

Role of evaluation in assessing and developing communication and  
governance processes in an evidence-based policy  
development/implementation environment.

*Ian Falk<sup>1</sup>, John Guenther<sup>1</sup>, Tina Lambert<sup>2</sup> and Kim Johnstone<sup>2</sup>*

*(1) Charles Darwin University and (2) Northern Territory Government Department of the Chief Minister*

### **Introduction**

This paper draws on processes of an evaluation currently being conducted by Charles Darwin University for the Northern Territory government. The task of the evaluation is to inform policy and strategy in relation to the government's Domestic and Family Violence Strategies. The evaluation is not designed to assess the outcomes of the Strategies. Rather, it is focussed on the processes of the Strategies. These processes relate to a) governance and communication; b) capacity building; and c) building the evidence base. While the size of the evaluation in terms of numbers of stakeholders within the consultative sample frame may suggest a fairly straightforward task for the evaluators, the Northern Territory context poses its own complexities.

Finding discursive ways of getting the ideas and importance of 'soft' words and ideas heard by 'hard' ears has ended up being core business to many of us in the Northern Territory concerned with research, particularly, in achieving through it better outcomes for Indigenous people. In our practical day-to-day work of trying to work with complex communities and government instrumentalities to better meet policy targets, we have found that using words and terms such as 'building strong relationships' and 'trust'—even the word 'values' is often heard as 'ideological'—can be counterproductive to achieving policy gains for those who are most in need of their benefits. In short, we have found considerable benefit and potential in drawing on and utilising social capital as (a) a framework to guide the kinds of structures and processes to enable cooperative and productive social action, and (b) an authentication device that assists objectify otherwise 'soft' terms and give them a 'harder' spin (e.g., 'partnerships'). So in the latter sense, we also are using social capital in a particular ideological way, as a tool to achieve ends that we hope will be of benefit to others.

### **Literature review**

*Learning, communities of practice and social capital*

The connections between social capital, learning and policy development may appear on the surface to be tenuous. We take the view that they are inextricably intertwined.

Adult education has a long history of research, theories and definitions of learning in terms of cooperation for social action and change (e.g., Candy, 1991). As Newman (1995) states,

...adult education in social action is a collective activity. People gather / together and cooperate in order to learn as a group. Their motive to learn derives from a shared experience, be it a shared history, a shared oppression, a common membership of an organisation, a shared social class, a common interest or a shared locality, and their aim is to act on their learning as a group. (pp. 246-247)

The impetus for learning here stems from the desire to effect change to social conditions. The emphasis is on the shared nature of the group. The aim is a collective one. There are striking resemblances between this view of learning as a response to a collective need, and the research into ‘community learning’ (e.g. Falk, 1997a, b) where connections are being made in the early stages of the contemporary rise of social capital theory: “Learning can be used for the purpose of achieving peaceful social change” (p. 20). In addition, there is the ‘communities of practice’ work (Wenger, 1998). Lansing (2006) articulates some of the features of networks that develop and respond to complex situations: “The ability to shift the scale...is what gives ... networks their ability to manage the ecology. With that ability the ... networks become flexible problem solvers” (p. 15). The main difference is that the Newman version of learning presumes the group engaging in the learning has the common experience, while in the other versions, there are different groups with different value sets presumed to be engaging in the learning for a common purpose, however the groups share a common aim for their (more complex) collective purpose for learning.

It is within these groups—or ‘networks’ in the language of social capital (e.g. Baron et al. 2004)—that identity resources are drawn on and become available for shaping and re-shaping. This is consistent with the research on building social capital through learning interactions (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; Field, 2003) where it is shown that knowledge and identity resources are drawn on in the interactions that occur in networks, but that the production of knowledge and identity resources is simultaneous—one cannot occur without the other. The interconnectedness of knowledge and identity has deep implications for the nature of networks and the processes that develop their capacity for flexibility (Lansing, 2006).

### *Policy*

Public policy, as the written and legally documented intent of government, is the public expression of the mandate of a democratically elected government (e.g., Marginson, 1993, p. 55). But what constitutes ‘good policy’? How is a public policy’s effectiveness to be determined? What is it that could be done to make a difference to the fit-for-purpose and adoption of policy and strategy by its target groups?

