

# AUSTRALIAN FAMILY DIVERSITY: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW 1960-2015

Damien W. Riggs and Clare Bartholomaeus

inspiring achievement

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© Damien W. Riggs and Clare Bartholomaeus School of Social and Policy Studies Flinders University GPO Box 2100 Adelaide South Australia 5001 Australia

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## **Explanatory Notes**

The data documented in this report are derived from a range of sources, including data specifically requested from the Australian Bureau of Statistics for the purpose of this report. All efforts were undertaken to ensure that the most current available data were included, as at April 2015. The table below outlines the primary documents drawn upon in this report, and the latest statistics included in each.

Publication	Latest statistics date	Publication date
Australia's mothers and babies	2012	2014
Births, Aus	2013	2014
ART in Aus	2012	2014
Child protection Aus	2012-13	2014
Adoptions Aus	2013-14	2014
Family characteristics	2012-13	2015
Household income	2011-12	2013
Marriages and divorces	2013	2014

In some cases, due to changing data collection methods over the years, as well as the availability of statistics, comparable data were not always available. Where this is the case, a dash (-) is included in tables where data were unavailable.

Whilst the report covers a 55 year period, most of the data are presented – where available – in five year increments, working backwards from 2014 (given that was the year where in the majority of cases the most recent data were available). In a small number of tables data are presented by individual year, rather than five year increments. This is the case either where significant changes occurred within a five year period, or where data were available for less than one five year period.

The tables and figures presented in this report are typically accompanied by explanatory notes written by the authors so as to describe any anomalies. These should be referred to for further clarity about the data presented.

In some tables, columns may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

In places the original terminology used has been included in quotes, so as to indicate that certain terms may now be considered problematic.

## Acknowledgments

We begin by acknowledging the sovereignty of the Kaurna people, the First Nations people upon whose land we live and work.

We would like to thank Karen Moore, Rob Destradi, Sue Webster, and Paul Murrin at the Australian Bureau of Statistics for their support in accessing data that were not publically available.

The work undertaken for this report was funded by an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship, FT130100087.

Whilst we have aimed to be comprehensive in our historical overview of family-related data, it is possible that other data currently available were not identified. Given this report sits alongside other similar summary documents, as a whole it makes a substantive contribution to the collation of existing Australian data.

### **Executive Summary**

Over the past three decades, increasing attention has been paid to the diversification of Australian families, particularly with regard to both modes of family formation and family structure. Researchers have provided extensive accounts of, for example, lesbian mother families, families formed through surrogacy, grandparents parenting their grandchildren, and the lives of people who were donor-conceived. These accounts, among many others, have served to expand our understanding of what counts as a family, and the specific experiences and needs of a range of family groups.

At the same time, however, changes in the political landscape have increasingly brought to the fore an emphasis upon one particular form: the heterosexual nuclear family formed through reproductive heterosex. As such, whilst on the one hand we have seen increased recognition and indeed celebration of family diversification, we have also seen something of a push back against this diversification.

The present report was developed in order to facilitate a robust, empirically-based discussion of the topic of family diversification in Australia. The report highlights two key points that address both the fact of diversification outlined above, and concerns that have arisen in response to it:

- First, changes to the face of Australian families have been slow yet consistent over the past five decades. Such changes have been brought about by developments in the realm of reproductive science, legislative change, and shifts in public attitudes. In this sense, diversification reflects the reality of Australian society, rather than being the agenda of any one group.
- Second, despite changes to the face of Australian families, much remains the same. In other words, the information presented in this report highlights both continuity and change.

In drawing upon data collected by, amongst others, the *Australian Bureau of Statistics* and the *Australian Institute for Health and Welfare*, available both publically and through request by the authors, this report presents an overview of key family-related areas. As such, it builds upon the significant work undertaken by the Australian Institute of Family Studies in their *Diversity and Change in Australian Families* report (de Vaus, 2004) by adding a historical component. Mapping changes and continuity across time provides researchers, policy makers, and members of the public with an informed understanding of Australian family diversification.

Associate Professor Damien W. Riggs

Bathdomaeus

Dr Clare Bartholomaeus

### **Overview**

A discussion included as an appendix to the 1982 *Australian Families* survey (Cameron, 1984) provides an illuminating account of what is at stake when we seek to summarise family-related statistics. As the discussion notes, the word 'family' can be taken as referring either to "a group of related persons living together" or "a network of persons tied together by blood ties" (p. 77). Interestingly, having recognised this distinction, the survey itself relies upon a definition of family as "two or more persons who live in the same household and are related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption" (p. 1). This specifically excludes people classed in the survey as "non-family individuals", defined as "a person who is not related to anyone else in the household and hence is not a member of a family" (p. 2).

What is notable about these definitions is that despite the distinction between the two understandings of family outlined above, they are collapsed in the definitions used in the survey itself, and arguably collapsed in favour of the second definition of family that privileges 'blood ties'. Moreover, it is notable that, at least during previous data collection periods, one person households were excluded from the category of family. This excludes families who live apart, as well as people living in one person households whose families take forms other than those involving cohabiting partners or children. Furthermore, we might argue this reflects something of the human-centric nature of data collection with regard to families, where only humans are counted in available national data, thus excluding families involving, for example, one human and their animal companions.

These above points made with reference to the 1982 *Australian Families* survey are of interest to the present report, as assumptions about what counts as a family, and the purposes for which family-related demographics are measured, shapes the information available. As the aforementioned appendix discussion notes, historically, family-specific data were not recorded, with the focus instead being on population level information. In other words, whilst information about births and marriages (for example) has been documented in differing ways for over 100 years in Australia, the ways in which this information was reported has been highly dependent on the aims of the data collection.

For example, a focus on encouraging citizens to marry meant that up until the 1960s only children born in the context of a current marriage were recorded. Examples such as this highlight the fact that whilst Census and social survey data are often treated as objective records of the population, they are very much shaped by social mores. Whilst on the one hand this can limit the demographic information available (and certainly the 1982 document notes the ways in which previous Census and surveys have been limited), it can also mean that as social norms change, new ways of understanding social groupings (such as families) can be developed.

As an example of shifts in how we understand families, the 2006-07 *Family Characteristics and Transitions* survey (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008c) defines 'family' as "two or more persons, one of whom is at least 15 years of age, who are related by blood, marriage (registered or de facto), adoption, step or fostering; and who are usually resident in the same household" (p. 4). Whilst this definition still excludes people who live together but who are not 'related', and also excludes one person households, it offers an expanded understanding of family beyond the narrow constraints of solely 'blood ties' or legal relationships, in addition to recognising relationships beyond registered marriages and beyond cohabitation.

Whilst a more expansive definition is still possible (i.e., to include 'families of choice' or to include animal companions), this more recent definition demonstrates how our understanding of family-

related measures shifts and changes as society changes, whilst nonetheless retaining (albeit sometimes in modified ways) existing categories.

In terms of the data documented in this first overview section in regards to the past 50 years, some of the most notable shifts and continuities with regards to families are:

The number of one-parent families has consistently risen, however the number of couples with or without children has remained relatively stable. Specifically, the overwhelming majority of families (almost two thirds) continue to be comprised of heterosexual couples (who have not separated) and their children. These points are evident in Table 1 and Figure 1 below, which focus on data spanning a 45 year period.

	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011
Couple families without children	37.2% 664,773	26.3 % 822,6 45	40.7% 955,336	39.4% 1,063,3 10	42.5% 1,271,8 72	32.3% 1,358,9 39	34.8% 1,589,8 82	36.4% 1,764,1 67	37.9% 1,943,6 48	38.5% 2,150,3 01
Couple family with children	56.6% 1,009,913	61.8 % 1,931 ,099	52.5% 1,233,6 08	51.2% 1,378,5 01	49.3% 1,476,2 66	54.7% 2,307,9 61	50.5% 2,308,9 42	47.9% 2,321,1 65	46.1% <i>2,362,5</i> 88	45.4% 2,534,3 99
One parent families	6.2% 110,531	11.9 % 372,4 03	6.8% 160,485	9.4% 252,057	8.3% 247,182	13.1% <i>552,711</i>	14.7% 672,868	15.7% <i>762,632</i>	16.0% 823,25 4	16.1% 901,63 7
TOTAL*	100% 1,785,217	100% 3,126 ,147	100% 2,349,4 29	100% 2,693,8 68	100.1% 2,995,3 20	100.1% 4,219,6 11	100% 4,571,6 92	100% 4,847,9 64	100% 5,129,4 90	100% 5,586,3 37

#### Table 1 – Main family forms, 1966 to 2011

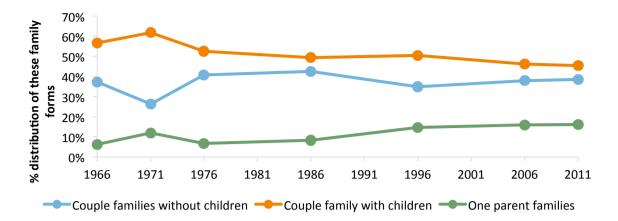
\* This table focuses on the three main family forms in Australia. Each year is calculated to 100% using these three family forms only (not all columns add to 100% due to rounding). Other family form categories used by the ABS vary between years and are difficult to map historically.

#### Note:

- Measurements vary between years. In some years, these three categories include living with other adults (such as a grandparent) whereas other years only include, for example, couple families without children or anyone else present. In addition, children are counted slightly differently for different years: unmarried children of any age (1966); unspecified (1976; 1991); 'dependents' (1981); dependent children (1986); dependent and non-dependent children (data available separately) (1996); children under 15, dependent students, and non-dependent children combined (data available separately) (2001; 2006; 2011).
- In addition, Census data was collected about persons present in the dwelling on Census night only for 1981 and earlier, whereas for 1986 and later information on usual residents of the dwelling who were temporarily absent were also included.
- 2006 and 2011 data includes same-sex couple families.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979, 2002, 2008a, 2012a, 2015a; Cameron, 1983; Castles, 1989b, 1993; McLennan, 1998a; O'Neill, 1972).

Figure 1 – Main family forms, by percentage, 1966 to 2011

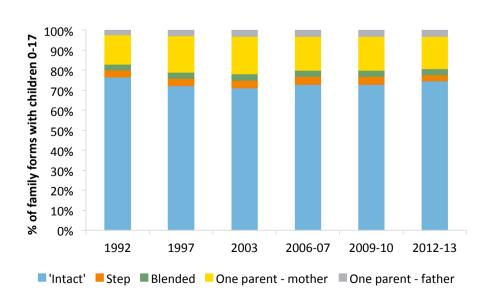


Focusing solely on families with children, Table 2 and Figure 2 highlight the relative stability in terms of population size of what are termed 'intact' families, step families, and blended families over a 20 year period. Also highlighted are the changes in the population sizes of one parent families.

