

2013

'Cos I've always wanted to do this' and 'Oh that was fun': An evaluation of the impact on resilience of the Indigenous Parenting Support mosaic and jewellery making events

Andrew Guilfoyle
Edith Cowan University

Sasha Botsis
Edith Cowan University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/ecuworks2013>



Part of the [Community-Based Learning Commons](#), and the [Community Psychology Commons](#)

Additional information on title page:
Prepared for: Save the Children WA
This Journal Article is posted at Research Online.
<https://ro.ecu.edu.au/ecuworks2013/38>

‘Cos I’ve always wanted to do this’ and ‘Oh that was fun’: An evaluation of the impact on resilience of the Indigenous Parenting Support mosaic and jewellery making events.

Prepared for:
Save the Children WA

1074 Hay Street, West Perth WA, 6005
GPO Box 9912, Perth, WA, 6848
Direct +61 8 9267 3912
Mobile +61 4 05 284 443
Fax +61 8 486 9503
Email: juan.larranaga@savethechildren.org.au

November 2013

Andrew Guilfoyle & Sasha Botsis

School of Psychology and Social Science
a.guilfoyle@ecu.edu.au | a.botsis@ecu.edu.au
P: +61 8 6304 5192 | F: + 61 8 6304 5834
Faculty of Computing Health and Science
Edith Cowan University | 270 Joondalup Drive | Joondalup | Western Australia | 6027

“Resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual’s family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways.” Ungar, 2006.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, resilience has focused on the individual and on skills related to positive outcomes following adversity; signifying the ability to successfully adapt and grow when confronted with significant stressors (Haglund, Nestadt, Cooper, Southwick, & Charney, 2007; Hegney et al., 2007; Polk, 1997). This can be likened to a bouncing rubber ball: The protective nature of resilience facilitates ‘bouncing back’ from adversity (Commonwealth Department of Health & Aged Care, 2005). Several factors have been identified as having an influence on resilience. Internal factors include coping skills, self-confidence, and self-esteem. External issues also contribute, with factors such as positive and healthy relationships with family, opportunity for success, and social support noted as influencing resilience. In addition, a high sense of self-efficacy has been identified as a protective factor against adversity.

Links have been found between resilience and adversity. For example, children who witness family or community violence and do not have strong resiliency skills are at a higher risk of developing anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, substance abuse, aggressive behaviour, and poor academic achievement (Aisenberg, 2001; Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle, & Earls, 2001; Gorman-Smith, Henry, & Tolan, 2004; Hammack, Richards, Luo, Edlynn, & Roy, 2004; Saltzman, Pynoos, Layne, Steinberg, & Aisenberg, 2001). As such, it is in a community’s best interest to promote development of resilience. Luthar and Cicchetti (2000) adopt a strengths-based approach, where resilience is considered to be an ongoing process, promoting positive outcomes, despite significant trauma or adversity.

Activities and interventions that align with strengths-based approaches, aiming to acknowledge and develop the resources and strengths of people in their environments, mitigate the risks of the deficiency-needs approach which can lead to disempowerment and stigma. In this way, we move away from focusing on an individual’s ability to ‘bounce back’, where people are taught skills to increase resilience levels, and emphasise structuring environments for communities to build positive outcomes and collective resilience (Ambler 2003; Boyden & Mann, 2005; Capuzzi & Gross, 2008; Guilfoyle, 2009; Short, Toumbourou, Chapman, & Power, 2006; Ungar, 2006; Ungar et al., 2007, 2008).

In this way, rather than being a modest idea about building individual resilience, it becomes a fluid process that can be nurtured within a community to enhance adaptation, survival, and growth within its social context, to mitigate adversity and local risk factors (Guilfoyle, 2009; Leon, 2003; McDonald & Hayes, 2001). Resilience becomes dynamic; emerging through interactions between the individual, environment, and/or outcome (Kumpfer, 1999; Palmer, 1997). In this way, personal, family, and community resilience become intertwined.

In times of crisis, a family’s ability to come together and support each other is one of the most important factors in resilience (McCreary & Dancy, 2004; White et al., 2004; Orthner, Jones-Sanpei, & Williamson, 2004). An individual with numerous risk factors, but a supportive family,

may have a better outcome than a person with fewer risk factors, who lacks family support. Family resilience can therefore increase individual positive outcomes following adversity. In this way, strong, supportive family relationships can act as a buffer against adversity and promote recovery following hardship. Consequently, the family who provides consistent support and assistance is more likely to emerge from the crisis as a more cohesive unit with a greater confidence in their ability to overcome challenges, thus increasing the likelihood of overcoming future adversity (Walsh, 1998; White, Richter, Koeckeritz, Munch, & Walter, 2004).

In response to conditions of adversity or stress, a family has the opportunity to grow and become a cohesive unit or, conversely, to weaken; resulting in an exacerbation of existing problems through the absence of a supportive environment. Additionally, the negative interactions that accompany an unsupportive environment under stress will contribute to the overall levels of stress. This can tax protective and recovery factors and weaken the family's ability to overcome stressors through secondary issues that place demands on the strengths of the family (McCubbin & McCubbin, 1993). Issues such as economic hardship can impact on resilience levels; however a stable and supportive family environment can nullify these negative effects (Schoon & Parsons, 2002). It is therefore crucial that families have the necessary resilience skills to overcome external adversity in order to maintain supportive and positive bonds.

Community resilience is dependent on individuals and families, with a directional flow between the individual and community through the family unit. It is important however, to acknowledge that strong communities also shape strong families, thus this is a bi-directional process. In remote areas, communities face social isolation, distance, and lack of access to transport (amongst others), which obstructs access to potential resilience building resources (Hall-Lande et al., 2007; Wyn, Stokes, & Stafford, 1998). It is therefore critical for regional communities to build resilience; where members can turn to others and access a range of professionals and non-professionals for assistance.

A resilient community provides its parents with health and education enhancing resources, to build capacity and to provide these resources to their children. Building community resilience is premised on developing key individual, family, and community activities within supportive environments. In that, the community becomes an ecological site that can begin to build social capital and foster parents' own preventative, collective action for their resilience (Chaskin, 2008). Thus, strengths-based work facilitating community participation and empowerment, based in activities that build social capital are needed (Baum et al., 2000).

Stone and Hughes (2000) describe social capital as the growth of networks symbolised by reciprocity and trust. Three dimensions of social capital have been identified through the social synergy model, namely connecting, linking, and combining capital (Woolcock, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Informal social connections such as those within the community and family are therefore paramount. Zwi and Henry (2005) argue that social capital and trust are intertwined, where community members feel they can partake in municipal activities, that their children are safe, and that they can seek aid from other community members. Social capital requires willing and active engagement of individuals working together, referring to people as active agents of their social world (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). Behaviour is shaped by norms, relies on trustworthiness of others, and utilises networks. Using social capital replenishes it, whilst non-use depletes it (Lyons, 2000).

There is some debate in the literature as to whether social capital is an individual or group attribute (Kawachi et al., 2004). We argue that capital resides within the group and is not owned by the individual (Cox & Caldwell, 2000); rather, social capital is produced through group interactions. Membership of the group however, is not sufficient for access to social capital (Hogan & Owen, 2000). It is associated directly with social support and sense of community through participation in a network (Winter, 2000). Social capital is therefore not generated by individuals operating alone, but is based on interlocking networks that are sociable and equal (Onyx & Bullen, 2000).

We know that socially isolated parents are at greater risk; however those who reside in communities with high social capital are often at reduced risk, because they are more likely to be 'looked after' by community members, especially in times of crisis (Kawachi et al., 2004). Conversely, parents with low attachment to community may become ostracised in high social capital communities. Networks and groups therefore, may not necessarily add to capital if they engage in processes that benefit some members to the detriment of others (Cox & Caldwell, 2000). Changes in the social and physical structure of communities (Lomas, 1998) through community participation and empowerment are paramount in creating social capital.

Community Resilience in Context

Aboriginal communities have a largely undocumented (Guilfoyle, Coffin, & Maginn, 2008), particularly interesting, and important way of building resilience. Community in this context is powerful along relational aspects. For remote Aboriginal communities, a readily available, mutually supportive network of relationships on which one can depend is multilayered (Guilfoyle, 2012). Thus, the definition of community supportive relationships can cover micro-systems such as family and close circles of friends, as well as macro-systems such as the whole community, or through kin and skin, the region in which the community exists, and which members have varying degrees of traditional, formal, information, close and distant links. As such, simple entities such as local networks (or neighbourhoods), which appear important for atomistic individualised societies, do not technically exist. Additionally, there are spaces within each community, which will come somewhere in between all of the above definitions. For example, people who say 'hello' often at the general store can be a micro-community. Aboriginal community is multifaceted, thus difficult to define. Family systems exist between smaller networks of individuals and larger communities, where these are defined either by locality or relational group. Given this complexity, a wide range of processes enables each community to function as a unique relational identity.

Art and Resilience

International research shows participation in community based art activities positively enhances both individuals and communities. Research has often focused on the positive benefits to mental health. For example, in an area of Northern Ireland characterised by a history of poverty and unemployment through political unrest and violence over a prolonged period, Heenan (2006) explored the benefits of participation in an art therapy module facilitated by a teacher, rather than a therapist. The participants commented that the class improved both their self-confidence and self-esteem, acting as a barrier to negative influences. Further, the new skills afforded to them increased their self-belief. The class became a safe space within which participants who had previously felt they were "suffering in silence" (p.186) felt secure and hopeful of the future. Participants also felt empowered, stating that it encouraged their involvement in other activities

and fostered independence, with one woman reporting that it was the first time in her life she felt positive about herself.

