Belonging, Connectedness, and Self-Worth: Building Socially Sustainable Communities Through a School-based Student Support Program

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Abstract

This article draws on an evaluation of a school-based student support program operating in the Elizabeth-Munno Para region of South Australia (Ruys & Zannettino, 2005). Based on a community development model, The Turn Around Program (TAP) extends beyond the classroom to provide educational, social and health services to students and families affected by economic and social disadvantage. Data collected from children, parents, teachers and school principals indicated that the program enhanced the capacity of families and communities affected by disadvantage and poverty to support and nurture their children. The marked improvements in parenting capacity and in child-parent interaction and communication provided children with a more open and supportive home environment, which in turn, improved children's experience of schooling and their capacity for learning. By examining key aspects of the program, this paper demonstrates how TAP has successfully melded long held human ecological perspectives on schooling and child development with a number of strategies that promote the development of socially sustainable communities.

Introduction

In the last several decades, Australian and international research literature has pointed to a symbiotic relationship between the environments of home and school and has sought to examine the effects of these distinct, yet interlocking systems on child development (e.g. Albritton, Klotz & Roberson, 2003; Bourdieu, 1988; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). There is much research and anecdotal evidence to suggest that a child's early life experiences have a bearing on their social and emotional well-being for the rest of their life (e.g. McCain & Mustard, 1998; Perry, 1994; Strauss, 1992). Whilst such findings continue to inform and shape schooling and

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educational practices in Australia, a shrinking welfare state and an ever-increasing gap between communities with resources and those without, has meant a decrease in support for students from low socio-economic backgrounds. Within this socio-political context, educators and human service workers have become increasingly concerned over how poverty and disadvantage affect children's capacity for learning, as well as their social and emotional well-being. More than ever before, it has become apparent that children from disadvantaged communities are more likely to have poor attendance at school, learning and behaviour difficulties, and poorer learning outcomes, all of which can affect the child well into her or his adulthood.

This paper demonstrates how a school-based community development program—The Turn Around Program (TAP)—has sought to address these concerns. TAP is a student support program that uses the school community as a primary site for the delivery of educational, social and health services to vulnerable students and their families. The program operates in the Elizabeth–Munno Para region of Adelaide, which is one of the most socially and economically disadvantaged communities in Australia. Drawing from a review of the literature pertaining to child welfare and education, and from program evaluation findings, this paper argues that TAP's success in improving the lives of children and families is largely due to the program's synthesis of a number of key perspectives and strategies, including:

- a community development approach
- a systemic perspective on schooling and child development
- a focus on the importance of children's early years of life
- the development of inter-agency collaboration and partnerships with families
- the development of socially inclusive practice approaches
- the development of socially sustainable communities.

This paper discusses these six perspectives or strategies and their impact on program users and providers.

The genesis of the Turn Around Program

TAP originated from the need uncovered by several school principals for support to enhance the well-being of families and students attending schools and kindergartens in the Playford area. This area has a community that experiences high social need and compound disadvantage resulting from second and third generation unemployment, poverty, and transience. Due to multiple layers of social and economic disadvantage, students going to school have poor attendance, find it difficult to engage with school activities and have significant health and behavioural difficulties. Moreover, there is increasing recognition by school principals and teachers of the difficulties in accessing appropriate support for these students and their families, as well as the need to provide support services easily accessible by parents.

After the completion of a preliminary exercise in which the extent and nature of the issues were identified and documented, the principals of the Elizabeth Grove Primary, Elizabeth South Primary, Munno Para and Blakeview schools were successful in obtaining funding for the program. The funds were provided by the Westpac Foundation and administered by 'Good Beginnings Australia'. Good Beginnings Australia is a national, not-for-profit organisation that provides funding for programs concerned with child and family welfare.