Policy is characterised, according to Considine (1994, p. 4), by reciprocity between those affected by the policy, and those who need to develop and implement it. That policy may entail; clarification of public values and intentions; commitments of money and services; and/or granting of rights and entitlements. Considine defines public policy as "an action which employs governmental authority to commit resources in support of a preferred value" (p. 3). Policy becomes an intervention in people's lives. The particular values and socio-economic circumstances of the target group must be taken into account. Effective policy that is intended to be implemented (as opposed to purely rhetorical displays of goodwill) needs to be evaluated as part of the policy cycle (Bridgman & Davis, 2000).

Noticeable in Western countries' policy profiles is a move away from 'top-down' in favour of bottom-up policy processes. This is occurring in a revised public climate of mistrust and cynicism portrayed in the media, and is a discourse about the often imposed nature of top-down policy processes that have tended to prevail until the last decade of the twentieth century (e.g., Hugonnier, 1999; Norman et al., 2002; Stewart-Weeks, 2000). Steelman (2001) finds that there is a "... move towards participatory and community-based approaches in policymaking" and that these "can be seen as a backlash against more elitist technocratic, top-down models of decisionmaking" (p. 71). Top-down policy processes are coming to be seen as insufficient and less desirable on the part of a citizenry who have unprecedented access to worldwide information sources.

The participatory, or 'policy engagement' approach, arises in the context of recent research, as well as from the trialling, of new models. Hugonnier (1999), for example, describes recent OECD research which analysed the success of policy interventions in 27 OECD countries over the last 20 years for patterns associated with success and sustainability of those interventions. In every case, top-down driven policies did not succeed while bottom-up policies did succeed. Hugonnier's work shows that 'endogenous planning' (Hugonnier, 1999), bottom-up or inside-out (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) processes appear to be a crucial variable in success. In regard to policy interventions in developing countries, Pritchett and Woolcock (2002) confirm this point:

The importance of (often idiosyncratic) [policy] "practices" was largely ignored in the 1960s and 70s, however, as planners in developing countries sought to rapidly emulate the service delivery mechanisms of the developed countries, namely standardized (top-down) "programs" managed by a centralized civil service bureaucracy. Although this approach could claim some notable successes in poor countries, it soon became readily apparent that it had failed early and often in virtually all sectors. (p. 1)

Some Australian state systems report similar results (e.g., Balatti & Falk, 2001) where there have been promising outcomes from areas that have undertaken their own planning and development. Where the processes are initiated and driven locally at community or regional levels, outcomes are found to be both successful and sustainable (e.g., CRLRA, 2000). When it is perceived as 'top-down' or in some way

imposed from outside (exogenous or outside-in), it is judged unsuccessful and is not sustained (Aigner et al, 2001; Gittell & Vidal, 1998). Such initiatives have implications for the development of policy in compartmentalised ‘policy silos’, which is particularly important for the cross-disciplinary basis of both or cases, and of the first one which concerns a whole-of-government policy evaluation of domestic violence.

#### *Principles informing evidence-based policy development*

Additional background for this evaluation is drawn from seven principles that have emerged as a result of analysis by Falk (2003). These principles are not posed as absolute or final. Rather, they are seen as emerging ‘guidelines’ that may assist policy personnel, community groups, interested individuals and researchers in understanding the dynamics of ‘real policy’ in relation to the emerging demands for evidence-based and whole-of-government approaches to policy. A greater understanding of the policy dynamics may assist identify benefits and drawbacks that, through anticipation, might be alleviated or ameliorated, so enhancing the impact that the policy may have on the wider socio-economic well-being. In that work, it was found that, using social capital principles to inform policy development and their implementation processes, seven themes about ‘effective policy’ emerged from the data. These were synthesised into a set of ‘principles’ as follows:

- Principle 1: Effective policy depends on understanding the dynamics of change at ‘the local’ level
- Principle 2: Gaining benefits from policy depends on engaging the intended recipients
- Principle 3: Policy cycle effectiveness requires availability and responsiveness of an evidentiary base
- Principle 4: Continuity of resources, including structure and personnel provides short- and long- term sustainable success
- Principle 5: Ensure ‘market forces’ are supplemented by resourced capacity-building
- Principle 6: Inclusive and consultative processes are slow, but they pay off
- Principle 7: Continuous and iterative evaluation underpins implementation success and sustainability of policy

Official evaluation of policies should begin soon after implementation begins after the letting of a tender. This formative style of evaluation should be coupled by objective and measurable criteria for longer term and summative evaluative needs. However, it is essential to have this combination, as governments rolling out policy in complex and often contentious areas need the knowledge of the developing research from the evaluation to correct emerging potential flaws and steer things back onto course. Criteria for both formative evaluation components should be firmly based on the social capital guidelines now entrenched in the policies.

Given this overview we now turn to a description of the evaluation in question.

### **Evaluating the effectiveness of the NT Government's whole-of-government domestic violence policy**

The context for this case is an official 'Partnership Agreement' endorsed by the Cabinet of the Northern Territory Government (NTG). The partnership is between the NTG and Charles Darwin University (CDU). Referred to from now on the NTG/CDU Partnership Agreement, or 'the Partnership' for short, it provides a secure set of protocol for the way in which the partners can do business. CDU is, in effect, a preferred provider or research and consultancy services under the Partnership. There are various 'Schedules' under the Partnership. A Schedule is simply a named set of mutually desired activities grouped around a theme as a 'Project', where each Project has its own Scope of Works, budget and so on.

This whole-of-government evaluation is located under the Schedule about the reduction of domestic or 'family' violence in Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory and is to evaluate the effectiveness of the NTG's whole-of-government governance structures related to domestic violence policy, strategies and programs. Social capital has been used to both conceive of, and develop the relationships and negotiations about the project conduct and outcomes.

#### *Beginning stages*

In the beginning stages of the Project, the full Scope of Works was developed collaboratively between the officers involved at NTG and CDU. Originally conceived as being within the field of 'governance', the team finally decided against governance and opted for a more sociological orientation based on 'communication', or productive interactivity. That is, instead of seeing the relationships and dynamics between the government departments as a set of 'committees', 'working parties', agencies, advisory council etc, the Project was designed to identify and analyse the nodes of interaction between individuals and groups across and between the five NTG portfolios involved in domestic violence policy. That is, the project was a comprehensive investigation and set of resulting recommendations of government's domestic violence policy effectiveness—potentially a highly threatening and volatile situation given the national spotlight on the subject that came midway in the Project's conduct in May/June 2006.

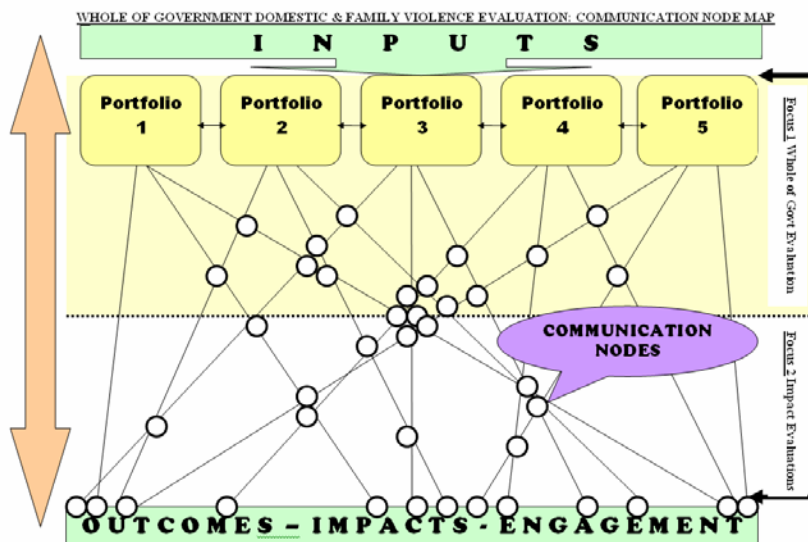
These are the three key questions for the Project:

1. How well are our governance structures working to support our work in addressing violence?
2. How well are we building stakeholder capacity to address violence?
3. How well are we building our evidence base of what types of initiatives are successfully addressing violence in the NT?