The 'safe space' afforded by art activities has also been highlighted in Australian literature, with Sweeny's (2009) article on a program run by the Royal Flying Doctor Service across rural and remote areas of Queensland. She noted that art therapy promoted a safe and healing space for those with mental health issues, allowing them to express emotions through a socially acceptable avenue and help gain a sense of control that may otherwise be perceived as lacking. Further, art therapy promotes individuals to work at their own pace, facilitating support and the breaking down of stigmatisation barriers. Sweeny (2009) highlights that art therapies allow choice and increase social and community interaction, as well as self-esteem. Freedom of choice and setting goals can be empowering, especially for those with negative childhood experiences where creativity may have been inhibited (Stacey & Stickley, 2010). Intrinsic influences such as escapism from negative emotions, through art, provide a way of coping and allow the building of relationships within a non-threatening and safe environment: Leading to a sense of freedom, achievement, and confidence (Stacey & Stickley, 2010).

On an individual level, Stickley (2010) examined two art programs over 12 months in an impoverished area in the United Kingdom. One participant described how, by participating in art, he began to develop an 'artist' identity, reinforced by the space available to create art, which he saw as a meaningful activity. Another talked about how he felt ostracised by society and how the group had given him a role, facilitating "a journey from his old life to a new life" (p. 26) and allowing the creation of friendships and the growth of self-worth and pride. One woman explained how the relationships she made and the validation she received from others on her artwork became a central part of her recovery from mental illness. Another participant expressed how the art group was a safe place for developing new skills, building confidence, creating opportunities, and giving him "a reason to get up in the mornings" (p. 29). Overall, those interviewed all commented on the sense of belonging afforded by the programs they were involved in.

For parents, a sense of belonging is crucial for increasing resilience. Engaging single and teenage parents in art projects has been shown to increase factors associated with building personal and community resilience. Argyle and Bolton (2005) interviewed participants of a 10-week art project, noting that the main issues facing parents at commencement of the class were financial insecurity, mental health issues and, predominantly, a lack of social support, which we know is a significant feature of social capital. Parents reported that being able to participate together facilitated a sense of belonging to their group, allowing them to manage community, group, and personal problems more effectively. Participants were given options as to what type of art they wanted to engage in, and the majority chose painting or drawing, stating that it felt like a 'lost' facet from their childhood that they wished to pursue. They reported a sense of achievement, fulfillment of personal aims, and an increase in motivation in completing a material piece of work that was esteemed by the group. The project also encouraged group interaction and cohesion, facilitating a stronger sense of support and community (Argyle & Bolton, 2005).

We know that social support and community cohesiveness, which can be facilitated through art programs, are significant factors in building social capital and resilience, and have been achieved on personal, micro, and macro levels. Using ethnographic methods, Howells and Zelnik (2009) examined the effects of an integrated community arts studio (for individuals with and without mental health issues). Participants highlighted that, through the experience of creating art, they were able to build a new identity, one in which they saw themselves as artists. The artwork

created, coupled with the feedback received from others, was a source of validation for participants as to their competence and skill. The studio became a 'safe' and 'good' space which provided support and in which potential could be developed. During the research process, the group was commissioned to create a large mosaic for a non-for-profit organisation; which became a vast source of pride, both personally and as a community. Participants, who previously felt stigmatised or excluded from art classes, began to see art as an opportunity to become a part of the community.

Stickley and Duncan (2007) explored the implementation of a community art project (Art in Mind) formed in an attempt to increase social capital and promote mental health in Nottingham, England. They note that marginalised populations experience a form of "double discrimination" (p.26), through racism and social exclusion; and that involvement in community arts may address broader contexts, such as isolation and support that contribute to this exclusion. Stickley and Duncan highlight the need to deliver art projects in their social context in order to build social networks. Participants in the initiative stated that they felt a level of respect and value that they had not previously had with service providers. Further, they reported feeling less stressed and more confident, and had instituted new relationships within their local community through the project; facilitating growth of social capital. Participation in a community arts project also permitted change in perceptions of the community, how they fit into it, and the contribution that they can make to it.

Putland (2012) states that community based art projects/programs are associated with numerous positive factors for individuals and communities. On an individual level, personal development is improved through the building of knowledge, confidence, identity, and empowerment. Participants' sense of control also increases through mastery and efficacy, with new skills encouraging communication, teamwork, and flexibility. The community also benefits through art programs, with social engagement (networks, belonging, and support), community building (motivation and engagement), and social cohesion (group pride and identity). Putland highlights that, for vulnerable populations, art programs allow a safe space in which to address complex issues, and provide a 'voice' for these marginalised communities. Furthermore, art projects can act as a source of renewal, bringing individuals together to foster engagement within local communities.

In light of the above literature, the Indigenous Parenting Support [IPS] mosaic and jewellery making events afforded an opportunity for women in the community/ies to come together over a shared activity. This provides an optimal space for individuals to build on and increase positive interpersonal relationships and to discuss personal and community issues in an open and safe space. Whilst working on individual projects, participants are able to connect with family and community, increasing support, capital, and working towards building resilience. In evaluating the mosaic and jewellery making events, we focused on the impact of participation on personal, family, and community resilience through the voices and stories of the women present.

METHODOLOGY

In Family Support Program [FSP] terms a client is a person who receives direct service delivery, excluding intake and assessment, information only, and referrals. The clients are assumed as the participating women and service delivery was in the form of community events. The evaluation of these events was based on the FSP immediate outcomes performance indicators. Here, client outcomes are expected as a result of the FSP in the short term (at the time of service). These in turn contribute to the intermediate outcomes.

The methods below were designed to be suitable given the FSP aims of increased flexibility around measurement of immediate and intermediate outcomes. The FSP supports service providers selecting the method most appropriate for their clients and service type. It supports service providers adapting their own data collection methods for the performance indicators (or “their own methods to collect data”). Below, the interview questions and analysis were designed to be aligned with the FSP performance indicators in a way that links the performance reporting of these specific activities to the overall performance of the IPS, including the achievement of FSP outcomes. Rather than present participating IPS clients (community members and those attending IPS events and activities) with a questionnaire, the method was a brief field based qualitative interview, alongside ethnographic participant and non-participant observation of the evaluator. Focus groups were utilised at the jewellery making event, enabling in-depth discussion and encouraging group interaction on points of consensus about what the event meant to women, their families and the community. This method was opportune alongside participant observation and afforded a space where women could openly talk about the event not only to the evaluator, but also to each other; facilitating a social cohesiveness around the impact and meaning of the event.

Interview Questions

To avoid pre-selecting questions for each performance indicator for these activities or presenting a selection of questions with instruction for the client to select the most appropriate; a series of broad open ended questions using a hermeneutic phenomenological approach (Laverty, 2003) were used to collect qualitative data. These open-ended questions allowed us to seek information according to FSP needs, on clients’ opinions about what works, what does not work, and make suggestions for improvements to the service. Examples of questions are:

- What do you think it means for mums or for you as a mum, to do something like this?
- What about for the community itself, is this a good thing for the community?

Additional probes were added to keep the conversation going and ask about the meaning of the event, as it connected with broader IPS activities as needed, such as:

- Normally, would the women like to come along to events like this?
- Would you like other events like this? Why?
- Is it, I hope it is ok to ask, please say if not; is it hard to get women involved?
- Are there people there that, you know, you are surprised to see, that you haven’t seen for a long time?
- Do you think that this event helps people feel more included in the community?

Participant Observation

The focus of these was on observations of behavioural interactions during the events (facilitator-women; women-women; women-child). In addition, the set up and organisation of the events, their structure, including beginning and ending sequences, were observed. These observations are critical to the evaluation approach adopted; they identify the immediate impact of how resilience is rehearsed within the event.

The method aligns with the approach taken in this report; the role of the evaluator is in line with what Elias (1994) calls a participant conceptualiser and praxis explicator drawn from *Nicomachean*

Ethics written around 350 BC, where Aristotle divided knowledge into three types: *theoria*, *praxis*, and *techne*. *Theoria* refers to knowledge gained from contemplation and theory, *praxis* refers to knowledge gained from action, and *techne* refers to knowledge gained from production or labour. *Theoria* is concerned with knowing that, *praxis* arrives from practice wisdom, and *techne* from knowing how. Elias (1994, p. 5) defined this as:

“A participant conceptualizer and *praxis* explicator has the role an evaluator not only of working within settings to understand and help conceptualize change processes but also of reflecting on action processes that are a part of the setting, of reflecting on theory, [see the literature review attached] and of generating products that share relevant learnings [the report]. To connect theory and practice the evaluator needs to participate, thus be a *praxis* explicator who works to identify the elusive, dynamic processes of multifaceted, multisystemic interrelationships that are the essence of change.”

For example, the evaluator made an observation of one mum working hard on her piece for a long time until she finished late at night, after all the other women had left. It seems that some women might often not get than chance to show to self, or to others, that they can do things, or what they can do given an opportunity, and they relished the chance to complete a task like this; and how the event also connected with building own personal resilience. The activity was clearly highly therapeutic for this younger woman, and the dedicated persistence, patience and desire to finish and get something done was impressive. These actions have ripple effects and all of the community know about it; the other women really encouraged her as they left for the night. It is important to observe this sort of interaction and behaviour in order to fully analyse and assess impact.