A coordinator with a background in social work was employed by Good Beginnings Australia to manage and operate the program across the four schools. The TAP coordinator is also responsible for most of the therapeutic work with families. Consequently, the program is informed by direct service practice with families and has continued to develop and evolve in ways consistent with the needs of children and parents and in accordance with the program's five objectives, which are to:

- 1. support parents to assist their children to achieve their full potential
- 2. improve the education and health of children and families
- 3. enhance the learning capacity of children who are at risk of disengaging from learning and those recognised as being most disadvantaged
- 4. encourage collaborative partnerships between school communities, local agencies, and community members, to support children at risk
- 5. strengthen community capacity to support families.

TAP has been operating at Elizabeth Grove, Blakeview, Munno Para, and Elizabeth South primary schools as well as Grove and Sir Thomas Playford kindergartens since March of 2004. Several agencies and partner organisations are involved in the program, including the Women's and Children's Hospital, The Smith Family, and the Playford Community Health Centre. These industry partners assist TAP to provide support, referral and advocacy services to children and their families involved in the participating school communities. TAP offers counselling for children and parents, family intervention, advocacy and support, and a range of group activities for children and parents. The activity groups and workshops cover many issues and subjects, from self-esteem, counselling, anxiety and depression, to homework, gardening and art.

Program evaluation methodology and methods

The University of South Australia was commissioned by Good Beginnings Australia to evaluate the Turn Around Program. The program evaluation was a qualitative research study, consistent with requests from Good Beginnings Australia that the evaluation be concerned with how program participants and facilitators perceived and experienced their involvement with the program, rather than with establishing correlations between, for example, children's participation and improved academic performance. The impact of the program on parents' and children's lives was nonetheless important to this evaluation but only in terms of its inclusion in the qualitative experiences and narratives of the research participants rather than as

purposefully collected measures for quantitative analysis. Consequently, the evaluation was able to shed light on the thematic and contextual factors mediating parents' and children's experiences of the program.

The study used several methods to collect data from a variety of sources:

- interviews with the TAP coordinator
- focus group interviews with parents involved in TAP
- surveys of principals and counsellors at the four schools and the directors of the two kindergartens
- analysis of feedback from children and parents who participated in the
 activities offered by the program. Given the age of the children and the
 fact that the researchers were unknown to them, interviewing children
 was not a viable option. Instead, the evaluation relied on their written
 (and often pictorial) perceptions and experiences of the activities with
 which they had been involved.

A community development approach

When the TAP coordinator first proposed the use of a community development approach for the program, school and kindergarten staff were hesitant as they were unsure of how the coordinator would apply this approach. In order to alleviate their fears and to work effectively and collaboratively with staff, she began with a framework with which most were familiar. This involved finding the students and families who were presenting with difficulties and writing to them asking for their feedback on what they would find useful. The coordinator wrote to 80 families (suggested by the four schools) of which a majority (80%) responded. A common theme in the responses was that families wanted to be involved in discussions and planning for the program from the outset. Consequently, the seeds of a community-oriented approach were sown, with families, children and school staff invited to direct the nature and range of TAP programs and activities.

In the formative stages, the families specified aspects of the program they thought would be of benefit to them. The parents then developed a set of principles in addition to, and complementing, the already established program objectives that were also developed using input from families. These principles included:

- every parent wants to be the best parent they possibly can be
- with support parents and children can reach their full potential
- · child abuse is preventable
- children grow from good beginnings.

At the same time, children were encouraged to give their ideas about what parts of the program they thought would be the most helpful and/or enjoyable for them to be involved in. As a result, they collaborated on planning and running a

range of activities and the TAP 'home base' expresses the children's creative input, providing them with a sense of ownership of, and pride in, the program.

A common theme in parents' comments about TAP was how the program compared with others they had heard about and/or had been involved with. The main point of comparison was that the majority of other programs did not take into account their needs, wants or interests. Parents appreciated TAP's approach because it not only encouraged parents and children to articulate the issues that were most important to them, but it also gave them the power to shape and direct program activities to suit their needs. Parents also commented about the time taken by TAP staff to speak to families about what they wanted from the program, and their efforts to build genuine collaborative relationships with both parents and children when deciding the nature and scope of the program. One parent described how she had asked for input about depression and anxiety and how TAP had implemented a program that provided her with exactly what she needed. Another parent talked about how the 'Fathers Group' was developed in response to a number of fathers' concerns about their relationships with their children. Likewise, an activity for boys was organised in response to boys' requests that they have a program similar to the 'Girls' Club'. Overall, parents reported feeling in control of the activities and programs offered by TAP. As one participant said: 'The program grows to accommodate our needs and we grow with what we learn from the program'.

