Cape York Welfare Reform

Evaluation

2012

Foreword

Cape York Welfare Reform (CYWR) is a package of policy reform designed to address the deterioration of social and economic conditions in Cape York Indigenous communities that has occurred over recent years. The CYWR is being trialled in the four Cape York communities of Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale and Mossman Gorge. While implementation began in 2008, the development of CYWR began some years before. The policy design ideas were set out in Cape York Institute's 2007 report *From hand out to hand up*. The evaluation of the CYWR trial was identified as an essential part of the design. The CYWR combines initiatives under the four streams of Social Responsibility, Education, Economic Opportunity and Housing, based in part on theories of change emerging from social psychology, which set out to produce change in social norms and behaviour.

This report represents the final evaluation of CYWR. The framework for the evaluation was developed in 2008 by consultants Courage Partners in conjunction with the partners to the reforms: the Australian and Queensland governments and the Cape York Institute. The central questions identified in the evaluation framework are whether the trial has been implemented as agreed, whether social norms and behaviours are changing as intended, and whether governance and service delivery have supported the intended change.

The initial stage of the evaluation was an implementation review of a key part of the reforms, the Family Responsibilities Commission (FRC), conducted in 2009 and released in 2010. Planning for the final evaluation covering progress and outcomes analysis occurred in 2010 and early 2011. This was led by FaHCSIA on behalf of the CYWR partners and included the partners in all decisions. Fieldwork, extensive data collation and data analysis for the final evaluation was developed and conducted during 2011 and 2012. This evaluation report was finalised in 2012.

The diverse nature of over 15 projects, which make up the reform package, together with the challenges of measuring social change, meant that a broad range of research methods was required. This includes surveys with community members and service providers, stakeholder interviews and consultations, qualitative case studies and extensive quantitative data analysis of both published and unpublished data.

Hearing the voice of the people living in the four welfare reform communities is necessary for both ethical and technical reasons if we are to measure changes in social norms and behaviour. This was gathered through an extensive survey of social change conducted in each of the four communities using local researchers. This survey examined the social norms and attitudes of community members around the areas of social obligations agreed by the communities which underpin the goals of the trial. Reports on their own community's survey results were provided back to each community.

Measuring the impact of initiatives is challenging for simple program design but the CYWR package is more challenging as it involves interconnected causal relationships. Even so accurate impact measurement involves the same principles used in evaluating the impact of single program interventions—examining the link between implementation and immediate outputs and subsequent outcomes. It was possible in this evaluation to assess the impact of FRC conferencing on subsequent school attendance by matching attendance data for individual students with FRC data. Findings were tested for statistical significance and information was cross-validated using data from a range of sources, including the ABS, field surveys and a wide range of government and operational service data covering education, crime and safety, child projection, housing and employment. Trends in outcomes were compared with outcomes in other Indigenous communities in Queensland to assess whether changes are unique to the CYWR communities or whether they are part of a broader trend.

This evaluation looks at the trial as a whole—it does not evaluate each program separately. The package of projects was intended to operate together and to reinforce the key driver of social change, the FRC, in its efforts to reinforce agreed social obligations around the care of children and personal responsibility for safety and wellbeing, through the restoration of Indigenous authority. It was also expected that projects addressing money management, parenting support and wellbeing would help people build the capacity needed if people are to take more responsibility. The overall aim of CYWR is to rebuild social norms, re-establish Indigenous authority, increase engagement in the real economy, and move individuals and families from welfare housing to home ownership in the four participating communities.

This evaluation describes how the reforms were implemented, the implementation timelines and what has not been implemented, and assesses the impact of the CYWR on the four communities. The time frame in which change of this type might be expected is unclear but the program logic laid out a set of stages which people might progress through. The scope of this evaluation includes the four-year period of implementation and modifications to projects between January 2008 and December 2011. Where it is readily available, data for the first half of 2012 has also been included. Given the timeframe, the evaluation focuses on the short-term and, where applicable, medium-term outcomes, and notes that it is too early for longer term outcomes to have emerged.

This independent evaluation of the CYWR trial has been conducted by a number of independent authors, each focusing on one or more of the four key evaluation questions.

The overview, including an executive summary, was prepared by Dr Michael Limerick, an independent consultant specialising in Indigenous policy, governance, and service delivery. The overview chapter brings together the evidence from the range of evaluation activities and it also seeks to answer the key evaluation questions about changes to social norms or behaviours, changes in service provision and the contribution of governance arrangements. The chapter provides a comprehensive synthesis of the implementation story and looks at whether social norms and behaviours are changing by assessing the evidence against the program logic and theory of change underpinning the trial. The overview concludes by examining the overall theory of change outlined in the original evaluation framework and includes some observations about the big picture.

The chapters which make up the body of the report were also prepared by independent consultants or contractors, with the exception of the Introduction (Chapter 2), which was prepared by FaHCSIA on behalf of the partners. It outlines the history and components of the trial. The remaining chapters are:

- Implementation—Chapter 3, prepared by the Social Policy Research Centre (SPRC) at the University of New South Wales

- Social change survey—Chapter 4, prepared by Colmar Brunton Social Research

- Authority, leadership, and social norms—Chapter 5, prepared by Professor Kate Reynolds et al, social psychologists from the Australian National University

- Service delivery—Chapter 6, prepared by Dr Judy Putt, a researcher and criminologist contracted to FaHCSIA

- Family Responsibilities Commission—Chapter 7, prepared by SPRC based on data extracted from the FRC operational database

- Outcomes—Chapter 8, also prepared by SPRC with assistance from FaHCSIA, using data provided by Australian and Queensland government departments, covering education, crime and safety, child protection, housing and other areas of social responsibility.

Several research reports were also commissioned and provide input to the evaluation:

- social change survey aggregate report, by Colmar Brunton Social Research

- service delivery—results from a service provider survey, by Dr Judy Putt, FaHCSIA

- consultation paper regarding desktop research and qualitative analysis of service delivery trends apparent from the CYWR initiatives: focus area Aurukun, by a Cairns based consultant Migration Plus

- summary of case studies of individual and family experience of change, by anthropologist Dr John von Sturmer who has many years of experience with communities in Cape York.

High-level oversight of the evaluation was provided by the CYWR Project Board. An evaluation steering committee, composed of representatives from each of the three trial partners, was established to oversee the quality and accuracy of the evaluation.

To provide quality assurance of the evaluation, two external evaluation advisers, Professor Deborah Cobb-Clark and Dr Annie Holden, provided advice and feedback on the overall evaluation strategy and the methodology and approach to impact analysis, as well as guidance to the steering committee. They also advised on draft reports and oversaw the quality of evidence used in the final report. In addition to the two evaluation advisers, Professor Kate Reynolds, a social psychologist from ANU, also contributed specialist advice and analysis regarding social norms theory and prepared a chapter on authority, leadership, and social norms.

The Australian Government would like to thank the partners, the Queensland Government and Cape York Institute for their advice and support throughout the evaluation process, and for providing feedback on the draft report. The large amount of administrative data that was used in this evaluation was provided by various departments within the Australian and Queensland Governments, the FRC, CYI and Cape York Regional Organisations. The Australian Government would also like to thank the numerous people who provided full and frank accounts of their experience living and/or working with CYWR, including community leaders, service providers, Australian, Queensland and local government staff, FRC officers, FRC commissioners and, in particular, the community members of the four CYWR communities.

Performance and Evaluation Branch
FaHCSIA

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Appendixes

Glossary

2008 Project Board Agreement	Cape York Welfare Reform Project Board Agreement, 21 July 2008
	This document sets out how the Australian Government, Queensland Government and the Cape York Institute for Leadership and Policy will work together, and with other key stakeholders, to deliver the Cape York Welfare Reform.
ABSTUDY	ABSTUDY provides help with costs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians who are studying or are undertaking an Australian apprenticeship.
ACMF	Attendance Case Management Framework
	ACMF is now referred to as Student Case Management (SCM). See SCM below.
AFP	Active Family Pathways
	Active Family Pathways is a multiagency team approach to coordinating services for clients with complex and longer term needs through a cohesive case coordination framework. AFP places the client at the centre of the case coordination and delivery process and delivers a framework for creating holistic, respectful, responsible, and trusting relationships amongst all parties.
ALA	*Aboriginal Land Act 1991* (Qld)
AMP	Alcohol Management Plan
	Since 1 January 2003, alcohol management plans have established legalised restrictions to the type and quantity of alcohol that may be brought into a number of Indigenous communities. These restrictions vary from community to community and change over time through negotiations with individual communities. The law applies to all residents and visitors to the community.
Balkanu	Balkanu Cape York Development Corporation
	Balkanu is a not-for-profit organisation, established in 1996, and owned by the Cape York Aboriginal Charitable Trust, on behalf of the Aboriginal people of Cape York. It is committed to supporting the Aboriginal people of Cape York and to improve the region's economic and social structures, at the same time as preserving their heritage and culture.
CAF	Community Action Fund
	The Community Action Fund provides independent financial support to individuals and groups in the four CYWR communities for activities that promote volunteerism and build positive social norms.
Case plan	The purpose of a case plan is to provide a framework or tool to encourage and/or direct FRC clients to engage with a community service provider in order to address personal circumstances affecting the client's ability to display and maintain socially responsible standards of behaviour.

