

Queensland Family and Child Commission Submission

To: Council of Australian Governments

Date: 10 April 2018

Topic: Closing the Gap refresh

Submission summary:

The Queensland Family and Child Commission (QFCC) is pleased to provide a submission to the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) on refreshing the Closing the Gap agenda.

The QFCC has a statutory responsibility to promote the safety, wellbeing and best interests of children and young people. The Commissioner has an additional statutory requirement to ensure the interests of Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders are adequately and appropriately represented.

The QFCC supports the refresh of the Closing the Gap framework. The QFCC recommends the Closing the Gap refresh be co-developed in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and organisations across Australia.

The QFCC also recommends the refreshed framework promote self-determination, with strengths-based and placed-based approaches to setting and evaluating targets, underpinned by culture.

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Effective working relationships between governments, businesses and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

Recommendation

The QFCC recommends the Closing the Gap refresh be co-developed in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and organisations across Australia.

The QFCC also recommends the refreshed agenda should support self-determination of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, empowering community-controlled organisations to deliver culturally-responsive projects in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

The *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018* quotes Adjunct Professor Muriel Bamblett AM, CEO of the Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency, stating 'it is only if we address our issues ourselves, our way, will they be solved'.¹ The QFCC supports this principle of self-determination in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

In July 2017 the Queensland Government launched *Our Way*, a generational strategy to reduce the over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in the child protection system. The strategy was co-developed in partnership between the Queensland Government and Family Matters, a national campaign led by more than 150 Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous organisations across Australia.

Our Way commits individuals and organisations to work together to 'take a broad, holistic and cultural perspective to ensure the health, safety and wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children'.² It seeks to close the gap in life outcomes of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and eliminate the disproportionate representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in the child protection system by 2037.

The strategy proposes development of seven short-term action plans over 20 years. Each will contain policy and program activities developed in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

The first action plan, *Changing Tracks*, proposes the development of a holistic Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child and Family Wellbeing Outcomes Framework in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and organisations. This will be a cross-sectoral tool to identify outcomes, indicators and measures.³

¹ Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018*, <https://closingthegap.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/ctg-report-2018.pdf?a=1>, accessed 15 February 2018, p. 119.

² Queensland Government, *Our Way: A generational strategy for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and families 2017-37*, <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/resources/campaign/supporting-families/our-way.pdf>, accessed 15 February 2018, p. 2.

³ Queensland Government, *Changing Tracks: An action plan for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and families 2017-19*, <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/resources/campaign/supporting-families/changing-tracks.pdf>, accessed 15 February 2018, p. 21; Queensland Government, *Our Way: A generational strategy for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and families 2017-37*, <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/resources/campaign/supporting-families/our-way.pdf>, accessed 15 February 2018, p. 20.

Using *Our Way* as an example, the QFCC recommends the Closing the Gap refresh develop new targets in true partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. The QFCC also recommends COAG consider partnering with community-controlled organisations to develop and implement actions to achieve these targets.

How could Closing the Gap targets better measure what is working and what is not?

Recommendation

The QFCC recommends:

- strengths-based approaches to developing and evaluating targets
- place-based targets and evaluation practices
- considering timeframes to meet targets and secondary measures
- clear links between targets and the policy and programs in place to meet them
- community involvement in evaluation practices
- continuing to use outcomes-focused evaluation.

Strengths-based approaches

The Closing the Gap targets reflect a shared commitment between governments and communities to support the strength and wellbeing of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Over the past decade, Closing the Gap has shown a continued effort is required and more gains need to be made.⁴

The current targets are built on a deficit-based model, highlighting the disadvantage in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and setting goals with reference to non-Indigenous standards. In this model, success is defined by changes in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations, not in the institutions, systems and power structures that influence outcomes.⁵

The QFCC recommends a strengths-based approach to the development of and reporting against targets. Targets should speak to the strength and resilience of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and the success of partnerships in delivering improved outcomes. They should speak to positive changes in the systems and structures that influence success in health and wellbeing, not just in population statistics.⁶

Timeframes to meet targets and secondary measures

In February 2018, a Special Gathering of prominent Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders was held to inform COAG on the Closing the Gap refresh. In its statement, the Special Gathering agreed the existing targets should be retained and critically reviewed.⁷ The Hon Ken Wyatt MP, Minister for Aged Care and Minister for Indigenous Health, has also stated the existing targets should be retained as a 'signalling of intent to achieve the highest possible benchmark even if it meant it was going to

⁴ Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018*, <https://closingthegap.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/ctg-report-2018.pdf?a=1>, accessed 15 February 2018, p. 8.

