INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES ON EVALUATING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF PALM ISLAND

By

John Mwamba

MBA, BSc, CPA, DipLGA

MPhil (Management and Commerce)

College of Business, Law and Governance

James Cook University

Supervisory Team

Professor Gianna Moscardo

Associate Professor Theresa Petray

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Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet the requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

John Mwamba

31 10 2021

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When I was growing up, my mother used to tell us “go to school or die”. I grew up thinking that those kids who never used to go to school would surely die. This, however, was not the case. What my mum meant was that for one to have quality life, education was vital. My MPhil journey has been a collective effort of many different people and institutions, without whom this thesis would not have been completed. Therefore, I acknowledge and appreciate the exceptional support given to me by the following people and organisations or institutions:

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Abstract

Program evaluation is a powerful tool which can be used by stakeholders to assess effectiveness of community development programs. Government and private-sector stakeholders have acknowledged the need for evaluations of Indigenous programs, recognising the lack of program evaluation tools, the numerous challenges facing evaluators and a history of absence of Indigenous program evaluations in Australia.

This thesis looks beyond the traditional evaluation practices and focuses on developing an evaluation tool to assess effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs from Indigenous peoples' perspectives. The thesis suggests that understanding program success indicators is the first step in developing an evaluation tool. More specifically, this researcher worked with an Indigenous community (on Palm Island) to develop an assessment tool for community development programs. This study was guided by the following two research questions: RQ_1) What are the key success indicators of Indigenous community development programs from an Indigenous perspective? RQ_2) How can the effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs be measured?

Community development is a highly contested issue including dimensions that range from per capita income (which is measurable) to less measurable concepts such as people's ability to live the lives they desire (Yap & Yu, 2016). The literature review describes the four main theories of development : modernisation theory, dependency theory, world systems theory and globalisation theory. These development theories have relationships to different forms of community capital such as social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, political capital, human capital, environmental capital and built capital. Indigenous approaches to community development are however, different from those aligned to these traditional theories of development. The Indigenous approach includes local culture, local employment, governance, trusting relationships, adequate funding and self-determination.

A qualitative research methodology was adopted in this study because it is suited to identifying different subjective views and context. This is in line with similar studies recommended by past scholars including Kant et al., (2013). The sample population for this study was the Palm Island community. A snowball sampling procedure was used as it is recommended for similar studies especially when the target population is small (Naderifar, Goli, & Ghaljaie, 2017). The research was based on qualitative semi-structured interviews with 20 participants interviewed face-to-face and one focus group interview involving six participants. The interview questions were mainly centred on Indigenous Australian wellbeing, success indicators of community programs, important aspects of community and economic development and perspective on evaluation of Indigenous community programs.

Ethical research clearance was obtained from JCU Human Ethics Research Committee. Additionally, since the research involved Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, the researcher ensured that guidelines for ethical conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research were met. A Cultural Advisory Group was formed to ensure that a culturally appropriate methodology was followed. Thematic analysis was used to analyse and interpret the qualitative data.

To address the research questions, this study identified key themes: Community Programs, Effectiveness and Efficiency, Education, Leadership and Governance, Community Involvement, Self-Determination, Economic and Community Development and History and Culture. Combining conclusions from the literature review with the study themes, and comments from the study respondents, resulted in the identification of a set of program success indicators which answered RQ_1. The program success indicators which emerged from this study included community involvement, cultural appropriateness, cost efficiency, objectives and outcomes, economic development, timeliness and lastly cost effectiveness. To answer RQ_2, a program assessment framework was developed. This framework comprised elements to measure key evaluation questions, success indicators and sources of data. My research concluded by developing an evaluation framework comprising seven program success indicators, main themes and possible data sources.

This research project could benefit policy makers in local, state, and federal governments who are working together with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities to manage their programs and organisations. The research could also benefit the communities themselves, and their future programs and organisations. The research findings may also be used to address some of the community development issues in Indigenous communities and industries operating in Indigenous communities. The findings of this research will contribute to the wider academic environment and benefit future scholars as well. In addition to the applied benefits, the proposed research will contribute to the wider academic discussion on the areas of community-based and driven development (Ahmad & Talib, 2015).

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Abbreviations

$	Dollar
4 Rs	Respect, Relevance, Reciprocity and Responsibility
ABS	Australia Bureau of Statistics
AGIES	Australian Government Indigenous Evaluation Strategy
AGPC	Australian Government Productivity Commission
AIATSIS	Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
AMD	Alcohol Management Plan
ASEC	Australian State of the Environmental Committee
ATSIA	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
AUD	Australian Dollars
CAEPR	Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research
CAG	Cultural Advisory Group
CBA	Cost–Benefit Analysis
CDCP	Centre for Disease Control and Prevention
CDP	Community Development Program
CEA	Costs Effectiveness Analysis
CGA	Community Government Areas
CIS	Centre for Independent Studies
CRC	Cooperative Research Centre
DAE	Deloitte Access Economics
DOGIT	Deed of Grant in Trust
EE	Economic Evaluation
FIFO	Fly in Fly out
FT	Feet
HACC	Home and Community Care
IAS	Indigenous Advancement Strategy
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil Rights and Political Rights
ICESC	International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights
ILUA	Indigenous Land Use Agreements
LGA	Local Government Area
NACCHO	National Aboriginal Community-Controlled Health Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NSW	New South Wales
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PCA	Productivity Commission Australia
PCR	Productivity Commission Report
PCYC	Police Citizens Youth Club
PIASC	Palm Island Aboriginal Shire Council
PICC	Palm Island Community Company
QOL	Quality of Life
RCT	Randomised Control Trials
REF	Reference
ROI	Return on Investment
RQ	Research Question
SCRGSP	Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision
SNAICC	Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNWCED	United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development
USA	United States of America

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

There are approximately 370 million Indigenous people in the world who belong to more than 5,000 groups distributed in 90 countries worldwide. Indigenous people are spread across every nation with 70 per cent of them living in Asia (Latif, Sumardi, Noor, & Irwansyah, 2017). Latif at al. (2017) state that the world's population is 5 per cent Indigenous people who constitute 15 per cent of the world's poor. Some of these Indigenous people include the Inuit of the Arctic Americas, hunter-gatherers in the Amazon and traditional pastoralists like the Maasai in East Africa. Others are tribal peoples in the Philippines and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of Australia (Williams, 2020). Common features found among Indigenous people all over the world include: attachment to their ancestral lands and natural resources; distinct social, economic, and political institutions; and well-defined cultures based on native languages, traditions and beliefs (Hall & Patrinos, 2012). Indigenous people have small populations compared with the whole population of a given nation. In addition, they have their own language and culture which links them to their land and they identify themselves as Indigenous.

Indigenous peoples often experience harsh living conditions and socioeconomic marginalisation. Illiteracy rates, malnutrition, and maternal and infant mortality rates are usually much higher than those of the non-Indigenous population living in the same country (Shipstone, Young, Kearney, & Thompson, 2020; Williams, 2020; Youngblood, 2020). This is particularly the case in America, New Zealand, and Australia where disadvantage among Indigenous peoples is well documented (Shipstone et al., 2020; Williams, 2020; Youngblood, 2020). In addition, Hall and Patrinos (2012) report that Indigenous peoples in the US are four times more likely to live in poverty than an average US citizen. The health of Indigenous peoples is poorer than that of the general population, with much higher rates of disease and mortality (Browne et al., 2016; Negin, Aspin, Gadsden, & Reading, 2015). Smylie and Firestone (2016) believe that Indigenous lives have been destroyed because of their attempts to adapt to western lifestyle that includes unemployment, poor housing, alcoholism and drug use. Indigenous populations also have high chances of being excluded from school (Hall & Patrinos, 2012).

1.2 Australian Indigenous Development

Research by the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR) shows that compared with other Australians, Indigenous Australians have the highest rates of poverty, unemployment, early mortality, and the lowest levels of education (Hopkins, Taylor, D'Antoine, & Zubrick, 2012). Their household and family incomes remain lower than average, and reliance on government transfers including social security payments is high. The socioeconomic disadvantages are high, and communities suffer from infrastructure and funding gaps. Finally, many Indigenous

Australians live in substandard conditions, often in regions which lack basic essential services and are subject to high costs (Smith, 2018). Many have high welfare dependency as well as high suicide rates (Bandias, Fuller, & Holmes, 2012). Altman & Klein (2018) and Pearson (2000) have argued that welfare payments have contributed to many Indigenous Australians being poor. Consistent with other countries, there are also high unemployment rates in Australian Indigenous communities.

In Indigenous communities, some of the factors leading to high unemployment rates include poor education and health, living in areas with limited job opportunities, higher rates of people with criminal history, discrimination and the negative incentives created by the welfare system (Gray, Hunter, & Lohoar, 2012; Hunter & Daly, 2013). Indigenous Australians have on average lower total income than non-Indigenous Australians with the highest difference being those who are full-time employed (Khanal, Lawton, Cass, & McDonald, 2018). The difference is even higher for males compared with females. In addition, Indigenous men and women receive less non-wage income compared with non-Indigenous Australians. Indigenous populations also receive a higher proportion of government benefits compared with non-Indigenous Australians. Indigenous persons are more likely to be dependent solely on welfare payments as a source of income (Taylor & Hunter, 2018). High unemployment rates in Indigenous communities have adverse effects on Indigenous communities and future generations. When school-aged children see their parents not working, then the likelihood of them becoming gainfully employed is diminished, and the likelihood of intergenerational welfare dependency is increased (Edmark & Hanspers, 2015).

One of the major challenges facing Australia today is increasing the living standards of Indigenous Australians (Hunter & Daly, 2013; Ravallion, 2015; Taylor & Guerin, 2019). There are many issues facing Indigenous leaders, their communities and state and federal governments. These include improving the socioeconomic wellbeing of Indigenous peoples. This has led to Indigenous groups negotiating resource development agreements, securing native title and land rights determinations, and establishing enterprises. Indigenous people are therefore faced with challenges of managing land and natural resources with an aim of trying to generate sustained socioeconomic development (Renwick et al., 2017). Low assets in terms of land size or years of schooling, also negatively affect the ability of Indigenous Australians to generate income. The low rates of usage and returns on land in turn impact on economic opportunity. In addition, low use of assets leads to overall low return on all assets. Discrimination and stigma may also contribute to low returns on assets of excluded minorities (Das, 2013; Rivas Velarde, 2015).

19.3% (12.4% other Australians) of Indigenous Australians live in poverty and only 4.8% have salaries within the upper levels . In addition, Indigenous peoples are twice as likely to be in the bottom 20 % gross weekly household income. In year 2014-2015, about 20 percent of Indigenous Australians living in remote areas had overcrowded accommodation (compared to 40 percent who

lived in or very remote areas of Australia). In 2016, Indigenous Australian children aged between 5 to 17 years committed suicide. This was five times higher rate than non-Indigenous peoples. Finally, in year 2016, 28 percent of Australia's prison population were Indigenous which was shocking considering that only 3 percent of Australia's population identify themselves as Indigenous .

Given these challenges, it is not surprising that Indigenous communities are often the focus of a range of development programs, some managed by external organisations and some controlled by the community itself. Every program has its own strengths, weaknesses, challenges, unique operating environment and technical requirements. The ability to identify and manage both constraints and success factors for these programs is crucial. This thesis will report on research into Indigenous perspectives on community development and wellbeing and how development programs could or should be evaluated. This knowledge will be used to develop an evaluation tool that could be used for both community and external organisation managed programs on Palm Island to see how they contribute to community and economic development. This research will therefore focus on developing success indicators and the relationships they have to community and economic development. These success indicators will be used to develop a more inclusive evaluation tool to measure effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs.

In Australia, there is a high cost to the Australian economy arising from Indigenous disadvantage. In 2011, available literature indicates that on average, government expenditure on Indigenous Australians was more than double compared with those of non-Indigenous Australians i.e., $44,128 per person (Indigenous) compared with $20,222 per person (non-Indigenous) (Hudson, 2016). This was attributed to additional needs by Indigenous Australians to cater for Indigenous people's community safety, health, social security and housing. In addition, Hudson (2016) argues that addressing Indigenous disadvantage would not only improve Indigenous people's lives , but would also benefit the broader society, increase economic activities and reduce government expenditure.

According to Deloitte Access Economics (2014), this economic impact would vary from state to state. For example, if economic disadvantage issues were addressed, the Northern Territory economy would increase by 10 per cent by 2031. Likewise, the effect in New South Wales would increase by $7.4 million which accounts for 31 per cent of the national increase. Addressing Indigenous disadvantage could also improve Government budgets by increasing revenues and decreasing costs. Hudson (2016) argues that if Indigenous Australia's disadvantages were addressed, this would lead to a net gain of $11.9 billion by 2031. This was due to $7.2 billion increase in revenues from a broadened tax base (created by a larger economy) and $4.7 billion savings from improved sectors like health and social security among Indigenous Australians.

These results clearly show the high opportunity cost in remote areas. The Deloitte Access Economics (2014) analysis indicates that though only 20 per cent of Indigenous Australians live in remote areas, but closing the gap would increase national gains by 25 per cent. Further, there is little evidence that the strategies currently being used to reduce the above issues are working (Deloitte Access Economics 2014). There is therefore a need to have detailed evaluation of these strategies as well as critical analysis of the processes in use. The overall goal of this thesis research is to explore Indigenous perspectives on development strategies and programs and how they can be evaluated. Improvements to evaluations could be used to gather evidence to support improvements to Indigenous development strategies in Australia and through these to increase the wellbeing of Indigenous communities and reduce poverty levels (Moran, Porter, & Curth-Bibb, 2014).

1.3 Background and context to the research

While most Indigenous Australians live in major cities (35 per cent), 22 per cent live in outer regional areas, 7 per cent live in remote areas and 14 per cent live in very remote areas (Biddle, Yap, & Gray, 2013). This research will focus on community development programs in the Palm Island community which is a remote Indigenous community in northern Australia (Figure 1.1). Palm Island is also known as Great Palm Island, or by the Aboriginal name Bwgcolman, which means “many tribes one language”. The settlement is also referred to as the mission, Palm Island Settlement or Palm Community. The settlement was established as a reserve for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. These Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were forcibly removed and settled on Palm Island from different areas of Queensland, and today it is home to people descended from 42 different tribes. The island is situated 65 km north-west of Townsville, on the east coast of Queensland. It is the main island of the Greater Palm group, and consists of small bays, sandy beaches and steep forested mountains rising to a peak of 548 metres.

There were five councillors elected on 30 March 1985 by the Palm Island community who formed the Palm Island Aboriginal Shire Council (PIASC). This was governed by the *Community Services (Aborigines) Act 1984 (Queensland)*. On 27 October 1986, the council area was transferred to the trusteeship of the council under a Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT). On 1 January 2005, under the *Local Government (Community Government Areas) Act 2004* (Queensland) (the ‘CGA’), the Palm Island Aboriginal Council became the Palm Island Aboriginal Shire Council. According to the 2016 Census, there were 2,446 people in Palm Island Local Government Area (LGA). Of these 49.5 per cent were male and 50.5 per cent were female. Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people made up 94.1 per cent of the population.

According to 2021 census, the estimated resident population for Palm Island Shire was 2,180. The population density was 30.19 persons per square km with a land area of 72.22 square kilometres. In addition, there were 566 dwellings with an average household size of 3.77.

Figure 1.1 Map of Palm Island

1.4 Situating the research.

Reflecting on the work of past scholars (Hudson, 2016; Olsen & Lovett, 2016; Snijder et al., 2015) and the passion I have for researching the development of assessment tools to measure effectiveness of community development programs, I wish to situate myself by way of introduction. I was born in a small village on the slopes of Mt Kenya. Mt Kenya is Kenya's highest peak (5,199 metres) and the second tallest mountain in Africa (after Mt Kilimanjaro). Kenya, being a developing country, has key development challenges including poverty, weak private sector investment and poor infrastructure. The economy in Kenya is market based with few manufacturing companies. Major industries include agriculture (tea and coffee), forestry, mining, tourism and financial services. Kenya depends on foreign countries (Western countries) to support development programs which are aimed to sustain growth, reduce inequality and manage resource scarcity. In the village where I grew up, the infrastructure was very poor. There were no basic services either. The roads were usually inaccessible especially during rainy seasons. This led the Kenyan government to work with other development partners like the World Bank to tarmac the rural roads. This made it easier for the farmers to sell their farm produce.

Kenya was colonised by the British and the education systems is based on an 8-4-4 model. This comprised of eight years of basic education, four years of secondary education and four years of undergraduate curriculum. For my basic education, I used to walk for 5km every morning and 5km

every afternoon to attend school. I however, managed to attend boarding school for my secondary education. When I completed my undergraduate degree, I was privileged to work with the United Nations (UN) for slightly over 10 years in several countries including Kenya, Somalia, Mozambique and France. UN delivers many development programs which promote community development, technical and investment cooperation among member states, advocates and connects countries with each other and builds a better life for people. Some of the community development programs I worked on were education programs, infrastructure development programs and peacekeeping programs. When I came to Australia in 2006, I worked for Thuringowa city council (which merged with Townsville City Council in 2008) and later moved to Palm Island Shire Council. Both communities delivered many community development programs including safety and wellbeing programs, employment programs, cultural programs, children and schooling programs and research and evaluation programs. After working as an accountant in the last three organisations (i.e., UN, Thuringowa City Council and Palm Island Shire Council) for over 22 years, I saw that evaluations of community development programs were lacking. After seeing the millions of dollars spent by government and private sector on community development programs, I developed a desire to research development of assessment tools to measure effectiveness of these programs.

There are many programs on Palm Island. Some programs are managed by the community, some are managed by the government while others are managed in partnership with the Palm Island community and the government. Examples of Indigenous community-controlled organisations include those incorporated under the *Corporations (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) Act 2006.* This Act provides a minimum number of Indigenous persons to be included in those Indigenous organisations (Sullivan, 2010). In addition, there are other programs managed by non-government organisations such as the Cathy Freeman Foundation (Indigenous organisation) and Red Cross (non-Indigenous organisation). These programs have major success factors as well as constraints. On Palm Island, external agencies provide programs like employment, daily supplies, health, transport and finance management. Others include education and training, Centrelink, legal services, substance abuse, homelessness and unemployment. Likewise, there are many Indigenous organisations in remote, rural and urban areas who manage programs and provide services for their communities. Examples of these programs are local governments, aged care facilities and land and sea management programs. Others are land councils, incorporated community support groups like women's centres, childcare agencies, alcohol rehabilitation services, hostels, art centres and cultural organisations. There is a need to evaluate and establish the link between these programs and community and economic development.

Program evaluation is a systematic method of collecting and analysing data with the aim of measuring effectiveness and efficiency of programs or policies (Guyadeen & Seasons, 2018). Program evaluation is vital to stakeholders because it helps them make decisions on whether the program is working as per the original intent. Based on the evaluation findings, the stakeholders can

decide whether to continue supporting the program or not. Stakeholders can also make decisions regarding the worthiness of a program and whether there are better alternatives or any positive outcomes. Evaluation therefore determines how well a program has responded to the need, how well the program is delivered and possibly whether a program is needed or not. A good evaluation tool has a target population to measure. It also addresses all the implementation issues. The evaluation guidelines including the aim of evaluation should be clearly defined and discussed with respective stakeholders (Darlow et al., 2015).

Evaluation of economic and community development programs is necessary to assess whether these programs accomplish their goals and to identify the programs that work and those that do not and why. Hudson, Salvatierra, and Andres (2017) states that in Australia, there is a lack of evaluation of community and economic programs in Indigenous communities. However, to show government commitment in Indigenous program evaluations, the Australian federal government allocated $40 million in 2017 (over four years) to strengthen the evaluation of Indigenous programs (Hudson, 2016). The federal government also appointed an Indigenous commissioner at the Productivity Commission and allocated a further $50 million for research into Indigenous program evaluation, Indigenous policies and their implementation. This demonstrates the importance given by the Australian government to Indigenous program evaluation. Evaluation of programs assists stakeholders like the funding bodies, beneficiaries and program designers to efficiently allocate the resources, be accountable and improve on service delivery. Lastly, evaluation is necessary to satisfy the stakeholders that the funds have been well spent and that the programs have achieved the desired outcomes. However, these desired outcomes don’t align with Indigenous communities’ priorities.

Government managed programs are developed to achieve resilient communities by creating investments in infrastructure and job creation with the ultimate purpose of closing the gap (Tsey, McCalman, Bainbridge, & Brown, 2012). These are intended to drive economic growth and build stronger future communities. In addition, these programs are intended to enhance community and economic development as well as improve social and economic conditions in the communities. Community-controlled programs came about to promote self-determination as well as self-governance. Community-controlled programs also came about because governments were failing Indigenous peoples. Further, Lothian (2005) states that in Australia, the establishment of Aboriginal legal and health services programs in 1970s was to fill the gaps before the government was willing to develop specific programs. Self-determination is a term used to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s sovereignty and control of their affairs as well as taking matters into their own hands to meet their social, cultural, political and economic needs. It is an ongoing process of choice according to Article 3 of the 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (O'Sullivan, 2020).

O'Sullivan (2020) states that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should be involved in planning, developing and implementing the programs and policies that impact on them. Many Indigenous communities lack skills, training, and experience to manage their affairs which can be a hindrance to self-determination (Gibson, 2014). Policy imposition by government does not help either, partly because the government does not consult the local communities. Self-determination is also used to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people taking matters in their own hands to determine their destiny. Among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, sovereignty has a direct link to self-determination. In addition, self-determination is said to be a process where the government transfers decision-making power to the communities. This power includes the right to design, implement and evaluate community development programs. It requires programs and resources that can assist the community to rebuild their own decision-making capabilities. It also includes being involved in policymaking as well as providing the services (Smith & Hunt, 2018). Further, self-determination considers land rights and self-governance among Indigenous communities. In Indigenous communities, land is seen as an economic asset and in some cases has important spiritual elements (Colbourne & Anderson, 2020).

1.5 Statement of the problem

Martin & Finlayson (2018) present several critiques of government-imposed and run programs. Some of the criticisms are:

- Different views between the government and Indigenous peoples, where what is viewed as success factors by Indigenous peoples could be seen as unsuccessful by non-Indigenous people
- The government has been criticised by Indigenous people for not consulting with them during the planning, designing and implementation stages of the programs
- The government has been accused of ignoring the local culture and protocols
- The government has been criticised for not providing enough training and skills when implementing these programs in Indigenous communities
- The government has been accused of providing limited resources such as funding and passing over skills to local communities
- The government has been accused of not letting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities independently set and run their programs and policies.

The government is therefore being criticised for not allowing self-determination (Martin & Finlayson, 2018).

Worldwide, stakeholders (e.g., government, community, and private sector) engage and invest in development efforts for Indigenous communities. However, there has been little Indigenous involvement in publicly available tools to evaluate programs in their communities. As a result, there is

little information on whether and how programs contribute to economic and community development. There are also few programs implemented in Indigenous communities which have available outcomes or impact evaluations (Rowley et al., 2015). Therefore, there is a need to develop a more inclusive evaluation tool for assessing the success of Indigenous programs especially from the point of view of Aboriginal and Torres Islander people (Williams, 2018). This would also enhance self-determination in Indigenous communities. Furthermore, there are many challenges encountered when developing indicators for evaluating Indigenous programs. Though there is currently available literature on Indigenous research and evaluation, there are considerable gaps in the literature focusing on evaluations of Aboriginal communities' programs in Australia.

Evaluations of programs play a very important role because they support management and high quality of programs, accountability and learning. Program evaluation also helps program managers to strengthen the quality of their programs and improve the outcomes. Program evaluations have however been criticised for taking away resources meant for program delivery. In addition, performance evaluations may show bias to certain employees which may happen intentionally or un internationally. Other challenges of program evaluation include limited time and resources, lack of technical expertise, culture/altitudes, politics, lack of focus, difficulty managing multiple stakeholders, stakeholder bias and intervention disguised as evaluation (Martin & Finlayson ,2018).

1.6 Research Aim and Objectives

This research aims to develop a more inclusive evaluation tool for assessing the effectiveness of community-controlled and government managed programs among Indigenous communities. More specifically the research seeks to work with an Indigenous community (on Palm Island) to develop this inclusive assessment tool for community development programs.

1.7 Research Questions

1) What are the key success indicators of Indigenous community development programs from an Indigenous perspective?

2) How can the effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs be measured?

This research project will critically examine Indigenous community development programs including community-controlled programs, government-controlled programs and programs provided by non-government organisations with the aim of developing a program assessment tool. It will do so by identifying factors that contribute to successful programs. The strengths and challenges associated with these different approaches to community programs are not easy to measure using the current tools. This research will focus on the Aboriginal community of Palm Island.

1.8 Research Contributions

This research seeks to recommend an appropriate evaluation tool to use to assist in identifying the strengths and challenges in community development programs. The development of the evaluation tool was based on data collected through face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews. The target population was the Indigenous community of Palm Island. There is a direct relationship between factors which contribute to successful community-controlled programs and community development, with available literature indicating that many community-driven development programs have been very successful. Further, it has been argued that UN and World bank have recognised community development practices (Ledwith, 2020). These community development practices encourage bottom-up approaches as opposed to top-down approaches. Further, it has been argued that the community needs to be empowered to control and influence the decisions which effect their lives (O'Sullivan, 2020). The community therefore needs to be the main driver of the decisions which affect their future. Self-mobilisations and ownership are therefore key to any community development (Berger & Nehring, 2017).

This research project could benefit policy makers in local, state and federal governments who are working together with Indigenous communities with the aim of encouraging Indigenous people to own their programs and organisations. This study may also benefit the current practitioners like non-governmental organisations who are currently running similar programs in these communities. The research could also benefit the community themselves, future programs and organisations. The evaluation tool could therefore be of great benefit to all these stakeholders because they might be able to use it to evaluate the programs and determine whether they were successful or not.

The research findings may also be used to address some of the community development issues in Indigenous communities and industries operating in Indigenous communities. The findings of this research will contribute to the wider academic environment and benefit future scholars as well. In addition to the applied benefits, the proposed research will contribute to the wider academic discussion on the areas of community-based and driven development (Ahmad & Talib, 2015). The findings of the thesis will be communicated through clear and in plain language reports.

1.9 Summary

Chapter 1 of the current study outlines the background of the current research. It covers the challenges facing Indigenous people worldwide and their common features including their harsh living conditions. The chapter also talks about the Indigenous people in Australia and summarises the challenges faced by them. These challenges are therefore the focus of Indigenous community development programs in Australia. The chapter also discusses why evaluating these programs is vital. The overall aim of evaluation is to see which programs work, which don’t, and why. Evaluation is also necessary to assess the areas of programs which need improvement. Finally, this chapter covers

the background and context of the study, highlights the gaps in the literature/ problem statement, research aims and objectives, research questions and finally research contributions.

1.10 Thesis Outline

Chapter 1 of the thesis introduced the study, research background, research aims and research questions. Chapter 2 reviews the available literature on concepts of development, Indigenous people and challenges faced by them. These challenges are the drivers of community development programs. The literature review also covered development theories, approaches to community development, quality of life, different forms of capital and approaches to Indigenous community development. Other literature reviewed included existing perspectives on assessing Indigenous wellbeing, evaluation of programs in general and program evaluation methods.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology of the study including principles of Indigenous research methodology, ethical clearance, the establishment of a cultural advisory group, sampling, data collection and data analysis. Chapter 4 discusses the results of the study focussing on the key themes that emerged from the qualitative analysis. These themes form the main sections of Chapter 4 and include community programs, efficiency and effectiveness, education, leadership and governance, community involvement, self-determination, economic and community development, history and culture and finally program evaluations.

Lastly, Chapter 5 of the thesis discusses the conclusions of the study. In this chapter, program success indicators are described, limitations of the current research and opportunities for the future research are also highlighted. Finally, this last chapter concludes by describing an evaluation framework to measure the effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This section introduces the core areas to be examined in the literature review and illustrates how the review is organised. The literature review includes a critical consideration of past research which identified gaps in the literature connected to the research questions of the current study.

The chapter starts with a review of literature related to the topic of the study including the concept of development and an overview of development theories. The general debates regarding the different types of development theories including modernisation theory, dependency theories, globalisation theory and world systems theories are reviewed. This is followed by general discussions regarding economic and community development, quality of life and different forms of capital. The literature reviewed is further funnelled down to discussions regarding development and Indigenous peoples globally. The review is then further narrowed down to approaches to Indigenous community development programs in Australia and challenges experienced by Indigenous peoples in Australia. The literature relating to discussions surrounding evaluations of community development programs (in general) and then particular evaluations of Indigenous community programs, qualitative and quantitative program success indicators and challenges developing program success indicators in Indigenous communities and methodological issues are critically reviewed. This critical review of past literature identifies gaps in literature which lead to the design of two research questions of this study. These two research questions arising from the literature review are: 1) How can the effectiveness of Indigenous community development be measured? and 2) What are the key indicators of successful Indigenous community development programs?