A systemic approach

When the program was first proposed, its focus was on schools' concerns about the behaviour of students, their levels of attendance and their capacity to engage in learning and social activities. However, the coordinator's research and experience in working with families on child development and achievement, suggested to her that it was essential to work from an understanding of schools, families, and communities as interrelated system components. She drew largely from Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecological development (1979), which conceptualised the environment in terms of phenomena organised in closely related and interlocking social systems. Bronfenbrenner proposed that changes in any one of these systems can, through a ripple effect, profoundly influence the development of the person who is at the centre of these social systems. Bronfenbrenner's theory discussed the existence of two social systems (among others)—the microsystem and the mesosystem.

The microsystem is defined as '...a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics, (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 22). This system comprises settings where the child is physically present and able to engage in face-to-face interactions. Settings would include school, home, kindergarten, peergroup, neighbourhood, community, etc. The mesosystem comprises '...the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 25). The mesosystem, therefore, is a chain of microsystem settings (e.g. the links between home and school, school and community, etc.). According to Bronfenbrenner, a strong mesosystem is essential for the successful development of the young person.

At the microsystem level, TAP attempts to make a positive difference to the lives of children and families, and likewise, at the mesosystem level by developing connections between schools, families, and the community. The program's focus on the inter-connectedness of families, schools and communities is foremost in the program's objectives and is clearly demonstrated by the program's adoption of a 'hub and spoke' model in which the school is the centre for the delivery of family services and support, and the primary conduit for access to other social services in the community.

A focus on the importance of children's early years of life

In its initial stages, TAP was to focus its work on primary school communities (i.e. children, parents, principals, teachers and counsellors) from the four main schools. However, the philosophy of Good Beginnings Australia is based on evidence-based practice that demonstrates that early intervention, beginning from birth, is most effective in influencing children's capacities and achievement. This led the school principals to expand the program to include two local kindergartens—Elizabeth Grove Kindergarten and Sir Thomas Playford Kindergarten. Additionally, the program drew from the recommendations and outcomes of an influential and widely scoped Canadian research project known as the 'Early Years Study' (McCain & Mustard, 1998) in an effort to triangulate practice-based findings. Consequently, the Early Years Study was the basis for TAP in a number of ways.

The Early Years Study was established by the Ontario government in response to increasing evidence that brain development in the early years of life has a direct effect on learning, behaviour and health throughout a person's life. The study drew from many areas, including neuroscience, developmental psychology, human development, sociology, and paediatrics. It considered the indicators of health, learning and economic growth in North America and Europe. The Early Years Study found that:

A young child's brain develops through stimulation of the sensing pathways (e.g. seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, tasting) from early experiences. ... early nurturing during critical periods of brain development not only affects the parts of the brain that control vision and other senses, it influences the neural cross-connections to other parts of the brain that influence arousal, emotional regulation and behaviour. A child who misses positive stimulation or is subject to chronic stress in the first years of life may have difficulty overcoming a bad early start (1998: 7).

TAP positively stimulates children, both within and outside the school community, to change children's lives in the long- as well as the short-term. The program addresses social and learning issues but, more importantly, it creates the conditions for developing protective factors that promote children's self-worth and resilience.

Just as importantly, the program offers education and support to parents in early child development and encourages them to participate in their children's schooling. Research indicates that children are shown to perform better in schools if their parents are involved in their educational development (Albritton, Klotz & Roberson, 2003). Furthermore, services offered through TAP allow the early

detection of problems of child protection, and health and neglect, and promote parental skill development.

