from a family member or intimate partner's drinking and/or that a child whom they lived with or had parental responsibility for experienced harm from someone's drinking. Chapters 3 and 4 use the 2008 HTO Survey data, but include a range of new analyses to focus upon and better understand the alcohol-related harms to families and children.

Together, the 2008 and 2011 HTO Survey data have been used to estimate stability and change in harms to children and families from others' drinking, as well as what factors predict harm to children and families from others' drinking over time. Results specific to predicting harms to families and children in the follow-up study are described in Chapter 5.

In both the 2008 and 2011 Surveys, respondents were asked to report if they or someone they knew had been affected "a little" or "a lot" by someone else's drinking. There is no consistent definition of "a little" or

“a lot” as these were based upon the subjective assessment of the respondent. The qualitative component of this study seeks to understand what respondents meant when using this term.

2.1.2 ANALYSIS

STATA v.12 (StataCorp 2011) was used to undertake all descriptive and multivariate analyses in Chapter 3 (2008 HTO Survey data), Chapter 4 (2008 HTO Survey data on families) and Chapter 5 (2008 and 2011 HTO Survey data). Confidence intervals (CIs) were generated for primary survey data results and are presented in square brackets. They provide an estimate of the variability around the prevalence figure, and where these intervals do not overlap this indicates a statistically significant difference between the prevalence estimates. Chi-square and T-tests were used to examine the differences between categorical and continuous outcome variables. The modelling techniques used in Chapter 5 were bivariate and multivariate logistic regression.

2.2 REGISTRY DATABASES

2.2.1 DATA SOURCES

Routinely collected data from a range of service providers such as publicly-funded AOD treatment services, Child Protection Services (CPS) and police have been drawn together to illustrate the extent of alcohol's involvement in a range of services utilised by families and children. The findings that relate to the following data sources are included in Chapters 7 and 8.

Alcohol and Drug Information System, Victorian Department of Health

The Victorian Department of Health funds a range of community-based agencies to provide specialist AOD treatment to people experiencing difficulties related with their own or someone else's substance use. The collection of client information is a mandatory requirement of the funding arrangement, and data are collected and managed through a central depository referred to as ADIS (Alcohol and Drug Information Service).

This report uses aggregated data derived from specialist AOD agencies (including community health centres) contributing to ADIS for the financial years 2007-08 to 2011-12. Approval to use the ADIS data was obtained from the Victorian Department of Health, and the analyses were undertaken by the Population Health team at Turning Point, Eastern Health.

DirectLine, Turning Point, Eastern Health

DirectLine is a 24-hour AOD counselling, information and referral service for Victorians that provides trained AOD counsellors to respond to calls from people concerned about their own and/or others' AOD use. Data relating to calls from concerned 'significant others' in relation to AOD for the financial years 2006-07 to 2012-13 were available for analysis.

CounsellingOnline, Turning Point, Eastern Health

CounsellingOnline is a nation-wide internet-based model of intervention provided by Turning Point, and funded by the Commonwealth Department of Health. It is a text-based counselling service both for individuals concerned with their own substance use problems and for those concerned about the substance use of others. Data relating to contacts from concerned or significant others in relation to AOD for the financial years 2006-07 to 2012-13 were available for analysis.

Family Drug Support Helpline, Family Drug Support Australia

Family Drug Support (FDS) provides a nation-wide telephone helpline dedicated to addressing the support and information needs of family members and significant others who are affected by someone's alcohol or drug use. Data relating to calls from concerned or significant others in relation to AOD for the financial years 2006-07 to 2012-13 were available for analysis.

Child and Services Information System – Child Protection and Family Services, Victorian Department of Human Services

The Child and Services Information System (CASIS) database, (now known as the Client-Related Information System or CRIS), contains de-identified data records for all child protection cases that existed or were subsequently notified to the Victorian Department of Human Services Child Protection Unit in the calendar years 2001-2005¹. Information relating to 188,063 cases and 97,684 clients (children on whose behalf the department was investigating or acting) was available for analysis. Child maltreatment cases included exposure to physical, emotional and sexual abuse, as well as neglect and domestic violence, and the stage of service involvement and the outcomes in the child protection process are held within the data set. The involvement of alcohol and other risk factors in Victorian child protection cases were recorded for all families, once cases had been substantiated. The social and demographic characteristics of these clients and families were also available from the dataset for analysis.

2.2.2 ANALYSIS

The analyses in Chapters 7 and 8 of the report are descriptive, with cases counted using Excel or STATA v.11 (StataCorp 2009). STATA v.11 was used to undertake descriptive analyses of the VCPS data. See Laslett (2013) for more detail.

In all tables showing regression type analyses, the word 'Ref' in round brackets denotes the reference category of a categorical predictor variable. For example, 'Age' is a predictor variable in many of the analyses, and '18-35' is the reference category. Results reported in regression type analyses indicate whether the 'reference category' (e.g. aged '18-35') makes a difference to the outcome being measured, relative to the other category of the predictor variable (e.g. aged 36-55).

In analyses where the outcome variable is categorical, for example Table 5.2 under 'Male' a '1' is shown before the text '(Ref)', the '1' denotes the reference value in logistic regression models. However, if the outcome variable is continuous the reference value is '0' in linear regression models.

When interpreting the relationship between the predictor and the outcome variable, any significant number above the reference number indicates a positive relationship and any significant number below the reference number indicates a negative relationship.

2.3 PUBLICLY-AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS AND DATA

2.3.1 DATA SOURCES

Publicly-available data such as annual reports were sourced and incorporated with other data sources in cases where primary data were not available. These datasets are identified and referenced in Chapters 7 and 8. The key sources are outlined below.

Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment System

Publicly-funded AOD treatment services across Australia are required to collect a set of standard data items related to treatment provision as part of the Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment Services National Minimum Data Set (AODTS-NMDS). This information is collated and held by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW). Information on whether a client is seeking treatment because of their own or others' use of AOD is reported for each closed treatment episode provided. Information on the principal drug of concern (PDOC) for which an individual is seeking treatment is recorded. However the PDOC for individuals seeking treatment because of someone else's AOD use is not included in the mandatory set of items. Therefore, it is not possible to discern how many episodes of treatment are provided to individuals seeking treatment because of others' alcohol use (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2012).

Law Enforcement Assistance Program – Family Incidents Data

Victoria Police collate statistics on the number of reported 'family incidents' recorded on the Law Enforcement Assistance Program (LEAP), a computerised database established in 1993. 'Family incidents'

¹ The 2001 to 2005 data were used as during this period recording of carer alcohol abuse was mandatory. In 2006 the system changed and this information is no longer recorded in the same way.

are an indicator of domestic violence, and include calls where the police deem that an offence has taken place, in addition to actual arrests (Livingston 2011). Police also assess alcohol involvement in each incident and record the presence of alcohol as 'definite,' 'probable' or 'not' (Laslett et al. 2006). This approach to family incidents has limitations, because the assessment is subjective, and information relating to alcohol involvement will probably vary across reports. The analyses included in this report were performed by the Population Health Team at Turning Point, Eastern Health, and the tables presented have been reproduced with their permission.

Police data on family violence incidents (states other than Victoria)

Police data from annual reports and domestic violence reports were utilised to collate family violence incidence statistics from Western Australia (WA), NSW and the Northern Territory (NT).

A range of child protection data from other states besides Victoria have been used to estimate the prevalence of alcohol-related child protection cases. Child protection data from other states were obtained from published State and Australian Government reports, as indicated by references.

Child and Family Services data

A small amount of data was also available from government websites on child and family services that were funded federally (Department of Social Services 2013).

2.4 IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH HTO SURVEY RESPONDENTS

To explore the experiences of people who care for a child or children affected by others' drinking (in Chapter 6), a qualitative methodology was adopted entailing 20 in-depth interviews. The interview theme sheet is included at Appendix 3. Ethics approval was sought and received from the Eastern Health Human Research Ethics Committee (E45-1112).

2.4.1 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

Potential participants were those who replied in either the 2008 or 2011 HTO Survey that a child/children for whom they had parental responsibility had been harmed "a lot" or "a little" by others' drinking, and who also indicated that they were happy to be recontacted for future research.

Because participants lived across Australia, the interviews were conducted by telephone. Potential participants were telephoned and a script was read out to them, reminding them of their previous participation, their stated willingness to be recontacted for future research, and an overview of what the current interview entailed. At this stage participants either agreed to be interviewed immediately, agreed to be interviewed but at a more convenient time, sought more information (in which case a Plain Language Statement (PLS) was sent to them and a recontact time was agreed), or refused to be interviewed. At the start of the interview the participants were asked "Do you consent to be interviewed and for this interview to be recorded?"

2.4.2 SAMPLE

Interviews were conducted between April and August 2012. There were 21 prospective interviewees who had answered that a child had been harmed "a lot" by others' drinking in either the 2008 or 2011 Survey (or both) and who were prepared to be recontacted, and ten were interviewed (eight women, two men). Of the 11 who were not interviewed, no contact was ever made with six, one was not interested on first contact, and one was not interested after reading the PLS, which outlined the purpose of the interview and what participating in the interview involved. The remaining three people indicated on first contact that they were interested in being interviewed but at a more convenient time, but on re-call other people answered the phone and the potential interviewee now had no wish to proceed with the interview. The implications of this are discussed further in Section 6.6.1 (Methodological reflections).

There were 87 prospective interviewees who had answered “a little” on either the 2008 or 2011 HTO Survey (or both) and were prepared to be recontacted, and ten were interviewed (seven women, three men). The order in which they were selected for contact was based on a randomly-generated list of these prospective interviewees. On the basis of preliminary analysis of these ten interviews it was decided not to proceed with trying to get larger numbers of those who had answered “a little,” as no new themes were arising, and the harms experienced were indeed usually much less than the harms recounted by those who answered “a lot.”

The interviewees were usually the parent of the child harmed by another person’s drinking (n = 16, including one foster parent). The remaining interviewees were grandparents who had a range of care arrangements for their grandchildren, with often-shifting patterns of formal custody and informal caregiving arrangements. The drinker who was harming these respondents’ grandchildren was either their own child (n = 2) or their child’s ex-partner (n = 2). A table summarising demographic information about the interviewees, including age, gender, education, and occupation can be found in Chapter 6 (Table 6.1).

2.4.3 ANALYSIS

Interviews were audio recorded and professionally transcribed. The transcribed interviews were stored and analysed using NVivo9, a qualitative software package that enables thematic analysis of large amounts of text (Braun & Clarke 2006). Themes were identified from the interview outline in the first instance but, consistent with an inductive approach, analysis was also allowed to be shaped by new themes arising in the analysis.

2.5 KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

Interviews with key service providers, policy makers and researchers (key informants) about policy and service responses for families and children of heavy drinkers and family members of clients of AOD treatment services were conducted between March and July 2011 and then again in focus groups in November and December 2013. Policy options focused on families and children affected by others’ drinking were also canvassed, as were current research gaps and recommendations for future studies. The focus of these interviews was largely on children and child protection responses, although issues for AOD clients and families more broadly were also sought.

2.5.1 PARTICIPANTS

Twenty-one key informants participated in semi-structured interviews for the study, including those who participated in both individual interviews and focus group discussions. Key informants were current employees in senior positions from child protection departments across each state and territory in Australia or researchers or service providers in the fields of AOD treatment and/or child protection. Interview schedules for individual interviews with the child protection and AOD policy, service and researcher key informants were developed by the research team (Appendices D and E).

In order to gather specific information about the child protection recording systems available in all Australian states, a subset of questions were included about how problems were recorded, how child protection workers were trained to record alcohol problems, which data were available electronically, and relevant reports. They were also asked about their understanding of the capacity of the electronic data systems they worked with to record alcohol- (and drug-) related child protection or family concerns. AOD researchers and service providers were also asked how they recorded information on clients’ children. Program managers and policy personnel were asked a series of questions about their child protection and alcohol program and service responsibilities (including data collection) within their jurisdictions. Researchers were asked about their current areas of alcohol and child protection research interest, as well as existing research that they knew of regarding carers’ alcohol problems and their effects on families and children.

Three additional focus groups were held with senior policy personnel, service providers and researchers (n = 11). These meetings were broader in approach, with an agenda to gain directions for further research

about how alcohol affects children and families, and seek some consensus from experts in the child protection and AOD fields about policy and service recommendations (see Appendix D).

2.5.2 SAMPLING METHOD

Key informants were approached in two ways. Child protection departments were approached through their general enquiries channels (email or phone) with a request to discuss the research with the most appropriate person, or specific people were approached based on the recommendation of researchers in the field within each jurisdiction. Recommendations from those interviewed were also sought and followed up. AOD service providers involved in specialised care of families were also contacted as a result of suggestions from other key informants.

2.5.3 PROCEDURES

Interviews were carried out over the phone or in person, depending on the preference of the key informant. One interview was audio recorded; in the remaining interviews extensive notes were taken. Ethics approval was sought and received from the Eastern Health Research Ethics Committee (EH 119).

2.5.4 ANALYSIS

The research team used the answers to specific questions to better understand the data collection and recording process in relation to alcohol-related harms to families and children undertaken across the Australian states. In addition, key informants' responses to broad questions about their own services and research, and the broader context within which they understood alcohol-related problems for families and children, suggested emerging themes that were followed up by the interviewers. Quotes from the key informants have been used to illustrate the issues that became apparent.

2.6 MEASURES AND DEFINITIONS

The family is seen as the primary unit within which children are cared for. The preamble to the Convention on the Rights of the Child defines 'family' as a "variety of arrangements that can provide for young children's care, nurturance and development, including the nuclear family, the extended family, and other traditional and modern community-based arrangements, provided these are consistent with children's rights and best interests" (United Nations 2006, p. 44). Children in this report are defined as people aged under the age of 18 years, and where information is available only for a subset of these children, this is noted in the text. A vast array of family arrangements exist, and definitions of families differ in different data sources.

2.6.1 DEFINING 'FAMILY'

In the HTO Surveys

The 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys use limited categories of family types, collapsing families into a few main categories by household living status: couple-only families, two-carer families with children (including adopted, foster care, step and biological families, and combinations), single-carer families with children, and 'other families'. The 'other family' category includes families where there are more than two adults in the family, including multiple generations of families, extended families and families that include 'non-family' members.

In the context of the HTO Surveys, the terms 'family members and intimate partners', and for brevity, 'family members' are used. These terms refer to immediate and extended family members and relatives in or outside the household (parents, siblings, children, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins and other family members), as well as current and former partners/spouses, girlfriends and boyfriends.

In Child Protection service system data

In the VCPS data, families were recorded in the period studied in the CASIS and coded as: 'intact' where two biological parents were present; 'extended family' where additional relatives (a couple or one other) had care of the child, or were present in addition to biological parents; 'step,' which included stepfather or stepmother families; 'blended,' which included a non-biological parent and children from different relationships; 'sole parent,' which included sole father and sole mother families; and 'other' families which include a couple or one person without these connections and children (Laslett et al. 2013). These categories were assigned as part of the initial file report on the family.

In service system data

Many of the relevant service system data sets report upon services provided to individuals and do not record, or appear to report upon, the make-up of the families they treat. According to the Australian Government agency's website², Family and Children's Services deliver a range of services that include community programs, family and relationship services, specialist services and community playgroups, including specific programs targeted to children of substance users. Family service systems record a number of details about family support services provided, but few demographic details, e.g. information on the numbers of dependent children or family structure (Department of Social Services 2013).

In AOD treatment systems, including face-to-face, telephone counselling and online counselling modalities, whether the client is a user or a concerned and/or affected family member is generally recorded and reported (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2012). Detail on the relationship type is also collected uniformly across the states. Information on whether the client has children or not, and the client's living arrangements (e.g. lives alone) may be collected via state and territory reporting systems, however these fields are not routinely reported in the AODTS-NMDS (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2012).

2.6.2 MEASURES OF DRINKING

In the HTO Surveys

A number of measures have been used in this report to record the drinking patterns of respondents and those said to be responsible for adverse effects on children, spouses and other family members.

In the 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys, respondents' drinking patterns were measured using the usual quantity and frequency method and the number of times per week the respondent consumed five drinks or more in a single occasion. Respondents were also asked to estimate how much alcohol was consumed by the person whose drinking most adversely affected them (i.e. the problematic drinker), using questions about the frequency of five or more drinks consumed in a single occasion and the amount usually consumed when drinking heavily (Wilkinson et al. 2009).

In Child Protection Service system data

Across Australian states, alcohol reporting within child protection systems varies both in terms of how alcohol use, misuse, abuse or dependence is defined and whether the reporting is separate or combined with other drug use. The child protection stage at which AOD risk factors are reviewed. In this report, child protection workers compulsorily recorded whether alcohol abuse by one or both parents or carers was a risk factor for children. Recording of carer alcohol abuse is no longer compulsory, although VCPS workers may still choose to enter alcohol and other risk factor data if they think this information is relevant.

In Other service system data

In general the drinking patterns of Australians who are served by the welfare and health service systems are either not recorded, or poorly recorded. For example, Family Services system data does not record AOD use specifically (Department of Social Services 2013).

In the Victorian *DirectLine* service's data (Turning Point Alcohol and Drug Centre 2012a) the *CounsellingOnline* data (Turning Point Alcohol and Drug Centre 2012b) and the FDS Helpline data (Family Drug Support Australia 2014), alcohol problems of various family members were reported. AOD problems

² <http://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/families-and-children/programs-services/family-support-program/family-and-children-s-services>

were self-defined by callers, and commonly information is provided for the PDOC. In some systems counsellors report whether the client thinks his/her substance use is causing interpersonal problems (Turning Point Alcohol and Drug Centre 2012b), but this question is not mandatorily asked. While it is likely to be commonly asked, it is difficult to assess precisely how often this occurs.

2.6.3 MEASURES OF PROBLEMS FAMILIES AND CHILDREN EXPERIENCE BECAUSE OF OTHERS' DRINKING

In the HTO Surveys

In the 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys three main series of questions were asked regarding the effects of others' drinking on children and families:

1. Questions were asked regarding which heavy drinkers (amongst those in respondents' families) they had been negatively affected by in the 12 months prior the survey, and by which of these the respondent had been most negatively affected (the latter is commonly termed the 'problematic family drinker' in this report).
2. Questions were asked regarding harms to the respondent and children previous 12 months. Respondents were asked about 14 harms to themselves from family members: put at risk in a car, forced or pressured into sex, social occasion negatively affected, they failed to do something they were being counted on to do, they broke or damaged something that mattered to you, you could not bring friends home, they did not do their share of work around the house, you had to leave home and stay elsewhere, there was less money for household expenses (a-d only asked if problematic family drinker lived with the respondent). Respondents were also asked about four types of harm to children: verbal abuse, physical harm, supervision/safety issues and exposure to serious violence in the home because of others' drinking.
3. Questions were asked regarding the effects both of the problematic family drinker on the respondent, and the adverse effects of adults' drinking on children under the respondent's care, respondents were asked a summary question on how much harm the drinking did: "a lot," "a little," or "not at all" (following the list of specific harms).

In Child Protection Data

The AIHW publishes the numbers of cases and children in each state and territory reported to, confirmed and managed by the CPS systems (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2006; 2010; 2011; 2013b). Reports or notifications, substantiations (confirmed cases), interventions, and out-of-home care cases by primary type of abuse (neglect, physical, sexual or emotional abuse) are documented. Carer alcohol abuse, other drug abuse, or alcohol in combination with other drugs are not reported as risk factors at the national level. Although many states do record the prevalence of carer alcohol and/or other drugs risk factors, they do not report the presence of these risk factors separately, except in Victoria and in NSW (See Chapter 8 for more detail).

In service system data

The Commonwealth publishes the numbers of cases referred to the *Kids in Focus - Family Drug Support* program, but not whether the referrals are for alcohol or other types of drug problems (Department of Social Services 2013). AOD information is not published for other non-alcohol and drug specific service types provided, for example, *Communities for Children* services provided to vulnerable families for early childhood interventions, *Specialised Family Violence Services* and *Family Relationship Services for Humanitarian Entrants*.

The AODTS-NMDS provides data on whether clients were seeking help for their own or others' AOD use, however for episodes of care provided to 'others,' the PDOC is not reported.

Since 2001-02, Victoria Police has collected detailed information about family violence incidents attended by police, including information on whether alcohol was 'definitely,' 'probably' or 'not' involved.

3

EFFECTS UPON FAMILIES OF OTHERS' DRINKING: 2008 HTO SURVEY FINDINGS

Anne-Marie Laslett and Heng Jiang

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the 2008 HTO Survey (Laslett et al. 2010), more respondents reported being harmed by the drinking of strangers than by the drinking of people they knew. However, if respondents reported they were more severely harmed, they were more likely to report that they had been affected by someone they knew, for example a household member, relative or friend. Of the 2,649 respondents completing the survey, 778 people (29 per cent of the sample; 282 men and 496 women) identified that they knew at least one drinker whose drinking had negatively affected them. Women were more likely to be affected than men by the drinking of those they knew, and this was even more the case for young women (aged 18 to 29 years). Fourteen per cent of women in this age group reported that they had been substantially affected by the drinking of a household member, non-household relative, intimate partner or friend, compared to only five per cent of young men. The majority of the people who were negatively affected by the drinking of someone they knew indicated that they had been affected by a family member (including current spouse) or intimate partner (i.e. boyfriend, girlfriend or ex-partner) or relative in or outside of their household (n = 447/778, 58 per cent) (Laslett et al. 2010).

In total, 17 per cent of respondents reported that they had been affected by a relative or intimate partner in the past year: seven per cent of respondents reported that they were affected by a household member and 11 per cent by a relative or intimate partner outside the household (Laslett et al. 2010).

This chapter draws on the 2008 HTO Survey (Laslett et al. 2010) and presents more detail on how families were affected, describing which relationships respondents reported they had been affected by, as well as whether they were affected by drinkers in or outside the household. This data set still provides the most representative and recent data available on alcohol's harm to others in Australia. Chapter 3 begins to answer the first of this study's research questions: How common and what are the effects of heavy drinking upon families and children?

3.2 DETAILED ANALYSES OF THE 2008 HTO SURVEY

Table 3.1 depicts the family and intimate relationships of the people that respondents reported being affected by in and outside the household, using the whole 2008 HTO Survey sample as a baseline. Examining the individual relationship types more closely, respondents were most likely to report that the drinking of non-household siblings (4 per cent) and household partners (4 per cent) had negatively affected them. Respondents reported that harm was more likely to have been due to the drinking of a range of relationships outside the household compared to inside the household, so siblings outside the household caused more harm to the respondent because of their drinking than siblings in the household. This was also true for parents and children. Only spouses in the household were reported by respondents to more commonly cause problems because of their drinking than ex-spouses and boyfriends/girlfriends outside the household.

In this report Chi-square tests were used to examine the association between gender (of the respondent) and the household status of family members and intimate partners whose drinking had an adverse effect on the respondent. Female respondents (5 per cent) were significantly more likely to report harms from spouses/partners than male respondents (2 per cent), and this was also true for children (2 per cent versus 1 per cent) within the household. For family members not in the household, females were significantly more likely than males to report harms from parents (3 per cent versus 2 per cent), ex-partners (1 per cent versus 0.1 per cent) and others (4 per cent versus 2 per cent) because of their drinking.

Table 3.1 Percentage of respondents identifying family members whose drinking has negatively affected them (2008 HTO Survey)

	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL %
(n)	(1,089)	(1,560)	(2,649)
Household member			
Spouse/partner (n = 89)	2	5	4***
Parent (n = 6)	0.2	1	0.4
Sibling (n = 4)	0	1	0.3
Child (n = 37)	1	2	2**
Other ^a (n = 16)	2	1	1
Subtotal affected by any household member ^b (n=152)	5	9	7***
Subtotal affected "a lot" by any household member (n=65)	1	4	3***
Family members not in the household			
Parent (n = 61)	2	3	3*
Sibling (n = 92)	3	5	4
Child (n = 63)	2	3	2
Ex-partner (n = 11)	0.1	1	0.3*
Boy/girlfriend (n = 20)	0.4	1	1
Other ^c (n = 84)	2	4	3**
Subtotal affected by any family member not in the household ^d (n = 331)	8	15	12**
Subtotal affected "a lot" by any family member not in the household (n = 91)	2	5	3***
Total affected by family members and intimate partners in or outside the household (n = 447)	12	21	17***
Total affected "a lot" by family members and intimate partners in or outside the household (n = 161)	3	8	6***

Note: n = 2,649; Boy/girlfriend includes current (n = 16) and ex-boy/girlfriend (n = 4).

^a The 'other' group includes male and female friends and other types of relationships in the household.

^b 7 respondents reported they were negatively affected by more than one household member.

^c Here the 'other' group includes grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, nieces, and other male and female relatives.

^d 43 respondents reported they were negatively affected by more than one non-household family member.

Percentages in this table were calculated on the total sample of 2,649 respondents

Differences by gender in each relationship type (row) were tested for significance with Chi-square (χ^2) tests, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001, using all female and all male respondents as corresponding denominators.

Examining the figures for those respondents who reported being negatively affected "a lot" by a family member's or intimate partner's drinking, three per cent of respondents reported substantial harm in the household, and the same percentage (3 per cent) reported substantial harm from family members and intimate partners outside the household.

Of the 447 respondents affected by a family member's drinking, 17 per cent (n = 74) reported that they had been negatively affected by two or more heavy drinkers in their lives. Respondents who nominated more than one such person were then asked about whose drinking they had been most adversely affected by in the last year. Only one person of the 447 respondents negatively affected by a drinker who was a household member, family member or intimate partner indicated that another person's drinking (e.g. that of a co-worker or friend) had affected them more than their family member or partner's drinking.

The denominator for all subsequent tables is the 446 respondents who reported that the person whose drinking most negatively affected them was a family member or intimate partners, and this drinker is abbreviated in tables as the 'problematic family drinker.' While this enables analyses of detailed information about the person who has affected respondents the most, it misses information about those other drinkers who have also negatively affected the respondent, as it was not possible within the constraints of a telephone survey to obtain individual socio-demographic information on every problematic family drinker in the respondent's life.

3.2.1 WHICH FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS WERE MOST AFFECTED BY OTHERS' DRINKING?

Among the 446 respondents negatively affected by a family member's drinking, 34 per cent nominated someone in their household, and almost twice as many (66 per cent) identified a family member or intimate partner outside their household as having most negatively affected them (see Table 3.2). A total of 28 per cent named a current or ex-spouse/partner, 14 per cent identified a parent, 19 per cent a child, 20 per cent a sibling, 17 per cent indicated another relative and three per cent indicated that a boyfriend or girlfriend was responsible. A higher proportion of males reported being affected by siblings compared with females, however, a higher proportion of females reported being affected by a spouse or partner than male respondents.

Table 3.3 compares the mean age of respondents and the problematic family drinker. There were no statistical differences between the mean ages of the respondents and the family members that had most negatively affected the respondents, suggesting that people tend to be affected by drinkers of similar ages to themselves (except in parent-child relationships).

The ages of the problematic family drinker reported upon by the respondents in various relationships were generally similar, with expected differences in age between parents and children. The mean age (30 years) of the problematic family drinker who were the children of respondents was higher than expected, indicating that many older respondents were reporting on 'children' who had reached adulthood some time ago.

Table 3.2 Family relationships with the person whose drinking most affected the respondent by respondent gender

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Relationship type—family member						
Spouse/partner	16	15	60	20	76	18
Parent	19	14	46	13	65	14
Sibling	28	23	57	19	85	20
Child	23	17	62	19	85	19
Ex-partner	17	10	35	9	52	10
Boyfriend/girlfriend	5	3	10	4	15	3
Other relative	19	19	49	16	68	17
Subtotal all family members (n = 446)	127	100	319	100	446	100
Family member in the household	31	34	94	34	125	34
Family member not in the household	96	66	225	66	321	66

Note: n = 446

Table 3.3 Comparing respondent and problematic family drinker (PFD) mean ages[#]

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	RESP MEAN AGE	PFD MEAN AGE	RESP MEAN AGE	PFD MEAN AGE	RESP MEAN AGE	PFD MEAN AGE
Relationship type—family member						
Spouse/partner (n = 76)	43	41	41	43	42	42
Parent (n = 65)	32	59***	38	66***	36	64***
Sibling (n = 85)	45	46	40	44	42	45
Child (n = 85)	59	29***	57	30***	57	30***
Ex-partner (n = 52)	36	33	36	39	40	37
Boyfriend/girlfriend (n = 15)	36	30	25	27	28	28
Other relative (n = 68)	36	40	40	41	38	41
Subtotal family members (n = 446)	42	42	42	43	42	42
Family member in the household (n = 125)	41	38	41	38	41	38*
Family member not in the household (n = 321)	43	43	43	45	43	44

Note: n = 446; PFD is the problematic family drinker, i.e. the family member or intimate partner that most affected the respondent; Resp is the respondent.

Two sample t-tests were conducted to compare the difference in the mean ages of the PFDs and affected respondents across different family relationships; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.

[#]The age of the drinker who had most negatively affected the respondent was obtained in categories and not in years. The midpoints of the age category was used as the PFD's age. For the category <20 years, age 15 was used. In another analysis not shown here, 19 years was used as the average age of category <20 years, assuming that the problematic drinkers were drinking legally (in age of 18-20). There was very little difference between these two analyses, with a change in only one category: the mean age of problematic boy/girlfriends increased by one year using the second method.

3.2.2 DRINKING PATTERN

Respondents consistently reported that the problematic family drinker in their lives commonly drank heavily, with reports of consumption averaging around 11 to 14 drinks about three to five times a week (see Table 3.4). There was little apparent (and no significant) difference between relationship types in the number of drinks that respondents reported these problematic family drinkers were drinking. For example, spouses, siblings and boyfriends/girlfriends all drank an estimated 13 standard drinks in heavy drinking sessions. This suggests that regardless of relationship type, this level of drinking by family members and intimate partners appears to be problematic for respondents.

Table 3.4 Drinking patterns of problematic family drinkers

	THE AVERAGE NO. OF DAYS PER WEEK THE PFD IS DRINKING 5+ STANDARD DRINKS [CIs]	THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF STANDARD DRINKS THE PFD DRINKS IN A HEAVY DRINKING SESSION [CIs]
Relationship type—family member		
Spouse/partner (n = 76)	3 [2, 4]	13 [11, 14]
Parent (n = 65)	4 [4, 5]	11 [9, 12]
Sibling (n = 85)	4 [4, 5]	13 [11, 14]
Child (n = 85)	3 [3, 4]	12 [11, 14]
Ex-partner (n = 52)	4 [3, 5]	12 [10, 14]
Boyfriend/girlfriend (n = 15)	3 [2, 5]	13 [10, 17]
Other relative (n = 68)	5 [4, 5]	14 [13, 16]
Subtotal family members (n = 446)	4 [4, 4]	13 [12, 13]
Family member in the household (n = 125)	3 [3, 4]	13 [12, 14]
Family member not in the household (n = 321)	4 [4, 5]	12 [12, 13]

Note: n = 446; 95% CIs = Confidence Intervals

3.2.3 EXTENT OF HARM

The 446 respondents reporting most harm from a problematic family drinker were also asked the extent to which they were harmed by that drinker including whether they had been affected “a lot,” “a little,” or “not at all” by the drinking of that person. Table 3.5 shows the percentages of these respondents that reported being affected “a lot” by the relationship of the problematic drinker to them. Respondents were most likely to report that they were affected “a lot” by their ex-partners’, children’s and partners’ drinking. Females were significantly more likely than males to report that they had been affected “a lot” by spouse/partner and child relationships and family relationships overall both within and outside the household.