2.2 Critically Examining the Concept of Development

There is no universally accepted definition of the word ‘development’. Birou, Henry, & Schlegel (2016) defined development as an enhancement of people’s social and economic conditions, while other scholars define development as an advancement of societies through improvements in technologies and applied sciences. Thirdly, development has been defined as a transition of people from less human to a more human phase i.e., respecting other people’s culture and country (Birou, Henry, & Schlegel, 2016). There are also arguments which state that connections between countries arising from trade, financial systems, world technology and military co-operation is a form of development (Birou, Henry, & Schlegel, 2016).

There is a relationship between international development, macro development and community development. International development refers to the pursuit of better world by eliminating poverty, discrimination and injustice. Macro development refers to any policy touching on economic development or growth . Both international development and macroeconomic are linked to community development in that they support community members to identify and take collective

actions on the issues which affect them. Community development therefore empowers community members and at the same time creates stronger and more connected communities (Birou, Henry, & Schlegel, 2016).

Before examining in more detail the effectiveness of specific programs and strategies aimed at improving Indigenous wellbeing, it is important to consider the wider context of changing approaches to the concept of both economic and community development. Economic development is a highly contested term (Throsby, 2017; Zein-Elabdin, 2017). It covers a wide range of dimensions from income per capita to the capability of people to lead the lives they desire (Yap & Yu, 2016).

Other scholars have defined economic development as the development of economic wealth of communities for the wellbeing of their inhabitants (Benson & O'Reilly, 2018). It seeks to improve the quality of life for a community by creating and/or retaining jobs and supporting or growing incomes. Meadowcroft & Steurer (2018) defines economic development as improvements in literacy rates, life expectancy and poverty rates. In addition, it considers things like leisure time, quality of the environment, freedom of people and social justice. Available literature suggests that there is a direct link between strong governance and sustainable development (Meadowcroft & Steurer, 2018).

A purely economic approach has, however, been challenged and it has been suggested that development should be judged by its impact on people, not only by changes in their income but in terms of choices, capabilities and freedoms. Development also relates to enhanced economic, political and social systems leading to improved wellbeing on a sustainable, long-term basis (Sen 2001). The term development can also be understood as a social condition whereby the needs of a population are satisfied by use of natural resources and systems (Yap & Yu, 2016). They further state that utilisation of natural resources should respect the culture and traditions of the population of a given country. The people should also have access to government institutions and basic services like water, housing, education, nutrition and health services. In economic terms, the governments should ensure that there are jobs, country's basic needs met and equal distribution and redistribution of national wealth. In a political sense, there should be legitimate governmental systems that provide social benefits to their citizens (Royuela, Veneri, & Ramos, 2019).

2.3 Development Theories

Reyes (2001) and Shareia (2015) suggest that there have been four major theories of development which are modernisation, dependency, world systems and globalisation. They argue that the term development is a social condition in a country which involves the satisfaction of population needs by natural resources and systems in a rational way. The five common development theories are explained in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: A Summary of Some of the Major Development Theories

Modernisation Theory	- Focuses on the transitions from traditional societies to modern societies - Emphasises development in new technology, modern transport, communication, and production - Is linked to urbanisation, industrialisation and spread of education (Chaudhary, 2013).
Dependency Theory	- Resources flow from poor and underdeveloped states to wealthy states - Enriches the wealthy states (Shareia, 2015)
Neoliberalism Theory	- Favours free market capitalism, deregulation and reduction in government spending - Focuses on reforming market-orientated policies like lowering trade barriers, eliminating price controls and reducing state influence in the economy (Lalancette, 2017)
Globalisation Theory	- Relates to connectedness of production, communication, and technologies across the world - Promotes economic and cultural activity (Reyes, 2001)

2.31 Modernisation Theory

Modernisation theory assumes that, with some help, traditional societies can become modern. This theory argues low-income countries can improve their economy by industrialisation of infrastructure and change of culture, explaining the transition from traditional societies to modern societies. Modernisation theory describes the change process and any responses to that change. Modernisation theory argues that nations/traditional societies can only develop if they adopt new technologies. Those supporting modernisation theory claim that modern states are wealthier, more powerful and their societies enjoy higher standards of living. Developments in new technology, modern transport, communication and production show that there is modernisation. Modernisation is linked to urbanisation, industrialisation and the spread of education (Chaudhary, 2013).

Modernisation theory has however, been criticised because it ignores external changes in societies. There are other arguments that modernisation theory does not consider the loss of jobs in developing countries arising from advanced technologies. In addition, when developing countries struggle to improve their political, social and economic structures to those of developed countries,

modernised countries will continue to grow their structures at a faster rate making it difficult for developed countries to catch up. There are further arguments that modernisation theory is a Western phenomenon that may not be appropriate for other settings (Klarén, 2018).

2.32 Dependency Theory

Dependency theory attempts to address some of these criticisms of modernisation theory. This theory states that worldwide inequalities are due to the exploitation of poor nations by the wealthy nations. This theory therefore opposes the ideas that underpins modernisation theory. Dependency theory says that the wealthy countries are wealthy because they exploit the resources of other societies. Dependency theory ignores the structural inequalities existing between the wealthy societies and other societies. The proponents of this theory argue that wealthy societies make transnational companies and other countries pay the full price for the resources hence exploiting and damaging those societies. In summary, resources are said to flow from underdeveloped and poor states to wealthy states hence enriching the wealthy states (Shareia, 2015).

2.33 Neoliberalism Theory

Neoliberalism theory of development encourages governments to lower trade barriers while eliminating price controls and reducing state influence in the economy (Lalancette, 2017). Adelman (2018) argues that neoliberalism is a theory of political economies which proposes that liberating individual priorities and skills would enhance development. This can be achieved by encouraging free trade, free markets, and free property rights (Adelman ,2018).

In Australia, many Indigenous development programs and policies have been driven by a neo-liberal approach. This has led to harmful social economic impact including increased poverty, unemployment, unproductive labour force and deterioration of income distribution. Further, markets in Indigenous communities don't work because these communities are too poor to participate in them. In addition, government programs in Indigenous communities don't work because the government is inefficient. Production markets have failed in Indigenous communities because they are largely absent. Also, the government policy to replicate market capitalism model borrowed from non-remote Australians has failed (Altman ,2016). Altman (2016) continue to argue that to mitigate these issues, basic income should be provided to all the unemployed 37,000 adults living in remote Australia to enable them to have choice of how they can solve their problems. Australian government has put many measures over the last decade surrounding managing expenditures, school attendance, work and training programs among Indigenous people with the goal of turning them into neoliberalism programs. There is however no evidence that these expensive measures have worked. Furthermore, some of these programs have been extended to non- Indigenous Australians living in nom-remote regions for political purposes to comply with the law of racial discrimination (Altman,2016).

2.34 Globalisation Theory

Globalisation theory investigates global economic transactions which is similar to a world systems approach. However, unlike world systems, its focus is on cultural and communication linkages instead of economic, financial and political ties. In communications, the theory investigates new technology connecting people around the world. Due to global communications, nations (developed, developing and marginal nations) can easily communicate, interact, and connect with each other (Shareia, 2015). This is said to have a positive effect on social, economic and cultural systems of the respective countries. New technology makes it easy to communicate between small local businesses as well as international businesses, hence promoting economic activities. This has, however, seen countries with large business sectors continue to be the decision makers for developing nations (Reyes,2001).

Development theories can be summarised as how a desirable change in a community can be achieved. The four theories i.e., modernisation theory, dependency theory, neoliberalism theory and globalisation theory have been argued to have a relationship to community development (Gudynas, 2013). There are however, many challenges facing sustainable development in Indigenous communities. These challenges include poor health, lower levels of education, inadequate housing and overcrowding, lower income levels, high rates of unemployment, high rates of incarceration and high suicide rates (Banks ,2003). These challenges are the core link between development theories and issues for Indigenous communities. However, available literature on Indigenous community development indicates that there has been a move away from models that assume the adoption of Western values and that capitalist systems are the way to move forward (Biddle & Swee,2012). There are different approaches to Indigenous development which adopt a different development including cultural (protection of resources and traditions, value of collectively, spirituality and languages), social development, political development, health, education, and economic development (Kukutai & Taylor, 2016). Altman (2018) stresses the danger of a paternalising and assimilating approach in Indigenous economic development in remote Australia. Altman (2018) argues that a different approach is needed which empowers communities to grow all sectors of hybrid economy like the customary and community control of development processes. Altman (2018) continues to argue that government polices assume money equals wellbeing which is contrary to an Indigenous perspective of wellbeing. Indigenous perspectives of wellbeing and alternative ideas of program success includes community involvement, community empowerment and self-determination. Evaluators on Indigenous programs needs to consider Indigenous perspectives while evaluating Indigenous programs (Cram, 2018).

Sustainable development theory talks about how a community can meet the present needs without compromising the future generations from meeting their needs (Bodle, Brimble, Weaven, Frazer, & Blue ,2018). They further argue that sustainable development is the one which meets the

human development goals while sustaining the natural systems and ecosystems on which economy and society depends. There are indicators of Indigenous development which includes cultural integrity and empowerment which focus on social, cultural, spiritual and educational development. Other Indigenous development indicators are technical knowledge and environmental sustainability which focus on technology and natural resource management development. Indigenous wellbeing development indicators focus on health and economic development while governance development embeds political and judicial development (Bodle, Brimble, Weaven, Frazer, & Blue, 2018).

Globalisation has been blamed for the disparities between the rich and the poor within the marginalised and developing countries. However, since economic growth is said to be the main channel through which globalisation can affect poverty, it has been argued that that when countries open up to trade, they grow faster and living standards increase with the benefits flowing down to the poor. In addition, globalisation is said to benefit the firms in less industrialized countries because they tap from the more and larger markets in the world. However, some studies have shown that globalisation has been associated with disparity because the poor usually don't share in the gains arising from trade. For the Indigenous communities, globalisation has enhanced the world Indigenous movement in the field of technology, telephone and air travel. In addition, globalisation has helped to link Indigenous peoples together world-wide and at the same time increase visibility of Indigenous people. Thirdly, the Indigenous people can benefit from selling their Indigenous wares and arts. However, globalisation has a negative impact to Indigenous people because globalisation has a greater focus on capital resulting in resource exploitation in Indigenous communities. In addition, in search of minerals, the Indigenous people are displaced from where they live (Howlett, Seini,McCallum & Osborne ,2011).

2.4 Approaches to Community Development

Recent approaches to development have focused more on community-based approaches than economic development per se and have incorporated principles from the broader sustainability literature. This has changed the focus of community development from economic indicators to measures of wellbeing and/or quality of life (QoL). The United Nations (UN) defined community development as a process of creating economic and social progress with full participation of the community (Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016). This was meant to encourage development and self-reliance in rural and urban communities. Gilchrist and Taylor (2016) suggest that colonial governments came up with community programs like welfare and education with an aim of transforming values and cultures. Cultural change was seen as a key element to contributing to economic development. Blewitt (2014) argue that US foreign support aid not only promoted community development programs through digging wells, building roads, schools and planting new crops, but also was aimed at development of stable self-reliant communities with great social and political responsibility. They further argued that community development also involves addressing land and administrative reforms.

Other factors contributing to community development are good policies on cultural values, community media, jobs, income generation and local economy.

Hannum (2011) defines community development as the process of working with individuals and groups to ensure they have skills and support to bring local positive change. The goal of community development is to promote human dignity, freedom, social equality and self-determination. Effective community development leads to all benefits and responsibility being shared among the community members. Such development recognises that there should be connection between social, cultural, environment and economic factors. In addition, it should recognise the diversity of interests within a community and finally its relationship to building capacity (Rogerson, 2014).

Community development has also been defined as an approach where the community members generate solutions to issues affecting them by taking collective action through a process of coming together (Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016). Gilchrist and Taylor (2016) argue that community wellbeing (economic, social, environmental, and cultural) often evolves from this type of collective action being taken at a grassroots level. Further, they observe that community development may range from small group initiatives to the broader community initiatives. In addition, effective community development should have a long-term positive effect/outcome. It should also be well planned, have equitable and all-inclusive benefits and finally be initiated and supported by community members. Community development also seeks to improve quality of life, build community capacity, address issues, take advantage of opportunities and find common grounds of competing interests (Gilchrist & Taylor, 2016). Community development can also be demonstrated when people communicate freely and participate with the government and development agencies (Harrison & Sayogo, 2014).

Community needs are gaps between what services are in the community and what the community expects should exist. This may differ between one community and another. Community needs can be classified in four types including perceived needs, absolute needs, expressed needs and relative needs. Identification of community needs is important because it helps policy makers to identify areas for improvement hence enabling the community to meet the needs of children, youth and families. The assessment of community needs also identifies the capabilities of community including its citizens, institutions and agencies. Place or area-based development is common in Indigenous communities where governments and private sector comes up with interventions to improve the quality of life of these communities and at the same time empowering them. Place based approaches are usually long term and collaborative with the aim of building sustainable communities in a defined geographical location. The interventions are usually designed in partnership with the community members. The accountability for outcomes and impacts are also shared (Kenny & Connors,2016).

2.5 Quality of Life (QoL)

At the core of a community development approach is the desire to improve the Quality of Life (QoL) of individuals and communities (Karimi & Brazier, 2016). There is a difference between quality of life (QoL) and wellbeing. QoL focuses on Individual's situation. Well-being refers to the emotional appraisal. Wellbeing includes presence of positive moods and emotions including contentment and happiness and absence of negative emotions like depression and anxiety. Wellbeing also includes individual's life satisfaction and fulfilment (Diener ,2012).

Diener (2012) argue that there are three approaches to understanding the concept of a good life. Firstly, there is a view that a good quality life is a result of a society free of crime, oppression, ignorance and ill health. Here, QoL is assessed by looking into social indicators like levels of education, crime rates, participation in governance and health measures. Societies which are free of crime, oppression, ignorance and ill health have a correlation to sustainable development and many communities development approaches (Diener, 2012). The second is the argument that a good life arises from choice and freedom to pursue what an individual desires. QoL here is assessed by economic indicators like wealth and financial capital (Diener, 2012). This approach is aligned to economic development and assumes that income allows people to buy the things that make a good life. The third argument is that QoL is when people believe that they are happy and satisfied. This is measured by subjective wellbeing through mechanisms like the National Happiness Index (Diener, 2012). Good life arising from choice and freedom to pursue what an individual desires and the belief that people are happy and satisfied is linked to modernisation, world systems and neoliberal approaches of development (Karimi & Brazier, 2016).

QoL can also be defined as the extent to which human needs are fulfilled. Human needs are subsistence, reproduction, security, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, spirituality, creativity, identity, and freedom (Hulme & McKay, 2013; Papachristou & Casals, 2015). Moscardo (2012) suggests that QoL is dependent on how people can meet needs including good health and physical protection from harm. Others are security needs which enable individuals to lead free lives, belongingness needs, or the ability to maintain social relationships, and opportunities to engage in social, cultural and political activities. Finally, there are self-esteem needs which arise from knowledge, confidence and the ability to make important choices. Good quality of life has been argued to be a sign of community development (Papachristou & Casals, 2015). Many approaches to QoL argue that it is made up of different forms of capital.

2.6 Different forms of capital

Macnaghten et al. (2014) argue that taking the capitals approach is one way of measuring the sustainability of different development options. This approach defines sustainability as the extent at which different capitals are maintained or increased. This is consistent with arguments made by

Hatipoglu, Ertuna, and Salman (2020) that community wellbeing or QoL is supported by existence of, and access to seven different types of capital including social, cultural, economic/financial, political, human, environmental/natural and built. These different forms of capital have been summarised in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Different Forms of Capital

Social Capital	- Quality and quantity of connections between people (Emery ,2013). - Includes trust, Networks, belonging, reciprocity, cooperation, social institutions and associations.
Cultural Capital	- Values and symbols shared by individuals. - Includes arts, crafts, social activities, spiritual practice, language and celebrations (Bennett, 2013; Gee, Dudgeon, Schultz, Hart, & Kelly, 2014).
Economic /Financial Capital	- Wealth in terms of both money, resources and assets. - Used to buy other forms of capital or to invest in activities that can generate either more financial or other capitals (Mika, Fahey, & Bensemann, 2019).
Political Capital	- The ability to access political decisions and influence governance (Hu, & Hillman, 2016)
Human Capital	- Knowledge, talents, skills, abilities, experience, intelligence, training, judgement, and wisdom possessed individually and collectively (Dougherty, 2018; Geddes, Lueck, & Tennyson, 2012).
Environmental/ Natural Capital	- Natural ecosystems that provide resources such as landscape, environmental systems, green spaces and conservation areas.
Built Capital	- Are human-made physical facilities & infrastructure. - Examples are buildings, transport systems, public places, technological systems and distribution systems for waste, water and energy (Kline, McGehee, & Delconte, 2019).

2.61 Social Capital

Putnam (2000) referred to social capital as intangible assets that count most in the daily lives of people. These are goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit (Johnston, Tanner, Lalla, & Kawalski, 2013). Emery (2013) refined this definition and argued that social capital is the quantity and quality of social connections between people. This is composed of features of social networks such as trust, reciprocity, cooperation, social institutions and associations. Social capital can also be converted into economic and human capital through access to financial resources such as loans, business connections and knowledge from others (Leonard, 2004). In addition, social capital can promote economic and social behaviours, hence benefiting the wider regions. Conversely, social capital can lead to negative outcomes such as the strengthening of ingroup-outgroup distinctions and conflicts and closing groups to innovation and change (McGowan, Cooper, Durkin, & O'Kane, 2015)

Social capital can also be defined as maintaining community values and social-economic structures which are important in Indigenous communities (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). These include controlling and managing natural resources, work systems and communal responsibility. In addition, respect for elders' knowledge and the community attachment to their ancestors and earth is also considered as social capital. In Indigenous communities, it has been argued that such cultural assets can lead to improved economic enterprises and livelihoods. Strong network ties and solidarity are argued to be sources of economic security among Indigenous people (Johnston, Tanner, Lalla, & Kawalski, 2013). Lastly, kinship and strong relationships can provide economic security in Indigenous communities (Lunde, 2007).

2.62 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is made up of values and symbols shared by individuals. These include arts and crafts, social activities, spiritual practices, language and celebrations. Education, intellect and other social assets like style of speech are forms of cultural capital. The way one dresses can also enhance social mobility in a society (Uzair-ul-Hassan, Parveen & Saleem, 2020). Cultural values and traditional values are key to any development in Indigenous communities. Just as important as it is to conserve biodiversity for sustainability, it is equally important to conserve the diversity of local cultures and the Indigenous knowledge that they hold (Bennett, 2013; Gee, Dudgeon, Schultz, Hart, & Kelly, 2014). Bourdieu (2011) defines capital as being familiar with legitimate culture in a given society. Bourdieu (2011) argues that the more cultural capital one has, the more powerful they are.

In addition, there are structural forms of culture and institutional racism which impact on cultural practices and particularly social structures. Some of the major social institutions include

family, religion, education, law, politics, economy and media. There is also an argument that cultural capital may be linked to low education in Indigenous communities hence adversely affecting community development (Lawrence & Keleher,2004).

2.63 Economic/Financial Capital

Economic/financial capital is defined as wealth in terms of money, resources and assets that an individual or community can use to buy other forms of capital. Financial capital can also be invested to generate either more financial capital or other capitals, contributing to economic independence (Mika, Fahey, & Bensemann, 2019). Economic independence has a direct relationship with self-determination, which Foley (2003) argues is the goal of any community's activity.

2.64 Political Capital

Political capital is defined as the ability to access political decision-making processes and influence governance which supports self-determination. This can also be the ability of a community member to link to social movements and the ability to mobilise local resources. Political capital is seen as an asset of leaders including politicians and parties who the voters trust and support (Bourdieu, 2011). Sun, Hu and Hillman(2016) refer to political capital as the extent to which popularity is enjoyed by a politician or a leader and is measured through opinion polls or votes.

2.65 Human Capital

Human capital can be defined as individual assets arising from skills, knowledge, health and any other forms of capital. It is also the knowledge, habits, social and personality attributes, including creativity and ability to perform labour so as to produce economic value (Al-Abduwani, 2012). Human capital is made up of intangible resources possessed by individuals and groups within a given population. These resources include all the knowledge, talents, skills, abilities, experience, intelligence, training, judgement, and wisdom possessed individually and collectively (Dougherty, 2018; Geddes, Lueck, & Tennyson, 2012). The cumulative sum of these resources represents a form of wealth available to nations and organisations to accomplish their goals. Human capital makes it possible for a nation to generate material wealth and enhance the economy. In a public organisation, human capital provides for the public welfare. How human capital is developed and managed may be one of the most important determinants of economic and organisational performance (Dougherty, 2018; Geddes, Lueck, & Tennyson, 2012).

There are problems which makes the formation of human capital in Indigenous communities including rising population, brain drain , high poverty levels , insufficient on job training , long term processes and high regional and gender inequality

2.66 Environmental/Natural Capital

Environmental/natural capital refers to the resources that natural ecosystems provide to support human life. These include water, minerals, waste assimilation and absorpotion of carbon dioxide . The conservation of natural assets is therefore vital and helps to sustain future community generations (Fenichel & Hashida, 2019). In addition, these sytems provide us with water, food, shelter, energy and raw materials to produce other things which support human survival and economic activity. These systems also regulate temperature, and weather and manage waste products. Natural capital has financial value since it drives many businesses (Mazurenko, 2017).

2.67 Built Capital

Built capital is made up of physical facilities and infrastructure that communities have available for use including buildings, transport systems, public places, technological systems and distribution systems for waste, water and energy. Built capital is usually constructed or upgraded to suit community needs. They are human-made and can either be public or private. Examples of private built capital are homes, automobile, food and drink, household goods, personal accessories and entertainment goods. Examples of private investments are shops, restaurants and offices. Examples of public investments are streets, sidewalks, streetlights, parking and water and sewage. Built capital is linked to economic development (Kline, McGehee, & Delconte, 2019).

2.7 How different forms of capital are used to develop different indicators of success for evaluating community development programs

Different forms of capital are interconnected and are all essential to community development. For example, built capital is linked to development of other forms of capital especially in tourism projects. They directly contribute to community development (Kline, McGehee, & Delconte, 2019). The aim is therefore to ensure that these capitals are well managed and protected so that they can improve with time. To develop indicators of program success for evaluating community development programs, the use of these capitals is paramount. For example, political capital is linked to self-determination and therefore a program which supports political capital can be a good indicator of a successful program. Likewise, built capital is linked to economic development and therefore a program which contributes to build capital is an indicator of program success because it directly supports economic development (Atkinson, 2008). These indicators of success (i.e., links to economic development) can be used as parameters to evaluate community development programs.

2.8 Wellbeing for Australian Indigenous communities

Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians have health and social disparities which influence quality of life (QoL) and wellbeing. The disadvantages experienced by Indigenous Australians are poor health, low life expectancy, racism and social exclusion. All these impact on Indigenous Australians wellbeing (AIHW, 2015; Cunningham & Paradies, 2013; Vos et al., 2010). Government

and non-government policy makers in health and social are increasing using QoL to measure the effectiveness of policies and programs (Brazier et al., 2017). This thesis argues that wellbeing indicators of Indigenous Australians should contain variables relevant to their values and preferences and relevant to Indigenous people.

In Australia, Indigenous Australians perceive their health, wellbeing, illness, and diseases differently from non-Indigenous Australians (Brazier et al., 2017). For example, the National Aboriginal Community-Controlled Health Organisation (NACCHO) defines health and wellbeing as being not only physical wellbeing but also social, cultural and emotional wellbeing of the whole community (National Aboriginal Community-Controlled Health Organisation, 2010).

Mainstream communities and Indigenous communities also view family and child wellbeing differently. According to McCubbin et al. (2013), most researchers do not consider Indigenous content and spiritual factors when trying to examine Indigenous wellbeing. Government and researchers are said to restrict themselves to only two main indicators i.e., socioeconomic indicators and bio-medical indicators, leaving out Aboriginal indicators of wellbeing such as kinship, culture, and connection to land (McCubbin et al., 2013). In addition, Dockery (2010) argues that poverty eradication alone does not address or develop Indigenous wellbeing, nor do traditional cultures and lifestyles hinder the achievement of economic needs of Indigenous communities. Indicators of Indigenous wellbeing can help governments develop better policies and funding decisions to develop Indigenous communities (Kingsley, Townsend, Henderson-Wilson, & Bolam, 2013).

Butler et al. (2019) identified twelve indicators of wellbeing for Indigenous Australians. These are autonomy, empowerment and recognition, family and community, culture, spirituality and identity, country, basic needs, work, roles and responsibilities, education, physical health and mental health. These applied to both Indigenous Australians living in remote areas as well as those living in urban areas. All the indicators were interconnected indicating that wellbeing of Indigenous Australians is accumulation of many variables/indicators. There is also great value placed by Indigenous Australians to their country (Land, place, and sea), community and family, spirituality and culture (Dockery, 2016). Dockery (2016) state that most dominant indicators of wellbeing to Indigenous Australians are autonomy, empowerment and recognition. This is because colonisation and marginalisation of Indigenous Australians has denied them humanity, existence and identity.

Bainbridge et al. (2015) argue that Indigenous Australians' wellbeing is promoted when they have control over their lives and environment, have power and say over their communities and feel respected by the wider Australian community. Other factors identified as promoting Indigenous wellbeing are knowledge, ability to care for country, getting native title, speaking Indigenous languages, and having a driver's licence (Ivers et al., 2016; Marmion, Obata, & Troy, 2014; Yap &

Yu, 2016). Ivers et al. (2016) further state that empowering Indigenous Australian males improves self-esteem, spiritual wellbeing and health. Further, empowering Indigenous Australian females allows them to have fulfilled lives and better accomplish responsibilities (Bainbridge, 2011). Other factors contributing to Indigenous wellbeing are living in remote areas which provides Indigenous Australians with autonomy and control over their lives hence supporting family wellbeing.

A review of the relevant literature suggests a set of common indicators for measuring the wellbeing of Indigenous Australians. These include good housing, local culture, capacity building, local employment, good governance, trusting relationships and self-determination. These indicators of wellbeing for Indigenous Australians are explained in sections below.

Policy imposition by government does not help either, partly because the government does not consult the local communities (Gibson,2015). Indigenous community's self-determination was however, another indicator seen to support wellbeing of Indigenous Australians (Blackall et al., 2018; Bobba, 2019).

Another indicator of Indigenous community's wellbeing is participation in preschool, formal education and participating in formal employment. Participating by Indigenous communities in the mainstream Australian economy and society is also regarded as wellbeing (Dockery, 2010).

2.81 Local Culture

Embedding local culture is the first factor seen to contribute to Indigenous community development that could be measured on a wellbeing indicator. It is vital to note that as part of their culture, Indigenous world views are based on the whole community and kinships rather than individuals (SNAICC, 2012). Indigenous-managed programs often include elements related to cultural and emotionally safety and encourage strong and trusting relationships (Morley, 2015). It has been argued that Indigenous community development programs need to be culturally based and children should be encouraged to take part with an aim of enhancing their own culture (Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care (SNAICC), (2012). SNAICC (2012) also argued that community-controlled organisations are best placed to maintain local culture because they are fully conversant with the community, rooted cultures and the country. In essence, they maintain culture in a way that governments, non-government and private sector organisations cannot.

Available literature indicates that there is a relationship between wellbeing with culture, spirituality and identity. Knowing about Indigenous Australian culture and history provides strength, pride and sense of belonging and promotes health as well. Cultural identity comprises language, tribal languages and recognition of traditional homelands (Yung et al., 2013). According to Biddle and Swee (2012), practicing culture includes participating in cultural ceremonies and events, traditional language and songs, caring for country, fishing and hunting. All these increase Indigenous happiness and sense of wellbeing (Biddle, 2012; Butler et al., 2019). In addition, fishing, camping, gathering

bush tucker, sitting by campfires, sharing stories, and listening to birds improves Indigenous Australians' wellbeing (Trzepacz, Guerin, & Thomas, 2014). Other factors contributing to wellbeing of Indigenous Australians are basic needs, money, housing, education, paid work, physical and mental health. Trauma, stress, premature mortality rates, racism and family breakups contributes to diminished wellbeing among Indigenous Australians (Dudgeon et al., 2017). Indigenous communities also view wellbeing based on strong family connections and the natural and spiritual world (Rountree & Smith, 2016).

Responsibility of sharing the children's need is shared. The extended family and elders provide Indigenous children with strong networks and security and play a big role in sharing Aboriginal knowledge, practices and culture. This is considered as maintaining wellbeing. Boulton and Gifford (2014) argue that factors which contribute to Indigenous wellbeing are engagement/active participation of community members, sense of belonging and having a great purpose. People who make contributions to the community were also one of the factors leading to community wellbeing. Knowledge of Indigenous native languages provided a sense of belonging and also was considered good community wellbeing. Those speaking native Indigenous languages were considered as having a sense of belonging and therefore a culture of identity. Spiritual values, practices and beliefs are also considered elements of Indigenous wellbeing (Boulton & Gifford), sustainability of Indigenous communities' land, language and culture (arts or crafts production; music or dance performance and writing or telling stories, hunting, gathering and fishing) are seen as factors of Indigenous community's wellbeing (Biddle, Yap, & Gary, 2013). Those Aboriginal people who are happy tend to maintain their attachment to land, language and culture. There is also a link between wellbeing and sustainability of Indigenous culture, land and language (Biddle and Swee,2012). Recognition and/or living on homelands was also found to have a positive relationship to Indigenous wellbeing. The same applies to sustainability of harvesting activities, learning Indigenous language and production of Indigenous culture.