Research Participants

At the mosaic event, participating clients were approached while attending the events and, at the jewellery all women stayed and participated in a focus group. Only women participating in the events were interviewed, that is, not other community members attending. In addition, two IPS staff members and one stakeholder were interviewed. To satisfy the FSP requirement of survey (interview methods cannot achieve this % normally) that a minimum of 50% of clients will respond; clients attending the activities were interviewed at Djarindjin and Ardyaloon. Thus, 16 clients responded through an interview and/or focus group.

Mosaics Workshops

The mosaics workshops were held at Beagle Bay and Djarindjin, in the week commencing 24 June 2013. Save the Children reports the event was aligned with the FSP Outcome of a ‘focus on vulnerable and disadvantaged families and children’ and aimed, in line with FSP Objectives, at:

- Improving client access to and engagement with support services;
- Improving family, social, and economic participation; and
- Improving family knowledge and skills for life and learning.

Save the Children reports that a volunteer facilitated the mosaics workshops with social work experience in remote Aboriginal communities. IPS workers provided transport to women from Ardyaloon to attend, increasing participation across communities.

The mosaics events at Djarindjin over 26 and 27 June 2013 were evaluated via observation and one to one interviews with participants, an IPS worker, and a local service provider. Table 1, below, shows the number of people who participated in an interview.

Table 1 Total number of people who participated in a research interview (Mosaics)

	Beagle Bay	Djarindjin	Ardyaloon	
Participating				
Community women	-	6**	-	
Community girls/boys	-	-	-	
Local service provider	-	-	-	
Non-Aboriginal local service provider ^	-	2*	-	
Attending but non-participating				
Community women	-	-	-	
Community children	-	-	-	
Community men	-	-	-	
Service providers Broome	-	-	-	
Local service provider	-	-	-	
Non-Aboriginal local service provider ^	-	-	-	
IPS staff	-	1*	-	
Total interviews	-	9	-	
Total participants (not all at once).	-	-	-	37

N.B. Figures above reflect only interview participants, not all people attending. Breakdown of each community event (plus how many attended each event from Ardyaloon), and details of others in attendance not supplied by Save the Children. Total participants at workshops across Beagle Bay and Djarindjin, n=37 (as supplied by Save the Children).

- * n= 1 participated in one to one research interview
- ** n = all participated in one to one research interview
- ^ e.g., artist in residence, volunteer facilitating the mosaics workshops

Jewellery Workshops

The jewellery workshops were held at Beagle Bay, Djarindjin, and Ardyaloon in the week commencing 2 September 2013. Information about how the workshops aligned with FSP Objectives and Outcomes have not been received from Save the Children. The jewellery events were evaluated at Djarindjin and Ardyaloon over 4 and 5 September 2013 via participant

observation and two focus groups with participants. Table 2, below, show the number of people who participated in a focus group.

Table 2 Total number of people who participated in a focus group (Jewellery)

	Beagle Bay	Djarindjin	Ardyaloon	
Participating				
Community women	3	3*	9*	
Community girls/boys	-	-	-	
Local service provider	-	-	-	
Non-Aboriginal local service provider	-	-	-	
Attending but non-participating				
Community women	-	-	-	
Community children	-	-	-	
Community men	-	-	-	
Service providers Broome	-	-	-	
Local service provider	-	-	-	
Non-Aboriginal local service provider	-	-	-	
IPS staff	-	1*	-	
Total interviews	-	2	8	
Total participants (not all at once)	3	4	9	16

N.B. Details of others in attendance not supplied by Save the Children.

- * n= some participated in focus group
- ** n = all participated in focus group

Data Collection

The FSP framework suggests immediate client outcomes (or client feedback) should be collected at or near the time of service. The immediate client data was collected during the event and towards the end of the event, when the women were able to relax and had time to talk. Rather than employ follow-up processes over the 4 weeks post the events, the interview method was considered the most appropriate period in which to collect the immediate client outcomes, when sufficient numbers of clients can be asked for feedback. It was combined with participant observation and care was taken in inviting participation. Interviews were kept short, and each sitting/recording was paused if needed (as women needed to temporarily stop the interview and continue participating in the event).

Ethics

Clearly anonymous data collection is preferred, however in this instance, as the data was collected through interview, confidentiality was applied. Information was stored as required by the Privacy Act (1998) and with the NHMRC guidelines.

The evaluator outlined the need for valuable opinion, and feedback about the event, what it meant to the participants, and views on the service received from IPS; in order to help improve the services. Also, that no special knowledge was needed to answer these questions and there were no right or wrong answers. The interviews were expected to take approximately 10 minutes, however this time was flexible. The evaluator would approach women or women could approach the evaluator during the event to do an interview at a time and place that was suitable for them. The evaluator advised that, with permission, he hoped to audio-record the interviews; stating that to participate via a recorded or non-recorded interview was voluntary, and consent could be withdrawn at any time, even after the interview. Women could choose not to answer all or any particular questions if they wished and were informed that answers would be kept confidential. Additionally, the evaluator advised that this study may be published, although no names or identifying data would be included and no participants would be identified in any of the results.

Analysis

Women spoke very reflectively, articulately, and responded in-depth to the questions asked. The aim was not to force client ratings on FSP items, but allow the participant to frame their experience and give meaning to it in their own terms. We then coded this meaning back into FSP dimensions and examined this in terms of specific FSP indicators related to each dimension, the FSP objectives Save the Children have attached to the events, and into established psychological theories of resilience and benefits of art based community activities. This is an approach deemed more culturally appropriate. It also affords rich data about how the performance indicators were, and indeed can be, realised in the context of these three community settings and these IPS activities.

In developing interview questions and the coding of data, we used the FSP Performance Framework and its four sections. For Immediate outcomes: Client outcomes expected as a result of the FSP in the short term (at the time of service). The report below is focused on immediate outcomes only. It also focused not on how much is being done, but how well it is being done and the impact the event had for clients. It concludes on how the activities operated and achieved its outcomes. We noted the mosaics and jewellery events linked with FSP 4.0: Clients who are included in and socially connected to their community.

FINDINGS

Mosaics

Personal Resilience

Women talked openly about improving client access to and engagement with support services. We found evidence of marginalisation, in that women seemed to feel deprived of basic activities like the Mosaics event, which are activities readily available to many women in mainstream urban centres. All women wholeheartedly agreed that events like the mosaics are very important for

women in the community and, when asked why, some said they had always wanted to do this.

Save the Children came up to me one day, and go 'we're having mosaics'. Yes! I always wanted to do.

One younger woman talked about how she had wanted to do something like this for a long time and yet had to wait for the opportunity since high school. Below, one woman talked about the impact on her. For this woman, until the event was brought to her community, this opportunity to fulfil a basic desire; to learn an enjoyable, applicable skill, was not available.

it's been a very good experience, cos I always wanted to do this when I was in high school, umm you know, you can do a lot of the same, sit in the garden, it's my first time, and I really enjoy it.

While a young woman in an urban area could, had she always wanted to, link with TAFE or other group-based opportunities to try mosaics, for the women in this remote community setting the opportunity was cherished.

And I wanted do mosaics, cos I've always wanted to have this opportunity, it's like, especially out remote you know? We don't get a lot of things for us to do... Yeah, to do anything. My sister's said, she lives in Geraldton, she does mosaics, she's went and done a course, and all that sorta stuff you know. Did something.

Thus, the women showed the impact by highlighting the event as a way of mitigating their real and perceived marginalisation (from broader society); suggesting they often have nothing in the way of opportunities to develop self, and so they value these sorts of events as opportunities greatly. We can see the level of resilience, and the desire for personal development, and perhaps sadly against a conditioning to deprivation of basic activities, wherein this woman suggested the event was a good recap after a similar opportunity 13 years earlier.

I done it in 2000.. 99. It's a good recap for me to keep on doing artwork

We were very aware, through our observations and talking with the women, that they had both a degree of knowledge about the importance of, and a very keen interest in, sustaining their personal development. Below a woman described, not in a cynical but in a nevertheless direct tone, how there was sense of being denied ongoing opportunities to engage in self-development. It seemed that this feeling of being both denied, and a lack of activity, was the problem.

I reckon you should continue, cos you know, it umm... they wanna set us up, you know, for us to fail, we would like to keep continue to do this stuff, you know it would be.. good for us

In this context, a critical point raised by the women was that, to maximise impact, events like this should not be one-off, hit or miss; they should be sustained, stable activities, which women can plan to attend and turn to. They wanted regular activities that are ongoing, so that they can build momentum, invite others, and invest their time in them. Carey and Sutton (2004) note that only when projects are sustainable, can community development, and thus resilience, be aided.

On one level, the women we talked to expressed this positively. They talked about a personal resilience and that, by offering the women in the community ongoing or continuing participation in art-based activities, they had a chance to keep skills up.