'Intact' families76.3%72.1%70.7%73%73%74%1,815,2001,741,1001,775,5001,871,0001,933,0002,042,000Step families3.5%3.7%3.9%4%4%3%84,30088,90098,60094,00099,00091,000Blended families2.9%3.1%3.1%3%3%3%68,10075,30078,10080,00091,00090,000One parent – mothers14.7%18.1%18.6%17%17%16%349,600437,700466,400442,000441,000451,000One parent – fathers2.2%2.7%3.0%3%3%3%53,40065,20076,10074,00077,00085,000		1992	1997	2003	2007	2009-10	2012-13
Step families         3.5%         3.7%         3.9%         4%         4%         3%           84,300         88,900         98,600         94,000         99,000         91,000           Blended families         2.9%         3.1%         3.1%         3%         3%         3%           68,100         75,300         78,100         80,000         91,000         90,000           One parent – mothers         14.7%         18.1%         18.6%         17%         17%         16%           349,600         437,700         466,400         442,000         441,000         451,000           One parent – fathers         2.2%         2.7%         3.0%         3%         3%         3%	'Intact' families	76.3%	72.1%	70.7%	73%	73%	74%
84,300         88,900         98,600         94,000         99,000         91,000           Blended families         2.9%         3.1%         3.1%         3%         3%         3%           68,100         75,300         78,100         80,000         91,000         90,000           One parent – mothers         14.7%         18.1%         18.6%         17%         17%         16%           349,600         437,700         466,400         442,000         441,000         451,000           One parent – fathers         2.2%         2.7%         3.0%         3%         3%         3%		1,815,200	1,741,100	1,775,500	1,871,000	1,933,000	2,042,000
Blended families         2.9%         3.1%         3.1%         3%<	Step families	3.5%	3.7%	3.9%	4%	4%	3%
68,100         75,300         78,100         80,000         91,000         90,000           One parent – mothers         14.7%         18.1%         18.6%         17%         17%         16%           349,600         437,700         466,400         442,000         441,000         451,000           One parent – fathers         2.2%         2.7%         3.0%         3%         3%		84,300	88,900	98,600	94,000	99,000	91,000
One parent – mothers         14.7%         18.1%         18.6%         17%         17%         16%           349,600         437,700         466,400         442,000         441,000         451,000           One parent – fathers         2.2%         2.7%         3.0%         3%         3%	Blended families	2.9%	3.1%	3.1%	3%	3%	3%
349,600       437,700       466,400       442,000       441,000       451,000         One parent – fathers       2.2%       2.7%       3.0%       3%       3%		68,100	75,300	78,100	80,000	91,000	90,000
One parent – fathers         2.2%         2.7%         3.0%         3%         3%	One parent – mothers	14.7%	18.1%	18.6%	17%	17%	16%
•		349,600	437,700	466,400	442,000	441,000	451,000
53,400 65,200 76,100 74,000 77,000 85,000	One parent – fathers	2.2%	2.7%	3.0%	3%	3%	3%
		53,400	65,200	76,100	74,000	77,000	85,000

#### Table 2 – Family forms with children 0-17, 1992 to 2012-13

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998, 2004, 2008c, 2011, 2015c).



#### Figure 2 – Family forms with children 0-17, by percentage, 1992 to 2012-13

## **Section 1: Births and relationships**

As was outlined in the overview section, the terminology utilised with regards to births, deaths and relationships has changed over the course of the time period included in this report. Historically, Census and survey data on births, deaths, and marriages were referred to as such because these three areas were the focus in a normative sense. In other words, what was historically viewed as counting as a relationship in the 1960s was a heterosexual marriage. Similarly, what mattered in terms of births and deaths was primarily the growth of the nation. This does not mean that historically certain deaths (such as stillbirths) were not recorded (though it is important to note that as recently as 1965 it was not required by law in at least one State that a child who was stillborn be registered). Rather, it means that statistics produced had a very specific focus (one family form – the heterosexual nuclear family) and a very specific agenda (to document the size and growth of the population). Over time, however, increased attention has been paid to disaggregating a range of family forms, and introducing further agendas (which, we might argue, focus on diversification, rather than relying upon existing social categories). The statistics presented in this section thus highlight significant change over the past 50 years. Not only do they demonstrate the growth of the Australian population, but they also highlight changes in how the population is understood.

### **Births**

As Table 3 and Figure 3 indicate, the total number of births continues to grow each year, however the fertility rate has decreased, meaning that fewer people are having children each year. Historically there were fewer women, but each had a relatively high number of children. The population of people who can give birth is now higher, but fewer are having children.

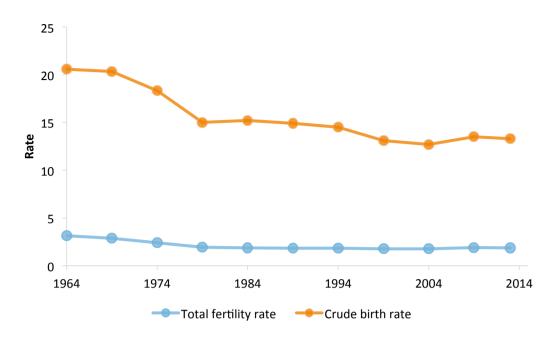
#### Table 3 – Total fertility rate, crude birth rate, and total births registered, 1964 to 2013

	1964	1969	1974	1979	1984 *	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2013
Total fertility rate (births per woman)	3.154	2.889	2.396	1.935	1.881	1.85	1.846	1.745	1.774	1.901	1.882
Crude birth rate (per 1,000 people)	20.58	20.33	18.33	15.0	15.2	14.9	14.5	13.1	12.7	13.5	13.3
Total births registered	229,1 49	250,1 76	245,1 77	223,1 00	234,0 34	250,9 00	258,0 51	248,8 70	254,2 46	295,7 38	308,0 65

\*Rates are adjusted for late registrations of NSW births in 1984.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Births, Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1995, 2000, 2005a, 2010, 2014b), Year Book Australia (Archer, 1965, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1971, 1975b, 1981, 1988, 1991), and Australian Historical Population Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008b).

Figure 3 – Total fertility rate and crude birth rate, 1964 to 2013



In terms of first time mothers, over a 21 year period the mean age of such mothers has risen, the number of women aged under 20 has dropped, and the number of women aged over 40 has risen, as can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4 – Firs	st time mo	others. nur	nbers and	ages.	1991 to	2012
	se unic me	, man	inscr5 und	uges,	1991 10	

	1991*	1994	1999	2004	2009	2012
Number of first time	40.2%	39.8%	40.8%	42.2%	41.6%	42.4%
mothers – % of all women giving birth	67,245	102,473	103,334	106,611	92,564	130,522
Mean age of first	_	26.3	27.1	28.0	27.9	28.4
time mothers (in		2010				
years)						
Women giving birth	5.9%	5.3%	5.1%	4.6%	4.0%	3.6%
who are under 20 – %	14,923	13,732	12,983	11,541	11,768	11,058
of all women giving						
birth						
Women giving birth	1.4%	1.7%%	2.4%	3.3%	4.0%	4.3%
who are 40 or over –	3,651	4,495	6,184	8,318	11,687	13,319
% of all women giving birth						

\* Parity (first-time mother) statistics were unavailable for NSW in 1991.

Note: This publication was first available for 1991.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Australia's mothers and babies (Day, Lancaster, & Huang, 1997; Hilder, Zhichao, Parker, Jahan, & Chambers, 2014; Lancaster, Huang, & Pedisich, 1994; Laws, Grayson, & Sullivan, 2006; Li, McNally, Hilder, & Sullivan, 2011; Nassar & Sullivan, 2001).

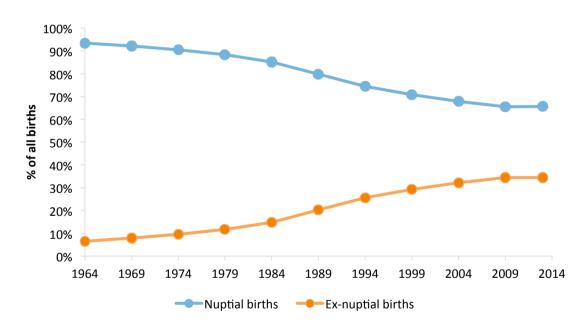
As Table 5 and Figure 4 indicate, over a 49 year time period the number of children born to parents who are not married has increased, and the number born to parents who are married has decreased. Nonetheless, more children are still born in the context of heterosexual marriage than not.

	1964	1969	1974	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2013
Nuptial births (% of all births)	93.49% 214,224	92.17% <i>230,591</i>	90.45% <i>221,769</i>	88.3% 197,021	85.2% <i>199,405</i>	79.8% 200,065	74.4% 191,959	70.8% 176,179	67.8% 172,481	65.5% <i>193,560</i>	65.6% <i>202,046</i>
Ex-nuptial births – total (% of all births)	6.51% <i>14,925</i>	7.83% 19,585	9.55% <i>23,408</i>	11.7% 26,111	14.8% <i>34,629</i>	20.2% 5 <i>0,788</i>	25.6% <i>66,092</i>	29.2% 72,691	32.2% <i>81,765</i>	34.5% <i>102,011</i>	34.4% <i>106,019</i>

#### Table 5 – Nuptial status of births, 1964 to 2013

Note: Figures are for live/registered births.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Births, Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1995, 2000, 2005a, 2010, 2014b) and Year Book Australia (Archer, 1965; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1971, 1975b, 1981).





Also of note with regard to changes in the marital status of parents, Table 6 and Figure 5 indicate significant historical shifts over a 29 year period with regard to paternal acknowledgment of a child conceived outside of marriage, with the number of men denying paternity outside of married reducing considerably in the time period.

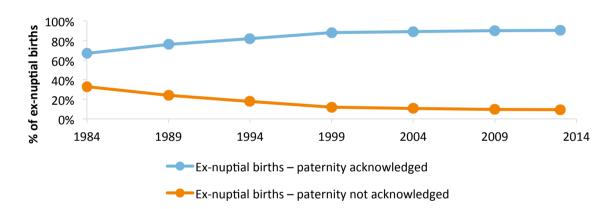
Table 6 – Ex-nuptial births, paternity acknowledged and not acknowledged, by percentage of ex-nuptial births, 1984 to2013

	1984	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2013
Ex-nuptial births – paternity acknowledged (% of ex-nuptial births)	67% <i>23,200</i>	76.0% <i>38,572</i>	82.2% 54,333	88.2% 64,144	89.2% <i>72,915</i>	90.2% <i>92,056</i>	90.6% <i>96,075</i>
Ex-nuptial births – paternity not acknowledged (% of ex-nuptial births)	33.0% <i>11,429</i>	24.1% <i>12,216</i>	18% <i>11,759</i>	11.8% <i>8,547</i>	10.8% <i>8,850</i>	9.8% <i>9,955</i>	9.4% <i>9,944</i>

Note: Figures are for live/registered births.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Births, Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1995, 2000, 2005a, 2010, 2014b).

Figure 5 – Ex-nuptial births, paternity acknowledged and not acknowledged, by percentage of ex-nuptial births, 1984 to 2013



As noted above, there has been historical variance in terms of how pregnancy and birth data were recorded, particularly with regard to fetal deaths. The following and final table in this section indicates that despite considerable changes in reproductive science over the 21 year period included, the percentage of fetal deaths has not decreased.