Case management	Clients who enter into an agreement, or who are ordered to attend community support services, are case managed by the FRC. Service providers are required to submit a monthly progress report advising if the client has attended and engaged with the provider and the progress they are making towards achieving their goals.
CDEP	Community Development Employment Projects Program

An Australian Government funded initiative for Indigenous job seekers, that provides community-managed activities to develop participants' skills and employability in order to assist their move into employment outside CDEP. |
| CIM | Conditional Income Management

Conditional Income Management involves the FRC sending a notice to the Centrelink Secretary to recommend removing a person's individual discretion over the spending of a portion of their welfare payments (or direct some of it to a responsible adult in the case of family payments), so that the essential needs of children and families are met. CIM is also referred to as Income Management. See Income Management below. |
| COAG | Council of Australian Governments

The peak intergovernmental forum in Australia comprising the Prime Minister, state premiers, territory chief ministers and the President of the Australian Local Government Association. |
| Commissioner | See FRC Commissioner and Local Commissioners |
| Conference | A conference is held between the FRC Commissioners and the person issued with the notice to attend the conference for breaching a social obligation. |
| CYAAA | Cape York Aboriginal Australian Academy

CYAAA is a not-for-profit organisation which delivers a 'best of both worlds' education to Indigenous students. It aims to close the academic achievement gap between Indigenous and mainstream students and to support Cape York children's bicultural identity. |
| CYI | Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership

CYI was established in July 2004 in partnership with the people of Cape York, Griffith University and the Australian and Queensland governments to champion reform in Indigenous economic and social policy and to support the development of current and future Cape York leaders. On 16 December 2011, CYI became an independent wholly owned subsidiary of Cape York Corporation Limited. |

CYP	Cape York Partnerships
	Cape York Partnerships is an organisation that formed in 1999 through an agreement between the Australian and Queensland governments and regional Indigenous organisations in Cape York Peninsula. CYP facilitates reform by building innovative partnerships between Indigenous individuals and families, government and the philanthropic and corporate sectors. The organisation operates in a range of projects in the welfare reform communities of Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale and Mossman Gorge.
CYWR	Cape York Welfare Reform
	The Cape York Welfare Reform is being trialled in four Cape York Communities—Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale, and Mossman Gorge. CYWR had the explicit task of reforming destructive social and economic conditions linked to passive welfare dependence and alcohol abuse across Cape York Indigenous communities.
DATSIMA	Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Multicultural Affairs
	The Queensland Government department responsible for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs portfolio. The department works with all levels of government and the community to close the gap in advantage and disadvantage between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous Queenslanders.
Design Reports	From Hand Out to Hand Up Volume 1 and Volume 2
	The proposals for Cape York Welfare Reform were developed by the Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership and Cape York Partnerships through the preparation of the design reports *From hand out to hand up* Volume 1 and Volume 2.
DETE	Department of Education, Training and Employment (Queensland Government)
Direct Instruction	Direct Instruction (DI) is an explicit teaching method that uses a mixed methodology of teaching such as lectures and practical demonstrations. DI used in the CYAAA program includes three learning programs: Class, Club and Culture.
DOGIT	Deed of Grant in Trust
DoHA	Department of Health and Ageing
	The federal department responsible for the health and ageing portfolio, focusing on strengthening evidence-based policy advising, improving program management, research, regulation and partnerships with other government agencies, consumers and stakeholders.
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs
	The federal department responsible for the families, housing, community services and Indigenous affairs portfolio. The department aims to improve the lives of Australians by creating opportunities for economic and social participation by individuals, families and communities.

FIFO	Fly-in fly-out
	This can also refer to drive-in drive-out services
FIM	Family Income Management
	FIM is now referred to as MPower (see MPower below)
FRC	Family Responsibilities Commission
	The statutory body established as a key plank of the Cape York Welfare Reform to restore local Indigenous authority and socially responsible standards of behaviour in Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale and Mossman Gorge.
FRC Act	*Family Responsibilities Commission Act 2008* (Qld)
	Legislation establishing and empowering the FRC.
FRC Commissioner	The FRC is headed by a legally qualified Commissioner and is assisted by a panel of Local Commissioners in all communities (see also Local Commissioners).
IEP	Indigenous Employment Program
	The Indigenous Employment Program (IEP) is funded by the Australian Government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations and aims to increase opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, their communities and employers through employment, business support and economic development activities.
IM	Income management
	FRC has the power to place a client on Conditional Income Management. Individuals also have the choice to go onto income management voluntarily. See also Conditional Income Management.
In jurisdiction	Within FRC jurisdiction
	Section 7 of the FRC Act defines 'in FRC jurisdiction' as a community member who is a welfare recipient and who also lives in one of the four CYWR communities or has lived there for a period of three months since the start of the trial. Section 8 of the FRC Act defines a welfare recipient as a person, or partner of that person, who is in receipt of welfare payments. In addition, CDEP participants receiving CDEP wages are considered welfare recipients. They also come under the jurisdiction of the FRC; however, they cannot be income managed.
JSA	Job Services Australia
	Job Services Australia is the Australian Government employment services system that supports job seekers and employers.
Local Commissioners	Local Commissioners are statutory appointments. Local Commissioners are elders or respected community members who encourage individuals appearing before the FRC to take the steps needed to make lasting changes that will benefit their health, wellbeing and home and community life.

MPower — MPower evolved from Cape York Partnerships original money management program, Family Income Management (FIM). MPower is designed to support individuals and families to manage money for basic material needs; build capabilities through financial literacy and behaviour change; and build assets through saving and disciplined money management.

MULTILIT — Making Up for Lost Time in Literacy

MULTILIT was developed by the Macquarie University Special Education Centre. It is an evidence-based approach to teaching low-progress students who are experiencing difficulties in learning literacy skills.

NAPLAN — National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy

In 2008, the National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) commenced in Australian schools. Every year, all students in years 3, 5, 7 and 9 are assessed on the same days using national tests in reading, writing, language conventions (spelling, grammar and punctuation) and numeracy.

Notice — Information about a trigger event identified under the FRC Act such as date, event type and person to be held accountable.

Notice to Attend — A formal notice issued by the FRC to call individuals to conference. The local coordinator currently hand delivers the Notice to Attend Conference to community members.

PoP — Pride of Place

Pride of Place is a Cape York Partnerships backyard renovation project that focuses on supporting families to carry out small-scale outdoor improvements to their homes and backyard. Participants receive a financial subsidy towards the improvement, and also make their own financial and Sweat Equity contribution. Pride of Place encourages families to take pride in, and responsibility for, the conditions of their homes.

Project Board — Cape York Welfare Reform Project Board

The Project Board originally comprised the Secretary of FaHCSIA for the Australian Government; the Director-General of the Queensland Department of the Premier and Cabinet (DPC) for the Queensland Government (as chair), and the Director of CYI. From 1 October 2012, the Director-General of the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Multicultural Affairs replaced the Director General of DPC as the representative for the Queensland Government, and chair. The Project Board is responsible for the whole of project oversight.

RSD — Remote service delivery

The National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery commenced in January 2009 and is a five year agreement between the Australian Government and the state and territory governments that puts into place a new approach for delivering services to Indigenous Australians living in remote Australia. There are 29 RSD communities throughout Australia and six in Queensland. The four CYWR communities are also RSD communities.

SCM   Student Case Management

                Student Case Management was formally known as Attendance Case
                Management Framework in the Design Reports.

SCMs   Student case managers

                Student case managers work to improve the school attendance rate in
                communities by liaising with parents, students, schools and the broader
                community to encourage school readiness and attendance.

SETs   Student Education Trusts

                Student Education Trusts is a Cape York Partnerships Opportunity Product
                designed to support parents to meet their child's education and development
                needs from birth to graduation. Student Education Trusts supports parents
                and families to regularly contribute to an education trust for their child so they
                have the money to meet education expenses when needed.

SPRC   Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales

Streams   There are four broad and overlapping streams under the CYWR: Social
                Responsibility, Economic Opportunity, Education and Housing

Trigger event   A 'trigger event' or 'trigger' is any event described under the FRC Act that
                gives rise to a notice and represents a breach of a social obligation.

Tripartite   Australian and Queensland governments and the Cape York Institute for
Partners   Policy and Leadership

                The partners responsible for overseeing and implementing the Cape York
                Welfare Reform.

TSS   Transition Support Service

                Transition Support Service is an initiative funded by the Queensland
                Department of Education, Training and Employment to support students from
                remote communities during their transition to high school.

WRAP   Welfare Reform Action Program Plan

5 Authority, leadership and social norms

Katherine J Reynolds, Emina Subasic and Benjamin Jones,
Research School of Psychology, The Australian National University, Canberra

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 provides a closer look at the theory of social and behaviour change underpinning the CYWR trial: the relationship between authority endorsement, strong leadership, responsibility beliefs, and community outcomes.