The research methodology for this project is described as a formative action evaluation. That is, during the processes of evaluation, feedback is given at various points, input is sought and theory is built in an iterative manner designed to inform the development of policy (Patton, 2002). The approach taken to obtain the data shown below follows a purposeful sampling strategy (Creswell, 2003:185) designed to capture the views of stakeholder groups. In this case, the sampling strategy was designed to identify a representative sample of government and non-government stakeholders from across the Northern Territory.

After identifying the structures, official means of communication, existing stakeholders—individuals and groups, government and non-government agencies—and their potential capacity and the nature of the existing evidence base on the subject of domestic violence in the Northern Territory, we then collaboratively developed an interview schedule whose focus was on uncovering the dynamics and structures of the policy-connected interactivity. It is important to this story to realise that the NTG and CDU officers were included in this analysis, and that the recommendations that would result from the research were recognised as having to be ‘practical’ in terms of NTG’s constraints and the ‘doability’ of the policy in connection with its reaching the target groups. By analysing these outcomes, we sought to establish where the strengths and weaknesses of the interactivity lay, and consider ways of recommending the enhancement of the effectiveness of the policies based on social capital principles. Figure 1 attempts to capture the Project components and the conception of the data and analyses in terms of communicative interactivity.

**Figure 1. Evaluation project components and conception**



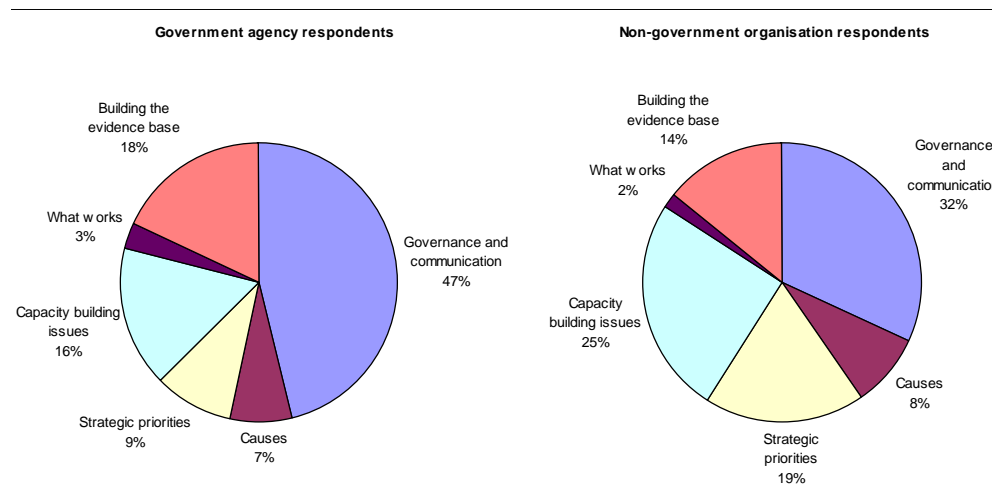
Perhaps the easiest way of encapsulating the figure is to read it from top to bottom. The inputs of policy and top level decision-making are represented at the top as ‘Inputs’. These are carried through to the five portfolios involved in the policy, and the officers from here meet with each other and their own departments, as well as external agencies and stakeholders. Where communication interaction occurs is

represented by the small circles. In effect, these various interactions occur as means of getting the policy and its associated programs implemented at—shown by the bottom bar as Outcomes, Impacts and Engagement—the grassroots level.

### *Middle stages*

The middle stages of the Project involved gathering the data, making preliminary sense of it, and preparing and presenting a progress report for consideration. Using nVivo, the text data were analysed, (including documents and other printed materials) according to standard text and content analysis techniques (Bernard 2000:444–455). The following pie charts (Figure 2) show government and non-government responses to the questionnaire.