#### Table 7 – Births, selected statistics, 1991 to 2012

	1991	1994	1999	2004	2009	2012
Number of women who gave birth	253,141	257,657	253,394	252,871	294,540	307,474
Crude rate of women who gave birth (per 1,000 women aged 15- 44)	-	-	-	58.5	63.6	65.0
Number of babies born	256,634	261,335	257,394	257,205	299,220**	312,153***
Live births – as a % of number of babies born	99.2% 254,628	99.3% <i>259,590</i>	99.1% 255,085*	99.3% 255,286	99.2% 296,791	99.3% <i>309,861</i>
Fetal deaths – as a % of number of babies born	0.8% 2,006	0.7% 1,745	0.7% 1,789	0.7% 1,919	0.8% 2,341	0.7% 2,255
Fetal death rate per 1,000 births	-	6.7	7.0	7.5	7.8	7.2

\*Live births includes 17 births in NSW where birth status was 'not stated'.

\*\* 88 of these births were not categorised as live births or fetal deaths (these are not included in the % totals). \*\*\* 37 births were not stated as live births or fetal deaths (these are not included in the % totals).

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Australia's mothers and babies (Day, et al., 1997; Hilder, et al., 2014; Lancaster, et al., 1994; Laws, et al., 2006; Li, et al., 2011; Nassar & Sullivan, 2001).

### **Relationships**

In terms of relationships, a primary focus of Australian data is on marital status. At the time of writing, marriage in Australia was restricted to heterosexual couples. Tables 8 and 9 and Figures 6 and 7 below indicate that whilst the number of marriages has increased across the 49 year period, the actual marriage rate has decreased. With regard to divorce, whilst there was an initial spike in divorces following the introduction of no fault divorces in 1976, the number of divorces has fallen in line with the number of marriages.

#### Table 8 – Marriages registered and crude marriage rate, 1964 to 2013

	1964	1974	1984*	1994	2004**	2013
Marriages registered	86,013	110,673	108,655	111,174	110,958	118,962
Crude marriage rate (per 1,000 population)	7.72	8.27	7.0	6.2	5.5	5.1
*! - +! - + +! -	·	10 0 40	204			

\*Late registrations in NSW affected figures for 1984.

\*\* Data is subject to sampling error for 2004.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Year Book Australia (Archer, 1965; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1975b, 1986) and Marriages and Divorces (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009, 2014f; McLennan, 1995).

#### Table 9 – Divorces granted and crude divorce rate, 1964 to 2013

	1964	1974	1975	1984	1994	2004	2013
Divorces granted	7,917	17,495	24,257	43,124	48,256	52,747	47,638
Crude divorce rate (per 1,000 population)	0.7	1.3	4.5	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.1

Note: Statistics for 1964 and 1974 refer to dissolution of marriage which means divorce (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1975b p. 177).

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics/Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics – Social Statistics, Australia: Divorce (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1965), Year Book Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1975b, 1988), Divorces (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1975a), Marriages and Divorces Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009, 2014f; McLennan, 1995), and Australian Historical Population Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008b).

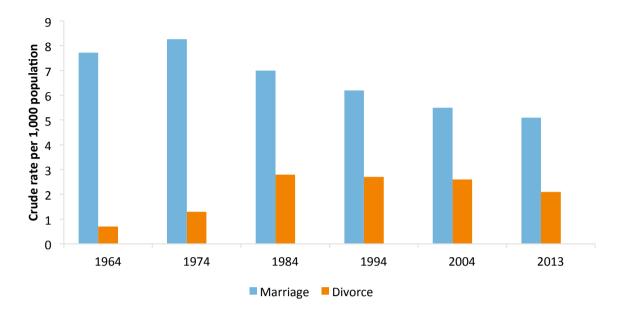
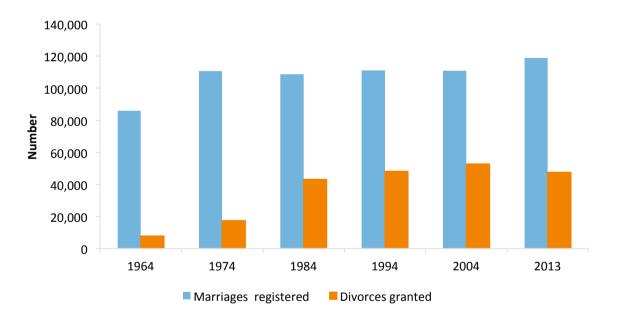


Figure 6 – Marriage and divorce rates, by crude rate per 1,000 population, 1964 to 2013

Figure 7 – Marriage registered and divorces granted, by number, 1964 to 2013



If we look at men and women separately with regard to marriage, as can be seen in Tables 10 and 11 and Figures 8 and 9, interesting differences are evident. Over the 45 year period, women were more likely than men to be widowed, whilst men were more likely than women to never be married.

#### Table 10 – Marital status of the population, females, 1966 to 2011

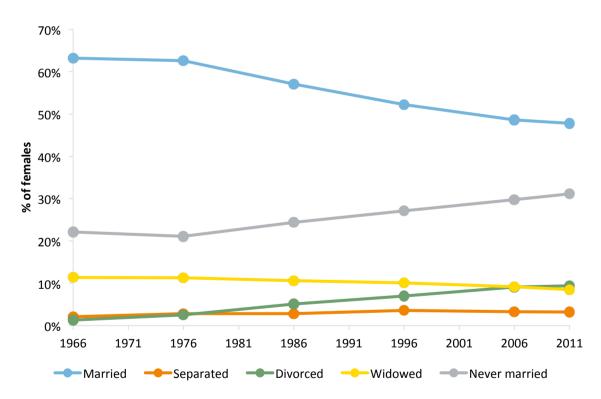
	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006	2011
Married	63.2%	62.6%	57.1%	52.2%	48.6%	47.8%
				3,737,188	3,956,297	4,229,575
Separated*	2.1%	2.8%	2.8%	3.6%	3.3%	3.2%
				254,975	269,456	287,004
Divorced	1.3%	2.5%	5.1%	7.0%	9.1%	9.4%
				503,498	740,040	835,077
Widowed	11.4%	11.3%	10.6%	10.1%	9.2%	8.5%
				727,045	750,840	752,436
Never	22.1%	21.1%	24.4%	27.1%	29.8%	31.1%
married				1,941,876	2,423,524	2,753,427

\* For 1966, 1976, and 1986 this is written as 'married but permanently separated'.

Note: Data is for % of female population aged 15 and over.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997, 2008a, 2012a) and Year Book Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988).





#### Table 11 – Marital status of the population, males, 1966 to 2011

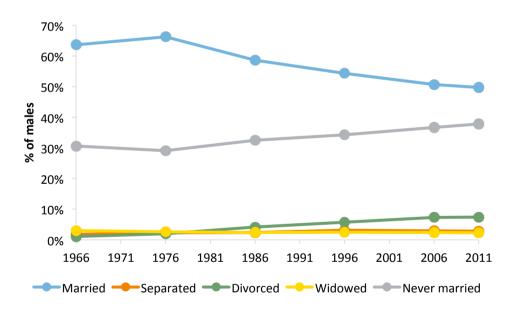
	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006	2011
Married	63.6%	66.3%	58.6%	54.3%	50.7%	49.7%
				3,733,118	3,944,382	4,231,539
Separated*	1.8%	2.3%	2.4%	3.1%	2.9%	2.8%
				216,099	225,600	242,275
Divorced	1.1%	2.0%	4.2%	5.7%	7.3%	7.4%
				395,336	566,875	625,823
Widowed	3.0%	2.6%	2.4%	2.5%	2.4%	2.3%
				171,326	185,982	197,198
Never	30.6%	29.1%	32.5%	34.3%	36.7%	37.8%
married				2,359,842	2,855,080	3,209,342

\* For 1966, 1976, and 1986 this is written as 'married but permanently separated'.

Note: Data is for % of male population aged 15 and over.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997, 2008a, 2012a) and Year Book Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988).





In terms of divorces where children are involved, as reported in Table 12 and Figure 10, over the 49 year period the percentage of such divorces has reduced significantly, though due to population growth the actual number of children whose parents have divorced has considerably increased.

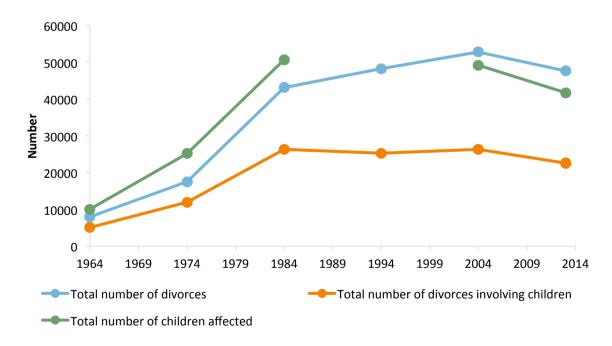
#### Table 12 – Divorces involving children, 1964 to 2013

	1964	1974	1984	1994	2004	2013
Total number of	63.6%	68.2%	60.9%	52.4%	49.8%	47.4%
divorces involving	5,032	11,938	26,276	25,316	26,289	22,590
children - % of all						
divorces						
Total number of	9,997	25,192	50,713	-	49,260	41,747
children affected						
Average number of	1.99	1.44	1.93	-	1.87	1.8
children per divorce						
(excludes divorces						
not involving						
children)	childron rofors to (a					

Note: For 1964 children refers to 'children of the marriage' under 21 years at time of petition Australia: Divorce (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1965). For all other years here children refers to '[u]nmarried children of the marriage under 18 years' (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008b).

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics/Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics – Social Statistics, Australia: Divorce (Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1965), Divorces (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1974), Year Book Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1988), Marriages and Divorces Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009, 2014f), and Australian Historical Population Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008b).

#### Figure 10 – Divorces involving children, by number, 1964 to 2013



Turning to consider relationships other than those involving marriage, the social and legal recognition of such relationships (such as in de facto status) has resulted in significant changes to the statistical recognition of relationships. As can be seen in Table 13 and Figure 11, the percentage of de facto relationships has increased significantly across the 30 year period.

#### Table 13 – De facto relationships, 1982 to 2012-13

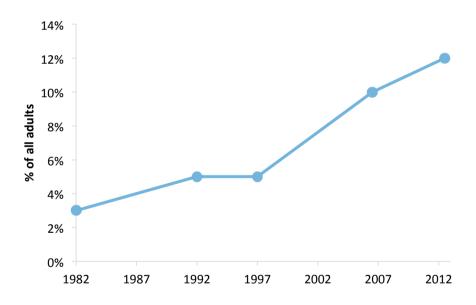
	1982	1992	1997	2006-07	2012-13
Number of people in de	3%	5%	5%	10%	12%
facto relationships*	335,900	710,800	756,500	1,553,000	2,148,000
Couples which are de facto	4.7%	8.4%	9.1%	-	-
marriages/relationships** -	168,600	345,200	378,300		
% of all couples					

\*For 1982, 1992, and 1997 this includes persons age 15 and over and for 2006-07 and 2012-13 this refers to people over 18 (and includes same-sex couples). Therefore, the percentage for 1982, 1992, and 1997 is of all people 15 and over and for 2006-07 and 2015 is of all people 18 and over.