2.82 Capacity Building

Capacity building refers to helping community residents and organisations to improve their skills and tools to achieve community goals (Riddell, Salamanca, Pepler, Cardinal & McIvor, 2017). Capacity building also develops and strengthens skills, abilities and resources that communities need to survive. In Indigenous communities, this is achieved through enhancing resilience by building enterprise opportunities, social capital and community assets. It is also achieved by empowering Indigenous communities to build their institutions, design their programs and implement them (Sangha et al., 2017).

Evaluation processes and outcomes in Indigenous communities should not only provide positive outcomes to a community but also help to enhance community members' skills (capacity

building) in those communities. According to Gillespie, Albert, Grant, and MacKeigan (2020), evaluation of programs in Indigenous communities should be relevant and recognise Indigenous knowledge. The process should be done in collaboration with Indigenous peoples and with an aim of producing outcomes and processes which are beneficial to Indigenous communities.

2.83 Local Employment

Employing local Indigenous staff is seen as a factor encouraging Indigenous community development. Employing local Indigenous staff plays a vital role in leadership for community members. There is also a need for staff development, as skilled and competent staff are big assets for a strong organisation. Strengthening community capacity and leadership is essential because strong Indigenous leaders are associated with successful programs. Other factors are trust and flexibility (Burchill, Higgins, Ramsamy & Taylor, 2006; Morley, 2015). Research has shown that successful organisations are those with chief executive officers who were well focused and who encourage working together with other organisations as well as other stakeholders (Morley, 2015). This includes collaboration with Indigenous communities and other clients. Successful chief executive officers participate in government policies. In addition, they work well with industry associations, government, and non-government organisations (Morley, 2015*).*

2.84 Good Governance

Dreise et al. (2019) argue that governance is paramount when evaluating Indigenous programs. They highlight the need for independence between those administering policies and programs and those evaluating them.

Good governance is key to Indigenous community development. Successful Indigenous organisations are those with good governance practices and take necessary precautions to avoid poor governance (Antlöv, Wetterberg, & Dharmawan, 2016; AIATSIS, 2007; Sullivan, 2010). Antlöv, Wetterberg, & Dharmawan, (2016) argue that good governance leads to sustainable Indigenous organisations and communities. These institutions are said to have good governance structures, processes and institutional capacity in place. In addition, these institutions make sound decisions at the same time being representative and accountable. Some of the benefits of good governance include stable institutions and equal representation of the citizens. Other factors of good governance in Indigenous communities includes depending less on staff quality and resolving conflicts effectively. Lastly, institutions with good governance have better planning processes. They also create environments which are encourages sustainable social-economic development (Dodson & Smith, 2003).

Dodson & Smith (2003) state that organisations with good governance have stable organisational structures, capable and elective institutions as well as rules which do not change frequently. These institutions protect day-to-day businesses and program management from political

interference. In addition, leaders make strategic decisions while managers make operational decisions. The organisations also have well-defined policies, staff roles and responsibilities. The decisions made by these institutions are rational while adhering to the separation of powers. The dispute resolution processes are clear and governing institutions takes politics out of court decisions and other methods of dispute resolutions. In Indigenous communities, successful organisations with sound financial controls are success indicators of wellbeing. In addition, these institutions have strong administrative management systems and achievable effective and realistic development strategies. There is further argument that such organisations culturally fit well with the local communities (Antlöv et al., 2016; Dodson & Smith, 2003).

Indigenous communities have made formal agreements with many partner organisations. These agreements have been used by many Indigenous organisations to provide clarity and prevent misunderstandings with partner organisations (Couzos, Lea, Murray, & Culbong, 2005; Morley, 2015). In addition, these documents have been used to establish the Indigenous organisation's strategic vision and any mutual agreements over particular matters like intellectual property issues or project governance (Holmes et al. 2019).

2.85 Trusting Relationships.

Trusting relationships between Indigenous organisations and partner organisations contribute to effective management of Indigenous-run programs (Morley, 2015). A trusting relationship is achieved by employing Indigenous staff to manage and provide feedback on specific Indigenous services such as water and sea management programs. In addition, there is a need to respect Indigenous people's divergent views. Those organisations working in Indigenous communities need to show respect and not be judgemental regarding Indigenous ways of thinking. Showing genuine interest is vital. It is essential to allow sufficient time while working in Indigenous communities to allow Indigenous people to reflect and make decisions. Finally, external organisations working with Indigenous people need to empower them to plan, design, deliver and evaluate community development programs (Morley,2015). To establish trust, corroboration with Indigenous leaders and respect for the institutions operating in Indigenous communities is paramount (Campbell & Hunt, 2012). Also, it is vital to establish any issues beforehand and provide conflict resolution processes and to engage with local community members. Biddle (2012) described social capital as being a factor and determinant of Indigenous Australians wellbeing. Volunteering, engaging in music and sporting clubs are sources of social capital and social connectedness in Indigenous communities (Browne-Yung et al., 2013).

Campbell and Hunt, (2012) state that use of interpreters (if needed) and use of clear and concise language by external organisations running programs in Indigenous communities is key to trusting relationships. In addition, one needs to fully understand how partner organisations and

governments operate. It is important to look for community strengths rather than community weaknesses. To achieve effective organisation's processes, proper handovers between the incoming staff and outgoing staff is necessary. Feedback should also be sought from Indigenous peak bodies and community members. Finally, flexible funding and flexible program delivery timelines allows better approaches to address any issues (Campbell and Hunt, 2012).

2.86 Self-Determination

Self-determination is a term used to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's sovereignty and control of their affairs in order to meet their social, cultural, political and economic needs. It is an ongoing process of choice according to Article 3 of the 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Kwaymullina, 2016; Wiessner, 2009). The same article further states that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should be involved in planning, developing and implementing the programs and policies that impact on them. It has been argued that Indigenous self-determination is about collective decision-making regarding economic, political and social issues (Deci & Ryan, 2010). Decolonisation is also a factor which cannot be ignored when it comes to self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 2010; Pearson, 2000). Many Indigenous communities lack skills, training and experience in order to manage their affairs which can be a hindrance to self-determination (Gibson, 2015).

In 1972 the first "self-determination" policy for Aboriginals was established by the Commonwealth Government. This policy allowed Aboriginal organisations to pursue self-determination (Perheentupa,2018). In addition, it gave rights to Indigenous Australians to make decisions about matters affecting their own lives. This included their future development including social, political and economic development. In 1989, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) was formed by the Australian Government. Its objectives were the participation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in government and policy formulation and implementation, promotion of Indigenous self-management and self-sufficiency, encouragement of Indigenous economic, social and cultural development and lastly, coordination of Commonwealth, State, Territory, and Local Government policies affecting Indigenous people (Howard-Wagner, 2018). Howard-Wagner (2018) states that ATSIC was advising governments on Indigenous issues as well as advocating for recognition of Indigenous rights and delivering and monitoring Indigenous programs and services. It was thus seen as an institution meant to support self-determination. ATSIC was, however, abolished by the Howard Government on 15th April 2004, raising several issues and questions regarding Indigenous self-determination and Indigenous elected institutions in the Australian political system as well as policymaking and service delivery in Indigenous communities. Current government policies on Indigenous affairs do not support the policy of self-determination (Nakata,2020).

Self-determination has a positive relationship to the wellbeing of Indigenous Australians (Butler et al., 2019). Butler et al. (2019) argue that community involvement in designing and delivery of mental health programs/ services was linked to lower rates of youth suicide. Bottom-up approach in planning and implementing Indigenous programs was linked to self-determination and wellbeing for Indigenous Australians (Sterling et al.,2017).

When Indigenous people participate in jobs such as land management, environmental work and tourism, this acts as a factor which protects against mental illness by reducing stress. In addition, this builds self-confidence, promotes self-determination and wellbeing among Indigenous people (Sterling et al.,2017). According to Altman (2018b), producing art helps Aboriginal people to be active. This prevents social and health problems linked to inactivity. They further state that when Aboriginal people engage in art, they feel empowered and at the same time this increases their esteem and wellbeing. There should also be a balance between self-determination and public accountability. To build confidence among Indigenous people, they need to be given the liberty of controlling the evaluating process. While the Indigenous people should co-design and actively be involved with evaluation processes, Indigenous knowledge, perspectives, culture, viewpoints and circumstances should be taken into consideration. Blignault, Haswell, and Pulver (2016) suggest that program staff should work with the community to establish partnerships, train local community members and programs tailored into local context. Community and all stakeholders input are crucial in program's design.

Porter et al., (2017) argue that Aboriginal communities should be given priorities to decide the research methodologies in their communities. They should also set research agendas and decide the areas which are critical to them. Other considerations to be made are cultural, tribal and linguistic differences between communities. Past literature indicates that different communities had different needs, different cultures and interpret things differently. Evaluations in Indigenous communities should contribute to community empowerment. The evaluations should not be used as measures of external accountability (Fullan, Rincón-Gallardo, & Hargreaves, 2015; Porter et al., 2017).

2.87 Addressing development issues for Australian Indigenous communities

Several possible strategies for addressing development issues faced by Australian Indigenous communities have been proposed. Beadman (2009, 2010), for example, states that there are two policy requirements for Indigenous human and economic development. Firstly, there is a need to improve human and physical capital and identify relevant and business and employment opportunities. Secondly, once the employment opportunities are identified, they need to be taken up by Indigenous people in a move from welfare dependency to paid employment. There are few enterprises operating in Indigenous communities compared with the other types of community. Bandias et al., (2012) refer to this as an enterprise gap and argue that assistance is required to identify

employment and enterprise opportunities as well as any barriers to enterprise developments in these communities. Previous research has identified a need to commence micro and small enterprises in Indigenous communities (Altman, 2018a; Coria & Calfucura, 2012).

Duncan (2013) and Ritter (2020) note that some Aboriginal groups have gained control over large areas of land and that this land should play a role in economic development for Indigenous communities. Pollack (2018) estimated that the Indigenous estate/land accounts for 18-20 per cent of the continental land of which most has little commercial or agricultural value. This land, however, has high biodiversity value and includes economic development opportunities like mining and expansion of urban environments. Greenhouse programs can be set on Indigenous land. These greenhouse programs have a commercial value since they can trade carbon as it aims to reduce atmospheric carbon (Altman, 2007; Becken & Mackey, 2017).

Land rights and native title can help to improve economic development in Indigenous communities and therefore to reduce poverty. Duncan (2013) offers three suggestions. Firstly, he looks at the issue of land tenure and land management. Recognising the customary group ownership of Indigenous land tenure, he identifies both incentives and problems for individuals. He argues that group ownership of land makes it difficult for individuals to use land as collateral to borrow or raise finance and suggests that this issue can be solved through individual ownership of land. Secondly, Indigenous communities could be involved in natural resource management. Further he recommends a possible payment mechanism for social benefits like water resources under the native title. This would make it possible to continue and expand if equitably sourced by the state. Thirdly, Duncan (2013) argues for analysis and reductions in native title transaction costs. Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUA) may be used to quantify these transaction costs. These savings could then be used to finance development projects in Indigenous communities (Duncan 2013).

Altman (2018) takes a different view from Duncan (2013). He suggests that the absence of market and private sector economies hinders economic development in Indigenous communities. Altman (2018) argues that land rights have been recognised in these remote areas where the Indigenous people live because of cultural connections to traditional lands. Indigenous people prefer not to migrate to seek employment. Economic development in Indigenous communities is therefore not just market engagement, formal employment and growing income. Altman (2018) further argues that remote economies have been in continual crisis because the customary element has been overlooked and that the economies of Aboriginal communities are healthy if measured appropriately. While there might be no private businesses, there is hunting and food sharing. In order to avoid the costs of underdevelopment, it is necessary to facilitate Indigenous economic development by granting rights to existing property like water (Altman, 2018). Altman (2018) further says that there is less

governance for development in Indigenous communities. They also have institutions which are undeveloped, under resourced and that cannot utilise property rights.

According to Altman (2018), there are many factors that are necessary to close the gap. Indigenous communities have diverse cultural and economic factors and this means that challenges need local solutions and should not be driven from outside. Altman (2018) also argues that when Indigenous communities make their own decisions regarding matters such as government and natural resource management, they do better than outside decision makers. Though Australia is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, many Indigenous Australians live in poverty (Altman, 2018). Altman (2018) introduced the "hybrid economy model" and "pro-poor growth strategies" to address the economic development problems faced by Indigenous Australians. In addition to the convectional two-sector economy (market/private and state/public), Altman, (2018) adds a third "customary sector" which consists of non-monetary activities such as fishing, hunting and gathering. He further recommends that Indigenous communities be empowered to grow all sectors of the hybrid economy including provision of environmental services.

Altman (2018) and Duncan (2013) have different approaches to development challenges in Indigenous communities and different sorts of success factors. Altman (2018) argues that hybrid economy is a success factor in Indigenous community development. Duncan (2013) argues that land rights and native titles are key success factors to economic development in Indigenous communities. However, both Altman (2018) and Duncan (2013) agree that both approaches can reduce welfare dependency at the same time as improving the Indigenous development wellbeing. This also supports productive Indigenous activity.

Previous research suggests that there are alternative ways to think about development, wellbeing and success of programs in Indigenous communities. These alternative approaches are connected to community, land, culture, spirituality and ancestry, self-determination, social-economic, education and employment (Altman, 2018; Duncan, 2013). Based on these alternative approaches to Indigenous development, there is a need to reconsider how development programs are evaluated.

2.9 Evaluating Community Development Programs in general

Program evaluation can be defined as a systematic process of collecting information about the outcomes and characteristics of a program in order to determine the uncertainties , improve efficiency and effectiveness and make decisions. Performance indicators are used to measure the effectiveness of a program and directly relate to the objectives of the program (Ridani et al., 2015). The choice of indicators depends on the aims of the program, resources available, study design and the interested parties. When the program evaluation is complete, the evaluator needs to consider whether there are any tangible benefits arising from the evaluation. The results should indicate to the stakeholders whether the program needs to be continued, discontinued or modified. The evaluation report should also indicate whether the program needs to be improved and whether there are any side effects arising

out of the intervention (program). The program evaluation results should be discussed with the program providers and other stakeholders before any modifications to the program be made (Newcomer, Hatry, and Wholey ,2015). Newcomer, Hatry, and Wholey (2015) argue that evaluation should be an integral part of a program. An evaluation plan needs to be included in the program design. This makes it easy for the data collection during the program implementation and evaluation stages. The results of the evaluation need to be shared with all the stakeholders and used to plan for the future programs (Mertens & Wilson,2018; Olsen & Lovett,2016). According to the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, program performance and evaluation office (2012), evaluation questions tend to fall into the categories of implementation, effectiveness, efficiency, cost effectiveness and attribution (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Evaluation Questions: Source: Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, Program Performance & Evaluation Office (2012)

Implementation: Was the program implemented as originally intended?
Effectiveness: Is the program achieving goals and objectives as originally intended?
Efficiency: Are program's activities appropriately using resources including funds and staff time?
Cost-Effectiveness: Does the value of the outcomes/benefits outweigh the costs of producing them?
Attribution: Are the outcomes because of the program/Intervention as opposed to other programs being implemented the same time?

The available literature suggests that both efficiency and effectiveness are some of the key factors which evaluators needs to consider when evaluating community programs (Stattin, Enebrink, Özdemir, & Giannotti, 2015; Meza, Mello, Gomes Júnior & Moreno, 2018).

2.10 Types of Evaluation

Both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used to evaluate community development programs (Newcomer, Hatry & Wholey, 2015). While an experimental design to demonstrate a change (or no change) in outcomes is said to be a powerful program evaluation approach , it can be a difficult method to use in practice. Quantitative methods include experimental approaches and economic evaluation (cost effectiveness analysis and costs benefit analysis).

Economic evaluation is a process of using analytical techniques to identify, measure, value and compare costs and outcomes of more than one program (Drummond, Sculpher, Claxton, Stoddart, & Torrance, 2015). Economic evaluation is meant to demonstrate a program's value for money, overall program costs and cost savings to the stakeholders. Here, the evaluator looks into the program's costs and compares the cost and outcomes of a program. Economic evaluation therefore deals with measuring the cost of implementing a program including labour, equipment, consumables,

and overheads (for example electricity costs). The outcomes can be valued at the program design i.e., when the program design and budget is prepared (Drummond, et al., 2015). While economic evaluation is common, it is not the only option for evaluation.

According to Katz et al., (2013) there are many challenges encountered when developing indicators for evaluating Indigenous programs. Firstly, though there is currently available literature on Indigenous research and evaluation, there are considerable gaps and problems in the literature focusing on evaluations of Aboriginal communities' programs in Australia. Secondly, there are tensions and challenges between the researchers, funders and evaluators and these make it difficult to successfully develop indicators to evaluate programs in Aboriginal communities. This is common with the government-funded evaluations which are characterised by short time scales, limited funding and prescribed methods (Katz et al., 2013). Thirdly, there are tensions between community ownership/consultations and the researchers/evaluators especially when the community is required to manage research programs. This makes it hard for the evaluators to come up with strong indicators. In addition, there are tensions between the bureaucratic requirements of the research and the community needs. For example, many ethics committees require lengthy project explanations and complex consent forms which can be intimidating to Aboriginal participants. Another challenge experienced by researchers/evaluators when developing indicators is that Aboriginal communities are not homogenous and have diverse views about the value attached to indicators and evaluations as well as the findings. Since most research and evaluations usually focus on the marginalised communities who are not recognised in community structures, this creates barriers to develop the indicators (Craig et al., 2020).

2.11 Categories of program evaluation

Evaluation of community development programs falls into two main categories i.e. formative and summative (Boothroyd, 2018; Moore et al., 2015). Newcomer et al. (2015) argue that formative evaluation techniques can include focus groups and open-ended questionnaires to collect data. Boothroyd (2018) argues that summative evaluation focuses on program benefits while formative evaluation can quantify the cost which may help to reduce costs or increase efficiency. These categories are explained in sections below (Figure 2.1).

2.111 Formative Evaluation

Formative evaluation is usually conducted during the program implementation stages. This provides feedback to the stakeholders about whether there are areas which need improvement. It also helps the program providers to identify program strengths and weaknesses. Formative evaluation can be further categorised into needs assessment and process assessment.

Needs assessment looks at the nature of the problem being solved. For example, a program to assist children who cannot read English should identify the target population. Different strategies are analysed with the possibility of coming up with the best approach to utilise the funds.

Process assessment checks whether the program is doing as it says. It also assesses whether the services are being offered to the community as originally planned. Ways of improving the cost effectiveness are also taken into consideration. Further, process evaluation assesses whether the right population is being targeted and whether the community members are satisfied with the service. Process assessment is subject to the program intent. For example, a process evaluation rather than an outcome evaluation will measure whether a program has been implemented as per the original intent (Boothroyd, 2018; Moore et al., 2015). This involves creating a list of indicators based on the features of a program.

2.112 Summative Evaluation

Summative evaluation is the assessment of the program focusing on the outcomes. This contrasts with formative assessment since it is conducted at the end of the program. Summative evaluation is categorised into two more categories which include outcome evaluation and impact evaluation (Boothroyd, 2018; Moore et al., 2015).

Outcome evaluation seeks to establish whether the program was successful (Boothroyd, 2018; Moore et al., 2015). Impact assessment measures the impact or effect on the target population which has occurred as a result of implementing a program. The nature of the benefits is also assessed including the population who benefited, and whether there are some who benefited more than others (Boothroyd, 2018;Moore et al., 2015).

Formative	
Needs Assessment	- Determines who needs the program/intervention - How great the need is and how best the need can be met
Process Evaluation	- Measures effort and the direct outputs of interventions - What and how much was accomplished - Examines the process of implementing the intervention - Determines whether program was operating as planned
Summative	
Outcome Evaluation	- Measures effects and outcomes because of program - Investigates the extent at which the program achieves its outcomes
Impact Evaluation	- Measures long-term effect/community level effects /results from the program

Figure 2.1 Formative and Summative Evaluation

2.12 Program Evaluation Process

Figure 2.2 Evaluation Process. Source: Parker & Robinson (2013)

Muir & Dean (2017) state that the first step in evaluation is to build the evaluation into a program's design by setting resources (money and time) aside. Evaluation needs to be done regularly, however, in most cases this is done after the program is complete. Most evaluations are also commissioned after the programs have started. The program's objectives should be clearly outlined, outcomes to be evaluated and relationships with the Indigenous people to be strengthened. The programs outcomes should be measurable with most evaluations measuring either short- or medium-term outcomes. A clear idea of the expected outcomes can help to determine evaluation questions, appropriate data collection methods and whether there is a need to seek the services of an external

evaluator. The evaluations should be carried out as the program is being delivered with a focus on building evidence over time. Single evaluation cannot be taken as a definite statement measure of effectiveness (Muir & Dean, 2017).

During the evaluation process, community consultations and participation is essential. This should be part of design, data collection and analysis. Community members are the best guide for their communities because they identify issues that may hinder the evaluation process. Indigenous community members are also best placed to ensure that the program's design, data collection and report analysis meet the local needs. Indigenous communities are most affected by the evaluation outcomes and therefore will have an intrinsic interest (Le Grande et al., 2017). Le Grande et al. (2017) argue that appropriate research with Indigenous people calls for respective relationships, an assurance that the evaluation is for the benefit of Indigenous people, and meaningful participation and sharing of the findings. During the planning stage, discussions regarding the needs of the evaluation and the benefits should be discussed between the evaluators, commissioning organisation and the community members who are the beneficiaries of the programs. The program funders will be interested in evidence of cost effectiveness or cost efficiency. Conversely, the program providers are interested in program delivery and the community members are interested in the outcomes or impacts.

Although many Indigenous evaluation frameworks using community involvement do emphasise on qualitative methodology, there is no single best-suited evaluation method to evaluate Indigenous programs. This is because of the context on which the programs operate and heterogeneity of Indigenous communities in Australia ((Muir & Dean, 2017). The evaluation methodology depends on the context of evaluation objectives, availability of resources (time and money) and what the stakeholders and evaluators think is appropriate. The chosen methods should address the evaluation questions. There are, however, challenges in the context of Indigenous methods arising from lack of data/evidence to assess the effectiveness of Indigenous programs (Walter & Anderson, 2013).

2.13 Evaluation of Indigenous programs

The importance of critically analysing and evaluating community-controlled programs and government managed programs and their impact on community development has been recognised by many stakeholders including the communities, government, non-government organisations and the private sector (Kenny, 2010). Current discussions have, however, suggested that community-controlled programs often face major challenges. Past studies on community-controlled programs indicates that research focused on constraints like human capital, financial capital and built capital. Limited research has been done on other capitals, like social and cultural capitals, and how they affect community-controlled programs, government-controlled programs and economic development. More research on this area is therefore necessary in order to see the connection between these capitals and community programs. Also, there is need to critically analyse and evaluate existing community-

controlled programs and propose ways of enhancing efficiency regarding the planning, design and implementation stages. In addition, there is a need to evaluate those programs which have failed to meet their goals and to propose ways of improvement (Hudson,2016).

In Australia, many public dollars from local, state and federal governments are spent in Indigenous programs with the objective of supporting community and economic development activities. According to the 2017 Productivity Commission report, $33.6 billion was the government expenditure on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Since a lot of funds are spent by governments and private sector on programs with the aim of providing better services to the communities, effective evaluations of these programs are vital. Some of the reasons given for high spending on Indigenous communities is because of the remoteness, young Indigenous population and the high cost of providing services in Indigenous communities.

Community and economic development programs financed by local, state and federal governments as well as private sector include health programs, employment programs, education programs, cultural programs, housing programs and infrastructure programs. These programs develop remote communities, most of which are economically distressed. These programs also improve economic conditions as well as community development. For example, the Indigenous housing programs not only provide affordable houses to the community, but also offers employment opportunities (Productivity Commission, 2017). Determining the program's objectives and how to achieve them plus any barriers to delivering the programs and providing solutions is key to future planning and implementation of a program (Azizi-Khalkheili, Bijani, Shahpasand, & Farbod 2017).

There has been growing concern regarding non-use of evaluations to guide government about social policies and programs (Maloney, 2017; Muir & Dean, 2017). Muir & Dean (2017) argue that though there is empirical and theoretical literature about evaluation use, there is limited literature on the use of evaluations in Australia. Maloney (2017) continues to argue that in Australia, social policies, services and programs need to be more evidence-based. In addition, Indigenous programs have little evidence for their effectiveness (Muir & Dean, 2017). There are few programs which have published the outcomes of their evaluations. In addition, the few published program evaluations have used methods which are not strong enough to reliably indicate whether the program has achieved its intended purpose, the impact of the program or whether the observed impact is attributed to the program or something else.

A co-accountability approach to evaluation is crucial where both the funding institutions (e.g. Government) and the program providers are equally held accountable for results (Hudson, 2017). Hudson (2017) further argues that the Indigenous program evaluation should be built into a program's design, and that funding for self-evaluations should be provided to all organisations. Further, evaluation should be viewed as an opportunity to learn and not as a negative process. However, in

some cases, program evaluations are used to determine whether funding should continue which can mean very negative outcomes (Hudson,2017). Kalisch and Al-Yaman (2013) argue that many programs implemented in Indigenous communities were not rigorously evaluated and it was not possible to know which programs worked and those which did not work. Further, Kalisch and Al-Yaman (2013) argue that an evaluation component was not built into Indigenous program budgets and timetables and many programs or interventions had low-cost, partial or no evaluations at all. Kalisch and Al-Yaman (2013) finding concurs with the already existing literature of lack of sufficient evaluations of Indigenous programs. For example, research by the Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) (2017) suggests a lack of evaluation of Indigenous programs. Hudson (2017) argues that this is a significant problem. In addition to an overall lack of evaluation, there are also concerns about how to conduct evaluations in Aboriginal communities (Elliott-Groves, 2019). Indigenous communities have different views of how they think the economic and community development programs should be assessed or evaluated.

In Australia, The Indigenous Advancement Strategy (IAS) was established with the aim of improving the lives and outcomes for Indigenous Australians. This strategy focused on five areas including jobs/employment, land and economy, children and schooling, safety and wellbeing. This strategy therefore supports Indigenous well-being, enables strong partnership with Indigenous people and recognises the culture diversity and issues affecting Indigenous people (IAS, 2020).

Hudson (2017) states that are few evaluations done on Indigenous community development programs in Australia. In 2017, there were only 8 per cent of Indigenous community development programs which were evaluated (Williams, 2018). Hudson (2017) attributes this to several challenges which include the location of Indigenous communities, use of anecdotal data, lack of evaluation tools, high costs of evaluations, limited evaluation skills and lack of evaluation data. Others include “fitting” in Indigenous culture, inadequate planning for evaluation and lack of meaningful participation by the Indigenous people. These challenges need to be considered by evaluators before the evaluation process starts.

2.14 Challenges/limitations evaluating Indigenous programs

According to Guyadeen & Seasons, (2018), there are challenges of evaluating Indigenous programs. These include:

- Use of ex ante evaluations
- Lack of evaluation methodologies
- Lack of monitoring data
- Difficulties establishing indicators of success
- Institutional hurdles
- One-size-fits-all approaches

- Lack of collaboration
- Cultural appropriateness and
- Power differentials.

Muir et al., (2020) argue that the challenges to Indigenous program evaluations in Australia include evaluating social programs which are meant to address community-wide issues and solve complex problems which are not straightforward. This is because of the context in which the Indigenous programs operate. There are also difficulties establishing whether there is any link between cause and effect and at the same time whether the outcomes are linked to the actions/interventions. This is because Indigenous programs operate in locations which are socially poor, have limited resources and low trust between Indigenous people and program providers (Muir et al.,2020). Kinchin et al., (2020) state that ex ante evaluation is meant to provide strategic information about a program at an early stage hence influencing whether the program should be implemented or not.

Muir et al., (2020) continue to argue that there is low intercultural understanding among the stakeholders, which is a problem. There are also fluctuating policy changes which make it hard to separate the effect of any specific program (Muir et al., 2020). Further, Indigenous community organisations experience institutional handles such as limited funding, training and incentives to develop appropriate tools to collect and evaluate the programs. Finally, the capacity to collect data in Indigenous communities is low and, in most cases, evaluations are commissioned after the program has already started.

Muir et al., (2020) further argue that there is lack of strong evidence to assess the effectiveness and efficiency of Indigenous programs arising from the “related image problem” (Walter & Anderson, 2013, p. 130). In addition, use of quantitative methods within Indigenous research is a problem because of issues relating to appropriateness of such methods. Further, lack of consultations mainly by non-Indigenous quantitative researchers focusing on Indigenous programs is a clear problem. Lokuge et al., (2017) continue to argue that the barriers to evaluating Indigenous health programs in Australia include inadequate resources, expertise within the Indigenous organisations, time and cost.