It's better to keep it up if you're an artist, you gotta keep on doing it you know, if you stop, it's pretty hard to get back on

We know that art activities in particular can be linked to personal resilience. Matarasso (2007) posits that cultural projects involving art allow self-expression of a nature that other actions are unable to provide. He argues that a fundamental human right is cultural expression; giving groups and individuals the ability to define themselves, and not be defined by others (Matarasso, 2007). For some of the women participating, there was a lot of natural pride around art activities and the idea of creating something concrete and permanent.

as I do lot of paintings up, when I go up there and.. the old women's centre, I did, I designed that

Overall, women connected the activity with their regular art based activities through the art centre/women's centre. Having a centre-point and connecting activities to this centre is important. For example, in evaluating a community arts centre in Canada, Carson, Chappell, and Knight (2007) noted that the centre was able to engage First Peoples, of different ages, where a broader health initiative had failed. They highlighted that the centre had the ability to empower, through its positive rather than negative symbolisation within the community; concluding that social capital would be more likely to increase through the connection and creativity offered by the centre, than through unwanted community development projects, thus renewing the community and increasing wellbeing.

Older women who were associated with the art centre were essentially reflecting on the role of art making and encouraging younger women and other women who were participating to get involved in this sort of activity and linked the event to ways of improving family knowledge and skills for life and learning.

once you've done it once, you know, you get an idea of how you can really do it

Alongside this however, what they were really saying was that women, especially younger women, do not get the opportunity enough to feel this basic sense of achievement.

they do something, they feel proud of that, it's like an achievement

The older women are right; the path to personal resilience is through this sense of having achieved something personally, and, from this we saw the impact expressed in talk that was empowered. Empowerment has been associated with increased spiritual and Indigenous identity, respect, self-awareness and reflection, and a vision and hope for the future (Tsey et al., 2010). Projects facilitating empowerment and realisation of individual capability are fundamental to Indigenous self-determination, thus personal resilience (Kirmayer et al., 2009). For example, Sonn (2010) evaluated an arts program (photography) in the Wheatbelt region of Western Australia and noted that participation allowed people to show their talents to others and recognise their potential through the learning of new creative skills, thus resulting in feelings of achievement.

Women talked happily and in an empowered way about their skills and how, as an artist, they could extend these skills in the new medium of mosaics. One impact then, was affording the women opportunity to show themselves and others how they could extend skills into a new area: That their own skills could transfer, thus building confidence, providing a sense of achievement, and empowering the women.

if you're an artist you can put your design on anything you know, anything

Women talked often about new 'ideas'; and here they were showing off their own creativity, desire, and ability to apply their skills.

I just got another idea... mosaics, but but sea glass, you know when the glass's been in the water, it's gets all frosted, different colours,

yeah and you wanna do other things. I had a friend that done all this thing with glass, melted glass, and did it, and it was beautiful. Beautiful.

The women's lively talk of their 'new ideas' and how the activity or their skills could be extended fits with international evidence on the processes of empowerment linked with art programs. Kay (2000) examined four community art projects in Scotland, noting that involvement by community members facilitated gains in motivation and confidence through skills. The event created talk among the women about future art opportunities that might also provide a space for building personal resilience, which was evident in the way the women were suggesting the event could be a catalyst to more activity.

I wouldn't mind doing like pottery as well, you know, it would blend in with the mosaics

I mean you can do it with anything, you could do it you know, you could do it with rock, you can do it with stick or anything, you know, you can do it with leaves [x]

make a shell one you know, I'm like, that'd be unreal hey [y]

next one, I'm going to do with crystal [x]

Women also talked about other forms of mosaics or art that they had seen and how their new skills linked with these. The woman below described, in a confident way, her realisation that what she was making was quite similar to work she had seen in Perth.

There was a medical centre, an Aboriginal Medical Centre [East Perth] and on the walls they had umm like .. clay.. what do you call it? Tiles? That people have, and kids and people had done. It's just fascinating, it was just beautiful. It was like "whoa" and then seeing mosaics, it's like it's almost the same, you know you don't need a thing to fire the clay or anything you know? It's just there.

Some women talked about how the activity could transfer into a financial outcome for them/their community, thus broadening the discussion towards improving family, social, and economic participation.

and it's another way of making an income; low income earners.. they got painting, and all that and this is just another medium [to] put in their art. And it looks fantastic, look! Hey? [laughs] Always keep your first one!

In line with this, one woman talked about her aims to develop a new enterprise.

about to visit in August umm ahh it's a pretty shop, you can umm bring your artwork they print it right through, you can print your old t-shirts, on clothes, your old clothes. Tracksuits and everything. But the whole machine itself is.. \$15,000, I maybe need to buy it [laughs] yeah, you can do your own stuff, make your own clothes, your own design. Be good.

One observation was about the novel nature of mosaics. The event seemed to be exciting, because it was a novel and new form of artistic expression that women could try. Women commented on how making mosaics provided an opportunity for women to apply themselves within a new skill set.

just to come and see how they do the tiles, you know,

It seemed the mosaics event was useful at a community level as, for some women, perhaps those who maybe are not the key artists or who do not have the same level of artistic skill as the women in the community who regularly do the art through the art centre, mosaics was something new and different where everyone was learning a new skill. It was a playful and safe space for them to get involved and try out their skills without any comparison or pressure in this domain, next to the artists known to be good in the community.

cos a lot of them, they can paint and all that sort of stuff yeah. Very talented. You don't know what other person's talent is till they actually do it, you know. Pretty good work you know and every person has their talent. That's what I always say

every person, you have a hidden talent, a bit of you know, you can put it on paper, or put it on something like this, you know?

The use of art as a form of self-expression encourages feelings of belonging, a sense of identity, and supports increases in self-esteem; thus giving voice to the voiceless (Perlstein, 1999). It acts as an instrument to connect with community and augment self-confidence, and, whilst shown to be effective as an engagement tool, as Putland (2008) argues "so too are football and bingo" (p.271); it is the 'space' afforded by making art, not necessarily the art making per se that facilitates participation. Art can have a therapeutic affect also. The evaluator made an observation of one mum working hard on her piece for a long time until she finished late at night, after other women had left. It seems that some women might often not get than chance to show to self, or to others, that they can do things, or what they can do given an opportunity, and they relished the chance to complete a task like this; connecting with building own personal resilience.

Family resilience

One of the interesting things about the mosaics event was that, in a sense, it was a mini program. The mosaic had to be put together over a few days, or at least two sessions (as it needed to dry after stage 1). This was interesting, as it meant the women had to come back. This was a good

opportunity and display of, perseverance, commitment, and desire to engage across a few days, rather than a one-off session. We observed how most women eagerly came back for their 2nd and 3rd session in the whole process, and actively asked the IPS workers about when they could do their next session. This was more an observation than anything directly said by women, however the women did talk about each session and talked about mosaic making as a process that needed to be followed.

the whole process and it's not hard

The interesting impact of this activity was that participating in the event took some planning from the women. They therefore needed to arrange time out from family and other responsibilities. Women suggested that their family supported them engaging in the activity and they talked about the sort of planning they had to do in order to participate. In this way, the event has an impact on family reliance. The family supported women attending and was acknowledging their need for personal development.

oh yeah, my family's very supportive

So I actually planned this activity, like I said, I brought the salmon up here this morning, all nice, to cook tea and everything

you know especially umm I'm going here and there, director for my trust up there, it's pretty hard for me to get off work,

their girlfriend or wife or whatever it is, you wanna do something [happy for them to do it]

We observed the impact of the sort of social capital that promotes collective support and perceived power over daily life (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). The building of strong social networks and support within communities is a marker for developing community resilience: "Families are the building blocks of community" (Kirmayer et al., 2009, p.80). Critically for building family resilience, engaging in personal reflective activity on community or family bonding while attending this event facilitated the building of family resilience. Building family resilience through this sort of sharing facilitates protective factors, such as a providing a supportive and stable environment, which adds to positive influences on cultural identity, which helps families to deal with daily life problems (Kirmayer et al., 2009). Women at the mosaics event were observed actively talking about family and they suggested they used the space to connect with others and talk about children and family issues; thus building social capital, sense of community, and belonging around parenting.

all the older ladies if they see a young mum with their little one, they tell them, you know, they always keep us young people in line, that's all I can say!

They tell us how we should look after our children, and the good things we should do, the experiences they had. Very important, they all do it too.

No excuse for any young mums, 'my nanna never tell me anything', we know for a fact that they do! They are a great support.

They sit there and tell us stories, sharing things with the younger ones.

You bring something, this kid is this and that, and they say oh yeah he was like that too.

In Aboriginal communities, the relational nature of interactions means that family resilience is intricately connected with community resilience (Guilfoyle, Baker & Bray, 2011; Guilfoyle, 2012). Kirmayer et al. (2009) stated that social capital is a lens through which various features of community resilience can be seen, such as social networks and social support. Strong family relationships with family and friends affords mental and emotional support for individuals, in times of crisis and in everyday life. Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000) state that participation and community are intrinsically connected; when communities participate, awareness of own resources lead to community actualisation, negotiation, and ultimately, change. So when sharing conversations about family, participants are also building community resilience.

Community resilience

While it is important that family resilience is fostered and members of families can gather at events like the mosaics, it is also important that the event is attended by women from diverse groupings, as this adds to building community resilience. An impact we observed was bonding between the women and women talked openly about how an event like this has ripple effects across the community. The link between active families, and good family resilience and community resilience is strong in the voices below.

so it benefits the whole lot

If you've got a confident parent, then that flows down to the kids, cause the kids see their parents being strong and active in their community and that's certainly, like, role model sense... absolutely.

Like umm an Elder up at One Arm Point at the women's centre and her daughter. She works at the school. They work at the playgroup, so was the role model for the girls there.

The grannies, and the mums are like role models.