\*\*In some years de facto marriages are distinguished from de facto relationships.

Note: Data on de facto relationships is unavailable for 2003 and 2009-10 and there is limited data available for 2006-07 and 2012-13.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998, 2008c, 2015c; Cameron, 1984; Castles, 1994).





Note: The percentage for 1982, 1992, and 1997 is of all people 15 and over and for 2006-07 and 2015 is of all people 18 and over.

Accordingly, the number of de facto relationships involving children has also increased significantly over the 30 year period, as evident in Table 14 and Figure 12.

#### Table 14 – De facto couple families with children, 1982 to 2012-13

	1982	1992	1997	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13
De facto	2.9%	5.7%	8.2%	11.7%	9.8%	11.4%	11.9%
couple	66,200	140,600	163,600	230,400	253,300	303,400	330,800
families							
with							
children –							
% of							
couples							
with							
children							

Note: For 1982 and 1992 de facto couples with children have been taken from the family type category of 'Couple, others'. 1997 includes dependent children only. 2003, 2006-07, 2009-10, and 2012-13 includes children aged 0-17 years only.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998, 2004, 2015b; Castles, 1994).

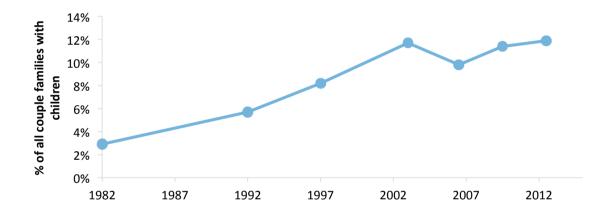


Figure 12 – De facto couple families with children, by percentage of all couple families with children, 1982 to 2012-13

## **Section 2: Household incomes**

Historically, the inclusion of income in Census and surveys has been primarily focused on two key areas: identifying individuals or groups of individuals who might benefit from welfare payments, and relatedly, identifying the role of 'breadwinners' within families. The previously mentioned discussion of family-related demographics that appeared in the 1982 *Australian Families* survey (Cameron, 1984) suggests that "the term 'breadwinner' dates back to about the thirteenth century and came into use in Australian official statistics in the 1880's" (p. 76). This category, the discussion suggests, formalised a binary category of husband and wife as breadwinner and dependant that, whilst no longer in use within current Census and surveys, continues to both inform how men's and women's roles are understood socially, and thus shapes ongoing disparities in men's and women's incomes.

The data presented in this section highlight the ongoing disparities that exist with regard to families involving both men and women, families where there are two female parents, and families where there are two male parents. Whilst perhaps understandable, families where there are two parents are those with the highest household incomes (as can be seen in Table 15 and Figure 13), this is clearly differentiated by the gender of the parents (as can be seen in Tables 16-18 and Figures 14-16).

	1986	1994-95	2003-04	2011-12
Couple family with	\$546*	\$829	\$1,393	\$2,193
dependent children				
Couple only	\$392**	\$570***	\$865	\$1,374
One parent family with	\$190	\$340	\$612	\$1,053
dependent children				
Other one family	-	-	\$1,261	\$2,050
households				
Multiple family	-	-	\$1,787	\$2,654
households				
One person households	\$221	\$256	\$381	\$562
Group households	-	-	\$1,162	\$1,827
Total – All households	\$328****	\$434****	\$915	\$1,442

#### Table 15 – Median gross household income per week, by household form, 1986 to 2011-12

\* Married couple with dependent children.

\*\* Married couple without dependent children.

\*\*\* Couple without dependent children.

\*\*\*\* These totals include couple with dependent children, couple without dependent children, one-parent, and one-person households only.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Income surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996, 2005b, 2013c; Castles, 1989a).

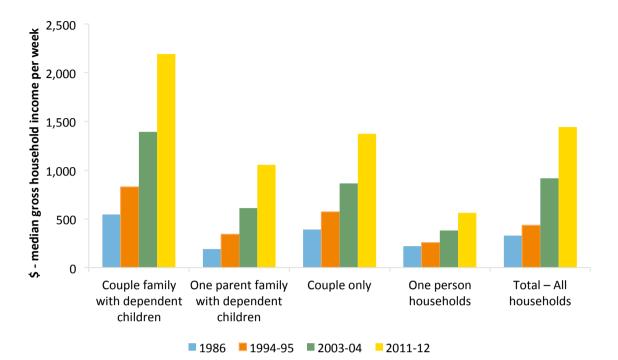




Table 16 – People in couples earning \$2,000 or more a week, in male couples, female couples, and female/male couples

	2011
Men in male couples	18%
Men in female/male couples	14%
Women in female couples	11%
Women in female/male couples	4%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics - Australian Social Trends (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b).



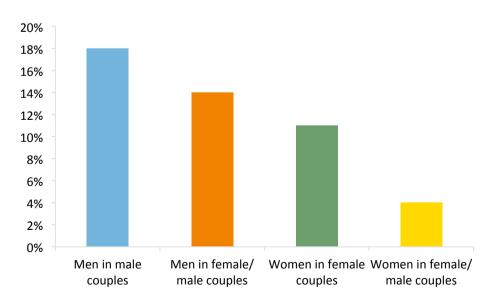


Table 17 – Couples with both partners earning \$1,000 or more a week, 2011

	2011	
Male couples	40%	
Female couples	35%	
Female/male couples	17%	

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Australian Social Trends (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b).

Figure 15 – Couples with both partners earning \$1,000 or more a week, in male couples, female couples, and female/male couples, 2011

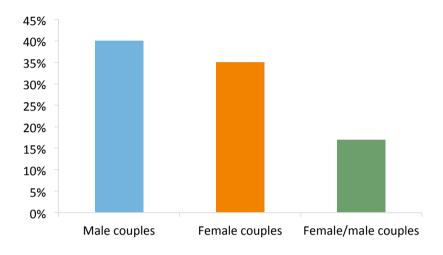
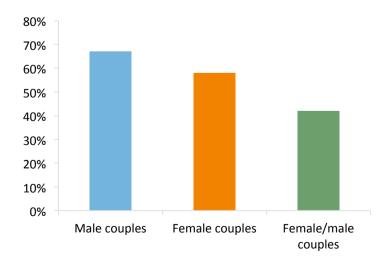


Table 18 – Couples with a combined income of \$2,000 or more a week, 2011

	2011	
Male couples	67%	
Female couples	58%	
Female/male couples	42%	

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics - Australian Social Trends (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013b).

Figure 16 – Couples with a combined income of \$2,000 or more a week, in male couples, female couples, and female/male couples, 2011



## **Section 3: Family forms**

Having, in the previous sections, outlined something of the population size of Australian families, with a focus on their legal recognition (i.e., through marriage or de facto status) and whether or not children are involved, in this section greater detail is provided about differing family forms. Building on the first section, then, this third section highlights the increased diversification of Australian families as noted in the Executive Summary. Though also as noted there, married heterosexual couples with children still remain the most common family form, this is not to minimise the significant diversification of Australian families that continues to occur.

As noted in the first section, it is often the case that one person households are not included in family-related data. This may be because, more broadly, family is viewed through a lens of proximity, meaning that cohabitation is taken as constituting family, and moreover that only human-human relationships are seen as constituting family. Table 19 below suggests that one person households are a significant growing population, thus warranting ongoing attention.

	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006	2011
One person	15.7%	19.8%	18.8%	22.1%	24.4%	24.3%
households	516,774	842,405	987,979	1,432,816	1,740,481	1,888,698
as % of all						
households			<u> </u>			

#### Table 19 – One person households, by percentage of all households, 1966 to 2011

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979, 2007, 2013a; Castles, 1989b; McLennan, 1998a; O'Neill, 1972).

### **Couples without children at home**

Turning to consider couple families where there are not children living in the home, the number of such couples has risen over the 45 year period included in Table 20 and 21 and Figure 17 below.

	1966	1976	1986	1996	2006	2011
Couple	24.0%	28.0%	30.6%	34.1%	37.2%	37.8%
families	664,773	955,336	1,271,872	1,589,882	1,943,648	2,150,301
without						
children						
– % of						
all						
families						
Noto:						

 Table 20 – Couples without children at home, by percentage of all families, 1966 to2011

Note:

• This is listed as 'Head and spouse' for 1966 and 1976.

• 2006 and 2011 includes same-sex couple families.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics/Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979, 2008a, 2012a; Castles, 1989b; McLennan, 1998a; O'Neill, 1972).

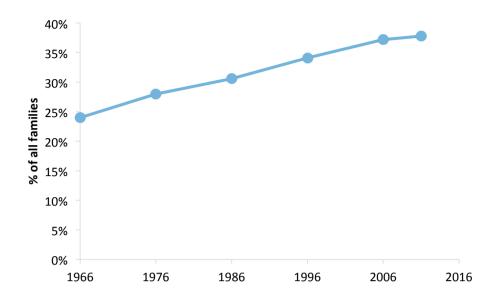




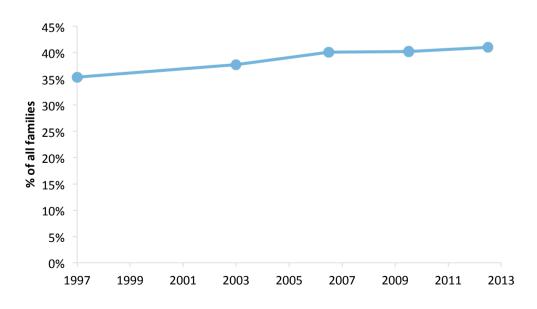
Table 21 – Couple only families, by percentage of all families, 1997 to 2012-13

	1997	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13	
Couple only	35.3%	37.7%	40.1%	40.2%	41%	
families – % of	1,769,000	2,088,000	2,369,000	2,553,000	2,725,000	
all families						

Note: Includes same-sex couples.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, 2015c).





### **Couples with children**

Data on couples who have children have been somewhat sporadically reported. Australian Bureau of Statistics Census data suggest that such families (including both dependent and non-dependent children) constituted 36.4% of all families in 1966, and 36.2% of all families in 1976 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979; O'Neill, 1972). In 1986 figures available pertain only to couple families with dependent children, who constituted 35.5% of all families (Castles, 1989b). Comparable data have been more rigorously collected since 1997 (using surveys focusing on families, rather than Census data), as evident in Tables 22 and 23 and Figures 19 and 20. These more recent data suggest that the percentage of couple families with children has remained fairly stable over time.

	1997	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13
Couple families with	39.7%	37.4%	36.9%	36.1%	36%
dependent children –	1,988,000	2,069,000	2,177,000	2,290,000	2,441,000
% of all families					
Couple families with	8.3%	8.6%	8.0%	8.3%	8%
non-dependent	416,000	477,000	471,000	526,000	526,000
children only – % of					
all families					
TOTAL couple	48.0%	46.0%	44.8%	44.4%	44%
families with children	2,404,000	2,546,000	2,647,000	2,816,000	2,966,000
<ul> <li>– % of all families</li> </ul>					

Table 22 – Couple families with children, by percentage of all families, 1997 to 2012-13

Note: Includes same-sex couples.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, 2015c).