The consequences of lack of evidence make it hard for evaluators to measure the indicators and for the funders to know whether they should continue funding the program or not. It also becomes a problem for the funders to decide whether the program needs to be expanded or the funds be spent on alternative programs (Moran ,2017). Moran (2017) continue to argue that for program managers, lack of evidence makes it difficult for them to know how to improve the programs, while for Indigenous communities, it is hard for them to know whether they have received the expected benefits/outcomes. This means that evaluating program outcomes is essential to the funders, program providers and the community. Hudson (2017) however, states that program providers are unwilling to

admit failings in the programs and at the same time do not encourage independent and rigorous evaluation. This is because the program providers are concerned about losing funds due to negative publicity. Program providers are also not sure how the program staff on the ground will perceive on any criticism (Hudson, 2017).

Evaluating the program when it's complete or almost complete makes the evaluation not as useful as it could have been if the evaluation and implementation of the program were done simultaneously. Programs which address social problems are likely to have multiple objectives and hence are more challenging to measure. In most cases, evaluation is faced with challenges of lack of data, absence of a control group and overreliance on anecdotal data. This is consistent with conclusions of similar reviews of international Indigenous community programs where positive outcomes are difficult to measure because of poor quality evaluation tools (designs) and reporting (Snijder et al., 2015). Quality evaluation tools are necessary to provide evidence of cost effectiveness of the programs. There is, however, a further challenge arising from poor methodologies and weak partnership between researchers' expertise and community members' skills and knowledge (Snijder et al., 2015).

Definitions of "success" also vary between the funder, the program manager and the community members. There is therefore the need for agreement on evaluation questions, parallel questions, different methods of data collection and gathering different evidence to assess a program (Muir & Dean, 2017). This makes it difficult to measure the outcomes and link them to a specific program. Community involvement can also be difficult for non-Indigenous organisations or evaluators trying to come up with measurable outcomes or indicators. This is because getting individuals to speak on behalf of the community is difficult and therefore wide consultation is required. Most evaluators also lack pre-existing relationships since they do not spend a lot of time with the community members and this makes participation and community empowerment difficult to achieve (Muir & Dean, 2017).

Community capacity is also a challenge especially for evaluators who wish to use participatory designs or use of Indigenous staff to collect data (Murrup-Stewart,Searle, Jobson & Adams,2019). Murrup-Stewart et al.,.(2019) argue that program providers lack capacities such as resources and staff training and this makes it hard for them to participate in all stages of program evaluation. Further, these challenges make it hard for community members to contribute to data collection and the process of coming up with the outcomes or indicators. The solution to these challenges is to build an internal evaluation culture where program staff are encouraged and motivated to take part in the evaluations. Building local community capacity by the Indigenous organisations can also allow Indigenous self-management of the processes and data collection (Murrup-Stewart et al.,2019).

As outlined by Grey, Putt, Baxter, and Sutton (2016), there are five issues which make evaluation of programs in Indigenous communities very challenging. Power differentials is one of them. There is usually a greater power and influence held by the evaluators compared with the community members. Secondly, resistance to evaluation arising from limited knowledge and resource limitations is also a challenging factor to programs evaluations. Thirdly, determining what is valid, reliable and accurate is another challenging factor because Indigenous and non-Indigenous views are different. Cultural and cross-cultural differences are also said to create a barrier to those intending to study on programs evaluations in Indigenous communities. Lastly, confidentiality and logistical constraints arising from remoteness, small communities and protocols creates problems when evaluating programs in Indigenous communities.

Other methodological issues are eliciting meaningful dialogue between the evaluators and community members. Issues relate to emphasising traditional practices which are very common in Aboriginal communities. Interviews on focus groups can be time consuming and connecting between theory and practice is very difficult to achieve. Hill, Pace, and Robbins (2010) argue that it difficult to conduct evaluation in Aboriginal communities because it's not easy to determine culturally relevant and meaningful indicators that positively reflect the programs and the communities they operate in. Hill, Pace, and Robbins (2010) continue to argue that unequal power differentials which affect cross-cultural relationships in Aboriginal communities make it worse for evaluators.

There is also a need for evaluators to consider cultural taboos, sensitive issues, language, functional differences and lifestyle. Though this seems logical, it can however, be difficult to apply (Hurworth & Harvey, 2012). Hurworth & Harvey (2012) highlight that evaluators need to consider minority groups and the challenges of integrating divergent views of different subgroups within the minority groups which could lead to domination of decision-making by the most powerful subgroup.

2.15 Challenges/limitations developing success indicators of Indigenous programs

Katz et al. (2013) argue that access to Aboriginal participants is sometimes difficult hence making it hard for researchers and evaluators not only to develop indicators, but also to distribute the findings. This is because some of the Aboriginal participants live in remote areas. Another challenge experienced when developing evaluation indicators to evaluate Indigenous programs is the cultural barrier for some community members to talk to outsiders. Though the researcher and evaluator might adhere to stringent ethical principles and processes, they are not in control of developing the indicators and the research process. Evaluators are most often not involved in setting the indicators with most indicators being set up by funding agencies rather than the community members themselves. Further, once the indicators have been developed, they are in the public domain and may be abused by anyone including media for purposes for which they were not intended (Katz et al.,

2013). In some cases, the indicators developed might be rejected by the organisations which funded the research.

According to Katz et al. (2013) Indigenous peoples have their own way of understanding nature and how the world should be interpreted and this may be a challenge for researchers and evaluators when developing indicators. Snijder et al. (2015) suggest that developing culturally appropriate indicators to measure Indigenous economics and intervention framework is not easy. Anecdotal data has also created some challenges in developing evaluation indicators in Aboriginal communities. Another challenge in developing evaluation indicators is that research and evaluation are considered a threat to Aboriginal communities. This is because of the role of research in the colonisation of Aboriginal peoples. This threat has been mitigated by Indigenous research methods (Katz et al., 2013). There is insufficient evidence supporting the impact of community development programs and wellbeing outcomes of Indigenous Australians which makes it difficult to develop community development indicators (Snijder et al., 2015). Another challenge is that the existing methodological approaches are not rigorous enough to support cost effectiveness of Indigenous programs. Developing economic indicators in Indigenous communities is also a challenge because there are no studies that have been undertaken to analyse and weigh benefits of community programs against the costs.

Developing robust indicators to evaluate Indigenous programs is a challenge because of lack of data, lack of a control group and reliance on anecdotal evidence. There are also ethical challenges and difficulties to change participants' beliefs, behaviours, or attitudes as a result of evaluation (Hudson, 2017). There are methodological problems in valuing outcomes and indicators in monetary terms which then reduces the use of cost–benefit design in evaluating programs. The absence of cultural knowledge from the evaluators possesses a challenge when developing the indicators. This results in programs being designed and delivered while they are not culturally centred (Awatere & Nikora,2017). Awatere & Nikora (2017) argue that evaluators don't consider the relationship between culture and processes of capitalism, labour and economic power. This leads to evaluations failing the community expectations. Evaluation has also been linked to political agendas; however, governments usually indicate that evaluations should be culturally centred (Awatere & Nikora, 2017).

Riddell, Salamanca, Pepler, Cardinal, & McIvor (2017) argue that there are externally imposed challenges when developing evaluation indicators. These include limited time to develop trusting relationships with the Indigenous participants. Riddel et al. state that resource limitations and incongruence between funder and community expectations are other challenges. To get good results with evaluation indicators, the evaluators needs to work with partner community members to identify ways to overcome these challenges. This will also bridge the inconsistencies between theory and practice (Katz, Newton, Bates, & Raven, 2016).

Outcomes in Aboriginal communities are meant to impact on the broader community, hence making it difficult to come up with a specific outcome as an indicator (Durey et al., 2016). Durey et al. (2016) argue that Aboriginal history and context is also interrelated hence making it hard to determine evidence-based progress as required by the funding bodies. In addition, reducing objectives and activities to specific timelines is difficult. This makes it necessary to constantly assess the usefulness of the indicators and adjust as necessary (Smith, Pollard, Robertson, & Trinidad, 2017). Politics in Aboriginal communities can also create a methodological issue (Walter, 2016). Walter (2016) suggests that until key contextual factors have been addressed in Aboriginal communities, outcomes indicators may not be easily achieved. There are gaps between how to integrate cultural context in evaluation of programs in Aboriginal communities. There are also gaps in how to conduct evaluations in Aboriginal communities (Bainbridge et al., 2015; Ninomiya & Pollock, 2017).

According to (Henry, 2017) and Porsanger (2004), the main objective of Indigenous methodologies is to guarantee that any study, evaluation or research carried out on Indigenous communities is respectful, correct, ethical, sympathetic, useful and beneficial to Indigenous peoples. Interests, knowledge and experiences of Indigenous peoples must be observed in research methodologies of Indigenous peoples. Henry (2017) notes that any approach to the study of Indigenous issues must be ethically and culturally accepted by Indigenous people. Indigenous approaches are based on Indigenous knowledge and ethics which are means of accessing knowledge for conducting research in Indigenous communities.

To overcome these challenges, Guyadeen & Seasons (2018) recommend training and educating planners (by professional institutes and associations) and a mandatory curriculum in planning programs. Guyadeen & Seasons (2018) argue that the planning of evaluations needs to be overseen by professional institutes and associations. Program providers, government and funding institutions should also include evaluation budget lines in their program design and delivery. Indigenous programs must be linked to outcomes and should account for how the money was spent. These programs should also show evidence of the program's impact and whether the program was meeting its intended objectives (Guyadeen & Seasons,2018).

2.16 Overcoming the challenges of evaluating Indigenous programs

Kalisch & Al-Yaman (2013) suggest that overcoming Indigenous disadvantage on program evaluations is not easy. There are several factors to consider including adequate resourcing, compressive interventions, community engagement and involvement, respect for Indigenous languages and culture, implementation of projects *with* Indigenous people and not *for* Indigenous people, social capital development, recognising social determinants of health and that Indigenous issues are complex and contextual (Kalisch & Al-Yaman, 2013).

Hudson (2017) argues that robust evaluation tools should be used to evaluate Indigenous programs. These tools should have features of a mixed-methods design involving triangulation of

qualitative and quantitative data with economic components of the program such as cost effectiveness /or meta-analysis. Another feature should be local input into design and implementation of the program to ensure that program objectives match the community's needs. Lastly, a robust evaluation tool should have clear and measurable objectives plus pre- and post-program data to measure the impact (Hudson, 2017).

Evaluation of programs has different meanings to Indigenous Australians and non-Indigenous Australians. The main evaluation objective for non-Indigenous Australians is usually on accountability, process, impact and systems. In an Indigenous context, evaluation is more than providing accountability in a financial sense or ensuring that processes have been followed. In an Indigenous context, evaluations should have a role in holding governments to account for outcomes (Luke, Ferdinand, Paradies, Chamravi, & Kelaher, 2020).

Cram (2018) suggests that data collection, data analysis and evaluation of Indigenous programs should include community members who are knowledgeable on Indigenous worldviews. The research/evaluation process should also consider Indigenous identity, epistemology, values and spirituality. In addition, evaluation of programs in Indigenous communities should consider the place, time, community and history. Researchers in Indigenous communities should not only understand and measure Indigenous practices but also the quality of life/wellbeing which the community cares about. Awareness of Indigenous values and epistemologies is therefore crucial to every researcher in Indigenous communities. Cultural advisory groups therefore play a big role in ensuring that the researchers are aware of the Indigenous values which eventually enhances the process of data collection, analysis and evaluation to produce successful outcomes (Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson, 2016; Singh & Major, 2017).

Respect, relevance, responsibility and reciprocity while evaluating Indigenous programs is paramount. Building trust between the evaluators and Indigenous community members is seen as necessary. There should also be flexibility and responsiveness in supporting the evaluation process. Distance and resourcing can, however, pose a challenge when developing evaluation partnerships and building capacity (Hurworth & Harvey, 2012). There is also a need for cultural competence evaluators/ non-Indigenous evaluators to consider cultural diversities in Indigenous communities, transfer evaluation skills, inclusion of Indigenous communities and their leaders in evaluation, empower and provide positive change to the local community and finally consider the Indigenous perspectives of evaluation (Hurworth & Harvey, 2012).

2.17 Indigenous program guidelines and evaluation principles

Jeffreys (2015) defines evaluation as a systematic enquiry which considers cultural context in which the evaluation is taking place. The evaluation process should use culturally and contextually appropriate methodology. The evaluation methodology should use the stakeholders to interpret and

arrive at the results. The evaluation methodology approach should be culturally centred to make it easy for community members to participate and contribute freely. Development of the "evaluation tool" can be used to improve any existing knowledge of the impact the programs have on the community. There is a need for Indigenous evaluation based on Indigenous values which includes participatory and collaborative evaluation approaches. The non-Indigenous evaluators need to understand Indigenous Australian cultures, histories and Indigenous protocols (Kartz et al., 2016). In addition, Indigenous evaluation should recognise the rights of Indigenous self-determination (Productivity Commission 2013) as well as the needs and aspirations of Indigenous people.

Katz et al. 2013 further argue that community empowerment and involvement is the key to long-term Indigenous economic development. Successful evaluation is characterised by de-colonialisation approaches where the community members are not seen as passive elements and evaluators seen as experts. The evaluation process needs to be co-produced and must be seen as part of self-determination of Aboriginal communities. Methods and approaches should always be congruent with this objective. There are few Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander programs which have been evaluated from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's perspectives. Evaluation is only relevant if it achieves the objectives of the program (Kushner, 2016). While evaluating Indigenous programs, there is a need for evaluators to recognise cross-cultural awareness and cultural appropriate design of research methods. Muir et al. (2017) identify several steps when evaluating Indigenous programs (Ref 2.5 below).

Step 1: Describe program details, its objectives and how its delivery will achieve the intended results.
Step 2: Design evaluation questions.
Step 3: Decide the best method to collect data.
Step 4: Decide how to collect data by putting together appropriate procedures to collect good data.
Step 5: Collect and analyse data; and
Step 6: Interpret and act on the results.

Figure 2.3 Steps in evaluating Indigenous programs. Source: Parker & Robinson (2013)

The evaluation tool is meant to inform the program logic and cost effectiveness of the programs. It should also identify progress, relationships and success factors. The tool should avoid a one-off judgement as a "success" or "failure," because this would be focusing on assessments of outcomes only. "Failures" should be seen as opportunities for learning and making future improvements (Williams, 2018). Williams (2018) argues that for Indigenous evaluations, the

evaluation tool should measure culturally relevant outcomes among other things. Further, the outcomes and processes should be assessed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander program providers and community members.

According to Williams (2018), there is a necessity for developing a better tool for assessing "success" in programs and how these are expressed through evidence from the points of view of Aboriginal and Torres Islander people. Evaluations are best when carried out by those who understand the culture of the program being evaluated. The evaluators should also include the input of an "evaluation reference group" and community members. The evaluation tool should also include the factors/indicators and data to be considered when evaluating Indigenous programs. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should be involved in program evaluation and interpreting program successes in relevant ways by considering cultural factors, social factors, economic factors, history and the collective efforts of Indigenous people (William,2018).

Program evaluation in Indigenous programs depends on the program and context. Program evaluation should be adequately planned, and any challenges and mitigating factors considered before the assessment commences. There should also be meaningful involvement of Indigenous people. The evaluation tool should consider the Indigenous culture without which the evaluation process will be hard to meet the expectations of the local community members (Muir & Dean, 2017).

2.18 Summary of Indigenous program guidelines and evaluation principles

In Australia, there is an evaluation framework which has recently been developed to ensure that evaluation of Indigenous programs and policies is of high quality, all-inclusive, ethical and is focused in improving the lives of Indigenous Australians (Productivity Commission, 2020). The framework recognises that when the evaluation framework is of high quality, there are high chances of the framework being used. The framework does not impose a "one size fit all" evaluation. In addition, the framework sets out best-practice principles including high-quality evaluations, collaborative, timely, culturally appropriate, relevant, robust, appropriate, and credible (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Best practice evaluation principles

Criteria	Principles	
Relevant	Integrated	Evaluation supports improvement and is evidence based. Evaluation planning should be undertaken at the program design stage. Results from past evaluations used to inform policy makers
		Use of collaborative approaches.

	Respectful	Respect of local Indigenous culture
Robust	Evidence based	Use of robust methodology evaluations and analytical methods. Appropriate data collected to support results
	Impact focused	Focused on the program impacts. Evaluations rigorously test the programs impact
Credible	Transparent	Evaluations reports made publicly available through appropriate ethical and collaborative processes
	Independent	Evaluators are independent from the stakeholders
	Ethical	Respectful involvement of Indigenous Australians
Appropriate	Timely	Well-planned evaluations ensuring proper timings when the decisions are being made
	Fit for Purpose	Evaluation design should consider Indigenous values, place, program lifecycle, feasibility, data availability and value for money. Evaluation should consider the place and be appropriate for Indigenous communities Evaluation benefits should outweigh the costs & risks.

Source: Productivity Commission, 2020

2.19 Conclusion

The current literature review indicates that there is insufficient evidence supporting the impact of community development programs and wellbeing outcomes for Indigenous Australians. The current methodological approaches are not rigorous enough to support cost effectiveness. There are also no studies that have undertaken economic analysis to weigh benefits of community programs against the costs. This is consistent with conclusions of similar reviews of international Indigenous community programs where positive outcomes are difficult to measure because of poor quality evaluation tools (designs) and reporting. Quality evaluation tools are necessary to provide evidence of effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs. Future studies should therefore focus on rigorous evaluation designs based on reliable, valid and cultural appropriate measures. Snijder et al. (2015) suggest that to improve methodological quality, strong partnerships between researchers'

expertise and community members' skills and knowledge should be encouraged. This study will be guided by the following two research questions.

1) How can the effectiveness of Indigenous community and government-managed programs be measured?

2) What are the key indicators of successful community and government-controlled programs from an Indigenous perspective?

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Methodology and methods can be defined as an outline of how particular research was carried out. Methodology and methods also define the techniques and procedures that were used to identify and analyze information on a given study. Qualitative research relies mainly on data obtained by a researcher from observations, interviews, questionnaires, focus groups, documents, case studies and artifacts. The data is usually non numerical (Martin,2017).

A qualitative research methodology was adopted in the current study because it is suited to identifying different subjective views and context, and consistent with other similar studies as recommended by past scholars including Katz et al. (2016). Evaluation of programs is essential to organisations, community and government. This is because the evaluation tools are used to measure the effectiveness of programs. The evidence from evaluation can be used to improve program design and implementation and provides stakeholders with a better understanding of what works and what changes are necessary to ensure programs are effective. The objective of the current research is to develop an evaluation tool to measure the effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is a lack of evaluation of Indigenous programs in Australia (Hudson, Salvatierra, Monteverde, Andres, & Carlos, 2017). To address this gap in both the literature and practice around Indigenous community program evaluation, this specific study sought to examine the views, beliefs and thoughts of Palm Island community members about these evaluation issues. The study used a qualitative approach based on semi-structured interviews guided by principles set out for Indigenous methodologies. This study was guided by two research questions focusing on key success program indicators and effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs from an Indigenous perspective.

Figure 3.1 represents an overview of the chapter. Following this introduction, the chapter reviews key aspects of discussions of Indigenous methodological approaches. This includes the challenges/barriers experienced by researchers while researching in Indigenous communities. The chapter then has a detailed section describing the actual methods used including sampling, data collection and data coding. This chapter concludes with an overview of the main codes and themes uncovered.

Methodological Framework

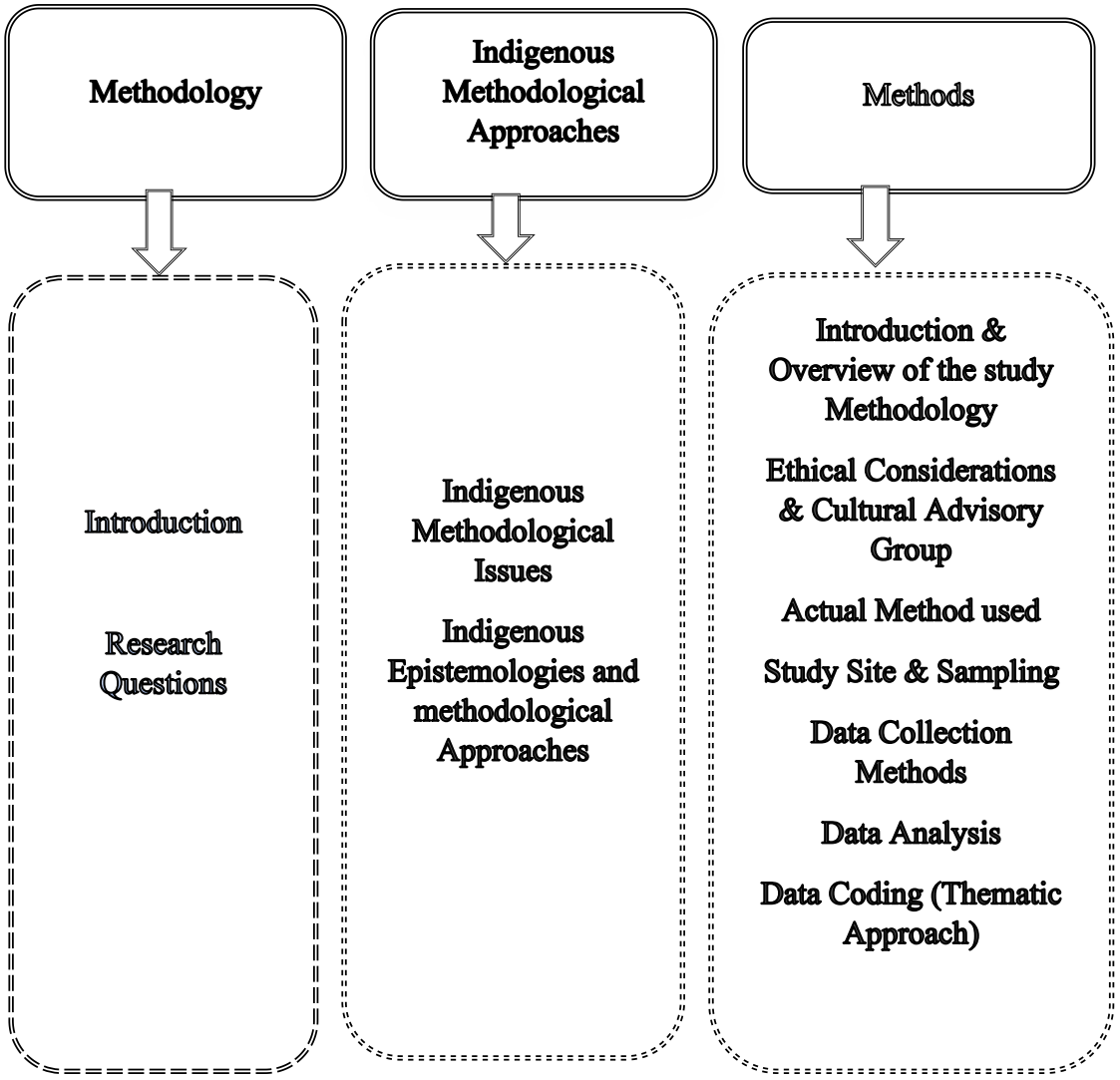

Figure 3.1 Methodological Approach

3.2 Indigenous methodological issues

For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People, traditional knowledge systems include environmental knowledge, ecological knowledge and medicinal knowledge. These systems comprise knowledge developed within Indigenous people. This knowledge is independent and developed prior to the advert of modern scientific knowledge systems.

There are several Indigenous methodological issues arising from cultural differences and different communication systems, rituals, taboos, greeting protocols and non-verbal responses. According to Haynes et al. (2019), to conduct culturally sensitive or responsive evaluations in Indigenous communities is not easy. Haynes et al. (2019) list some of the Indigenous methodologies issues as:

- Tensions between Indigenous people and researchers /evaluators
- Cultural differences
- Concerns regarding protection of Indigenous knowledge
- Communication differences
- Non-static culture
- Animosity arising from power differentials
- Research seen as political act.

Firstly, Indigenous Methodologies have issues arising from tension between the Indigenous community members and different stakeholders. For example, tension between evaluators and community members, tension between community members and the funding bodies, and lastly tension between the evaluation's process as capacity building and evaluation as a way of judging the program's achievements. Secondly, there are cultural differences which sometimes create animosity between the evaluators and the Indigenous community members. Thirdly, there are concerns regarding protection of Indigenous knowledge. Lastly are power differentials between community members and evaluators (Rubin et al.,2016). Rubin et al. (2016) argue that there are epistemological issues which have extrinsic and intrinsic issues in evaluations involving alternative ways of knowing. This creates challenges to western worldviews. Questions about why and how culture matters also remain outstanding. There is lack of clarity regarding use of participatory and collaborative approaches to cross-cultural evaluations. From the Indigenous people's perspective, the term "research" has been linked to colonialism. These approaches differ for Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers (Sherwood & Anthony, 2020). Another methodological issue is that culture is not a static and homogenous entity. In addition, while culture is dynamic, beliefs and everyday practices are highly influenced by social transformation, social conflicts and power (Chouinard & Cram, 2019).

Another methodological issue cited by Froncek and Rohmann (2019) is that it is difficult to create a dialogue between powerful and less powerful (Chouinard & Cram, 2019). They continue to argue that it is difficult to address issues of power in Indigenous communities. In Aboriginal communities, research is also considered to be a political act meant to colonise the communities (Johnston-Goodstar, 2020).

Macaulay (2017) suggests that all studies in Aboriginal communities should use participatory approaches to evaluations. These are based on Participatory Action Research (PAR). Here, Indigenous people are fully involved in the evaluation process since they are better placed with cultural values. Froncek and Rohmann (2019) recommend that researchers in Indigenous communities therefore need to find ways to learn how the community can be co-contributors and co-owners of this type of study/research knowledge. Decolonising research methodologies in Indigenous research is not easy

(Esgin, Hersh, Rowley, Gilroy, & Newton, 2019). According to Cunneen, Rowe, and Tauri (2017), decolonising research methodologies includes recognising the marginalised communities' worldviews, knowledge, Indigenous epistemologies and wellbeing and Indigenous research.

3.3 Indigenous methodological approaches

The main objective of Indigenous methodologies is to make sure that any study or research conducted on Indigenous issues is respectful, ethical, sympathetic, useful and beneficial to Indigenous peoples. Indigenous methodologies are based on Indigenous knowledge and ethics which are related to accessing knowledge in Indigenous communities (Walter & Suina, 2019) . Walter and Suina (2019) define Indigenous methodology as research where the approach, research process and practices consider the Indigenous worldviews, perspectives, values and lived experiences. There is a growing body of literature regarding Indigenous approaches to research. For example, in Australia, guidelines have been developed around the ethical and cultural conduct when researching Australian Indigenous peoples (Putt, 2013).

Indigenous methodologies recognise that there are differences between Western and Indigenous approaches to things such as sharing and knowledge acquisition. Singh and Major (2017) argue that in Indigenous world views, all things are interconnected through systems of relativity. Further, in an Indigenous worldview there is no difference between the method (epistemology) and context (Knowledge/ontology). Indigenous experiences, life, culture, country, practice and memory should also be taken into consideration when researching with Indigenous communities. There has been much work regarding Indigenous epistemological approaches to research. Epistemology is the philosophical study of nature, origin and human knowledge (Martin, 2017). Martin (2017) argues that in Indigenous world views, all things are interconnected through a system of relativity. In an Indigenous worldview there is no difference between the method (epistemology) and context (knowledge/ontology).

This is in addition to Indigenous people being given the opportunity to control the research as a way of de-racialisation and decolonisation. Datta (2018) defines decolonisation as a recovery from colonial impact and restoring Indigenous people's identities, languages, experiences and Indigenous knowing of the world. Research with Indigenous Australians should focus on privileging Indigenous voices in research values and should consider experiences and struggles of the Indigenous people (Martin, 2017).

When doing research in Indigenous communities, there is need for non-Indigenous researchers to focus on cultural safe research practices. In addition, non-Indigenous researchers should be willing to address the power imbalances within the research process. The non-Indigenous researchers should also advocate for support of culturally safe research methods within academic institutions (Martin, 2017).

Scholars should also inform themselves about Indigenous ethical research principles in relation to free, prior and informed consent (UN General Assembly, 2007). Participation in research should be free from coercion, intimidation and manipulation. Informed consent should be sought in advance of the research project giving Indigenous peoples sufficient time to consider the proposed research. Finally, Indigenous people need to be aware of any risks associated with the projects and the equitable benefits sharing arrangements. Research in Indigenous communities must be meaningful and respectful to them. Indigenous participants prefer researchers to listen, promise realistic outcomes, encourage participation and be honest. Other expectations are community participation, providing feedback and respect for communities and land (Guillemin et al., 2016). Martin (2017) summarises these with four 'Rs' to be considered when researching with Indigenous peoples. These 'Rs' are:

- (1) Respect: Indigenous peoples and world views should be respected;
- **(**2) Relevance: The research should be relevant and responsive to Indigenous people's needs and direction
- **(**3) Reciprocity: Benefits of research should be felt equally
- (4) Responsibility: Research should be conducted in an honest and ethical manner.