Table 3.5 Respondents affected “a lot” by a problematic family drinker

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	“A LOT”		“A LOT”		“A LOT”	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Relationship type—family member						
Spouse/partner	16	6	60	48	76	36***
Parent	19	18	46	38	65	31
Sibling	28	34	57	31	85	32
Child	23	15	62	48	85	38**
Ex-partner	17	22	35	52	52	41
Boyfriend/girlfriend	5	0	10	33	15	24
Other relative	19	24	49	36	68	32
Subtotal all family members (n = 446)	127	21	319	41	446	34***
Family member in the household	31	13	94	45	125	34***
Family member not in the household *	96	24	225	39	321	34***

Note: n = 446; Difference by gender in ‘harmed a lot from family members’ is tested for significance with Chi-square (χ^2) tests, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

% The percentage of respondents most negatively affected by this relationships who reported that they had been negatively affected “a lot” (compared to “a little” or “not at all”).

Less than 5 per cent of respondents reported they “could not say” how much this drinking had negatively affected them, these respondents have been excluded from this table.

3.2.4 TYPES OF HARMS EXPERIENCED

In addition to information about the level of harm experienced because of the problematic family drinker’s drinking, respondents were asked a series of questions concerning whether specific problematic events had occurred or conditions had prevailed in the last year due to the drinking of that person. Table 3.6 provides a breakdown of the ways in which respondents had been negatively affected by the drinking of the problematic family drinker, by respondent’s gender and whether they lived with the drinker or not. Ten items were asked of all these respondents, and an additional four items asked only of respondents who indicated they resided in the same household as the person whose drinking had most negatively affected them.

Among the 446 respondents, the most commonly reported harm from the problematic family drinker was being involved in a “serious argument that did not involve physical violence” (63 per cent). Almost three-quarters (74 per cent) of those who lived with the problematic family drinker reported a serious argument. This harm was also common amongst those affected by the dividing of non-household problematic family drinkers.

The majority (66 per cent) of the 446 respondents also reported that that they had been “emotionally hurt or neglected” because of their family member’s or intimate partner’s drinking, and that that person’s drinking “had negatively affected a social occasion” (65 per cent). A larger percentage of female (56 per cent) than male respondents (43 per cent) reported that the problematic family drinker had “failed to do something they were being counted on to do” because of their drinking, regardless of whether they lived

with this family member (57 per cent for females compared to 39 per cent for males) or not (51 per cent for females compared to 41 per cent for males). More than two in five respondents (43 per cent) not living with the problematic family drinker reported that they “stopped seeing” the drinker (suggesting that it was easier for respondents to stop seeing the drinker if they did not live with them, although a proportion of this group may have previously lived with the respondent and be describing a permanent change). Twenty-seven per cent of respondents reported “feeling threatened” as a result of the family member’s drinking, but only small percentages reported being physically hurt, being put at risk in a car or being forced or pressured into sex.

Within households, women were more likely than men to report that the problematic family drinker’s drinking had negatively affected them in each of the specified ways, with the exception of two harms: “did you have to stop seeing them” (16 per cent vs 12 per cent) and “did they negatively affect a social occasion” (58 per cent versus 53 per cent). Over 90 per cent of men and women who felt they were adversely affected by a family member’s drinking reported at least one of these specific effects. Interestingly, respondents tended to be more likely to report at least one of these harms if they were describing the behaviour of a family member outside rather than within the household (94 per cent versus 89 per cent).

Table 3.6 Harms experienced due to the drinking of the problematic family drinker, by gender and household status

CONCRETE HARMS EXPERIENCED BY RESPONDENTS	HOUSEHOLD			NON-HOUSEHOLD			TOTAL		
	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL %	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL %	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL %
(n)	(31)	(94)	(125)	(96)	(225)	(321)	(127)	(319)	(446)
Did you have a serious argument that did not include physical violence	74	75	74	62	57	59	65	63	63
Did you feel threatened	19	30	27	27	27	27	25	28	27
Were you emotionally hurt or neglected	52	76	71	57	66	64	56	70	66
Were you physically hurt by them	<5	7	6	5	6	6	5	7	6
Did you have to stop seeing them	16	12	13	39	41	43	34	34	34
Were you put at risk in the car when they were driving	<5	6	6	5	<5	<5	5	<5	<5
Were you forced or pressured into sex/ something sexual	<5	5	5	<5	<5	<5	<5	<5	<5
Did they negatively affect a social occasion you were at	58	53	54	65	70	69	63	65	65
Did they fail to do something they were being counted on to do	39	57	53	41	51	52	43	56	52
Did they break or damage something that mattered to you	10	23	20	14	15	15	13	17	16
Could you not bring friends home	<5	22	18				13	25	22
Did they not do their share of work around the house	26	45	40				35	45	42
Did you have to leave home and stay somewhere else	10	16	14				17	21	20
Was there less money for household expenses	16	36	32				31	40	37
Total - experienced at least one specific harm	82	89	89	94	95	94	92	93	92

Note: n = 446; Respondents who reported that they did not live with the drinker who had most negatively affected them were only asked about the first 10 harm items.

Respondents reported that they were generally harmed in similar ways, regardless of their relationship with the problematic family drinker with some exceptions (see Table 3.7). For example, “stopped seeing” the drinker was most commonly reported by respondents who were most negatively affected by an ex-partner (64 per cent), parent (49 per cent) or sibling (47 per cent), whereas only 11 per cent of respondents who were most negatively affected by a partner’s drinking reported this item. Overall, respondents were more likely to report they were harmed in almost all of these ways by ex-partners and partners than by other relationships.

Table 3.7 Harms experienced due to the drinking of the problematic family drinker, by family relationship

CONCRETE HARMS EXPERIENCED BY RESPONDENTS	PARTNER %	EX-PARTNER %	PARENT %	SIBLING %	CHILD %
(n)	(76)	(52)	(65)	(85)	(85)
Did you have a serious argument that did not include physical violence	78	76	68	59	56
Did you feel threatened	33	44	23	26	22
Were you emotionally hurt or neglected	78	73	63	69	60
Were you physically hurt by them	7	<5	<5	<5	15
Did you have to stop seeing them	11	64	49	47	18
Were you put at risk in the car when they were driving	11	7	<5	<5	<5
Were you forced or pressured into sex/ something sexual	10	10	0	0	0
Did they negatively affect a social occasion you were at	63	70	68	72	45
Did they fail to do something they were being counted on to do	45	66	31	61	60
Did they break or damage something that mattered to you	16	23	6	10	21
Total - experienced at least one specific harm	94	97	95	97	86

Note: n = 446.

3.2.5 ESTIMATES OF HARM FROM FAMILY MEMBERS' DRINKING

Table 3.8 includes information on all those respondents affected most by family members’ drinking and uses the total 2008 HTO Survey sample as the baseline. The figures have been extrapolated to provide estimates of the Australian population affected.

Table 3.8 Harm because of a problematic family drinker - Australian estimates extrapolated from 2008 HTO Survey data

Survey respondents (n = 2,649)	FAMILY HARM	
	(n)	%
No	2,203	84
Yes	446	17
Negatively affected “a lot”	224	8
Population level estimates (2008)^a		
Negatively affected “a lot” or “a little”		2,791,964
Substantial harms (“a lot”)		1,300,727

^a The Australian population for age 18-years and above was 16,423,316 in 2008 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008).

3.3 CONCLUSION

In 2008, an estimated 2,791,964 Australians (17 per cent of the adult population) were negatively affected “a lot” or “a little” by a family member or intimate partner’s drinking. This number includes an estimated 1,300,727 Australians who were substantially negatively affected (“a lot”) by that person’s drinking.

Of the 446 respondents in the 2008 HTO Survey who reported that a family member’s or intimate partner’s drinking had affected them most:

- Twenty eight per cent named a named a current or ex-spouse/partner, 14 per cent a parent, 19 per cent a child, 20 per cent a sibling, 17 per cent another relative, and three per cent indicated a boyfriend or girlfriend was responsible.
- Thirty four per cent lived in the same household as the drinker.
- Women (41 per cent) were more likely to report that they had been negatively affected “a lot” by the family member’s drinking than men (21 per cent).
- Ninety two per cent reported experiencing one or more incidents of specific harm: being emotionally hurt or neglected (66 per cent), having a social occasion negatively affected (65 per cent) and being involved in a serious argument (63 per cent) because of a family member’s drinking were the three most common specified harms reported.

4

EFFECTS OF OTHERS' DRINKING ON CHILDREN: 2008 HTO SURVEY FINDINGS

Anne-Marie Laslett and Heng Jiang

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws on and adds to the reported data from the 2008 HTO Survey (Laslett et al. 2010), examining in detail a range of problems carers report their children experiencing because of others' drinking. In the 2010 HTO Report (Laslett et al. 2010), the percentage of children that had been affected by others' drinking was contained in a single table. That information is included here but has been expanded upon as one of the major foci of this report. The baseline here is the 1,142 carers who reported harm to their child/ren. Confidence intervals (in square brackets) have been included to provide an estimate of the variability around the prevalence figures. Chapter 4 continues to address the first of this study's research questions: How common and what are the effects of heavy drinking upon families and children?

In the 2010 HTO Report, the harms to children reported were, in the first instance, based on key markers from response agencies for which statistics were available – Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS), child abuse, child deaths and hospitalisations. The study also used survey responses to measure the prevalence of more widespread harms to children as a result of others' drinking. Respondents who reported either that they lived in a household with children (under 18 years) or that they had responsibility for children but did not live with them (e.g. a father or mother not currently living with the child or children) are termed 'carers'. In response to specific questions about harms children in their families experienced, carers most commonly reported that in the previous 12 months children were yelled at, criticised or verbally abused (8 per cent) because of others' drinking. Smaller percentages reported witnessing serious violence in the home (3 per cent), that children were left unsupervised or in unsafe situations because of others' drinking (3 per cent) or that children were physically hurt because of others' drinking (1 per cent). In response to a more general question in the 2008 HTO Survey, 17 per cent of carers reported that the drinking of other people had negatively affected their child or children "a little" (14 per cent) or "a lot" (3 per cent) in the past year (Laslett et al. 2010).

4.2 HOW WERE CHILDREN AFFECTED BY OTHERS' DRINKING?

Table 4.1 highlights the information provided in the 2010 HTO Report and sums the specific and negative harms carers reported children experiencing. It combines the responses concerning specific harms and the overall judgement and indicates that over one in five carers (22 per cent) reported that their children had been affected in some way.

Interestingly, there was a considerable discrepancy between the listed harms and the response to the general question. This suggests that carers may be concerned by other negative effects aside from the specific items listed in Table 4.1. Some of the other negative effects upon children that carers reported in the 2012 qualitative interviews undertaken for this study are described in Chapter 6.

Table 4.1 Harm to children reported by carers in the 2008 HTO Survey

	ANY POSITIVE RESPONSE		
	N	%	[95% CIs]
"Because of someone else's drinking how many times in the last 12 months....."			
Were children left in an unsupervised or unsafe situation?	40	3	[2, 5]
Were children yelled at, criticised or verbally abused?	97	9	[7, 11]
Were children physically hurt?	16	1	[1, 2]
Did children witness serious violence in the home?	34	3	[2, 4]
Was a protection agency or family services called?	5	0.3	[0.1, 0.8]
Carers reporting one or more of above	135	12	[10, 14]
"How much has the drinking of other people negatively affected your children/the children you are responsible for?"			
"A lot"	40	3	[2, 4]
"A little"	168	14	[12,16]
Total affected "a lot" or "a little"	208	17	[15,19]
Specifically affected in any way or affected "a lot" or "a little"	258	22	[19, 24]

Note: n = 1,142; The denominator includes respondents in families with children whether within or outside the household.

The figure for the number of positive response in the last row is the any positive response from the four harm, including 'Children were left in an unsupervised or unsafe situation', 'Were yelled at, criticised or verbally abused', 'Children were physically hurt', 'Did children witness serious violence in the home', or overall level of harm, including affected "a lot" or "a little".

Table 4.2 uses the figures in Table 4.1 to produce population estimates. A total of three per cent of carers reported that their children were harmed "a lot" by someone else's drinking. Applying this percentage to the number of Australian families, and multiplying by the average number of children per household, an estimated 142,582 children were harmed "a lot" by others' drinking in 2008. Overall, an estimated 1,045,598 children were affected by others' drinking at least "a little" or in a specific way in the past year.

Table 4.2 Australian population estimate of negative or specific harm to children because of others' drinking

	CHILD HARM
Number of children negatively affected or affected in specified ways	1,045,598 ^a
Number of children negatively affected a lot	142,582 ^b

The number of Australian families with children was 2,576,000 in 2006-07, and the average number of children per family was 1.845 according to the Family Characteristics Survey (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011).

^aThis figure was computed by multiplying the number of Australian families × 0.22 (percentage of children who were harmed negatively or in a specified way) × 1.845 (the average number of children in one family).

^bThis figure was computed by multiplying the number of Australian families × 0.03 (percentage of children who were harmed a lot) × 1.845 (the average number of children in one family).

Table 4.3 focuses upon the frequency of occurrence of specific alcohol-related harms to children, presenting the mean and median number of incidents reported by those who reported any harm of that type. Thus, according to the 40 carers who reported their children had been left unsupervised, this occurred an average of five times in the previous 12 months, and half of this group experienced this two or more times. A child or children being yelled at, criticised or verbally abused – the most common type of harm reported (9 per cent) – occurred an average of 14 times over the year.

The median figures suggest that a majority of the children who do experience specific harms from others’ drinking only experience these harms once or twice a year. The average numbers presented are skewed by the high incidence of harms to children reported by a few respondents.

Table 4.3 Number, percent, mean and median of specific alcohol-related harms to children and overall frequency of these harms reported by carers

	n	%	MEAN	MEDIAN
Unsupervised	40	3	5.3	2
Verbally abused	97	9	13.7	2
Physically abused	16	1	3.7	2
Domestic violence exposure	34	3	3.2	1
Sum of specific harms	135	12	12.4	3

Note: n = 135

Table 4.4 includes only those carers who reported they have children in the household, and indicates that respondents were statistically significantly more likely to report that their children had been affected by others’ drinking in any way if they had older children (13 to 17 years) than if they had children in the younger age group (0 to 12 years). However, for the specific measures of harm, the differences in prevalence between these age groups were not significant (i.e. the confidence intervals overlapped). There was also no statistically significant difference by age in the subjective judgements of whether carers’ children had been affected “a lot” or “a little” (although these differences approached significance).

Table 4.4 Harms to children reported by carers with children aged under 12 years only, 13-17 years only, and in both age groups (numbers and percentages)

ANY POSITIVE RESPONSE	CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN THE HOUSEHOLD					
	CHILDREN AGED 0-12 ONLY		CHILDREN AGED 13-17 ONLY		CHILDREN AGED BOTH 0-12 AND 13-17	
	n=580	% [95% CIs]	n=241	% [95% CIs]	n=214	% [95% CIs]
Specific harms						
"Because of someone else's drinking how many times in the last 12 months were children...."						
Unsupervised	17	2 [1, 4]	12	5 [3, 9]	7	2 [1, 6]
Verbally abused	40	7 [5, 9]	24	11 [7, 16]	23	11 [7, 16]
Physically abused	7	1 [1, 2]	5	1 [0.4, 3]	<5	1 [0.3, 6]
Exposed to domestic violence	14	2 [1, 4]	5	2 [1, 4]	6	2 [1, 4]
Carers reporting one or more of above	56	13 [11, 17]	34	21 [16, 27]	31	16 [11, 21]
"How much has the drinking of other people negatively affected your children/the children you are responsible for?"						
"A lot"	14	2 [1, 4]	15	6 [3, 9]	7	3 [1, 7]
"A little"	72	11 [9, 14]	43	15 [11, 21]	31	13 [9, 18]
Total affected "a lot" or "a little"	86	13 [11, 17]	58	21 [16, 27]	38	16 [11, 21]
Specifically affected in any way or affected "a lot" or "a little"	107	17 [14, 20]	73	28 [22, 35]	52	22 [17, 29]

Note: n=1035; The total denominator for percentages is 1035 and includes all respondents in families with children in the household. A small number of cases (n=10) are missing because the age of the children was not specified.

Overall, carers with children in the household were not significantly more or less likely to report that their children had been affected by others' drinking than those whose children were not in the household. However, carers with children both in and out of the household were more likely to report that their children had been affected by one or more specific types of harm (Table 4.5). This group of carers was more likely to report that their children had been verbally abused because of others' drinking than those carers with children in the household only (21 per cent versus 7 per cent). Somewhat counter-intuitively, carers with children outside the household were more likely to report that their children witnessed violence in the home because of others' drinking than those with children in the household (10 per cent versus 2 per cent). However, this may be a reflection of a carer's decision to leave a household or the complexities associated with split families where problematic alcohol use is a factor.

Table 4.5 Harms to children reported by the carers that have children living in the household only, children not living in the household only and that have both children living with and not with them

	CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD			CHILDREN NOT IN HOUSEHOLD			CHILDREN BOTH IN AND NOT IN HOUSEHOLD		
	n=957	%	% [95% CIs]	n=107	%	% [95% CIs]	n=78	%	% [95% CIs]
"Because of someone else's drinking how many times in the last 12 months were children....."									
Unsupervised	29	3	[2, 4]	4	6	[2, 16]	7	7	[3, 14]
Verbally abused	71	7	[6, 10]	10	10	[6, 20]	16	21	[13, 33]
Physically abused	11	1	[1, 2]	2	2	[0.4, 8]	3	3	[1, 2]
Exposed to domestic violence	18	2	[0.1, 3]	9	10	[5, 19]	7	3	[2, 4]
Carers reporting one or more of above	98	10	[8, 13]	14	14	[8, 24]	23	27	[17, 39]
"How much has the drinking of other people negatively affected your children/the children you are responsible for?"									
"A lot"	27	2	[2, 4]	4	4	[2, 10]	9	11	[6, 22]
"A little"	129	12	[10, 15]	22	23	[15, 34]	17	20	[12, 31]
Total affected "a lot" or "a little"	156	15	[12, 17]	26	27	[19, 38]	26	31	[21, 43]
Specifically affected in any way or affected "a lot" or "a little"	197	19	[17, 22]	26	27	[19, 38]	35	40	[28, 52]

Note: The denominator is 1,142 and includes those carers in families with children in or out of the household.

4.3 WHICH RELATIONSHIPS AFFECTED CHILDREN?

Table 4.6 describes which relationships were reported to be responsible for harms to children, as described by the 135 carers who reported that their child or children had been negatively affected in one of the specified ways.³ Almost half (46 per cent) of the carers who reported that their child had been negatively affected by others' drinking identified that the drinker's relationship to the child was a parent (n = 58), step-parent or the carer's partner or ex-partner (n = 8), or the child's guardian (n = 2). As carers could report more than one type of harm, the total number of alcohol-related harms due to the drinking of someone in a parental or quasi-parental relationship with the child reported in the year prior to survey completion is 101.

Of the carers who reported children having been negatively affected, 12 per cent reported that their children were negatively affected by the drinking of siblings and 15 per cent reported that they were affected by other family members and relatives. Fifteen per cent of carers reported that their children were affected by family friends or people their child was in contact with, such as a coach, teacher or priest, and 12 per cent reported that they had been affected by unspecified others. A small number of carers (3) reported that their children had been affected by more than one relationship.

Around half (51 per cent) of the incidents of harms to children from all relationship types were forms of verbal abuse, with this figure varying from 46 per cent for 'other' relationships to 56 per cent for siblings. Reports of children being physically hurt were also more common when the drinker was a sibling than for other relationships.

³ Respondents in the 2008 survey were not asked questions which allowed for the possibility that their own drinking had negatively affected their children. Only respondents who reported that their children had been negatively affected in one of the specific ways listed were asked about the relationship of the drinker to the child who was harmed.

In Table 4.6, the ratio (X/Y) represents how many harms carers reported on average by relationship type. As can be seen, the average number of harms reported was similar across the relationship types, with the average number of harms ranging from 1.2 for 'other relative' to 1.5 for 'parent-like' and 'other' relationships. The average number of types of harms reported to be because of parents' and others' drinking was slightly higher than the average number reported to be because of the drinking of siblings, other relatives or family friends.

Table 4.6 Specific alcohol-related harms to children by relationship of drinker, and percentage of harms attributed to each relationship

RELATIONSHIP	PARENT-LIKE ^a	SIBLINGS	OTHER RELATIVE	FAMILY FRIEND	OTHER	ANY
(n carers) Y	(68)	(12)	(19)	(25)	(14)	(135 ^b)
% of carers	46	12	15	15	12	100
(n types of harm reported) [#] X	(101)	(18)	(23)	(31)	(22)	(195)
"Because of someone else's drinking how many times in the last 12 months were children....."						
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Verbally abused	52	56	48	52	46	51
Exposed to domestic violence	17	11	30	10	23	17
Unsupervised	21	17	17	26	23	21
Physically abused	7	17	0	13	9	8
Were child protection/family services called?	4	0	4	0	0	3
Ratio X/Y	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.4

Notes: n=195 (this is the number of harms reported, not the number of respondents).

^a Parent like includes parent (n=58), step-parent, and spouse or partner or ex-partner (n=8) of the child's parent, or the child's guardian (n=2).

^b Three carers reported their children were harmed by other's drinking from two types of relationships.

[#] The number of specific types of harm (Note: this is not the frequency of harm. For example, if a carer reported verbal harm and physical harm from a carer they are included once in the n carers cell and twice in the n types of harms cell, regardless of the number of times they reported the child was verbally or physically harmed).

4.4 REPORTING OF HARM TO ONE'S SELF AND ONE'S CHILDREN

Chapters 3 and 4 describe how respondents themselves were harmed by problematic family drinkers' drinking and whether children were harmed. This section of the report explores the extent of overlap between these elements – how respondents report both their children and themselves have been harmed.

Table 4.7 presents more detailed information on a subset of families and indicates that 219 (92 + 127) or 15 per cent of carers from the 1,130⁴ families with children reported that they themselves had been adversely affected “a lot” or “a little” by another family member’s drinking. This table also shows that 109 (13 + 96) carers reported that a child in their family had been adversely affected “a lot” or “a little” (but they themselves had not been), and that 120 (35 + 85) carers had been affected but their children had not been. A total of 99 carers (27 + 72) reported that they and a child in their family had been affected by other family members’ drinking. Overall, 27 per cent or 328 (109 + 120 + 99) of the 1,130 carers from these families with children were either adversely affected by the drinking of a family member, or were responsible for a child who was negatively affected by others’ drinking, or both.

Table 4.7 Cross tabulation of harm to respondent and harm to children, among respondents caring for children (2008 HTO survey)

HARM FROM FAMILY	CHILDREN NEGATIVELY AFFECTED					
RESPONDENT NEGATIVELY AFFECTED	“A LOT”	“A LITTLE”	SUBTOTAL (“A LOT” OR “A LITTLE”)	“NOT AT ALL”	TOTAL	%
“A lot”	25	32	55	35	92	7
“A little”	2	40	42	85	127	10
<i>Subtotal (affected)</i>	27	72	99	120	219	17
Not at all	13	96	109	802	911	82
Total	40	168	208	922	1,130	100

Note: n = 1,130

Examining these data differently, of the 219 carers who reported they themselves were harmed by a family member, 99 carers (44 per cent) reported that their children were also harmed. Of the 208 carers who reported that their children were harmed, 99 (46 per cent) reported that they themselves had also been harmed. There was a statistically significant relationship between harm to the carer from a family member’s drinking and harm to children ($\chi^2(1) = 129.8, p < 0.001$). If a family member’s drinking had negatively affected the carer, the odds of reporting harm to children were almost six times the odds of reporting harm to children as if carer did not report being harmed (OR = 6.35, CIs [4.39, 9.18]). However, there was no statistically significant relationship between carers reporting “a lot” of harm from a family member and carers reporting that their children had been harmed “a lot” by others’ drinking (although numbers are small in these cells for comparison).

The highlighted cells in Table 4.8 illustrate that in over two-thirds (69 per cent) of the cases where both the carer and the child were negatively affected “a lot” or “a little” it is likely to be a person of the same relationship type within the household that is affecting the child and most affecting the carer. However, this may be an overestimate of overlap: for example, the drinking of a current spouse may be affecting the carer and the drinking of an ex-spouse may be affecting the child or vice versa. There are also multiple children/siblings in many families and not all respondents identified which relationship had affected the child.

⁴ Total does not equal 1,142 because 12 people could not say whether they had been affected or not.

Table 4.8 Relationship of persons whose drinking affected the child and the carer

HARM FROM FAMILY	CHILDREN NEGATIVELY AFFECTED BY			
RESPONDENT NEGATIVELY AFFECTED	CARER*	SIBLING	RELATIVES	TOTAL
Spouse, partner or ex-partner	25	1	2	28
Children	5	5	1	11
Relatives	7	1	7	15
Total	37	7	10	54

Note: n = 54; * Carer includes parent, step-parent, and spouse or partner or ex-partner of the child's parent.

Table 4.9 includes information on all those affected (or whose children were affected) by family members' drinking and uses the total sample n = 2,649 as the baseline. These figures have been extrapolated to provide estimates of the Australian population affected. Overall, 22 per cent of all respondents in the 2008 HTO Survey reported that they themselves or a child in their family had been affected by others' drinking. This finding is equivalent to an estimated 3,613,130 Australian adults being affected by a family member's drinking or reporting that their child had been affected by other's drinking. Furthermore, around four per cent of all respondents (equivalent to an estimated 706,202 Australian adults) reported that both they and one or more children in their families had been affected by others' drinking.

Table 4.9 Population estimates of harm to carers and children due to a family member's drinking

	FAMILY HARM		EITHER CHILDREN OR FAMILY HARM		BOTH CHILDREN AND FAMILY HARM	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
No	2,203	84	2,068	78	2,526	96
Yes	446	17	581	22	123	4
Negatively affected "a lot"	224	8	234	8	30	1
Population estimates	n		n		n	
Negatively affected "a little" or "a lot"	2,791,964		3,613,130		706,202	
Negatively affected "a lot"	1,300,727		1,369,705		154,379	

Note: n = 2,649

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter of the report underlines that:

- One in five carers (22 per cent) reported that their children had been affected in some way by others' drinking in the last year.
- Twelve per cent of carers reported that their children were verbally abused, left in an unsupervised or unsafe situation, physically hurt or exposed to domestic violence because of others' drinking in 2008.
- The harm children are reported to have experienced is most often verbal abuse and described as "a little" harm rather than "a lot."
- Among respondents who reported that their children were affected, the median number of times their children were affected in the last 12 months was three.
- Overall, respondents were more likely to report that older children experienced harm of any type than younger children.
- Respondents with responsibility for children both within and outside their households were more likely to report harm of any type to their children than respondents with children within their household only.

Almost half (46 per cent) of the 135 respondents whose children had been affected in one or more of the specified ways reported that a child in the family was affected by the drinking of their parent, step-parent, or the carer's partner or ex-partner, or the child's guardian. Twelve per cent of respondents also reported that their children were negatively affected by the drinking of siblings, and 15 per cent reported that they were affected by other family members and relatives. Fifteen per cent of carers reported that their children were affected by family friends or people their child was in contact with, such as a coach, teacher or priest, and 12 per cent reported that they had been affected by unspecified others. A small number of respondents reported that their children had been affected by more than one relationship.

The final section of this chapter described the substantial overlap between harms to children and to the respondent:

- Twenty-two per cent of all respondents in the 2008 HTO Survey (equivalent to an estimated 3,613,130 Australian adults) reported that they themselves or a child in their family had been affected by others' drinking.
- Furthermore, around four per cent of all respondents (equivalent to an estimated 706,202 Australian adults) reported that both they and one or more children in their families had been affected by others' drinking.

5

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN ALCOHOL'S HARM TO FAMILIES AND CHILDREN OVER TIME

Anne-Marie Laslett, Heng Jiang, Sarah Callinan

5.1 INTRODUCTION

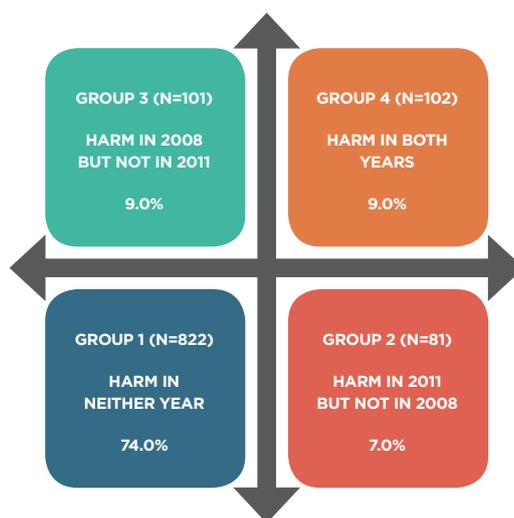
In 2011 a follow-up study of those interviewed in the 2008 HTO Survey was conducted to examine factors predicting whether the effects of others' drinking were transient or persistent. These results were published in *Beyond the drinker: Longitudinal patterns in alcohol's to others* (Laslett et al. 2015). This chapter focuses on answering the research question: To what extent do the effects upon children and families persist or change over time? The first consideration is the effects upon an adult family member (i.e. the respondent) and then effects reported by carers on the children in their families are examined.

5.2 HOW FAMILIES WERE AFFECTED BY OTHERS' DRINKING IN THE HTO SURVEYS

Figure 5.1 describes how respondents' experience of harm from a problematic family drinker changed (or did not change) between 2008 and 2011. The problematic family drinker responsible for any harm reported in 2011 may or may not be the same individual identified in 2008.

The majority of respondents (74 per cent) reported that they were not harmed by family members' drinking at either time point. Nine per cent of respondents reported in both surveys that they had been negatively affected by family members' drinking. Seven per cent of respondents reported new harms in 2011 because of family members' drinking, nine per cent of respondents reported that the problems they experienced in 2008 were no longer while present.

Figure 5.1 Persistence, initiation and discontinuation of harm from family members' drinking between 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys (n = 1,106)



Another way to look at this is to say that 50 per cent of respondents (102/203) harmed by a family member's drinking in 2008 reported they were also, or still, being harmed by the drinking of a family member in 2011. The incidence of new cases of harm (initiation) in 2011 was nine per cent (81/903).