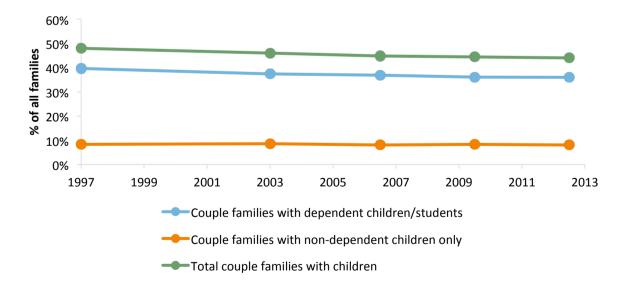
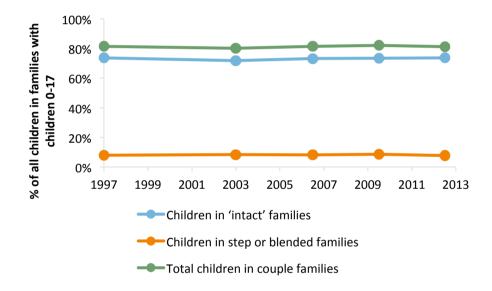


Table 23 – Number of children 0-17 in couple families, by percentage of all children in families with children 0-17, 1997 to 2012-13

	1997	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13
Children 0-17	73.6%	71.8%	73.3%	73.4%	73.6%
in 'intact'	3,397,000	3,334,000	3,484,000	3,680,000	3,815,000
families					
Children 0-17	7.9%	8.3%	8.2%	8.6%	7.7%
in step or	364,000	383,000	390,000	430,000	401,000
blended					
families					
TOTAL Children	81.5%	80.1%	81.5%	82.0%	81.3%
0-17 in couple	3,761,000	3,717,000	3,874,000	4,110,000	4,216,000
families					

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, 2015c).





### **One parent families**

As with couple families with children, Census data on one parent families with children have also been somewhat inconsistently recorded over time. In 1966 such families constituted 4.0% of all families, in 1976 4.7% of all families, and in 1986 6.0% of all families. Where data are available for these time periods, female one parent families constitute the majority of one parent families (80.0% of all one parent families in 1966 and 85.5% of all one parent families in 1976 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979; Castles, 1989b; O'Neill, 1972).

From 1997 onwards, clearer and more consistent data are available on one parent families. Table 24 and Figure 21, for example, indicate that the number of one parent families as a percentage of all families has remained fairly consistent over the 15 year period included in the table and figure.

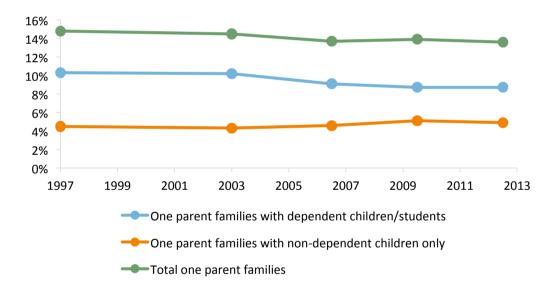
#### Table 24 – One parent families, by percentage of all families, 1997 to 2012-13

	1997	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13
One parent	10.3%	10.2%	9.1%	8.7%	8.7%
families with	517,000	562,000	535,000	555,000	580,000
dependent					
children/students					
<ul> <li>– % of all families</li> </ul>					
One parent	4.5%	4.3%	4.6%	5.1%	4.9%
families with	223,000	239,000	274,000	324,000	331,000
non-dependent					
children only – %					
of all families					
TOTAL one	14.8%	14.5%	13.7%	13.9%	13.6%
parent families –	740,000	800,000	808,000	879,000	911,000
% of all families					

Note: Numbers have been rounded by the ABS so totals may not add up.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, 2015c).

Figure 21 – One parent families, by percentage of all families, 1997 to 2012-13



Echoing the data from 1966, 1976, and 1986 noted above, in the 15 year period 1997-2012 one parent families involving a woman continue to constitute the majority of one parent families. However there has been an increase in the number of one parent families involving a man in this same time period, though these families have not increased as an overall percentage of all families, as can be seen in Table 25 and Figure 22.

Table 25 – One parent families with children	of all ages. by gender of parent,	1997 to 2012-13
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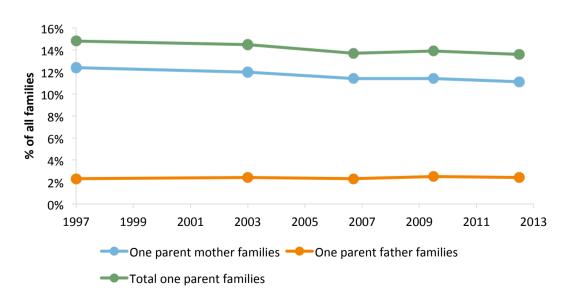
	1997	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13
One parent	84.2%	83.3%	83.4%	82.1%	82.1%
mother	623,000	666,000	674,000	722,000	747,000
families – % of					
all one parent					
families					
One parent	15.8%	16.8%	16.6%	17.7%	17.7%
father families	117,000	134,000	134,000	156,000	161,000
– % of all one					
parent families					
One parent	12.4%	12.0%	11.4%	11.4%	11.1%
mother	623,000	666,000	674,000	722,000	747,000
families – % of					
all families*					
One parent	2.3%	2.4%	2.3%	2.5%	2.4%
father families	117,000	134,000	134,000	156,000	161,000
– % of all					
families					
Total one	14.8%	14.5%	13.7%	13.9%	13.6%
parent families	740,000	800,000	808,000	879,000	909,000
– % of all					
families					

\*All families is couples with children, couples without children, and one parent families.

Note: This data includes children 0-14, dependent students 15-24, non-dependent students 15-24, and 25 and over.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011, 2015c).





### **Step families and blended families**

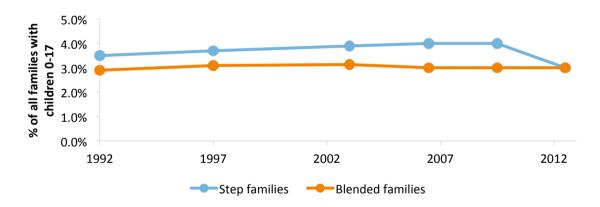
Australian data have historically and in the present maintained a distinction between 'step' and 'blended' families involving children. The former refers to families where all of the children are only related to either one of the parents who have re-partnered following separation. The latter refers to families that would otherwise be referred to as step families, but where the parents have since had at least one child together (either through adoption or through conception). The numbers of both family forms have remained relatively consistent over the 20 year period included in Table 26 and Figure 23.

Table 26 – Step and blended family forms with children 0-17, by percentage of all families with children 0-17, 1992 to 2012-13

	1992	1997	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13
Step	3.5%	3.7%	3.9%	4%	4%	3%
families	84,300	88,900	98,600	94,000	99,000	91,000
Blended	2.9%	3.1%	3.1%	3%	3%	3%
families	68,100	75,300	78,100	80,000	91,000	90,000

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998, 2004, 2008c, 2011, 2015c).





Similar to the figures above on one parent families, step families where the children were born to the woman in the family are greater in number than step families where the children were born to the man in the family, as can be seen in Table 27.

	2003	2006-07	2009-10	2012-13
Step families –	3.2%	2.9%	2.8%	2.4%
birth child(ren) of mother only	80,000	75,100	74,100	67,800
Step families –	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
birth child(ren) of	12,100	12,300	14,300	15,100*
father only				
Step families –	0.3%	0.2%	0.4%	0.1%
birth child(ren) of	6,500	6,200	10,900*	3,500**
both father and				
birth child(ren) of				
mother				

#### Table 27 – Step parent families with children 0-17, by gender of birth parent, 2003 to 2012-13

\* This estimate has a relative standard error of 25%-50% and should be used with caution.

\*\* This estimate has a relative standard error greater than 50% and is considered too unreliable for general use.

Note: Includes same-sex couples.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Family Characteristics and previous family surveys (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014d, 2014e, 2015d).

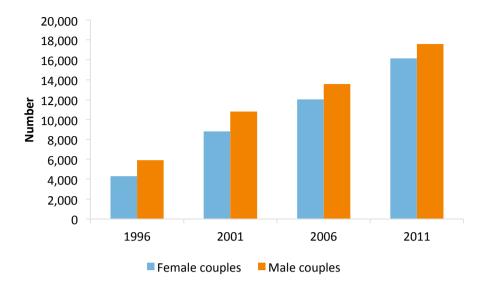
### Female couple and male couple families

Since 1996, Australian national data have been collected with regard to male couples and female couples. Given the ways in which such couples are determined (such as on Census data), it is likely that currently available figures significantly under represent the actual population sizes of female couples and male couples. Nonetheless, Table 28 and Figure 24 indicate the growing sizes of both groups.

#### Table 28 – Female couples and male couples, 1996 to 2011

	1996	2001	2006	2011
Female couples	4,301	8,792	12,032	16,130
Male couples	5,912	10,802	13,575	17,583
Total female and male couples	10,213	19,594	25,607	33,668
Total - % of all couples	0.3%	0.5%	0.6%	0.7%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012b, 2014a) and Year Book Australia (Trewin, 2005).



#### Figure 24 – Female couples and male couples, by number of couples, 1996 to 2011

Similarly, available data indicate that growing numbers of female couples and male couples involve children, as can be seen in Table 28.

Table 29 -	- Same-sex	couple	families	with	children,	1996 to	2011
------------	------------	--------	----------	------	-----------	---------	------

	1996	2001	2006	2011
Total same-sex couple families with children	925	2,187	2,868	4,083
% of same-sex couple families – out of all couple families with children	0.04%	0.09%	0.12%	0.16%
% of same-sex couple families with children – out of all same-sex couples	9.1%	11.2%	11.2%	12.1%

Note: Children includes children 0-14, dependent students (15-24), and non-dependent children (15 and over).

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014a, 2014c).

As was the case with regard to one parent families and step and blended families, female couples with children are far greater in number than are male couples with children, though both are rising in number, as can be seen in Table 30 and Figure 25.

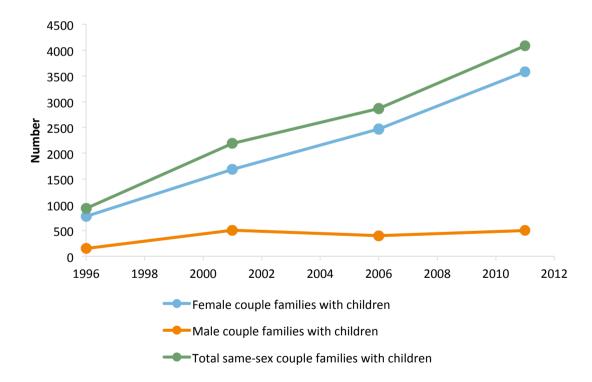
Table 30 – Female couple and	male couple families with	children, 1996 to 2011
------------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------

	1996	2001	2006	2011
Female couple families	83.7%	77.0%	86.1%	87.7%
with children - % of all	774	1,684	2,468	3,581
same-sex couple				
families with children				
Male couple families	16.3%	23.0%	13.9%	12.3%
with children - % of all	151	503	400	502
same-sex couple				
families with children				
Female couple families	18.0%	19.2%	20.5%	22.2%
with children- % of all				
female couples				
Male couple families	2.5%	4.7%	2.9%	2.9%
with children- % of all				
male couples				

Note: Children includes children 0-14, dependent students (15-24), and non-dependent children (15 and over).