Martin (2017) further recommends that Indigenous research methodologies should be collaborative, integrative, community-based and participatory. In Australia, these themes are evident in a set of 14 principles for best practice research protocols (AIATSIS, 2012). The Australian guidelines highlight the need to respect and support research participants, the rights of Indigenous people to self-determination, cultural knowledge and heritage and the need for respect and reciprocity with Indigenous people. These rights also include rights to full and fair participation in a research project and to control, participate and maintain their culture and heritage. The guidelines also encourage Indigenous people's involvement and participation in research process including engagement in the aims and methods of the research and in the sharing of the research results (AIATSIS, 2012). The guidelines recommend negotiation and consultation with the Indigenous people regarding the aims, objectives, processes, involvement and the expected outcomes of the research project.

3.4 Overview of study methodology

The present study considered Indigenous world views, perspectives, values and experiences in research. A qualitative methodological approach was used to collect and analyse the data. In addition, the method used in the current study closely adhered to the Indigenous research principles and guidelines. This was achieved by forming a Cultural Advisory Group who played a major role in

developing cultural appropriate interview questions, qualitative data collection and data analysis and data interpretation.

A qualitative research approach was used to undertake individual, semi-structured interviews with 26 research participants. Most of the participants were from Palm Island and those not from Palm Island had connections with Palm Island. Thematic analysis was used to interpret the data. During the data collection stage, there were discussions with participants regarding ownership and control of data. Before conducting the interviews, participants were requested to acknowledge and sign an "informed consent form" (see Appendix A).

As recommended in similar studies, this study ensured Indigenous rights were adhered to by explaining to all participants the aims and objectives of the study. The participants were also informed that they could withdraw unprocessed data if they wished that they could withdraw from taking part in the study at any time without explanation or prejudice and that they were taking part without having to give a reason or fear being judged about their decision. The participants were encouraged to speak and represent themselves for the purpose of self-determination. During the interviews, the participants were informed that confidentiality could not be assured because of the small size of the Palm Island community and that people could associate the participants with some of the information provided. The Indigenous participants were informed that the community could benefit from the research. Open communication between the researcher and participant was encouraged.

This research methodology recognised the Indigenous thinking of world views which is recommended for similar studies (Rowe, Baldry, & Earles, 2015). Indigenous methodology recognises cultural protocols, values and behaviours, respect and acknowledgment of Indigenous participants as well as being involved and participating in all stages of the research process. Reciprocity of ideas and relationships was observed as well. This encouraged all the stakeholders to take responsibility for their contributions (Israel et al., 2017). To achieve good outcomes, this methodology respected the local Indigenous culture and values. This was achieved by using local Indigenous leaders as cultural mentors.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical research clearance was obtained from JCU Human Ethics Research Committee. Additionally, since the research involved Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, the researcher ensured that guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander were met. The guidelines consist of values and principles which include spirit and integrity, reciprocity, respect, equality, survival and protection, and responsibility (AIATSIS, 2011). These guidelines also ensure ethical research practices as well as redistributing power and control in relationships to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

The Cultural Advisory Group (CAG) was comprised of five participants, three of which are Indigenous participants and two were non-Indigenous with many years of working experience in Indigenous communities. The CAG was established to ensure that a culturally appropriate methodological approach was used in all stages of the study. The CAG of the current study is made up of members from different disciplines and are also representatives of different community interests as recommended by Cairney et al. (2017). This approach not only considered the local community's interests, but also helped to build local community knowledge, strength and views on wellbeing. Following Walter and Suina (2019) the CAG participated in the design of the interview questions to ensure that they were culturally appropriate and considered Indigenous worldviews, knowledge and experience. A CAG assists to decolonise the research process and ensures that the data collection, analysis, evaluation process and outcomes recognise Indigenous worldviews and are appropriate to Aboriginal communities. In addition, the CAG ensures Indigenous participation and focuses on the relevance as recommended by Peltier (2018). The role of a CAG is to guide, advise and direct on appropriate and culturally acceptable data collection methods. The other objective of a CAG was to advise on any changes on cultural awareness and provide strategic advice from the community's perspective and government agencies' perspective.

The CAG in the present study played a major role by encouraging the participation of community members to agree to be interviewed. The same advisory group highlighted the local Indigenous protocols which includes respect of local community members' local knowledge, culture and community empowerment. Respect for elders was also a key direction from the CAG. According to Jull, Giles, and Graham (2017), researchers in Indigenous communities should employ and involve community members. The CAG were consulted for advice and at the same time, they guided the culturally appropriate process of data collection. During the data collection process, the CAG ensured that the process was as per the community standards. The CAG also provided feedback on the study and at the same time helped to correct any interpretation of the collected data and findings. Finally, as recommended by Datta (2018), the CAG helped the researcher to recognise Indigenous world views, encouraged participatory enquiry/evaluation and showed the relevance of study to the community members.

3.6 Study site and sampling

3.61 Study site

The sample was recruited from the Palm Island community. The participants were managers of the programs on Palm Island, community members, program staff, contractors on various programs, staff of Palm Island Aboriginal Shire Council and people running businesses on Palm Island. The Palm Island community has many community development programs, some of which are managed by the community themselves and others that are managed by government, while others are managed by non-governmental organisations. There are also programs managed in partnership

between the government and the community. Most of the programs on Palm Island are funded by government agencies. In addition, there are programs funded by the private sector (for example, an infrastructure program funded by Telstra) and other non-governmental organisations (for example, school feeding programs funded by the Red Cross).

In the 2019-2020 budget, the Australian Government allocated $5.2 billion towards an Indigenous Advancement Strategy (IAS) over four years (2022-25). This allocation was towards all the Indigenous programs in Australia. Most of the programs on Palm Island are delivered through the IAS agreement which also delivers a range of programs for other Indigenous Australians. These programs mainly fall under six categories (Table 3.1): 1) Jobs, land and economy; 2) Children and schooling; 3) Safety and wellbeing; 4) Culture and capacity; 5) Remote Australian Strategies and 6) Research and evaluation.

Table 3.1. Examples of community development programs on Palm Island

Program	**Program provider**	**Funding body**	**Program controlled by**	**Brief description of the program**
Ferdy Haven	Palm Island community & State Government	State Government	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People	Alcohol and drug respite
General Practitioner Program	Palm Island Community Company	State Government	Partnership between state government & Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People	Offers after-hours medical practice to the community
Sandy Boyd Hostel	Local Government & Federal Government	Federal Government	Palm Island Aboriginal Shire Council	Delivers aged care services for elderly residents
Cathy Freeman Foundation	Non-governmental organisation	Cathy Freeman Foundation (NGO)	Partnership between Cathy Freeman Foundation, Government & Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Offers programs to encourage children to "get back to school"
SOS Program	Non-governmental organisation	SOS (NGO)	Partnership between SOS & Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Physiotherapy, Occupational therapy and other allied services
Orange Sky Laundry	Non-governmental organisation	State Government	Partnership between Orange Sky Laundry &	Mobile hot water laundry and services. Aim is to prevent

			Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	spread of diseases like impetigo, diabetes and scabies
Home and Community Care (HACC)	Non-Governmental organisation	Federal Government	Partnership between Federal Government & Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Offers aged care packages and NDIS
Strong and Smarter Program	State Government	State Government	State Government	Encourages children to raise their esteem by encouraging them to high school, university or receive a trade
Community Housing Program	Local government & State government	State Government	State and public local schools	Building new homes and renovations to existing community houses
Kinship Festival Program	Palm Island community	State & Federal Government	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Helps to support artistic and cultural practices
Men's Group Program	Palm Island community (men)	State Government	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Empowers men to be a role model to the community
Women's Group Program	Palm Island community (women)	State Government	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	This operates as a healing circle for women to come together for cultural activities, yarning, women's health and friendship
Community Development Program	Palm Island community. Funding is from the Federal Government	Federal Government	Partnership between Federal Government & Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Aims to support jobseekers in remote Australia to build skills, get employment and contribute to communities
Community Infrastructure program	Local government, State government and Federal government	Federal & State Government	Partnership between State Government & Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Aim is to improve local infrastructure including roads, water and sewage and airport
Community Policing Program	Palm Island community	State Government	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people	Aims to improve community safety

3.62 Sampling

A snowball sampling procedure was used in the current study as it is recommended for similar studies especially when the target population may be difficult to recruit (Naderifar, Goli, & Ghaljaie, 2017). The participants were recruited based on referrals from friends, colleagues at work and other networks. Recruitment of the participants was also made with assistance of the CAG. The initial participants assisted in the recruitment of other participants. My samples size was appropriate for the type of analysis and was sufficient to cover all the key groups that I wanted to be involved. In addition, the sample size was sufficient given the small number of people directly engaged in various programs on Palm Island.The criteria for inclusion as a study participant was that they were to have worked on programs on Palm Island for at least three years.

The total sample size was 26 with 18 (69 per cent) identifying as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and eight (31 per cent) non-Indigenous. The latter had strong connections with Palm Island including many years working on community development programs on Palm Island. Fourteen (54 per cent) of the participants were female and 12 (46 per cent) were male. Table 3.2 below provides a breakdown of the inclusion of these different stakeholders in the sample.

Table 3.2. Profile of Stakeholder Representation in Study Sample

Participants/Stakeholders	**Number**	**Percentage**
Community Members	12	46%
Government Representatives	4	15%
Program Managers	6	23%
Contractors	2	8%
Businesspeople	2	8%
Total	**26**	**100%**

The participants were encouraged to speak for themselves through supportive and collaborative process as recommended by Kovach (2018). The stakeholders were also requested to recommend ways of improving and enhancing the research process including data collection, expected outcomes and benefits to the community. During the time of the interview, the expected key outcomes of the research were also discussed.

3.7 Data collection methods

The qualitative semi-structured interviews were mainly individual interviews with one focus group interview involving six participants. At the start of interviews, the objectives/ aims of the research were discussed with the respondents. The benefits of the research study were also documented and discussed with the interviewees. The focus group's interview and face-to-face interviews to respondents involved personal contact which is considered culturally appropriate (Martin, 2017). The data collection method also integrated culture and involved the CAG members in planning process and data gathering. The study was advertised through flyers on community notice boards, and *Palm Island Voice* (local Palm Island newspaper). This helped to build confidence and great relationships between the researcher, the community and other stakeholders like the government and funding bodies.

Non-Indigenous participants took the researcher at face value and did not engage in in-depth assessments of their decision to participate. Indigenous participants were however, very cautious. Indigenous participants expressed the need to abide with the Indigenous values which are respect, reciprocity and honesty among others. Several non-Indigenous participants agreed to take part in research because they wanted to help others while at the same time gaining knowledge. Indigenous participants said that they were participating to help their community and listed privacy and confidentiality as some of their concerns.

3.71 Individual interviews

While the length of the interviews varied, most interviews took between 30 and 50 minutes. Prior to each interview, the respondents were informed about the interview and the data collection process explained in detail which gave the respondents some idea of what to expect in the interview. The respondents were also advised that when the research project was complete, it was to be a benefit to the community and that the final outcomes were to be shared with them. Most respondents were very happy to hear this with some insisting that they would like to read the results of the study.

Most interviews were conducted in areas and locations most suitable for participants and free of distractions. Many interviews were over a lunch break. Listening attentively to what the respondents were saying was crucial and the respondents were offered a cup of coffee or water before the start of the interview. At the end of the interview process, the participants were thanked for their time and asked whether there was anything they wished to add. This gave an opportunity to respondents to add in more issues or information which might have skipped their thoughts during the interview process.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed afterwards. This was to ensure that a permanent record of what was said by the respondents was kept. During the time of the interviews, some field notes were made. In addition, more notes were immediately made after the interview

regarding any observations, thoughts and ideas about the interviews. Lastly, the interviewer together with the respondents briefly went through the discussions to make clarifications if needed.

3.72 Group Interviews

During the data collection process, a group interview was also carried out. The group interview included staff and leaders form a federal government funded program. The group participants easily shared their opinions, whether agreeing or disagreeing. A CAG member acted as a moderator and the discussions were carried out during a lunch hour. The discussions were recorded and transcribed later. The participants provided a diverse set of responses. A group interview was conducted because it was more comfortable and culturally appropriate in this context.. The group interview was guided, recorded and monitored by the facilitator.

Most of the information generated from the focus group was views from all the group members (i.e., collective views) and the reasons behind those views. The data collected from this focus group was good because all participants were at ease with each other, and all participants viewed the topic to be interesting. The focus group interacted with each other very well which led to a good outcome. This focus group shared the same focus experiences and enjoyed the same comfort and familiarity. The focus group questions were the same as the interview questions given to the face-to-face respondents. The focus group interview took approximately one hour. The venue of the focus group discussion was the board room of the workplace which encouraged attendance. The focus group interview was recorded. The audio recording equipment was acknowledged by the facilitator at the start of focus group interview. The recordings were transcribed, and notes taken as the focus group interview was in progress.

3.8 Interview questions

The interviews mainly centred on Indigenous Australians' wellbeing, success factors of community programs, community and economic development and lastly the processes of evaluating community programs. The questions were designed with the assistance of the CAG and were later reviewed by the supervisors. These were aimed as a guide for interview data collection. The list of questions directed conversations towards the research topic during the interviews (Table 3.3). As recommended by Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson, and Kangasniemi (2016) the semi-structured interview guide was flexible and allowed dialogue during the interview. The order of the questions was easy to change and at the same time allowed easy movement from one question to the next.

The questions in the interview guide were open-ended as the aim of the interview guide was to generate answers from the participants which were spontaneous, in-depth and unique. The answers also reflected the participants' perspectives of success of development programs on Palm Island. Descriptive answers were also encouraged by starting questions with words like what, who, where, when, why or how. Follow-up questions were also used to assist in directing the conversation towards

the study subject (Kallio et al., 2016). This maintained the flow of the interview. Follow-up questions were also asked to clarify some of the views which were not very clear. The participants were also asked to expand on points which came up on the interview. This was done by asking for more information.

Table 3.3. Interview Questions

Question 1: What contributes to quality of life/well- being for Palm Island community? What needs to be preserved and what do you think is needed to improve quality of life for Palm Island community?
Question 2: What development programs are you aware of?
Question 3: Have they been community or government run?
Question 4: Tell us a story about a program that you thought was successful
Question 5: How do you know/why do you think it was a success? What were the successful outcomes?
Question 6: What factors contributed to the success?
Question 7: Provide an example of a program that has been unsuccessful
Question 8: How do you know/why do you think it was unsuccessful? What were the unsuccessful outcomes?
Question 9: What factors contributed to the failure?
Question 10: How do you think community development programs should be assessed or evaluated? What sorts of things should be measured? What outcomes matter the most?
Question 11: To what extent are the community engaged in: a) the development of programs? b) the delivery of programs? c) the evaluation of programs?
Question 12: To what extent do community members receive training to participate in developing, delivering and evaluation of programs?
Question 13: What are some of the common challenges in developing, delivering and evaluating programs?
Question 14: What are benefits (outcomes, jobs, wages, training, accountability etc.) from community led programs and government led programs?
Question 15: Who benefits (community, public sector, business owners, someone else) from a) community led programs b) government led programs?
Question 16: How do you ensure cultural appropriateness of programs?

The interview questions mainly focused on factors related to successful community development programs. The interviewees were asked to clearly define what they saw as successful development programs. This is because what is seen as a successful program in one community might be seen as unsuccessful in another community. Likewise, what the Indigenous community members believe are success factors might be seen as unsuccessful by non-Indigenous people, funding bodies and other stakeholders. Any constraints hindering successful implementation of development programs were also outlined and formed part of the interview questions. The participants were asked to explain what contributes to quality of life (QOL) and wellbeing for the Palm Island community, and what needed to be preserved. This question was followed by what the participants thought was

needed to improve QoL for the Palm Island community. The discussions surrounding these two questions helped to understand and explore the participant's views regarding the factors contributing to wellbeing of the Palm Island community.

The respondents were also asked to provide a story of the development programs they were aware of, whether they were run by the government or the community and the success and unsuccessful indicators of these programs. The questions helped the researcher to explain and understand the participant's opinions and experiences regarding the success factors of development programs. The other interview questions were about the respondent's opinion on the assessment or evaluation of community development programs, and the sort of things to be measured. The responses to these questions helped the researcher to better understand and explore the participant's opinion regarding factors to be considered when evaluating development programs and what needed to be measured.

The participants were also asked to explain the challenges and the stakeholder's involvement with the design, delivery and evaluation of development programs. These qualitative interview questions helped the researcher to understand and explore the stakeholder's involvement and challenges faced when designing, implementing and evaluating development programs. Lastly, the participants were asked to explain the beneficiaries, outcomes and cultural appropriateness of the development programs. This helped the researcher to understand and explore the research subject's opinion on who benefits from the development programs and the related outcomes. The respondent's responses also helped the researcher to understand whether the design, delivery and evaluation of development programs was culturally appropriate.

3.9 Coding process in qualitative data analysis

Coding in qualitative research involves researchers making sense of their data by identifying and making decisions to get meaningful information. Saldaña (2015) defines a code as a word or a short phrase which summarises an attribute for a portion of data with a goal of identifying different themes. Spencer, Ritchie, O'Connor, Morrell, and Ormston (2014); Creswell & Poth (2016) and Elliott (2018) explain that coding is a process of analysing data so as to get some positive outcome. This process involves getting codes from the collected data to bring out the essence and meaning of the data collected from the participants. The main goal is to produce a meaningful dataset that addresses the research question. This process is usually done in a systematic and clear way to enable the readers to understand how the concept, themes or categories were developed. In addition, other researchers should understand how the researcher arrived at those themes and at the same time getting the benefits/outcomes of the analysis (Elliott, 2018).

There are two levels of coding. The first level of coding uses descriptive, low inference codes which are used to summarise data which forms the basis of the second level of coding which tends to

focus on pattern codes (Creswell, 2012; Elliott, 2018; Punch, 2013; Richards, 2014). Creswell et al. (2012) argue that pattern codes/themes bring together less abstract and more descriptive codes. When codes are analysed further, they form themes. Themes are broad and consist of several codes which are combined to form a common idea. Codes are therefore at the lower level (i.e., primary level) while themes are at an upper level (i.e., secondary level). According to Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) codes should have a systematic relationship to one another and be part of a unified structure. The codes should capture the essence of the content and at the same time provide meaningful information to the reader. Richards (2014) points out that a lot of data/information may make it hard for the readers to conceptualise easily and recommends having fewer descriptive codes. Creswell and Poth (2016) summarise data coding process into six steps (Table 3.4). They present this approach as a linear and hierarchical process with interrelationships between the steps.

3.91 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was used in the current qualitative study and involved identifying, analysing and interpreting the meaning of qualitative data (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Thematic analysis can either take a deductive or inductive approach. A deductive approach involves the use of an existing theoretical or conceptual framework or sets of predetermined themes. Conversely, an inductive approach is where the researcher establishes the themes/codes from the qualitative data by reading and rereading the transcripts with the goal of establishing key words to develop the codes or themes. In the current study, both deductive and inductive approaches were used to analyse the data. The researcher had predetermined themes (from the literature review) including:

- Evaluation
- Economic and community development and
- Capacity building.

In addition, there were themes which emerged from the respondents' own words. The analysis process for this study involved four steps: identifying, naming, categorising and describing the data collected. These four steps have been used for similar studies (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). The current study involved identifying data similarities by reading and rereading transcriptions as well as asking respondents questions during the data collection stage. Each concept or code was further defined into similar properties and dimensions making it easier to understand. The concepts were then sorted into similar phenomena which made up categories. These categories were pulled together with other groups of concepts or sub-categories. Core themes were finally developed. These were further broken down and related codes grouped between categories (main themes) and subcategories (sub themes). The linked categories related to the context of the research study.

3.92 Coding steps used in the current study.

There were five coding steps used in this study. These steps were data collection (step 1), familiarisation of data (step 2), naming of codes (step 3), identification of similar themes and relationships (step 4) and identification of outcomes which matter to the community (step 5). Figure 3.2 below shows how these steps were linked to each other.

Coding Steps used in the Current Study

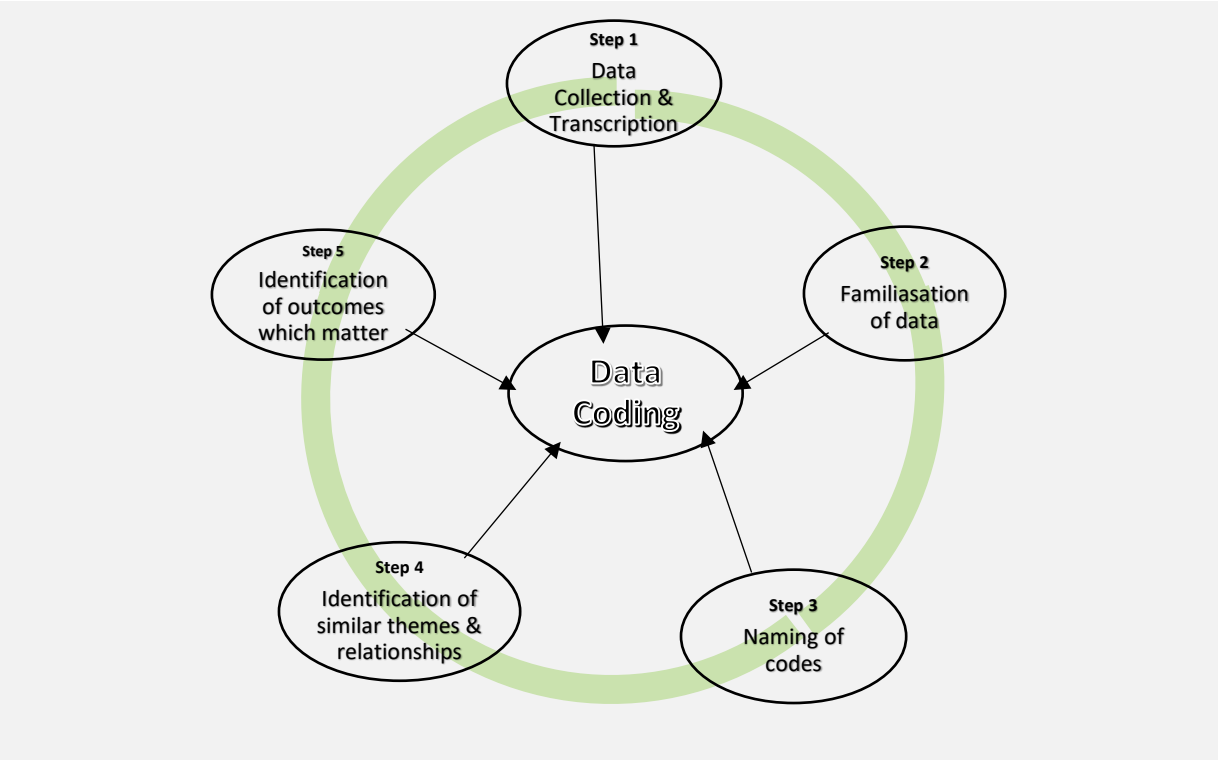

Figure 3.2 Coding Steps: Source: Elliott (2018)

Step 1: Data collection and transcription

Data collected in the current study was non-numeric and was in form of notes, transcripts and text documents. The data was collected through recorded face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews. This data was subsequently transcribed.

Step 2: Familiarisation with the data

As recommended by Elliott (2018), this study involved reading the data to get to themes and understanding in order to render it to something to report on. This process involved careful reading and reflection on the core meaning or content of the collected data. The aim was to have familiarity with all of the data from different participants. This is in line with recommendations by Elliott (2018).

Step 3: Naming of codes

Open coding and axial coding were used in this study. Open coding involved categorising data with similar themes from all the respondents. Axial coding involved breaking down the core themes and relating codes to each other through inductive thinking. Codes which had similar meanings were combined. Redundant codes were also crossed out leaving dominant codes only. As recommended by Saldaña (2015), the main categories were related to sub-categories with further analysis leading to themes. The codes were named based on the research questions. During the coding process, the study excluded verbal fillers like “um” and “deadly” since they were not important and could be confusing to the reader. The study only coded the salient portions which were crucial to the research question. Further analysis of the data allowed the researcher to understand the data and codes better which led to earlier data being re-coded. The nodes were also re-defined, others were combined while others were re-validated based on the earlier coded material.

The process involved going through each paragraph in a rough first draft of coding, then redefining the codes through further readings. This led to a more general coding framework with the data suggesting initial codes such as “effectiveness”. The researcher also coded the data by highlighting significant words or sentences. Significant words were determined based on study topic and research questions. The emergent codes/initial codes were mainly specific words from the participants’ own voices. Examples of such codes in the current study were “education, community unity, colonisation and trauma”. Other emergent codes were concepts which the researcher identified in the process of the literature review. For example, “self-determination” was identified in the literature review.

Step 4: Identification of similar themes and relationships

Similar themes and relationships were analysed from all the collected data from the respondents. One of the techniques used to categorise data with similar themes was looking for words and phrases commonly used or repeated by respondents. This was also compared with the findings from the data collected from the face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews with the data from literature review. The differences between the literature review data and data from the face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews were noted. Data with the same theme or idea were classified together. For example, data relating to what participants considered as successful programs was given a code of “success factors”. All codes were therefore given meaningful themes. The researcher started with 38 codes. These codes were further analysed, and the overlapping and redundant codes removed leaving 13 codes. The 13 codes were further collapsed into nine themes. Table 3.4 lists these themes and subthemes within each. In addition, there were eight outcomes identified (also listed in Table 3.4).

Step four involved going through the transcribed data over and over again. Key words, sentences, quotes or phrases were highlighted by either underlining or colouring. For example, one of the key words/themes was community programs. Any data which talked about community programs was underlined and coloured yellow. Likewise, any data talking about leadership and governance was underlined, and coloured blue.

Step 5: Identification of sub themes and outcomes which matter

While having the main themes (identified in step 3) and research questions in mind, there was further reading and rereading of the transcribed data which resulted in identification of sub themes. Identification of sub themes was vital because they had a strong relationship to the main themes, research topic and the research questions. There was a total of 38 sub themes.

Further data analysis identified eight main outcomes which matter to the community. This process was achieved by analysing and comparing both the coded data and the transcripts/raw data. Identification of outcomes which matter to the community was vital because they have a strong link to the following two research questions of the study.

RQ_1: What are the key indicators of successful community development programs?

RQ_2: How can the effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs be measured?

Table 3.4: Final Themes and Sub Themes

Key Themes/Final coding	**Sub themes**
Community Programs	❖ Sustainability ❖ Multiplier effects ❖ Benefits ❖ Challenges ❖ Outcomes
Effectiveness & Efficiency	❖ Timely Completion ❖ Value for Money ❖ Cost Effectiveness
Education	❖ Collaboration ❖ Role models ❖ Improved Skills ❖ Challenges
Leadership and Governance	❖ Accountability ❖ Funding and Budget ❖ Enthusiastic leaders
Community Involvement	❖ Bottom-up approach ❖ Use of grassroots people ❖ Community input, consultations & control
Self-Determination	❖ Independence ❖ Self-reliance ❖ Self-Management & Control ❖ Capacity Building
Economic & Community Development	❖ Long-term jobs (Local jobs) ❖ Enhanced infrastructure ❖ Community Safety ❖ Youth Engagement ❖ Increased Housing
History & Culture	❖ Land/Country ❖ Cultural Appropriate ❖ Colonisation & Trauma ❖ Cultural Advisers

Evaluation	❖ Involvement ❖ Objectives achieved ❖ Cultural perspective ❖ Respect ❖ Cost efficiency ❖ Outcomes ❖ Multiplier effects ❖ Simple and clear

3.10 Limitations of the study

As with all research, some difficulties were encountered and some limitations to the study can be identified. Firstly, there were challenges convincing some of the community members to participate in the study. They had concerns regarding the outcomes of the study including the future use of the assessment tool. Those who did not want to participate said that evaluation tools could be used against them. They were not comfortable with this process because of the perception that if the assessment (which they referred to as audit) of the programs was not positive, they risked future funding.

Secondly, it was a challenge to build a trusting relationship with the Indigenous participants. This was because of the view that since I was not born and bred on Palm Island (i.e., not Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander people), I was considered an outsider. The Cultural Advisory Group (CAG) was instrumental in explaining to the Indigenous participants that they could benefit from the study. Further, the CAG demonstrated the importance of the assessment tool by telling the Indigenous participants that by using the evaluation tool to self-evaluate the design and delivery of the programs, they would know where and when they were going wrong. The assessment tool would also assist them to know the areas/sections of the program they needed to improve. In addition, the CAG used culturally appropriate ways to explain to Indigenous participants that the assessment tool could be useful in determining the extent to which the program was delivered as per the original intent.

Thirdly, it was difficult to communicate well with the Indigenous participants. This was because of the use of some words which could easily be interpreted to mean something different. This issue was mitigated by cultural advisers who were well conversant with the use of local language. In addition, Palm Island is composed of 42 language groups who were brought to the island. This made some of the minority groups not well represented in the study. These groups had different dialects and at the same time, different views of what they considered as indicators of success.

Another challenge was that some participants expected to be paid for participating in the study. This issue was solved by talking to the participants beforehand and requesting them to voluntarily participate without expecting some form of payment. I however, offered some tea/coffee and snacks.

There were possible biases that might have occurred when the participants were asked to talk about programs they might have been involved in design and implementation. Another challenge was that participants were not willing to talk negative things about the programs for fear of losing future funding.