As Table 5.1 shows, there were significant differences in patterns of harm over time according to the gender of the respondent. For instance, 81 per cent of males did not experience harm from a family member in either year, compared to 70 per cent of females. Eleven per cent of females experienced persistent harm in both years, whereas harm persisted for only six per cent of males.

Multivariate logistic regression was used to test whether individual respondent characteristics in Table 5.1⁵ (e.g., gender, after adjusting for the other variables in the models) predicted the experience of the four

⁵ Odds ratios not shown in Table 5.1

harm outcomes (i.e. absence of harm, initiation, discontinuation and persistence of harm). Apart from gender, there were no significant differences between the four groups in terms of socio-demographic characteristics in the reporting of harms to respondents from a family member's drinking. With regard to gender, women were significantly more likely to report initiation, discontinuation and persistence of harm from a family member's drinking than men.

Table 5.1 Percentage of respondents reporting alcohol-related harms from family members by socio-demographic characteristics (percentage across in four right-hand columns)

VARIABLES	N IN SUB-SAMPLE	NEITHER YEAR (ABSENCE)	2011 ONLY (INITIATION)	2008 ONLY (DISCONTINUATION)	BOTH YEARS (PERSISTENCE)
(n)	(1,106)	(822)	(81)	(101)	(102)
Gender of respondents					
Male	485	81	6	7	6
Female	645	70***	8**	11*	11**
Age 2008^a					
18-35	119	75	7	11	8
36 and over	987	74	7	9	9
Neighbourhood affluence^b					
Disadvantaged	561	74	7	10	9
Less disadvantaged	541	75	7	8	10
Household status 2008^c					
Single parent and children	222	73	9	11	8
2 Carers and children	334	73	6	10	11
Other household	550	76	8	8	9
Respondent drinks 5+ at least monthly in the past year - 2008					
Yes	270	73	8	8	11
No	836	75	7	10	9
Respondent drinks 5+ at least monthly in the past year - 2011					
Yes	246	74	9	7	11
No	860	75	7	10	9

Notes: n = 1,106; *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Multivariate logistic regressions were conducted for each subcategory of harm, e.g. absence, initiation, etc. enabling the comparison of the presence of harm with absence of harm (e.g. initiation versus not harmed). Harm in neither year was compared with harm in any year. Initiation was compared with absence of harm. Discontinuation was compared with persistent harm and persistent harm was compared with no harm.

^a Age collapsed to two categories in this table because of small numbers.

^b The measure of neighbourhood affluence in this study is based on the Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) which measures how disadvantaged an area is compared with other areas in Australia (ABS, 2006) and allocates a score for each postcode. Neighbourhood affluence is measured on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is the most disadvantaged and 5 is the least disadvantaged. Here, the scale was recoded into two groups of roughly equal size, low affluence (score of 1-3) and high affluence (score of 4-5, used as the reference category).

^c Single parent and two-carer families include children under 18 years within and outside the household.

5.2.1 PREDICTING HARM TO RESPONDENTS FROM FAMILY MEMBERS IN 2011

Bivariate and multivariate logistic regression models predicting harm from family members are shown in Table 5.2. The analyses presented here use harm to respondents from family members in 2011 as a dichotomous (yes/no) outcome variable, with harm to respondents from family members in 2008 included as a predictor variable along with socio-demographic characteristics and drinkers in the respondent's social circle as predictors of harm to respondents from family members.

As the bivariate results demonstrate, respondents reporting harm from problematic family drinkers in 2008 were ten times more likely to report the same type of harm in 2011 than those who did not. Females were more likely to report harm from family members' drinking than males. Age was not significantly associated with reports of being adversely affected by family members, but the number of household heavy drinkers

and the number of non-household relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners of the respondent who were heavy drinkers in 2008 were each positively related with harm in 2011, as was an increase in the number of relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners who were heavy drinkers from 2008 to 2011.

In Model 1, in which all the demographic variables are entered, the relationship between gender and harm from family members is no longer significant. The second model, including the respondent's drinking variables and harm from family in 2008, found that an increase in the respondent's weekly number of five plus drinking occasions since 2008 was more important than his/her baseline consumption in predicting harm from family members. In Model 3, the number of household and non-household relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners who were heavy drinkers in 2008 and an increase in these two groups were significant positive predictors of harm in 2011, even after harm in 2008 was controlled for.

In Model 4, including all the variables, harm in 2008, higher numbers of household and non-household heavy drinkers and an increase in these categories between the two time points were all significant positive predictors of an increased chance of reporting harm from family members in 2011. In Models 3 and 4 the baseline number and changes over time in the number of household and non-household heavy drinkers in the respondent's life were significantly and strongly predictive of harms from family members in 2011. The inclusion of these variables weakened the relationship between harm in 2008 and harm in 2011. The three strongest predictors of harm were the number of heavy drinkers in the respondent's household at baseline, increase in the number of household heavy drinkers and whether the respondent had previously experienced harm. These findings provide the strongest evidence that respondents were significantly affected by family members in their social milieu.

Table 5.2 Harm to the respondent from family members within and outside of the household in 2011

	BIVARIATE	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4
Harm from family in 2008					
No	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)
Yes	10.25***	10.08***	10.52***	5.55***	5.94***
Respondent gender					
Male	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)			1 (Ref)
Female	1.74**	1.39			1.49
Respondent age					
18-35	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)			1 (Ref)
36 and over	1.21	1.29			1.66
Neighbourhood affluence					
Disadvantaged	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)			1 (Ref)
Less disadvantaged	1.04	1.07			1.13
Respondent 5 plus drinks per occasion in 2008 (continuous variable)	1.03		1.11		0.98
Respondent 5 plus drinks per occasion difference ^a (continuous variable)	1.16		1.26*		1.16
Household heavy drinkers	3.95***			7.49***	7.40***
RGBE ^b heavy drinkers	1.93***			4.28***	4.01***
Friends heavy drinkers	1.04*			0.96	0.98
Coworker heavy drinkers	1.03*			0.98	1.00
Household heavy drinkers difference ^a	1.42			6.97***	7.11***
RGBE ^b heavy drinkers difference ^a	1.87***			5.03***	4.93***
Friends heavy drinkers difference ^a	1.01			0.96	0.97
Coworker heavy drinkers difference ^a	0.97*			0.94	0.96

Notes: n = 1,106; *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

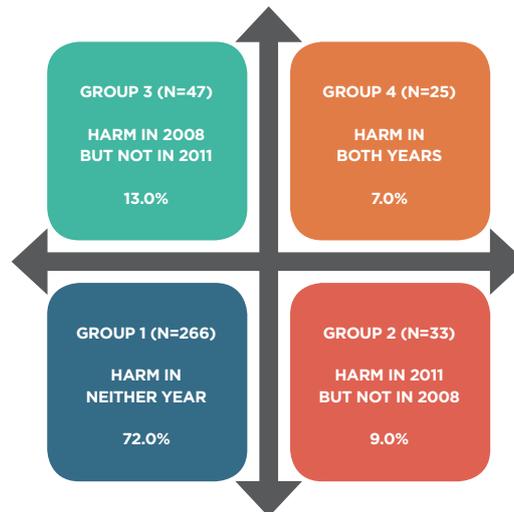
^a Difference scores = 2011 value - 2008 value for each variable.

^b RGBE = Relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners not living with the respondent.

5.3 HOW CHILDREN WERE AFFECTED BY OTHERS' DRINKING

Figure 5.2 describes how respondents reported that children in their families had been harmed in 2008 and 2011 and how these experiences changed over this time. The majority (72 per cent) of respondents who lived with or were responsible for children in both 2008 and 2011 (n = 371) reported that their children were not harmed by others' drinking at either point. Seven per cent of these respondents reported in both surveys that a child or children in their family had been negatively affected by others' drinking. Nine per cent of respondents reported new problems for their children in 2011 because of others' drinking, while 13 per cent of respondents reported that the problems experienced in 2008 were no longer present, with the situation improving more often than not.

Figure 5.2 Persistence, initiation and discontinuation of harm to children from others' drinking between 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys (n = 371)



Note: n = 371, including all respondents who lived with or were responsible for children in both 2008 and 2011.

Another way to look at this is to say that 35 per cent of respondents (25/72) with children being harmed by others' drinking in 2008 reported children were also, or still, being harmed by the drinking of others in 2011. Conversely, 65 per cent of respondents (47/72) with children being harmed by others' drinking in 2008 reported that they were no longer being harmed by the drinking of others in 2011. The incidence of new cases of harm in 2011 was 11 per cent (33/299).

Table 5.3 shows that three-quarters (74 per cent) of males and 70 per cent of females did not report that a child experienced harm in either year, while equal percentages of females and males (7 per cent) reported that children experienced persistent harm.

Multivariate logistic regression was used to test whether respondent characteristics (e.g. gender) predicted whether children experienced the four harm outcomes (i.e. absence, initiation, discontinuation or persistence of harm). There were no significant differences by socio-demographic characteristics in the turnover in harms to children from others' drinking, using conservative statistical thresholds ($p < 0.05$, Odds ratios not shown in Table 5.3). However, although the differences are not statistically significant (cell sizes are small in the initiation, discontinuation and persistence groups), the data suggest that there may be differences between various household compositions, for example that two-carer families with children may be more likely to report the absence of harm than the rest of the sample, and single parent households may be more likely to report initiation of harm in 2011.

Table 5.3 Percentage of respondents reporting alcohol-related harms to children by socio-demographic characteristics (percentaged across in four right-hand columns)

VARIABLES	N IN SUB-SAMPLE	NEITHER YEAR (ABSENCE)	2011 ONLY (INITIATION)	2008 ONLY (DISCONTINUATION)	BOTH YEARS (PERSISTENCE)
(n)	(371)	(266)	(33)	(47)	(25)
Gender of respondents					
Male	141	74	6	13	7
Female	230	70	10	13	7
Age 2008^a					
18-35	59	73	7	12	9
36 and over	312	72	9	13	6
Neighbourhood affluence^b					
Disadvantaged	179	70	10	15	6
Less disadvantaged	190	73	8	11	8
Household status 2008^c					
Single parent and children	26	58	15	15	12
2 Carers and children	309	74	8	13	6
Other household	36	64	11	11	14
Respondent drinks 5+ at least monthly in the past year - 2008					
Yes	92	63	14	17	5
No	279	75	7	11	7
Respondent drinks 5+ at least monthly in the past year - 2011					
Yes	92	61	13	17	9
No	279	75	8	11	6

Notes: n = 371 (sub-sample of respondents with children in both years).

Multivariate logistic regressions are presented for each subcategory of harm, e.g. absence, initiation, etc. enabling the comparison of the presence of harm to children with absence of harm (e.g. initiation versus not harmed). Harm in neither year was compared with harm in any year. Initiation was compared with no harm. Discontinuation was compared with persistent harm and persistent harm was compared with absence of harm. Significant differences are marked as *.

^a Age collapsed to two categories in this table because of small numbers.

^b The measure of neighbourhood affluence in this study is based on the Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) which measures how disadvantaged an area is compared with other areas in Australia (ABS, 2006) and allocates a score for each postcode. Neighbourhood affluence is measured on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is the most disadvantaged and 5 is the least disadvantaged. Here, the scale was recoded into two groups of roughly equal size, low affluence (score of 1-3) and high affluence (score of 4-5, used as the reference category).

^c Single parent and two-carer families include children under 18 years within and outside the household.

5.3.1 PREDICTING HARM TO CHILDREN IN 2011

Here, a logistic regression model (Table 5.4) is developed with harm to children in 2011 as a dichotomous (yes/no) outcome variable, with harm to children in 2008 included as a predictor variable. This method provides a global overview and enables examination of the existence (or lack) of harm to children in 2008 as a predictor of harm to children in 2011. Thus the starting point (i.e. either child harmed or not harmed) is accounted for, as well as changes in the respondent's (and by assumption the child's) life between 2008 and 2011. Particular attention is paid to the number of heavy drinkers in the respondent's social circle, that is, the number of family members who drink heavily, as well as the number of friends and co-workers of the respondent who drink heavily. By examining the drinking circles of the respondent in this way, one aspect of the environment in which the child is living is examined.

In the 2011 HTO Survey, 58 respondents stated that a child or children in the family had been negatively affected (either "a lot" (n=12) or "a little" (n=46)) as a result of the drinking of others, with the other 313 respondents with children in their care reporting that they had not. Bivariate and multivariate logistic regression models predicting harm to the child are shown in Table 5.4. As the bivariate results demonstrate, respondents reporting harm to children in 2008 were four times more likely to report harm in 2011 than those who did not. The respondent's age was not associated with reports of children being adversely affected. Those who increased the number of times per week they consumed five or more standard drinks in a session between 2008 and 2011 were more likely to report harm to children in 2011. The number of household heavy drinkers and the number of heavy-drinking non-household relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners of the respondent in 2008 were each positively related with harm in 2011, as was an increase in the number of non-household heavy drinkers from 2008 to 2011.

In Model 1, in which all the demographic variables and harm in 2008 are entered as variables, the relationship between age and harm to children remained as it was in the bivariate model. It should be noted that this is not simply a reflection of this group being more likely to have children in the home, as those without children are not included in this model. The second model, including respondents' drinking variables and harm from 2008, found that an increase in the respondent's number of five plus drinking occasions since 2008 was more important than the baseline consumption in 2008 in predicting harm to children. In Model 3, the number of household members and relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners who were heavy drinkers in 2008 and the increase in these two groups were significant positive predictors of harm in 2011, even after harm in 2008 was controlled for.

Finally in Model 4, including all the variables, harm in 2008, increased frequency of respondents' five plus drinking sessions, higher numbers of 2008 household and non-household relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners who were heavy drinkers, and an increase in these categories between the two time points were all significant positive predictors of reporting child harm in 2011. In Models 3 and 4 the inclusion of changes over time in the number of household heavy drinkers and non-household relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners who were heavy drinkers in the respondent's life, as well as status in 2008, were significantly and strongly predictive of harms to children in 2011. The inclusion of these others' drinking variables weakened the relationship between harm in 2008 and harm in 2011. In Model 4, the strongest predictor of harm was the number of heavy drinkers in a respondent's household at baseline, followed by whether a child had previously experienced harm. The next strongest predictor of harm, after the social drinking context variables, was the respondent's own drinking. This model provides the strongest evidence that harm to children from others' drinking is significantly affected by the number of adult heavy drinkers in their household and broader family milieu.

It is interesting that the predictive strength of the past (2008) experience of harm the odds ratio was not as strong in the model predicting harm to children as in the model for harm to the respondent from a family member (Table 5.2), suggesting that continuity in harm to children was less evident. This suggests speculatively that carers are more likely to tolerate the harms they experience themselves because of others' drinking than those they see their children experience.

Table 5.4 Predicting harm to children in 2011

	BIVARIATE	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4
Harm to children in 2008					
No	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)
Yes	4.29***	3.90***	4.51***	3.15**	3.18***
Respondent gender					
Male	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)			1 (Ref)
Female	1.31	1.29			1.29
Respondent age					
18-35	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)			1 (Ref)
36 and over	1.04	1.15			1.28
Neighbourhood affluence					
Disadvantaged	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)			1 (Ref)
Less disadvantaged	1.13	1.57			0.58
Household status 2008					
Single parent and children	1 (Ref)	1 (Ref)			1 (Ref)
Two carers and children	0.43	0.45			0.58
Respondent 5 plus drinks per occasion in 2008 (continuous variable)	0.96		0.90		0.72
Respondent 5 plus drinks per occasion difference ^a (continuous variable)	1.60***		1.61**		1.54*
Household heavy drinkers	2.20**			2.89**	3.30**
RGBE ^b heavy drinkers	1.45**			2.31***	1.63*
Friends heavy drinkers	1.06			0.94	0.99
Coworker heavy drinkers	1.01			0.99	1.00
Household heavy drinkers difference ^a	1.46			2.56**	2.73**
RGBE ^b heavy drinkers difference ^a	1.53*			2.45***	1.91**
Friends heavy drinkers difference ^a	1.05			1.05	1.05
Coworker heavy drinkers difference ^a	0.99			0.98	0.98

Notes: n = 371; *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001;

^a Difference scores = 2011 value - 2008 value for each variable.

^b RGBE = Relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners not living with the respondent.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Based on the 1,104 respondents who completed the 2011 HTO follow-up survey in conjunction with the 2008 HTO Survey, the study indicated that:

- Nine per cent of respondents reported that they had experienced persistent harm from family members.
- Twenty six per cent of respondents reported harm from the drinking of family members in at least one of the HTO Surveys.

Examining this from another perspective, among those respondents who reported being harmed by family members in the first survey, 50 per cent were again, or still, being harmed by the drinking of family members in 2011.

According to carers who completed both surveys, children also experienced persistent harm:

- Seven per cent of carers completing the surveys reported that children in their family had been harmed by others' drinking in both years.
- Thirty five per cent of carers whose children were harmed by others' drinking in 2008 reported that children in their family were harmed again, or still, by the drinking of others in 2011.

In the model predicting harm to respondents from family members' and intimate partners drinking, the number of heavy drinkers in the respondent's household in 2008 was the strongest predictor of harm in 2011. In addition, past harm and the number of adult heavy drinkers among their relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners had substantial impact.

This chapter also provides strong longitudinal evidence that past harm and the drinking patterns of others in the carer's household and among their relatives, girlfriends, boyfriends and ex-partners predict whether children experience harms from others' drinking over time. Changes in patterns of the drinking of the respondent over time also played a role in predicting harm to children from others' drinking. The predictive strength of the odds ratio for past harm was not as strong in the model predicting harm to children as in the model for harm to the respondent from a family member, suggesting that continuity in harm to children was less evident, and speculatively that carers may be more likely to tolerate harms to themselves than to their children.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF HARMS TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES FROM OTHERS' DRINKING

Elizabeth Manton and Sarah MacLean

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports qualitative findings about the harms to children and families from drinking, based on in-depth interviews with a subset of HTO Survey respondents. This research explores the nature of the impact of someone else's drinking on family functioning and what resources a responsible adult draws on to deal with these problems in far more depth than is possible through survey research. As outlined in Chapter 4, survey responses were used to measure the prevalence of harms to children as a result of the presence of a problem family drinker. Respondents were asked specific questions about harms children in their families experienced as well as a generic question about the effect of other people's drinking on the child/ren they were responsible for. Many respondents, while not reporting specific harms, did report that children in their family had been negatively affected by others' drinking. This qualitative study provides further opportunity to explore the range of ways in which children and their families have been harmed by others' drinking. The research also sought to understand the available social supports and service responses and to explore their perceived effectiveness.

As described in Chapter 2, this study component comprised 20 in-depth qualitative interviews with survey respondents. Ten interviewees had previously reported that a child within his/her care had been harmed "a lot" and ten reported that a child had been harmed "a little" by another person's drinking. The objectives of the interviews were to explore:

1. the nature and impact of harms to children caused by someone else's drinking as perceived by a parental carer
2. the nature of the impact of someone else's drinking on family functioning, family relationships and parental roles
3. the supports received or not received by family members to deal with the impact of someone else's drinking
4. the social and cultural context of the experience of dealing with the impact of someone else's drinking on the family.

The methodology for this component of the study, including details of participant recruitment and the study sample, is described in Chapter 2.

Table 6.1 summarises the demographic information about the interviewees, including age, gender, education, and occupation.

Table 6.1 Demographic^a profile of interviewees in qualitative study

	FEMALES (n=15)	MALES (n=5)	TOTAL (n=20)
Age			
Mean age	49	52	49
Age range	28-70	47-57	28-70
Education			
Degree	3	0	3
Diploma	1	0	1
Associate diploma or certificate	1	0	1
Completed secondary school	2	1	3
Did not complete secondary school	7	3	10
Not known	1	1	2
Occupation^b			
Professional	3	0	3
Community and personal service workers ^c	5	1	6
Clerical and administrative workers	2	0	2
Sales workers	2	0	2
Machinery operators and drivers	0	2	2
Labourers	2	1	3
Not known	1	1	2

Notes: n = 20.

^a Demographic information was collected during the qualitative interview.

^b Occupations are based on the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations.

^c Includes unpaid care for one's own children for the purposes of this table.

Themes identified through analysis of the interviews are illustrated with quotes from the interviewees. All interviewees have been given a pseudonym, and 'A' or 'B' has been added to the name to indicate whether the respondent had answered "a lot" or "a little," respectively.

The interviewees' statements (presented in italics) are reported verbatim, with clarification questions by the interviewer presented in bold.

6.2 THE NATURE OF HARMS TO CHILDREN

6.2.1 WHO IS HARMING THE CHILDREN?

Table 6.2 summarises the relationship of the person causing harm because of their drinking to the child who is being harmed. Of the 18 respondents who nominated a person known to them whose drinking affected their child/ren, in almost three-quarters of cases the drinker was a man (n = 13). Mostly the man was the child's father (n = 9), but he was also reported to be an adult brother (n = 1), an uncle (n = 1), or a friend of the child's parents (n = 2). In only one case was the drinker, a father, the interviewee himself.

Of the five cases where the drinker causing harm was a woman, it was usually the child's mother (n = 4) but in one case it was an aunt (n = 1). Over the course of an in-depth interview three women who had nominated

a male as the primary drinker affecting their children also identified that their own drinking had adversely affected their children. Including these women (who had all answered that someone’s drinking affected their children “a lot”) brings the number of cases where the problematic drinker was a woman to eight.

One of the remaining two respondents identified a stranger at a party (unspecified gender) as the drinker who had caused harm, and the other could not identify any individual, despite having answered that their child/ren had been harmed “a little” during the survey.

Table 6.2 Who was causing harm and their relationship to the child/ren

RELATIONSHIP OF DRINKER TO THE CHILD/REN	OVERALL LEVEL OF HARM REPORTED		
	TOTAL	“A LOT”	“A LITTLE”
Father	9	5	4
Mother	4	3	1
Brother	1	1	0
Aunt	1	1	0
Uncle	1	0	1
Male family friend	2	0	2
Stranger at party	1	0	1
No answer	1	0	1
Total	20	10	10

Of those who reported “a lot” of harm to a child/ren, eight of the drinkers responsible were parents, and one was a brother. Only one member of the extended family, an aunt, was identified as the drinker causing “a lot” of harm.

Of those who reported “a little” harm to a child or children, five of the drinkers responsible were parents. One was a member of the extended family (an uncle), but more importantly at least three of the drinkers causing harm were outside the extended family (i.e. either family friends or strangers).

6.2.2 NATURE OF HARMS TO CHILDREN

The harms reported to be experienced by children as a result of someone else’s drinking may be summarised as:

- physical abuse
- verbal abuse
- emotional abuse (including emotional neglect)
- threat of physical abuse
- fear of physical harm
- sleep disruption
- witnessing conflict (fights, physical abuse, verbal abuse)
- witnessing drinking and inappropriate behaviour
- fear of health risk.

There were only two instances of physical abuse directed toward children reported in this research:

- SallyB reporting that her daughter's husband had dropped his (and SallyB's daughter's) babies when he was drunk and stating that he could not be trusted not to do so again.
- YvonneA's adult son holding a knife to his younger brother's throat when drunk (but not actually cutting him).

Even if the physical abuse did not actually happen, the threat of abuse, such as the knife wielding, was terrifying for those experiencing it:

When he's under the influence of alcohol he threatens to kill himself, kill other people, he really hurts animals badly. (YvonneA)

A few interviewees had also feared physical harm to their children:

[My children] were in the car with [my sister] one day when she had been drinking and I followed her and stopped the car and asked them to get out and then took them myself. So there was things like that that happened. I felt they were unsafe so I never let them go to her place. We often had her child with us. (BelindaA)

More common were reports of verbal abuse directed at the child:

She'll be yelling and screaming and get in the f-ing, you know speaking like that, terrible language. [The child] has got in the car crying, the seven year old. (BarbaraA)

Now [the 13 year old's] gone to live with her father she realises that he's worse than the mother because he goes off and then comes home drunk and wakes her up and is abusive. (BarbaraA)

This latter example also entailed sleep disruption for the child. Although the primary harm experienced by YvonneA's son in the following example was the threat of physical violence, sleep disruption for the child was an associated harm:

He [her son] used to wake up during the night sometimes and my son [the drinker] had knives at his throat. (YvonneA)

Emotional abuse could be active as in the preceding examples, or it could be more akin to emotional neglect:

I lost my job and went through a depression and drank at home to the point where it did affect my ability to do as much as I wanted to do with them at times...I withdrew to a degree from family interaction. (IsabelleA)

Exposure to conflict was more common than direct abuse of the children. Children witnessed fighting, yelling, verbal or physical abuse:

I suppose the impact happened when he actually one night was physically abusive to [their] mother and the three of them witnessed it...They'd been out to a party and something she said to him, stop drinking or something...and when he got in the door he actually tried to strangle her. (MargaretB)

Sometimes participants pointed out that any violence that took place was not directed toward the child:

He didn't hurt the baby though. (SharonA)

Oh no, he would never have hurt his son. (NarelleA)

*Sometimes he used to take off in the car drunk, risking his own life and others on the road. But never with me. **And not with the children?** No, definitely not. (AnnaA)*

Almost all the preceding examples were drawn from the interviewees who had originally responded that their children were harmed “a lot,” with the exception of MargaretB, quoted above, who actually replied the children in her care were harmed only “a little” by their experiences.

What was more common amongst those who identified that their children were harmed “a little” was their children witnessing drinking and inappropriate behaviour rather than conflict. Examples of this were ‘tipsiness’, being hard to talk to, inappropriate language, and being inconsistent with emotions:

She went out a few times and came back a little bit tipsy and that’s all they noticed. (MichaelB)

The behaviour witnessed by children reported as being harmed “a little” could also be managed better than that witnessed by children harmed “a lot,” because the drinker was often not in the immediate family:

He would always ring up on the phone and that’s when I knew he was drunk and it was always hard to get off the phone. So that’s when the kids knew, oh mum’s friend. They used to refer to him as ‘mum’s drunk friend’. (LolaB)

The children could also be exposed to the effects that drinking had on the drinker’s health. In this example the child’s caregiver, her mother, is often ill because of her drinking and the child is affected “a lot”:

I was in the same situation with my dad, where although not violent or terribly behaved or nasty, they did drink themselves into illness. Her mum has actually got the same condition my dad has, which is pancreas trouble and exacerbated by alcohol. (DavidA)

In a second example, the drinker is a family friend and the children are only affected “a little”, presumably reflecting the more distal relationship of the drinker to the children:

I think they just saw how unhealthy and how his life was pretty ordinary as a result of it. (DianaB)

One interviewee identified that his children were affected by his own drinking, because they were aware of the risk that drinking alcohol posed to future health, and they feared for their father’s health:

*It affects them - not affects them physically. They just question, ‘oh you shouldn’t be drinking’.....because they perceive alcohol as bad. **Where are they getting that message from?** Probably the drink-drive campaigns, what they see on TV. (ShaneB)*

However this harm was reported as only “a little”, probably because it was, as yet, unrealised ill-health.

6.2.3 IMPACT OF HARMS ON CHILDREN

From this qualitative study, the impacts on children of the harms they experienced as a result of someone else’s drinking included:

- being scared and needing to sleep with their mother
- behavioural problems
- shame and embarrassment
- schooling instability
- doing well (e.g. seemingly no problems, and/or a decision to not drink themselves).

The children who had witnessed the physical abuse of their mother seemed to be the most affected, especially the youngest children:

I did notice that they were scared. They wanted to sleep with their mother...The little one in particular would have taken a couple of years and she possibly, the little one, was the one that suffered the most because I think it was pretty obvious for the last five years prior to what was happening. There must have been tension and sort of arguments in the house. (MargaretB)

Being emotionally let down was very difficult for one small boy:

He's having behavioural problems now...He gets very emotional because his dad doesn't come when he says...because of the drinking, just because he'd had a hard night drinking or because he was hung over the next day or just because he was depressed coming down from the alcohol. (SharonA)

One of the impacts of another's drinking on the children was the stigma of being related to the drinker; the shame and embarrassment in the face of others' judgement. YvonneA said her youngest son would not go to school "because he would be laughed at and teased about what his brother had done". This eventually led to him relocating to a community school for children who had trouble at other schools. Ironically, this school was one where many children who were experiencing problems associated with their own drug and alcohol use were enrolled.

Witnessing drinking was only one of the problems experienced by one child. Her mother was also violent, and had held up a nearby store with a gun, resulting in a prison sentence. This behaviour, in turn, affected the foster mother interviewed in the study:

I guess the biggest effect was I had a foster child whose mother was an alcoholic. It affected the children because we had another child come live with us for nine years.... It was hard for them because she was quite damaged with things that had happened in the home, she was quite selfish and that was difficult as well....It's very hard [for her] because even if you're living in a family that's a loving family, you just feel like you don't really belong. (ClairA)

Certain children seemed not to be affected by a problematic drinker's drinking, or at least this was the respondent's view. These children were seemingly well-adjusted, and may even have decided not to drink themselves as a result of the exposure.

She's a very sensible girl and she just seems to accept it, just says, well, that's mum....When she does go and stay there overnight she comes home and sort of shakes her head. (BarbaraA)

6.3 IMPACT ON THE CHILDREN'S FAMILIES

6.3.1 NATURE OF IMPACT ON THE CHILDREN'S FAMILIES

The impacts on the children's families of the harm from others' drinking may be summarised as:

- Apprehended Violence Orders (AVO)
- loss of custody
- breakdown of parents' relationship
- issues of access to children after separation
- affected quality of relationship with children
- difficulty of separation if the drinker was an adult son rather than a partner
- financial insecurity.

The most profound instance of someone's drinking impacting on the family in this research was the father who had an AVO taken out against him after physically assaulting his wife under the influence of alcohol. This assault has already been described above in terms of its ongoing effect on the interviewee's grandchildren who witnessed it.

Another major impact of someone's drinking was a mother losing custody of her children. As the child's foster carer explained:

Before her child came into our care she was in and out of rehab, so we knew the mother. When she went in [the Department of Community Services in NSW] got involved...[Her children] were taken from the parents and [their case had] gone to court. The mother lost custody of them. Then they were put into our care. (ClairA)

A grandmother described the chaotic effect that her daughter's drinking and drug use had had on the woman's five children:

[The oldest one]'s been with me now for the last six years...I have had custody of the children on and off for years, all of them, but since [fifth grandchild] was born they went back in her custody. [Third grandchild] stays here twice a week, the seven year old, then [fifth grandchild], the one that goes to kinder, stays once or twice a week too. (BarbaraA)

This interviewee described a complex round of shifting care arrangements including one 13 year old child who lived with her for a while "but she didn't like the rules here", so moved for a while to live with her father:

[My daughter] rang [the 13 year old] and said 'you can go back and live with [your] grandmother' and she said she didn't want to. So that's when [my daughter] said, 'well, ring your father and tell him to come and get you.' She went down to live with her father and she's been down there probably two months now. 'He's worse than [my] mother', [the 13 year old] said. (BarbaraA)

While the above examples are at the more chaotic end of the spectrum, the main observation is that, within this small sample, if the person whose drinking was affecting the child was a parent, the impact on family life had been the breakdown of the parents' relationship. Of the five cases where the drinker was a father and the children had been harmed "a lot", in four cases the parents had separated. In the fifth case, the threat of separation effected a change:

My husband was a binge drinker until my daughter was three. My son was five. It came to a head and he stopped. I very much respect him for that...It was mostly conflict between myself and my husband because I got to the point where I told him that I didn't want them growing up with...an alcoholic father... It was either the over-drinking or the kids. I was at the point where I was prepared to leave. (IsabelleA)

In the four cases where the drinker was a father and the children had been harmed "a little", in two cases the parents had separated. In the other two cases either the father's drinking was minimal in the first place or he had stopped in time to save the relationship.