**Figure 2. Focus of discussions among government and non-government agency respondents**



While the results portray the overall results, of particular interest to this paper is, of course, the analysis of the communicative interactivity.

### *What did this analysis show us?*

Within *government*, two broad concerns emerge from both thematic and communicative interactivity analyses of the data: (a) Leadership from within the portfolios, which was to do with the upper levels of the bureaucracy, and an elusive quality of ‘ownership’ by the same group. Ownership included the degree of ‘buy-in’ from the higher level bureaucrats—the degree to which they and others perceived their commitment to the policy implementation and effectiveness; (b) Cross-sector communication: where there were gaps in the links, ties and overall communicative effectiveness between the portfolios. Identified as an issue in other whole-of-government policy initiatives (e.g., Sullivan, 2005), it is nevertheless an issue that this team believes it is possible to address if efficiency and effectiveness is to be achieved in policy matters—and hence our recourse to social capital principles where *designing ties to meet the specific purpose* is indicated, as opposed to working on the

assumption that *any ties* (including traditional cross-portfolio means of communication such as Interdepartmental Committees) will suffice.

NGOs were concerned mainly around relationships (the quality and quantity of ties through communicative interactivity) with government. Related to the leadership buy-in and commitment issue above, an example is found in the NGO's point that the most senior elected official involved had expressed initial commitment, but this had not been followed through, and the more formal structures of the implementation process were left with questions about commitment to the overall issue of domestic violence.

In a parallel analysis, the research team has gathered and analysed the discourses of power drawn on in the bureaucratic and political hierarchy. We are keen to understand how the discursive positioning of our recommendations can best be phrased so as to ensure the spirit behind the words can be heard, and that the words do not act, inadvertently as that may be, as a barrier to their 'hearing'.

### *Communicative interactivity*

While the outcomes of the communicative interactivity analysis were referred to above, it may be useful for a deeper understanding of the social capital issues to set out some of the results here. The main communicative themes were found to be:

1. Government–NGO cooperation;
2. Leadership;
3. Cross-sector communication; and
4. Relationships and networks

Referring to the above schema, firstly in terms of *government-NGO cooperation*, four main themes emerged. There was a perception among respondents generally that there was an apparent distance between government and the 'coalface' of service delivery activity. This was in part due to what some described as 'fuzzy' lines of communication. It was reflected in part by a perception among NGOs that there was a lack of consultation from government on issues that were of direct relevance to them. The combination of these factors led some respondents to suggest that a way forward would be for the government to facilitate a space for regular liaison forums that could begin to reduce the distance.

Secondly, in terms of *leadership*, three main themes emerged. There was a perception among government and non-government agency respondents that in order to be effective the Strategy needed commitment and 'buy-in' at the most senior levels of government. By 'buy-in' respondents referred to the need for active and purposeful engagement with the activities of government in the area of family and domestic violence. One of the problems associated with a whole of government approach, identified by a general cross section of respondents, was associated with responsibility—in other words, 'who is ultimately responsible for outcomes?' There was also a perception that family and domestic violence was not at the top of the political agenda and in order for a whole of government approach to work, it needed to be at the top.



Thirdly, in terms of *cross-sector communication*, two main themes emerged. There was a widely held perception that officers in departments tend to work in ‘silos’—that is they have difficulty crossing the boundaries of departmental responsibility to work collaboratively. It was felt by some that this is partly due to financial constraints that make it difficult to pin responsibility within budgets when responsibilities are shared. It was also felt by some that there was a culture of not working together and this first needs to be broken down. The other theme related to a recognition that one of the challenges associated with a whole of government approach is raising the profile of family violence as an issue of importance for those working in departments where it is not core business. Examples were given in terms of education, housing and alcohol licensing.

Finally, in terms of *relationships and networks*, three main themes emerged. There was generally a positive perception about the willingness of service providers to cooperate, communicate and work together. This has the potential to underpin the Strategy. However, there was a negative perception about the consistency, clarity and transparency of government communication—which some described as ‘ad hoc’—working against the implementation of the Strategy. Several respondents indicated that government Strategy was secondary to informal networks and relationships. Some indicated that they were actively pursuing these relationships in order to get things done.