Finally, maintaining confidentiality was a big task. This was because Palm Island is a small community of around 2,446 people (ABS, 2016), and it was difficult to assure the respondents of confidentiality. This issue was mitigated by explaining to the respondents beforehand that confidentiality could not be guaranteed. Cultural and cross-cultural differences also created some barriers to the researcher. Cultural advisers played a big role to counter this problem.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussions

4.0 Introduction

This chapter explores and discusses in detail the themes and subthemes which were identified at the end of the previous chapter. It also discusses the outcomes which matter to Palm Island community. There were nine main themes which emerged from the study (Figure 4.1). The nine key themes were community programs, efficiency and effectiveness, education, leadership and governance, community involvement, self-determination, evaluation, economic and community development and lastly history and culture.

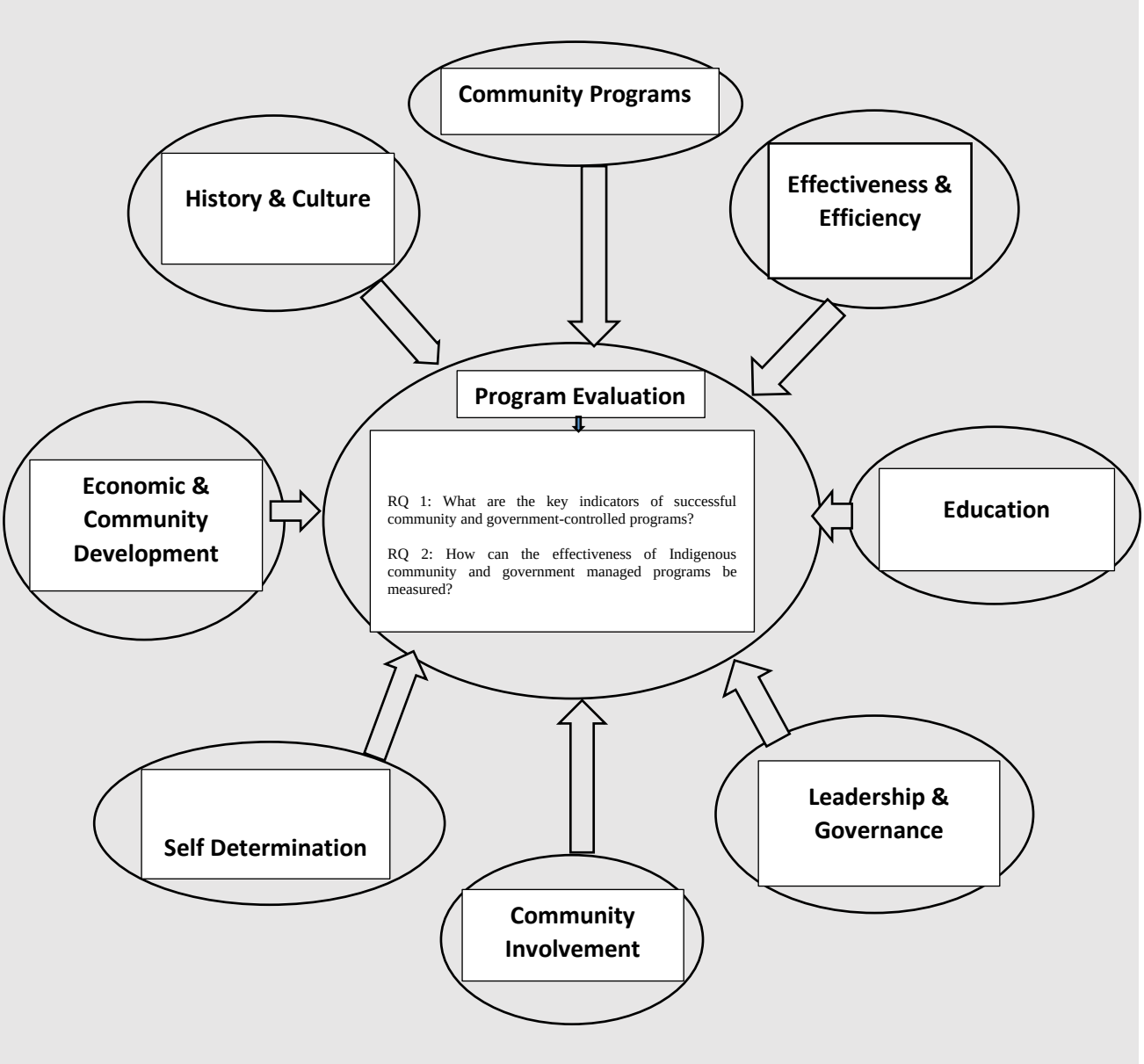

Figure 4.1: Main Themes

4.1 Community programs

Community programs were identified as one of the core themes of the study. The participants of the study noted that the community program objectives should be brief, clear and expected outcomes well explained (Harris, 2016). To demonstrate the emergence of community programs as a theme, a participant said,

> *I am aware of many programs on the Island. These include Ferdys Haven Alcohol and Drug Respite, Sandy Boyd Age Care Hostel which is providing a service for elderly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander residents who require low care, Cathy Freeman Foundation and an organisation called SOS where people are travelling and volunteering their services and assisting in physiotherapy, occupational therapy and other allied health services. Recently the Orange Sky Laundry with a mobile hot water laundry service and showering service and their goal is to prevent the spread of any infectious diseases such as impetigo, scabies etc. and assisting homeless people with their diabetes. Orange Sky Laundry has just commenced but I believe they are providing a good service. All those allied health services are helping with chronic diseases* (Participant D).

Morley (2015) defines community programs as interventions designed to improve the wellbeing of community members. The current study indicates that there are several factors that stakeholders need to consider while implementing community development programs. These factors (which are explained in detail in sections below) are necessary because they guide the stakeholders on whether programs achieve their goals and objectives. In addition, these factors show the efforts required by program providers to generate the required output. Thirdly, these factors highlight any areas of concern, issues relating to program performance and areas which may require improvement. This is consistent with Mangan and Trendle's (2019) evaluation of Indigenous traineeships that identified several program implementation factors including the benefits, challenges and outcomes. The current study has identified these factors including program sustainability, multiplier effects, benefits, challenges and outcomes. The program outcomes identified in this study are consistent with those identified by Mangan and Trendle (2019). These factors are summarised in Figure 4.2 and are explained in more detail in the following sections.

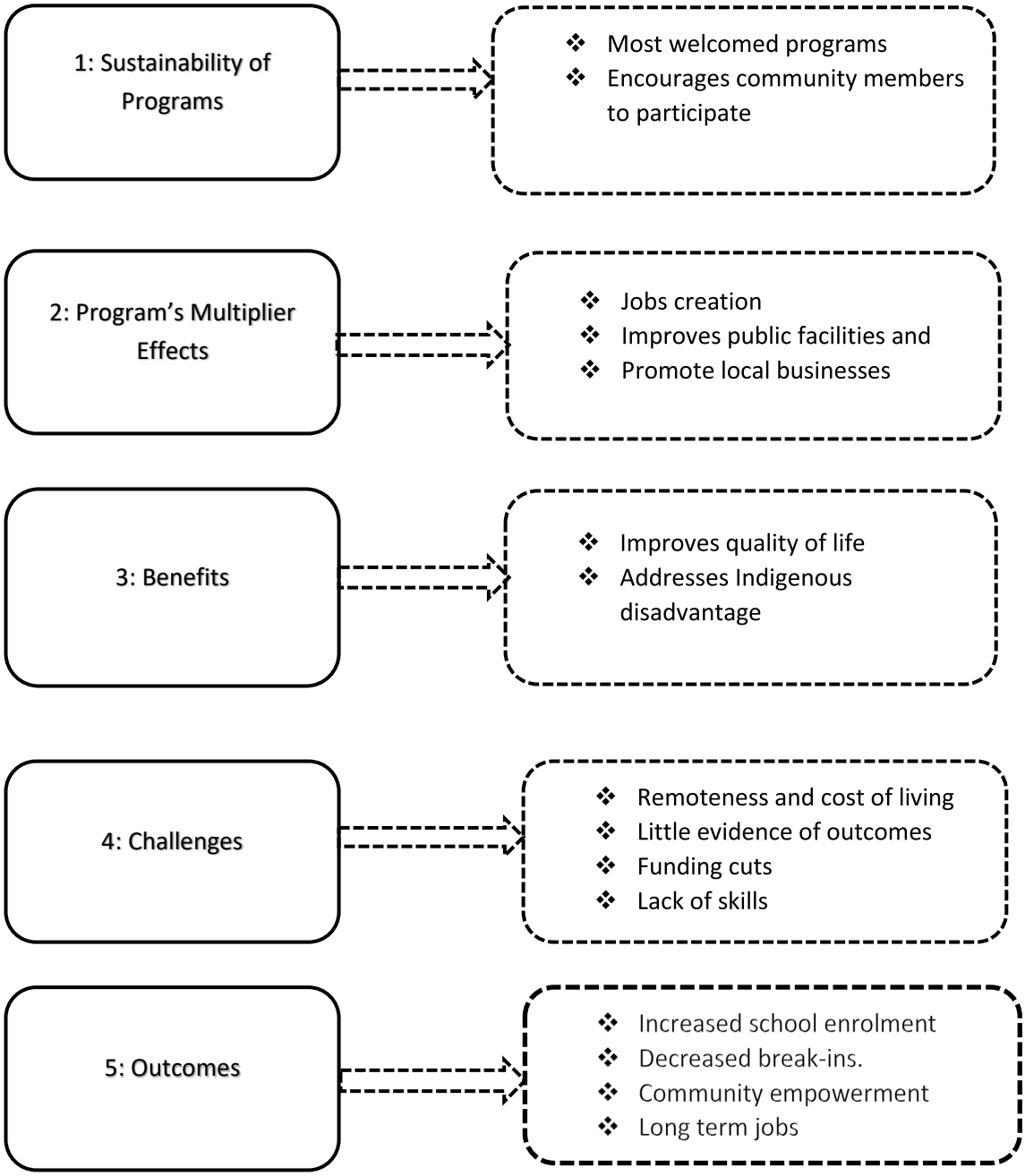

Figure 4.2: Factors to consider when delivering community programs

4.11 Sustainability of programs

Program sustainability is the ability of a program to be ongoing and self-reliant i.e., not dependent on the original funding source. The sustainability of programs has a correlation to long-term economic, social, and environmental development in communities (Kohler & Brondizio, 2017). Sustainable programs were one of the sub themes identified in the study. Participants of the study view sustainable programs as keys to development. For example, when one of the respondents was talking about the benefits of community and government managed programs on Palm Island, they said:

To get community out of poverty, we need all those benefits of sustainable programs, strategic plans and KPIs met under that plan. The people that can benefit from these programs is the community which is so oppressed (Participant C).

This observation is supported by Jackson, Stewart, and Beal (2019) that the sustainability of Australian Indigenous community programs can be achieved by addressing barriers in governance. They further argue that to achieve good outcomes, Indigenous Australians should be engaged in implementing community programs.

While most participants of the study were receptive to both community-managed programs and government-managed programs, there were indications that programs which were sustainable and employed local community members were liked most. This was because such programs were perceived to reduce Fly in Fly out (FIFO) workers who were said to be taking local jobs. If a program provider was not raised on Palm Island, they were viewed as "outsiders". This was observed from one of the participants who said "*we prefer our people implementing and evaluating the programs. We need <u>less outsiders</u> and more locals to develop, deliver and evaluate programs" (*Participant B). Another participant said, *"I do not believe we should have any outsiders coming in and running programs because they don't live here"* (Participant C). Based on this one can argue that the community programs which are seen to be sustainable and delivered by the local community members are more welcome and effective.

4.12 Program multiplier effects

Another sub-theme arising out of the study was the program multiplier effect. Programs are designed and implemented in communities with the expectation of achieving positive outcomes including multiplier effects, i.e., unanticipated direct and indirect benefits that are generated by a program. For example, a community housing program can have several effects including attracting new businesses like food kiosks, increased school attendance since children can have better living environments, job creation which improves economic development, and capacity building arising from community members learning new building skills. This program multiplier effect was noted with one respondent stating:

Programs have many benefits to the community. Community-led programs create jobs. Programs also make us feel more empowered to see people from their own community running the program and feel more comfortable. Community also benefits from programs because they assist in setting up small businesses like selling food and Indigenous arts to the builders (Participant E).

This observation is supported by with Jarvis et al. (2018) who argues that Indigenous land and sea management programs have multiplier effects including building pathways to economic independence and Indigenous business development.

4.13 Benefits of community programs

Benefits of community development programs was a sub theme identified in the current study. These benefits were also linked to outcomes which matter which includes jobs creation, sustainability and capacity building among others. Community development programs are necessary in Indigenous communities because they improve the services, amenities and general infrastructure. Improved infrastructure helps to attract new businesses, tourism and private investment. Also, programs can improve the social, economic and physical conditions of the island. Community programs also provide additional benefits which include training, social development, economic development and physical development. A good example cited by a participant of the study was a *"beautification program"* which led to an increased number of tourists on the island. This participant said,

> *Community Development Program (CDP), men's groups program and youth groups program focus on developing life skills for youth and the community in general. For example, Indigenous licensing program do help the young people get their driving licences. This gives them independence and confidence to drive and learn the right skills. There are also women yarning groups to encourage women to get out and share any issues. PCYC has some health programs.*
>
> *Campbell Page are doing a good job and have been successful with participants in the CDP. They also have an arts program, community landscaping program and a recycle program. In addition, community are happy with the beautification of the foreshore and walkways delivered by the Council. They attract visitors from the mainland who buy our paintings*" (Participant E).

This is supported by Wilson et al. (2018) who point out that programs in Indigenous communities benefit community members by empowering them through design and implementation of programs. The community members also benefit by improved education, employment outcomes and improved infrastructure.

Participants observed that there was a correlation between CDPs and QoL. They believed that QoL could be achieved by coming together as one and implementing culturally appropriate healing programs focused on the *"unresolved grief, loss and trauma arising from colonisation*" (Participant D). Other program benefits mentioned by participants were the contribution they make to social capital development, housing, jobs, cost of living, involvement in work force, hunting, fishing and camping on their traditional land. As one interviewee put it:

> *I believe that the quality-of-life contributions would be the community coming together as one and that would assist in the lateral violence that is happening among oppressed people. Once this occurs, culturally appropriate healing programs from the unresolved grief, loss, and trauma through the impact of colonisation needs to be put in place"* (Participant D*).*

Participants of the study believed that when community members come together, they enhance social capital in communities. This is supported by Coll-Planas et al. (2017), who note that social capital does alleviate loneliness and improve health among the old people. On the same note, another respondent said:

> *I believe good quality of life for our people would be dealing with the social determinants of health, because we cannot have a good quality of health if we are not dealing with this. I believe that what needs to be preserved to improve this is once everyone comes together, and the social determinants of health are being dealt with, then we can start talking about the social and emotional health from a cultural perspective to deal with this cleansing and, of course, when you deal with social determinants of health (mental, physical, spiritual, and cultural good balance)*(Participant E).

Healthy eating habits was also identified as a contributor to QoL. This was noted from one of the respondents who said *"There is need for more fresh food at lower costs so that children and adults can be healthier. For example, good food, instead of the stores encouraging high sugar/high fat, that there be a balance of good quality food and at a reasonable cost"* (Participant C). Healthy eating habits is supported by Hefler, Kerrigan, Henryks, Freeman, & Thomas (2019) who note that eating behaviour affects the QoL of Indigenous people.

Homelessness was identified as another factor affecting QoL for the Palm Island community. Community infrastructure programs like building of new houses were said to benefit the community by giving them quality living. The interviewees described residents without homes as disadvantaged compared with those with homes. Homelessness was also seen as a contributor to juvenile crime. Participants of the study noted that residents without homes were also ashamed of themselves. As one of the participants put it *"Residents without homes felt that they had little to offer and could not even invite their relatives (because they had no place to house them) which affected their wellbeing"*. This was further demonstrated by a statement from one of the participants who said *"we need more housing to combat homelessness and crimes on Palm Island. This should be considered seriously by the governments. We cannot even invite our relatives because we are not able to accommodate them. We feel ashamed. This affects our quality of life''"* (Participant E). Homelessness as a factor contributing to crime and hence adversely affecting QoL is supported by Lowell et. al (2018) and Heerde and Pallotta-Chiarolli (2020). They argue that physical violence among youth can be attributed to homelessness. Further, they note that housing is a determinant of consistent inequalities between Indigenous Australians and other Australians' health and wellbeing.

Another benefit arising from CDPs was the perception by the study respondents that when they participate in a program's design, implementation and evaluation, they feel recognised and empowered. Further, the participants of the study noted that programs on Palm Island had provided

better access to public facilities like childcare centre, schools, hospital, and training centres like technical and further education (TAFE). This was clearly stated by one of the participants who said:

> *an infrastructure program funded by the state government through roads to recovery program provided improved access to the airport, ferry terminal, tourist sites and the centre of the town. In this program, over 99 per cent of the employees were local community members. They learned a lot of skills like use of heavy machinery. This gives them some form of empowerment (*Participant C).

When community members are engaged in a program's design, implementation and evaluation, they consider this as a way of closing the gap or eliminating Indigenous disadvantage. This is evidenced by a respondent who said: "*Community benefits from community led programs. We feel more empowered to see people from own community running the program. We are happy and comfortable. We can move mountains. This is the only way to close the gap which has been widening for years (*Participant B). This is supported by Dudgeon, Scrine, Cox, and Walker (2017) who concluded that when Indigenous people participate in design, implementation and evaluation of CDPs, they are empowered. This is collaborated by the findings of National Empowerment Project (Dudgeon, Scrine, Cox & Walker ,2017). They argue that participatory research among Indigenous communities enhances empowerment and self-determination.

4.14 Challenges

Another sub theme arising from the study was challenges experienced by stakeholders in designing, implementing and evaluating programs in Indigenous communities. Some of these challenges cited by participants were lack of adequate funding, lack of culturally appropriate evaluation tools, remoteness, lack of community involvement, political challenges, poor infrastructure and the community's dislike of programs imposed on them. Community members preferred CDPs which were designed and initiated by community members themselves. This is evidenced by a participant who said,

> *we prefer culturally appropriate programs with less red tape and those observing local protocols. In this community, we see little community input while designing community programs. There are government funding cuts and massive employment of "nonlocals" who have little knowledge of cultural appropriateness of implementing local Indigenous programs. We do not like people imposing things on us* (Participant D).

A lack of culturally appropriate Indigenous programs was also noted by Murrup-Stewart, Searle, Jobson, and Adams (2019) in their study of 33 social and emotional wellbeing programs in Indigenous communities in Australia. They argue that in Indigenous communities in Australia, health and wellbeing programs in Indigenous communities are supposed to be culturally appropriate. They further stress the need for engaging local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the design, implementation and evaluation of Indigenous programs. They argue that

this can be achieved by engaging Indigenous staff, using culturally relevant activities and valuing the participants' experience.

As mentioned above, implementing a program in Indigenous communities can be challenging because of several factors which include location. Some of the Indigenous communities (including on Palm Island) are in remote and very remote areas which makes it difficult for the program providers and evaluators to assess the effectiveness of those programs. There are also a few resources available in terms of skilled staff. The few trained Indigenous people usually move to the mainland for work (Carey & Gullifer,2020). They argue that skill building and face-to-face training in these Indigenous remote locations is a big challenge. In addition, there are limited trained Indigenous people available in these communities to run the programs. These views are supported by a participant who said:

> *we need to have training to deliver programs since we are dealing with people's lives. This is not the case in our community. We are trying to make this community go forward for our next generation. Training is therefore necessary. Those community members with skills move to big cities to secure employment* (Participant F).

These views appear to agree with Caron, Asselin, and Beaudoin (2019). They argue that Indigenous people experience difficulties in joining a workforce (i.e., mining companies) because they live in remote locations. In addition, they lack basic education. Walter and Suina (2019) argue that in Indigenous communities, lack of formal Western education is complex. Walter and Suina (2019) argue that lack of basic education among Indigenous communities relates to availability of schooling, exclusion from the formal curriculum and other structural factors affecting Indigenous people as they were growing up.

Another challenge emerging out of the study was the high cost of living. The participants of the study felt that because of high costs of living arising from the remoteness and distance from the mainland (Palm Island is an island located 72km northwest of Townsville) this poses a big challenge to program providers, funding bodies and other interested parties. Transportation of goods and services to remote locations is expensive. These views are supported by one of the respondents who said:

> *to fly from Townsville to Palm takes around 15 minutes and the flight costs are $270.00 per person. Can you compare this cost with flight costs to Brisbane, which is 1800km away, takes 1.45 hours and costs approx. $350.00 per person? This shows how expensive it is to fly to Palm Island* (Participant E).

Study respondents also mentioned that the programs were not adequately funded, making it hard to complete all the activities assigned to a given program. This makes it hard to effectively implement a program.

Another challenge emerging out of the study was that there were few program evaluations which made it hard for the community members to know how these programs were performing. There

was however, one participant who said that they were aware of one program which was evaluated by the funding bodies. This respondent said:

> *I am aware of one evaluation which was done after the program was complete hence making it difficult to use the results to improve on the program. They asked us to send the photos of the participants of the program, excel sheet files with the details of income and expenditure, details of the activities and the costs of the program activities including purchase orders, invoices and payment vouchers* (Participant F).

The same respondent also noted that such evaluations were done by the funding bodies with no collaboration with other stakeholders including the community members. They said, "*Community members are rarely included in evaluations*" (Participant F).

Another challenge observed by the interviewees was that program evaluations were viewed as an audit and therefore community members were reluctant to participate because of fear of loss of funding and concerns regarding the outcomes of the evaluations. These views were supported by a respondent who said: "*Getting decent people who are there for their people is a must. We need less outsiders and more locals needed to develop, deliver and evaluate. They come to audit us in the name of evaluating the programs. We need to be part of the process. If the audit (evaluation) is bad, we lose on the future grants"* (Participant C).

The above participants concur with Durey et al. (2016) that engaging Aboriginal people in programs and activities which affect their health was a key element in tackling health gaps between the Aboriginal Australians and non-Aboriginal Australians. They also found out that engaging Indigenous people improves local health services, trust and access to the care. In addition, Haynes, Marawili, Marika, Mitchell, Phillips, Bessarab, ... & Ralph (2019) state that there is a need to value traditional knowledge by including Indigenous people in generating research questions while researching Indigenous communities.

Reliance on complex and/or academic language in existing program evaluations was another challenge which emerged out of the study. When evaluating Indigenous programs, implementing challenges should seriously be taken into consideration. Use of clear and simple words is also necessary. Implementation challenges and use of clear and simple language are key characteristics of evaluation practice to be considered when evaluating Indigenous programs. These views are supported by an interviewee who said:

> *we must go out to the homes and talk to them about evaluating programs. We cannot just put notices up. Use language our mob can understand. Some of the outsiders use big words. Our mob do not know big words. So, you must break it down so that they can understand. That is one of the problems when developing and evaluating a program. Go to homes and share a cup of tea, not just talking to them on the street or if they are sitting on the mall* (Participant E).

From the Palm Island perceptive, it is clear that when developing an evaluation tool to measure effectiveness of community and government programs, implementation challenges are some of the factors to be taken into consideration. Training/capacity building regarding program evaluations is crucial. The participants' view is that most of the staff working on programs in Indigenous communities lack skills to effectively design, implement and evaluate programs. In addition, use of clear and simple language while evaluating Indigenous programs is vital. Finally, when developing an evaluation tool to measure effectiveness of community programs, the developers need to consider the expected outcomes of a program. For example, when implementing an education program in the community, one would expect the outcomes to be increased school enrolment, increased number of students completing grade 12 and joining university etc. In addition, an evaluator looking into outcomes from CDPs, the outcomes would be new jobs created, the number of jobs retained, reduced staff turnover, increased turnout rates for working community members and decrease in welfare dependence. Participants of the study also observed that for the programs to achieve the original objectives, the program benefits and challenges need to be clearly defined.

While assessing CDPs, the participants of the current study identified several key themes which evaluators should consider. These key themes included effectiveness and efficiency, education, leadership and governance, community involvement, self-determination, history and culture, and evaluation. The details of these key themes are explained in the following sections.

4.2 Effectiveness and efficiency

The current study identified effectiveness and efficiency among the key factors which evaluators need to assess (measure) when evaluating CDPs. While there is a relationship between these terms they are independent concepts. Efficiency is defined as the ability to implement a program with the least amount of wasted time, money and effort. Effectiveness is defined as the degree in which a program is successful in achieving the desired results (Meza, Mello, Gomes Junior, Moreno 2018). The participants of the study however, did not draw many differences between the two terms. In fact, most of the participants of the study believed that both words had the same meaning. Despite this, the participants agreed that program efficiency and effectiveness are key variables to Indigenous program evaluations. Their sentiments agree with the existing literature that testing the effectiveness and efficiency of a program is crucial to any program evaluation (Stattin, Enebrink, Özdemir, & Giannotti, 2015; Meza, Mello, Gomes Junior, Moreno 2018).

4.21 Efficiency, value for money and cost effectiveness

Efficiency is defined as the ability to avoid wasting of resources including materials, money, efforts and time with the aim of producing the desired result. In most cases, measuring program efficiency emphasises time and money (Sundqvist, Backlund, & Chronéer, 2014). Respondents of the current study viewed efficiency in terms of cost incurred while implementing programs. When talking

about the program efficiency, the participants of the study talked about timely completion of programs, cost effectiveness and value for money.

Cost efficiency was identified by the participants of the study as crucial to program evaluation. This was also identified in the literature review. The Productivity Commission (2013) defines cost efficiency as the extent to which costs of resources are minimised to produce an outcome. They however, say that this does not necessarily mean that the outcome has a positive benefit. Participants of the study viewed cost efficiency in terms of savings made while delivering programs. This included getting value for money while procuring goods and services. Other participants viewed cost efficiency in terms of costs of delivering programs which they considered high because of the remoteness/location of the community. These views were supported by a participant who in response to an interview question regarding what they thought was to be evaluated said: "*high cost of food and electricity are some of the things that should be measured/explored to see the effect they have on programs. Cost of living on the island is very high which makes delivery of programs to be costly"* (Participant C). The views of this participant tend to agree with Allcott and Greenstone (2012) that when evaluators are measuring the costs and benefits of a program, assessing cost efficiency of a program should be one of the parameters to measure. Allcott and Greenstone (2012) argue that cost efficiency is usually measured by the ratio of net costs divided by outcomes. If the net costs are negative, the results are said to be net cost savings and, in this case, the program is classified as cost-efficient. Conversely, if the net costs are positive, there are no cost savings, and such a program is classified as inefficient.

Value for money was one of the factors which emerged as crucial to measuring effectiveness of a program. The participants observed that for a program to be effective, it must demonstrate value for money. They further stated that care should be taken to avoid duplication of programs. This was noted by a respondent who said *"programs need to show value for money. They (program providers) need to demonstrate that they have procurement policies which clearly defined purchasing requirements including getting more than three quotes when procuring program's goods and services"*. Further, the respondents of the study recommend a strong collaboration between all stakeholders to ensure that there was no duplication of activities or programs which could lead to wastage of resources. This concurs with Darroch, Woog, Bankole, Ashford, and Points (2016) that community programs need to be cost-effective and should use least costly resources (i.e., cost efficiency) to achieve desired results.

The participants of the study said that when the costs (both direct and indirect costs) to implement a program are high, there are chances that such programs could be inefficient. Respondents of the study believed that when the cost of providing for goods and services is high (relative to mainstream regions), this can affect the performance of a program. Program performance can directly or indirectly be affected either by not completing all the activities of program or partially completing the program activities because of insufficient funds (due to high cost of goods and services). As one

participant pointed out "*the cost of goods and services on Palm Island makes it difficult to efficiently implement the programs. For example, the cost of a loaf of bread on Palm Island store is $6.00. The same loaf of bread costs $3.00 on the mainland"* (Participant E). This has an indirect impact on community programs because the employees working on a program would expect to be compensated more to be able to cover cost of goods and services on the island. This would adversely affect the delivery of programs.

Program performance is measured based on the success in meeting the program's objectives, budget and efficiency in their operations. Program efficiency has been defined as the extent to which the program managers have managed the available resources in accordance with the budget (i.e., use of less costly resources and being within the estimated costs) and ability to adhere to the program's schedule (Zidane & Olsson 2017). High costs of goods and services can however, make it difficult for program providers to efficiently run the programs. Program providers have a goal of achieving results with least time and effort. Efficiency is therefore paramount when implementing CDPs. In most cases, program providers endeavour to use minimum resources to achieve best outcomes. For example, a program provider can use minimal resources to adequately complete all activities of a program as per the original intent. To meet the community needs, the programs need to be flexible (Zidane & Olsson 2017).

4.22 Timely Completion

The participants of the study observed that there were several programs on the island which took a long time to complete. Another participant noted that some of the programs (especially those funded by the government) started but stopped midway. When one respondent was answering an interview question regarding the effectiveness of a program, they said *"some programs take years to complete. They run out of funds in the process. Other programs are never finished. These programs do not have tangible outcomes"* (Participant K). When the programs take a long time to complete, this makes them expensive in the long run which may affect their effectiveness. This appears to agree with Dobbin and Kalev (2016) that the longer a program takes to be implemented, the more likely that it may fail.