⁵ Pholi, K., Black, D. and Richards, K., 'Is "Close the Gap" a useful approach to improving the health and wellbeing of Indigenous Australians?', *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 2, April 2009, p. 7.

⁶ Pholi, K., Black, D. and Richards, K., 'Is "Close the Gap" a useful approach to improving the health and wellbeing of Indigenous Australians?', *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 2, April 2009.

⁷ Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Special Gathering Statement*, <https://closingthegaprefresh.pmc.gov.au/news/special-gathering-statement>, accessed 16 February 2018.

be challenging'.⁸ The QFCC also considers it appropriate to retain the existing targets as a benchmark in health, education and employment.

In 2018, only three of the seven Closing the Gap targets were on track to be delivered within the assigned timeframe. This was an improvement on the previous year, when only one was on track.⁹

While ambitious targets may help drive governments to achieve strong outcomes, the current approach may give the impression of failure even where improvements are being made. In fact, there has been some progress recorded against each of the seven areas during the past 10 years.¹⁰ Furthermore, there have been meaningful improvements in most socioeconomic outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples over the past three decades.¹¹

Where issues are complex, the underlying causes are likely to be intergenerational in nature. For example, life expectancy 'may depend on what happens in early childhood when crucial decisions are made by previous generations'.¹²

Policy interventions may take considerable time to lead to population-level outcomes. One recent study has estimated the impact of the Closing the Gap agenda on mortality will only be able to be assessed after 2018. Any changes in mortality rates during the first 10 years of the Closing the Gap targets would be the result of policies and systems in place before they were created.¹³

It may also be useful to create early indicators within each target to more clearly show where progress has been made even if the overall target is not on track. Early indicators should be chosen carefully, and successful progress against early indicators should suggest progress toward the overall target.

Place-based approaches

Consideration may also be given to place-based targets and responses. In his speech to Parliament, the Hon Malcolm Turnbull MP, Prime Minister of Australia, recommended state by state targets to 'help give us more granular and specific local insight to progress or lack of progress and more precisely where more focused effort is needed'.¹⁴

⁸ Higgins, I., Clarke, M. and Conifer, D., 'Closing the Gap: Only three of seven targets on track, but growing signs of improvement', *ABC News*, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-02-12/only-three-of-seven-closing-the-gap-targets-on-track-a-decade-on/9420838>, accessed 16 February 2018.

⁹ Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018*, <https://closingthegap.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/ctg-report-2018.pdf?a=1>, accessed 15 February 2018

¹⁰ Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018*, <https://closingthegap.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/ctg-report-2018.pdf?a=1>, accessed 15 February 2018.

¹¹ Altman, J.C., Biddle, N. and Hunter, B.H., 'Prospects for "Closing the Gap" in socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous Australians?', *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 49, iss. 3, November 2009, pp. 225-251.

¹² Altman, J.C., Biddle, N. and Hunter, B.H., 'Prospects for "Closing the Gap" in socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous Australians?', *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 49, iss. 3, November 2009, pp. 225-251, p. 245; see also Hoy, W.E., "'Closing the gap" by 2030: aspiration versus reality in Indigenous health', *Medical Journal of Australia*, Vol. 190, No. 10, 18 May 2009, pp. 542-544.

¹³ Ring, I.T, Dixon, T., Lovett, R.W., Al-Yaman, F., 'Are Indigenous mortality gaps closing: how to tell, and when?', *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol. 205, iss. 1, August 2016.

¹⁴ Turnbull, M., *Speech – Closing the Gap Report 2018*, <https://www.pm.gov.au/media/speech-closing-gap-report-2018>, accessed 16 February 2018.

Beyond state-by-state targets, the QFCC considers place-based targets important to make sure local successes are not hidden in ambitious national targets. This is particularly true for employment outcomes, which are influenced by local labour markets.¹⁵

The Australian Public Service Commission has previously recommended place-based approaches to help solve very complex issues that go beyond the capacity of any single organisation to understand and respond to. Disadvantage in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities was identified as one such issue.¹⁶

The challenges of achieving outcomes in Victoria may be different to those in Queensland, and the challenges in remote northern Queensland may be different to those in Brisbane. Some targets could be localised to communities and local government areas as well as states. Local targets could also help to improve the coordination of funding and programs to address local issues.