In all four cases where the drinker was a mother, the parents had separated.

In addition, the aunt whose drinking was affecting the interviewee's children was separated from her husband, and the interviewee whose adult son's drinking was affecting her remaining children was also separated from her own 'alcoholic' husband.

If the drinker causing harm was not a partner but a child or sibling, this appeared harder to deal with. Separation was no longer a feasible option if 'standing by' the drinker seemed to the interviewee to be the right thing to do:

It's ripping us apart...He knows how to work the system and it's ripping his sister apart because we said we would stand by him, get him out of jail, stand by him, put a roof over his head for a fresh start on the condition that he stayed away from alcohol, and he's broke that and he's up to three bottles of vodka a day. (YvonneA)

Three interviewees mentioned the financial impact of the drinking, which had resulted in a lack of financial security and some material hardship.

6.3.2 IMPACT ON FAMILY AFTER SEPARATION

While separation removed some children from the harm associated with daily exposure to a drinker, it did not mean that they were now unaffected by that drinker, as parents still had access rights. The possibility that the other parent might drink while responsible for children caused anxiety for participants in this situation:

There's nothing you can do about it. I just hope he doesn't bend his elbow while he has them....It's just stressful when he has the kids. (SallyB)

After separation the level of drinking had a key impact on the quality of the relationship between the drinker and both the child and ex-partner:

I mean we get along now, he's doing much better now but it was very rocky there for a while and obviously we're not together but we're friends I guess. He's made a really good effort to stop drinking, and it's a shame it's years down the track, but at least he's spending time with his son now and alcohol is not coming first. (SharonA)

In other cases the relationship between problem drinkers and children with whom they no longer lived appeared to be profoundly damaged:

*His father is allowed to have contact whenever he wants, but his father just doesn't have contact. **Is he still drinking?** As far as I know. (NarelleA)*

NarelleA commented that her son now had a better relationship with her new partner, who was doing more for her son than his natural father.

On occasion the children stayed with the drinking parent after separation, and hence they could still be exposed to harm. One interviewee was the affected children's grandfather as well as the father of the drinker. He described a situation where a child was coerced to stay with his father:

At the moment he's assumed control of the children from his ex-wife – or ex-partner. She's fighting the courts to get them back. He's since married and he won't let us see them....The eldest is now 12. He's at the age where he's allowed to choose not to live there....He's with his father at the moment because he wasn't allowed to go back to his mother on visitation. He's there. He can't walk out because he knows dad will come round and grab him again. He knows that if he does go then his younger brother will be in strife. (FredA)

Another participant described how despite a court decision that his daughter should live with her mother, he actually provided a substantial amount of care due to the mother's ill-health:

***How old was she when you and her mother split up?** Nine months...and I had trouble getting access... that's Family Court. I had some voluminous amount of allegations against me that I couldn't account for. It's [about] residency. We actually share equal custody. But as it turned out, because of [her] mum's ill-health, it was really not much you could do but just relent and let me care for my daughter when necessary. (DavidA)*

Children also suffered financial deprivation as a result of living with a problem drinker:

Well it hasn't affected my son at all but it's affected my daughter and she lives with him now and I think she does without certain things because he doesn't have financial security due to his alcohol problem... She asks me for money a lot. (AnnaA)

6.4 STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH ANOTHER'S DRINKING HARMING CHILDREN

Sources of support for families in dealing with another person's drinking harming children include:

- immediate and extended family
- friends and neighbours
- religious community
- support groups
- formal services (e.g. social services, AOD agencies)
- medical professionals
- counsellors
- workplace (especially having a flexible job).

From the qualitative interviews, overwhelmingly the people who helped respondents most were the their immediate or extended family (wives, husbands, parents, sisters, brothers, partner's parents etc.). Nine of the ten people who reported "a lot" of harm to children in their care, and four of the ten people who reported "a little" harm, replied in variations of the following way:

Probably my mum and dad [helped the most]. Whenever there was a really big fight that went on, mum and dad would come to my house and sort of be with [my son]. (NarelleA)

The only respondent who answered "a lot" and did not nominate immediate family as a support was a woman who married into an Indigenous community distant from her family. In this cross-cultural marriage she identified herself as an 'outsider.' She was also the only respondent whose husband had stopped drinking in time to save the marriage.

Not everyone in the family provided support to people dealing with the impact of another person's drinking on children, as some family members "had had enough of the drinker" (BarbaraA). Others were determined to keep it within the immediate family, remarking "you wouldn't talk about that sort of thing" with others (FredA). Still others argued that having someone close to help them had been critical:

Even if they're not just your parents that give you that support, you do need the support of someone who's there. (NarelleA)

While some participants received a high level of support from members of their immediate and extended family, it is unsurprising that those without such support experienced greater difficulties in dealing with problems. Two adoptees who had married each other and lost touch with their adoptive families had only each other for support when their adult son was harming their grandchildren: they were estranged from him and denied access to the grandchildren. This interviewee volunteered that he had himself been a heavy drinker and fairly violent in his family, and had thrown his son out of the house at age 15 for molesting his sister. Although offered referral to support services by the interviewer, this man could not see how any support services would be appropriate for him.

Friends and neighbours did not play nearly as much of a role as family, although several respondents nominated friends as being someone to talk to or help look after a child. DavidA was talking about his daughter who lived with his ex-wife, a drinker:

Any time she needs help she can just walk there and it's fine...She's got other friends and their mums in proximity. She knows all their numbers and there are plenty of people to help. It's a good school and a good bunch actually of parents and kids. (DavidA)

However, others nominated the stigma associated with 'alcoholism' as a reason why they would not feel comfortable talking to friends.

The record on the support provided by formal support services was mixed. There was a common experience that while the services functioned to serve the drinker, they were not interested in those who were supporting the drinker or the children harmed by the drinker. BarbaraA had been initially reluctant to be interviewed, believing that nothing would change as a result of an interview. She received the Plain Language Statement as part of the ethics procedure, and assurances that the point of the interview was to discuss supports for people like her:

[The Department of Human Services] do [interview me] when we've had to go to court, but not this last go. They did ring me and I told them everything, and then I haven't heard from them since they've been looking after [my daughter]. (BarbaraA)

I found Social Services very unhelpful in the great support and sympathy that they gave to my daughter's mum....They just made it extremely difficult for me to move to avoid trouble. (DavidA)

For YvonneA, what she described as her adult son's combined mental health problems and alcohol addiction meant that she believed he was not being treated adequately and this was what affected her and her family:

It goes into the situation of whether or not it is a mental illness or an alcohol issue....[The mental health people] won't do it because they believe it's an alcohol issue....They said he does not want to help himself, we cannot go any further. He is not qualifying for involuntary admission. He's not passing all the things for voluntary admission. So I think that's why they put him in jail for 18 months to try to dry him out type of thing....It's all legal loopholes....It just affects me that he knows how to manipulate the system for his addiction and there is nothing that they can do to put him...in hospital involuntarily. (YvonneA)

YvonneA's son's alcohol problems had been affecting her family for ten years, to such an extent that she found it difficult to articulate what supports she would find useful; the greatest help she identified would be to have her son's dual diagnosis (mental health and alcohol) problems resolved.

Counsellors were turned to by some. IsabelleA, a woman who had no immediate family to turn to, reported that she had found counselling useful, although more for dealing with her own problems than her husband's drinking. However others found them unhelpful. For example, FredA thought that "the counsellors are too young to understand and have any empathy....it would be like opening up to your children." MargaretB's daughter had had a bad experience with a counsellor before the physical abuse which resulted in the issuing of the AVO:

I think they tried counselling, but [the counsellor] could only hear the bad side of [MargaretB's daughter], which was nothing....[He] didn't really see the real issue.

MargaretB had another daughter who had been able to step in to manage the crisis. This daughter was able to attend a crisis in the middle of the night and to alert the police to the situation:

It's a very sad situation with external counsellors, because I mean a lot of them are brilliant, but living and seeing and knowing day after day what's actually happening and then all of a sudden being called in to help is of course a different situation, and this other daughter was able to step straight in. Well actually when the incident happened, it was about two o'clock in the morning, and my daughter, who lived about a 40 minute drive away, was here within 20 minutes. She just came in and took over and just rang his brother and just said 'come and collect your brother'....I think the police were called and this is why the AVO was taken out. (MargaretB)

The failure to include her in the caring process because of confidentiality issues (where health care information is limited or cannot be released to a third party) had a negative impact on one woman's efforts to do something about her sister's alcohol addiction:

I think one of the main problems with my sister when she was so unwell was that there's so much legislation around confidentiality with psychiatrists...and then to get the psychiatrist to hear us and listen to what we were saying and then to feed back information to us was near on impossible. So there were times when we were worried for her life and we were worried for her children's lives and to try and get heard about that and for people to take us seriously was really difficult....I think there needs to be much more of a link between the people that are caring for the drinker and the ability to liaise and work with

the treating professionals...We used the general practitioner a lot and sometimes I would ring the general practitioner, and she would say to me I can't give you any information because of confidentiality, and I'd say, that's fine, just listen to me....But it was talking directly with the psychiatrist that was just so difficult. (BelindaA)

Their religious community was a helpful source of support for several respondents. BelindaA said she found talking to the minister at her church helpful because she could be more open with him than with other people:

I certainly wasn't very open about what was going on. I was with the minister, but not generally. I didn't talk about it much. It was helpful for me to talk to somebody else, so that I knew that there was someone else that knew what was going on in my life [which] would explain [why] I break down every now and then.

ClairA said her religious community had been instrumental both in providing her with the opportunity to foster someone else's child but also offering important practical and spiritual support:

Sometimes they minded her. I guess praying and you know, talking, spending time and understanding.

Finally, BarbaraA, the grandmother who was often looking after her daughter's five children, reported that an organisation that supports grandparents that look after the children of their own drug- or alcohol-affected children had been immensely supportive. She explained that she and other grandparents met monthly, and spoke on the phone in between:

After we've been at a meeting they ring me the next week to see how I am. I don't really ring them unless...no I don't. But they'd be there. (BarbaraA)

The lack of support services was identified by SallyB, who was caring not only for her young children but also for her mother. SharonA also identified the impact that the lack of support had on her family, although she also recognised that she and her husband had some responsibility for not accepting support that was offered:

I would have liked my family to have not broken up, because we didn't have help or support. We're still suffering from that in fact. If he had had, or accepted, help, then we probably would still be together.

One of the strategies that parents used for their children was to shield them as much as possible from the effects of the drinker's alcohol consumption and even from the drinker as well:

We have a family member that has drunk very heavily in the past and my children were probably exposed to that but I tended to protect them as much as I could.... I could say it didn't really affect them because we sheltered them. (BelindaA)

I think they were fairly young. We did try and keep it away from them. We were both conscious of it. (IsabelleA)

I wouldn't encourage [him coming to the house] because I didn't want - just the way they carry on sometimes, I just thought no, not having that around the kids. (LolaB)

I just sort of carried on as normal, you know, watching very carefully in the background, but just carried on and tried to keep life as normal as possible without bringing up any issues....This is why I don't resurrect this with the children, because I know it can create anxiety. (MargaretB)

Finally, DavidA identified that his workplace and work choices allowed him some of the flexibility he needed to cope with the impact of his ex-wife's drinking on their daughter, who still lived with her:

So I drive there, and then I've got to get back to work in time and just find flexibility...It's lucky my job is flexible you know...I can take her with me sometimes. When she was smaller she'd ride in the truck with me during the holidays. (DavidA)

6.5 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT IN DEALING WITH THE IMPACT OF SOMEONE ELSE'S DRINKING ON THE FAMILY

Almost all the interviewees described themselves as coming from an anglo-Australian background (n = 17). One identified herself as having an Italian heritage, although born in Australia. One woman identified herself as adopted and possibly a member of the Stolen Generation,⁶ but she did not nominate her possible Indigeneity as a factor in her experiences.

Interviewees noted that drinking alcohol is accepted as part of the Australian culture, with football being mentioned twice in relation to drinking, both from the perspective of a player and as a spectator:

Look at it this way, she sees me have a glass of wine or I go to the footy and I have a beer. But I've still got to get home. I can't be getting drunk where I am. (DavidA)

I was trying to understand why he developed the habits. It's mostly football culture I think. He played football. He was very, very good at it. It was the done thing and it still is amongst a lot of young people. They set out to drink to get drunk. (IsabelleA)

Attitudes expressed ranged from distinguishing excessive from moderate drinking, to total rejection of drinking. The following three quotes come from people who reported "a lot" of harm to their children from others' drinking:

But if you go to [outlet name omitted], you see mature-age people pushing shopping trolleys with wine casks and slabs of beer and stuff. It just serves as a bit of a warning for my daughter that if you just assault yourself like this all the time, same as with cigarettes, it will catch you in the end. Because I don't know what the volume of alcohol people are putting into themselves. It's like a teenage riot carried into middle age, you know? (DavidA)

Alcohol is a curse. It's so widely accepted as - it's an Australian culture to drink. Yet it is one of the most destroying things that people do to themselves. (AnnaA)

I just think alcohol's disgusting and destroys people's lives. (ClairA)

The experience of dealing with harm from alcohol crossed educational boundaries. The most common experience was of people who had not finished school and who had now separated from their partner (whose drinking had caused harms to their children). By contrast all three professional women in the sample were married, and they were touched by alcohol's harm to children through the drinking of their sister, their daughter, or their partner before his reform.

Based on this small sample, and as summarised in Table 6.3 below, it is difficult to determine if there are any difference in the harms experienced by families based on residence in urban, regional or remote areas. The levels of harm (i.e. "a lot" or "a little") seem to be fairly evenly spread in each of these classifications. However, living in a rural centre made the stigma of being closely related to a drinker worse for one respondent:

But it's just more what he's doing to himself and this is such a small town, the population is only something like 2,000. So what he does comes back on this family, we're judged by him. (YvonneA)

She commented further about the social context of living in a small rural town:

A lovely town I live in, don't I, because there's nothing to do, so people drink and take drugs. Basically that's their life.

⁶ It is estimated that 100,000 Indigenous children were taken from their families and raised in homes or adopted by non-Indigenous families in Australia up until the 1960s. The policy was designed to 'assimilate' or 'breed out' Indigenous people. These children became known as the 'Stolen Generation' (Reconciliation 2007).

Table 6.3 Harms reported by geographical remoteness (based on interviewees' postcode⁷)

REMOTENESS (AUSTRALIAN STANDARD GEOGRAPHIC CLASSIFICATION)	n	"A LOT"	"A LITTLE"
Major cities	6	7	13
Inner regional	1	2	3
Outer regional	2	0	2
Remote	0	1	1
Very remote	1	0	1

The family which was active in a church provided a high level of support for each other, as reflected in their willingness to foster children and to work together, with several members of the same family fostering children from the one mother.

The cultural and professional context of confidentiality principles aimed at protecting the rights of the drinker, and the focus by formal support services and health professionals on the drinker, meant that some interviewees felt that they had been less able to help or otherwise intervene in the drinker's situation than if the support were less focused on the drinker. This meant that the impact on the person affected by someone else's drinking was greater than it might have been.

6.6 DISCUSSION

The problematic drinker in the family has been identified in the 2008 HTO Survey as usually being a male (Berends et al. 2012). This was also found in the current study based on interviewees drawn from this survey. Based on the 20 cases captured, the male drinker was usually the father of the affected children. In those cases where the drinker was a woman, it was usually the mother. A few women being interviewed about someone else's drinking also identified that their own drinking had affected their children.

Berends et al. (2012) reported that they had found no literature on drinking as a potential factor in sibling violence. In the current study there was one case (that of YvonneA's adult son) which was marked by threats of physical violence toward his younger siblings when drunk, but also by the poignant nature of the impact, as the family, including all the siblings, struggled to keep supporting and 'standing by' the drinker.

Within the limited scope of this qualitative study, it appeared that if the drinker who was harming a child was not part of the immediate, or even extended, family, the interviewee was more likely to classify the harm as less severe (i.e. "a little" harm). This does not mean that family members cannot cause only "a little" harm to children, but it suggests that a family can distance itself from drinkers outside the family who could otherwise harm their child "a lot."

The identified harms experienced by children as a result of someone else's drinking did not differ markedly from those already reported in the literature, both in Australia (Dawe et al. 2007; Gruenert et al. 2004) and internationally (Holmila et al. 2011; Mongan et al. 2009; Orford et al. 2010; Velleman et al. 2008). This literature found neglect, violence, or abuse – or exposure to these – to be the main harms experienced by children. Holmila et al. (2011) differentiated between harmful acts to the child that were direct and intended, such as violence or sadism, and the more common harmful acts that were indirect and unintended. In the current study physical abuse and neglect of children were not common, and several respondents emphasised that the drinker had never physically harmed their child. While verbal and emotional abuse were more common, the most common harm was children witnessing conflicts such as physical or verbal abuse. Sleep disruption was also a factor for several children. Drink driving was a harm reported by one woman, who described taking her children out of a car being driven by her intoxicated sister. This resonated with Connor and Casswell's (2009) finding in New Zealand that children injured in drink driving cases were usually in the same car as the drunk driver.

For children who were harmed "a little" the most common reported harm was witnessing drinking or inappropriate behaviour, especially beyond the extended family. A key theme not found elsewhere in the

⁷ The Australian Standard Geographic Classification (ASGC) classifies regions into major Australian cities, inner regional Australia, outer regional Australia, remote Australia and very remote Australia on the basis of postcode (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006)

literature was that the child came to fear the effects that drinking might have on the drinker's health. This was a subtle harm, one of fear based on the potential impact of drinking alcohol on future health. In this study, one of the interviewees identified that his children, in response to media campaigns, feared for his future health even though he rated his drinking as not having any other impact on the children or family functioning. While the relationship between risk and anxiety has been well established (Wilkinson 2001), it usually relates to a person's fears for their own future health, rather than children's fears for their parent.

When considering the impacts of someone else's drinking on children, the literature reports children feeling fear, anger, frustration or sadness about their parents' violence or quarrels (Holmila et al. 2011; Velleman et al. 2008). Children also report lack of sleep and a restriction of their social life as they choose not to bring friends home (Holmila et al. 2011; Orford et al. 2010). From an adult's perspective, the impacts on children include behavioural problems (Dawe et al. 2007; Velleman et al. 2008) and subsequent alcohol and drug use or depression (Kelley et al. 2011; Morgan & McAtamney 2009). In the current study the most affected children were the youngest, who had witnessed physical violence. Although reported in only one case, the youngest affected child was very frightened and slept in her mother's bed for many years. Neglect by a heavy-drinking father who did not live with his four-year-old child was perceived by the mother to be causing unspecified behavioural problems. One of the interesting outcomes relating to shame and embarrassment was a child changing schools to avoid the stigma, so the drinker's actions in this instance led to schooling instability. Thus fear, behavioural problems, and shame were all present for some children described in this study. However, one child was doing well, or at least appeared to be, but there was no clear pattern about which children might 'do well' in such circumstances, as children in the same family reacted differently.

In the literature, the impacts of problematic drinkers on the family are often framed in terms of children having to assume household responsibilities, or the great strain it placed on the rest of the family (Arcidiacono et al. 2010; Holmila et al. 2011; Mongan et al. 2009; Naylor & Lee 2011; Orford et al. 2010). The family might find it difficult to plan activities or stick to familiar routines (Mongan et al. 2009) and there may be higher levels of intra-family conflict and economic difficulties (Zeitlin 1994). Marital disharmony and breakdown have been identified as key impacts when one parent is a problematic drinker (Templeton et al. 2010; Zeitlin 1994). In the current study, the main impact on the family of having a parent whose drinking was harming children was that the other parent was prepared to leave the relationship. This was a non-gendered finding; both men and women were prepared to end the relationship, and only reducing the drinking to a minimal level or stopping altogether would save it. The findings in this study contrast with findings that wives in Finland and the US were reluctant to separate or divorce, identifying fear of poverty, social pressures and guilt as some of the barriers (Wiseman 1991). While Wiseman's work has been identified as one of the most thorough qualitative research studies on the topic, its scope was confined to wives (Orford et al. 2005), and referred to circumstances up to 40 years ago. Orford et al. also cited a 1980 study which found that husbands did not leave the marriage, deferring to the needs of the children. In Australia, while the divorce rate since the mid-1980s has been fairly stable, it is likely that the increase in cohabiting relationships is masking the extent of increase in relationship breakdown. Divorce, and especially the end of a cohabiting relationship, has become an acceptable solution if the relationship does not work (de Vaus 2004; Qu & Weston 2011). It is this more recent cultural context which may lie behind the preparedness of men and women to leave a relationship in which a problematic drinker is harming their children.

It should be noted that while separation removed some children from the harm of exposure to a harmful drinker on a daily basis, it did not mean that they were now unaffected by the drinker, as parents still had access rights and the custodial parent worried about the harms the drinker could still inflict. Financial insecurity arising from the cost of drinking was an issue for a few families, with some of the financial insecurity related to now living in a single parent home.

In addition, the partner relationship is only one element in family relationships, and, in this qualitative study, the option of separation was less feasible if the drinker was the interviewee's adult child. In these cases the family struggled to provide ongoing support.

It has been argued that children with problem drinking parents are a hidden population, neglected by services (Holmila et al. 2011; Moore et al. 2010). Because children were not interviewed in this study, this issue was not explored. Rather, it was the supports received by the adult interviewees that were the focus. Overwhelmingly, the most common source of support for dealing with another's drinking harming participants' children was their immediate and extended family. If respondents did not have such support,

they used a variety of other sources, or they did not receive support and struggled. In a culture in which religious communities do not always play a major role in people's lives, the capacity of 'the church' to offer support was limited, but invaluable for those who had such a connection. One of the benefits associated with the church was that there was a perception that church leaders would not stigmatise the person seeking support in the same way as a friend might. Friends were not widely favoured as a source of support because of the perceived stigma of alcohol-related problems.

Formal services and medical professionals were perceived to be focused on supporting the drinker, but not the family member dealing with the impacts of that person's drinking, as has been found previously (Orford et al. 2010). This focus, along with the cultural context of confidentiality principles aimed at protecting the rights of the drinker, meant that sometimes the impact of a family member's drinking on interviewees was greater than it might have been. Some participants felt that the effect of client confidentiality principles had been to deny them information from treatment providers that they needed to manage the situation and protect children from harm. This is a difficult problem to address, as professional ethics in relation to confidentiality are unlikely to change. Efforts to broaden the scope of support to include family members in their own right have been predicated not only on helping family members with their immediate problems, but also on addressing the enhanced risk of future addiction among relatives of the drinker (Mongan et al. 2009). For one interviewee in the current study, a dedicated support group for grandparents was highly supportive, particularly as it was perceived to be tailored to their needs and because someone was available to be contacted at any time. There is further scope for the provision of such support services dedicated to the needs of the person whose children have been harmed by another's drinking. The effort of family members in acting to prevent or minimise harm caused by problematic family drinkers has not only an emotional but also an economic toll. While the economic value of the unpaid support that family members provide is usually uncalculated (Copello et al. 2010b), the 2008 HTO Survey findings were used to calculate that time spent in Australia caring for household members affected by alcohol-related harms was worth an estimated 3.1 billion dollars per year (Laslett et al. 2010).

For one woman, the biggest support she could imagine would have been to have her son's dual diagnosis (mental health and alcohol problems) properly addressed by health professionals, and what she perceived as an appropriate treatment plan identified and carried out. For the very small number of cases who had contact with them, counsellors were considered to have significant limitations, not being embedded in the day-to-day reality, not being available when crises occurred, or being 'too young' to be truly empathetic. Another finding was the under-acknowledged role that workplaces could play in supporting those who were dealing with the unpredictability of the drinker in their family, especially when it was disrupting the family routine and affecting children's lives.

6.6.1 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

One of the objectives of the current research was to understand the discrepancy in the survey research between the higher levels of responses to a general question about harms to children compared to rates of positive responses to a short list of specified harms. The general question in the survey summed those who answered that their children were affected "a lot" or "a little" by a family member's drinking. In the qualitative study, for children who were only harmed "a little," the most common harm was witnessing drinking or inappropriate behaviour, especially from drinkers beyond the extended family. This implies that survey respondents who replied "a little" should be considered distinctly different from those who answered "a lot." As discussed in section 6.2.2, only one respondent out of ten who reported "a little" harm to children described harms that appeared more serious. For the most part, there was a plausible explanation for the discrepancy in survey responses. This has implications for those who choose to sum the two categories ("a lot" and "a little") to justify policy recommendations or determine the cost of alcohol-related harms, because they represent such different outcomes for children. It should be noted, however, that "a little" harm did not mean "none" (Manton et al. 2014).

The finding that respondents whose heavy-drinking partner was harming children were prepared to end the relationship needs to be considered in the context of the study methodology. The participants' preparedness to be interviewed may have related in the first instance to their having reached a point of resolution, such as a separation, or being sufficiently removed from the situation, for example, as a grandparent or a foster carer, to be able to discuss the issues. As already discussed, there were three prospective interviewees who had answered "a lot" who indicated on first approach that they were interested in talking to the interviewer at a more convenient time, but on re-call at their nominated time decided not to proceed. One

possible explanation was that the potentially harmful drinker was inadvertently involved in the telephone exchange, and as the interviewer could not self-identify for ethical reasons, this led to an uneasy situation. While this can only be speculation, it could be that only people who no longer had the drinker who was harming the children in the background (i.e. who had already separated) felt able to participate in this interview. That is, the high level of separation observed may not reflect the situation of people in the general population in an intimate relationship with a drinker.

Finally, the interview process uncovered some women whose drinking was affecting their children, even if the most problematic drinker had been identified as a man. There remains the possibility that there is an over-emphasis on the most problematic drinker in the survey research, and women's lower level of drinking (while still problematic for the children) may be overshadowed.

A strength of the current study compared to previous qualitative research on alcohol's harm to others was the random sampling approach adopted in the survey from which the interviewees were selected. The resultant sample was Australia-wide, and covered a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds. The interviewees were not drawn from specialist AOD treatment agencies, primary care settings, or through interviewer contacts, as in other studies (Orford et al. 2005; Templeton et al. 2009; Velleman et al. 2008). This gives the current research a unique perspective, looking into more serious alcohol-related harms to children and families through the general population window.

6.7 CONCLUSION

The following findings are based on the in-depth qualitative interviews with the 20 participants who had reported harm to children from others' drinking in the 2008 or 2011 HTO Survey:

The drinker reported to be causing harm to children was most often a man, and usually the father of the affected children. In those cases where the drinker was a woman, it was usually the mother. The interview process uncovered some women whose drinking was affecting their children, even if the problematic drinker had been identified as a man. There remains the possibility that there is an over-emphasis on the most problematic drinker in the survey research, and women's lower (but still problematic for the children) level of drinking may be being overshadowed. If the drinker who was harming a child was not part of the immediate, or even extended, family, the interviewee was more likely to classify the harm as "a little." This does not mean that family members cannot harm a child only "a little," but it suggests that a family can distance itself from drinkers outside the family who could otherwise harm their child "a lot."

Physical abuse and neglect of children were not common, even where "a lot" of harm was reported, and several respondents emphasised that the drinker had never physically harmed their child. While verbal and emotional abuse were more common, the most common harm was children witnessing conflicts such as physical or verbal abuse; while for children who were harmed "a little" the most common reported harm was witnessing drinking or inappropriate behaviour, especially beyond the extended family.

Fear, behavioural problems, and shame were some of the outcomes for children (as reported by interviewees). However, one child was doing well, or at least appeared to be doing so. Overall, there was no clear pattern about which children suffered and which prospered, as children in the same family reacted differently to the same (or very similar) circumstances.

The main impact on the family of having a parent whose drinking was harming children was that the other parent was prepared to leave the relationship. This was a non-gendered finding; both men and women were prepared to end the relationship. Only reducing the drinking to a minimal level or stopping altogether would save the relationship. However, the high level of separation observed may reflect some selection bias in terms of willingness to be interviewed in-depth on the study's topic. While separation removed some children from the harm of daily exposure to a problematic drinker, it did not mean that they were now unaffected by that person, as parents still had access rights and the custodial parent worried about the harms the drinker could still inflict. It was also noted that the partner relationship is only one element in family relationships, and the option of separation from the problematic drinker was less feasible if the drinker was the interviewee's adult child. In these cases the family struggled to provide ongoing support. Financial insecurity arising from the cost of drinking was an issue for a few families, with some of the financial insecurity related to now living in a single parent home.

The most commonly used source of support for dealing with harm to children from another's drinking was the immediate and the extended family. If respondents did not have such support they used a variety of other sources, or they did not receive support and struggled. In a culture in which religious communities often do not play a major role in people's lives, their capacity to offer support was limited, although very helpful for those who had such a connection. One of the benefits associated with 'the church' was that there was a perception that leaders and staff would not stigmatise the person seeking support in the same way as a friend might. Friends were not widely favoured as a source of support because of the perceived stigma of having alcohol-related problems in the family.

Formal services and medical professionals were perceived to be focused on supporting the drinker, but not the adult family members interviewed who were dealing with the impacts of that person's drinking. The cultural context of confidentiality principles aimed at protecting the rights of the drinker, and the focus by formal services and health professionals on the drinker, meant that sometimes the impact on others of harm from drinking was greater than it might have been. It is difficult to see the possibility for change in traditional treatment-based approaches, as the rules about confidentiality are firmly embedded, unless more services are provided explicitly and specifically for families coping with a problem drinking family member.

Counsellors were considered to have significant limitations in their ability to support individuals affected by a family member's drinking, not being embedded in the day-to-day reality, not being available when crises occurred, or being "too young" to be truly empathetic. Conversely, a dedicated support group for grandparents was highly supportive for one interviewee, particularly as it was perceived to be tailored to her needs and because someone was available to be contacted at any time. There is further scope for the provision of such support services dedicated to the needs of the person whose children have been harmed by another's drinking. Another finding was the under-acknowledged role that workplaces could play in supporting those people who were dealing with the unpredictability associated with the drinker in their family, especially when it was disrupting the family routine and affecting children's lives.