## **Discussion**

The stage of the research at time of writing could be described as the ‘calm before the storm’. The research team (including government officials) has a clear idea of where the cross-portfolio policy needs to be strengthened, and how. The ‘Draft Final Report’ has been submitted for internal discussion in the government department responsible. We are also quite clear about how to recommend practical ways of strengthening the areas that need it. What is not clear is whether these will survive the very weakness earlier identified—leadership buy-in: for if the senior bureaucrats perceive the issues to be a threat to their power and role responsibilities, they may act as institutional blockages to way the recommendations are portrayed to the political arm, and so weakened into ineffectiveness. That is, perhaps the major shortcoming in strengthening the policy lies in the communicative interactivity between the bureaucratic and political arms of government. What should not be lost in this scenario is that the political arm may themselves perceive an electoral disadvantage in aspects of the recommendations and so decide not to adopt some or all of them. This is the case with any research carried forward to government, however.

As a set of principles to guide the research team’s conduct, and as a framework for the conception and analysis stages of the project, we have so far found considerable benefit in its use, and have no present reason to doubt its future potential. It has so far enabled a critical examination of the kinds of formal structures usually employed in initiatives of this kind, such as Interdepartmental Committees. It has pointed to the gaps in communicative interactivity, and through the analysis of power enabled in the conception of the project as communicative ‘dynamics’, the potential flaws in

implementing the outcomes can be—and have been—identified, and the kinds of structures and processes we are currently establishing for the final report will do all they can to counteract the possible difficulties.

In summary, we believe there is merit in drawing on and utilising social capital as (a) a framework to guide the kinds of structures and processes that enable cooperative and productive social action, and (b) an authentication device that assists objectify otherwise ‘soft’ terms and give them a ‘harder’ spin (e.g., ‘partnerships’).

This paper points to the need for establishing capacity through flexible network processes resulting in shared and cooperative structures (networks of various kinds). We show that the networks are bound up in processes that build capacity and bridges to other possibilities and alternatives. This suggests that a multiple lensed framework could help us think about a university’s relationships (partnerships) with its communities of practice (stakeholders). In turn, such a framework could be tested as a planning heuristic for projects where partners come from different sectors and where value-sets, processes and structures also differ. The elements of social capital will be seen to be embedded in that framework. Lansing (2006) makes the point that adaptive systems do “...not focus on optimizing one solution, but rather on improving the features of the system that enable it to learn and adapt... (p. 15).

## **Conclusion**

Bridging the divide between policy and academic processes is something we value highly. It is frustrating and rewarding—mostly the former. For example, in a parallel project for NT Government, and acting as a contrast to test the above developing framework, each party has retained its old understanding of ‘terms’ in eg, scope of works documents, and in the end these terms have different meanings for each other resulting in confusion, networking dysfunction and not meeting each other’s expectations. The focus here has been on the immovable structures (the Scope of Works, the university structures around research infrastructure costs).

What should have happened according to the seven principles is that the language should be developed as a set of meanings shared by both groups from the start, and new (and common) meanings negotiated through collegial capacity building processes. And in these processes two identities are formed: (a) a common research group identity including policy personnel, and (b) identities of the distinctive and complementary team components—and expectations of differentiated roles and responsibilities associated with the latter identities.

In this evaluation the central role of shared language and values is instanced by joint conference paper presentations with the joint author team. It was through these processes that a new structural identity for developing and implementing the subsequent policy and actions occurs.

Four main conclusions are put forward:

1. The interconnectedness of knowledge and identity has deep implications for the nature of networks and how they interact with each other
2. A key feature is the process that develops network capacity for flexibility
3. Structures (formal & informal) should be designed as products of processes and capacity
4. Developing common understandings of terms is essential for network functionality—this oils the joints of network flexibility

In this evaluation we found that aspects of the social capital discourse have provided a means of enabling policy effectiveness. It has done this by providing an articulation of previously unrecognised or implicit enablers of policy effectiveness. In turn, this has occurred through the development of shared language and understandings about bonding, bridging and linking ties and associated notions of social capital that have enabled the policy stakeholders to create organisational space and commit resources for these activities to occur. The two key elements have been shown to be structure and agency, where agency includes the processes that build aspects of capacity. Identity formation and re-formation is a vital component, along with the appropriate knowledge and skills, necessary for developing the cooperative learning required to enable, manage and engage in change processes.