In response to a recommendation of the *Not Now, Not Ever* report,¹⁷ the Queensland Government has implemented a place-based approach to domestic and family violence prevention. A trial service has been co-designed in Cherbourg with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to provide a culturally-specific integrated response to domestic and family violence to meet community needs.¹⁸

Place-based targets could reflect the different aspirations of different Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities across Australia, and the diverse opportunities available in different parts of the country.¹⁹ This would increase opportunities for local communities to engage in true co-design to determine the targets, measures and programs that best meet local needs.

For example, employment and education measures in some places could be expanded to include opportunities in cultural, traditional or customary sectors of local economies.²⁰ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander entrepreneurial activities often occur 'outside the economic mainstream, especially in remote parts of Australia', offering 'culturally safe and appropriate pathways to economic participation'.²¹

Some consideration could be given to more holistically investigating trends in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. For example, one study of the 'gap' in university entrance rates showed evidence that different outcomes were influenced by factors other than achievement, such as the

¹⁵ Altman, J.C., Biddle, N. and Hunter, B.H., 'Prospects for "Closing the Gap" in socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous Australians?', *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 49, iss. 3, November 2009, pp. 225-251.

¹⁶ Australian Public Service Commission, *Tackling wicked problems: a public policy perspective*, <http://www.apsc.gov.au/publications-and-media/archive/publications-archive/tackling-wicked-problems>, accessed 16 February 2018.

¹⁷ Special Taskforce on Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland, *Not Now, Not Ever: putting an end to domestic and family violence in Queensland*, 28 February 2015, <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/gateway/end-domestic-family-violence/about/not-now-not-ever-report>, accessed 23 March 2018, p. 127.

¹⁸ Queensland Government, *Integrated Service Responses*, <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/gateway/end-domestic-family-violence/our-progress/enhancing-service-responses/integrated-service-responses>, accessed 23 March 2018.

¹⁹ Altman, J.C., 'Beyond Closing the Gap: Valuing diversity in Indigenous Australia', *Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research*, Australian National University, Working Paper No. 54/2009, 2009.

²⁰ Altman, J.C., 'Beyond Closing the Gap: Valuing diversity in Indigenous Australia', *Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research*, Australian National University, Working Paper No. 54/2009, 2009.

²¹ Spencer, R., Brueckner, M., Wise, G., and Marika, B., 'Measuring performance: a story of "Closing the Gap" through Indigenous social enterprise', *Murdoch University Centre for Responsible Citizenship and Sustainability Working Paper Series*, Vol. 1, Iss. 1, June 2015, p. 2.

choices, behaviours and resources of young people and their families.²² Research like this can help to identify effective policy responses and can also help to modify targets or measures to reflect the diverse and meaningful aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Policy and program links

The issues arising from the Closing the Gap targets are necessarily complex and demanding, and require policy intervention at the state and federal level. The *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018* contains information about policy interventions in a 'translating policy into action' section under each target. It is not clear whether and how each of these interventions forms part of a coordinated response specific to each Closing the Gap target.

COAG could consider specifically linking certain programs to the Closing the Gap agenda and conducting formal evaluations of these programs for the annual Closing the Gap report. An example of this is the *Supporting Families, Changing Futures* reform program in Queensland, based on recommendations outlined in the 2013 report of the Queensland Child Protection Commission of Inquiry. The QFCC is leading three evaluation reports throughout the life of this program. Each will assess the program's effectiveness against identified supporting outcomes.²³

The *Supporting Families, Changing Futures* evaluation will also develop in-depth place-based case studies. These will take a systems approach to examine how key reform areas interact in a local context, to learn from the successes of certain actions in certain places.²⁴ This could be a model for evaluations of place-based targets or initiatives if included in a refreshed Closing the Gap program.

Community involvement in evaluations

The data-gathering and evaluation processes guiding the annual Closing the Gap report should be conducted within appropriate timeframes. Community involvement should be part of the whole evaluation process, including planning and design.²⁵ Such a holistic evaluation process can take into account the outcomes and experiences in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, beyond statistical measures reporting against targets.

There are challenges with this approach. Success may mean different things in different places, which may require consideration if using community-level evaluations to report against national targets.²⁶ It may also be necessary to design new evaluation methodologies that are meaningful to participants in different communities.²⁷

²² Parker, P.D., Bodkin-Andrews, G., Marsh, H.W., Jerrim, J. and Schoon, I., 'Will closing the achievement gap solve the problem? An analysis of primary and secondary effects for indigenous university entry', *Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 2015, pp. 1085-1102.

²³ Queensland Family and Child Commission, *Evaluating the Queensland child protection reform program*, <https://www.qfcc.qld.gov.au/sites/default/files/Evaluating%20the%20Child%20Protection%20Reform%20Program.pdf>, accessed 16 September 2018.