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014a, 2014c).





In terms of the numbers of children in female couples or male couples, these have steadily risen over the 15 year recorded period, as evident in Tables 31-33, and Figure 26.

Table 31 – Children in female couple and male couple families, by % of all children in same-sex couple families, 1996 to 2011

	1996	2001	2006	2011
Children in	86.2%	75.9%	87.4%	89.0%
female couple	1,201	2,615	3,834	5,599
families				
Children in male	13.8%	24.1%	12.6%	11.0%
couple families	<i>193</i>	<i>829</i>	554	695

Note: Children includes children under 15, dependent students (15-24), and non-dependent children (15+).

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014c).

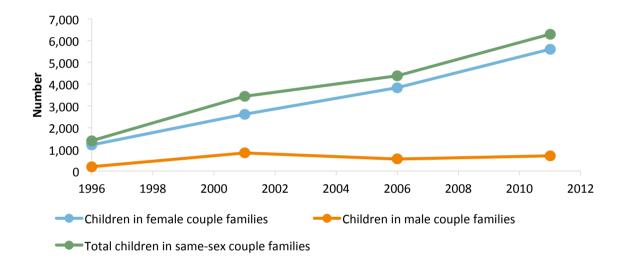


Figure 26 – Children in female couple and male couple families, by number of children, 1996 to 2011

	1996	2001	2006	2011
Child under 15 - % of	0.029%	0.062%	0.097%	0.135%
all children in couple	897	1,866	2,875	4,288
families with children				
under 15				
Dependent student	0.024%	0.053%	0.076%	0.095%
15-24 - % of all	159	377	542	748
children in couple				
families with				
dependent students				
15-24				
Non-dependent child	0.019%	0.048%	0.053%	0.070%
(15+) - % of all	145	372	417	563
children in couple				
families with non-				
dependent children				
(15+)				
Total female couples	0.027%	0.058%	0.086%	0.118%
with children - % of all	1,201	2,615	3,834	5,599
children in couple				
families with children				

Note: The ABS randomly adjusted some of the cells in this table to prevent the release of confidential data.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014c).

Table 33 – Children in male couple families with children, by age of children, 1996 to 2011

	1996	2001	2006	2011
Child under 15 - % of	0.004%	0.017%	0.012%	0.015%
all children in couple	127	512	345	462
families with children				
under 15				
Dependent student	0.003%	0.018%	0.014%	0.014%
15-24 - % of all	23	130	97	108
children in couple				
families with				
dependent students				
15-24				
Non-dependent child	0.006%	0.024%	0.014%	0.015%
(15+) - % of all children	43	187	112	125
in couple families with				
non-dependent				
children (15+)				
Total male couples	0.004%	0.018%	0.012%	0.015%
with children - % of all	193	829	554	695
children in couple				
families with children				

Note: The ABS randomly adjusted some of the cells in this table to prevent the release of confidential data.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics – Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014c).

# Section 4: How children become part of families

The previous section explored the forms that families take, and suggested that whilst children born to a married woman and man still constitute the majority of Australian families, there are a significant minority of other diverse family forms, including one person households, couple households without children, and step and blended families, and that female couples and male couples with children constitute a rapidly growing population.

This section now considers how children become a part of families. Given that data on births to married men and women have been summarised in the Section 1, this section focuses on other ways in which children become part of families.

### Adoption and adoptive families

Statistics on adoption were first recorded at a national level in 1968. Importantly, the categories used to describe adoption have changed over time. Categories used up until 1997-98 were *relative adoptions* (adoptions by step-parents or other relatives) and *non-relative adoptions* (adoptions by carers; adoptions by people who have no pre-existing relationship with the child). Categories used from 1998-99 were *'known' child adoptions* (adoptions by step-parents or other relatives; adoptions by carers) and *local and intercountry adoptions* (adoptions by people who have no pre-existing relationship with the child). (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005a 2).

Table 34 and Figure 27 below highlight the significant decrease in all forms of adoption in Australia over a 45 year period.

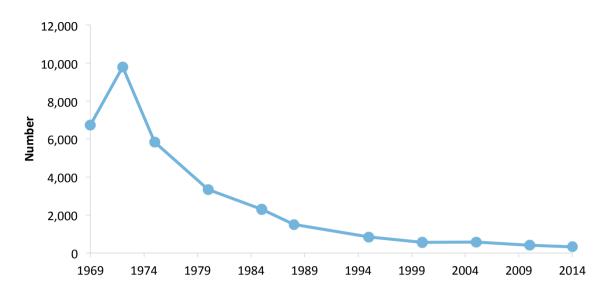
						1987- 88							
All finalised adoptions	6,733	9,79 8	5,83 9	3,33 7	2,29 4	1,504 *	1,29 4	855	566	585	412	339	317

#### Table 34 – All finalised adoptions, 1968-69 to 2013-14

\* This was likely to be higher because data from Victoria on intercountry adoptions was not included.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Adoptions Australia (Angus & Golley, 1996; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2001a, 2005a, 2010a, 2013a, 2014a), Australian Bureau of Statistics and WELSTAT – Adoptions, Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics & WELSTAT, 1982, 1986), WELSTAT – Adoptions (Turner, 1990), and Australian Bureau of Statistics – Australian Social Trends (McLennan, 1998b).

Figure 27 – All finalised adoptions, 1968-69 to 2013-14



Breaking all adoptions down into their constituent categories, we can see in Table 35 and Figure 28 that local or 'domestic' adoptions have experienced the greatest drop in numbers, whilst intercountry adoptions during the same period experienced an increase in the mid 2000s, after which has followed a drop in numbers.

	1979-80	1984-85	1987-88	1994- 95	1999- 00	2004- 05	2009- 10	2013- 14
Local	49.4%	-	-	36%	19%	11%	15%	15%
adoptions	1,647*			311	106	65	61	46
'Known' child	49.0%	50.4%	44.3%	37%	28%	15%	31%	50%
adoptions	1,624**	1,157**	605**	320	159	86	129	157
Intercountry	2.0%	-	-	26%	53%	74%	54%	36%
adoptions	66			224	301	434	222	114

\* This been calculated from the total number of adoptions.

\*\* Adopted by relatives.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Adoptions Australia (Angus & Golley, 1996; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2001a, 2005a, 2010a, 2014a), Australian Bureau of Statistics and WELSTAT – Adoptions, Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics & WELSTAT, 1982, 1986), WELSTAT – Adoptions (Turner, 1990), and Australian Bureau of Statistics – Australian Social Trends (McLennan, 1998b).

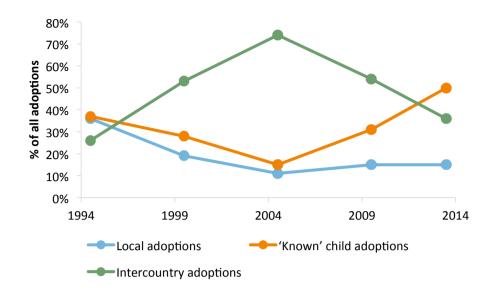


Figure 28 – Local, 'known', and intercountry adoptions, by percentage of all adoptions, 1994-95 to 2013-14

Other interesting trends are evident if we focus just on adoptions where the child had an existing relationship with the parent. As can be seen in Table 36, carer adoptions have experienced a significant increase, potentially as a result of legislative change allowing for adoption from foster care in some states.

Table 36 – 'Known' adoptions, relationship with adoptive parents, by percentage of 'known' adoptions, 1984-85 to 2013-14

	1984-85	1994-95	2004-05	2013-14
Step-parent	94.1%	98%	60.5%	40.8%
	1,089	313	52	64
Other relative	5.9%	2%	5.8%	1.3%
	68	7	5	2
Carer	N/A*	N/A*	33.7%	56.7%
			29	89
Other	-	0%	0%	1.3%
		0	0	2
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
	1,157	320	86	157

\* 'Known' adoptions were previously connected to relative adoptions only.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Adoptions Australia (Angus & Golley, 1996; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005a, 2014a) and Australian Bureau of Statistics and WELSTAT – Adoptions, Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics & WELSTAT, 1986).

In many respects changes to the rates of intercountry adoptions can be explained by changes to whether or not Australians are able to adopt from countries that are not signatories to the Hague Convention on the Rights of Children. As Table 37 and Figure 29 indicate, adoptions from countries that are not signatories have dropped over the 15 year period, whilst adoptions from countries that are signatories have increased.

	1999-00	2004-05	2009-10	2013-14
Hague adoptions -	21.9%	13.4%	56.3%	50.0%
% of intercountry	66	58	125	57
adoptions				
Non-Hague	78.1%	86.6%	35.6%	50.0%
adoptions - % of	235	376	79	57
intercountry				
adoptions				
Intercountry	53%	74%	54%	36%
adoptions - % of all	301	434	222	114
adoptions				

Note: The Hague Convention (Hague Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in respect of Intercountry Adoption) sets out standards and procedures for intercountry adoption, focusing on the best interests of the child. Australia became a signatory to the Hague Convention in December 1998 and data has been reported since 1998-99 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2014a p. 5).

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Adoptions Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2001a, 2005a, 2010a, 2014a).



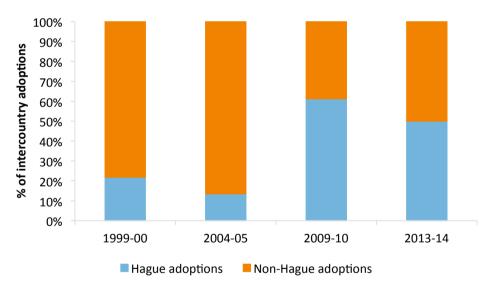


Table 38 provides greater detail on the countries from which children have been adopted by Australian citizens across a 20 year period.