The Early Years Study recommended that:

Given that the brain's development is a seamless continuum, initiatives for early child development and learning should also be a continuum. Learning in the early years must be based on quality, developmentally-attuned interactions with primary caregivers and opportunities for play-based problem solving with other children that stimulates brain development (1998: 7).

TAP encourages parents to improve the education and health of their children as well as the parent–child relationship by providing a broad spectrum of parent-focused, parent–child-focused and child-focused activities. These activities are designed to promote stimulating and positive interactions between parents and children, adults and other children and between children themselves.

The Early Years Study found that:

...good early child development programs that involve parents or other primary caregivers of young children can influence how they relate to and care for children in the home, and can vastly improve outcomes for children's behaviour, learning and health in later life (1998: 7).

TAP involves parents in parent-focused activities designed to enhance their parenting capacities and to assist them to better understand and relate to their children. As previously indicated, TAP services are based on the premise that positive and nurturing relationships in the home environment can greatly improve the mental and physical health of children in their immediate and later lives. TAP aims to enhance the learning capacity of children who are at risk of disengaging from learning by encouraging these children and their parents to participate in activities that enhance their self-esteem, their ability to cope and their effectiveness at both an individual and community level.

The Early Years Study found that:

...Children from families who are low on the socioeconomic scale and who have access to early child development programs outside the family do better than children who do not (1998: 10).

Although this finding was based on Ontario families and children, it is, nonetheless, consistent with findings from Australian and international studies of early child development over many years (e.g. Frey & George-Nichols, 2003; Howard & Johnson, 2002; Rutter, 1984). It is well known that a higher proportion of children in low-income families do not do well academically and socially, compared to children in families with higher incomes. This statistic is particularly evident in the Elizabeth-Munno Para Education District where there is a large number of low income and single parent families experiencing economic, health, social, and learning difficulties. However, income is not the only factor that determines children's educational performance. The quality of parental interaction with children in the early years has also been shown to play a significant role (McCain & Mustard, 1998). Although the activities offered by TAP are many and varied, the common

thread is the potential of families to overcome the effects of socio-economic disadvantage by developing strong parent-child relationships. As parents do not always have the skills to develop healthy and respectful relationships with their children, TAP focuses on assisting parents to develop these skills in a non-threatening and non-judgmental environment, as well as providing a safe place for children to work through problems they may be experiencing at home.

The Early Years Study proposed that:

Since all families and children, in all socioeconomic circumstances, can benefit from early child development and parenting programs, it is important that programs evolve to be available and accessible to all families in all socio-economic groups (1998: 15).

TAP can be replicated to benefit other school and kindergarten communities. Potentially, the program could operate in every school in the district, depending on the level of funding available. Funding requirements are minimal and primarily necessary to pay the wages of the program coordinator, operational costs and evaluation.

The Early Years Study recommended that:

...Communities can and should make better use of existing public resources and facilities, especially schools, for early child development (1998: 16).

The most accessible place, and often the first point of call, for families who are experiencing difficulties is the local school. Program evaluation indicated that TAP has strengthened community capacity to support families by developing the school as the hub of the community from which parents can gain access to community support services. This hub and spoke model has allowed an integrated system of support services to be provided, making it easier for families and children to gain access to community services.

The Early Years Study proposed that:

Ideally, early child development programs and the school system should be part of a continuum for children that extend from the early years through to adulthood (1998: 18).

TAP views the kindergarten as an integral part of the education system. The inclusion of two kindergartens as key program sites has not only allowed for early intervention for families and children at risk at a critical stage in early child development, but it has also enabled families and children to experience a more seamless transition from kindergarten to school.

The Early Years Study recommended that:

...Early child development and parenting centers have to be sensitive to cultural, ethnic, linguistic and other characteristics of communities and families, [and] to all children's needs and abilities... The development of a range of centers to provide diverse choices [should adopt] the concept of community-based development of early child development and parenting centers... (1998: 23).

TAP recognises the diversity of families and children in school communities and aims to provide different programs, developed by families themselves, at each school to accommodate the many issues and needs.