²⁴ Queensland Family and Child Commission, *Evaluating the Queensland child protection reform program*, <https://www.qfcc.qld.gov.au/sites/default/files/Evaluating%20the%20Child%20Protection%20Reform%20Program.pdf>, accessed 16 September 2018.

²⁵ Muir, S. and Dean, A., *Evaluating the outcomes of programs for Indigenous families and communities*, CFCA Practitioner Resource – February 2017, <https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/evaluating-outcomes-programs-indigenous-families-and-communities>, accessed 16 February 2018.

²⁶ Government of Canada, 'The evaluation of place-based approaches: questions for further research', *Policy Horizons Canada*, June 2011, <http://www.horizons.gc.ca/en/content/evaluation-place-based-approaches>, accessed 16 February 2018.

²⁷ Muir, S. and Dean, A., *Evaluating the outcomes of programs for Indigenous families and communities*, CFCA Practitioner Resource – February 2017, <https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/evaluating-outcomes-programs-indigenous-families-and-communities>, accessed 16 February 2018.

Learning from the planned evaluation of the *Supporting Families, Changing Futures* program, Closing the Gap evaluations could expand to include:

- evidence of the extent of and factors contributing to an issue in a location, in consultation with community
- effective and appropriate interventions, and how these have been designed and implemented (especially where these have been co-designed with communities)
- evaluations of interventions using measures of success determined by the community, including case studies.

Outcomes-focused evaluations

The QFCC supports the outcomes focus of the current Closing the Gap targets, and recommends a continued commitment to financial investment in outcomes-focused monitoring and evaluation. Outcomes-focused evaluation is different to evaluating processes and outputs. An outcomes-focused evaluation can ascertain whether a particular outcome has been achieved and, also, the success of particular initiatives in contributing toward the achievement of outcomes.²⁸

What indicators should governments focus on to best support the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples?

Recommendation

The QFCC recommends:

- comprehensive partnerships with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and organisations to develop indicators that support the needs and aspirations of families and communities
- inclusion of social determinants of health in the development and evaluation of health-related targets in addition to statistical measures.

Self-determination and shared accountability

The QFCC recommends a comprehensive partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and organisations to develop indicators that support the needs and aspirations of families and communities. This could be a similar process to the development of the Family Matters *Roadmap*, designed by a strategic alliance of over 100 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous organisations.²⁹

The Queensland Government's *Our Way* strategy, also developed in partnership with Family Matters, has a shared accountability framework. This is led by a board to make sure outcomes reflect the needs of the Queensland Government and the community.³⁰

²⁸ United Nations Development Program, *Outcome-level evaluation: a companion guide to the handbook on planning monitoring and evaluating for development results for programme units and evaluators*, <http://web.undp.org/evaluation/guidance.shtml>, accessed 7 March 2018, p. 4.

²⁹ Family Matters, *The Family Matters Roadmap*, <http://www.familymatters.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/TheFamilyMattersRoadmap.pdf>, accessed 16 February 2018.

³⁰ Queensland Government, *Our Way: A generational strategy for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and families 2017-37*, <https://www.communities.qld.gov.au/resources/campaign/supporting-families/our-way.pdf>, accessed 15 February 2018, p. 20.

A similar governance structure could make sure targets, measures and processes can be reviewed where required. This can help make sure the process continues to reflect the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities across Australia.

Social determinants of health

The World Health Organisation recognises ‘social determinants of health’, which are ‘the conditions in which people are born, grow, work, live, and age, and the wider set of forces and systems shaping the conditions of daily life’.³¹ In this way, social, economic and environmental outcomes are interlinked with health outcomes, each shaping the other. The *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister’s Report 2018* makes some reference to this, identifying social and emotional wellbeing as linked to life expectancy.

This is similar to the concept of ‘Aboriginal holistic health’.³² This concept was established in the 1989 *National Aboriginal Health Strategy* and reaffirmed in the 2003 *National Strategic Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health*. The 2003 framework links health in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities to factors such as education, environmental health, housing, employment, nutrition, transport and prison health.³³

Closing the Gap’s focus on targets based on statistical outcomes may inadvertently suggest data is ‘both the means and the ends’, and as a result its evaluations could exist ‘outside of historical, social and cultural context’.³⁴ Policies and targets aimed at addressing social, community and cultural concerns may also have positive impacts on health outcomes.³⁵ A holistic approach to Closing the Gap could link health outcomes to targets in a range of interlinked areas.