A critical question for this evaluation is whether there is any evidence to date that the FRC and related elements of the Cape York Welfare Reform (CYWR) trial have impacted on community leadership and individual and family responsibility, and which, if any, of those factors are important in understanding self-reported current community behaviours and perceptions of behaviour change.

While Chapter 4 looks at people's attitudes and perceptions about the CYWR trial, this chapter looks more closely at the responses from the social change survey and extends on the work of the previous chapter from a social psychology framework. This is because the theory of social norm and behaviour change that underpins the CYWR trial is grounded in social psychology, and this field of study has long been interested in how groups shape behaviour, with social identity[1] playing a key role in predicting, describing and explaining group behaviour in various contexts.

Of particular interest for this chapter are some explanatory variables from the social change survey:

- *endorsement of the Family Responsibilities Commission (FRC)* (e.g. 'I want the FRC to keep helping people')

- *perceptions of strong leadership* (e.g. 'There is strong leadership in this community', 'Most people in this community have respect for the community leaders')

- *levels of individual and family responsibility* (e.g. 'I want to work hard to make things better for myself and my family', 'I am motivated to make things better for my community').

Note that there may be other structural and demographic variables which could have been predictive of community change and current behaviour, but since the focus of this report is explicitly on the CYWR trial logic, including the role of the FRC and associated leadership and social norm processes, these were the explanatory variables included in the subsequent analyses.

An insight into group memberships and social identity processes is important in understanding attitude and behaviour change. When people define themselves as members of a particular group they tend to adopt that group's norms, values and beliefs. Group norms shape people's behaviour because they become 'self'; they come to define 'who we are' and make the

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[1] H Tajfel, 'La catégorisation sociale', in S Moscovici (ed.), *Introduction à la psychologie sociale*, Larousse, Paris, 1972, pp. 272–302, p. 31.

coordination of attitudes, goals and behaviour possible. The more people think a group is important and self-defining for them, the more likely they will be to act in line with the norms, values and beliefs that define that group. According to social identity theory and self-categorisation theories, this is because norm change happens at the group or community level, rather than individually. In other words, it is a group-based process, wherein a change in 'our' shared aspirations and goals can produce change at the level of individual attitudes and behaviours.

Understanding how group memberships can influence social norms is relevant to the CYWR trial. If norms are a set of guidelines for how people think, feel and behave, then when the *current* standards are in focus, 'descriptive norms', people will adhere to them. However, people will be more likely to adhere to 'aspirational norms' if what people (as group members) *ought to do* is in focus. Where there is a problem with current behaviours (e.g. high rates of binge drinking), focusing on the descriptive norm (how widespread a behaviour actually is) or aspirational norm can lead to a shift in positive social behaviour, as people strive to meet the approved norms, goals and values of their group.

In the four CYWR trial communities, aspirations or aspirational norms are already held by some, but for others different group memberships and associated standards are at work. In order to encourage people to adopt aspirational norms that can lead to long-term positive behaviour changes, this chapter emphasises the importance of building belonging and connection to the community (and wider Australian society). This is particularly relevant to the role of the FRC and local Indigenous Commissioners.

While behaviour changes are shaped through group memberships, they are influenced in three ways. Kelman's[2] theory of influence describes three methods of influence: compliance, identification and internalisation:

- Compliance occurs when people feel they do not have a choice and believe they must obey instructions. However, when a person complies with directives, their actions may be inconsistent with their beliefs, causing an internal tension referred to as 'cognitive dissonance'.

- Identification with others, such as a social leader, can play a role in influencing people. Their sense of identity is relevant to whether they bond with a leader by accepting his or her ideas. People may want to associate with particular leaders and accept their rules and values. When a person hears messages from a leader with whom they identify, they are more inclined to accept and believe what that person is saying, and less inclined to challenge or question the points raised.

- Internalisation occurs when there is full internal acceptance of an idea or belief, and consistency between attitudes and behaviours. This often requires significant cognitive processing, as people need to think about what has been said and how to fit those ideas into their existing beliefs and values (or adjust them as needed). An internalised idea has to make sense to the person.

Kelman's theory aligns with the CYWR trial in important ways. The Cape York Institute's design report *From hand out to hand up*[3] proposes a connection between Kelman's theory and the CYWR trial. The report suggests that laws involve compliance: people are involuntarily and directly required to comply with the law, sometimes against their own preference. Incentives, on the other hand, involve identification: people identify with the particular behaviours which incentives encourage (e.g. FRC conferencing, Wellbeing Centres, MPower). This idea of

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[2] HC Kelman, 'Compliance, identification and internalization: three processes of attitude change', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2(1), 1958, pp. 51–60.
[3] CYI, *From hand out to hand up, Cape York Welfare Reform Project, Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale, Mossman Gorge: design recommendations,* May 2007.

internalisation has been developed over the last three decades of research into social identity and self-categorisation theories concerning social identity, social influence and persuasion. Importantly, norms impact on behaviour when they are internalised as part of one's self-definition or self-concept. According to the design report, when norms are internalised by individual community members, people have taken in the values and behaviours established by the norms, and there is internal motivation to abide by and uphold the norms. Norms are ultimately much more powerful and effective in determining behaviour than laws alone, because the people concerned have internalised the values and behaviours underpinning the norms.

One of the key mechanisms for promoting the internalisation of norms in the four CYWR trial communities is for influential group members (leaders or leadership bodies) to play a key role in defining, shaping and reinforcing group norms. *From hand out to hand up: design recommendations*, states that 'Only a small number of leaders who have internalised the norms is required in order to rebuild a social norm, even though it is likely that most community members will behave in a certain way because they "identify" with the alignment of incentives'. The FRC Commissioners play 'an important role in changing behaviour in communities from simply complying with a law to rebuilding a social norm'.[4]

In order to have impact, social psychological research also shows that leaders need to be perceived as representing the group ('being one of us') and acting in the interest of the group. Thus, in order to be effective among those not adhering to the agreed aspirational norms the FRC would need to be seen as a legitimate authority in the eyes of those community members. It is only by achieving this that the FRC might shape the norms and values of the entire community in sustainable ways.

5.1.1 Approach to this analysis

To assess the effectiveness of the FRC, leadership and responsibility and their impact on perceptions of change and self-reported behaviours requires further analysis of the social change survey. Based on the trial logic and social psychology, this chapter examines the rationale that a shift from compliance to internalisation occurs as a result of acceptance by community members of a statutory authority (i.e. the FRC) as a legitimate authority, as well as the level of acceptance by community members that new and defining community standards are operating. Also examined is how widespread community beliefs are in terms of perceptions that things can change and are improving for community members and the community as a whole. This may be important in building further momentum towards social norm and behaviour change. This awareness that different or higher standards are achievable is referred to in social psychology as 'self-efficacy'.[5]

The methods used to assess the overall aims of this chapter involved running a series of hierarchical and logical regression analyses from the 582 responses to the social change survey. This included developing appropriate and statistically reliable measures of the key variables of interest, checking for the reliability of relationships between survey questions to ensure alignment with the underlying construct, and conducting hierarchical and logistical regression to investigate which explanatory variables are better predictors of outcome variables. In addition to this, correlational analyses were also conducted and reported. Further details on the methods used are outlined below.

A distinction was made in this analysis between survey items classified as measuring *explanatory variables* (i.e. endorsement of the FRC, perceptions of strong community leadership and levels of individual and family responsibility) and survey items that can be

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[4] CYI, *From hand out to hand up, Cape York Welfare Reform Project, Aurukun, Coen, Hope Vale, Mossman Gorge: design recommendations,* May 2007, p. 52.
[5] A Bandura, 'Self-efficacy: toward a unifying theory of behavioural change', *Psychological Review*, 84, 1977, pp. 191–215.

classified as measuring *outcome variables* (perceptions of prosocial behaviour change in the community, current prosocial behaviour).

Outcome variables were further reduced to two distinct outcome variable scales: *perceptions of change* (i.e. child wellbeing, community engagement, leadership, community and personal improvement), and *current reported behaviours and attitudes* (i.e. wellbeing indicators including feeling calm, happy and full of life and energy, health support seeking, home living and community engagement). These were assessed against the three *explanatory variables*. The process and results are explained below.

5.2 Key overall findings

On the basis of the CYWR trial logic and further analysis of the social change survey responses, we found support for the trial logic among the variables of interest in the following ways:

- The survey found strong endorsement for the FRC, with 55 per cent agreeing 'I want the FRC to keep helping people', 58 per cent agreed that 'I support people in this community when they are being helped by the FRC', and 56 per cent agreed 'I was not sure about the FRC when it first came in but now I see they are good for the community'.

- The more respondents endorsed the FRC, the more likely they were to say that things were 'on the way up' (rather than 'the same' or 'on the way down') both for their community and for themselves personally.

  – Respondents who reported stronger endorsement of the FRC were also more likely to report strong leadership and higher levels of improved responsibility. The majority reported that there is strong leadership and agreed that 'there is strong leadership in (community)' and 'most people in (community) have respect for the community leaders'. Most people report that 'I want to work hard to make things better for myself and my family' and 'I am motivated to make things better for the community'. This analysis found a strong relationship among these explanatory variables—FRC endorsement, perceptions of strong leadership and levels of responsibility.