Completing programs on time was also identified in the current study as one of the elements of success/positive outcomes. This was demonstrated by a participant who said,

> *the outcomes for the road improvement program were that it started and finished on time. The community people were involved and happily stayed for the duration of the project. The successful outcomes were that the participants stayed on and became involved in other programs* (Participant C).

While several participants of the study felt that positive outcomes of a program are some of the success factors to be measure, there were other participants who felt otherwise. They said that the time spent on a program is what should be assessed and not the outcomes. This participant said *"I think programs should be assessed based on the time spent delivering a program and not based on*

outcomes. If a program takes long to be delivered, it should be considered ineffective because it will end up costing so much " (Participant D).

The participants of the study also noted that there are some programs which have outcomes which could not be easily linked to a respective program. This is demonstrated by a participant who in response to an interview question regarding what things needed to be measured in a program said *"Work performance and outcomes should be measured. Though the program outcomes should be assessed, it is difficult to know the effects of each respective program"* (Participant D).

The participants of the study believed employing residents to implement the community programs would reduce high employees' costs arising from "FIFO" which results to sustainability of community programs. This is because in addition to the flight's costs, there were high staffing costs for non-local employees including salaries, accommodation and allowances. All the employees' costs plus the high cost of goods and services (due to high freight costs) makes it difficult to efficiently deliver and evaluate the CDPs. This was evidenced by an interviewee who said "*the entire community benefits from community led and government led programs. However, fly-in, fly-out (flight costs) do make it expensive and non-economical to implement local programs" (*Participant C). Community participation in design, implementation and evaluation of programs was not only perceived as a way of reducing flights costs (hence making programs to be efficient), but also was a key contributor to self-determination for community members. This was because community engagement was perceived to promote self-management and control. When community members improve their skills through training and participation on delivery of community programs, this reduces "FIFO". This eventually reduces the cost of running programs because there will be less need for highly skilled staff from mainland communities to run programs on Indigenous communities. FIFO can be expensive on programs because the flight costs and extra allowances paid to program staff (e.g., living away from home allowances and hardship allowances) must be considered and absorbed by the respective programs operating in Indigenous communities.

This problem can be solved by sharing expert costs. For example, program evaluation costs can be shared between several programs running in Indigenous communities. Also, local residents can be trained to evaluate the CDPs. This was noted by one of the participants who said *"to run efficient programs in our communities, there is need for community members to receive training to participate in developing, delivering and evaluating programs. How can our people deliver good and efficient programs if they are not trained?"* (Participant D). Use of external evaluators to evaluate Indigenous programs (which could be very expensive) makes the process of evaluating Indigenous programs difficult. Program providers can use program assessment tools to internally evaluate themselves which would be cheaper. This is in line with the recommendations by Hudson, Salvatierra, Monteverde, Andres, and Carlos (2017) that program providers should be encouraged to evaluate their programs internally. They also argue that an average cost to evaluate a program in Australia is $382,000 which could be very expensive for small programs. Most Indigenous programs in Australia have less funding

than $382,000 and for this reason, the participants of the study observed that most Indigenous programs do not include an evaluation budget line in their program designs.

Another factor which affects the efficiency of Indigenous CDPs is the size of the programs. This is supported by Robson (2017) in that it's inefficient to evaluate small-size programs. Small programs are very common within Indigenous communities. This appears to agree with a respondent who said,

> *the marginal benefits from government-led programs are that the actual involvement is led by team members that have very little concept of what it is like living in an Aboriginal community on a remote island. Some of these government programs are small and are not sustainable. To get good outcome out of the programs, grants should be directly sent to communities and not through state departments. Channelling grants through state departments is bureaucratic.* (Participant D).

The views of this participant implied that sending funds/grants vie several government departments is inefficient and could have adverse effects on the effectiveness of programs.

4.22 Effectiveness

Kettner, Moroney, and Martin (2015) define effectiveness as the level by which the activities of a program achieve the desired effect. The Productivity Commission (2013) also defines effectiveness as the extent to which the outcomes of a program can be attributed to the program's original intent. Effectiveness is one of the factors which was cited by the study respondents as being crucial to evaluations of CDPs. Effectiveness was also linked to sustainability of programs as discussed in the earlier section. Johnston et al. (2013) argue that when the programs are effectively implemented, this gives the stakeholders confidence regarding utilisation of resources and funding institutions would therefore be more than willing to extend the funding. However, there are some other factors including political factors which may make it hard for programs to be funded because of political agendas. This is because Indigenous communities want to protect their culture, their territories and environmental degradation while at the same time enhancing their political agendas (Paneque-Gálvez, Vargas-Ramírez, Napolitano & Cummings 2017).

Training of program staff has an impact on a program's effectiveness. This is because when staff are trained, they develop skills to enable them to effectively implement programs. Staff training and development is therefore crucial to a program's effectiveness. When staff are well trained in implementing the program's activities, there are high chances of such programs being more effective compared with those which have untrained staff. This is clearly demonstrated by a respondent who said,

> *at Sandy Boyd hostel, there is upgraded training in elders' care. There is also cross-cultural and health worker training program at the hospital. Palm Island Community Company (PICC), the NGOs and Ferdys Haven should be doing extensive training to*

keep up with professional development. This makes staff to implement programs better and hence resulting to effective programs (Participant D).

This participant tends to agree with the available literature that training is essential to any organisation. For example, Henry, Hill, and Leitch (2017) note that for an organisation to improve in program's effectiveness, the designers, providers and funding institutions should take staff training seriously. Further, Caron, Asselin & Beaudoin (2019) argue that training of Indigenous staff working in mining companies in Australia is linked to high retention and reduced Indigenous staff turnover.

The participants of the study observed that, for a program to be effective, it must have clear and measurable outcomes. This was demonstrated by a participant who said,

I believe the schools are collaborating in trying to give better outcomes for the future of the children and encouraging them to raise their low self-esteem and encouraging them to go on to high school and university or receive a trade. A good program has clear and achievable outcomes (Participant C).

This respondent tends to have similar views with Stupans (2017) that to achieve a good program performance, outcomes must be clearly written, assessable, achievable and effective. Program evaluation is therefore necessary to check whether the program's goals have been met. Based on the findings of the study, efficiency and effectiveness are key indicators of program success. When a program is efficiently and effectively implemented, there is a higher chance of having available positive outcomes.

The importance of post-evaluation of a program is to determine the effectiveness of the program plus whether the program was able to meet its objectives and goals successfully (Barnett and Vance , 2013) .

4.3 Education

Education was the third main theme to emerge from the study. Education is about enhancing skills and knowledge (Smith & Tyler, 2011). Participants of the current study rated education very highly. They believed that there is a relationship between education and community development. This was noted by a respondent who said:

Most parents look forward to their children attending both schools (Private and public) because they do not give up on our children. We as elders strongly encourage parents and guardians of students to act on education matters seriously. Children can build our communities if they are educated. (Participant C).

This participant appears to agree with available literature which indicates that there is a relationship between education programs and community development. Soares, Ribas, and Osório (2010) argue that educational programs have helped to improve educational outcomes and at the same time have helped to reduce extreme poverty and inequity. Further, Porter et al., (2017) state that education is key to Indigenous community development including urban planning.

In this study, education was one of the factors which the participants felt contributed to community development. The participants felt that by community residents gaining formal education, this gives them opportunities to independently deliver community programs (without necessarily getting staff from the mainland to run the programs) in a more effective way compared with the programs being run by residents who don't have formal education. The participants considered formal education as those residents who have at least completed grade 12 and joined tertiary institutions. To demonstrate the need for education, one of the participants said *"culturally appropriate programs and educational workshops for illiterate children and adults improves wellbeing for the Palm Island community. It is evident that education on Palm Island needs to be improved"* (Participant C). Another participant observed *"A pipeline of employment opportunities needs to be developed to retain the next generation on the island when they complete their education. Education is good to our people."* (Participant D).

The findings of this study also indicate a link between education and quality of life (QoL) for the Palm Island community. The schools were perceived to have an important role in a better way of life for Indigenous children. This is because the participants of the study felt that when children are educated, they have better chances of gaining meaningful employment. This is evidenced by one of the participants who said:

> *we need to get the kids to go to school. When we were growing up, we were told we had to be educated like the white people as the only way we are going to beat them is by education. That will improve our way of living and give us better chances to get formal employment* (Participant C).

There is a need for collaboration between teachers, students and parents which is crucial to better learning. There is also a positive relationship between education and employment as argued by Altman (2018) and Rice, Haynes, Royce, & Thompson (2016) who observed that low rates of employment and low-income levels of Aboriginal people were due to their educational levels.

4.31 Role models

The use of Indigenous teachers, especially young Indigenous teachers, as a role model to the young generation was said to be a success indicator for school programs. Teaching of Indigenous culture, Indigenous languages, country and way of life were other factors which were said to encourage children to go to school. Involving parents and the community in general with school's extracurricular activities like sports was a factor seen to improve learning in Indigenous communities. This is evidenced by a participant who said: "*We as parents need to be involved in developing school curriculums. Use of young educated Indigenous teachers is vital. They act as role models to the students"* (Participant F). Involving parents in setting up school curriculum studies especially in the

field of cultural studies in Indigenous communities is paramount (Sitnikova, Pimenova, & Filko, 2018).

4.32 Adult education

A participant also mentioned that adult education would see an increased number of kids enrolling in school because they would be following the steps of the adults (role model). This participant said:

> *Education programs are still not enough to support children to go to the high school. There is a lot of support for primary school, but not high school. Once they get to grade 7/8 attendance drops and by the time, they get to year 12 there is only a few students. Adult education "for adults" would mean a lot to the young people* (Participant K).

4.33 Capacity building through traineeship programs

Interviewees also indicated that high-school students should be encouraged to do traineeships with the local council, private businesses, the hospital and non-governmental organisation like the Cathy Freeman Foundation and Red Cross. By doing this, the students will be looking forward to formal employment after they complete their high school. This would also motivate their peers to continue with schooling until they completed high school or tertiary education. This is evidenced by a participant who said: *"Traineeship programs are necessary for our children. Local council, TAFE and other non-governmental organisations on the island needs to offer these traineeship services. It is a pity that PCYC closes at 5pm"* (Participant E). Further, to encourage students to join tertiary institutions including TAFE and universities, mentoring by Indigenous students studying in those institutions was seen to play a big role. There was however, an ongoing concern that the kids and children were not busy after school and the PCYC, the only facility meant to provide activities for kids in the community, usually closes at 5pm. This gives children an opportunity to hang out late at night. The respondents of the study felt that there is a great need for the PCYC to open after 5 pm. Other participants recommended a place full of activities (programs) for children to be dropped after leaving school at 3 pm. Past literature indicates that there is a link between education and capacity building (Yakavets, Frost, & Khoroshash, 2017).

4.34 Challenges

While participants identified ongoing challenges facing school-going children, overall, educational programs were considered as a good driver to a better-quality of life. Some of the challenges affecting education programs on Palm Island were peer pressure and overcrowding at home. Overcrowding was said to be the most contributing factor for kids not going to school. This was because most children hang out at night (due to a lack of sleeping space) and sleep during the day. Another challenge given by the interviewees was the lack of role models with most adults and parents dropping out of school at an early age. An interviewee stated: *"we are aware that there are*

illiterate families within the community which could pose a big problem to the future generations. These families cannot be role models to the young ones. It is a shame to our community" Participant E**.** The findings of this theme of education indicate that CDPs which motivate, promote and encourage children to go to school are considered to contribute to the wellbeing of the community. Increased numbers of enrolled children in schools is therefore a good indicator to measure success of a program. Other indicators of success in educational programs are the number of students completing grade 12 and joining tertiary institutions, the number of students getting formal employment, and the number of students joining traineeship programs after graduating from high schools or colleges.

Evaluating Indigenous school programs is important because program managers can use this process to strengthen the quality of their programs and improve the outcomes of the children and the youth they serve. Program evaluation data can also be used to improve program services (Stupans,2017).

4.4 Leadership and governance

Leadership is defined as an art of motivating people to achieve expected goals or outcomes. Leaders provide guidance and their skills are critical to effectiveness of governance (Chait, Ryan, & Taylor, 2011). Leadership and governance were some of the factors viewed by the participants of the current study as crucial to assessing program effectiveness. Further, accountability, funding & budgets and enthusiastic leadership were sub themes which emerged from the study.

4.41 Accountability

Though accountability emerged as one of the sub themes, some participants of the study perceived strong accountability measures as time consuming and costly. In addition, these participants felt that the majority of the funds were spent on administration costs instead of activities hence adversely affecting the outcomes. This was noted by a participant who said:

> *in as much as the government would want the community members to be accountable for the results (outcome), they need to be accountable for anything which goes wrong as well. They (government) sometimes fund the programs by sending grants through state departments… hence wasting funds on administrative costs* (Participant C).

Participants of the study also observed that funding of programs should be directly sent to the communities instead of passing through several state departments. This is because the participants felt that when the program funds were channelled through the state departments, they took a lot of time to reach the communities which was a waste of resources. To mitigate this problem, the respondents stressed the need for the community members to be involved in the design of the programs as well as application for grants. Further, community members should also be involved in discussions relating to the type of program activities and the expected outcome which was observed to have a correlation to self-esteem and self-determination.

To assess effectiveness of a program, evaluators should assess the extent to which the program providers and other stakeholders are accountable for results. In addition, program employees' needs to be accountable for any outcomes (positive or negative outcomes) which contributes to effective programs. One interviewee demonstrates this by saying: *"Accountability should be taken seriously by all stakeholders including all the program employees (local and non-locals)"* (Participant E). This observation agrees with Carman (2010) who argues that accountability is one of the variables to measure effectiveness of programs. In addition, program providers should be accountable for how they spent the funds and be able to explain to the stakeholders in case of any budget overruns. This agrees with a respondent who said:

> *Program providers from the mainstream areas should be coming to work alongside with the community to ensure that cultural appropriateness is right across the board in all programs. It should be mandated by the funding bodies. If these funding bodies are not making the cultural training happen, then they should be accountable too* (Participant D).

The available literature suggests that all stakeholders (including the funding bodies, program providers and program beneficiaries) should be accountable for results (Doh & Quigley, 2014).

4.42 Funding and budgets

To measure the effectiveness of CDPs, one of the parameters to measure would be adherence to the program budgets. Strict adherence to the program budgets can be a challenge because of several factors including remoteness, lack of skilled staff, poor record keeping and high operating costs associated with the distance from the mainland. This was observed by a participant who said:

> *we have been seeing less of government funding. The high operating costs on Palm Island makes it difficult for the young people to live on the island. Attracting skilled staff to manage our finances and control the program budgets is a big challenge* (Participant E).

This appears to agree with the Smith, Crawford, and Signal's (2016) claim that in Australia, there are reduced budgets/funding for Indigenous CDPs which is causing a lot of concern in Indigenous communities who have been classified as living below the Australian poverty line (Altman, 2018: Ryser, Gilio-Whitaker, & Bruce, 2017).

4.43 Enthusiastic leadership

Participants of the study defined good leaders as people who are enthusiastic. Enthusiastic leaders set directions and motivate people to make sure that the directions are achieved. Both factors (i.e., leadership and governance) were viewed by the interviewees as having a relationship to program effectiveness. This was suggested by a participant who said:

There needs to be an enthusiastic leader, which there is now in the Council, but there also needs to be enthusiastic leaders in every service provider on the island, whether it be local government, state government, federal government or any non-government organisation. (Participant D).

Based on this, good leadership can be key to successful programs. This is because good leaders are able to make rational decisions which help to achieve the objectives of a program (Fitzpatrick et al., 2017).

4.44 Good governance

Good governance ensures that a program stays on target, hence reducing the risks of not accomplishing the original intent. Good governance also ensures that there is a structure for the program design, implementation and evaluation. This is demonstrated by one respondent who said: *"for a community program to be successful and sustainable, the program providers need to have good skills in governance*" (Participant B).

To summarise, the participants of the study observed that to achieve positive program outcomes, there should be enthusiastic leaders and good governance. These observations are consistent with the arguments of Dizon-Ross, Dupas, and Robinson (2015) that quality governance and leadership lead to program effectiveness. There is also a positive relationship between project (program) governance and project (program) success (Joslin & Müller, 2016).

In addition, program evaluation is linked to quality improvement which can help to solve problems, build knowledge and inform decision making.

4.5 Community involvement

Community involvement was one of the key elements identified by participants as crucial to measuring the effectiveness of CDPs. The community members can be involved in many ways including working as employees, and as consultants on program design, cultural appropriateness and good evaluation practices. The respondents of the study identified three more sub themes which were linked to community involvement. These sub themes were taking a bottom-up approach, the use of grassroots people and having community input/consultations and control.

While evaluating CDPs, community involvement was identified as vital to programs' effectiveness. This was observed by a participant who in response to an interview question regarding challenges in developing, delivering, and implementing CDPs said: "*we need decent people who there for their people . We need less outsiders and more locals to develop, deliver and evaluate programs. We need to be part of the process"* (Participant C). On the same note, another participant said: "*we need community members engaged and involved in implementing and evaluating programs"* (Participant B). A third participant said: "*the community members would have to do the assessment and evaluation of the program, whether it is government run or community run*" (Participant A). The

views of the participants of the study are that community involvement in evaluating effectiveness of CDPs is crucial. This agrees with Eversole (2012) that encouraging participation of community members in CDPs is vital. Further, Nikolakis, Roberts, Hotte & Ross (2020) state that Indigenous fire management programs need to involve Indigenous Australian landowners who should provide training and support program evaluations. To support the view of community members involvement, Shack (2021) argues that program evaluation needs to be de-colonised, embed cultural practices and integrate Indigenous paradigm.

4.51 Bottom-up approach & use of grassroots people

The participants stressed the need for community members to be involved in the design and delivery of programs since such programs were viewed to be successful. For example, when an interviewee was answering an interview question regarding why they believed that a program was successful, they said: *"the program was successful because the approach was bottom-up and was very culturally appropriate. Key grassroots people were involved in the process. They were not just asked for advice; they were involved in the whole program process"* (Participant D). These views agree with Barnett and Kendall (2011). They argue that allowing Murri members to be involved in health intervention programs made it possible for communication systems to operate effectively. When community members are engaged with program design and implementation, they improve their skills in the process. When community members participate, they feel empowered and part of the program. This is clearly demonstrated by an interviewee who said:

> *If we are going to develop, deliver and evaluate programs, the key players from the grassroots level must be involved. It just cannot come from textbooks because that is when everything goes wrong, so it should be the people, for the people. We believe that this is the key denominator because our people learn that way …. being involved* (Participant C).

These sentiments agree with Dudgeon, Calma & Holland (2017) that engaging community Indigenous members empowers communities to address their challenges including high rates of suicide among Indigenous communities. The outcomes of empowering communities are reduced intergenerational trauma at the individual, family and community level. This empowerment is achieved by strengthening culture and sources of resilience with the aim of protecting against suicide at the community level (Dudgeon, Calma & Holland ,2017).

4.52 Community input/consultations and control

The respondents view participation in delivering and evaluating CDPs as a factor which matters to them. They said that CDPs can be evaluated by assessing the participation rate of the community members. A program is therefore viewed to be effective if the community members can participate in whatever capacity. The participants of the study also believed that the effectiveness of a

program can be measured by the community member's input. This is demonstrated by a respondent who said,

> *I think the involvement of the community, the type of program that can be suited to most of the community, and what the community gets out of the program is important to us. That can be measured by the participation rate. What we have seen happening on the island is that most programs always have a low participation rate. What matters to our community is that the community needs to come out of a hold and be able to say, "we should do that again" or "we would do that again" or "we should have more involvement from different areas in the community" so that it is not just a group of people that suits the program outcome* (Participant B).

De Koning et al. (2011) also argue that the decision-making processes of Indigenous people and local community programs need to be respected through participation and involvement of community members. In line with this, another respondent said: *"the benefits from the community led programs are mostly when the programs end, there is far more community participation which is a good outcome to the community"* (Participant C). Based on the views of this participant, it is clear that when community members lead and are actively engaged in program design and implementation, they feel motivated to continue with the program. This builds self-esteem which has a direct link to self-determination.

Lastly, the respondents of the study strongly indicated that when community members are involved in program delivery, there are better chances of showing tangible positive outcomes. Sakeah et al. (2014) propose that engaging community members in program design and implementation has positive effect on program success especially on health interventions. This is backed up by a respondent who said:

> *I participated on a program (dancing program) which was met to showcase of our culture. We had the dancers break the record (Deadly Didge n Dance Festival). That program was very successful and made everyone proud…. everyone got up and danced and got painted up. They were proud to be Bwgcolman. The whole community was involved. The outcome was that it is now in the Guinness Book of Records* (Participant D).

This shows that when community members are involved in a program delivery, there are great chances of success. While evaluating effectiveness of programs, evaluators therefore need to consider the extent to which the community members were involved in design and delivery of the program. Engaging community members gives them self-esteem and self-determination. These sentiments concur with Hatfield, Falkmer, Falkmer, and Ciccarelli (2016) that when community members are actively involved in programs this contributes to program success /positive outcomes.

4.6 Self-determination

Self-determination can be defined as where people freely choose to act without outside influence (Wehmeyer & Shogren, 2016). It is the freedom to live as one chooses. For Indigenous communities, self-determination refers to the collective self-determination rather than the individual self-determination. Self-determination can also be defined as ongoing process of choice where the Indigenous communities are able to meet their cultural, economic and social needs. This is a democratic process of governance where Indigenous communities participate in things which affect their future, either politically, socially, or culturally (Black & McBean, 2016). Self-determination was a theme identified by the respondents of the study as crucial to measuring effectiveness of Indigenous CDPs. There were also sub themes identified (all linked to self-determination). These were independence, self-reliance, and freedom; and self-control/management; and capacity building.

4.61 Independence, self-reliance, and freedom

The respondents of the study viewed independence, self-reliance and community freedom as having a positive relationship to self-determination. They also viewed participation in program design, delivery and evaluation as a way of getting recognised which promotes self-determination. The community programs which promote self-determination by engaging local community members in program design, implementation and evaluations were perceived by participants of the study as more effective than those which do not. This is because respondents of the study viewed self-reliance and control as pathways to social, economic and cultural development. The respondents of the study stressed the need of full control of program design, implementation and evaluation. Further, they said that their views were to be relied upon by non-Indigenous program providers and other stakeholders. This was supported by a respondent who said: *"The community members need to run the programs independently with no interference from outsiders. We have better ideas than them "* (Participant F).

The participants of the study said that when they were freely allowed to go hunting, fishing and gathering in their traditional land, this promoted their wellbeing and self-determination. When the community members participated in design and implementation of programs which promoted cultural development like hunting and gathering, the participants of the study viewed this as a sign of community development. The participants also observed that being restricted from doing what the community members like best was detrimental to cultural and economic development. One of the respondents of the study asked *"why do we need to apply for licences to go fishing and hunting in our own land? Is this freedom?"* (Participant F). They felt that being restricted from doing things they like best was not good and had an adverse effect to their QoL. To apply for licences to be able to go camping, hunting and fishing was viewed as a bad thing. This appears to agree with another participant who said:

> *basically, community people have the right to go hunting, fishing and camping on our traditional grounds. Being able to go freely and do whatever we like in our traditional grounds is great. It's our tradition for families to get together and meet somewhere at*

a camp or go hunting. This positively contributes to the quality of life and wellbeing for Palm Island community" (Participant E).

This participant tends to agree with Dockery (2010). He argues that when Indigenous people have freedom to practice their culture including religion, this is a sign of self-determination. In Indigenous communities, the programs which promote self-determination were viewed by respondents as more effective than those programs which were perceived by respondents of the study as not promoting self-determination.

4.62 Self-management and control

The respondents of the study viewed self-management and control as a sign of self-determination. The participants felt that when the community members independently managed their affairs including delivery of programs with little or no external influence, they felt that this was a path to self-management which they viewed as wellbeing. This was demonstrated by one of the participants who said,

when we produce good results like building the "weir dam" using our own people, these are good steppingstones to self-management and self-determination. It's about our people managing our own affairs and showing the rest of the world that we can do it, so I'm very pleased and proud that the community are continuing to provide these types of results on behalf of our community (Participant E).

This appears to agree with Castellano (2014) that autonomy and self-management is directly linked to self-determination. When the community members design and deliver community programs with little assistance from external sources, they feel motivated. This enhances self-determination too. Self-determination is a pathway to Indigenous community development.

4.63 Capacity building

Participating in design, delivery and evaluation of CDPs improves capacity building among Indigenous communities. The respondents of the study observe that the more the community members were involved in program design, delivery and evaluations, the more they improved their skills including governance skills. This was therefore said to enhance human capital among the Palm Island community. Capacity building is also linked to the discussions of training and education in earlier sections. The importance of learning/improving skills while getting involved in community programs in Indigenous communities was demonstrated by a participant who said: *"Community members need to come together and participate in the development, delivery and evaluating programs. Program providers need to work with the community members and assist them improve their governance skills which is a goal of self-determination."* (Participant D). This concurs with Shiel, Leal Filho, do Paço, and Brandli (2016) that there is a relationship between being engaged in program delivery and capacity building.

4.7 Economic and community development

The current study identified economic and community development as a factor to be considered while assessing the effectiveness of Indigenous CDPs. The sub themes which emerged were sustainable jobs (i.e., long-term employment), sustainable businesses, community safety, youth engagement and housing and improved infrastructure. While there is a link between economic and community development, past literature indicates that economic development is a highly contested issue. As mentioned in Chapter 2 of this study, community development is seen to cover a wide range of areas including income, and freedom (Banks, Scheyvens, McLennan, & Bebbington, 2016; Throsby, 2001). Respondents of the current study defined economic development in terms of how the community programs were able to enhance local jobs and businesses, create long-term local employment for community members, provide sustainable infrastructure, enhance community safety, encourage youth engagement and increase housing. These factors are discussed in detail in below sections.

4.71 Long-term local employment for community members

Long-term employment matters a lot to the Palm Island community. As per the ABS 2016, 41.6 per cent (compared with 5.7 per cent Australia wide) of the labour force on Palm Island were unemployed. This appears to agree with an interviewee who said: *"Employment opportunities are limited and need to be improved dramatically to keep people on the Island…. A pipeline of employment opportunities needs to be developed to retain the next generation on the island when they complete their education"* (Participant A). Most interviewees of the study emphasised that they considered programs which employed local community members as more successful/effective compared with those which did not employ residents. This is supported by a participant who in response to an interview question regarding what they considered as a successful program said: *"I know the program was successful because it offered long-term employment to a majority of residents. Some of them are working on the program (Health program) until now"* (Participant D). Another interviewee noted: "*Programs should have meaningful permanent employment outcomes for the community as it remains a class situation of an "us" and "them""* (Participant C). While demonstrating how serious unemployment is on Palm Island, another interviewee said: *"When you have communities where 95 per cent is on welfare, we need to seriously think twice. All these issues need to be taken into consideration when evaluating the success of a program"* (Participant A).

Past literature indicates that there is a positive relationship between Indigenous community members being employed on community programs and community development (Altman, 2018). Horowitz, Keeling, Lévesque, Rodon, Schott, & Thériault (2018) argue that since Indigenous people have strong connections to the land, water and resources therein, implementation of programs in Indigenous communities can mitigate many issues like social and economic issues. Further,

Indigenous communities can benefit from programs including those implemented by mining companies.

4.72 Sustainable infrastructure development

Research on infrastructure development indicates that investing in key community infrastructure programs/projects (e.g., roads, water and sewage, airports, and buildings) is vital to any community development (Duffield, Hui, & Wilson, 2019). However, Bebbington, Bebbington, Sauls, Rogan, Agrawal, Gamboa, ... & Verdum, (2018) argue that resource extraction and infrastructure development is a threat to community development and community rights among Indigenous communities. According to the views of the interviewees, they considered infrastructure programs as effective/successful if they improved the physical condition of the Island. Respondents of the study also said that if an infrastructure program can improve QoL of ordinary residents, then such a program was viewed as successful. For example:

> *I am not aware of many infrastructure programs but there should be some infrastructure programs supplied through council. There are however, road programs at present and various infrastructure developments (e.g., foreshore beautification project) which improves the physical look of island and at the same time improves the life of community residents … this needs to continue and be ongoing"* (Participant E).

The views of this participant appear to agree with Mamirkulova et al. (2020) that infrastructure programs in communities can improve QoL of residents through employment, attraction of tourists and promoting small businesses. Further, Wali, Alvira, Tallman, Ravikumar, & Macedo, (2017) state that improving infrastructure (e.g., installing potable water and retention of Indigenous languages) in Indigenous communities empower local communities and sustainable wellbeing.

4.73 Community safety

Community safety was identified as one of the factors that is important in discussing and evaluating community development on Palm Island community. The participants of the study viewed programs (e.g., night patrol programs) which promoted community safety as especially important. The interviewees of the study defined community safety as the ability to do their day-to-day activities without fear or interruption. They referred this as part of community development. This is demonstrated by a participant who said: *"I can now walk to hospital (to work) at night without fear… this is all wellbeing of my community"* (Participant E). Another interviewee said, "*my thoughts are that community safety programs would contribute to an economically sustainable island, more jobs for the young people and a safe livable community which is very important*" (Participant D).