A strength of the current qualitative research study compared to previous qualitative research on alcohol's harm to others was the random sampling approach adopted in the HTO Survey from which the interviewees were selected. The resultant sample was Australia-wide, and covered a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds. The interviewees were not drawn from specialist alcohol and drug treatment agencies, primary care settings, or through interviewer contacts, as in other studies. This gives the current research a unique perspective, looking into the more serious end of alcohol-related harm to children and families through a general population window.

7

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, FAMILY SERVICES AND ALCOHOL-SPECIFIC SERVICES

Janette Mugavin and Anne-Marie Laslett

7.1 INTRODUCTION

It is often only the most serious alcohol-related incidents that come to the attention of service agencies (Hope 2011; Storbjörk & Room 2008). This chapter provides an overview of the services that respond to the problems experienced by the families and friends of drinkers and details (along with Chapter 8) a variety of agencies that respond to these family problems through various 'windows': welfare, support services, police and courts, and AOD services. The content of this chapter is partly about 'what services are available' and partly about 'what data are collected' – either routinely in registries or in special studies – about alcohol's involvement in these problems. This chapter examines service responses from police, family services and AOD treatment services and systems (including face-to-face, telephone and online counselling), addressing the question: What services are available for families and children if they have been affected by the drinking of those around them?

7.2 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE INCIDENTS

Alcohol-related domestic violence incidents are a major problem across Australia but are not consistently recorded across Australian states, with data published quarterly in New South Wales (NSW) (Table 7.1) and annually in Victoria (Tables 7.2 and 7.3), WA (Table 7.4) and the NT (Table 7.5). Recent alcohol-related domestic violence figures were not identified for Queensland (QLD), South Australia (SA), Tasmania or the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). National police figures on alcohol-related domestic violence collated on an annual basis were not identified – alcohol is inconsistently recorded across jurisdictions, making accrual of the data problematic. Each state publishes their findings separately and differently, presenting further difficulties in drawing together data sets.

Table 7.1 indicates that around 10,000-11,000 domestic violence assaults occur in NSW each year, and between 35 and 45 per cent of these are alcohol-related. The alcohol-related domestic violence figures for NSW have been stable over the last two, five and ten years; however, overall domestic violence assaults (not depicted here) show an increase of six per cent over the last two and five years, and an increase of two per cent over the last ten years (New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2014).

Table 7.1 Alcohol-related domestic violence assaults in New South Wales 2004–2005 to 2013–2014

YEAR REPORTED FROM APRIL UNTIL MARCH	ALCOHOL-RELATED DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ASSAULTS (N)	% OF ALL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ASSAULTS	ANNUAL % CHANGE	OFFENCE RATES PER 100,000
2004 - 2005	9,902	39	-	148
2005 - 2006	10,927	42	10	162
2006 - 2007	11,089	42	1	162
2007 - 2008	11,376	44	3	164
2008 - 2009	11,817	45	4	168
2009 - 2010	11,371	44	-4	159
2010 - 2011	10,706	40	-6	148
2011 - 2012	10,183	38	-5	139
2012 - 2013	10,338	37	2	140
2013 - 2014	9,948	35	-4	133

Source: NSW Recorded Crime Statistics April 2004 to March 2014 (New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2014). Population data of New South Wales from June 2004 to March 2014 were collected from Australian Bureau of Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014b).

Table 7.2 depicts the number and annual changes in family incident⁸ or domestic violence police reports attended by Victoria Police that involve alcohol (both where alcohol is 'definitely' involved and 'possibly' involved but not confirmed). The overall and alcohol-related family incident numbers have risen steadily since 2001-02, although the annual percentage increases and decreases have been inconsistent.

Table 7.2 Number of family incidents with definite and possible alcohol involvement, Victoria, 2001-02 to 2012-13

YEAR	ALL FAMILY INCIDENTS	POSSIBLE ALCOHOL INVOLVEMENT			DEFINITE ALCOHOL INVOLVEMENT			OFFENCE RATES PER 100,000 ^b
	n	n	%	ANNUAL % CHANGE	n	%	ANNUAL % CHANGE	
2001-02	23,452	3,030	13		6,637	28		138
2002-03	28,453	3,799	13	25	7,924	28	19	163
2003-04	27,665	3,684	13	-3	7,548	27	-5	153
2004-05	29,162	3,947	14	7	8,131	28	8	163
2005-06 ^a	28,301	4,000	14	1	7,463	26	-8	147
2006-07	29,652	4,348	15	8	7,743	26	4	150
2007-08	31,666	4,546	14	5	9,020	28	16	172
2008-09	33,918	5,092	15	12	10,363	31	15	193
2009-10	35,681	5,757	16	13	10,879	30	5	199
2010-11	40,778	7,253	18	26	11,732	29	8	212
2011-12	49,945	9,742	20	34	12,626	25	7	224
2012-13	60,550	9,644	16	1	12,556	23	12	219

Source: Victoria Police Statistical Services Division LEAP, analysis by Turning Point.

All family incident data for 2009-10 to 2012-13 was sourced from Victoria Police, Family Incident Reports - 2009-10 to 2013-14 (Victoria Police 2014).

^a From 8 Dec 2005, a new family risk assessment protocol was implemented (DVC 2007).

^b Victorian population data from June 2001 to June 2013 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014b).

The incidents recorded in 2010-2011 where alcohol involvement was recorded as 'definite' have been used in Table 7.3. This table indicates that in the majority of family incidents the victim was female and aged 25 years or over. In many incidents victims are middle-aged or older (i.e. 40 years and over), and among these victims the preponderance of females is somewhat less.

Table 7.3 Number of family incidents with definite alcohol involvement by gender and age of victim, Victoria, 2010-11

AGE CATEGORY	FEMALES		MALES		ALL INCIDENTS	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1-17 years	325	4	141	5	466	4
18-24 years	1423	16	328	12	1,751	15
25-39 years	3718	42	910	33	4,628	40
40 + years	3302	38	1339	49	4,641	40
Total	8768	100	2718	100	11,486	100

Source: Victoria Police Statistical Services Division LEAP, analysis by Turning Point.

Note: Total number of family incidents was 11,732 in 2010-11. Total presented (11,486) excludes 190 cases where age was not specified, 51 cases where gender was not specified, and 5 cases where both age and gender were not specified.

⁸ Family incidents are an indicator of domestic violence, for which information is available on the location of the incident (usually the victim's postcode of residence), details of the victim and offender and alcohol involvement. These incidents include some calls where the police deem that an offence has taken place, in addition to cases resulting in arrests (Livingston 2011).

Table 7.4 shows the numbers of overall domestic assaults, the percentages that were alcohol-related and the number of alcohol-related domestic assaults for the years 2005-06 to 2011-12 in WA. An estimated 47 per cent of family violence incidents reported to police in 2011-12 were alcohol-related, and there has been an increase in the number of alcohol-related assaults since 2005-06 (Western Australian Police 2013).

	NUMBER OF DOMESTIC ASSAULTS	% ALCOHOL-RELATED	NUMBER OF ALCOHOL-RELATED DOMESTIC ASSAULTS	ANNUAL % CHANGE	OFFENCE RATES PER 100,000
2005-06	8,460	50	4,196		205
2006-07	8,843	51	4,501	7	214
2007-08	8,394	51	4,306	-4	198
2008-09	8,321	54	4,527	5	202
2009-10	8,533	53	4,522	0	197
2010-11	9,794	50	4,848	7	206
2011-12	10,857	47	5,092	5	209

Source: Western Australian Police 2013. Population data of Western Australia from June 2005 to June 2012 were collected from Australian Bureau of Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014b).

Data in Table 7.5 from the NT demonstrate that the rate of alcohol-related domestic assaults has increased starkly, almost doubling between 2008 and 2013 (Department of the Attorney General and Justice 2013).

	ALCOHOL-RELATED DOMESTIC ASSAULTS (n)	ANNUAL % CHANGE	OFFENCE RATES PER 100,000
2008	1,768		804
2009	2,181	23	965
2010	2,385	9	1,038
2011	2,398	1	1,037
2012	2,540	6	1,080
2013	3,137	24	1,310

Source: Department of the Attorney General and Justice, Northern Territory Government (Department of the Attorney General and Justice, 2013). Population data of Northern Territory from June 2008 to June 2013 were collected from Australian Bureau of Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014b)

Adding together the figures from 2011 (the year for which data for the most jurisdictions has been found) the total of alcohol-related domestic assaults is 29,684 (NSW - 10,706; Victoria - 11,732; WA - 4,848, and the NT - 2,398). This figure excludes assaults in SA, ACT, QLD and Tasmania, as data were not available for that year.

In addition, these police figures capture only a sliver of the domestic violence that families and children experience each year. The 2012 Personal Safety Survey (PSS) figures indicate that in the 12 months prior to the survey an estimated 184,300 Australians aged 18 years and over, including 132,500 women (1.5 per cent of women) and 51,800 men (0.6 per cent of men) experienced partner violence¹² (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014a). Applying 2010 HTO Study analyses (which indicated that two in three assaults are alcohol-related) to these PSS figures, an estimated 122,867 of these cases would be alcohol-related.

¹² The term 'partner' in the PSS is used to describe the person the respondent lives with, or lived with at some point, in a married or de facto relationship.

7.3 FAMILY SERVICES

Across Australia a range of services have been developed to assist families in need, with the majority provided by the states. Government and non-government services provided to families vary from state to state, but commonly include parenting assistance, counselling services, relationship services, services that focus on families where children are vulnerable, family violence services and a range of crisis and emergency services (New South Wales Family Services 2011; Victorian Department of Human Services 2011a). Broader welfare services include financial support services and housing and accommodation assistance (Victorian Department of Human Services 2011b). In Victoria *Child FIRST* services have been established to support vulnerable families before they enter the child protection system, including families under pressure due to a family member's substance abuse and a range of other concerns that may adversely affect a child's care or development. The referrals to AOD services by *Child FIRST* are not recorded, nor is there ongoing recording of whether AOD misuse is a problem or risk factor for families who access these services (CPS senior data manager personal communication 2011).

Some services for families are also provided by the Commonwealth Government. The Commonwealth Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (now the Department of Social Services) funded a range of services to vulnerable families affected by issues such as drugs, violence and trauma under the *Family Support Program* (FSP) Specialist Services stream. For example, 2,662 clients received support between July and December 2011 as part of the *Kids in Focus* services, scheme, although whether these referrals were for alcohol or other types of drug problems is not known (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs 2012). The nature of the work conducted by a family-focused service within the AOD treatment system is described in Box 7.1.

A number of other services were provided under the FSP between July and December 2011: 10,573 clients received support through the Specialised Family Violence Service, but whether AOD were issues for these clients was not reported (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs 2012). The second largest number of services were provided as Family Relationship Services, including relationship advice, counselling for young people and children, and broader parenting support which was made available to 175,822 clients (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs 2012). Again, whether alcohol was a concern in these cases was not detailed.

Kids in Focus is a Commonwealth-funded service that addresses the needs of parents and children where parents have, or are recovering from, AOD problems. Most referrals to the program are made by Child Protection Services. Clients are typically sole parent mothers resolving parenting problems associated with the misuse of AOD, along with a range of complex problems. A case manager explained:

We are dealing with the most marginalised groups within the community – most have a history of family violence and sexual assault; many have a history of childhood in care.

The program provides case management with assertive and intensive outreach with the aim of supporting parents to retain children safely in their care. The program also supports parents who are working toward reunification with children placed in out-of-home care. A range of approaches is used to support families, including parent-child attachment and trauma-informed practice. *Kids in Focus* also utilises the *Parents Under Pressure* (PUP) program – a home-based parenting, child behaviour and parental emotion regulation program for vulnerable families. While case managers emphasise that a carer's substance use is not always detrimental to children's wellbeing, they note that families with few social networks and limited access to mainstream services are at greater risk for child maltreatment and parental relapse.

In order to address social isolation, the *Kids in Focus* program piloted *Mirror Families*⁹, an innovative early intervention approach devised in the out-of-home care sector “to create, together with the child or young person and their parents, a functional ‘extended family’ that reflects what happens in naturally-occurring extended family structures by recruiting and supporting those with an existing connection to the child and/or others who can commit to the child's future” (Brunner & O'Neill 2009 in Tsantefski et al. 2013, p. 76). The original model was adapted for use within the AOD sector to avoid and mitigate the negative effects of substance use for children and families by providing support to parents and/or children and by supporting direct actions made by parents to protect children. In the study examining five families' experiences of the program, only one woman relapsed (she and her children were exposed to domestic violence). The woman in question informed her network members who then supported her. “All the children in the program were safely in maternal care at the end of the intervention...Children's own networks also improved. Social contacts, including friendship with peers, increased” (Tsantefski et al. 2013, p.81). The pilot program has evolved into an intervention model delivered by all *Kids in Focus* staff to assist families to develop their own sustainable networks.

The following comments from the *Mirror Families* staff interviewed (in a focus group held in January, 2014) illustrate the multiple issues facing families, providing insight into one program's methods of managing AOD-related family problems and highlighting positive changes achieved through engagement with the program:

It's about them becoming self-managing, breaking intergenerational histories of substance misuse, family violence and lack of meaningful activity. It's about harm reduction.

Almost all of the children are parentified¹⁰ and observe situations children should not.

When I first met the mother there wasn't even any eye contact - and the child was a mess. After six months, she parented so well.

They [mothers] are learning how to parent and at the start some don't even know how to form friendships, let alone make play dates or have birthday parties.

⁹ Mirror Families is a trademark of Permanent Care and Adoptive Families. For more information about Mirror Families at Odyssey House Victoria see: Tsantefski et al. (2013).

¹⁰ 'Parentified' is a term widely used in child welfare that indicates that children take on caring roles and responsibilities beyond their years and commonly look after themselves, their parents and siblings.

Family Law Services, which provide alternatives to formal court processes for families (who are separated, separating or in dispute, to improve their relationships and care arrangements in the best interests of their children), were provided to 150,006 clients between July and December 2011 (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs 2012). These services are provided through a mix of private and public schemes and via a range of providers, including Family Relationship Centres, community organisations, legal aid commissions, and individuals such as lawyers, social workers or psychologists. Again, whether AOD were problems for these clients was not reported.

The Relationships Australia program does not feature AOD use as a key issue for its constituents, although one of its programs, the Referral for Active Intervention (RAI) program, lists drug and alcohol issues first amongst a list of problems families experience (Relationships Australia 2012). Relationships Australia is a leading provider of relationship support services for individuals, families and communities. It is a community-based, not-for-profit organisation.

Thus, the majority of Australian family service systems and data registers do not record alcohol's involvement in the problems of their clients. The limited evidence that does exist suggests that alcohol is implicated in a substantial proportion of cases. These data, from specific AOD services, are provided in the sections below.

7.4 ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUG (AOD) TREATMENT SERVICES FOR FAMILIES

Within Australia, publicly-funded AOD treatment agencies provide a range of services such as counselling, withdrawal management¹¹ and information and support for people experiencing difficulties related to their own or someone else's substance use. As part of contractual arrangements between the treatment agencies and government departments, treatment related data are collected and reported in accordance with the AODTS-NMDS. Closed episodes of care (CEoCs)¹² are used as the standard unit of measurement in the AODTS-NMDS, as opposed to individual client numbers (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2013a).

In Australia in 2011-12, 6,720 CEoCs were provided to clients seeking treatment for someone else's drug use, including alcohol use, accounting for four per cent of all CEoCs provided (see Figure 7.1). The proportion of CEoCs provided to clients seeking treatment for someone else's alcohol or drug use has remained constant (4 per cent to 5 per cent) over the past years (2006-07 to 2011-12) (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2013c). Across Australia, the proportion of CEoCs provided to clients seeking treatment for someone else's AOD use ranged from one per cent in SA to 10 per cent in the NT. The wide variation in percentages is likely to reflect differences in system orientation, emphasis on the provision of family-focused interventions or in recording practices across the states and territories.

¹¹ Withdrawal management treatment (also referred to as detoxification) includes medicated and non-medicated treatment to assist in managing, reducing or stopping the use of a drug of concern.

¹² A closed episode of care refers to a period of contact, with defined start and end dates, between a client and a treatment agency. It is possible that more than one treatment episode may be in progress for a client at any one time; therefore the number of closed treatment episodes captured in the AODTS-NMDS does not equate to the total number of people in Australia receiving treatment for alcohol and other drugs (AIHW 2013a).

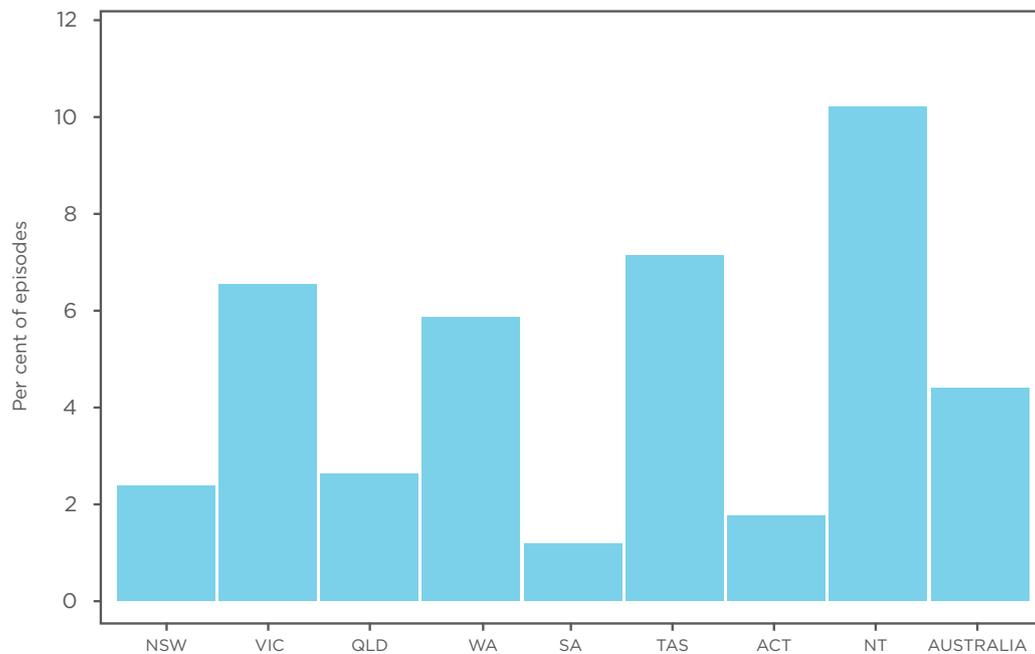


Figure 7.1 Closed episodes of care provided to clients seeking treatment in connection with someone else's alcohol or drug use, AOD services in Australian states and territories, 2011-12

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2013c)

Information describing CEOCs provided by Victorian non-government¹³ specialist AOD services to clients seeking support due to someone else's alcohol use is shown in Table 7.6. In 2007-08, over half the CEOCs were provided to women, and this proportion increased to 73 per cent in 2009-10. However, ongoing changes to the Victorian AOD service funding arrangements may reduce the provision of services to family members and capacity of the system to meet the needs of family members into the future.

The relationship of the client to the drinker is also captured: the majority of CEOCs are provided to parents and partners, with approximately equal proportions reported for each of the five years. As Table 7.6 shows, the proportion of CEOCs provided to someone who has sought support due to a friend's drinking has decreased over the five years. Although the reasons for this are unknown, it may in part be due to services excluding individuals seeking treatment due to a friend's AOD use, an increased focus in the system on providing services to family members or increased numbers of family members seeking services.

Consistent with the age distribution of the overall treatment population, the majority of CEOCs for those affected by others' drinking are provided to people aged 30 to 59 years. Approximately one-quarter of these were provided to people aged 17 and under and this figure has remained relatively stable over the five years presented.

In 2007-08 and 2008-09, approximately 20 per cent of CEOCs for those affected by others' drinking were provided to clients who identified as Indigenous; however, this proportion decreased to less than five per cent in the following three years.

Counselling, Consultancy and Continuing Care (CCCC) was the most common treatment service provided to clients seeking help due to someone else's drinking, accounting for 58 to 72 per cent of treatment services provided in a year. With the exception of 2008-09, outreach was the second most common treatment service provided, accounting for 12 per cent of AOD treatment provided in 2008-09 but rising to 31 per cent of treatment provided in 2010-11.

¹³ Victorian specialist AOD services are publicly funded, however the services are provided by non-government agencies.

Table 7.6 Characteristics of clients (closed episodes of care) contacting specialist AOD services because of someone else's drinking in Victorian publicly-funded non-government agencies^a

(n)	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-2011	2011-12
	(896)	(754)	(1052)	(884)	(881)
	%	%	%	%	%
Gender					
Male	45	42	27	32	32
Female	55	58	73	68	68
Relationship to the drinker					
Parent	25	26	32	33	33
Spouse/partner	27	26	31	32	33
Sibling	4	5	5	7	8
Child	11	11	15	14	14
Friend	34	32	16	13	12
Employee	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.2
Age					
0-17	27	24	25	24	26
18-29	18	18	12	7	8
30-59	43	46	49	53	52
60 and older	9	9	12	12	13
Unknown	2	2	3	4	1
Indigenous status					
Not self-identified as Indigenous	81	74	96	97	97
Self-identified as Indigenous	19	26	4	3	3
Living arrangements					
Lives alone	11	6	9	12	8
Lives with family	81	90	86	83	88
Lives with others	9	4	6	6	5
Treatment type provided					
Counselling, Consultancy and Continuing Care	61	58	72	61	65
Aboriginal A&D Resource Service	9	23	2	0.1	0.1
Outreach	18	12	20	31	24
Aboriginal AOD Worker	6	0.8	0.7	0.8	1
Parent Support	3	4	3	2	7
Other	2	2	2	4	2

Source: Alcohol and Drug Information System, Department of Health Victoria, analysis by Turning Point.

^a In Victoria, all AOD services are reported to be non-government agencies as they receive government funding but are not part of government departments.

The table excludes missing data as follows: Less than three per cent of cases missing one or more of the following variables: sex, age, treatment type provided; between two and eight per cent of information missing for 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status' in a given year; between three and 19 per cent of information missing for 'Living arrangements' in a given year.

7.5 TELEPHONE AND ONLINE ADVICE LINES FOR FAMILIES

Specialist AOD information and counselling telephone and internet-based services provide an adjunct or an alternative to face-to-face treatment. Commonly referred to as ‘helplines’, telephone services offer crisis and ongoing counselling, referral information to other services and other forms of assistance and support. The availability of internet-based services has increased dramatically in Australia over the past 10 years, with services offering online counselling, support groups and information hubs. As with face-to-face services, AOD telephone and internet-based services offer assistance and support to people experiencing difficulties with their own AOD use as well as people affected by or concerned about someone else’s AOD use.

This section reports on service use data from one Victorian service and two nation-wide services (one based in Victoria and the other in NSW).

- In Victoria, *DirectLine* provides a state-wide 24 hours per day/7 days per week (24/7) AOD telephone helpline and referral service, managed by Turning Point, part of Eastern Health. Trained AOD counsellors provide counselling, information and referrals both to those calling about their own AOD use and to individuals concerned about someone else’s substance use (Department of Health 2014).
- *CounsellingOnline* is a nation-wide internet-based model of intervention provided by Turning Point, Eastern Health, and funded by the Commonwealth Department of Health. It is a text-based counselling service both for individuals concerned with their own substance use problems and for those concerned about the substance use of others. The service is available 24/7.
- *Family Drug Support* (FDS) provides a nation-wide telephone helpline dedicated to addressing the support and information needs of family members who are affected by someone’s alcohol or drug use. The *FDS Helpline* is staffed by trained volunteers and the service is available 24/7.

As Table 7.7 shows, the number of close and extended family members calling *DirectLine* about someone else’s alcohol use decreased gradually from 2,462 in 2006–07 to 1,638 in 2012–13. In contrast, the number of calls from family members concerned about someone else’s other drug¹⁴ use (excluding alcohol) fell from 3,320 in 2006–07 to 2,074 in 2009–10 and then increased sharply to 3,828 in 2012–13. The number of alcohol-related calls received by the *FDS Helpline* from family members has steadily increased from 3,420 in 2006–07 to 5,966 in 2012–2013, whereas the number of calls from family members regarding drugs other than alcohol has remained relatively stable over the past four years. *CounsellingOnline* commenced in 2005, and the number of contacts made by family members concerned about someone else’s drinking increased from 110 in 2006–07 to 342 in 2008–09. Since 2008–09, the number of contacts by family members concerned about someone else’s drinking has ranged between 223 in 2011–12 to 295 in 2010–2011. Similar to the findings for *DirectLine*, the number of contacts by family members concerned about someone’s drug use (excluding alcohol) has increased over the past three years.

Table 7.7 Calls and contacts received from close and extended family members about someone else’s AOD use, 2006–07 to 2012–13

	2006–07	2007–08	2008–09	2009–10	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13
	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
<i>DirectLine</i> calls about alcohol	2,462	2,173	1,893	1,740	1,700	1,591	1,638
<i>DirectLine</i> calls about drugs	3,320	3,075	2,503	2,074	2,548	3,152	3,828
<i>Family Drug Support</i> calls about alcohol	3,420	3,363	4,048	4,095	5,505	5,927	5,966
<i>Family Drug Support</i> calls about drugs	18,229	18,909	19,626	17,012	16,683	17,972	16,798
<i>CounsellingOnline</i> contacts about alcohol	110	128	342	286	295	223	258
<i>CounsellingOnline</i> contacts about drugs	283	227	191	328	161	281	308

Source: *DirectLine* and *CounsellingOnline* data were provided by HealthLink, Turning Point. Family Drug Support data were provided by Family Drug Support Australia.

¹⁴ Other drugs, or drugs other than alcohol, include other psychoactive depressants (e.g., cannabis, benzodiazepines, GHB, heroin and other opioids including methadone), stimulants (e.g. methamphetamine, cocaine) and hallucinogens (e.g., ketamine, LSD).

Using 2012–13 data as an example, the main family members contacting each of the services were partners, parents and siblings. However, the proportions of each relationship type varied between the three services. For example, two in three family members calling FDS were parents, whereas parents only accounted for 34 per cent of the family members calling *DirectLine* and 24 per cent of the *CounsellingOnline* contacts from family members. Partners accounted for 60 per cent of the family members contacting *CounsellingOnline* about someone else’s drinking, whereas one-third or less of calls to *DirectLine* and FDS were from partners. It’s possible that the text-based modality of *CounsellingOnline* may provide partners with a more accessible and private avenue of support, as opposed to a telephone helpline (see Table 7.8).

Table 7.8 Relationship types calling about someone else’s alcohol use for each service, 2012–13

	PARTNER		PARENT		SIBLING		SON OR DAUGHTER		OTHER RELATIVE		TOTAL
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
<i>DirectLine</i>	525	32	563	34	262	16	132	8	156	10	1,638
Family Drug Support	1,042	17	3,961	66	523	9	75	1	365	6	5,966
<i>Counselling Online</i>	143	60	56	24	12	5	12	5	14	6	237

Source: *DirectLine* and *CounsellingOnline* data were provided by HealthLink, Turning Point. Family Drug Support data were provided by Family Drug Support Australia.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter illustrates the range of services that respond to families experiencing problems associated with others’ drinking, from police to telephone helplines. In general, little research records or examines the numbers of services that are used by families and friends affected by others’ drinking in the Australian context.

In many respects, police responses often reflect the more serious types of alcohol-related harms, such as assaults. But obtaining national estimates on the proportion of family incidents where alcohol was involved is difficult due to different reporting practices across Australian states and territories. This report indicates that in 2011 there were:

- 10,706 incidents of alcohol-related domestic violence in NSW (2010–2011)
- 11,732 family incidents with definite alcohol involvement in Victoria (2010–2011)
- 4,848 alcohol-related domestic assaults in WA (2010–2011)
- 2,398 alcohol-related domestic assault in the NT (2011).

This equates to a total of 29,684 incidents, excluding other states and the ACT where this information was not available. In the case of Victoria, WA and the NT the numbers of alcohol-related family incidents have been steadily rising. The Victorian data suggest that women were more likely to experience domestic violence.

The data on alcohol-related domestic violence are patchy. Alcohol involvement is not routinely recorded in many family services, and referrals between AOD and other services are not enumerated. There is substantial room to improve data collection, particularly outside AOD-specific services. Providing a clear picture of the proportion of families seeking assistance and support from non-alcohol and drug specific services (such as relationship counselling or parental programs) is challenging, as few services record alcohol as a reason for help-seeking. Although they may have asked about the client’s drinking, this is not recorded systematically (especially in electronic records) or published in reports. However, the limited evidence that does exist suggests that alcohol is implicated in a substantial proportion of cases.

AOD services provide some support to family members of problem drinkers. For example:

- 6,720 closed episodes of care were provided to individuals seeking treatment related to someone else's alcohol and/or drug use by publicly-funded AOD services across Australia in 2011-12.
- 881 closed episodes of care were provided to individuals seeking treatment related to someone else's alcohol use by Victorian publicly-funded AOD treatment providers in 2011-12.
- Across Australia in 2012-2013, 5,966 calls were received by the FDS Helpline and 258 contacts were registered by *CounsellingOnline* from individuals concerned about a family member's drinking.
- 1,638 calls were received from Victorians by *DirectLine* in 2012-2013 from individuals concerned about a family member's drinking.

These statistics are all drawn from services that are specifically funded to provide services to those affected by or concerned about the drinking of others in family or intimate relationships. The general AOD service system also provides some data on services to others in drinkers' families, but this aspect of their work has not received policy or research emphasis, is often not specifically funded, and is inadequately recorded or counted.

8

ALCOHOL'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILD PROTECTION CASES

Anne-Marie Laslett

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Societal and most individual attitudes toward drinking with one's spouse and around children indicate that carers should not drink to the point of intoxication around children (Room 2011). But the reality is that the majority of parents and carers do drink in Australia, and probably in many contexts in the presence of their own and others' children. Parents are expected to remain in control of their own and their children's lives, and to manage the risks associated with their own and others' drinking (Laslett 2013). Where parents are seen to have failed to do so, tension arises both within and beyond the family confines. In extreme cases, when carers and parents' actions or inactions are reported, state and territory Child Protection Services (CPS) are given the task of making decisions on drinking-as-a-risk-factor and its potential effect on parenting capacity. Where this threshold lies in determining capacity is unclear. The aim of child protection is often in conflict with the strong cultural values of family privacy and preservation, so that these systems, in Australia as elsewhere, are a perpetual site of cultural-political conflict. Given the cultural ambiguity about whether and how much drinking is acceptable in parental roles, this issue is often involved in these broader systemic conflicts (Arney & Scott 2010).

This chapter describes how children affected by others' drinking present in child protection systems across Australia. These problems commonly co-exist with other parental problems, including mental illness, family violence and socio-economic disadvantage. This chapter provides information on the cases that are serious enough to warrant child protection assessment and management and focuses on those cases involving parental or carer drinking. These cases commonly require substantial investment by government agencies and other support systems to deal with the numerous complex issues in the family situations of these vulnerable and maltreated children.