It may be useful to show how each of the Closing the Gap targets, along with any additional targets and measures, link together to deliver health and wellbeing outcomes across communities.

³¹ World Health Organisation, *Social Determinants of Health*, http://www.who.int/social_determinants/en/, accessed 16 February 2018.

³² Lutschini, M., ‘Engaging with holism in Australian Aboriginal health policy – a review’, *Australia & New Zealand Health Policy*, Vol. 2, Iss. 15, 2005.

³³ National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Council, *National Strategic Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health*, July 2003, [https://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/12B50420F5E0006DCA257BF000199D6C/\\$File/nfsatsihcont.pdf](https://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/12B50420F5E0006DCA257BF000199D6C/$File/nfsatsihcont.pdf), accessed 16 February 2018.

³⁴ Pholi, K., Black, D. and Richards, K., ‘Is “Close the Gap” a useful approach to improving the health and wellbeing of Indigenous Australians?’, *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 2, April 2009, pp. 1-13.

³⁵ Altman, J.C., Biddle, N. and Hunter, B.H., ‘Prospects for “Closing the Gap” in socioeconomic outcomes for Indigenous Australians?’, *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 49, iss. 3, November 2009, pp. 225-251, p. 245.

Should Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture be incorporated in the Closing the Gap framework? How?

Recommendation

The QFCC recommends the inclusion of culture in the Closing the Gap framework. This can include a commitment to understanding all targets in terms of local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural perspectives.

The *Closing the Gap: the next phase* discussion paper recognises 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures are integral for thriving communities'.³⁶ The *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018* discusses culture in detail, noting projects and funding to support preservation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, heritage, knowledge, art and science. It also reports funding and support for investing in the cultural capability and competency of Australian Government staff, and the development of Reconciliation Action Plans for corporate, non-government and government organisations.³⁷

The QFCC shares this view of the importance of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander policy underpinning policy and evaluation. Culture should be incorporated in the Closing the Gap framework. Connection to culture is known to help protect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from abuse,³⁸ and contributes to health outcomes in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.³⁹

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia are very culturally diverse,⁴⁰ and culture differs in different locations across the continent. Place-based evaluations, developed and conducted in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, can be guided by local cultural understandings and practices.

A cultural perspective may include a broader understanding of targets and evaluation strategies. For example, the Queensland Health *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Capability Framework 2010-2033* acknowledges that culture is central to perceptions of health. To Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, health can be 'a matter of determining all aspects of their life, including

³⁶ Council of Australian Governments, *Closing the gap: the next phase*, <https://closingthegaprefresh.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/resources/ctg-next-phase-discussion-paper.pdf?a=1>, accessed 6 March 2018, p. 4.

³⁷ Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Closing the Gap: Prime Minister's Report 2018*, <https://closingthegap.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/ctg-report-2018.pdf?a=1>, accessed 15 February 2018, pp. 23-28.

³⁸ Anderson, P., Bamblett, M., Bessarab, D., Bromfield, L., Chan, S., Maddock, G., Menzies, K., O'Connell, M., Pearson, G., Walker, R., Wright, M. (2017) *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and child sexual abuse in institutional settings*, report for the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, Sydney, https://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/sites/default/files/file-list/research_report_-_aboriginal_and_torres_strait_islander_children_and_child_sexual_abuse_in_institutional_contexts_-_causes.pdf, accessed 6 March 2018.

³⁹ Freeman, T., Edwards, T., Baum, F., Lawless, A., Jolley, G., Javanparast, S. and Francis, T., 'Cultural respect strategies in Australian Aboriginal primary health care services: beyond education and training of practitioners', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 38, Iss. 4, 2014.

⁴⁰ Bourke, E. and Bourke, C., 'Aboriginal families in Australia', in Australian Institute of Family Studies (ed.) *Families and cultural diversity in Australia*, December 1995, <https://aifs.gov.au/publications/families-and-cultural-diversity-australia/3-aboriginal-families-australia>, accessed 6 March 2018.

control over their physical environment, of dignity, of community self-esteem, and of justice'.⁴¹ This goes beyond the health targets currently assessed by Closing the Gap.

The incorporation of culture into the Closing the Gap framework can include a commitment to understanding all targets in terms of local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural perspectives.

⁴¹ The State of Queensland (Queensland Health), *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Capability Framework 2010-2033*, 2010, https://www.health.qld.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0014/156200/cultural_capability.pdf, accessed 6 March 2018, p. 8.