Women suggested the mosaics event was a great success in that women from Ardyaloon came to Djarindjin and were very interested to attend and news spread fast about the event. Women in Djarindjin said it was great to meet up with Ardyaloon women.

And seeing the older women from One Arm Point come down the other day, day before, and some of them came back today, and umm.... Just to see them come down, you know, like, you never see them in Djarindjin because you know they're not that way, you know, and it's just good to see them out, it's like you know, yeah

Madyaningrum and Sonn (2011) interviewed participants of a community arts project in Bendigo, Victoria about what it meant for them to be part of a play. Predominantly, they noted that being with others, people with whom they would not usually interact, thus bringing together different people in the community, afforded social interactions between those who are typically isolated from each other. These social connections made participants feel valued within their community

and the opportunity to participate in a community arts event provided a 'voice' and 'space' for marginalised members; thus regaining community connections with culture and local history.

This observation of women's desire and happiness to have interactions between women from the different communities supports recommendations by the evaluation of the Father's Day Catch and Cook in 2012 (Guilfoyle & Botsis, 2012); suggesting the need to look at ways to have events in one community and invite members from other communities.

Yeah yeah, or even being back here you know? I have to go travelling up and down and.. spare time up here. It's good.

The reference to 'it's good' in the women's speech echoes with research that shows when people engage in arts programs, the community benefits through the social interactions afforded to members. People in marginalised communities can begin to feel optimistic about the area in which they live, thus the community (or communities) come together over shared interests, building on social capital (Kay, 2000).

Keen to ensure access to and engagement with support services for their community, older women were delighted to see young women participating and suggested this type of activity was obviously a good one that could capture their interest.

the young ladies, the day before, yeah, it was really good

The participating women were very community minded, and suggested this event was an ideal and soft way to get other women, including young parents in their community, engaged with activities. What was important in the talk was the acknowledgement that some young women do need a space for healing, a time out, and a distracted playful activity which is perfect for this, and not all about their 'demons'.

I think this would be a great program, little activities, for young mothers. Especially they can bring their babies too, you know? On the holidays, yeah. And perfect, it's different from being talking about demons and you know? Yeah. And just getting them interested slowly

We know that art programs can work to bring youth and adults together, working to create positive social change within communities by accentuating the exploration of differences and commonalities between and within generations, to build learning, appreciation, and respect (Perlstein, 1999). Older women describe their desire to support young women and ways of actively pushing young women into participation by engaging and encouraging them into activities that could get them interested.

But some of the young peoples they need... pushing you know?

some of them are uncomfortable, show them a way and go ahead

getting the younger ones, getting them interested. But these young kids, down there they haven't got much for the weekend, you know they got nothing to do, you need a program that's.. Fit all age groups you know. Fit all age groups.

Here, the women again reflected on their desires to have young women engaged in improving family knowledge and skills for life and learning. They saw a lack of opportunities, particularly for the young women, and highlighted the need to explore ways to get the young women involved by developing age appropriate and age separated activities and ways of actively pushing young women into participation, by engaging them in activities that could get them interested.

and I think what groups, organisations need to realise when they come in is that young people don't wanna be with old people, you know?

come into the women's centre you know, you hardly see the young women there, they don't want to be with the old ones you know

While older women nominated programs that young people could desire; this did not preclude more traditional activities where community members participate alongside as role models and teachers. However it is important to note, perhaps reflecting on or inspired by the productive nature of the mosaic event, they talked mainly about children in their community and how they liked to use their hands.

my other grandson he likes to make things, Zachariah he likes to make things with wood doors, anything you know? I told him, back in my country, they sat down there and showed him all the blades you know that you use . . . blade for cutting wood blade, you know, shaped out with a rock cos they're sharp, into a fish shape, I told him, go ahead, what you gonna do? You're doing things already, you know. It was good, he was with us, but yeah he's got his friends, and you know you move on, yeah leave that thing now! You know.

Overall, while women reflected on the activity being good for them, they were community minded and urged that programs for children and youth need to be developed.

And 14 year old they wanna do something else, yeah, and you get another group of 10, 11 year olds they might wanna do something else. The smaller ones, they might have some other program that they want to do.

the teenagers, they do sport, some kind of sports. Maybe this person might like rugby, maybe this person likes football, the other person might like painting, you know. Then you have a smaller group, and they might want to do something different.

At this point, women talked about the need for children to have more opportunities to go out on country with Elders.

Especially when you take them out to the country, that's how they learn, out in the country. And these kids are pretty, pretty smart kids, they, someone there for them really, you know, to teach them.

but it's good when they take them out to the country, they want to learn everything, you know. They want to learn everything. And when they're back here, you get their friends, they forget about what they just learned.

There is merit in programs and activities that are culturally strong. The inclusion of culture and tradition assists children in focusing on spiritual, emotional, social, and physical aspects related to pride in self and the community, self-esteem, and confidence (Priest, Coleman-Sleep, & Martin, 2005; SNAICC, 2004; 2005); which are necessary for building resilience.

Jewellery

Personal resilience

As soon as this event was drawn to a close, one woman exclaimed: “Oh that was fun!” There was an element of boredom expressed and that any activity would be good. When asked what the event meant, one woman said “something to get away from the house” and another woman followed up and said “yeah at home, they watch TV, watch TV all day”.

yeah it was good to come along and talk to different people cos some of us stay home, so it's good get out and socialise

Women also talked about the jewellery-making event as an opportunity for taking time out for self and were highly self-reflective on developing their own knowledge and skills for life and learning. Providing opportunities for this sort of ‘me time’ is essential for personal resilience building (La Rosa & Guilfoyle, 2013). For example, one woman said:

I like doing things you know, kids at school, yeah get away from them

Women talked about sharing their creation, and how making it “means something to you and means something to the person who receives it”.

trying to make something for my little niece she lives around the corner, for Friday, surprise her,

As a participant observer, the evaluator was able to share with the women and appreciate their huge sense of completion in making the jewellery item to share with someone else (in this case, a 3 year old daughter). Making a product like this gives confidence, develops skills, and demonstrates own creativity and self-expression to self and others. Here, as with the mosaic event, for three women these feelings were talked about in way which linked with a desire for future art opportunities that might also provide a space for building personal resilience. This was again evident in the way the women suggested the event could be a catalyst to more activity.

come and get some beads from the bush. There's beads in the bush.

We can do that one day, native plants you know and they can pluck the seeds as well.

Even we can go like and collect some shells and make little holes through them, add it with the beads

This event represented a way for women to demonstrate their personal resilience and one woman described the event in these terms below, linking it to people getting together in a positive way.

It can be done, we can easily do that [more events like this]. Just the people themselves. You can't be hanging onto the drugs and grog all the time, living in your own place doing your own thing. Live how we've lived before, we didn't know what grog was, growing up in school and on country, I didn't even smoke or I didn't even drink grog and I'm here, and more happy than any one of these people, all together. Brilliant really. I'm 81 years of age. Can you believe that?

There was great deal of pride in the work itself. Women were genuinely proud of their work. They held it up for photographs with great self-respect, and when showing their jewellery to others, the younger women showered them with complimentary words like 'oh solid', and 'cool'.

it'll be good to come and do something like this every day

Want a photo, with your bling? [laughter]

One younger woman, held her newly made earrings up to her ears and laughingly threw her head about making them dance, suggesting they would be a good for a party, whilst another suggested they could make their own jewellery and use it to dress for a luncheon. There was great admiration and support from the older women.

At the event, there was a lot of impact around ideas and talk about selling products to tourists and possible economic benefits of making things to sell, and the women were encouraging family, social, and economic participation. For example, one woman looked at the jewellery a younger woman and made the point aloud:

nice [pause] we could sell these things later on

This highlights a sense of purpose that links with the jewellery making activity, which connects to building resilience. Buikstra et al. (2010) examined perceptions of individual and community resilience in rural communities. A critical factor highlighted by participants was social networks and support; through friends, family (immediate and extended), or other networks built on a shared sense of purpose; which enhanced the significance of individual contributions and sense of belonging to the community.

Family resilience

There was some evidence that men in the community related to and supported women attending the event. At one point, a woman rang her husband to check how the grand/children were and the man popped in to check on something and pick something up, and was greeted jovially by all the women attending.

Women talked about their role, especially with the younger members, and were observed actively supporting the young women during the event. The women encouraged younger women to come in and welcomed them and laughed and joked with them and supported their efforts at jewellery making, complimenting them on their choices of colour and design.

All the women engaged in a great deal of social networking. They talked about general issues related to grandchildren and children, general health concerns of themselves, and others in the community.

yeah, we come, even sitting down with the old ladies, they give us advice you know, things that we don't know, you know, we are like panicking about stuff for our new babies and stuff like that you know, and they give us a lot of good advice, you get to take that in and keep it

especially having a new baby you know you don't really know much, the old people, they just hit the nail on everything

One younger woman reported:

we learn a lot from a lot more from these elderly ladies like I'm not really from here, but I go, my partner's from here and I've learned a lot yeah, they've taught me a lot, and it's good to sit down and hear the stories, talk with them.

One woman, when asked what the event meant to her, suggested it was a “chance to contribute, feel like you are contributing”. She said she was helping others by taking part.

yeah share in the knowledge

Participation in events like the jewellery making can facilitate social capital growth, permitting changes in perceptions of community, how women, as individuals, fit into it and the contribution that they can make (Stickley & Duncan, 2007).