  – The next question in this analysis was whether these explanatory variables explain the responses to the outcome variables in the survey regarding perceptions of change in both community engagement and leadership. The questions used as outcome indicators were: perceptions of community engagement change ('Most people in (community) work together to fix their problems'; 'Most people in this community are willing to speak up and get involved') and leadership change ('People here show more respect for elders and leaders now than 3 years ago'). The analysis showed that survey participants perceive their communities to be working better together to solve problems and that there is more respect for elders and leaders compared to before the trial.

- When considered alone, FRC endorsement contributed significantly to explaining perceptions of change in both community engagement and leadership, contributing over 20 per cent of the variance in these variables, accounting for some of the variability in people's answers to these questions about change. If people endorsed the FRC they were also more likely to report positive change in community engagement and leadership. But we needed to test if this factor was operating alone. Adding perceptions of strong leadership and levels of responsibility to the model significantly strengthened the explanation of perceived change and also reduced the strength of FRC endorsement in explaining the levels of perceived change in community engagement and leadership. Strong leadership in particular was important in explaining perceived change. These findings suggest that it is *partly through* affecting leadership and responsibility that the FRC impacts on the outcomes measured (i.e. perceptions of change in community engagement and leadership).

- People's endorsement of the FRC was the most likely to impact positively on an individual's feelings of wellbeing, attitudes to health support seeking, and their desire to improve living conditions in the home. These current behaviours and attitudes are also used in this chapter as proxy outcome indicators.

- The strength of the relationship between *explanatory variables* (perceptions of strong leadership and levels of responsibility, in addition to endorsement of the FRC) against *outcome variables* (perceptions of change and current behaviour and attitudes) indicated that, although there were similar levels of support for both leadership change and community engagement, the contribution of individual predictors differed in an important way. Views about the presence of strong current leadership were found to contribute more than FRC endorsement to perceptions of leadership change. The pattern was reversed for perceptions of change in community engagement, where it was found that FRC endorsement had a stronger impact than views about current leadership. The role of responsibility was almost identical in both models.

- Current community leadership and FRC authority therefore seem related but distinct in people's responses. People's views about the presence of strong current leadership are related to perceptions of leadership change (i.e. agreement that there is more respect for elders in the last three years). However, endorsement of the FRC matters more to people's perceptions of change in community engagement. People who endorse the FRC are more likely to agree that people are working better together to fix problems and are willing to put in an effort to make the community better for themselves and family than in 2008.

In this analysis of the 582 responses to the social change survey, we found support for the theory of change. Results demonstrate that endorsement of the FRC, strong leadership and individual and family responsibility are correlated with each other and the outcome variables of interest, in line with what would be predicted by the trial logic.

In the context of social psychology concerning community norm and behaviour change, these results suggest that institutional authority, community leadership and individual and family responsibility warrant careful consideration and systematic investigation. It is also possible that widespread beliefs that things can change and are improving may be important in building further momentum towards social norm and behaviour change.

From a social psychological perspective and the trial logic, the success of the FRC (and other aspects of the trial) depends on the ongoing (re)definition and enactment of the community's shared aspirations and goals. It is this group process that affects social norms and is a key component of producing sustainable change at the level of individual attitudes and behaviours.[6]

5.3   Theory and process of change

A central aspect of the CYWR trial concerns social norms and social norm change. Building on theory and research across the social and behavioural sciences, the *From hand out to hand up* reports argue that part of the explanation for current social behaviours is a lack of social order and lack of strong positive community social norms. It is also recognised that such social norms can be changed through new institutions (such as the FRC), services and incentives.

More specifically, drawing on the work of Kelman[7], norm and behaviour change is conceptualised on a continuum from compliance to identification to internalisation. Compliance relates to a change of behaviour due to extrinsic rewards and punishments (e.g. the enforcement of laws), whereas internalisation denotes a shift towards intrinsic and self-reinforcing behaviour change.

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[6] JC Turner, KJ Reynolds & E Subasic, 'Identity confers power: the new view of leadership in social psychology', in J Uhr & P 't Hart (eds), *Public leadership: perspectives and practices* (pp. 57–72), ANU E-Press, Canberra, 2008.
[7] HC Kelman, 'Compliance, identification and internalization: three processes of attitude change'.

It is argued that a central aim of the CYWR trial is to restore social norms and local Indigenous authority. The introduction of the FRC is a critical part of the trial, as it is a key mechanism for shifting behaviour from compliance-type responses to internalisation.

Based on the trial documents, one way to conceptualise the FRC is that it is an authority with powers to uphold social order through compliance-type incentives (e.g. do X to ensure payment Y). As a result, the community should experience respite from negative events and have direct evidence that things 'can improve and be different'. This awareness that different or higher standards are achievable is referred to in social psychology as 'self-efficacy'.[8] Specifically, when one has high self-efficacy, one is more likely to initiate and persist with behaviours aimed at achieving a desired result. Empirical evidence suggests that high levels of self-efficacy predict behaviour change in a variety of domains; including social skills, smoking cessation and sports performance.[9] A belief that things can change and improve can build community momentum towards social norm and behaviour change.

But the FRC is also designed to build wider consensus around a (new) set of values and beliefs concerning what is appropriate behaviour and to ensure that individuals and families are supported in ways that enable such behaviour to flourish. To the extent that it is seen as a legitimate authority, the FRC thus serves an important leadership function. Senior members of the FRC are Indigenous, and local Indigenous counsellors and elders are in place to support the community members and the activities of the FRC. Such leadership is considered vital in influencing others through clarifying and communicating a new community narrative and identity ('who we are'), building cohesion and mobilising the community to work more effectively together to solve problems, and modelling behaviour surrounding the new emerging social norms (that the FRC is working to shape and uphold).

Another way to think about the FRC, therefore, is that it is a place where the meaning of being a community member and associated 'norms' are negotiated and defined. It reflects and clarifies for all members of the community the specific behaviours that are considered acceptable or unacceptable.

It also serves to support individuals and families, through case management and the coordination of services, to develop the skills and capabilities necessary to participate and live up to the (aspirational) community standards.

It is expected that over time these behaviours will become internalised as a new community standard and will be self-reinforcing. An indication of internalisation will be evidence that individuals and families are taking more responsibility for their economic and social conditions and are working better together to improve community life. This process is shown in Figure 5.1, which shows how the activities of the FRC are intended to create change in community functioning at the observable behavioural level through a *process* of social norm change, strengthening community leadership and evoking a sense of individual and family responsibility. Conceptually, therefore, people's engagement with and endorsement of the FRC, as well as their perceptions of strong leadership and internalisation of individual/family responsibility norms, are explanatory variables that make change in current behaviours possible.

The theory of social norm and behaviour change that underpins the CYWR trial is well grounded in social psychology theory and research. In this chapter, the aim is to explain in more detail the social psychology of social and behavioural change and then apply this analysis to the responses from the trial social change survey. A critical question is whether there is any evidence to date that the FRC and related elements of the CYWR trial have impacted on community leadership and individual and family responsibility and whether these factors are

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[8] A Bandura, 'Self-efficacy: toward a unifying theory of behavioural change'.
[9] For a review, see A Bandura, *Social foundations of thought and action: a social cognitive theory*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1986.

important in understanding perceptions of behaviour change and self-reported current community behaviour.

Figure 5.1   Conceptual representation of explanatory variables shaping outcomes such as community behaviour and behaviour change
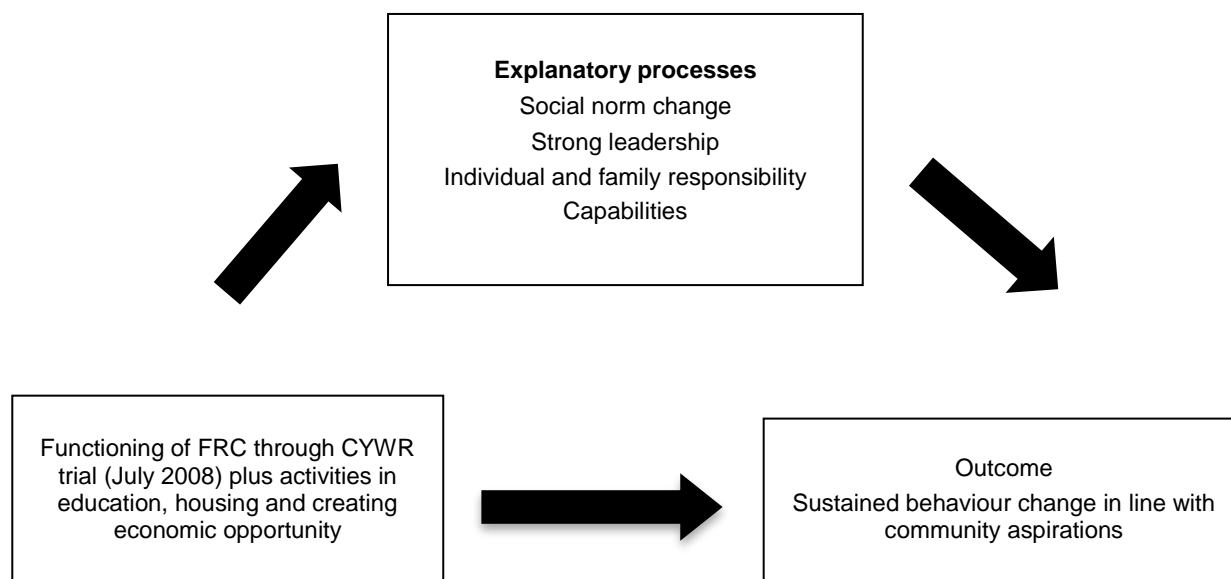
5.3.1   How norms, identity and leadership affect behaviour and functioning