## References

- Aigner, S., Flora, C., Hernandez, J. (2001). The premise and promise of citizenship and civil society for renewing democracies and empowering sustainable communities. *Sociological Inquiry*.
- Balatti, J. & Falk, I. (2001). *Independent evaluation of the Community Training Partnership (CTP) Pilots*. Tasmania: Department of Employment & Training, Queensland Government.
- Baron, S. Schuller, T. and Field, J. (eds) (2000), *Social Capital—Critical Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Bernard, HR (2000). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Bridgman, P. & Davis, G. (2000). *The Australian Policy Handbook*, 2nd ed. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Candy, P. (1991). *Self-direction for lifelong learning*. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.
- Christie, M. (2004). Computer databases and Aboriginal knowledge, *Learning communities: International journal of learning in social contexts*, vol.2.
- Considine, M. (1994). *Public policy: A critical approach*. Melbourne: Macmillan.
- Creswell, J. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, Second Edition, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- CRLRA. (2000). *Managing change through ET: The role of vocational education and training in Regional Australia. Research Report*. Centre for Research and Learning in Regional Australia, University of Tasmania: Launceston.
- Falk, I. & Kilpatrick, S., (2000). What is social capital? A study of rural communities. *Sociologia Ruralis* 40:1, 87-110.
- Falk, I. (1997a). Community learning: Using learning to reconceptualise community well-being, in L. Mesiti & F. Vanclay (Eds.) *Sustainability and Social*

- Research*, 23-42. Wagga Wagga, Centre for Rural Social Research, Charles Sturt University.
- Falk, I. (1997b). A learning community: Learning as a strategic process to achieve sustainability in communities. *Community Quarterly*, (43), pp. 15-21.
- Falk, I. (2003). Social capital and policy engagement: Can participatory think tanks help improve policy process? *Learning Communities: International Journal of Learning in Social Contexts*, (1) pp. 4-21.
- Field, J. (2005). *Social capital and lifelong learning*. Polity Press: UK.
- Gittell, R. & Vidal, A. (1998). *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Hugonnier, B. (1999). *Regional development tendencies in OECD countries*, Keynote address to Regional Australia Summit, Parliament House, Canberra, 27-29 October.
- Kretzmann, J. & McKnight, J. (1993). *Building communities from the inside out: A path toward finding and mobilizing a community's assets*. Chicago: ACTA Publications.
- Lansing, S. (2006). *Perfect Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Marginson, S. (1993). *Education and public policy in Australia*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Newman, M. (1995). *Adult education and social action*. Chapter 17 in G. Foley (Ed.). *Understanding adult education and training*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin.
- Norman, J., Shell, A. & Rosenstein, B. (2002). *Trust*. USA: USA Today, Gannett Co. Inc., pp. 1-2.
- Patton, M Q (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, Third edition, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Pritchett, L. & Woolcock, M. (2002). Solutions when the Solution is the Problem: Arraying the Disarray in Development. *Center for Global Development, Working Paper No. 10*. [http://www.cgdev.org/wp/cgd\\_wp010.pdf](http://www.cgdev.org/wp/cgd_wp010.pdf). Last accessed 7 April 2003.
- Steelman, T. (2001). Elite and participatory policy-making: Finding balance in a case of national forest planning. *Policy Studies Journal*, 29(1), 71-89.
- Stewart-Weeks, M. (2000). Trick of treat? Leadership and social capital in the new public policy. Chapter in I. Winter Ed., *Social capital and social policy*. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies.
- Sullivan, P. (2005). *Strange bedfellows: Whole-of-government policy, Shared Responsibility Agreements, and implications for regional governance*. CAEPR-Reconciliation ICG Project Workshop with WA and Australian Government Partners. Perth: WA.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice. Learning, meaning and identity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.