The Early Years Study recommended that the work, family and early child development challenges facing families should be 'a shared responsibility among governments, employers, communities and families' (McCain & Mustard, 1998: 11). TAP's systemic approach encourages collaborative partnerships between school communities, local agencies, and community members to support children at risk, build community capacity and strengthen community networks to support vulnerable families.

The development of inter-agency collaboration and partnerships with families

TAP's model of service provision demonstrates recent developments in early childhood education and learning, both national and international. The landscape of early childhood education and care is changing. Institutions and services that have traditionally been separate are moving towards greater cooperation and integration in recognition of the view that this is a far more effective way of meeting the diverse and complex needs of individuals and communities. Growing awareness of overlapping organisational mandates and client needs, due to insular, singular and fragmented service approaches has also resulted in a shift towards more holistic and contextualised understandings of problems and service provision (Gardiner, 2000: 2). Hence, it has become increasingly apparent that 'collaboration is essential to address the multi-faceted nature of social and human problems and [to] make services more accessible and effective' (Gardiner, 2000: 2). Collaboration can be defined as 'a mutually beneficial and well-defined relationship entered into by two or more organisations to achieve results they are more likely to achieve together than alone' (Winer, 1994: 24 cited in Gardiner, 2000: 3).

Both nationally (Farrell, Taylor & Tennent, 2004), and internationally (Haddad, 2001), there is a move towards continuity of monitoring children and care from birth to and through schooling. This move reflects an acceptance that enabling families to achieve and maintain high levels of health, social effectiveness, and citizenship requires the collaboration of all people and organisations whose role is to support children and families. Achieving partnership between different services, and between services and families, is a goal towards which considerable policy development and restructuring is being directed. International examples include Education Action Zones in the UK (Gewirtz, Dickson, Power, Halpin & Whitty, 2005) and the Full Service School movement in the US (Dryfoos, 1996). Australian programs include the Stronger Families and Communities Strategy (SFCS) (Department of Families, Community Services & Indigenous Affairs, 2004) and the Child Care and Family Support Hub Strategy in Queensland (Queensland Department of Families, 2000).

TAP aims to give local community agencies a school focus. Traditionally in South Australia, schools and social support agencies working with families have

been disconnected. The Education Department has tended to focus on teaching and learning, rather than on social support of families. Likewise, family support agencies have focused on health and psycho-social issues rather than on education. TAP has sought to establish collaborative links between schools and family support services in the community, based on the following premises:

- children's health and behaviour at school should be viewed and addressed in the context of their familial and home environments
- the difficulties children experience at school are often the result of events outside the school environment
- schools and home environments intersect, and children and families
 present with complex learning, psychosocial, and emotional needs. These
 needs are more effectively addressed by services operating both within
 and outside the school community
- the local school is the most accessible place and often the first point of call for families in crisis. Thus it is the ideal site for developing the school as the core referral and resource point of the community.
- Most significantly, TAP actively promotes the development of collaborative partnerships between families and service providers by:
- connecting families to community social support services
- encouraging parents to participate in their school community and to become involved in their child's schooling experience
- empowering parents and children to steer and shape the kinds of support services they receive from their local communities.

The development of socially inclusive practice approaches

Currently, service provision involving service agreements and funding through competitive tendering, is directed towards the individualised services of casework and counselling, and a reduction of support and educational group work such as parenting groups (Weeks & Quinn, 2000). Such a context makes it difficult to acquire funds for community development, even though there is much evidence to support its effectiveness if the goal is to make changes to social structures as well as personal and family change. For many human service professionals, the experience of working with families suffering personal and family problems was that these families are often very isolated (see for example, Bessarab, 2000; Pinchen, 2000). Community development work that brings people together can help people realise that others have similar problems and that these problems are not entirely the result of their own actions or weaknesses (Weeks & Quinn, 2000). According to Weeks and Quinn:

Developmental work provides a means for people to see themselves and their struggles differently, that is, in the context of wider social conditions. No longer are they constrained by the sense that they are inadequate, incapable and solely responsible for their difficulties, rather they are now able to participate differently in addressing their own and others' issues (2000: 18).