In social psychology there is a direct focus on the impact of group norms, values and beliefs on individual behaviour and functioning. Social norms are accepted or implied rules on how group members should or do behave. They define for group members what are the appropriate or 'right' attitudes and behaviours. Often the term *descriptive norm* is used to describe the current group standard for behaviour ('what we do') and the term *injunctive* or *aspirational norm* is used to describe the more desirable standards of behaviour ('what we should or ought to do').[10]

If norms are a set of guidelines for how we think, feel and behave, then when the *current* standards (a descriptive norm) are in focus people will adhere to them. However if what we, as group members, *ought* to do (an aspirational norm) is in focus, people will be more likely to adhere to them. Where there is a problem with current behaviours (e.g. high rates of binge drinking), focusing on the descriptive norm (how widespread a behaviour actually is) or aspirational norm can lead to a shift in positive social behaviour, as people endeavour to meet the approved norms, goals and values of their group.

Initial stages of the CYWR trial involved discussions in communities regarding life in the community—what is good about living in the community and what is bad about living in the community. This process was followed up with more detailed discussions about community values and community aspirations in areas such as education, child wellbeing, healthier living and respect for elders. As a result, a set of community values that can be understood to represent aspirational norms were defined (see Table 5.1).

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[10] RB Cialdini, RR Reno & CA Kallgren, 'A focus theory of normative conduct: recycling the concept of norms to reduce littering in public places', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 1990, pp. 1,015–26.

Table 5.1   Community values that represent aspirational norms for CYWR communities

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CYWR trial, 2006–2007 Engagement phase

We will respect ourselves, our families, our children and our place.

We will love our children and will do everything to nurture, protect and educate our children.

Our community will be a place that works together to build a better place for our children and families.

We will be an example for other communities in the Cape by addressing our problems with alcohol, drugs, gambling, violence, and welfare dependency so that we can lead healthier, more active lives.

We acknowledge the importance of 'hard' work as a key to open the doors to the good life. Work is central for the survival of our culture.

We will honour and protect our culture. We value the rules that our old people set through our culture, they guide us and teach us to be respectful and wise.

The impact of social norms on behaviour is recognised in many disciplines in the social and behavioural sciences (e.g. sociology, economics). While some disciplines have difficulty explaining the process through which social norms come to impact directly on one's attitudes and behaviour, social psychology has devoted considerable attention to the question of *how* groups shape behaviour.

One central mechanism is social identity. An important insight is that people can define themselves as individuals ('I' and 'me') and as group members ('we' and 'us'). Personal identity or the personal self is used to describe situations where individuals perceive themselves to be distinct and different from others ('I' and 'me'). On the other hand, a social identity or the social self ('we' and 'us') refers to an individual's 'knowledge that he [or she] belongs to certain groups together with some emotional and value significance to him [or her] of the group membership'.[11]

When people define themselves as members of a particular group they take on the norms, values and beliefs of the group. So group norms come to shape behaviour because they become 'self'; they come to define 'who we are' and make the coordination of attitudes, goals and behaviour possible. The more people think the group in question is important and self-defining for them, the more likely they will be to act in line with the norms, values and beliefs that define the group.

This insight into group memberships and social identity processes is important in understanding attitude and behaviour change. Norm change is something that happens at the level of the group or community, rather than individual by individual. In other words, it is a group-based process whereby a change in 'our' shared aspirations and goals produces change at the level of individual attitudes and behaviours.

For many in the CYWR trial communities, aspirations or aspirational norms (see Table 5.1) already shape behaviour, but for others different group memberships and associated standards are at work. It is necessary to build belonging and connection to the community (and wider Australian society) so that the broader aspirational norms can have a sustainable impact on behaviour.

Importantly, influential group members (leaders or leadership bodies) are an integral part of defining and shaping group norms. Research demonstrates that, in order to have impact, leaders need to be perceived as representing the group ('being one of us') and acting in the interest of the group or community of interest. Thus, in the context of the CYWR trial, in order to be effective among those not adhering to the agreed aspirational norms, the FRC would need to be seen as a legitimate authority in the eyes of those community members. It is only through achieving this that the FRC would be able to shape the norms and values of the entire community in sustainable ways.

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[11] H Tajfel, 'La catégorisation sociale', p. 31.

In line with this theory and research, the endorsement of the FRC is a critical first step in the FRC having influence and impact on community norms and behaviour. To move beyond compliance to internalisation, the FRC needs to be accepted as a legitimate authority. Through this process it is expected to have impact in defining (new) community standards, strengthening leadership, and building norms of individual and family responsibility.

5.4 Design and limitations of this analysis

5.4.1 Survey questions

A social change survey connected to the outcomes evaluation of the CYWR trial was administered among a broad range of residents, across various communities within which the trial was implemented.

The survey was designed in consultation with a range of parties and implemented in the field by Colmar Brunton Social Research. Its primary purpose was to assess community perceptions of the impact (positive or otherwise) of the CYWR trial, along a variety of key dimensions. The survey was administered one-on-one by an interviewer.

Participants were contacted from various sections of each community and asked whether they were willing to participate. If the participant agreed, the interviewer would then go through the survey with the participant. The survey proper was broken up into various sections, asking questions about:

- demographics (e.g. gender, age, residential status)

- perceptions of community change (e.g. antisocial behaviours, child wellbeing, community leadership)

- education (e.g. child school engagement, parent education levels)

- employment (e.g. employment status, type of employment)

- housing (e.g. home tidiness standards, ownership intentions)

- wellbeing (e.g. feeling calm, happy, full of life and energy, health problems, substance abuse issues, willingness to seek help)

- leadership and responsibility (e.g. perceived community leadership and solidarity, willingness to take responsibility)

- the FRC (e.g. FRC attendance, perceived impact of the FRC)

- programs and services (e.g. service usage, perceived service benefits)

- overall impressions (e.g. overall community improvement, overall personal life improvement, reasons for improvement).

5.4.2 Model for analysis

Given the reasoning underpinning the trial, and related social psychological theory and research, it is possible to go beyond demographics and description and to explore a range of relationships among central variables measured in the survey. In particular, it is possible to distinguish between *explanatory* and *outcome* variables. For example, in the context of the CYWR trial and the trial logic (see Figure 5.1), endorsement of the FRC by community members, strong leadership and individual and family responsibility are seen as predictors or variables that explain observed changes (or lack thereof) in people's behaviour. They should also be positively related to each other, so that the more people endorse the FRC, the stronger they perceive community leadership to be and the more likely they are to subscribe to

individual/family responsibility values promoted by the trial. In turn, these explanatory variables should predict a range of trial outcomes, as described below.

Of particular interest for this chapter are the following explanatory variables:

- endorsement of the FRC (e.g. 'I want the FRC to keep helping people')

- perceptions of strong leadership (e.g. 'There is strong leadership in this community', 'Most people in this community have respect for the community leaders')

- levels of individual and family responsibility (e.g. 'I want to work hard to make things better for myself and my family', 'I am motivated to make things better for my community').

Note that there may be other structural and demographic variables which could have been predictive of community change and current behaviour, but since the focus of this report is explicitly on the CYWR trial logic, including the role of the FRC and associated leadership and social norm processes, these were the explanatory variables included in the subsequent analysis.

Outcomes of the trial include perceptions of change when comparing community life before the beginning of the trial and at survey, and also self-reported current behaviour. It is possible to assess the kinds of behaviour that are currently evident within the communities against the standards defined by the aspirational norms (see Table 5.1). More specifically, the social change survey also included items to assess *perceptions of behaviour change* (e.g. 'In the past 3 years have you noticed any change with children in this community?', 'People in this community are working better together to fix problems now than they were 3 years ago') and *current behaviour*, such as seeking health support (e.g. 'I am willing to ask for help with my problems when I need it', 'I encourage my family to seek help when they have problems') and community engagement ('Most people in the community work better to fix their problems', 'Most people in the community are willing to speak up and get involved').

5.4.3 Limitations

There are a variety of limitations with a cross-sectional survey (conducted three years into the trial) when it comes to drawing conclusions about the impact of the trial and evidence of social norm and behaviour change. Two notable limitations are the lack of baseline measures or a comparison 'control' group or community (who have 'matched' features but who were not exposed to the interventions). If similar measures had been obtained before the trial was announced, it would be possible to better analyse whether things had changed by comparing data across time. Such a design, however, still makes it difficult to assess the actual impact of the trial per se. It is possible that other factors, such as time and broader policy initiatives independent from the trial interventions, could explain any observed change.