Community resilience

The women suggested the personal resilience they felt through the event arrived as an opportunity to share, to support, encourage, and connect with each other around a common task; experiencing a sense of ‘we are the same on this one’ and working together side by side, to share skills and enjoy each other’s company.

so we can all sit down together and do the same thing we're doing

[IPS worker] is really good cos she runs around, and asks if they want to join in, makes people to feel like they're worth something

For the women generally it was all about basic opportunities to come together. Women said the event offered a “chance to catch up with others” in a community spirited way. When asked what they liked about the event, women said things like:

talking...talking yarning, helping out people with their stuff, others.

Get together, enjoy and talking, enjoy

Fun, chance to get together, sharing our knowledge

The participant observations found it was indeed a very social event. We observed there was a lot of fun and banter. Initially, very warm welcome and greetings occurred between participants. There was a great deal of social cohesion and bonding among the participating women. In part,

this might be attributable to obvious family relationships within the group; however there were at least three families present and a new mum in the community.

well we had fun, it was really good, cos we could all get together, and working and talking you know, and enjoying it, and you know if we could have more like this it'll be really good, cos maybe we can help some more womans join in and get all the younger ones in. But it was fun

The event was social fun, but instrumental too; a functional time for these women to catch up on community news, to ask about others in the community, and catch up socially. We observed the women asking about how particular members of the community were getting along, and about their general wellbeing.

yeah still a chance to catch up and talk about what we've been doing, you know And it's good. It was a surprise for us today doing this.

Everyone knows everyone, oh yeah, who caught fish, all the fish, but still chance to catch up, news, talk about what is happening,

Notably, even though the women were reporting on the impact of the event for them, they are family and community conscious. The impact therefore was an opportunity to rehearse and define their community resilience, and their role in this. A huge community spirit of the Aboriginal community was evident in those participating. Women talked openly at the event about things that they felt needed to happen in the community and ways to engage with support services. In reference to what other events they would like, one woman said "need to open that centre". The women talked about functional plans and were generally having their say and giving voice to things they needed.

Give them one place. Would be good for them. They all love making jewellery

The discussion at the event was therefore largely community minded, and women reflected on how they could include younger women. One woman talked about how they could:

make a whole lot of smaller ones for all the granddaughters, they could work with their mum, learn what they are doing

Another woman added, straight after this, as if speaking with younger women rhetorically, and summarising the role modelling efforts that women felt they were having by participating in the jewellery activity:

Who is going to teach them one day, bring your kids talk with them about what you are doing, get all these things in their mind, kids young girls, this is the time to teach them focused on what is right, there is nothing for them to do, [so] talk to them in their language, teach them in their language,

There was discussion of linking with school and grandchildren and as well as Elders attending the School.

Tell to young girls, give them something to do, stop them fighting amongst themselves otherwise,

Another woman suggested that parents had lost language, as the result of being interrupted by mission based systems and said:

Be sure to teach them, you know, where they come from, if someone asks, can tell them where they come from; [rhetorically] do you know how to talk language say YES I CAN.

Nevertheless, women talked about the importance of Elders coming along to events.

To teach kids, talk in their language, tell them you come to here, talk to them in their language, in their school, they can learn it, learn a lot, hear the stories, lizards, spiders,

There was talk of children being bored and restless, and a lot of discussion about the need for children to learn alongside the women and to learn new ways of doing things. The discussion turned to the need for more activities for children.

there hasn't been anything for the kids to be doing, they've been fighting after school because there's nothing for them to be doing, they just fight amongst themselves at the oval, the basketball court, cos there's nothing.

Even the school holidays are coming up, not much for the kids you know

In this context, women suggested the need for regular ongoing activity, to move away from one-off events, and that the event was a good example of something that girls and families could do more regularly:

It would be good to do it every day, more and more and people get involved

we can do something like that as well just for the kids, it's really really easy it looks hard but it's not

Women suggested there could be afternoon classes, so children or young girls could come, or even evening classes. When asked what the event meant to them, women were unanimous in saying "keep it going, a regular event".

I thought it was really great, get together and make some things. For my little granddaughters I made 3 necklaces for them, so they'll be very happy with them. Maybe sometime when the ladies are sitting like this, we can bring the little girls up to school or something you know, necklace making and things

like you know, yeah it'll be good to come in and sit down and yarn with people and do the little bead stuff and that'll be really good

if it was ongoing I would recommend it to other mums

When asked 'what would you tell others in the community about the event?', one woman said "I would say I was there, do you think I would miss out, I don't think so".

Even the little ones you know, the little girls, they'd love it, keep them occupied you know, away from the boys and away from trouble . . . come up here and, because the aunty's working and I'm here, and grandpa's older now, and keep her busy you know, with her little friends. They would love doing this. The next time, yeah.

Women suggested that they need more young women to participate and that it was important to think about how to get others to participate.

get young people, young kids, get them to see what we're doing, bring your kids, and we'll show them what we're doing here or what you doing, all those things in their mind, there when they're running around, doing nothing

Umm not during the weekends, but during the weekdays you know. Mm. Depends if they are busy and umm if they're not doing anything, then yeah, they'd get into it. They like making jewellery.

One young woman said it was important that young mums were present at events like this to share, and to show respect.

see doing something like this like what we've had today, maybe in the afternoons when the kids have finished school, and then maybe the younger girls we can bring them in there and like talk to the young girls we are doing necklaces like this and tell them stories in Bardi and get the kids to talk some Bardi

They suggested they needed supplies and resources to run the event themselves in their community and we observed some women making plans with the facilitator about how they could ensure they had supplies in their community, empowered to improving family, social, and economic participation.

The shop owner was telling us that the ladies from Central Desert I think somewhere, do that, and they burn patterns onto their seeds, or they paint on them. And make their jewellery out of them.

Infrastructure and support services (or lack thereof), in the community is important and having this additional support is an essential part of building resilience (Buikstra et al., 2010). The women suggested they would really like to see one big event for activities like this where all women from all communities could be invited.

Probably a markets night you know, get the communities together.

I think they could come together [all three communities at event like this]

There was also talk at the event of women both within the community and across the community needing to get together and meet up more regularly.

because they got nothing else to do, they have to go somewhere, they can't be on their own all the time, doing whatever they want to do. They can come back again, back again.

Women also talked about organising a woman's night, or holding an event at night for women. Palmer (2009) noted that such programs can bring together individuals to work jointly to build stronger communities, through social environment and networks. He states that the remoteness of communities contributes to the difficulty in bringing together groups from different areas, and found that an arts program targeting Coolgardie and Kambalda communities provided a venue for community members to come together, extend their social connections, and work together on a task of common interest.

CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS

On a process level, we observed and identified great evidence of the impactful work of IPS local workers inviting participation in the event, spreading the word, drawing these events together and participating, as role models, alongside the women. We also observed a great deal of forward planning with the facilitator, and with workers collaborating and wanting to access resources to extend the event and plan follow-up events. We know that art activities should be presented in a full program format. For example, Makin and Gask (2011) found that an art program enabled participants to set and achieve goals, motivated them with purpose, and provided a sense of achievement upon completion of a task. In learning new skills over time, participants felt they were doing something worthwhile, thus empowered towards building their confidence.

The above links with both the mosaics and jewellery events as a platform for building and improving resilience. What we observed was that, for these women, the idea of being or becoming, building perhaps, resilience was not new. They were very articulate about the sorts of things they enjoyed and liked and needed to help build their own resilience, their family resilience, and that of their community.

On a personal level, women are inherently aware of and feel disadvantaged in the context of being able to participate in events like these; activities that are readily available to women in urban or major regional centres. There was a fundamental need expressed by the women to engage in activities that they have wanted to do for a very long time, either through a complete lack of opportunity, or as a source to extend and build on previously acquired skills. Continuing marginalisation and lack of opportunity for things to do in the community leaves women with little chance to take time out for developing self, and for demonstrating their skills to others in the community. Women cherished their participation in the workshops and highlighted the importance of, and their desire for, personal development opportunities. We know that the process of learning and improved learning opportunities can contribute positively to both community and individual resilience (Buikstra et al., 2010)

The women told us that creating a piece of art, either through mosaics or jewellery making, was a great source of pride for the women involved, allowing self-expression in a tangible and concrete way. In this way, we observed the women becoming empowered; discussing alternative options for making mosaics and jewellery (such as using shells, bush beads etc.) with inspiration, and ways in which events could be extended and run in the future. Heenan (2006) noted that a lack of time and resources allocated to activities can lead to a sense of frustration, giving participants a

“sense of hope” (p. 189), and then leaving them feeling alone when activities ended. Resources and further activities are therefore required to incorporate the women’s ideas, which will allow the women to be empowered; seeing that their voices are being heard. This may also allow women to partake on a level where they involve self more fully, for example, collecting shells or bush beads to incorporate into their piece at the next event; thus encouraging planning and ongoing involvement.

The importance of the organisation skills the women owned was highlighted in the mosaics activities, where participation required some planning from the women. The mosaic had to be put together over more than one session, encouraging women to come back in order to complete their piece of art. Most women returned with enthusiasm and were observed asking IPS workers when the next session would be. These opportunities encourage forward organisation and planning and demonstrate task completion skills; something the mosaics activities in particular can target. For example, working on a mosaic piece over a week would encourage women to attend all stages, through their aspiration to complete a piece of art that they can be proud of; rather than sporadic participation. Hegney et al. (2007) state that having a vision or setting goals, as well as resourcefulness contributes to resilience. Another possibility for the women would be to work together on a group project; a larger piece of art that can then be displayed and act as a source of pride, both individually and on a community level. Notably, an opportunity like this would not only bring women together regularly, but may also become a catalyst for involving other, more importantly, younger women either in the group project, and/or in future activities.