Information from all Australian states was sought and is described, summarising where possible the cases in which alcohol is involved. However, this chapter draws heavily on alcohol-specific Victorian data, collected by child protection workers between 2001 and 2005. As will be described, there is inconsistent collection of data on alcohol's involvement in child protection cases across the states. The Victorian data enabled analyses of how alcohol is involved in different stages of, and increasingly serious, child protection cases (Laslett et al. 2013), in repeat child maltreatment cases (Laslett et al. 2012), and in different forms of child abuse and neglect (Laslett et al 2010). These data were used to estimate the cases of child maltreatment involving carer alcohol misuse as a risk factor in Australia in 2006-07 (Laslett et al., 2010). This chapter addresses the research question: What services are available for families and children if they have been affected by the drinking of those around them?

8.2 STATE AND NATIONAL ESTIMATES OF ALCOHOL'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILD PROTECTION CASES

While there are scant data available regarding estimates of alcohol involvement in child protection cases, there is a mixture of government reports and other studies investigating AOD-related child protection cases over the period 2001 to 2007 (see Table 8.1). For example, in Victoria and QLD there are government reports about alcohol and child protection cases, while in WA and SA there are only studies on specific populations related to child protection. In 2012-13, the national estimate of substantiated¹⁵ child protection cases was 7.8 cases per 1,000 children aged up to 17 years of age (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2014), but there is no estimate of how many of these cases involve drinking by a carer. Child abuse cases are substantiated when a child has been, is being, or is likely to be abused, neglected or otherwise harmed (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2014).

¹⁵ In the child protection system cases are first reported and then investigated or dismissed. Of those investigated a proportion of cases are confirmed or 'substantiated'. Data are more complete for substantiated cases than those cases that do not reach this stage in the process. Substantiated cases may be dismissed at this stage, receive a number of different protective interventions or, in the most serious cases, require a court order.

Alcohol is commonly involved in child protection cases across all states and territories. The percentages of cases that involve alcohol (or AOD where alcohol-specific information is not available separately) in each of the states and territories are noted in Table 8.1. In terms of government reports, in substantiated child abuse and neglect cases investigated by CPS in Victoria between 2001 and 2005 (calendar years), approximately one-third involved some degree of problematic alcohol use by the child's parents (Laslett et al. 2010). In QLD, 24 per cent of substantiated cases reported in 2007 involved parental alcohol misuse. Carer AOD problems were more commonly identified in substantiated neglect cases, and less commonly in sexual abuse, compared with other types of abuse (Queensland Government Department of Communities 2008). In NSW, only 15 per cent of cases were reported to involve carer alcohol abuse in reports from 2006-07. However, in more detailed study of a sample of 200 families, 35 per cent involved carer alcohol problems (Hopkins & Smoothy 2007).

Studies utilising smaller child protection samples and in different settings were also located. In WA 47 per cent of applications to the Children's Court in 2000 involved alcohol (Farate 2001) and over three-quarters of the families of children entering alternative (out-of-home) care in SA were identified as involving parental misuse of alcohol (Jeffreys et al. 2009). In the NT, while there are limited statistical data, the media and literature around the role of alcohol in child abuse and the 'rivers of grog' is compelling and so severe that a number of inquiries have been implemented into the abuse of children in the territory (see *The little children are sacred* report (Wild & Anderson 2007) and the NT inquiry into child protection (Bamblett et al. 2010)). Both of these reports identify alcohol as an obvious problem, although there are only limited statistical data presented. No government or other reports from Tasmania regarding alcohol and child protection cases were identified.

Table 8.1 Current state/territory estimates of alcohol involvement in child protection cases

Australian Capital Territory	Substantiated cases in 2000–2003: 56 per cent of cases in a study of 150 children from 110 families involved alcohol and drugs (Murray 2004)
New South Wales	Substantiated cases in 2006–07: 15 per cent involved alcohol in the data system; 35 per cent involved carer alcohol in a sample of 200 cases (Hopkins & Smoothy 2007) Court applications: 38 per cent of cases involve alcohol (McConnell et al. 2000)
Northern Territory	Parental/caregiver substance misuse cited as a significant factor in child protection between 2003 and 2010 (Bamblett et al. 2010) but no data provided
Queensland	Substantiated cases in 2007: 47 per cent involved alcohol or drugs, 51 per cent of these cases involved alcohol only (i.e. 24 per cent of all cases). Parental/carers alcohol misuse was most commonly found in neglect cases (Queensland Government Department of Communities 2008)
South Australia	Alternative care: approximately 70 per cent of cases in 2006 involved parental substance misuse (Jeffreys et al. 2009)
Tasmania	No estimates of the percentage of cases that involved alcohol and/or other drugs were identified
Victoria	33 per cent of all substantiated cases involved carer alcohol abuse and 42 per cent of cases involving a court protective order (cases in 2001-2005) (Laslett 2013)
Western Australia	47 per cent of applications in 2000 to Children's Court for care and protection orders involved carer alcohol (Farate 2001)

8.2.1 ALCOHOL RECORDING IN STATE CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEMS ACROSS AUSTRALIA

Table 8.2 illustrates the variability in reporting of alcohol-related problems in CPS across Australia, highlighting the considerable disarray within Australian data sources, with alcohol and other drug misuse by carers in the child protection system inconsistently recorded.

Without continuing mandatory electronic collection of the involvement in cases of carer alcohol and other drug misuse in the various state systems, it is not possible to estimate whether alcohol is becoming an increasing problem within these systems. Where there is mandatory recording, there is usually only a combined flag for alcohol and drug misuse; separate recording would be an important addition to knowledge in the field; and given the substantial size of the problem it is an issue that requires close government monitoring. The mandatory recording of alcohol as a risk factor ceased in Victoria in 2005 (Laslett et al. 2010). The reinstatement of alcohol as a mandatory data field would enable the ongoing surveillance of alcohol's effects upon the Victorian child protection system.

As highlighted in Table 8.2, surveillance in other states should also be enhanced. NSW only records alcohol involvement at the notification stage. Although QLD has an excellent electronic data collection system, it does not distinguish between alcohol and other drug misuse. Simple drop down boxes could be included for a number of risk factors in the different state-based CPS systems across Australia. A number of other changes to child protection data collection – for example the introduction of standardisation of alcohol misuse measures/definitions and the introduction of recording of referrals – are recommended. However, if standardised reporting of alcohol-related diagnoses is introduced, it is critical that child protection workers retain their ability to record the extent and nature of the impact of alcohol on parenting, regardless of the type of alcohol problem recorded. The ongoing reporting of alcohol involvement in CPS cases will enhance surveillance and evaluation of alcohol-related policies in this sector, as well as providing a basis for service systems and governments to plan and evaluate the impact of interventions to reduce rates of alcohol-related child abuse.

Table 8.2 Current state/territory recording of alcohol's involvement in child protection cases

State/territory	Department responsible	Name of CP database	Framework for assessing harm	Recording of alcohol	Mandatory recording of alcohol
Australian Capital Territory	Department of Disability, Housing and Community Services	Children and Young Persons System ¹⁶ (since December 1999)	Professional judgement ¹⁷	No	No
New South Wales	Department of Community Services	Key Information and Directory System	Professional judgement: recorded as primary, secondary or tertiary issue	At notification, alcohol recorded separately from other drugs	No
Northern Territory	Department of Health and Families	Community Care Information System	Oracle Policy automation software	Unsure – recent figures from case note reviews	No
Queensland	Department of Communities	Integrated Client Management System	Professional judgement, moving toward structured decision making ¹⁸ via the Family Risk Evaluation Tool and Parent Strength and Needs Assessment	As part of alcohol and other drugs field	No
South Australia	Department for Families and Communities	Connected Client Case Management System (currently being developed)	Principal decision making criteria	Substance use recorded in line with National Minimum Dataset ¹⁹	No
Tasmania	Department of Health and Human Services	Client Information System	Principal decision making criteria/professional judgement ²⁰	In case notes and cannot be extracted, can only be utilised at case level	No
Victoria	Child, Youth and Families Division, Department of Human Services	Child Protection Information System	Professional judgement	As part of alcohol and other drugs field	No
Western Australia	Department for Child Protection ²²	Child and Services Information System (CASIS) 1993 – 2005	Victorian Risk Framework (VRF); primarily based on professional judgement ²¹	Drop down menu with options 'Yes', 'No' and 'Unknown'	Yes
		Client Relationship Information System (CRIS) 2006 – current	Professional judgement ²³ – Signs of Safety approach	Can be noted, but no longer compulsorily	No
		Assist (Since 8 March 2010)		Question 'Parental substance abuse' when case is first reported – free text-based reporting	No
		Client Community Services System (prior to 8 March 2010)		In case file notes only; case notes are summarised and entered into the electronic database	No

¹⁶ AIHW (2010)

¹⁷ Bromfield & Higgins (2005)

¹⁸ Bromfield & Higgins (2005)

¹⁹ Personal communication SA Department for Families & Communities

²⁰ Bromfield & Higgins (2005)

²¹ Department of Human Services (1999)

²² Personal communication WA Department of Child Protection

²³ Bromfield & Higgins (2005)

8.2.2 EXTRAPOLATING TO IDENTIFY NATIONAL LEVELS OF CHILDREN AFFECTED BY CARER ALCOHOL ABUSE

Carer alcohol abuse was identified by child protection workers in 31 per cent of the 29,455 children involved in substantiated cases, and in 33 per cent of the 38,487 substantiated cases themselves, in the Victorian CPS system between 2001 and 2005. While the HTO Survey data are national, the data from CASIS pertain only to one state – Victoria. It has been assumed here that the percentage of cases that involve carer alcohol abuse will be similar to the percentage that will be found for Australia as a whole: however, as Victoria has one of the lowest per capita alcohol consumption levels in the country, it is likely that the calculated figure is an underestimate.

To estimate the number of children affected by alcohol-related child abuse in Australia, the proportion of children identified in the Victorian CASIS data child abuse and neglect cases that involved alcohol was multiplied by the estimated number of children ($n = 32,585$) who were the subject of substantiated notifications of child abuse in CPS across Australia in 2006-07 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2008). Thus an estimated 10,166 children experienced abuse and neglect related to carer alcohol misuse across Australia in 2005. If the same figure is applied to the 40,571 children substantiated in the system in 2012-13 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 2014), an estimated 12,658 children experienced alcohol-related child abuse or neglect in that period.

8.3 ALCOHOL'S INVOLVEMENT IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT IN VICTORIA

The Victorian data collected between 2001 and 2005 enabled fine-level analysis of alcohol's involvement in child protection cases. In this period parental or carer 'alcohol abuse' was recorded as a risk factor or not by child protection workers compulsorily and electronically in each substantiated case. Alcohol abuse was not defined for child protection workers in their protocols but child protection workers were directed not to include this risk factor unless its presence could be supported in court (Laslett 2013). Before examining alcohol misuse in different types of abuse the different forms of child abuse are defined here (Victorian Department of Human Services 2007, pp. 3-4):

Emotional abuse occurs when a child is repeatedly rejected, isolated or frightened by threats or the witnessing of family violence. It also includes hostility, derogatory name-calling and putdowns, or persistent coldness from a person, to the extent where the behaviour of the child is disturbed or their emotional development is at serious risk of being impaired.

Neglect includes a failure to provide the child with an adequate standard of nutrition, medical care, clothing, shelter or supervision to the extent where the health or development of the child is significantly impaired or placed at serious risk. A child is neglected if they are left uncared for over long periods of time or abandoned.

Physical abuse consists of any non-accidental form of injury or serious physical harm inflicted on a child by any person. Physical abuse does not mean reasonable discipline though it may result from excessive or inappropriate discipline.

A child is **sexually abused** when any person uses their authority over the child to involve the child in sexual activity.

Using the Victorian data, it is apparent that carer alcohol misuse is more prominent in emotional child abuse cases (39 per cent of cases), child abandonment (38 per cent) and neglect (35 per cent), than in physical abuse (27 per cent) and sexual abuse (12 per cent) cases (Table 8.3). This is consistent with patterns of alcohol involvement in Canada, where alcohol abuse was also more likely to be reported in neglect and emotional abuse cases than in cases of physical and sexual abuse (Trocmé et al. 2005). In a study of court cases in Boston, USA, Famularo et al. (1992) found that alcohol abuse was associated more with physical maltreatment and less with sexual abuse.

In Victoria, carer alcohol abuse was most commonly identified in the child abuse cases where parents were deceased or incapacitated (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3 Alcohol's involvement in substantiated child protection cases by type of primary harm, Victoria, 2001–2005

	CHILD ABANDONED	PARENTS DECEASED OR INCAPACITATED	PHYSICAL HARM	SEXUAL ABUSE	EMOTIONAL HARM	NEGLECT	TOTAL
Total	647	442	9,478	3,121	17,144	7,655	38,487
n with alcohol involvement	245	245	2,554	385	6,661	2,681	12,771
% with alcohol involvement	38	55	27	12	39	35	33

8.4 ALCOHOL'S INVOLVEMENT IN MORE SERIOUS CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT CASES

The Victorian data also reveal that as child protection cases become more serious and require more intervention, alcohol is more likely to be identified as a factor. Of the 38,487 Victorian child abuse and neglect cases that were substantiated over the period 2001–2005, carer alcohol abuse was recorded as a risk factor in the family in one-third (33 per cent). Partitioning these cases by the level of intervention reached, carer alcohol abuse was recorded in one-quarter (25 per cent) of substantiated cases that did not receive further intervention. In cases where the most serious intervention was a protective intervention (but no court order), 34 per cent of cases were identified with carer alcohol abuse. Of those cases involving an order from the Children's Court, 42 per cent involved alcohol. Thus, cases that received further and more serious interventions were progressively more likely to involve alcohol. These results are presented in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Alcohol involvement by most serious stage in Victorian CPS 2001–2005

	CHILD PROTECTION STAGE 2001–2005			
	SUBSTANTIATED INVESTIGATIONS	PROTECTIVE INTERVENTIONS	PROTECTIVE ORDERS	TOTAL
n	10,722	19,297	8,468	38,487
n with alcohol involvement	2,717	6,523	3,531	12,771
% with alcohol involvement	25	34	42	33

To test whether alcohol predicts progression through these stages of the system after adjusting for a range of other factors, multiple logistic regression was used. Table 8.5 presents an overview of the relationships between alcohol, other risk factors and socio-demographic factors, and the odds of a case receiving a protective intervention outcome over the five years for which data were obtained.

The bivariate analyses indicate that all of the independent variables in the model were significantly associated with the likelihood of receiving a child protection intervention. Carer alcohol abuse was strongly associated with an increased likelihood of receiving a protective intervention. The odds of a child receiving a protective intervention if they lived in a family where there was carer alcohol abuse case were 1.67 times those for a child living in a family where there was no such alcohol problem. Male children were more likely to receive a protective intervention than female children, although only 1.07 times more likely, suggesting that difference was not of great clinical significance, particularly given the power of the large sample to distinguish even small differences. Young children in the 0–3 year old age group were much more likely to receive protective interventions than children in the 4–11 and 12 years and older age groups. The accommodation status of the family was also correlated with the likelihood of protective intervention: with the exception of those with 'other' living arrangements, children from families who were buying their own home were less likely to receive such an intervention, and those who were homeless or lived in a caravan or public housing were most likely. Those renting were also more likely to receive an intervention than children from families who were buying their own home. Income type was also predictive of protective intervention, with wage earning groups all less likely to receive interventions, and those on unemployment benefits or other benefits and pensions more likely than families on sole parent pensions to receive protective intervention. Interestingly, step-parent and extended families were less likely than intact families to receive protective intervention. Other risk factors included in the model all were strongly associated with protective intervention, with parental other drug use having the highest odds ratio.

Table 8.5 Factors affecting the likelihood of child protection intervention among substantiated cases

	% OF SAMPLE	BIVARIATE ODDS RATIO	MULTIVARIATE ODDS RATIO	MULTIVARIATE OR 95% CIs
Carer alcohol abuse	33.2	1.67***	1.23***	[1.16, 1.30]
Male child	50.0	1.07**	1.06*	[1.01, 1.11]
Age of child				
0-3 (ref)	29.3			
4-11	44.6	0.66***	0.76***	[0.72, 0.81]
12+	26.2	0.64***	0.90**	[0.84, 0.96]
Accommodation status				
Own/buying (ref)	22.8			
Renting	31.5	1.33***	1.04	[0.97, 1.11]
Public Housing	36.7	1.98***	1.33***	[1.23, 1.43]
Caravan	1.2	2.02***	1.21	[0.95, 1.53]
No Fixed Abode	3.3	2.96***	1.62***	[1.37, 1.91]
Other	4.5	1.26***	0.88*	[0.78, 0.99]
Family income type				
Sole Parent Pension (ref)	42.5			
Unemployment Benefit	9.6	1.34***	1.23***	[1.12, 1.36]
Other Benefit	5.1	1.26***	1.26***	[1.11, 1.42]
Other Pension	9.2	1.25***	1.24***	[1.12, 1.36]
Wage/Salary High	1.4	0.57***	0.83	[0.68, 1.01]
Wage/Salary Low	13.7	0.74***	0.94	[0.86, 1.01]
Wage/Salary Medium	17.0	0.55***	0.81***	[0.75, 0.88]
Other	1.5	0.73***	0.93	[0.77, 1.12]
Family type				
Intact Family (ref)	28.1			
Blended Family	13.4	1.04	1.05	[0.90, 1.22]
Extended Family - Couple or one person	2.9	0.90**	0.94	[0.87, 1.01]
Sole Parent - Father or mother	47.7	0.96	0.90*	[0.84, 0.98]
Stepfather or Stepmother Family	5.8	0.79***	0.87*	[0.78, 0.97]
Other adults - Couple or one person and other	2.2	0.96	1.09	[0.92, 1.30]
Carer history of:				
Abuse as child	21.3	1.66***	1.31***	[1.23, 1.39]
Domestic violence	53.3	1.46***	1.10***	[1.04, 1.15]
Other drug abuse	35.3	2.36***	1.74***	[1.64, 1.85]
Mental illness	22.2	1.69***	1.49***	[1.41, 1.59]

Note: n = 38,487; *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, *p < 0.05; CIs = Confidence Intervals
ref: the category with which other sub-categories are compared.

After adjusting for all of the variables in the multivariate model, cases with carer alcohol abuse identified as a risk factor were 1.23 times as likely to receive a protective intervention as those without. This figure, while still statistically significant, was reduced in comparison to the bivariate result. Bivariate associations were, in the majority of cases, also evident at the multivariate level: the likelihood of intervention was higher in cases involving younger children and in those families where other risk factors such as caregiver other drug abuse, domestic violence, a caregiver history of abuse, and a caregiver history of mental ill-health were identified, after taking into account all of the factors in the model. Compared with people who lived in a home they owned or were buying, cases where children were living in all accommodation categories except 'other' were more likely to receive an intervention, particularly those with no fixed abode. In those cases where families were earning a wage, the odds of intervention were lower than for those on a sole parent pension, and the odds were higher for those with unemployment benefits or a pension (Table 8.5).

The prediction of a court order being issued in the case, among those receiving protective intervention, was then analysed. The bivariate analyses (Table 8.6) indicate that boys were more likely to receive court orders than girls, as was the youngest age group in comparison to the middle and the older aged groups of children. Children who were homeless or lived in a caravan or public housing were more likely to receive court orders than those living in forms of housing that had been bought or were being purchased. Children from families where the sole parent pension was the form of income received were also more likely to receive a court order than children living in families receiving a wage or salaried income. In contrast, children from families receiving other benefits and pensions were more likely to receive court orders than children where their families received sole parent pensions. Children from blended and 'other' family types were more likely to be the subjects of court orders than children from intact families. Children from sole parent families and in step-families were as likely as intact families to receive court orders. Carer history of alcohol abuse, domestic violence, other drug abuse, mental ill-health and abuse as a child were also all significantly associated with receipt of court orders. Carer other drug abuse had the largest odds ratio, indicating that other drug abuse was most strongly associated with court-ordered care, including removal from the family and other court orders.

The multivariate analyses in Table 8.6 show that carer alcohol abuse was associated with an increased likelihood of receiving a court order following a protective intervention, after taking into account all other variables in the model. While many of the patterns of effects seen for court orders (Table 8.6) and protective intervention (Table 8.5) were similar, there were some important differences. Examining the alcohol risk factor variable (i.e. carer alcohol abuse), it is evident that although alcohol predicts both outcomes (ORs = 1.23 and 1.14), the size of this effect was slightly less for the court order outcome. This was also true for carer other drug abuse. For other variables the effects were more accentuated for court orders. Families who had no fixed accommodation were more likely to receive protective interventions (Table 8.5, OR = 1.62), and this association was even stronger in relation to the court order phase (Table 8.6, OR = 2.00). This was also true for those families living in caravans. In general, families receiving some form of government benefit were more likely to receive protective interventions, and again even more likely to receive court orders. In contrast, families earning a wage or salary (whether it was low, medium or high) were less likely than others to receive protective intervention, and even less likely to receive a court order.

Table 8.6 Factors affecting the likelihood of progression to court order phase amongst cases receiving protection interventions

	% OF SAMPLE	BIVARIATE ODDS RATIO (OR)	MULTIVARIATE ODDS RATIO (OR)	MULTIVARIATE OR 95% CIs
Carer alcohol abuse	36.2	1.40***	1.14***	[1.08, 1.21]
Male child	50.5	1.04	1.03	[0.98, 1.09]
Age of child				
0-3 (ref)	31.6			
4-11	43.3	0.69***	0.77***	[0.72, 0.82]
12+	25.1	0.71***	0.93	[0.87, 1.01]
Accommodation status				
Own/buying (ref)	20.2			
Renting	30.7	1.41***	1.07	[0.98, 1.17]
Public Housing	39.7	2.05***	1.38***	[1.26, 1.51]
Caravan	1.3	2.39***	1.54***	[1.22, 1.94]
No Fixed Abode	3.8	3.43***	2.00***	[1.72, 2.32]
Other	4.4	2.02***	1.29**	[1.12, 1.50]
Family income type				
Sole Parent Pension (ref)	43.8			
Unemployment Benefit	10.6	1.15**	1.15**	[1.04, 1.27]
Other Benefit	5.6	1.28***	1.33**	[1.18, 1.50]
Other Pension	10.0	1.14**	1.16**	[1.05, 1.27]
Wage/Salary High	1.2	0.31***	0.46***	[0.33, 0.64]
Wage/Salary Low	12.9	0.69***	0.88*	[0.80, 0.97]
Wage/Salary Medium	14.5	0.47***	0.70***	[0.62, 0.78]
Other	1.4	1.31*	1.41**	[1.13, 1.75]
Family type				
Intact Family (ref)	27.8			
Blended Family	13.7	1.35***	1.37***	[1.16, 1.62]
Extended Family - Couple or one person	2.9	0.89**	0.90*	[0.82, 0.98]
Sole Parent - Father or mother	48.0	1.05	0.98	[0.90, 1.07]
Stepfather or Stepmother Family	5.5	1.02	1.12	[0.98, 1.28]
Other adults - Couple or one person and other	2.2	1.44***	1.52***	[1.26, 1.84]
Carer history of:				
Abuse as child	23.5	1.62***	1.35***	[1.27, 1.43]
Domestic violence	55.9	1.20***	0.95	[0.90, 1.01]
Other drug abuse	40.3	1.85***	1.44***	[1.35, 1.52]
Mental illness	24.6	1.32***	1.23***	[1.15, 1.30]

Note: n = 27,765; ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05; CIs = Confidence Intervals

While the relationship between alcohol reporting and substantiation has been the subject of considerable research, the association of alcohol with what happens next has not been previously studied. This study shows that a large proportion of the 12,771 Victorian alcohol-related cases studied go on to receive more intensive attention – 51 per cent to protective interventions and 28 per cent to court orders (see Table 8.4) – and that carer alcohol misuse is predictive of this further progression through the system.

Carer alcohol abuse was thus significantly associated with intensification of handling through to the more serious stages of child protection actions, after taking into account a range of other factors. These findings are consistent with the high prevalence of carer alcohol abuse reported in court-involved cases (Murphy et al. 1991), and support analyses that implicate problematic drinking in progression through the system. Carer alcohol abuse may have played a causal role in numerous cases, but could also, in turn, be a consequence of maltreatment in others. For example, some research suggests that women victimised by an intimate partner may turn to alcohol to cope (Wingood et al. 2000), and it is plausible that a parent may turn to alcohol because they cannot cope with the fact that they themselves or others maltreat the child. Even so, this is only likely to worsen the situation for the child. Problematic drinking may also interfere with caregivers' ability to successfully follow a CPS plan for remediation, and thus make more serious intervention from the CPS system more likely. If a parent continues to drink alcohol problematically the drinking may well play a causal role for more serious outcomes.

Overall, the models presented in this chapter show that the odds of more serious outcomes were also increased for cases involving younger children, families that were not intact, and families in worse living conditions and who were unemployed or on other benefits, suggesting disadvantage was important. The results in Tables 8.5 and 8.6 suggest the youngest age group of children is more likely than older age groups to be the subject of more serious interventions, after adjusting for all other factors. This is consistent with the international and Victorian evidence discussed in the previous chapter, and evidence that infants aged 0-4 years are at a higher risk of more severe outcomes than other age groups (Jordan & Sketchley 2009). However, it differs from the results of the 2008 HTO Survey that found carers were more likely to report that older children were affected by others' drinking (Laslett et al. 2010).

Child protection workers may be particularly concerned about combinations of child and carer risk factors. Indeed, that alcohol use, child's age group and other factors all remain significant in the model suggests that child protection workers do take these factors into consideration in their decisions regarding interventions. Other drug abuse, parental history of abuse as a child, and caregiver mental ill-health were linked even more strongly than carer alcohol abuse to higher odds of cases receiving further protective interventions and court orders. These findings of independent effects of these variables suggest that numerous factors are part of the causal chain and are taken into account when interventions are undertaken and court orders implemented: carer risk factors appear to play a strong role in the decisions child protection workers make.

Regarding the relationships identified between predictor and outcome variables, there are two possibilities. It is possible that the CPS worker's coding of these variables, for example, carer alcohol abuse, influences the handling of the case in a way which results in a more severe outcome. Alternatively, the carer's drinking may directly influence the child in a more serious way.

One outcome of the child protection system not explicitly highlighted in the previous analysis is the very serious step of removal of the child from the family and placement in out-of-home care. Figure 8.1 illustrates the substantial numbers of children across Australia in out-of-home care and that these numbers have been growing. While the level of alcohol involvement in these cases in each of these years is unclear, other work by Delfabbro et al. (2012) indicates that 69 per cent of children in out-of-home care have parents or carers with substance abuse problems.

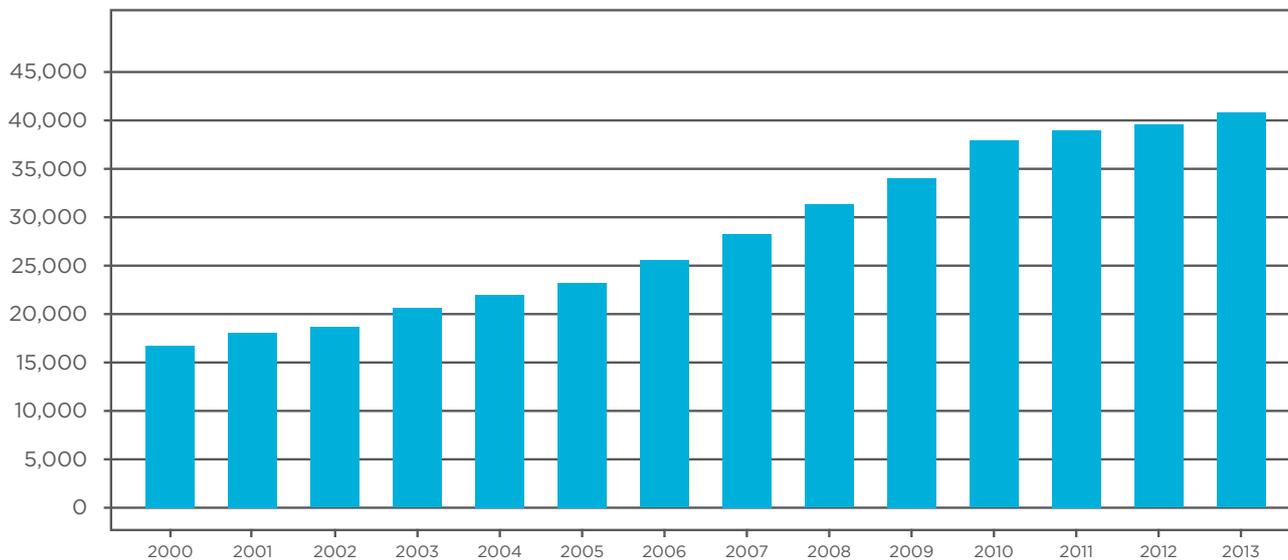


Figure 8.1 Number of children in out-of-home care in Australia 2000-2013

Source: Delfabbro et al. 2012

8.5 ALCOHOL'S INVOLVEMENT IN REPEAT CASES OF CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

Twenty-nine per cent of the children who experienced alcohol-related child abuse or neglect in Victoria between 2001 and 2005 experienced repeated abuse or neglect (Laslett et al. 2013). Table 8.7 presents the distribution of the number of times children experienced maltreatment. The majority of children (77 per cent) appeared in the Victorian data system (CASIS) only once, and on average, children appeared 1.3 times in the system over the five year period studied. Children from families where carer alcohol abuse was identified were less likely to experience a single substantiation (71 per cent versus 79 per cent for others, $\chi^2 = 219.63$, $p < 0.001$), and more likely to experience re-substantiations (a second or further substantiation once the case has been closed in the five year period) (Laslett et al. 2012). The final column in Table 8.7 shows that as the number of recurrences increased, carer alcohol abuse was more likely to be reported (using Poisson regression, $p < 0.001$). Overall, 31 per cent of children (and 33 per cent of cases) were from families where one or more carers had been identified with alcohol abuse.

Table 8.7 Substantiations of child maltreatment with and without carer alcohol recorded as a risk factor[#], Victoria, 2001-2005

NUMBER OF SUBSTANTIATIONS	CHILDREN	CASE FILES	ALL CHILDREN IN FILES (%)	AMONG CHILDREN WITH ALCOHOL RECORDED (% OF 9,194)	AMONG CHILDREN WITHOUT ALCOHOL RECORDED (% OF 20,261)	ALCOHOL RECORDED AMONG CHILDREN WITH N SUBSTANTIATIONS (I.E. % OF N CHILDREN IN COLUMN 2)
1	22,614	22,614	77	71	79	29
2	5,079	10,158	17	21	16	38
3	1,412	4,236	5	6	4	39
4	278	1,112	0.9	2	0.7	51
5	65	325	0.2	0.3	0.2	42
6	7	42	0.0	0.04	0.01	57
Total	29,455	38,487	100	100	100	31

Note: [#]Carer risk factor diagnosed at first substantiation.