Given the lack of an experimental design, it is possible to highlight a relationship between the explanatory and outcome variables but not to determine whether one variable (or a different variable not assessed, for example) causes the relationship. Even so, there are sound theoretical and logical reasons to distinguish the explanatory from the outcome variables in the present model, which supports the analysis strategy.

There are some other limitations pertaining more to the construction and administration of the survey itself. First, the questions are positively framed, such that there could be some acquiescence on behalf of the participants, artificially inflating the relationship between some measures. Second, given that the participants were in the presence of others while performing the survey (most notably the interviewer), there could have been a tendency to report more positive change or better outcomes as a function of social desirability concerns. Third, in this survey respondents were asked specifically to make comparisons between 'before the trial and

now', which required them to remember community life three years prior and make comparisons to the current day. Such judgements are open to a range of issues concerning memory and recall. Finally, the survey items were designed with concerns around the survey's length and complexity, which meant that many areas could not be assessed in detail.

In the next section we look more closely at whether there is evidence to support these predictions that emerge from the alignment between the CYWR trial and current social psychological theory and research, and social and behavioural change processes.

5.5 Analysis of social change survey data, with a focus on the FRC, leadership and responsibility

5.5.1 Analysis strategy

The analysis strategy involved a number of stages that included two steps.

Step 1: Developing appropriate and statistically reliable measures of key variables (e.g. endorsement of the FRC, leadership, responsibility, perceptions of behaviour change, current behaviour) and providing descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, distributions) for those variables.

Regarding the formation of scales described in tables 5.3 and 5.4, using reliability analysis it is possible to assess the relationships between individual survey items or questions to determine whether they are measuring the same underlying construct. So, for example, responses to three separate questions deemed to be measuring FRC endorsement ('I want the FRC to keep helping people', 'I support people in this community when they are being helped by the FRC', and 'I was not sure about the FRC when it first came in but now I see they are good for the community') were first tested for reliability—whether or not they form a reliable overall measure of this construct. A reliable scale is composed of items that have a similar pattern of responses for each participant (e.g. if a person is someone who highly endorses the FRC, their ratings of each separate question measuring FRC endorsement should also be high). A reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) greater than .65 indicates that the items reliably measure an underlying construct. For FRC endorsement, a Cronbach's alpha of .93 indicates very high reliability and means that participants' responses were very similar across each of the three items, warranting the creation of the FRC endorsement scale. The scale was constructed by averaging participants' responses on the three separate 'FRC endorsement' items, giving us an overall assessment of the extent to which each participant endorses the FRC.

Step 2: Hierarchical regression (and logistic regression for variables with categorical response options such as 'more', 'less', 'on the way up', 'on the way down', 'about the same') was used to investigate whether some explanatory variables (FRC endorsement, leadership, responsibility) are stronger or better predictors of outcome variables (perceptions of behaviour change, current behaviour). This is achieved by testing models in which explanatory variables compete with each other for predictive power in a given outcome. Correlational data are also to be reported.

5.5.2 Defining explanatory and outcome variables

Before discussing the findings in more detail, it is necessary to define key explanatory and outcome variables.

The explanatory variables centre on concepts of Indigenous leadership and internalisation of personal/family responsibility, in line with the trial logic and related social psychological research, and include FRC endorsement, leadership and individual/family responsibility (see Table 5.2).

Outcome variables are divided into two groups: perceptions of change and current behaviour. In the following sections, we first focus on scale formation and descriptive statistics—explaining how key measures were constructed (e.g. what specific questions were used in combination to measure a particular construct) and what the mean level or average responses were for each construct. Then the relationships between constructs are explored in more detail, focusing in particular on expected patterns of correlations and the extent to which the findings are in line with the trial logic (Figure 5.1; see below for more detail).

Table 5.2   Definition of key explanatory and outcome variables

Key explanatory variables	Perceptions of change	Current behaviour and attitudes
Endorsement of the FRC	Child wellbeing change	Wellbeing
Leadership	Community engagement change	Seeking health support
Responsibility	Leadership change	Home living
	Community improvement	Community engagement
	Personal improvement	

5.6   Step 1: Scale formation and descriptive statistics

5.6.1   Key explanatory variables

All of the key explanatory variables were assessed on a 10-point scale (1 = 'nothing like me' to 10 = 'exactly like me') and were shown to be highly reliable (Cronbach's alpha well above .65). Table 5.3 shows that average levels of *FRC endorsement*, *leadership* and *responsibility* were all above the midpoint of the scale (5.5). These results indicate that community members are supportive of the FRC, perceive strong leadership in communities and are quite highly motivated to work hard to make things better for themselves, their family and the community more broadly.

Table 5.3   Scale formation details and descriptive statistics for the key explanatory variables

Scale name	Items	Alpha	*n*	Mean	SD
FRC endorsement (1–10 scale)	I want the FRC to keep helping people	.93	519	6.97	3.01
	I support people in this community when they are being helped by the FRC				
	I was not sure about the FRC when it first came in but now I see they are good for the community				
Leadership (1–10 scale)	There is strong leadership in this community	.844	542	6.72	2.58
	Most people in this community have respect for community leaders				
Responsibility (1–10 scale)	I want to work hard to make things better for my family	.78	558	8.82	1.78
	I am motivated to make things better for my community				

SD = standard deviation; n = number

5.6.2   Outcome variables—perceptions of change

Measures of perceptions of change are shown in Table 5.4. These include community engagement change, child wellbeing change, community improvement and personal improvement.

Perceptions of *community engagement change* ('People are working better together to fix problems than in 2008', 'People are willing to put in an effort to make the community better for themselves and family than in 2008', alpha = .76) and *leadership change* ('People show more respect for elders than in 2008') were assessed on a 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). On average, both community engagement change (M = 3.65) and leadership change (M = 3.19) were rated above the midpoint of the scale. These results indicate that, on

average, survey participants perceive their communities to be working better together to solve problems and that there is more respect for elders and leaders compared to before the trial started.

Child wellbeing change was measured with a 3-point scale assessing whether, in the past three years, there had been an increase ('more'), no change ('about the same') or a decrease ('less') in a particular outcome. Responses to four single-item measures of child wellbeing (healthy eating, child activity, happiness and respect for elders) were analysed separately. Since these are categorical (rather than continuous) measures, it is possible to look at proportions of responses in each category. Overall, more people perceived positive change (compared to no change or negative change) for the following aspects of child wellbeing change: *healthy eating* (more = 51.2%, same = 38.7%, less = 10.0%), *child activity* (more = 62.3%, same = 26.8%, less = 10.9%), and *happiness* (more = 54.9%, same = 36.5%, less = 8.6%). However, perceptions were more ambivalent regarding *respect for elders* (more = 28.5%, same = 33.0%, less = 38.5%).

Community improvement and *personal improvement* were measured with a 3-point scale, assessing whether for the community, or for the respondent personally, things were generally 'on the way up', 'the same', or 'on the way down'. The responses on this measure indicate that both community life and personal life are on the way up and improving for a large proportion of survey respondents (community: way up = 58.9%, same = 34.7%, way down = 6.5%; personal: way up = 56.1%, same = 41.4%, way down = 2.5%).

Based on understandings of efficacy and collective efficacy (see above) the perception that there had been personal and community improvement during the period of the trial could in and of itself be important in leading to increased efforts for improvement in the future.

Table 5.4   Scale formation details and descriptive statistics for the key perceptions of change variables

Variable name	Items	Alpha	*n*	Mean	SD
Community Engagement scale (5-point scale)	People are working better to fix problems now than they were 3 years ago	.762	536	3.65	1.02
	Things are changing because people are willing to put in an effort to make this community better for themselves and their families				
Leadership change (5-point scale)	People show more respect for elders and leaders now than 3 years ago	n/a	568	3.19	1.33
Child wellbeing (3-point scale)	In the past 3 years have you noticed any change in children in terms of food?	n/a	582	2.38	0.68
	In the past 3 years have you noticed any change in children in terms of their levels of activity?	n/a	582	2.52	0.68
	In the past 3 years have you noticed any change in children in terms of happiness?	n/a	582	2.46	0.65
	In the past 3 years have you noticed any change in children in terms of respect?	n/a	582	1.88	0.80
Community Improvement	Thinking about all these questions and thinking about you community, do you think the community is on the way up, way down, or has stayed the same?	n/a	572	2.52	0.61
Personal Improvement	What about you? Do you think things are on the way up, way down or still much the same?	n/a	569	2.51	0.55

n/a = not applicable

5.6.3 Outcome variables—current behaviour and attitude measures

Participants reported a relatively high level of current reported behaviours and attitudes (all means well above the midpoint of the relevant scale) that are in line with aspirational norms endorsed by the trial. Table 5.5 shows that these include self-reported *wellbeing*, *seeking health support*, *home living* and *community engagement*. In all cases, a higher score is used to

indicate more positive outcomes that are in line with aspirational norms. Therefore, community members report that on these dimensions their current behaviour is broadly in line with community values and aspirations.