It was discussed why some women but not others came to the events, especially young women. This is an ongoing element of assessing who will attend and who will not and the ongoing need to assess who is participating and who is not; as well as following the recommendations of the older women for developing a diverse range of events, based on the needs of various women, which presents opportunities for marginalised women within the community to attend. Often there is a presumption, when working in small communities, that networks readily exist, and that people can share news. Too often, service providers overlook that the community does need structured, organised events. These events help, in that, people can catch up in an innocuous way, not always by their own design or by approaching others directly to ask what is happening; but by finding themselves in the same space with others in the community at a given point in time, and talking and interacting in this unanticipated proximal space. This opportunity helps them feel connected, or not feel isolated (Guilfoyle, 2009).

For the women who attended, there were clear benefits in feeling included in, and socially connected to, the community. By sharing with others, the women created a safe space in which to discuss shared concerns and what can best support these, thus forming a micro-community of support. If there are a core group of women who attend the event however, and the activities do not include more women, including marginalised younger mothers (which are hard to attract for a number of reasons), then the pervasiveness of the effect in helping community members be included and socially connected to the community is lessened. In the extreme, women who are already marginalised may feel even more isolated or disconnected by not participating in community events. The women spoke powerfully of the need to engage younger women and children in the events. Barriers to participation included age separate and appropriate activities. Building resilience is a process that occurs over time, through individual connections to land, family, and community (Hegney et al., 2007). There is still a need therefore in organising activities, to fundamentally respect a common call by the women, for younger community members to connect with Elders, and we recommend that the best way to do this is through activities that allow

young people to go back to country; perhaps through the women's own ideas of collecting natural materials that can be used in mosaics and jewellery making; encouraging not only planning and organisation, as described above, but engaging younger members of the community to participate on several levels. The ideal is where Elders are central to all programs (See Guilfoyle, Saggars, Sims, & Hutchins, 2010) and the newly developed Early Learning Centre in Djarindjin will be the ideal space for this.

From another perspective and in reference to participation, Carey and Sutton (2004) argued that in a disadvantaged area of Liverpool there was little in the way of activities due to the remoteness of the area. Whilst participants wanted to be involved in an arts program, were loathed to do so due to previous failed projects. They stated that they had hoped to be involved in talking about their experiences of the program (evaluation) much earlier in the process, and that the project was too short-lived, leading to feelings of disillusionment and marginalisation. This, coupled with the fear that the program's success would not be built upon in future, showed that if participants see the program as isolated, one off, token, there can be detrimental effects on a community. Carey and Sutton concluded that only when projects are sustainable, can community development, and thus resilience, be aided. Exceedingly, the women participating spoke powerfully about the need for mosaics and jewellery workshops to continue. We are aware that mosaics activities have continued throughout July, August, and September 2013 and recommend that the IPS continues to build on the success of art programs, both locally, nationally, and internationally; and ensure that events continue to be held and scheduled regularly, with particular efforts taken to ensure women and families continue to participate in future activities.

Both activities provided a space for women to connect with others in their communities and, in the case of jewellery making, with women from other communities. This afforded an opportunity to not only catch up socially, but to connect with others on personal, family, and community levels. Women were able to share with each other, and provide support and validation not only for their capacity as artists, but also as parents and members of their community. Older women reflected that the events could serve as a platform for engaging younger women and their children, whilst younger women described powerfully the benefits they gained from connecting with older women in the community. These bonding opportunities allow for family and community resilience to develop, affording opportunities for social interaction through shared interests, thus increasing social capital. It is of paramount importance therefore, not only for events such as mosaics and jewellery making to become a regular part of IPS activities, but also to continue to look at ways in which events can be held in one community, with members of other communities invited and able to participate; supporting our recommendation in the evaluation of the Father's Day Catch and Cook event in 2012 (Guilfoyle & Botsis, 2012).

Of course to meet the broader IPS aims of increasing connections between service and communities, we continue to recommend local service provider participation in future events, where possible, allowing women to connect with local support services. It is important however, that the community comes together through a genuine desire to form a community (i.e. through the desire for opportunities to enhance self, family, and community; such as was achieved through both events), rather than only for events or for receipt of information, as this may become unsustainable. For example, although women may be participating in activities, being connected to local support services by inviting service providers, badging events, and distribution of information should not delimit attendance or interest. If local service providers can attend events like the mosaics and jewellery making regularly, and engage with women, it will allow not only for social connectedness where women can act to develop self and build family and community resilience,

but can do so alongside those who can offer their service based support. IPS aims can then be better achieved in line with FSP Objectives. The events were a space where women were able to discuss issues around family and parenting, thus if service providers can sit and participate alongside the women, associations can be built between communities and local service providers. This is not an easy feat and requires commitment, so that trust can be built between participants and providers. Instead of one-off events where service providers distribute information, regular events such as mosaics and jewellery making can be used as a space for relationships and trust to develop, and can then become a space where information distribution can be included gradually.

REFERENCES

- Aisenberg, E. (2001). The effects of exposure to community violence on Latina mothers and their preschool children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 23, 378-398.
- Ambler, M. (2003). Cultural resilience. *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education*, 14, 8-9.
- Argyle, E., & Bolton, G. (2005). Art in the community for potentially vulnerable mental health groups. *Health Education*, 105(5), 340-354.
- Baum, F., Palmer, C., Modra, C., Murray, C. & Bush, R. (2000). Families, social capital and health. In I. Winter (Ed.), *Social capital and public policy in Australia* (pp. 250-275). Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies.
- Boyden, J., & Mann, G. (2005). Children's risk, resilience, and coping in extreme situations. In Ungar (Ed.), *Handbook for working with children and youth: Pathways to resilience across cultures and contexts* (pp. 3-26). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Buikstra, E., Ross, H., King, C. A., Baker, P. G., Hegney, D., McLachlan, K., & Rogers-Clark, C. (2010). The components of resilience – perceptions of an Australian rural community. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 38(8), 975-991.
- Buka, S., Stichick, T., Birdthistle, I., & Earls, F. (2001). Youth exposure to violence: Prevalence, risks and consequences. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 71, 298-310.
- Campbell, C., & Jovchelovitch, S. (2000). Health, community and development: Towards a social psychology of participation. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 10, 255-270.
- Capuzzi, D. & Gross, D. R. (2008). Youth at risk: A prevention resource for counselors, teachers, and parents. *Pennsylvania State University*, USA.
- Carey, P., & Sutton, S. (2004). Community development through participatory arts: Lessons learned from a community arts and regeneration project in South Liverpool. *Community Development Journal*, 39(2), 123-134.
- Carson, A. J., Chappell, N. L., & Knight, C. J. (2007). Promoting health and innovative health promotion practice through a community arts centre. *Health Promotion Practice*, 8(4), 366-374.
- Chaskin, R. J. (2008). Resilience, community, and resilient communities: Conditioning contexts and collective action. *Child Care in Practice*, 14, 65-74.
- Commonwealth Department of Health & Aged Care (2005). *Community Life: A framework for effective community-based suicide prevention*.
- Cox, E., & Caldwell, P. (2000). Making policy social. In I. Winter (Ed.) *Social capital and public policy in Australia* (pp. 43-73). Canberra: Australian Institute of Family Studies, Commonwealth of Australia.

- Elias, M. (1994). Capturing excellence in applied settings: A participant conceptualizer and praxis explicator role for community psychologists. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 22(3), 293-318.
- Gorman-Smith, D., Henry, D. B., & Tolan, P. H. (2004). Exposure to community violence and violence perpetration: The protective effects of family functioning. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 33, 439-449.
- Guilfoyle, A. M., (2009). *A Spider in the Web: Evaluation of Phase 2 of the Understanding & Building Resilience in the South West Project*, Report to Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Health and Aging.
- Guilfoyle, A. (2012). *Evaluation of Dampier Peninsula Indigenous Parenting Support Program: Progress Report 1*, Report to Save The Children, WA.
- Guilfoyle, A., Baker, L., & Bray, A. (2011). *Monitoring and evaluation framework for Save the Children's Dampier Peninsula Indigenous Parenting Support Services Project: Participatory Action Research Phase 2*. Report to Save the Children, WA.
- Guilfoyle & Botsis, (2012). *It's a just a different way of cooking: Social learning and Aboriginal father and son attachment within the Dampier Peninsula Indigenous Parent Support Catch and Cook Event*. Report to Save the Children, WA.
- Guilfoyle, A., Coffin, J., Maginn, p., (2008), Make Sure There is a Shady Tree: Participation and Action Research with Australian Aboriginal Communities. *Qualitative Urban Analysis: An International Perspective*, Vol 9(11), 213-240, London
- Guilfoyle, A. M., Saggars, S., Sims, M., & Hutchins, T. (2010). Culturally strong child care programs for Indigenous children, families and communities, *Australasian Journal of Early Education*, 35(3), 68-76.
- Haglund, M., Nestadt, P., Cooper, N., Southwick, S., & Charney, D. (2007). Psychobiological mechanisms of resilience: Relevance to prevention of stress-related psychopathology. *Development and Psychopathology*, 19, 889-920.
- Hall-Lande, J. A., Esenberg, M.E., Christenson, S.L., & Neumark-Sztainer, D. (2007). Social Isolation, Psychological Health, and Protective Factors in Adolescents. *Adolescent*, 42, 265-286.
- Hammack, P. L., Richards, M. H., Luo, Z., Edlynn, E. S., & Roy, K. (2004). Social support factors as moderators of community violence exposure among inner-city African-American young adolescents. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, 33, 450-462.
- Heenan, D. (2006). Art as therapy: An effective way of promoting positive mental health? *Disability & Society*, 21(2), 179-191.