	1994-95	1999-00	2004-05	2009-10	2013-14
Bolivia		1.7%			
		5			
China		0.3%	32.3%	14.4%	9.7%
		1	140	32	11
Colombia	7%	5.6%	0.7%	2.3%	
	16	17	3	5	
Ethiopia		15.3%	13.6%	14.9%	2.6%
-		46	59	33	3
Fiji	3%	1.7%	0.2%		
•	6	5	1		
Guatemala	5%	0.7%	0.2%		
	11	2	1		
Hong Kong		1.0%	0.7%	1.4%	
0 0		3	3	3	
India	13%	12.3%	7.1%	9.9%	6.1%
	29	37	31	22	7
Lebanon		0.3%			
		1			
Lithuania		0%	1.2%		
		0	5		
Malta		0.3%			
		1			
The	10%	9.6%	11.1%	22.1%	15.8%
Philippines	22	29	48	49	18
Poland		%			
		0.72			
Romania		12.0%			
		36			
South Korea	32%	25.6%	22.1%	13.5%	11.4%
	71	77	96	30	13
Sri Lanka	8%	1.0%	0.5%	1.4%	
	18	3	2	3	
Taiwan		0.7%	2.3%	11.7%	36.0%
		2	10	26	41
Thailand	11%	11.0%	7.1%	7.2%	9.7%
mananu	25	33	31	16	9.778 11
USA	25	0.3%	51	10	
<b>U</b> JA		1			
Other	12%	0%	0.9%	1.4%	8.8%
countries	25	0	0.9 <i>%</i> 4	1.4 <i>%</i> 3	8.8% 10
countries	25	U	4	5	10

Note: Some countries listed in the table without numbers for a specific time period may be included in 'other countries' in the original source.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Adoptions Australia (Angus & Golley, 1996; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2001a, 2010a, 2014a).

Table 39 outlines the relationship status of Australian adoptive parents. It is unsurprising that a majority of adoptions are undertaken by married couples, given local and international restrictions on non-married people adopting children.

	2004-05	2009-10	2013-14	
	LO	CAL ADOPTIONS		
Married couples	98.5%	95.1%	95.7%	
	64	58	44	
De facto couples	1.5%	4.9%	4.3%	
	1	3	2	
Single persons	0%	0%	0%	
	0	0	0	
	INTERCOUN	TRY ADOPTIONS – HAGU	E	
Married couples	100%	93.6%	96.5%	
	58	117	55	
De facto couples	0%	0.8%	0%	
	0	1	0	
Single persons	0%	5.6%	3.5%	
0	0	7	2	
	INTERCOUNTR	Y ADOPTIONS – NON-HA	GUE	
Married couples	93.6%	89.7%	96.5%	
•	352	87	55	
De facto couples	1.6%	2.1%	0%	
·	6	2	0	
Single persons	4.8%	8.2%	3.5%	
<b>U</b> .	18	8*	2	
	INTERCOUN	TRY ADOPTIONS – TOTA	L	
Married couples	94.5%	91.9%	96.5%	
	410	204	110	
De facto couples	1.4%	1.4%	0%	
·	6	3	0	
Single persons	4.1%	6.8%	3.5%	
5	18	15	4	
	ALL AD	OPTIONS** – TOTAL		
Married couples	95.0%	92.6%	96.3%	
•	474	262	154	
De facto couples	1.4%	3.1%	1.3%	
•	7	9	2	
Single persons	3.6%	5.3%	2.5%	

Table 39 – Relationship status of adoptive parents in local and intercountry adoptions, 2004-05 to 2013-14

\*Single person may include widowed parents.

\*\*These figures exclude known adoptions.

Note: Adoption requirements can relate to marital status, which impacts on these figures.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Adoptions Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005a, 2010a, 2014a).

Table 40 outlines the range of forms that adoptive families take, and highlights that such families may be comprised of children with a range of differing relationships to the adults in the household.

	2004-05*	2009-10**	2013-14**					
ALL ADOPTIONS***								
No other children	52%	62.0%	54.2%					
present	203	119	65					
Other adopted children	27%	25.0%	26.7%					
only	104	48	32					
Birth children only	18%	10.0%	15.0%					
	69	19	18					
Birth children and other	3%	3.1%	4.2%					
adopted children	11	6	5					

Table 40 – Other children present in adoptive families, local and intercountry adoptions, by percentage of all adoptions, 2004-05 to 2013-14

\* These figures exclude some NSW families where data was unavailable.

\*\* These figures exclude adoptions from NSW because data was unavailable. In addition, for 2013-14, family composition is unknown in one case.

\*\*\* These figures exclude known adoptions.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Adoptions Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005a, 2010a, 2014a).

### **Fostering and foster families**

Different to adoption, families formed through long-term foster care are somewhat less well documented in Australia. Whilst child protection data are well documented (i.e., with regard to the removal of children and the orders they are placed on), details about foster care households are somewhat harder to ascertain, as we will see further below.

In terms of child protection data, Figure 30 demonstrates that the numbers at which care and protection orders have been granted have steadily risen over the 22 year period, potentially in line with both population growth and more stringent monitoring of child protection concerns.

With regard to where children who are placed on care and protection orders live, the data presented in Table 41 suggest that whilst historically children were more likely to live in foster care rather than in relative or kinship care, this has shifted so that now approximately equal numbers of children on care and protection orders live in foster care or kinship care.

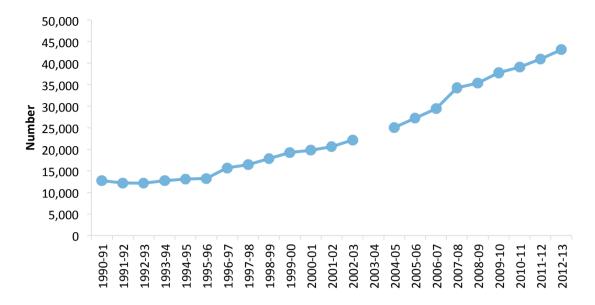


Figure 30 – Children on care and protection orders, by number of children, 1990-91 to 2012-13

Note: Data from NSW was unavailable for 2003-04 and therefore totals are not provided because they are misleading (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005b).

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Child protection Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013b, 2014b) and Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Children under care and protection orders/Children on care and protection orders (Angus, Dunn, & Moyle, 1996; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, Broadbent & Bentley, 1997).

One of the impetuses for the move away from adoption historically was recognition of the fact that the theft of Indigenous children from their families and adoption by non-indigenous families constituted a breach of human rights. Yet despite this recognition, Indigenous children continue to be removed from their families at rates far exceeding those of non-indigenous children. Whilst the actual number of Indigenous children on care and protection orders is much smaller than non-indigenous children (as can be seen in Table 42), the rate per 1000 children is significantly higher for Indigenous children than it is for non-indigenous children (see Figure 31).

Table 41- Children on care and protection orders by living arrangements, foster care and relatives/kin care, 1996-97 to2012-13

Year	Foster care*	Relatives/kin	TOTAL (including other living arrangements**)
1996-97	42.9%	18.0%	14,546
	6,242	2,618	
1997-98	39.3%	28.1%	15,347
	6,034	4,320	
1998-99	37.8%	31.8%	16,610
	6,273	5,278	
1999-00	40.7%	30.6%	19,262
	7,841	5,900	
2000-01	41.6%	32.4%	19,783
	8,235	6,412	
2001-02	41.9%	33.1%	20,557
	8,613	6,812	
2002-03	40.0%	35.5%	22,130
	8,851	7,846	
2003-04***	44.5%	24.3%	14,627
	6,510	3,559	
2004-05	44.1%	35.4%	25,065
	11,043	8,874	
2005-06	43.7%	35.0%	27,188
	11,889	9,506	
2006-07	39.0%	35.3%	29,406
	11,474	10,393	
2007-08	36.7%	32.6%	34,279
	12,571	11,182	,
2008-09	39.0%	33.3%	35,409
	13,825	11,797	
2009-10	38.4%	33.7%	37,730
	14,483	12,713	
2010-11	37.7%	34.0%	39,058
-	14,710	13,293	-,
2011-12	36.3%	34.2%	40,962
	14,874	14,008	
2012-13	38.7%	38.3%	43,136
	16,709	16,500	-,

\* Foster care is labelled 'foster care/community care' for some years (1996-97, 1997-98, 1998-99, 1999-00, 2000-01, 2003-04, 2004-05, 2005-06, 2006-07, 2007-08, 2008-09, 2009-10).

\*\* Children not in foster care or living with relatives/kin were most often living with their parents or in residential care.

\*\*\*Data are unavailable for NSW in 2003-04, hence impacting on the reliability of the data for this time period. Note:

• Dates are for 30 June 1997-30 June 2013. Children are 0-17. This table includes data for relatives/kin who were paid/reimbursed as well as those who were not.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Child protection Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013b, 2014b).

Year	Total	Indigenous	Non-indigenous	Unknown indigenous status
1990-91	12,680	-	-	-
1991-92	12,159	-	-	-
1992-93	12,132	-	-	-
1993-94	12,750	-	-	-
1994-95	13,068	2,048	11,020	-
1995-96	13,241	-	-	-
1996-97	15,718	2,548	13,170	-
1997-98	16,449	2,868	13,581	-
1998-99	17,811	_*	_*	_*
1999-00	19,262	3,861	15,401	-
2000-01	19,783	4,146	15,637	-
2001-02	20,557	4,264	16,293	-
2002-03	22,130	4,803	17,327	-
2003-04**	-	-	-	-
2004-05	25,065	5,564	19,501	-
2005-06	27,188	6,520	20,668	-
2006-07	29,406	7,301	20,668	1,229
2007-08	34,279	9,011	24,816	452
2008-09	35,409	10,271	25,052	86
2009-10	37,730	11,451	26,215	-
2010-11	39,058	12,280	26,531	
2011-12	40,962	13,268	27,531	
2012-13	43,136	14,455	28,480	201

Table 42 – Children on care and protection orders, by number of children, by Indigenous status, 1990-91 to 2012-13

\* Indigenous data was unavailable for Victoria, therefore a total is unavailable.

\*\* Data from NSW was unavailable for 2003-04 and therefore totals are not provided because they are misleading.

Note:

- Dates are for 30 June 1991-30 June 2013.
- Children are 0-17.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Child protection Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013b, 2014b) and Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Children under care and protection orders/Children on care and protection orders (Angus, Dunn, & Moyle, 1996; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; Broadbent & Bentley, 1997).

As can be seen in figure 31, in 1994-95 14.7 Indigenous children per 1000 were on care and protection orders. In 2012-13 this number was 59.2.

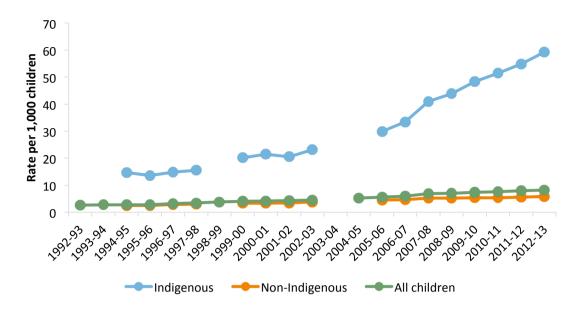


Figure 31 – Children on care and protection orders, Indigenous status, by rate per 1,000 children, 1992-93 to 2012-13

Note:

- Data from NSW was unavailable for 2003-04 and therefore national rates are unavailable.
- Indigenous data was unavailable for Victoria in 1998-99, therefore national rates are unavailable.
- Rates for Indigenous status were given for each state/territory only for 2003-04 and 2004-05.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Child protection Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013b, 2014b) and Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Children under care and protection orders/Children on care and protection orders (Angus, et al., 1996; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 1994a, 1994b; Broadbent & Bentley, 1997).