8.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter underlines the role of parental or carer alcohol misuse in child protection cases, highlighting that:

- carer alcohol abuse is associated with between 15 (in NSW) and 47 (in WA) per cent of child abuse cases across Australia
- carer alcohol abuse is involved in a third (33 per cent) of substantiated cases of child abuse and neglect in Victoria
- carer alcohol abuse predicts protective interventions, court interventions and recurrent child abuse and neglect
- in 2006-07 (using the best and most recently available data), 10,166 substantiated cases of child abuse and neglect across Australia are estimated to have involved alcohol; this equates to an estimated 12,658 children in 2012-13 (if the same extrapolation method is used).

EXPERTS' OPINIONS ON ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Anne-Marie Laslett and Janette Mugavin

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This report has presented an overview of the ways in which alcohol affects families and children across Australia. Based on the 2008 HTO Survey, an estimated 17 per cent of Australians have been affected by the drinking of at least one person in their family in the last year, and 22 per cent of respondents with children in their families report that the children experience some type of harm linked to others' drinking at least once in a year. A smaller proportion of families and children experience substantial harm and present to service response systems. However, this report shows that alcohol is implicated in a third of all child protection cases (in Victoria between 2001 and 2005) and 23 per cent (in Victoria in 2012-13) to 45 per cent of domestic violence cases (in NSW in 2008-09) (Laslett et al. 2010). That alcohol is often present in such cases is acknowledged by government agencies but rarely responded to in targeted ways.

In this chapter the research questions addressed are: What types of service and policy interventions are likely to improve the situations of those affected by others' drinking? What innovations in service systems and government policies will begin to improve the situations of the families and children affected by alcohol-related problems? What research is needed to understand the alcohol-related problems of and solutions for families and children? Some responses exist for those children and families most seriously affected (see Chapters 7 and 8), and this chapter examines how these services might be improved. Other alcohol-related problems for families and children identified in this report are less serious but far more prevalent. How this spectrum of issues might be addressed by policies will also be with the key informants.

9.2 KEY INFORMANTS' REFLECTIONS ON EXISTING SERVICE SYSTEMS

The key informants in this consultation comprised mainly researchers, policy makers and service providers from the child protection and AOD sectors across all Australian states and territories (See Chapter 2 for details).

As described in Chapters 7 and 8, alcohol-related problems for families and children place a substantial resource burden on current service systems. Child protection key informants commented about the involvement of alcohol in problems they responded to:

There is a consistent message about alcohol – its presence, overuse and misuse permeate child protection. It gets tangled up with drugs, [with AOD] amplifying the effects of each other – [I'm] not sure they can be distinguished.

Alcohol is one of the single largest threats to the wellbeing of children.

Chapters 7 and 8 make apparent that, with a small number of exceptions, little information is gathered routinely from these family or child protection systems about alcohol-related problems experienced by individuals that present to their services. This is also the case for information on referrals to and from AOD services and how alcohol treatment services record or address problems of their clients' families, or target families and individuals affected by the drinking of their family members and intimate partners.

These challenges were apparent from discussions with the key informants interviewed:

[We] should be able to get information on risk factors [for child protection cases] in every state but it is only entered in free text fields [i.e. entered in hand-written or electronic case notes in an ad hoc way] in some states and even if categorised could be hard to extract.

It became evident that the issue was not simply about recording of data, although what different agencies

record may be emblematic of their priorities to an extent. Key informants made it clear that sometimes these issues were related to differing priorities of different sectors:

A big issue is that adult services won't address child issues. [There is a] failure to consider child protection issues in the AOD sector. They often don't even ask whether they have children.

[Child protection workers] are not encouraged to know a great deal about alcohol or encouraged to work with the AOD sector, they are very compartmentalised – we are trying to break this down.

Both AOD and child protection sector key informants were aware of these issues and were keen to address them. They described new multi-sectoral programs being introduced that build capacity through training and that supported assessments:

The Building Capacity: Building Bridges program is developing accredited training for domestic violence, AOD, mental health and other sectors. It provides training in how to assess parenting and children's needs and provides additional enabling, supportive environments for [parents to access] adult services, enabling connections between adult-focused services and child and family services.

There was evidence that the AOD sector was changing and becoming more aware of the needs of families, and not only their adult clients. As one key informant said, “there has been a shift in AOD services – an acknowledgement that AOD clients are situated in families.” Another explained, “a priority for the AOD field is having consistent intake questions...like ‘Are you a parent?’” Furthermore, new training initiatives have been developed to support the workforce to provide family-sensitive services. One key informant explained:

There is growing interest in child protection and child-sensitive practice. They [the AOD sector] established an initial survey of the AOD workforce on family-sensitive practice and went on to produce a toolkit.²⁴

The complex nature of problems

Most programs focused on how AOD and family concerns operate in areas where the problems for families are often multiple and severe, and commonly involve child protection. These programs operate at the severe end of the spectrum. AOD and child protection key informants described the evidence of the effectiveness of a number of programs, e.g. the *PUP*, *Brighter Futures* and *Odyssey House* programs (for an example of these programs see Box 7.1 in Chapter 7).

PUP draws on theories of mother and child attachment and clinical and developmental psychology and targets vulnerable families in the child protection system. PUP is a clinical intervention that trains parents in parenting and evaluates the program's progress.

However, another researcher key informant was concerned about entrenched problems:

Where AOD problems are well established, outcomes for children are appalling. There is a need to identify where to get change, [how to ensure families] engage in services, [and] understand the nature of interventions.

There was consensus that the evidence of effective programs was mostly from small-scale studies. Again, *PUP* was mentioned and the fact that a trial of this intervention was underway in the UK.

Alcohol-related management in child protection situations was discussed, including the importance of facilitating or empowering the parent to change. As one child protection service manager explained:

[There is a] need [for] realistic discussions with people about what is realistic – will you be drinking forever? If so, this is not acceptable. [Child protection workers] need to make realistic assessments and decisions about parenting ability – need to tell them [the parents] what is acceptable; need to have behavioural change (it's not just about going to an AOD counsellor)...and facilitate, not force, change.

Child protection service providers identified interventions and strategies used with parents to identify and address risks associated with alcohol use.

²⁴ See Battams 2010; Trifonoff et al. 2010

We use the 'Signs of Safety' approach. In this, if alcohol is a concern, it goes to the top of the list. It's scenario-based behavioural management. If you drink, these things happen. So parents can be responsible when drinking (i.e. they can slip their kids off to parents or you can drink between 12 and 2, but don't drink and drive and [make sure you] are sober to pick up the kids).²⁵ Signs of Safety provides a usable model for how functioning families operate.

The need for more effective services targeting those most at risk was identified, with key informants mentioning a number of effective existing services as well as potential program and service innovations. Some of the existing programs suggested by the key informants included:

- *Parents Under Pressure (PUP)* – clinical intervention programs that train parents in parenting, usually because of multiple family concerns, including substance misuse.
- *Family Drug Treatment Courts* – these courts incorporate AOD treatment into conditions of sentences relating to families and parental access.
- *Queensland Indigenous Alcohol Diversion Program (QIADP)* – this program involves diversions from criminal and child protection systems into the AOD treatment system.

A number of potential programs were also suggested by key informants in the focus group. An example of this was the introduction of better assessment and family-sensitive practice through brief general practitioner interventions:

Getting them to think of putting questions to patients about their drinking like: 'How is this affecting your 5 year old?' 'How is this affecting your parenting?'

The need for services that assisted with planning for pregnancies that took into account children's concerns was noted. Key informants thought such planning should be a routine part of psychosocial risk assessment in the AOD field (noting that smoking efforts to promote cessation in pregnancy has worked, improving outcomes for existing and future children). Key informants suggested that services for pregnant women in situations of high psychosocial risk need to take into account potential effects of alcohol on subsequent children, particularly if mothers are drinking before they are aware they are pregnant.

Most of this section has been about the service system changing the drinker, not about what can be done to fortify or change the 'other' or affect the family system. In discussions of the treatment service system the key informants' concerns appear still to be focused on the drinker, and less on 'others'.

According to key informants in the focus groups, AOD family-sensitive practice aims to identify families in the AOD treatment system earlier to ensure that children's and families' needs could be identified and managed earlier, without necessarily involving child protection. Family-sensitive AOD practice is an example of secondary prevention – targeted services that address families' needs so that they do not enter emergency services that manage child and family breakdowns and crises. There was further consensus by both AOD and child protection key informants that there was a need for interventions that acted earlier in children's and families' lives:

We need a range of programs, from universal to high risk FAS management.

The focus group was clear that:

While there are groups at risk, which are not being managed by systems, it is inadvisable to channel more children and families into the child protection system.

There was a strong sense that a range of secondary and primary prevention initiatives were needed to address alcohol-related problems for families and children earlier:

We know the key drivers of child protection are parental problems – domestic violence, AOD, mental health. It doesn't make sense to wait until the children end up in child protection.

PUP is an exemplary program, working at the severe end, but what about a step back, a transition to primary and secondary prevention measures?

²⁵ See Turnell & Edwards 1999.

9.3 RESEARCH DIRECTIONS SUGGESTED BY KEY INFORMANTS

The key informants interviewed felt that many of the risk factors for child abuse and neglect and family violence, including AOD and mental ill-health were already patent. However, whether alcohol-specific interventions were effective in reducing harms to children of heavy drinkers was not clear. There was also little evidence to suggest that domestic violence interventions were effective and, indeed, concerns about the general effectiveness of interventions for vulnerable families were also apparent. Key informants suggested the effectiveness of tertiary and secondary treatment services and primary prevention initiatives all need to be examined (see Chapter 10).

Summarising the findings from those interviewed individually and/or in the focus groups, key informants indicated that existing programs should continue to be evaluated and funded where successful, models should be developed that inform alcohol-related research with families, and data-driven research should be more nuanced. One researcher underlined the need for well-resourced, longitudinal assessments of program and service outcomes.

One of the focus groups discussed conceptual models for research, and suggested models should:

- provide a sophisticated model for understanding alcohol-related child protection problems, e.g. by adding tiers of child protection interventions, such as out-of-home care groups, and by focusing on heavier drinking groups as well as general population drinking patterns
- incorporate conceptual shifts apparent in domestic violence and child protection presentations, where issues are about complex problems of 'violent families' versus more traditional characterisations of 'single violent offenders within families'
- consider gender issues, and take into account potential reactions of different interest groups with different perspectives about the role of alcohol in violence when results are presented (e.g. men's and women's groups)
- take into account contributing and exacerbating factors of child abuse and neglect, including how alcohol can fragment protective factors.

The key informants also indicated that existing data-driven research should:

- better take into account the problems of existing data, as attendance and reporting vary depending on police numbers, regulations and laws around reporting (e.g. in some states different types of child abuse are mandated to be reported, by law or by standing orders, and in others it is discretionary)
- include discussion of the range of thresholds apparent in different data sets (i.e. there are high thresholds before courts manage cases, larger groups of those affected fly under the radar)
- pay attention to the number of family violence calls police attend where children were present, both in situations where alcohol was and was not involved.

The key informants recommended that future research should also:

- differentiate between risks for children exposed to consistent heavy drinking and risks associated with exposure to episodic drinking
- acknowledge that many children not exposed to child protection services may still be harmed or traumatised by their parents' or other family members' drinking
- be better resourced, for example via the creation of a hypothecated tax to enable grants and ongoing resources to be provided to investigate priority areas (e.g. the nexus between AOD and child protection).

The group was asked specifically about relevant alcohol's harm to others research and there was consensus that this field of research, particularly child and family research, could and should be an important rationale for policy change. The comments of the key informants mirror some of the findings from the *Protecting Victoria's Vulnerable Children Inquiry* (Cummins et al. 2012), which made clear the links between alcohol misuse and child abuse and neglect, describing the need for prevention initiatives and research in this area:

Parental alcohol misuse is a significant risk factor for child abuse and neglect. The Inquiry considers that further investigation of the potential preventative benefits of public education and mechanisms such as minimum pricing of alcohol and volumetric taxing has merit. (Cummins et al. 2012, Volume 2, p.131)

In the same report there was an associated recommendation (p. 178 of volume 2) to conduct an audit of adult specialist services, commencing with AOD services, to ascertain the degree to which they are 'family-sensitive.'

9.4 CROSS-SECTORAL COLLABORATION

The need for cross-sectoral support for effective services, policy advocacy and research was also highlighted by key informants. A number of policy players are relevant and supportive of programs that focus on the harms to others from drinking: the Australian National Preventive Health Agency (ANPHA), National Alliance for Action on Alcohol (NAAA), Australian Centre for Child Protection (ACCP) and Australian National Council on Drugs (ANCD). The key informants from the child protection sector spoke of existing connections between AOD and child protection researchers in some states:

The Australian Centre for Child Protection is doing relevant HTO workforce development – a \$2.4m national workforce development grant to strengthen 'family-sensitive practice' in the AOD, mental health, family violence and homelessness sectors in 12 sites – and evaluating this.

Some key informant researchers who had focused on the nexus between AOD and child protection felt more isolated and were keen to garner support and develop ongoing connections. They felt that some form of expert group could play an important role to develop and push forward services, research and policy in this space.

9.5 CONCLUSION

The opportunity to listen to and understand the views of experts in both the child protection and AOD fields was illuminating. It is apparent that the AOD and child protection sectors recognise the importance of each other's work but they have only recently begun to take action to improve the synergy in their practice. The research in this area is underdeveloped and there is a clear need to develop recommendations for evaluation of a range of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention interventions that target alcohol problems of families and parents and measure consequences for families and children.

To better understand and address the needs of families and children in the future, it would be useful to expand the number of key informants consulted and include more people from diverse sectors, for example relationship services, mental health and domestic violence service managers and researchers, senior police and criminologists. The establishment of an ongoing expert panel may be a way to better link professionals in this key area.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This report highlights the role of alcohol in a range of problems experienced by families and children because of a family member's drinking. A key question is, how can alcohol-related child abuse, family violence, family dysfunction and associated harms be diminished, other than by treating AOD cases? The answer may be by improving the responses of family, police and other social response services, including by recognising that there are various elements of family interaction and functioning which can be changed to improve the situation – and also by paying attention to factors in policies which may improve things. For instance, rates of family violence may go down if alcohol is less available, or if other alcohol control policies are introduced, or indeed if other non-alcohol policy levers are pulled.

Chapter 10 summarises the findings of the report, introduces a public health model of prevention and care for families and children, and provides recommendations for public policy interventions.

Public policies and programs aim to protect, promote and restore the people's health and wellbeing and emphasise the prevention of disease and the health needs of the population as a whole (Last 1988). A public health model of care allows assessment and response to a range of health and social problems (Last 1988), and has been applied already in the child protection field (Holzer 2007). In this chapter, a pyramidal public health model is introduced to illustrate the increasing risk of problems and the types of problems families and children face because of others' drinking. This model also describes the potential responses to these problems.

The purpose of this model is to demonstrate the varied policy and program responses needed to address the different levels of harms inflicted on children and families from alcohol. The model examines these responses through a public health lens, highlighting the need to prevent alcohol harm among those people not currently affected, while also providing targeted support to people who are currently harmed. A number of detailed and specific service and research recommendations are presented to set an agenda for future work in this area.

10.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The evidence presented throughout this report clearly underlines the effects of alcohol on family members and children. It documents the events that can occur when a family member, and particularly a parent or carer, drinks problematically. As described in Chapter 3, 17 per cent of adult Australians report they have been adversely affected by the drinking of a family member or intimate partner in the previous year. Moreover, in Chapter 4, one in five carers reported that their children had been affected adversely in some way by others' drinking in the last year. Twelve per cent of carers reported that their children were verbally abused, left in an unsupervised or unsafe situation, physically hurt or exposed to domestic violence because of others' drinking in 2008. These results are drawn from the 2008 HTO Survey and the follow-up 2011 HTO Survey.

The 2011 HTO Survey indicated that one in 11 respondents (9 per cent) reported that they had experienced persistent harm from family members or intimate partners in 2008 and 2011, with 26 per cent of families reporting harm in at least one of those years. Examining this from another perspective, 50 per cent of respondents being harmed by family members' drinking in 2008 reported they were also, or still, being harmed by the drinking of family members in 2011. Children also experienced persistent harm: seven per cent of families in the surveys reported that their children had been harmed in both years, with 35 per cent of families where children were harmed by others' drinking in 2008 reporting that their children were harmed by the drinking of others again, or still, in 2011.

The 2011 HTO Survey also presented the opportunity to seek permission to understand qualitatively how families and children were affected because of others' drinking. Chapter 6 describes the range of ways that respondents and their families were affected. Harm reported because of another person's drinking was most often due to verbal and emotional abuse, for example, when children were exposed to arguments and domestic violence.

Chapters 7 and 8 provide data from services that respond to alcohol-related problems of families and children. While there is often little information recorded about alcohol in the systems that provide general assistance to families and children across Australia, those services that do collect such information (e.g. police domestic violence and child protection services) report that large proportions of the people that they assist are affected by others' drinking. This report indicates that:

- Parental or carer drinking plays a large role in child protection cases, with available data indicating that 15 per cent of CPS reports (NSW), at least 30 per cent of CPS substantiated cases (Victoria) and up to three-quarters of cases of children in out-of-home care (SA) involve carer alcohol abuse.
- Alcohol abuse by parents or others caring for children is predictive of protective interventions and court intervention.

However, there is a disconnect between the high extent to which services report alcohol as a problem and HTO Survey respondents' reported access to a range of support services. For example, large numbers of alcohol-related cases appear in the police, domestic violence and child protection crisis response systems, yet the AOD treatment systems are largely focused on the needs of their individual clients' problems. Only a small minority of AOD system clients (4 to 5 per cent) are there because of others' drinking. The majority of family, financial support, justice and police and welfare services do not document whether the concern of the family member is linked to alcohol. It must be noted that data collection is limited about whether family members seek a range of services for managing problems associated with their family members' or intimate partners' drinking.

Perhaps the most important issue is that currently across Australian states and territories there is not consistent funding of interventions that address the needs of family members. Funding models and service targets for AOD treatment services have a large impact on treatment of family members. Services for family members are not always included in service agreements, and such systems can discourage treatment of family members and/or create inappropriate reporting incentives within the system.

Chapter 9 summarises the views of service providers, policy makers and researchers (primarily researchers active in the child protection and AOD areas), and draws attention to services, policy areas and research endeavours that should be developed. These key informants identified the following main concerns and priorities:

- improved collaboration and communication between the AOD, child protection and other welfare and family services
- improved definition, screening and surveillance of AOD problems in child protection services and child protection problems in AOD services
- innovations for high risk FAS management
- multi-disciplinary intensive services for families most at risk
- brief interventions for vulnerable families
- implementation of universal policies that prevent or limit alcohol misuse in Australian families.

10.3 A RESEARCH-BASED PUBLIC HEALTH MODEL OF CARE FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN AFFECTED BY OTHERS' DRINKING

This section introduces a pyramid model that describes both the problems associated with others' drinking that families and children experience and the responses required to manage these problems (e.g. child protection and police service responses). The pyramid model estimates the number of children at different levels of risk of alcohol-related harms. The pyramid draws together data from the 2008 HTO Survey presented in Chapter 4 and the child protection data from Chapter 8 into a comparative frame. From this it is apparent that much larger numbers of children than are seen in the apex of the pyramid are affected by the drinking of their families (See Figure 10.1).

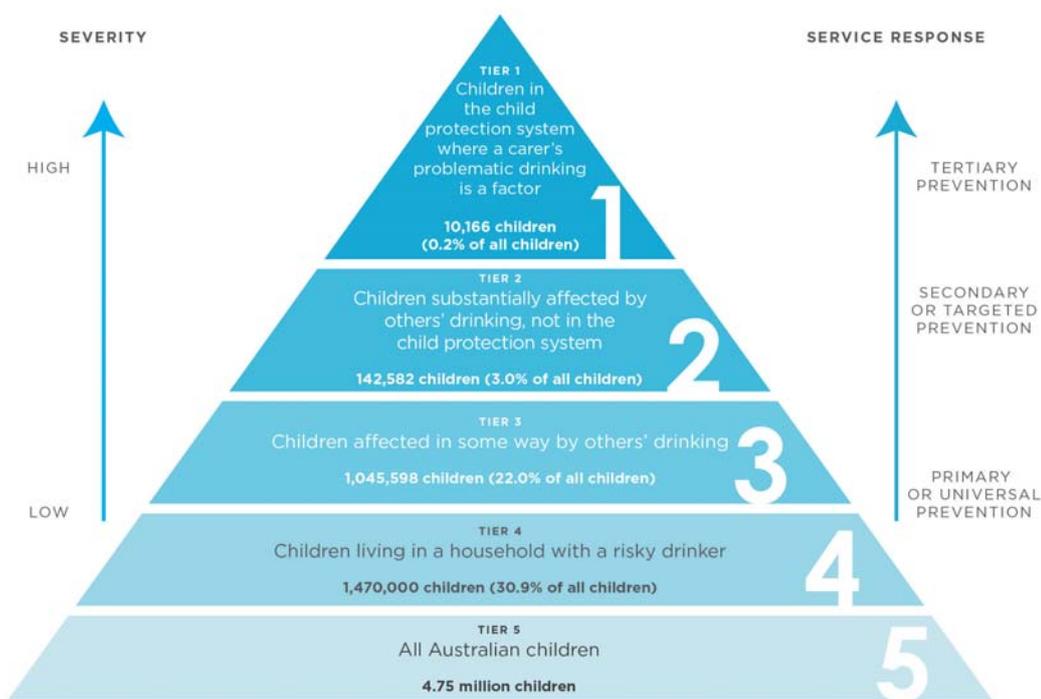


Figure 10.1 Pyramid of risks to children affected by alcohol-related problems in Australia per year

Figure 10.1 broadly describes the proposed prevention strategies inherent in the pyramid model for public policy responses. Tier one (Children in child protection system where a carer's problematic drinking is a factor) of the pyramid model addresses the most serious instances of alcohol-related harms to children and families. For example, alcohol-related child abuse and neglect and domestic violence deaths, injuries and harms appear in the apex of the pyramid and are managed by police, legal and social services. The services that meet the most serious needs in the public health model are described as 'tertiary preventive services.' Where possible tertiary preventive services aim to manage severe problems, limit further complications and prevent re-entry to the system (Holzer 2007; Last 1988).

Tier two (Children substantially affected by others' drinking, not in the child protection system) of the pyramid includes children who have been affected substantially or "a lot" by alcohol, but who have not come to the attention of child protection authorities. This may include families in which one or more members are seeking assistance for their alcohol problems. These problems may not require action by police or child protection services, and may or may not be known to more than one social support service. In this tier, targeted services aim to prevent harms to the drinker but also to prevent families and children from progressing into a higher tier. Vulnerable families may also be receiving general services, e.g. Family Services, but may not have the alcohol-related problems of their family members identified or responded to.

There are no data for the second tier on either the number of children living in families where a member of the family is in treatment for alcohol problems, or the number of children in families receiving other

services where alcohol is identified as a problem for one or more members of the family. While there does seem to be the potential to record this information in the Victorian AOD data system, and the Auditor General's report indicates that about one-third of AOD clients have dependent children, completion of this data field is not compulsory in AOD services, and therefore it is not well completed (Victorian Auditor General 2011). Thus, there is no accurate estimate of the number of vulnerable families that should be targeted with secondary prevention initiatives.

Tier three (Children affected in some way by others' drinking) of the model includes a range of more minor problems (e.g. serious family arguments with heavy drinkers in the family, verbal abuse of children) that may not require service responses, and are not brought to the attention of any official services, but nevertheless affect a range of families, sometimes escalating and requiring attention from services at higher tiers of the pyramid. Although this group is described as being affected at least "a little," the aim is not to diminish the seriousness of the situation for these children. It is also acknowledged that carers may not recognise that others' drinking had affected (or how much it had affected) their child/ren. These more prevalent problems are best met by universal services and broad policies such as maternal and child services, financial aid, various forms of welfare, and universal alcohol harm prevention policies (Arney & Scott 2010).

The third tier, as well as the second tier, may hold children from families where more serious and/or sporadic alcohol-related problems are hidden from authorities and services. As child protection researchers have noted, only a proportion of child abuse and neglect incidents will be observed by others beyond the parent and the child (Creighton 2004). These children are not necessarily experiencing less harm than children in families who have come to the attention of authorities or service providers: in fact, in some cases these children in families in which there has been no motivation to seek help for problems, or no intervention from authorities, may be suffering more severe harms.

Tier four includes those families at risk because they live with someone consuming alcohol at risky levels, but are not currently affected by that person's drinking. The available evidence does not indicate whether this drinking is taking place in the presence or absence of children, therefore it is not clear whether children in this tier are witnessing their parent/s affected by alcohol or any after effects such as a hangover.

Tier five comprises all Australian children who are at some additional risk because of exposure to general societal heavy drinking problems (Hope 2011). Alcohol is a legal product in Australia and its use has been normalised in everyday life. Even children in households where nobody consumes alcohol are still likely to be exposed to alcohol advertising and to people outside their household drinking.

In order to better reflect the harm to other family members as well as children caused by a family member's drinking, further work is required: future iterations of this pyramid should incorporate national data on a broader range of problems and services.

10.4 A PUBLIC HEALTH APPROACH TO PREVENTING MANAGING ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

There is substantial agreement about how drinking can be problematic for families and children. However, there are less consistent understandings about how different types of problems, for example child maltreatment, should be managed (Beck 1992; Douglas 1992; Goddard 1999; Tomison 2001). Expanding on this example, there is some consensus in Australia and elsewhere that channelling increasing numbers of children and families into child protection services is not the best way to provide care to families and children most at risk, and that keeping families intact as much as possible is preferable (Cummins et al. 2012; Tomison 2001). On the other hand, there may be unintended consequences of acting on these sentiments. In the UK, researchers have found, in cases involving substance misuse, and particularly in

those cases involving alcohol, that the system was too slow to intervene to remove children, and that children who were removed earlier did better (Forrester & Harwin 2008). The present report does not address whether removal of children is or is not a better option. It does acknowledge that child protection services are inevitable, and will always be an important element of the service system. This study constructs the problem as a pyramid of risk, acknowledges that children are at varying risk levels and that, alongside child protection services for cases that are the most acute, universal primary prevention and secondary targeted interventions should also be emphasised to prevent children from moving up the pyramid.

It is also important to highlight that alcohol's harm to others inherently involves interaction between individuals, and thus may be prevented in essentially three ways, by:

1. changing the drinking of the drinker
2. fortifying or treating the other
3. insulating contact between them.

In some instances it may be that approaches other than managing the drinker's drinking may result in better outcomes for the family member affected by the drinker. But this type of solution may not always be easy to initiate or sustain, and in some cases even when some harmful aspects of the drinkers' behaviour are modified other more intractable problems may remain.

Services targeted to the children and families of heavy drinkers operate to manage problems and ensure that children and families do not end up in crises, such as those responded to by police and welfare services. These services may operate to manage families' 'second-hand' problems and seek to enable the family to remain in contact with the drinker, or act to separate members of the family from the heavy drinker for the partner's or children's protection. These services may be generic (e.g. provided by general practitioners and psychologists and other counsellors, although little is known about how these services address such problems) or include peer organisations like Family Drug Help or Al-Anon. Crisis response services, like child protection and domestic violence services, come into operation alongside these when stronger interventions are required to separate the drinker from the family. These tertiary services also have a role to work to prevent and minimise harm from the drinker within the family through interpersonal violence offender programs and child protection interventions.

10.4.1 TERTIARY PREVENTION RESPONSES

Tertiary prevention strategies and programs care for families who have experienced a range of alcohol-related problems, including domestic violence and child maltreatment or neglect. These strategies seek to prevent incidents from recurring and limit long-term implications (Holzer 2007), and include the provision of intensive child protection, family-based support and AOD services to families already involved with police, family services and child protection services.

Where there is evidence that children have been harmed or are at risk of significant harm, society has a particularly acute ethical responsibility to try to address these problems. In these situations, child protection workers assess and manage risks to children, including alcohol-related problems of carers who are held responsible for various forms of child abuse and neglect. This report underlines that a large proportion of child protection casework is related to families with carers who drink problematically and often have a range of other risk factors. The evidence in Chapter 8 suggests that children whose carers have alcohol problems are more likely to be repeatedly harmed, at least when this was studied in the VCPS. Interventions aimed at reducing alcohol misuse by carers may result in better outcomes for children who are clients of child protection services. However, Dawe et al. (2007) see supply reduction and harm minimisation strategies specific to AOD use as likely to result only in short-term gains unless accompanied by strategies that address the underlying multiple causes of child maltreatment, causes that extend beyond alcohol problems alone. These conclusions support the idea that interventions should not be undertaken in isolation, but in conjunction with other programs that provide additional supports.

Currently a small number of Australian programs exist in which vulnerable families are identified on the basis of their substance use, e.g. in the PUP program described by Dawe et al. (2008). This program focuses on high-risk families and provides intensive support to those in crisis, incorporating individual-level parental education about strategies that minimise the harms for their children associated with a range of

substances (i.e. not specific to drinking-related problems). Although such programs are promising amongst families affected by multiple risk factors, there is limited evidence on how effective parent on programs can be and whether they result in sustained change in parental drinking and other behaviours, particularly in situations where threats to children are considered more minor (Dawe et al. 2003). Dawe et al. (2007) consider multiple factors, including broader contextual problems such as housing and unemployment and stigmatisation of substance-using parents, and co-occurring problems such as parental problems and domestic violence. Program strategies should include access to shelters and safe houses, social services and community supports, couple and family-based interventions, and supports for grandparents and other carers. However, there has been little movement to translate these recommendations into broader public policy responses, and programs like this have not been implemented widely. Moreover, recent reductions to single parent pensions in Australia are likely to worsen such problems in already disadvantaged and at-risk families (Australian Council of Social Service 2013).

In the UK, Forrester and Harwin (2010, p. 116) write of their concerns about the ability of child protection services to respond to individual and complex AOD problems in families:

In general, there appeared to be a strong institutional tendency toward under-responding to alcohol and drug misuse...a pervasive sense that social workers did not know how to work with parental alcohol or drug problems...[They had] minimal training and often had limited supervision and support: a toxic cocktail that is almost certain to produce poor practice.

Australian researchers are also concerned about how child protection workers assess and respond to risk factors, including alcohol, more broadly (Dawe et al. 2007; O'Donnell et al. 2008; Scott 2009). In Australia there is equal concern that AOD services are not well-placed to respond to the children of their clients (Nicholas et al. 2012), although there have been recent moves to make AOD treatment more family-sensitive (Trifonoff et al. 2010), including production of guidelines for AOD workers on how to ask about child abuse and neglect and how best to respond. Section 10.5.1 discusses recommendations for improving data collection and use of screening systems such as the Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (AUDIT).