Table 5.5   Scale formation details and descriptive statistics for current reported behaviour and attitude measures

Scale name	Items	Alpha	*n*	Mean	SD
Wellbeing (1–4 scale)	In the past 4 weeks, how often did you feel calm and peaceful? In the past 4 weeks, how often have you been a happy person? In the past 4 weeks, how often did you feel full of life? In the past 4 weeks, how often did you have lots of energy?	.81	554	3.21	0.63
Health support seeking (1–10 scale)	I am willing to ask for help with my problems when I need it I encourage my family to seek help when they have problems I am willing to volunteer to help others	.77	556	8.82	1.92
Home living (1–10 scale)	It was easy for me to keep my home neat and tidy I want to make my home a nice place for my family to live	.75	568	9.06	1.47
Community engagement (1–10 scale)	Most people in this community work better together to fix their problems Most people in this community are willing to speak up and get involved	.77	551	6.47	2.39

5.7   Step 2: Relationships between key variables

5.7.1   Correlations among explanatory and outcome variables

In line with Step 2 of the analysis strategy, it is possible to look at the general pattern of relationships between variables and, in particular, the relationship between explanatory (measures 1, 2 and 3; see Table 5.5) and outcome (measures 5–13) variables. This analysis could not be conducted where responses were categorical (i.e. child wellbeing change, community improvement, personal improvement).

The patterns of relationships observed are in line with expectations based on the trial logic and social-psychological research (Table 5.6). When it comes to relationships among explanatory variables, those community members who reported stronger endorsement of the FRC (1) were also more likely to report strong leadership (2) and higher levels of responsibility (3).

When it comes to the relationship between the FRC and outcome variables, it is clear that those community members who endorsed the FRC were also more likely to report positive change in leadership (4) and changes in community engagement (5), as well as overall levels of community engagement (6). Endorsement of the FRC was also positively related to current aspects of community life, including wellbeing (7), seeking health support (8), and a desire to improve living conditions in the family home (9). For all of these measures, the more that people endorsed the FRC, the more likely they were also to report perceptions that things had changed for the better and behaviours were in line with aspirational community norms. Similar patterns of significant, positive relationships were also observed for the remaining explanatory variables, leadership and responsibility, so that an increase in perceptions of strong leadership and endorsement of individual/family responsibility also increased perceptions of change and current (normative) behaviours.

These results overall show us that the FRC and its endorsement are positively related to strong leadership and individual and family responsibility, and that all of the explanatory variables are also positively related to perceptions of change and current behaviours in line with the aspirational norms.

Table 5.6   **Correlations among measures where *p* < .01 (correlations between explanatory and outcome variables are highlighted)**

Measures	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. FRC endorsement	.390	.344	.462	470	.412	.339	.448	.311
2. Leadership		.216	.518	.442	.649	.275	.275	.207
3. Responsibility			.225	.255	.281	.229	.529	.489
4. Leadership change				.626	.427	.288	.267	.140
5. Community engagement change					.412	.288	.277	.207
6. Community engagement						.334	.347	.275
7. Wellbeing							.311	.303
8. Health support seeking								.459
9. Home living								

Note: In a sample of this size, very small correlations are often significant but may not be meaningful. Therefore, only those outcome variables that correlated with FRC endorsement (as the central explanatory variable) at *r* = .30 or higher were included.

5.7.2   Distinguishing between the contributions of different explanatory variables

It is also possible, using hierarchical and logistic regression analyses, to investigate the strength of the relationships between the predictor variables (FRC endorsement, leadership and responsibility) and outcome variables. This allows an exploration of the relative contribution that leadership and responsibility play in addition to endorsement of the FRC in explaining variance in the outcome of interest. In these analyses, a relationship of approximately ß = .10 (where ß is the standardised regression coefficient) or greater is considered to be noteworthy.

It is also possible to examine whether, as the trial logic suggests (see Figure 5.1), the impact of the FRC on the outcome variables of interest is explained by the impact of the FRC on local community leadership and individual and family responsibility. Specifically, it is argued that engagement with (and endorsement of) the FRC should affect outcomes such as current behaviour directly, but also by enhancing the perception of strong Indigenous leadership and the internalisation of individual/family responsibility values.

In this section, the focus is on exploring whether this pattern of findings is evident for a range of outcomes. The explanatory contribution of FRC endorsement is accounted for first (Block 1 of the hierarchical regression) and then other explanatory factors are included in the model (leadership, responsibility; Block 2). It is expected that the overall amount of variance explained by all three predictors would be greater than the amount of variance explained by FRC endorsement alone. Further, if the strength of the relationship between the FRC and the outcome is reduced significantly when leadership and responsibility are also entered into the model, that is an indication that the trial logic is supported by the data—that a given outcome is not only a function of FRC endorsement, but also an increase in perceptions of strong leadership and endorsement of individual/family responsibility.

Note that it is only possible to conduct hierarchical regression analysis for outcomes measured on a continuous scale. For categorical variables (with response options such as 'more', 'less', 'the same'), including child wellbeing, community improvement and personal improvement, logistic regression analyses have been conducted and are reported in Table 5.8 and further below. The key difference here is that for logistic regression all explanatory variables are considered simultaneously (equivalent to Block 2 of hierarchical regression).

As shown in Table 5.7, when considered alone, FRC endorsement contributed significantly to explaining both community engagement change and leadership change, contributing over 20 per cent of variance in these variables. Adding leadership and responsibility to the model significantly increased the amount of variance explained (as shown by a significant R^2 *Change* statistic) and also reduced the contribution of FRC endorsement. Leadership in particular was

an important additional explanatory variable (the larger the ß, the more impactful the predictor variable is). These findings suggest that it is partly through affecting leadership and responsibility that the FRC impacts on these outcomes.

Table 5.7 **Hierarchical regression results demonstrating the relationships between explanatory variables and perceptions of leadership change and community engagement change**

	Block 1		Block 2	
	ß	Sig.	ß	Sig.
Leadership change				
FRC endorsement	.456	< .001	.283	< .001
Leadership			.377	< .001
Responsibility			.082	< .05
R^2	.208	< .001	.339	< .001
R^2 Change			.132	< .001
Community engagement change				
FRC endorsement	.474	< .001	.328	< .001
Leadership			.280	< .001
Responsibility			.095	< .05
R^2	.225	< .001	.303	< .001
R^2 Change			.078	< .001

Note: β is the standardised regression coefficient indicating the relative impact on the outcome variable of one standard deviation change in each individual predictor. $R2$ is a statistic indicating the overall proportion of variance in the outcome variable explained by all predictors included at a particular block or step of the regression analysis.

While the overall model accounts for a similar amount of variance for both leadership change and community engagement change, the contribution of individual predictors differs for the two outcome variables in an important way. Current leadership contributes more than FRC endorsement to perceptions of leadership change, while this pattern is reversed for perceptions of community engagement change, such that FRC endorsement has a stronger impact than leadership. The role of responsibility is nearly identical in both models.

With respect to current community life (see Table 5.8), the hierarchical regression analyses revealed a similar pattern of results. Considered on its own (Block 1), FRC endorsement contributed significantly to explaining levels of *wellbeing*, *seeking health support* and *community engagement*, and all three predictors were significant when entered together (Block 2). The impact of the FRC was reduced, and the overall amount of variance explained increased, with the addition of leadership and responsibility as explanatory variables (Block 2). Therefore, again we find that the impact of FRC endorsement on these outcome variables is explained at least in part by the relationship between FRC endorsement and leadership and responsibility. For *home living*, the pattern was slightly different. Both responsibility and FRC endorsement were significant predictors (Block 2). However, there was no significant effect for leadership.

In general, these findings indicate that endorsement of the FRC, as well as a sense of strong community leadership and taking responsibility to make things better for one's family and the community more broadly, are important explanatory variables in accounting for current community behaviour.

Table 5.8 **Hierarchical regression results demonstrating the relationships between explanatory variables and current behaviours (including wellbeing, health seeking behaviour, community engagement and home living)**

	Block 1		Block 2	
	ß	Sig.	ß	Sig.
Wellbeing				
FRC endorsement	.336	< .001	.222	< .001
Leadership			.153	< .005
Responsibility			.163	< .001
R^2	.113	< .001	.160	< .001
R^2 Change			.047	< .001
Health seeking behaviour				
FRC endorsement	.468	< .001	.289	< .001
Leadership			.042	ns
Responsibility			.474	< .001
R^2	.219	< .001	.422	< .001
R^2 Change			.203	< .001
Community engagement				
FRC endorsement	.414	< .001	.153	< .001
Leadership			.570	< .001
Responsibility			.110	< .005
R^2	.172	< .001	.468	< .001
R^2 Change			.297	< .001
Home living				
FRC endorsement	.328	< .001	.148	< .005
Leadership			.069	ns
Responsibility			.449	< .001
R^2	.107	< .001	.290	< .001
R^2 Change			.187	< .001

ns = non-significant

Note: β is the standardised regression coefficient indicating the relative impact on the outcome variable of one standard deviation change in each individual predictor. $R2$ is a statistic indicating the overall proportion of variance in the outcome variable explained by all predictors included at a particular block or step of the regression analysis.