- Hegney, D. G., Buikstra, E., Baker, P., Rogers-Clark, C., Pearce, S., Ross, H., King, C., & Watson-Luke, A. (2007). Individual resilience in rural people: A Queensland study, Australia. *Rural and Remote Health*, 7(4), 620.
- Hogan, D., & Owen, D. (2000). Social capital, active citizenship and political equality in Australia. In I. Winter (Ed.) *Social capital and public policy in Australia* (pp. 74-104). Canberra: Australian Institute of Family Studies, Commonwealth of Australia.
- Howells, V., & Zelnik, T. (2009). Making art: A qualitative study of personal and group transformation in a community arts studio. *Psychiatric Rehabilitation Journal*, 32(3), 215-222.
- Kawachi, I., Kim, D., Coutts, A., & Subramanian, S. V. (2004). Commentary: Reconciling the three accounts of social capital. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 33, 682-690.
- Kay, A. (2000). Art and community development: The role the arts have in regenerating communities. *Community Development Journal*, 35(4), 414-424.
- Kirmayer, L. J., Sehdev, M., Whitley, R., Dandeneau, S. F., & Isaac, C. (2009). Community resilience: Models, metaphors and measures. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 7(1), 62-117.
- Kumpfer, K. L. (1999). Factors and processes contributing to resilience: The resilience framework. In Glantz & Johnson (Eds.), *Resilience and development: Positive life adaptations* (pp. 179-224). New York: Kluwer Academic.
- La Rosa, A., & Guilfoyle, A. (2013). Maternal humanitarian entrants "me time": How social support works in a facilitated playgroup, *The International Journal of Health, Wellness and Society*, 3, 43-56.
- Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic phenomenology and phenomenology: A comparison of historical and methodological considerations. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(3). Article 3.
- Leon, K. (2003). Risk and protective factors in young children's adjustment to parental divorce: A review of the research. *Family Relations*, 52(3), 258-270.
- Lomas, J. (1998). Social capital and health: Implications for public health and epidemiology. *Social Science and Medicine*, 47, 1181-1188.
- Luthar, S. S., & Cicchetti, D. (2000). The construct of resilience: Implications for interventions and social policies. *Development and Psychopathology*, 12, 857-885.
- Lyons, M. (2000). Non-profit organisations, social capital and social policy in Australia. In I. Winter (Ed.) *Social capital and public policy in Australia* (pp. 165-191). Canberra: Australian Institute of Family Studies, Commonwealth of Australia.
- McDonald J. and Hayes L. (2001) Promoting resilience in young people: Progress in implementing a framework in schools. *Australian Journal of Health Promotion*, 12(3), 261-264.

- Madyaningrum, M. E., & Sonn, C. (2011). Exploring the meaning of participation in a community art project: A case study on the Seeming Project. *Journal of Community & Applied Psychology*, 21, 358-370.
- Makin, S., & Gask, L. (2011). 'Getting back to normal': The added value of an art-based programme in promoting 'recovery' for common but chronic mental health problems. *Chronic Illness*, 8(1), 64-75.
- Matarasso, F. (2007). Common ground: Cultural action as a route to community development. *Community Development Journal*, 42(4), 449-458.
- McCreary, L. L., & Dancy, B. L. (2004). Dimensions of family functioning: Perspectives of low-income African American single-parent families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66, 690-701.
- McCubbin, M. A., & McCubbin, H. I. (1993). Families coping with illness: The resiliency model of family stress, adjustment, and adaptation. In C. B. Danielson, B. Hamel-Bissell, & P. Winstead-Fry (Eds.), *Families, health, & illness: Perspectives on coping and intervention* (pp. 21-61). St. Louis, MO: Mosby.
- Onyx, J. and P. Bullen (2000). Sources of social capital. In I. Winter (Ed.) *Social capital and public policy in Australia* (pp. 105-135). Canberra: Australian Institute of Family Studies, Commonwealth of Australia.
- Orthner, D. K., Jones-Sanpei, H., & Williamson, S. (2004). The resilience and strengths of low-income families. *Family Relations*, 53, 159-167.
- Palmer, D. (2009). *Opening the cage, sending smoke and dancing the stories for country: An Evaluation of CAN WA's Rock Hole Long Pipe Project*. Perth: Community Arts Network of WA.
- Palmer, N. (1997). Resilience in adult children of alcoholics: a nonpathological approach to social work practice. *Health & Social Work*, 22, 201-209.
- Perlstein, S. (1999). Culture builds community: Elders share the arts. *Generations*, 22(4), 72-73.
- Polk, L. (1997). Toward a middle-range theory of resilience. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 19, 1-13.
- Priest, K., Coleman-Sleep, B., & Martin, K. (2005). *Preparing the ground for partnership: Exploring quality assurance for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander childcare: A literature review and background paper*. Canberra: Australian Government Department of Family and Community Services
- Putland, C. (2008). Lost in translation. The question of evidence linking community-based arts and health promotion. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 13(2), 265-276.
- Putland, C. (2012). *Arts and Health – A Guide to the Evidence*. Arts and Health Foundation Australia.

- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Saltzman, W. R., Pynoos, R. S., Layne, C. M., Steinberg, A. M., & Aisenberg, E. (2001). Trauma- and grief-focused intervention for adolescents exposed to community violence: Results of a school-based screening and group treatment protocol. *Group Dynamics*, 5, 291-303.
- Schoon, I., & Parsons, S. (2002). Teenage aspirations for future careers and occupational outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior. Special issue on the transition from school to work: societal opportunities and individual agency*, 60, 262-288.
- Short, A., Toumbourou, J., Chapman, R. & Power, E. (2006). The Resilient Families program: promoting health and wellbeing in adolescents and their parents during the transition to secondary school. *Youth Studies Australia*, 25, 33.
- SNAICC (2004). *Research priorities for Indigenous children and youth*. Prepared for the Centre for Behavioural Research in Cancer Control, Curtin University and Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth. North Fitzroy, Vic: SNAICC.
- SNAICC (2005). *Footprints to where we are. A resource manual for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children's services*. (Vol. 110). North Fitzroy, Vic: SNAICC.
- Sonn, C. (2010). *VOICES of the Wheatbelt project: An evaluation of study*. Perth: Community Arts Network of WA.
- Stacey, G., & Stickley, T. (2010). The meaning of art to people who use mental health services. *Perspectives in Public Health*, 130(2), 70-77.
- Stickley, T. (2010). The arts, identity and belonging: A longitudinal study. *Arts & Health*, 2(1), 23-32.
- Stickley, T., & Duncan, K. (2007). Art in mind: Implementation of a community arts initiative to promote mental health. *Journal of Public Mental Health*, 6(4), 24-32.
- Stone, W., & Hughes, J. (2000). What role for social capital in family policy - and how does it measure up?. *Family Matters*, 56, 20-27.
- Sweeney, S. (2009). Art therapy: Promoting wellbeing in rural and remote communities. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 17(S1), S151-S154.
- Tsey, K., Whiteside, M., Haswell-Elkins, M., Bainbridge, R., Cadet-James, Y., & Wilson, A. (2010). Empowerment and Indigenous Australian health: A synthesis of findings from family wellbeing formative research. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 18(2), 169-179.
- Ungar, M. (2006). Resilience across cultures. *British Journal of Social Work*, 38, 218-235.
- Ungar, M., Brown, M., Liebenberg, L., Othman, R., Kwong, W.M., Armstrong, M. & Gilgun, J. (2007). Unique pathways to resilience across cultures. *Adolescence*, 42, 287-310.

- Ungar, M., Brown, M., Liebenberg, L., Cheung, M. & Levine, K. (2008). Resilience across cultures. *British Journal of Social Work*. Distinguishing differences in pathways to resilience among Canadian youth. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health*, 27, 1-13.
- Walsh, F. (1998). *Strengthening family resilience*. New York: Guilford.
- Winter, I. (2000). Major themes and debates in the social capital literature: The Australian context. In I. Winter (Ed.) *Social capital and public policy in Australia* (pp. 17-42). Canberra: Australian Institute of Family Studies, Commonwealth of Australia.
- White, N., Richter, J., Koeckeritz, J., Munch, K., & Walter, P. (2004). "Going forward": Family resiliency in patients on hemodialysis. *Journal of Family Nursing*, 10, 357-378.
- Woolcock, M. (2000). Social capital and its meanings. *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*, 98, 17-19.
- Woolcock, M., & Narayan, D. (2000). Social capital: Implications for development theory, research, and policy. *World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2), 225-250.
- Wyn, J., Stokes, H., & Stafford, J. (1998). *Young People Living in Rural Australia in the 1990's*. Research Report 16, Youth Research Centre: University of Melbourne.
- Zwi, K. J., & Henry, R. L. (2005). Children in Australian society. *Medical Journal of Australia*, 183(3), 154-162.