A note on stigma and barriers to tertiary preventive care

A potential side effect of focusing on carers and parents and vulnerable families already under pressure is that they will be stigmatised, and problems individualised, creating a climate that may push drinking parents further away from help and create further risks to children (Room 2005). Berger et al. (2010) were concerned that child protection service decisions in the US appeared heavily influenced by caseworker perceptions of carer illicit drug abuse, regardless of more relevant risk and protective factors that may affect parenting, for instance, domestic violence or lack of supports for single parents. In highlighting problems for families (and particularly children) associated with a family member's drinking, there is a need to ensure that unintended consequences such as increasing stigmatisation of certain groups is countered and barriers to care are minimised.

10.4.2 SECONDARY PREVENTION OR TARGETED INTERVENTIONS

Secondary prevention strategies focus on risk factors such as AOD misuse. Such strategies target families where additional assistance is required because of these risk factors, but who have not yet entered the system (Cummins et al. 2012). Interventions in this layer include the provision of AOD services to families, regardless of evidence of child maltreatment; the multifactorial nature of child maltreatment and domestic violence indicates that a range of other targeted services should be provided to these families also.

Many organisations, such as government agencies, welfare organisations, schools and religious communities bear a secondary layer of responsibility to ensure that families and children are supported, and risks to children are managed, by provision of a range of services (e.g. mental health services, parenting support groups and financial aid). National, state and local governments fund and support such programs. This means that some communities may have more limited supports and community services, including AOD

services, than others (Dawe et al. 2007; Gruenert et al. 2004). The provision of a range of family and welfare services is critical to creating supportive environments in which children can prosper (Tomison 2001), and linkages between agencies (in particular linkages between AOD services, family services and child protection services) are critical to ensuring children in families at risk of child abuse and neglect are supported. These linkages have the potential to enable and optimise both tertiary and secondary prevention strategies.

10.4.3 PRIMARY OR UNIVERSAL PREVENTION POLICY STRATEGIES

Alcohol has long been recognised as a relevant factor in a spectrum of problems that families and children face. As Dorothy Scott (2009), an eminent child protection researcher, noted:

Alcohol abuse is involved in every type of child maltreatment, with 50 per cent of children entering state care having at least one parent with alcohol problems, and 13 per cent of Australian children living in a household with at least one adult who regularly binge drinks. The scale of the problem is such that we cannot solve it case by case. We must go from case to cause.

Primary prevention or universal strategies focus on whole communities and include a wide range of fundamental supports such as education and health services, but also include other more specific primary prevention strategies (Holzer 2007). The three primary prevention strategies most often considered are those that affect the availability, price and marketing of alcohol (Babor et al. 2010).

There is a growing body of ecological evidence linking the physical availability of alcohol to the risk of intimate partner violence. Recent research has found associations between the density and type of alcohol outlets within a specific geographical location and rates of domestic violence. The study by Liang and Chikritzhs (2010) based on alcohol sales volume in WA, found a strong association between assaults in residential premises and sales in off-premises outlets. However, the count of on-premises outlets was more significantly related to rates of impaired community amenity and public violence (Liang & Chikritzhs 2011). Livingston's (2011) longitudinal study on outlet density and domestic violence found positive associations between domestic violence and all three types of outlets (hotel/pub, on-premise and packaged liquor); however, a stronger relationship was found with packaged liquor outlets (Livingston 2011). Conversely, McKinney et al. (2009) found that intimate partner violence was associated with on-premises alcohol outlet density and not off-premise density. Of interest, Liang and Chikritzhs (2011) concluded that it was economic rather than physical availability that was the influencing factor in their findings, suggesting that pricing strategies would have a bigger influence.

The results of cross-sectional studies on the relationship between child maltreatment and alcohol availability in the US are mixed, with poverty showing a more consistent relationship with harm than alcohol availability. However, in Australia there is some limited evidence that restriction of alcohol availability may be an effective way to decrease alcohol-related intimate partner violence. In Tennant Creek, a community-wide alcohol ban, introduced with the backing of Indigenous leaders and community members, led to a reduction in hospital admissions of women due to partner violence. This intervention appeared to work because heavy-drinking episodes were reduced, and because some drinkers moved away from the town, separating women at-risk from the problematic drinkers in their lives (d'Abbs et al. 2010; Gray et al. 2000). No Australian studies have been published on the relationship between alcohol availability and child maltreatment.

Regarding pricing and taxation, one study in the US showed that an increase in the price of beer resulted in a decrease in intimate partner violence (Markowitz 2000), as well as a decrease in child abuse by women, though not by men (Markowitz & Grossman 2000). The link between marketing of alcohol and alcohol-related violence against children and families has not been studied, and will be harder to evaluate.

In theory, reducing risky and heavy alcohol consumption amongst carers across Australia would result in reductions in incidence of the types of harms described in the general population surveys (e.g. verbal abuse of children and children left in unsupervised or unsafe situations). Whether such strategies result in reduced alcohol-related harms to children needs to be further examined. In addition it is not known if general population-based strategies – such as those that decrease harmful drinking overall – would result in changes for children at the apex of the pyramid; this warrants further study.

The potential exposure of children to the risky drinking of their parents or caregivers has been highlighted

in studies of the general population (Dawe et al. 2007; Hope 2011; Manning et al. 2009). Part of the reason why parents consume alcohol at risky levels around children may be because heavy drinking patterns are broadly accepted and encouraged in Australian society (Fitzgerald & Jordan 2009; Roche et al. 2009). For example, heavy drinking by carers at sporting clubs and school-based family functions (where children are in attendance) may model poor drinking patterns. They may also place children at greater risk if their own carers and other children's carers are intoxicated. Where risky drinking and associated risky behaviours are prevalent, children are more likely to be put at risk by their carers' drinking and, later, more likely to be put at risk because of their own drinking patterns. Examples of successful health promotion change in Australia combine changes in informal norms with legal and policy changes. For example, such programs have been very effective in changing patterns of cigarette smoking and drink driving. However, cultural change is difficult and requires a comprehensive approach, particularly in an environment that promotes heavy drinking as a normal part of contemporary Australia.

10.5 DETAILED RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SERVICE SYSTEMS

A range of service innovations and improvements are recommended in this report. These fall primarily into recommendations to address:

- defining and screening for alcohol and family problems
- improving surveillance and communication between services
- improving data quality and access to enhance problem management
- specific child protection services initiatives
- specific AOD service initiatives.

10.5.1 DEFINING AND SCREENING FOR ALCOHOL PROBLEMS

Screening, for example using the using the AUDIT (Saunders et al. 1993), would enable rapid understanding of how problematic a carer's drinking may be. The AUDIT is useful for both clinical screening in primary healthcare settings and as a standardised form of reporting on alcohol problems that has been utilised in research (Saunders et al. 1993). Its use would enable more comparable estimates of alcohol involvement in child abuse and inform clinical decisions about whether services should be provided to carers at an individual level, as well as the level of services that would be required to meet the needs of these carers. However, further research should be undertaken into whether measures such as AUDIT should be adapted to take into account whether children are present when their carers are drinking.

In addition, where possible, information should be obtained about intoxication, usual carer drinking patterns and drinking patterns when children are present at the time of a range of events (e.g. relationship breakdown, physical violence, child abuse and neglect). Currently the patterns of drinking which are affecting children and families are very poorly recorded, if at all.

10.5.2 IMPROVEMENTS IN SURVEILLANCE

There is a patent need to improve recording about carers' children within AOD treatment systems data. Only recently have screening tools begun to collect information on the number of children of clients in treatment, and still little is known about the age or situations of many children of AOD clients (Gruenert et al. 2004).

The inclusion of risk factors in the Child Protection AIHW National Minimum Data Set (NMDS) is important. Currently this NMDS includes the numbers of reports, substantiated cases, interventions and placements in out-of-home care but does not report on carer risk factors. Highlighting alcohol and other risk factors as issues would enable ongoing surveillance via national and state child protection data collection systems.

10.5.3 SPECIFIC CHILD PROTECTIVE SERVICES INNOVATIONS

AOD screening tools (such as the AUDIT suggested above) should be considered for use within child protection services as a means of identifying carers who drink problematically. Initial screens should be followed up with evaluations of service referrals and the effectiveness of these services. In this report, *Mirror Families* and the *Parents Under Pressure* (PUP) program are noted as examples of services that address complex AOD and child protection problems. Other examples of innovations in the child protection sector aimed at decreasing harms to children include, for example, current *Child Aware Approaches* (Hunter & Price-Robertson 2014). A review of general child protection interventions is beyond the scope of this report, but recent systems reviews provide more comprehensive evaluations of CPS-specific interventions (e.g. Cummins et al. 2012).

10.5.4 SPECIFIC ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUG SERVICE INNOVATIONS

Whether an individual is presenting to the AOD treatment system for their own or another person's drinking is recorded in the Victorian and other states' electronic reporting systems. However, the family circumstances and the presence or absence of children in that client's life is not recorded. Whether referrals are made for clients in the system who have children and who may benefit from additional family support services is also not recorded, and family members of these clients are not targeted for specific interventions. While this is partly because the AOD system was developed for people drinking at problematic levels, a gradual reorientation of AOD treatment services seems to have been underway in Australia, although this may well be reversed by changes in rules for state payments for services, as has occurred in 2014 in Victoria. The effects of AOD system treatment are currently measured only in terms of outcomes for the drinker, and not for their families. Services should consider and seek to improve the outcomes for family members as well as drinkers, and these outcomes should be measured.

Recently, brief interventions for family members affected by others' drinking have been developed and could be considered for implementation. For example, Copello et al. (2010a) have developed a five-step brief intervention that focuses on how family members affected by others' drinking can be assisted. The program encourages use of strategies that aim to decrease stress levels of those affected, to better enable them to care for themselves and to ensure they maintain appropriate boundaries. These types of interventions may be effective particularly for older children affected by a family member's drinking.

10.6 AN AGENDA FOR FURTHER RESEARCH ON ALCOHOL-RELATED HARMS TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

This report underscores the wide range of problems children and families may experience because of the drinking of their parents, other carers and family members. A number of research gaps remain, and this section of the report suggests areas for future descriptive survey research, service and system evaluation and intervention research.

A number of recommendations are listed below about how the existing knowledge base might be improved upon. In addition, new areas of research are highlighted that would improve understanding of the problems experienced by families and children because of others' drinking and inform their evaluation and management.

Both research and policy-making would benefit from an agreement on standardised electronic recording and reporting of alcohol consumption in child maltreatment, domestic violence and other cases that come to the attention of police, justice and social services.

It should also be noted that data from CPS, Children's Courts, police, and AOD services are often difficult to access by researchers outside these sectors. Research collaborations or enabling of greater access to and linkage of de-identified files within and across sectors would shed light on a range of complex legal, police and welfare cases. For example, it is not possible to access de-identified unit-level police data on family violence incidents or access de-identified case note files from CPS. The electronic systems that exist can provide efficient access to large numbers of case files, but usually these have not been designed (even secondarily) with research purposes in mind. Collaborative research in these areas would enable better

understanding of the proportion of these police, welfare, alcohol treatment system, hospital and court case data that may involve carer alcohol misuse.

10.6.1 DESCRIPTIVE EPIDEMIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Recording carer drinking and other family member problems in registry databases

Information relating to alcohol misuse by parents and other family members is not uniformly collected within Australia or in similar western developed countries such as Canada and the US, let alone in a wider range of nations, including low-income countries. Some data on alcohol abuse are reported in child protection data systems and by police that attend to domestic violence cases, but this is not the case for the majority of service systems that provide care to children and families.

In Australia, child maltreatment diagnoses are collected routinely in inpatient hospital and emergency department data, using International Classification of Disease coding, but the incidence of such diagnoses is very low (Laslett et al. 2010), particularly given the levels of alcohol-related physical child abuse and neglect revealed in this report. Instead, or in addition, a broader range of child injury diagnoses within particular age groups could be selected as markers of potential child abuse. These should be analysed in conjunction with alcohol sales data which are available in some Australian states, as are liquor licence density measures across postcodes in all states. Studies should examine alcohol data and child outcomes cross-sectionally and longitudinally.

Population studies and qualitative interviews

Repeated collection of representative data on alcohol's harm to others via national surveys would enhance surveillance. At the very least, the National Drug Strategy Household Surveys should be enhanced to collect more data on the situations of those affected by others' drinking, in particular how families and children report they have been affected. However, there is also a need to conduct representative cross-sectional national surveys, such as the HTO Surveys, on a regular basis to examine whether harms from others' drinking are stable or in flux, particularly given the most recent survey of this kind is now seven years old.

While survey data are available on drinking levels of adults in families, whether the heavy drinking occasions of parents occurred in the presence or absence of their children is often not specified. More importantly, whether these patterns of drinking cause harm is the critical issue. These issues could be followed up with new surveys in the tradition of the 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys (such as those carried out in the World Health Organization's *Harm from Others Drinking* study in seven low- and middle-income countries as well as new studies in a number of other high-income countries) and can be pursued also with other study methods and designs. This research could involve interviewing all or selected members of families about whether and how alcohol affects different family members and to what extent, how often and in what ways.

In addition, alcohol consumption and drinking consequences questions should be added to existing longitudinal studies of children and families. Such studies would inform understandings of what children's and families' needs are, as well as whether they are in contact with services, and how they are affected and assisted (or not) by services, families and peers. In the US, when parents were surveyed about their own drinking patterns and injuries to their children, more injuries to children were identified where parental histories of alcohol treatment were identified (Bijur et al. 1992; Crandall et al. 2006). Undertaking these large community studies, involving carers reporting upon injuries to their children, and self-reporting their drinking patterns, amongst other risk factors, could be considered in Australia, potentially in intervention and control populations. Existing national health studies and longitudinal studies of children with existing data on carer drinking patterns and child outcomes should be identified through research networks and analysed further.

10.6.2 SERVICE EVALUATION AND INTERVENTION RESEARCH

Child Protective Services (CPS) Research

The interviews with key informants described in Chapter 9 were instrumental in gaining an understanding of the alcohol-related service and research needs of the child protection field. The research experience using child protection data gained as part of this project also provides insight into the gaps in this knowledge and highlights recommendations for research.

Within CPS, future research should investigate in detail the types of problems that children experience that involve alcohol, how these cases are managed by workers and systems, the factors that influence how decisions are made regarding identification and management of alcohol problems of carers, and the outcomes that flow from different professional decisions and policies.

As described in Chapter 9, there is support for the implementation and evaluation of a range of services that target families at higher risk, in particular children with one or more parents in the AOD treatment system. Implementation and evaluation of interventions for those affected by others' drinking which have been recently developed should be considered in the Australian context (see 10.5), and randomised controlled trials for individual treatment interventions could be undertaken.

Research with families in the alcohol and drug treatment system

There are few large scale studies that measure the effectiveness of family-focused interventions and how well they target, assess and manage the needs of families of heavy drinkers. Anecdotally, few participants in the in-depth qualitative interviews described in Chapter 6 reported accessing health or other advice services to manage problems associated with the drinking of their family members. Where participants had been in contact with services, they commented that these services were targeted to the drinker and their own needs were not addressed. A number of participants were not aware of any such services (and reported also being reluctant to confide in family and friends).

Other strategies that focus on reducing harmful drinking may also have an impact on alcohol-related intimate partner violence. Intimate partner violence is highly prevalent amongst those seeking treatment for substance abuse. A systematic review of seven naturalistic (uncontrolled) studies of partner abuse before and after substance use treatment found reductions in partner violence after treatment (Murphy & Ting 2010). However, a recent review was more critical of the long-term effectiveness of these programs (Wilson et al. 2014).

10.6.3 COMMUNITY RESEARCH

Randomised controlled community trials, wherein different alcohol-related policies (e.g. minimum pricing of alcohol sold in bottle shops) are implemented and studied, should be undertaken and include analysis of the impacts of these strategies upon children and families. Prospective evaluation of outcomes for children in the child protection system and in community samples under different alcohol policy scenarios, or retrospective examination of outcomes over time with existing alcohol consumption, sales and availability data, would also enable better decision making around alcohol-related primary prevention policy priorities for preventing alcohol-related family harms.

Research has begun to examine the impact of alcohol policy interventions (e.g. reducing alcohol's availability through limits on trading hours, outlet density and the volume of alcohol sold in outlets) on rates of domestic violence. For example, an evaluation of community interventions that restricted the hours of sale of alcohol in a number of remote and regional Australian communities found reductions in hospital presentations for domestic violence and declines in refuge numbers (d'Abbs & Togni 2000).

10.6.4 RESEARCH WITH THOSE AFFECTED BY THE DRINKING OF NON-PARENTAL FAMILY MEMBERS

We know little about how parents and grandparents may have been affected and even abused because of the drinking of their own children. There is likely to be strong reluctance by parents to report how they have been negatively affected by the drinking of their own children. Sibling research on alcohol's harm to others is also relatively limited.

While family members often provide incredible support to problematic drinkers in their social milieu, often these family members have their own needs that need to be understood and met. Both immediate and extended family members are an important social resource in present day Australia – one that needs support. This support may be provided by peer organisations (e.g. *Family Drug Help* and *Family Drug Support* provide a range of resources to family members who are affected by the AOD use of someone close to them) or alternatively by non-government and state agencies.

Around one-third (31 per cent) of the adult Australian population that lives with or is responsible for children consumes at least five standard drinks on one occasion at least monthly (Laslett 2013). This report indicates that an estimated 17 per cent of adult Australians are affected by the drinking of a family member or intimate partner and that over one in five children have been affected by others' drinking in the past 12 months. A smaller but significant minority are affected far more seriously by the drinking of those they are closest to.

Alcohol consumption is a modifiable behaviour both at individual and population levels (Babor et al. 2010). There is an urgent need to develop a suite of individual- and community-level prevention strategies and examine whether these interventions reduce the burden of problems that families and children experience because of others' drinking. Where successful, these strategies should then be introduced more widely.

Governments have considerable opportunities and responsibilities to manage risks to families and children in the broader environment by making policy decisions, including alcohol policy decisions, that affect primary, secondary and tertiary prevention priorities. The large numbers of children and families affected at each tier of the pyramid described in Chapter 10 suggest that a public health approach to managing alcohol-related child and family harms is warranted, in addition to tertiary approaches provided by CPS and other family support agencies.

While tertiary services such as CPS have an integral coordinating role in addressing the problems of the children who have been most severely abused and/or neglected, AOD services are critical to the secondary prevention of child abuse and neglect. By targeting families at risk and assisting them, they have the potential to address carers' alcohol problems and prevent their entry into a range of crisis response services. The needs of drinkers within families and other family members affected need to be understood and met by a range of service options at this level.

It is critical that communities and governments invest in strategies that diminish alcohol-related problems in families and communities in general, and in particular amongst those who are most vulnerable and in need. The CPS and AOD treatment sectors must be adequately resourced to allow them to provide effective programs and ensure that there is close communication and referral between these systems.

Many (and arguably most) families struggling with parental alcohol misuse are probably not in the service system at all and may be 'hidden' to authorities. Given the findings in this report, a focus on population-wide alcohol problems of families would result in a reduction both in the prevalent alcohol-related harms seen in the population, and potentially, also, in reduction or prevention of the problems experienced by the families and children most seriously affected by problematic drinkers within them. Therefore, the findings of this report support the implementation of universal measures to prevent or limit the effects of drinking on the families and children of Australia, alongside comprehensive coordinated multi-sectoral services for families with multiple risk factors.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES		
Table 3.1	Percentage of respondents identifying family members whose drinking has negatively affected them (2008 HTO Survey)	30
Table 3.2	Family relationships with the person whose drinking most affected the respondent by respondent gender	31
Table 3.3	Comparing respondent and problematic family drinker mean ages	32
Table 3.4	Drinking patterns of problematic family drinkers	32
Table 3.5	Respondents affected “a lot” by a problematic family drinker	33
Table 3.6	Harms experienced due to the drinking of the problematic family drinker, by gender and household status	34
Table 3.7	Harms experienced due to the drinking of the problematic family drinker, by family relationship	35
Table 3.8	Harm because of a problematic family drinker – Australian estimates extrapolated from 2008 HTO Survey data	35
Table 4.1	Harm to children reported by carers in the 2008 HTO Survey	38
Table 4.2	Australian population estimate of negative or specific harm to children because of others’ drinking	38
Table 4.3	Number, percent, mean and median of specific alcohol-related harms to children and overall frequency of these harms reported by carers	39
Table 4.4	Harms to children reported by carers with children aged under 12 years only, 13-17 years only, and in both age groups (numbers and percentages)	40
Table 4.5	Harms to children reported by the carers that have children living in the household only, children not living in the household only and that have both children living with and not with them	41
Table 4.6	Specific alcohol-related harms to children by relationship of drinker, and percentage of harms attributed to each relationship	42
Table 4.7	Cross tabulation of harm to respondent and harm to children, among respondents caring for children (2008 HTO survey)	43
Table 4.8	Relationship of persons whose drinking affected the child and the carer	44
Table 4.9	Population estimates of harm to carers and children due to a family member’s drinking	44
Table 5.1	Percentage of respondents reporting alcohol-related harms from family members by socio-demographic characteristics (percentaged across in four right-hand columns)	47
Table 5.2	Harm to the respondent from family members within and outside of the household in 2011	48
Table 5.3	Percentage of respondents reporting alcohol-related harms to children by socio-demographic characteristics (percentaged across in four right-hand columns)	50

LIST OF TABLES (CONTINUATION)

Table 5.4	Predicting harm to children in 2011	52
Table 6.1	Demographic ^a profile of interviewees in qualitative study	55
Table 6.2	Who was causing harm and their relationship to the child/ren	56
Table 6.3	Harms reported by geographical remoteness (based on interviewees' postcode)	66
Table 7.1	Alcohol-related domestic violence assaults in New South Wales 2004–2005 to 2013–2014	71
Table 7.2	Number of family incidents with definite and possible alcohol involvement, Victoria, 2001–02 to 2012–13	72
Table 7.3	Number of family incidents with definite alcohol involvement by gender and age of victim, Victoria, 2010–11	72
Table 7.4	Domestic assaults in Western Australia, 2005–06 to 2011–12	73
Table 7.5	Alcohol-related assaults in the Northern Territory 2008 to 2013	73
Table 7.6	Characteristics of clients (closed episodes of care) contacting specialist AOD services because of someone else's drinking in Victorian publicly-funded non-government agencies ^a	78
Table 7.7	Calls and contacts received from close and extended family members about someone else's AOD use, 2006–07 to 2012–13	79
Table 7.8	Relationship types calling about someone else's alcohol use for each service, 2012–13	80
Table 8.1	Current state/territory estimates of alcohol involvement in child protection cases	83
Table 8.2	Current state/territory recording of alcohol's involvement in child protection cases	85
Table 8.3	Alcohol's involvement in substantiated child protection cases by type of primary harm, Victoria, 2001–2005	87
Table 8.4	Alcohol involvement by most serious stage in Victorian CPS 2001–2005	87
Table 8.5	Factors affecting the likelihood of child protection intervention among substantiated cases	88
Table 8.6	Factors affecting the likelihood of progression to court order phase amongst cases receiving protection interventions	90
Table 8.7	Substantiations of child maltreatment with and without carer alcohol recorded as a risk factor [#] , Victoria, 2001–2005	92

APPENDIX B: LIST OF FIGURES AND BOXES

LIST OF FIGURES AND BOXES		
Figure 1	Pyramid of risks to children affected by alcohol-related problems in Australia per year	13, 101
Figure 5.1	Persistence, initiation and discontinuation of harm from family members' drinking between 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys (N = 1,106)	46
Figure 5.2	Persistence, initiation and discontinuation of harm to children from others' drinking between 2008 and 2011 HTO Surveys (n = 371)	49
Box 7.1	Case example of a family-specific service: 'Kids in Focus' and 'Mirror Families' at Odyssey House Victoria	75
Figure 7.1	Closed episodes of care provided to clients seeking treatment in connection with someone else's alcohol or drug use, AOD services in Australian states and territories, 2011-12	77
Figure 8.1	Number of children in out-of-home care in Australia 2000-2013	92

APPENDIX C: THEMES AND PROMPTS FOR IN-DEPTH QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS WITH SUBSET OF HTO SURVEY RESPONDENTS

1. IMPACTS OF DRINKING FOR CHILDREN OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS

- How many children do you have and what are their ages and are they boys or girls?
- Is there anyone whose drinking is affecting or has, in the past, affected this child / these children in your care?
- What is the relationship of this person to you? To your children?
- Can you tell me how this person's drinking has affected / affects children in your care?
- What were/are short-term effects? (probe for effects on behaviour, schooling, physical harms etc.)?
- What were/are long-term effects? (probe for effects on behaviour, schooling, physical harms etc.)?
- Can you tell me any story of a time when it was apparent that a child in your care was affected by another person's drinking?

2. NATURE OF IMPACTS OF DRINKING FOR FAMILY FUNCTIONING

- How does the drinker you referred to make it easier or harder for you to parent children in your care?
- Do you drink alcohol too when the drinker is around? How do you manage this situation?
- Can you tell me about a time that the drinker's alcohol consumption interfered with a family occasion? If so, what happened?
- Are there times when the family is not affected by drinking? If so, what is different about these times?

3. CURRENT SITUATION

- What has changed in relation to how your children are affected by another person's drinking, if anything, over the years?
- If so, what was this change and why do you think the change occurred?

4. WHAT HELPED AND WHAT DIDN'T HELP?

- Did you turn to family for support? If so, what help were they able to give you? What were they unable to help with?
- Did you turn to friends for support? If so, what help were they able to give you? What were they unable to help with?
- Did you approach any alcohol or other drug services for support? If so, what help were they able to give you? What were they unable to help with?
- Did you approach other agencies such as churches for support? If so, what help were they able to give you? What were they unable to help with?
- Can you think of anything that would have helped you better cope with the situation that wasn't available to you?

5. SOME DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- Respondent information – age, gender, occupation, metropolitan/regional town/small town/rural
- Cultural background

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESEARCHERS

CURRENT RESEARCH PROGRAM

- Are you currently conducting any research on child maltreatment and alcohol or other drugs? What are your main areas of interest?

HISTORY OF CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM AND ALCOHOL AND OTHER DRUG (AOD) SERVICE AND POLICY SECTORS IN RELATION TO ALCOHOL-RELATED CHILD MALTREATMENT

- What is the relationship between AOD services and child protection agencies in your jurisdiction, and how has it developed/changed?

For example: Do you think alcohol and other drugs have been recognised as important factors at senior/grass roots levels by child protection staff? On the other hand, how important/effective are A&D workers and government departments and systems at identifying issues for children that may flow from their carers' alcohol or drug use? Do you think there is dialogue between AOD and child protection departments, and referrals to and from workers from each sector?

CHILD PROTECTION DATA

- Do you use any reports or data from your State Government child protection agency in your research?
- Have you tried to access departmental (e.g. Department of Community Services/ Department of Human Services data in the past?
- Are you aware of how alcohol is recorded in the child protection system?

Do you know anything about the child protection protocols for alcohol involvement that child protection workers use? (For example, how alcohol use is defined, when would alcohol involvement be recorded?)

How reliable do you consider child protection data to be in your jurisdiction? (How could it be improved?)

CONTACTS RELEVANT TO CHILD PROTECTION AND ALCOHOL DATA

- Do you have any contacts in the Department of Families and Communities (relevant state child protection department) who might have relevant knowledge on child protection data and alcohol and other drug involvement, or who might be useful if we were to seek access to de-identified data in the future?
- Do you know of anyone who is costing alcohol involvement in child protection in our State? (Ie an economist?)

GREY LITERATURE

- Are there any critical grey literature reports that have been produced in your jurisdiction that focus on or include alcohol involvement in child protection?
- In your opinion, how should we go about finding the best estimate of alcohol involvement in child protection in your State?

INTERESTS FOR THE FUTURE

- We are interested in pushing this area forward and wonder whether you think there is value in this?
- Do you have any interests in research in the area of alcohol and child protection in the future?
- Would you be interested in discussing this further?

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHILD PROTECTION KEY INFORMANTS

1. Is alcohol a factor/problem in the caseloads of your agency/department? How much so?
2. Is there a section of the Child Protection System or your agency's manual or website that highlights alcohol and other drug use in the context of child protection issues? (e.g., as part of assessment)
3. Recording and defining 'alcohol involvement'
4. Is there a protocol or defined procedures for how this is defined and recorded by CP workers?
5. How is alcohol involvement recorded? (i.e., in a database, in case notes, in both – and if both which data are entered in each?)
6. Are you able to please provide a copy of what the questions on screen look like if they are recorded electronically? May we please have a copy of the blank paper based forms used in investigations and to record case notes?
7. How is alcohol involvement defined? (Is there a formal scale or type of measurement? Is it confirmed or alleged? What level of detail is involved in the reporting?)
8. Is alcohol involvement defined as being alcohol “use”, “problematic use”/“abuse”/“dependence”, “binge drinking”, or about “hangovers”?
9. Is reporting of caregiver alcohol use mandatory? (If yes, what stage is this reported?) Are there any implications when alcohol is recorded as a risk factor? (further investigation etc.)
10. Under what circumstances is alcohol involvement likely to be reported as a risk factor?
11. More details about what is recorded in the database/case notes....
12. Does parental/caregiver alcohol consumption get recorded, or if someone else's drinking (i.e., a sibling) is affecting the child, would this be recorded? Is it usually the drinking of the protective parent or the alleged maltreating parent's drinking that is recorded? How much detail is collected on the alleged perpetrator?
13. How does alcohol involvement in child protection generally come to a CP worker's attention? How significant is alcohol involvement in the decision making process?
14. What kind of training do child protection workers receive for recognising or diagnosing alcohol involvement in a CP case?
15. Is there any process for referring the caregiver to treatment if alcohol use is identified?
16. If there is no recording of caregiver alcohol use, is there are a way to estimate the percentage of cases that do involve alcohol use? What is the reason that alcohol use is not recorded?
17. Are there any reports that have been produced in your jurisdiction that focus on or include alcohol involvement in child protection?
18. In your opinion, how should we go about finding the best estimate of alcohol involvement in child protection in this jurisdiction?

APPENDIX F: AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION: ALCOHOL'S HARM TO OTHERS – FOCUSING ON FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

1. THE REPORT
2. FINDINGS TO DATE
3. RESEARCH GAPS
 - a. Service system response agency data (CPS, Family Services, Domestic Violence, Relationships)
 - b. More detailed nature of alcohol-related harms in general population, CPS cases, Family Services
 - c. Policy research: alcohol policies and child and family-based outcomes?
 - d. Collaborative opportunities
4. POLICY DIRECTIONS
 - a. National Framework for Child Protection
 - b. The National Council's Plan for Australia to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children, 2009-2021
 - c. Family-sensitive AOD practice
 - d. Universal alcohol policies
 - e. Targeted interventions to high risk families
5. KEY NETWORKS TO DEVELOP
6. LUNCH



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