It is also relevant to assess whether the relative contribution of individual predictor variables differs across each outcome variable. For wellbeing, FRC endorsement has the most impact (β = .222), while leadership (β = .153) and responsibility (β = 1.63) have similar impact. For community engagement, we can see that leadership is by far the strongest predictor (β = .570), compared to the impact of FRC endorsement (β = .153) and responsibility (β = .110). However, for both health seeking behaviour and home living, we see a completely different pattern. For health seeking, responsibility is by far the strongest predictor (β = .474), with FRC having less impact (β = .289) and leadership having a non-significant impact (β = .042). Similarly, for home living, responsibility is the dominant predictor in the model (β = .449), with FRC endorsement having less impact (β = .148) and leadership again having a non-significant impact (β = .069).

As noted above, logistic regression analyses were conducted for each of the *child wellbeing change* items (healthy eating, activity, happiness and respect for elders; response options were 'more', 'less', 'about the same') and *community improvement* and *personal improvement* measures (response options were 'on the way up', 'on the way down', 'about the same'). The results can be seen in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9   Logistic regression results for the relationship between explanatory variables and categorical measures of perceived change

Child WELLBEING		ß	Sig.
Children—healthy eating	FRC endorsement	.127	< .001
	Leadership	.179	< .001
	Responsibility	.041	ns
	Total variance explained	.150 (15%)	< .001
Children—activity	FRC endorsement	.067	< .1 (Marg.)
	Leadership	.227	< .001
	Responsibility	.004	ns
	Total variance explained	.128 (12.8%)	< .001
Children—happiness	FRC endorsement	.192	< .001
	Leadership	.236	< .001
	Responsibility	.062	ns
	Total variance explained	.255 (25.5%)	< .001
Children—respect for elders	FRC endorsement	.103	< .005
	Leadership	.351	< .001
	Responsibility	-.087	ns
	Total variance explained	.249 (24.9%)	< .001
Community improvement	FRC endorsement	.216	< .001
	Leadership	.093	< .05
	Responsibility	-.071	ns
	Total variance explained	.168 (16.8%)	< .001
Personal improvement	FRC endorsement	.174	< .001
	Leadership	.036	ns
	Responsibility	.241	< .001
	Total variance explained	.174 (17.4%)	< .001

ns = non-significant

Note: β is the standardised regression coefficient indicating the relative impact on the outcome variable of one standard deviation change in each individual predictor.

In relation to children's wellbeing, both FRC endorsement and leadership were significant predictors. For example, with respect to *healthy eating*, the three key predictors explained 15 per cent of the overall variance in responses. Both FRC endorsement (ß = .13, p < .001) and leadership (ß = .18, p < .001) were significant predictors, meaning that for each unit increase on the 1–10 Endorsement scale, there was a 13 per cent increase in the probability that the survey respondent would indicate a more positive response in relation to healthy eating. For each unit increase on the 1–10 Leadership scale, there would be a 18 per cent increase in the probability of a more positive response for healthy eating. There was no significant effect for responsibility. A similar pattern of results was observed for other measures of child wellbeing. Overall, for most indicators of child wellbeing, the more people endorsed the FRC and perceived community leadership to be strong, the more likely they were to also report improvement in the wellbeing of children.

There were also significant results for the overall perceptions of both *community improvement* and *personal improvement*. For both of these measures, participants were asked whether things were 'on the way up', 'on the way down', or 'about the same'. For *community improvement*, the three key predictors explained 16.8 per cent of the variance. Both FRC endorsement (ß = .22, p < .001) and leadership (ß = .09, p < .05) were significant predictors of perceived community improvement, while responsibility was not. Therefore, for each one unit increase on the 1–10 Endorsement scale, there was a 22 per cent increase in the likelihood of being in a higher category for perceived improvement in the community, and for each unit increase in the 1–10 Leadership scale, there was a 9 per cent increase in this same probability.

For *personal improvement*, the three predictors combined explained 17.4 per cent of the variance. Both FRC endorsement (ß = .17, *p* < .001) and responsibility (ß = .24, *p* < .001) were significant predictors of perceived personal improvement, while leadership was not. Therefore, for each unit increase in the 1–10 Endorsement scale, there was a 16 per cent increase in the probability that participants would be in a higher category on the perceived personal improvement scale, and that for each unit increase on the 1–10 Responsibility scale, there was a 24 per cent increase in this same probability.

Overall, the logistic regression results demonstrate that the more people endorsed the FRC, the more likely they were to also say that things were 'on the way up' (rather than 'the same' or 'on the way down') for the community and themselves personally. For community improvement, the same pattern was observed for leadership (but not responsibility). For personal improvement, the same pattern was observed for responsibility (but not leadership).

5.8   Summary of findings and policy implications

Overall, these findings indicate that there is a perception among community members that things have changed over the period since the trial started.

For example, there was evidence that almost 59 per cent of respondents indicated that community life was on the way up and 56 per cent indicated that personal life was on the way up.

Furthermore, in relation to child wellbeing, between 50 per cent and 60 per cent of respondents indicated that children were eating healthier food, and that children were more active and happier compared to the time before the trial started. There is also support for the idea that there is more respect for elders and leaders than three years ago and that people in the community are working better together and are putting in more effort to make the community a better place to live.

Responses from the social change survey also indicate that on average the activities of the FRC are endorsed by community members and that there are strong leadership and motivations towards individual and family responsibility in solving difficulties and problems. With respect to current aspects of community life (wellbeing, seeking health support, home living and community engagement), the results indicate that behaviour in these communities is aligning with community aspirations.

The findings of the social change survey go further than this. There is some support for the trial logic in that endorsement of the FRC was related to leadership and responsibility outcomes and also outcome variables of interest. The main results can be summarised as follows:

- The more respondents endorsed the FRC, the more likely they were to say that things were 'on the way up' (rather than 'the same' or 'on the way down') both for their community and for themselves personally.

- In terms of the relationships among the *explanatory variables* (FRC endorsement, perceptions of strong leadership and levels of responsibility), respondents who reported stronger endorsement of the FRC were also more likely to report strong leadership and higher levels of improved responsibility.

- When considered alone, FRC endorsement contributed significantly to explaining both community engagement change and leadership change, contributing over 20 per cent of the variance in these variables. Adding perceptions of strong leadership and levels of responsibility to the model significantly increased the amount of variance explained and also reduced the contribution of FRC endorsement to community engagement and leadership change. Strong leadership in particular was an important *explanatory variable.*

These findings suggest that it is partly through affecting leadership and responsibility that the FRC impacts on these outcomes.

- Endorsement of the FRC was the most likely to impact positively on an individual's wellbeing, seeking health support, and desire to improve living conditions in the home.

- The strength of the relationship between *explanatory variables* (perceptions of strong leadership and levels of responsibility, in addition to endorsement of the FRC) against *outcome variables* of interest indicated that, although there were similar levels of support for both leadership change and community engagement change, the contribution of individual predictors differed in an important way. Current leadership was found to contribute more than FRC endorsement to perceptions of leadership change. The pattern was reversed for perceptions of community engagement change, where it was found that FRC endorsement had a stronger impact than leadership. The role of responsibility was almost identical in both models.

It is difficult to determine in a trial such as this whether these explanatory factors are the cause of perceptions of community change or prosocial current behaviour. What can be concluded is that there is alignment between the factors identified within the trial logic as being central to prosocial community change and the available evidence. These results in the context of theory and research in social psychology (and related fields) suggest that in areas of community norm and behaviour change institutional authority, community leadership and individual and family responsibility warrant careful consideration and systematic investigation. It is also possible that widespread beliefs that things can change and are improving may be important in building further momentum towards social norm and behaviour change.

Given the central role that endorsement of the FRC plays in the current findings, better understanding the factors that lead to such endorsement is one direction for future work. Through its functioning, the FRC negotiates its own ongoing legitimacy as an authority and can increase the likelihood that it will be widely endorsed and valued. Research on distributive and procedural justice demonstrates that a sense that individuals have been treated with respect (that they have been able to 'have a say' and 'be heard') will add to people's willingness to abide by the FRC's decisions.[12] In addition, for the community more broadly, continually developing the narrative surrounding the FRC and its role and its successes, revisiting whether it is upholding the 'right' community values, and identifying areas for improvement through the lens of the local community are essential to its viability and impact in the future.

From a social psychological perspective and the trial logic, the success of the FRC (and other aspects of the trial) depends on the ongoing (re)definition and enactment of the community's shared aspirations and goals. It is this group process that affects social norms and is a key component of producing sustainable change at the level of individual attitudes and behaviours.[13]

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[12] SA Haslam, RA Eggins & KJ Reynolds, 'The ASPIRe model: actualizing social and personal identity resources to enhance organizational outcomes', *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 76, 2003, pp. 83–113.
[13] JC Turner, KJ Reynolds & E Subasic, 'Identity confers power: the new view of leadership in social psychology', in J Uhr & P 't Hart (eds), *Public leadership: perspectives and practices* (pp. 57–72), ANU E-Press, Canberra, 2008.