The difficulty in ascertaining information about foster families may in part be a product of the historical role of foster care. As can be seen above with regard to adoption, historically legal adoption was the preferred mode of determining the best interests of children who could not live with their birth parents. With diminishing public and institutional support for adoption, however, long-term foster care has to a large degree taken its place. The difference, however, may be that whilst adoptive families are institutionally considered families as such, and whilst foster families may consider themselves to be families, it is not necessarily the case that, at a statistical or institutional level, they are treated as such. Yet despite these difficulties in identifying data appropriate to determining the scope of foster families in Australia, recent data as reported in Table 43 indicate that foster households constitute a growing population of Australian families.

	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	
Foster carer households with one or	8,440 (at 30 June 2011)	8,824 (at 30 June 2012)	9,561 (at 30 June 2013)	
more placements	11,163 (during 2010-11)	11,664 (during 2011-12)	12,737 (during 2012-13)	
Relative/kinship households with	10,407 (at 30 June	11,106 (at 30 June 2012)	11,973 (at 30 June 2013)	
one or more placements	2011)*	12,278 (during 2011-12)	14,353 (during 2012-13)	
	11,452 (during 2010-			
	11)**			
Number of children in each				
placement (at 30 June)				
Foster carer households				
1 foster child				
	49.4%	49.1%	52.9%	
	4,171	4,335	3,036	
2 foster children				
	27.6%	28.0%	26.0%	
	2,332	2,468	1,492	
3-4 foster children				
	18.2%	18.5%	17.0%	
	1,543	1,631	973	
5 or more foster children				
	4.7%	4.4%	4.1%	
	401	388	235	
Total				
	100%	100%	100%	
	8,449	8,824	5,736****	
Relative/kinship carer households				
1 foster child				
	C2 00/	CD F0/		
2 foster children	62.9%	62.5%	65.9%	
2 loster children	6,548	6,936	3,824	
	23.2%	23.7%	21.5%	
3-4 foster children	2,415	2,630	1,248	
3-4 loster children	2,415	2,050	1,240	
	12.3%	12.3%	11.3%	
5 or more foster children	1,276	1,363	654	
	1,270	1,000		
	1.6%	1.6%	1.4%	
Total	168	177	80	
			~~	
	100%	100%	100%	
	10,407	11,106***	5,806****	
	10,707	11,100	5,000	

Table 43 – Foster carer households and relative/kinship households with one or more placements, 2010-11 to 2012-13

\*The NT did not provide data.

\*\* The NT and Queensland did not provide data.

\*\*\*NT data is not available for relative/kinship carer households for 2011-12.

\*\*\*\*NSW did not provide data for 2012-13 for the number of children in each placement.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Child protection Australia (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012, 2013b, 2014b).

### Assisted reproductive technology

In the case where children come into families through assisted reproductive technologies, Australian data are typically combined with New Zealand data, hence the two are combined in this section. In 1979, there were two treatment cycles resulting in a clinical pregnancy with one live birth. This progressively increased to 405 clinical pregnancies and 226 live births in 1984 (National Perinatal Statistics Unit, 1985). Perhaps most notable about data on assisted reproductive technologies is that despite the proliferation of such technologies, and despite improvements in techniques, percentage of live births resulting from such technologies has changed relatively little since their initial development, as can be seen in Table 44 and Figure 32.

	1998	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Number of treatment cycles	25,235	36,483	41,904	53,543	61,929	61,774	70,082
Treatment cycles resulting	17.8%	20.8%	21.0%	22.6%	22.6%	23.9%	23.9%
in a clinical pregnancy - % of all cycles	4,461	7,577	8,794	12,086	13,983	14,752	16,717
Treatment cycles resulting in live deliveries - % of cycles	-	15.7% <i>5,737</i>	16.2% <i>6,792</i>	17.3% <i>9,277</i>	17.2% <i>10,633</i>	18.1% <i>11,169</i>	17.9% <i>12,521</i>
Number of liveborn babies/live births (i.e. includes multiple births)	3,403	6,816	7,913	10,522	11,528	12,056	13,312

Table 44 – Assisted reproductive technology cycles, pregnancies, live deliveries, and live births, 1998 to 2012

Note: In 2002, 'treatment cycle' was made broader to include cancelled ART cycles, unsuccessful oocyte pickups and embryo thaws, and donor insemination (Bryant, Sullivan, & Dean, 2004 36).

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Assisted reproductive technology in Australia and New Zealand (Bryant, et al., 2004; Macaldowie, Wang, Chambers, & Sullivan, 2012; Wang, Chambers, & Sullivan, 2010; Wang, Dean, Badgery-Parker, & Sullivan, 2008; Wang, Dean, Grayson, & Sullivan, 2006), National Perinatal Epidemiology and Statistics Unit – Assisted reproductive technology in Australia & New Zealand (Macaldowie, Wang, Chughtai, & Chambers, 2014), and Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Assisted conception Australia and New Zealand (Hurst & Lancaster, 2001).

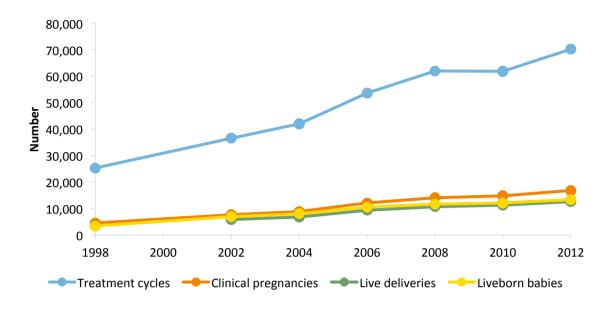


Figure 32 – Assisted reproductive technology cycles, pregnancies, live deliveries, and live births, 1998 to 2012

To understand the relative lack of improved success with regard to assisted reproductive technologies, it is important to consider the outcomes of such technologies involving donor insemination as compared to those that do not. As Table 45 and Figure 33 suggest, success rates are higher for cycles that do not involve donor insemination.

	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
All ART cycles	36,483	41,904	53,543	61,929	61,774	70,082
All ART Cycles: %	20.8%	21.0%	22.6%	22.6%	23.9%	23.9%
Resulted in	7,577	8,794	12,086	13,983	14,752	16,717
clinical						
Pregnancies						
All ART Cycles: %	15.7%	16.5%	17.3%	17.2%	18.1%	17.9%
Resulted in	5,737	6,932	9,277	10,633	11,169	12,521
Births						
DI total cycles	3,419	3,170	3,022	2,390	2,405	2,283
DI ART Cycles: %	12.7%	12.5%	12.1%	14.5%	14.5%	15.0%
Resulted in	435	396	366	347	349	343
clinical						
Pregnancies						
DI ART Cycles: %	9.9%	9.7%	9.2%	11.1%	10.8%	12.2%
Resulted in	340	307	278	266	259	279
Births (live						
deliveries)						

Table 45 – Pregnancies and births, all assisted reproductive technology and donor insemination, 2002 to 2012

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Assisted reproductive technology in Australia and New Zealand (Bryant, et al., 2004; Macaldowie, et al., 2012; Wang, et al., 2010; Wang, et al., 2008; Wang, et al., 2006) and National Perinatal Epidemiology and Statistics Unit – Assisted reproductive technology in Australia & New Zealand (Macaldowie, et al., 2014).

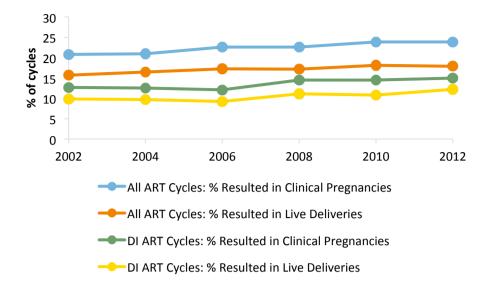


Figure 33 – Pregnancies and births, all assisted reproductive technology and donor insemination, 2002 to 2012

Finally with regard to assisted reproductive technologies, it is important to note that the fetal death rate of children conceived through such technologies is higher than for children who are not conceived via such technologies, as can be seen in Table 46.

 Table 46 – Fetal death rates assisted reproductive technology and non-assisted reproductive technology, by rate per 1,000 births, 2007 to 2012

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
ART fetal death rate	9.5*	8.7**	10.8*	12.2*	9.4**	12.9**
Non-ART fetal death	7.4	7.4	7.8	7.4	7.4	7.2
rate						

\* These figures are from the four jurisdictions where data was available on ART.

\*\* These figures are from the five jurisdictions where data was available on ART.

Note: Fetal deaths refer to babies with a birth weight of at least 400 grams or the gestational age is 20 weeks or more.

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Australia's mothers and babies (Hilder, et al., 2014; Laws, Li, & Sullivan, 2010; Laws & Sullivan, 2009; Li, et al., 2011; Li, Zeki, Hilder, & Sullivan, 2012, 2013).

### Surrogacy

Of all the ways in which children come into families, surrogacy is arguably the most difficult to identify representative data. In part this is because of the relative recency of surrogacy as a way of having children. Perhaps more importantly, however, the relative dearth of data is explained by the fact that only altruistic surrogacy is currently legal in Australia. Given the difficulties associated with identifying a friend or family member who may be willing to carry a child for another person, and the fact that a woman who acts as a surrogate in Australia can only be reimbursed for her expenses (i.e., she cannot be paid a fee for undertaking a pregnancy), it is unsurprising that relatively few altruistic surrogacies are recorded each year, as indicated in Table 47.

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Number of initiated cycles	74	114	126	119	177	163
% of ART treatment types	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.2%
Number of clinical pregnancies	14	16	23	16	34	30
Number of live deliveries	7	8	18	14	21	19
Number of liveborn babies	7	8	19	16	22	19

#### Table 47 – Altruistic surrogacy , 2007 to 2012

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare – Assisted reproductive technology in Australia and New Zealand (Macaldowie, et al., 2012; Wang, Chambers, Dieng, & Sullivan, 2009; Wang, et al., 2010; Wang, Macaldowie, Hayward, Chambers, & Sullivan, 2011) and National Perinatal Epidemiology and Statistics Unit – Assisted reproductive technology in Australia & New Zealand (Macaldowie, Wang, Chambers, & Sullivan, 2013; Macaldowie, et al., 2014).

The majority of births resulting from surrogacy arrangements entered into by Australian citizens occur outside of Australia. This is because a small number of other countries allow for women to be paid to undertake a pregnancy. Ascertaining data on such pregnancies undertaken by Australian citizens is difficult, however, due to the fact that the births do not occur in Australia. Table 48 documents citizenship applications for children born to Australian citizens outside of the country, likely most of which involved surrogacy arrangements

	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
India	126	228	285	401	519
Thailand	297	355	364	432	459
Ukraine	9	5	4	15	20
US	1,328	1,944	1,901	1,852	1,821
TOTAL	1,760	2,532	2,554	2,700	2,819

#### Table 48 – Applications for citizenship lodged for applicants 18 years or under by country of birth, 2007-08 to 2011-12

Note: Many, but not all, of these are likely to refer to surrogacy arrangements.

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship – Applications for citizenship by descent (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, c2012).

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