TAP's community development model is the ideal strategy for the development of socially inclusive interventions with families marginalised by poverty and isolation. The program provides a free and accessible service that is connected to and sustained by the collective capacities of involved children and families. Parents stressed how important it was that they did not have to pay for the services they received from TAP. As one parent commented: 'Let's face it, this is Elizabeth; most families are poor and many are single parent families'. Another frequent theme in parents' responses was the high value they placed on the nonthreatening and non-judgmental approach taken by the program. Due to the program's informal nature, and a dedicated space for parents and children to 'walkin' at each school or kindergarten site, parents felt that there was no stigma attached to seeking support from the program and/or accessing its facilities. Parents spoke about how the names given to groups and activities offered through the program invoke feelings of hope and optimism, rather than deficit and pathology. In these ways, TAP promotes the participation and empowerment of the most disenfranchised and isolated members of the community.

The development of socially sustainable communities

Bourdieu's (1986, 1988) concept of 'cultural reproduction' refers to the ways in which schools, in tandem with other social institutions, assist to perpetuate social and economic inequalities across the generations. The concept illuminates the ways in which schools influence the learning of values, attitudes and beliefs through the hidden curriculum (outside formal instruction). Via this hidden curriculum, schools reinforce variations in cultural values and outlooks learned early in life, so that when children leave school, these have the effect of constraining the opportunities of some and facilitating those of others. Bourdieu's concept of 'social capital' (1986, 1988) is a more positive interpretation of his concept of 'social reproduction' in that it emphasises the potentially progressive and enabling aspects of the kind of learning that occurs outside formal instruction in schools. In its broadest sense, TAP actively puts into practice the notion of building social capital by involving parents in activities that can have a positive influence on how they relate to and care for their children in the home environment. A more supportive and nurturing home environment can greatly improve children's health, behaviour and learning capacity in later life. This notion has received its greatest support in the neuroscientific research area, which has examined the connections between children's social and learning environments, and their brain development (see for example, the work of Mustard, 2007).

Parents and children emphasised how important the program was to everyone in the school and that it was 'the hub of the community' —a place where parents and children could get information about resources and link to community services. Although a large number of parents reported that the program had assisted them to improve their parenting and their relationships with their children, they also referred to the many activities offered by TAP that had helped them and their children to deal with emotional and personal issues, to find employment, re-engage with schooling, to address financial and budgeting issues, and to develop personal interests and hobbies. Overall, TAP was viewed by parents and children as pivotal to improving

the quality of their experience of schools, families, neighbourhoods and communities and to increasing their capacity to engage with these communities to effect positive changes in their own and others' lives.

Conclusion

Given the shrinking welfare state and moves towards a residual welfare system in Australia (Jamrozik, 2005), it is timely and even necessary to look outside the square for resources for vulnerable families. The continued development and expansion of programs like TAP, inter alia, are necessary in responding effectively to government policy on welfare provision. Preventing families from entering the child protection system has become a primary focus of child welfare policy in recent years (Layton, 2003). TAP has successfully incorporated a number of strategies that allow child abuse and neglect to be identified and for early intervention with families at risk.

Through their involvement with TAP, parents are encouraged to develop skills and abilities that will help them support and nurture their children. Moreover, the wide range of activities, most of which are driven by parents and children themselves, allow parents to heal wounds and resolve personal issues that may affect how they feel about themselves and their children. Self discovery and the resolution of personal struggles that have made positive parenting difficult, as well as acquiring necessary parenting skills and knowledge, helps to prevent child abuse and neglect while promoting supportive and positive familial and social relationships. In such an environment, children are more likely to gain a sense of belonging, connectedness and self worth as well as a respect for neighbourhood and community, all of which can create positive and long-lasting changes in their own and others lives. In this way, TAP exemplifies a viable way forward in providing cost effective human services to vulnerable children and families that are community driven and socially sustainable.

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