4.74 Youth engagement

The available literature suggests that there is a relationship between youth engagement and positive development in general (Armstrong & Manion, 2015). In the current study, engaging youth on day-to-day activities was identified as one of the factors which enhances community development

on Palm Island. While it may not be a direct factor contributing to community development, there was a view from the participants that when youth are positively engaged, they have less time and energy to focus on other activities which were seen as detrimental to community development. These detrimental activities include break-ins, drugs and sly grogging. This is demonstrated by an interviewee, who in response to an interview question regarding what they perceived was needed to sustain and improve the QoL of the community members said: *"we need culturally appropriate after-hours activities for youth to assist in crime prevention"* (Participant F). In addition, when another participant was asked to identify a program which was successful, they said: *"on Palm Island, it is evident that there are not enough resources or programs for the youth. While PCYC offers good programs for youth, it is not open often enough to engage the youth and keep them off the streets looking for things to do"* (Participant C). Engaging the youth was viewed as a way of making them busy, which helped to reduce crimes on the island.

Most respondents of the study also viewed youth engagement programs more effective and successful compared with other programs and considered youth engagement as a pathway to community development. This was demonstrated by a respondent who said:

> *I believe that a good development program is one which focuses on developing life skills for youth. Though there are a few sporting ones on Palm Island, some are not running now. Other youth development programs I am aware of include rehabilitation programs, Indigenous licensing programs, women yarning groups programs (which encourage women to get out and share any issues) and health programs"* (Participant C).

Though several respondents of the study strongly believed that there were adequate youth development programs on the island, others had different views. For example, one of the participants said: *"There are no activities for the youth at night. PCYC programs are not that successful and should be helping more. There are no support groups for the youth who come out of jail to get them back into the community"* (Participant C). This participant agrees that youth engagement programs such as sporting programs have a positive relationship to community development. The available research indicates that sporting youth programs should also help youth learn life skills and transfer these skills to other areas such as homes, school and work (Holt, Deal, & Pankow, 2020). In addition, Anderson-Butcher (2019) points out that social support programs like youth sports programs in Indigenous communities promote health and wellbeing among Indigenous youth. These programs are linked to social development.

4.75 Housing

In Australia, overcrowding in Indigenous communities is a major social problem (England, 2017). This issue was identified by a participant who said:

There is not enough housing for everyone on Palm Island. Men's groups could be helping the men that are homeless by sponsoring building traditional houses and getting sponsorship for materials. Men and women should have groups which should support homeless people" (Participant F).

Available research indicates that safe housing has a direct link to community and economic development (Sayers, Cleary, Hunt, & Burmeister, 2017). Interviewees of the study said that housing programs were more successful because they not only engaged the residents in designing for new houses, but also offered training to the local community members. The respondents perceived this as promoting community development because building of more houses was viewed as capacity building for residents and the completed new houses also helped to reduce overcrowding and homelessness. This was demonstrated by a participant who said: *"for us to have quality lives, we need more housing to combat homelessness and overcrowding at homes which is a common problem on the island. We have houses with as many as 15 people in a house"* (Participant F).

4.8 History and Culture

Both history and culture emerged from the interviews as being vital to program evaluations. Further, there were sub themes which emerged out of the study which included Land/Country, Cultural Appropriateness, Colonisation and Trauma and Cultural Advisers.

4.81 Land/country

The views of the participants were that land/country was very crucial to the community and had a relationship to the effectiveness of CDPs. This was evidenced by a respondent who said:

The reason why programs fail is because of not respecting our country, paternalism, racism, people not wanting change and low expectations of black people, and lack of knowledge of cross culture or history of the country. All these factors have a great contribution to the failure of programs" (Participant C).

Indigenous land (country) on Palm Island was viewed as an economic asset but at the same time spiritually important. It was valued highly by the respondents of the study and was said to be one of the things to be closely considered by program providers and other stakeholders while delivering CDPs on the island. Past literature also recognises that in Australia, Indigenous land is an economic asset to the Indigenous people (Schultz, Abbott, Yamaguchi, & Cairney, 2019). In addition, Sangha, Duvert, Archer, & Russell-Smith, (2020) argue that Indigenous land and water assets have many benefits to Indigenous communities. These benefits include cultural and social-economic benefits.

4.82 Cultural appropriateness

Cultural appropriateness was a term which was used by several participants as being a factor which needs to be considered by program providers and evaluators while assessing effectiveness of CDPs in Indigenous communities. Cultural appropriateness has been defined as an adoption of some

elements (e.g., arts, dance, food, music, customs, and practices) of one culture by a different cultural group (Haig-Brown, 2010). A participant who in response to an interview question regarding how to ensure cultural appropriateness of a program said:

> *Talk about our culture. We must dance and show it. We must involve elders (not outsiders) to teach culture to the young people. Read about our culture. Some young people come into the Indigenous Knowledge Centre (IKC library) to read about their culture, as many of our young people do not know our past or history. We do not talk our language; our parents were not allowed to talk their language. It is sad, we must educate these young people"* (Participant E).

Promoting local culture was seen by this participant as a way of enhancing community development. This appears to agree with Coria and Calfucura (2012) that supporting the social/cultural environment for Indigenous people can promote community development. Tsai, Blinkhorn, and Irving (2017) notes that implementing culturally appropriate programs in Indigenous communities enhances reliability and trust resulting in assessable and acceptable programs. However, for a program provider to identify and implement a culturally appropriate program can be problematic. Measuring the cultural appropriateness of a program is therefore not easy (Doyle, 2012). This is because, in the community's perspective, most program providers are deemed outsiders (Doyle, 2012). The argument here is that for a program to be accepted and the services utilised by the local community, they must feel culturally safe. Respondents of the study also believed that for a program to be cultural appropriate, it must employ local community members and train the program providers and other stakeholders (who are not from the community) on local culture and protocols. These sentiments were cited by a participant who said:

> *Many non-Indigenous come to the island who have not had much to do with Aboriginal people before, they must have mandatory training and understanding of the local culture and protocols. They need to know that they are not the experts and that they have not come to our community to save the natives. They should be coming to work alongside with the community to ensure that cultural appropriateness is right across the board in all programs* (Participant C).

The main idea being put across here is that evaluation tools, designed to measure effectiveness of Indigenous CDPs needs to be culturally appropriate. This appears to agree with Vos et al. (2010). They argue that evaluation parameters for Indigenous programs/population should be different from that of non-Indigenous programs/population. They further state that Indigenous culture, cost effectiveness of interventions /programs and acceptability of stakeholders are some of the reasons why evaluation parameters are different.

4.83 Colonisation and trauma

Colonisation and trauma were a sub theme which emerged from the study. The respondents of the study noted that for a program to be effective, it should be delivered by people who understand the

history and trauma of the Indigenous people, local culture, politics and unresolved grief. This is supported by Smallwood, Woods, Power, and Usher (2020) who argue that while assessing the wellbeing of Indigenous people, it is essential to understand the impact of historical trauma arising from colonisation of Indigenous people. This argument also emerged from one of the respondents of the study who said:

> *for a program to be successful, they need mandatory cross-cultural programs delivered by experienced people who understand culture, politics and unresolved grief, loss and trauma and understand poverty. We just ensure that cross-cultural training and programs is mandatory to be delivered by experienced people. There needs to be reconciliation plans and cultural protocols in place* (Participant C).

The impact of colonisation was also mentioned as one of the factors that needs to be observed when designing and implementing programs in Indigenous communities. Based on the respondents of the study, it was observed that programs were considered successful (effective) if they recognised the impact of colonisation on local community residents. This was noted by a participant who in response to a question regarding a program which failed said *"the program failed because it was delivered by people who had preconceived bad ideas and not having any understanding of all the dysfunction and trauma from the impact of colonisation in our communities"* (Participant C). Another respondent, in response to an interview question regarding to what contributes to the quality of life for Palm Island community said: *"we need culturally appropriate healing programs from the unresolved grief, loss and trauma arising from the impact of colonisation. When this occurs, we can start to live our lives"* (Participant K). Understanding local history and culture of the Palm Island community is therefore paramount to the design, delivery and evaluation of CDPs. Gone (2013) also proposes that to effectively implement a program, understanding of community history and culture is vital.

4.84 Cultural advisers

Cultural advisers are very important in any research in Indigenous communities. They understand existing regulations and protocols. They also foster collaboration between the Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people carrying on research in Indigenous communities. In addition, cultural advisers help to enhance cultural competency which makes it easy for the researchers, evaluators and program providers to effectively implement their projects in Indigenous communities. Further, this makes it easy for the Indigenous people to freely share the information. Cultural advisers also ensure that the researchers and program providers engage the community in culturally sensitive ways (Kronmüller, Atallah, Gutiérrez, Guerrero, & Gedda, 2017; Winn & Taçon, 2016). The respondents of the current study identified cultural advisers as being crucial to program design, delivery and evaluations.

This is supported by a participant who said, in response to an interview question regarding the cultural appropriateness of a program:

*All program providers on Palm Island need to be trained by qualified cultural advisers before they commence their work (delivery of programs in Indigenous communities). The reason why programs fail is because they are not delivered in a cultural appropriate way "(*Participant C).

4.9 Evaluation

The Australian Government Indigenous Evaluation Strategy (AGIES, 2020) highlights that in Australia, programs and policies which affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have little evidence of what is working, what is not working, how the programs work and for who. The report further argues that though an evaluation strategy can fill this gap, in most cases it is an afterthought and of poor quality. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are not asked about what or how to evaluate the programs. The results of evaluations are not explained to them either. The report further states that engagement and partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is key to lifting the quality of evaluations. This concurs with the findings of this study. The findings of the current study highlighted several specific factors to consider while assessing the effectiveness of Indigenous programs. These factors are:

- Effectiveness and Efficiency
- Education
- Leadership and Governance
- Community Involvement
- Self-Determination
- Economic and Community Development
- History and Culture
- Outcomes That Matter.

4.91 Program objectives

The respondents of the study indicate that evaluation tools need to address the objectives of the programs. The objectives should also be simple and achievable, but address the community's challenges, needs and expectations. The program's objectives should also be specific and well understood by the community members/beneficiaries. This is evidenced by one of the participants who said that: *"Programs like HACC (Home and Community Care) assist in aged care packages and works with the community when there is a disability in a family …. HACC has clear well-defined objectives which are easy and well understood by the community"* (Participant B). The views of this participant agree with Rossi, Lipsey & Henry (2018) that for programs to be successful, they need to meet the community's expectations including well-defined goals.

4.92 Respect and trust

Respect and trust were other factors identified by the respondents of the study as being crucial to program evaluation in Indigenous communities. When evaluators were seen to respect the ideas and

culture of the local community members, there were better chances of getting trust and good outcomes. This is supported by a participant who said: "*the key factors of the program were that students were treated with respect, encouraged to succeed while showing respect. The community were very happy with the outcomes*" (Participant C). In addition, when an interviewee was responding to an interview question regarding the outcomes which matter to the community, they said *"Most importantly, what matters most to us is respect when people enter our communities. All customs need to be respected"* (Participant A).

4.10 Program outcomes that matter

Further, the study identified eight program outcomes which matter to the Palm Island community. These outcomes are sustainability, capacity building, funding, community involvement, independence, respect, jobs and cultural appropriateness. These outcomes were also identified as subthemes (Figure 3.4). The participants of the study observed that while programs' outcomes depended on the original intents, there are those outcomes which mostly matter to community members. This is evidenced by a respondent who said, in response to an interview question regarding the outcomes of community program: *"The successful outcomes were that everyone who participated in the program graduated, the goals and targets were sustainable and achievable, and many of the health workers had long-term employment at the hospital, with some encouraged to go onto further education (*Participant C*)*. The respondents of the study also noted that CDPs had both positive and negative effects. However, there was a general agreement that most of the programs had positive outcomes. This is evidenced by a participant who said: *"in all, community programs do benefit the community"* (Participant E). Another participant said: *"the entire community benefits from community led and government led programs"* (Participant D). There was however, another participant who had a different view. They said:

> *the marginal benefits from government led programs are that the actual involvement is led by team members that have very little concept of what it is like living in an Aboriginal community on a remote Island. Therefore, they are only programmed to how they see their concept of the program should be delivered and their outcomes. When you look at job outcomes and wages outcomes, there is very little to be gained, because they are not on the island after the program finishes"* (Participant E).

These views demonstrate the need for sustainable programs (with positive outcomes) in Indigenous communities. There were several other outcomes which emerged from the study relating to capacity building. The participants acknowledged that there were several community members who received counselling and support after leaving prison and other community members who had improved literacy and numerical skills. There was also a mention that decreased break-ins was as a result of community members being involved with "night patrols programs". The participants noted that to be effective, programs should have long-term outcomes including jobs and capacity building. This sentiment was supported by an interviewee who said: *"I love to see more support for the people*

who leaves prison. They need to be trained on some skills like carpentry so that they can make money and support their families" (Participant D). There was however, one of the participants who appeared frustrated by some of the government policies such as Alcohol Management Plan (AMP). They said: *"though AMP had good intentions of reducing domestic violence and improved school attendance, implementation of this policy led to increased sly grogging. Other community members used the money they would have used for alcohol to buy drugs"* (Participant E*)*.

Some of the positive outcomes (based on community views) however, contrary to the argument by Sutherland and Schwab (2018), are that Indigenous programs do disadvantage Indigenous people especially those focusing on education. This is clearly in contrast to the findings of this study. From the analysed results, it is evident that the Palm Island community does value education/capacity building. This observation concurs with a participant who said:

> *the outcome on children who attended the school programs is evident. They stayed in school. The program (school going program) encourages them to keep going to school. My personal experience is that my nephew is in high school and attended one of the youth groups programs … I talk to him about what he can do after finishing school. Support at home is what makes them stay at school. Many parents are up to this task as well"* (Participant C*).*

This shows the importance the community members attach to education/capacity building. The participant also observes that the positive outcomes of the program were that the children stayed in school and encouraged them (children) to continuing going to school.

Another outcome arising from implementing an infrastructure program was increased number of tourists (visitors) and small businesses on the island which enhanced economic development on Palm Island. This was noted by one of the participants who said:

> *When the council upgraded the airport, ferry terminal and the community roads through road to recovery program, this made it easy to access the airport and the ferry resulting to increased tourists and small businesses like selling of paintings and food. There is usually one day a month when there are open days. We see a lot of visitors from Townsville and Ingham"* (Participant C).

In line with the outcome of increased number of number of visitors and small businesses on the island, another respondent said *"due to high demand of visitors wanting to come to the Palm Island, the ferry services from Townsville to Palm Island were increased from three to five days a week. This led to increased tourists as well as some investors from mainland who started a service station and a bistro"* (Participant F).

There was also another participant who observed that community involvement with the beautification of the foreshore program, removing graffiti and trash through the "Work for Queensland" program also helped to improve community image which is a good measure of what some community members would term as community development.

Participants of the study viewed a home ownership program (where community members were allowed to buy and maintain their homes) as a step towards self-independence. Owning homes was viewed as positive community outcomes because the program encouraged self-determination among the community. Affordable houses with low-interest-rate loans was a program provided by Indigenous Business Australia. This program helped to reduce overcrowding and other social problems like juvenile crimes.

Sporting programs which were run by Police Citizens Youth Club (PCYC) were also rated highly by participants of the study. These programs were said to engage the youth hence reducing youth crimes. Another program which was rated highly by the participants of the study was a program implemented by Ferdys Haven. This program rehabilitated community members after leaving jail hence helping them to reduce the risks of reoffending. Other programs encouraged healthy eating styles hence reducing diseases like diabetes, which is a very common problem on the island. This is evidenced by a respondent who said:

> *I am aware of programs like sporting programs offered by PCYC. These programs engage the youth and help to reduce youth crimes. Ferdys Haven also offers programs which help the prisoners after leaving jail. There is also another program called "healthy eating styles (HES)". This program is run by an NGO and advises community members on healthy eating habits and kitchen gardening* (Participant C).

Healthy eating habits was therefore seen as a factor which contributes to the community's wellbeing. Participants of the study also noted that community safety programs like "community policing program/night patrols" provide security to the community members hence making it possible for children to go to school and adults to go to work with little interruption. This was seen to enhance community building among the community members. Respondents of the study however, argued that a program can take a long time to reflect any impact on the community. This can be a challenge to evaluators. Other positive outcomes which were mentioned by the participants of the study were less dependence on welfare arising from programs which created employment opportunities to the residents. For programs to be effective, the participants said that they needed to be designed and implemented in a respectful way. For example, non-Indigenous program providers should understand the local culture, respect the local people, their history and their land. These sentiments appear to be supported by an interviewee who said *"the benefits or outcomes from the community led programs and government led programs are that they offer jobs to residents hence reducing reliance on government welfare. Also, community night patrols keep the children out of the streets which is good thing. Those programs which respect our culture and involve our people have good outcomes" (*Participant D).

Physical appearance of the community therefore matters because it leads to increased tourists from the mainland. Programs' outcomes were also identified as some of the evaluation parameters to be measured. Participants of the study however, observed that outcomes arising from a program can

take a long time to be felt within the community. They also said there were difficulties linking a program to a given outcome which makes it hard to attribute the success of a program based on the outcomes only. Interviewees also said that to clearly identify the outcomes, evaluations should be done by the community members. This is supported by a participant who said "*Programs should be measured by our own people to be able to give a comparison … they should be assessed and evaluated by locals"* (Participant A). Program outcomes are some of the things which evaluators would be looking for while assessing effectiveness of Indigenous CDPs. Past literature has however, indicated that though identifying the program outcomes is important, quantifying the outcomes of a program may be difficult (Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2018). In response to an interview question regarding the outcomes which matter to the Palm Island community, another respondent said:

> *the outcomes which matter to us are genuine, long-term employment outcomes, constant professional development, sustainable and attainable training programs. Others are continual recognition of cultural competency standards, respect when people enter our communities and improved lifestyle because of healthy eating habits* (Participant D).

When answering the same question, another respondent said *"Outcomes which matter to us are sustainable employment outcomes (jobs), increased local businesses, reduction in crimes and improved education (literacy and numerical rates) for our children"*. While assessing the effectiveness of a program by looking into the program's outcomes is vital, associating a program to a particular outcome can be a problem. This is because there are usually many programs providing almost the same activities. Secondly, the outcomes arising from programs take a long time to be felt within the communities. Thirdly, it is also not easy to quantify some of the program outcomes, especially those interventions aimed at improving social issues. Finally, assessing program outcomes in Indigenous communities is not easy because of the lack of reliable data (Walter & Suina, 2019). The aim of most CDPs is to impact the community in a positive way. For example, in Indigenous communities, programs are aimed at improving health outcomes, employment outcomes, social capital outcomes and physical capital, among others. Assessing the effectiveness of programs includes measuring the outcomes which are associated with delivering a program or a service. Though program outcomes are not the only measures of program success, available literature indicates that it is one of the parameters which evaluators measure (Rountree & Smith, 2016; Spencer, Brueckner, Wise, & Marika, 2016; Taylor, 2017). The findings of this study show that when evaluating effectiveness of community programs, evaluators should check whether the program has achieved its original objectives including the expected outcomes. Further, the findings indicate that the key success indicators include jobs created, any new investments and businesses, increased school enrolment and reduced break-ins, among others. The evaluation practice that lead to successful evaluation is one which measures the outcomes of programs. This includes the number of new businesses which have

arisen as a result of a program being implemented in the community, new jobs created and improvement of physical condition of the infrastructure. A good example provided by a participant is *"upgrade of airport road and tourist sites which led to increased number of visitors from the mainlan*d. *This subsequently resulted in several businesses coming up including "food kiosks", increased demand in the motel and increased sale of arts and crafts especially during the market days"* (Participant C).

While fulfilling the requirements of the principle of self-determination, the Indigenous Evaluation Strategy (Productivity commission ,2020), highlighted the importance of full participation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in program evaluations. This was seen to have many practical benefits including improved program effectiveness and legitimacy.

To address the research questions, this study identified several themes and sub themes which formed headings and subheadings of the sections discussed above. The key identified themes were community programs, effectiveness and efficiency, education, leadership and governance, community involvement, self-determination, economic and community development and lastly history and culture. Further, the study identified many subthemes. Literature review, emerged themes, emerged sub themes and comments from the study respondents were used to develop a framework to measure effectiveness of Indigenous CDPs. To measure effectiveness of Indigenous CDPs, the study identified variables to measure such as community participation rate, cultural appropriateness, cost efficiency, program outcomes, economic impact and capacity building.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Future Research

5.1 Introduction

In Australia, there is a lack of evaluation tools to measure effectiveness of Indigenous programs and services in Indigenous communities. Since the Indigenous programs and services are not evaluated, it is difficult to ascertain whether the programs are effective or not (Snijder, Shakeshaft, Wagemakers, Stephens, & Calabria, 2015). The literature suggests that the term "success" is likely to be viewed differently between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people (Australian Productivity Commission, 2020). Further research is therefore necessary to agree on approaches to the evaluation of Indigenous programs which are appropriate for Indigenous communities. There is also a need to have an evaluation that is appropriate for Indigenous communities. To have effective evaluation of Indigenous programs and services, there is need for Indigenous people to participate in these evaluations (Australian Productivity Commission, 2020). Developing more culturally appropriate indicators of program "success/effectiveness" in Indigenous communities is therefore crucial. This leads to the research questions that guided the present study: -

- What are the key success indicators of Indigenous community development programs from an Indigenous perspective?
- How can the effectiveness of Indigenous community development programs be measured?

This chapter summarises the research findings relevant to answering each of the two research questions:. The implications of these findings for practice through the development of a new guide for evaluating development programs in Indigenous communities; the implications for conceptual development in this area; and opportunities for future research. The chapter finishes with a summary of the major contributions of the research study described in this thesis.

5.2 Indigenous perspectives on key indicators of successful community development programs

Using a deductive thematic approach to analyses the data, this study answers this research question by outlining the key indicators of successful community and government managed programs. This study identified seven indicators of program success which evaluators and other stakeholders need to use while evaluating Indigenous CDPs. These success indicators (discussed in detail below) include both qualitative and quantitative indicators of program success. These are community engagement, culturally appropriate designs, cost effectiveness, cost efficiency, objectives and outcomes and lastly economic development and capacity building (Figure 5.1). These indicators of program success are linked to different types of capital and development theories as discussed in Chapter 2 of the study.

The study suggests that the program evaluation approach needs to be culturally appropriate. Measuring cultural appropriateness can however, be challenging. The literature indicates that culture does not only differ from one Indigenous community to another but also within the language groups. Palm Island has 42 different language groups which means that there are chances that program success indicators could be interpreted differently even within the same community. In addition, when developing the assessment tool, the methodology should be culturally appropriate. While culture may differ between different communities and between different community language groups, it was observed that cultural appropriateness is a key element which must be embedded in any process of developing an assessment tool to measure effectiveness of Indigenous programs. To address this challenge, the study suggests that use of Indigenous people as cultural advisers would mitigate the problem.

The study also suggests that when developing an assessment tool, all stakeholders (i.e., beneficiaries of programs, program funders and program providers) should participate. The results of the study suggest that effective programs are those which encourage community members (Indigenous people) to participate in program design and delivery. There is however, a need to establish the acceptable participation rate or the level of community members' engagement in a program. For example, do community members get engaged as consultants, program providers or implementing staff? The study suggests that members of the Indigenous community of Palm Island preferred to be engaged as program implementers. The study also found out that the programs which do not effectively engage Indigenous people were not easily accepted by the community members. Further, the study noted that programs which do not engage the Indigenous people had issues with continued funding from all the three levels of government (i.e., local government, state government and federal government).

Third, to answer the research question regarding the development of an evaluation tool, the results of the study suggest that the process of developing the tool should be respectful to community members, culture and country. The evaluation questions should be sensitive and respectful to the community members. While the study acknowledges that it can be challenging to develop an evaluation tool which is respectful to the community members, the study notes that inclusion of the community members to develop the evaluation questions is vital. Other indicators of "success/effectiveness" arising from the study were cultural appropriateness of delivery of programs and respect to the local community members by program providers and other stakeholders. The study however, found out that it was not easy to come up with a proper measure of cultural appropriateness of a program.

Lastly, to develop an assessment tool, the extent to which a program promotes capacity building (education) in Indigenous communities is vital. The results of the study indicate that an

assessment tool should be able to measure the extent to which a program or a service has contributed to improved literacy and numeracy rates in Indigenous communities. For example, the study noted that one of the housing programs (funded by both federal and state governments) not only improved the QoL of community members by providing better housing, but also increased the school attendance rates on Palm Island. This was because the housing program reduced the overcrowding which made it possible for children to attend schools with less stress.

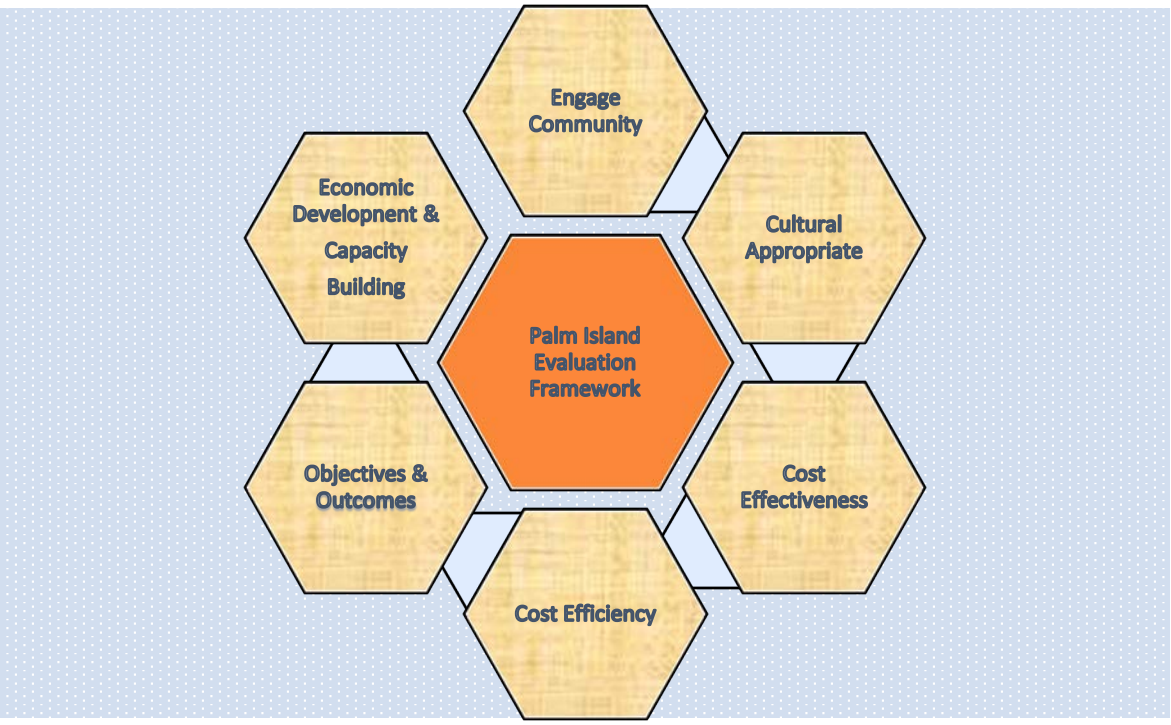

Figure 5.1 Program Success Indicators

5.21 Community involvement

The results of the current study suggest that community engagement has a positive relationship to program success. Community engagement can either be at the program design stage, delivery stage or at the evaluation stage. Community involvement can also be through community members working as employees on programs or consultants as cultural or protocol advisers. In addition, the results of the study show that community participation with the program design, delivery and evaluation enhances social capital among Indigenous communities. The parameters to measure are the community participatory rates. The study suggests that community participation in delivering and evaluating CDPs is a factor which matters to them. Expanding on similar studies by Altman, Hunter, and Biddle (2018) that found out that engaging beneficiaries of a program in design and delivery is crucial, this particular study suggests that a program is said to be effective if the community members are involved at senior level. Community members should be involved in the strategic decisions. The study notes that CDPs can be evaluated by assessing the participation rate of the community members. A program is therefore viewed as effective if the community members can

participate in a senior capacity. The parameter to be measured of the effectiveness of a program is community members' participation rate.

The participation rate is determined by the number of community members involved in a program. Participation rate can be in percentage form or ratio form. For example, assuming that the number of community members involved in program design were two and the program had total of 20 employees, that means the community participatory rate was 10 per cent (2/20). The study notes that this participatory rate is stronger if the community members are involved in senior roles. The study also suggests that participation in early stages of program design was weighted more heavily than when community members were engaged after the decisions had been made. Likewise, the study suggests that when Indigenous community members were involved in leadership roles, this carried more weight than when they were involved in non-leadership roles. In addition, the more community members are involved in the program design, delivery and evaluation, the more effective the program is supposed to be. Based on this study the respondents said that the community participation rate was the lowest during the program design stage and highest during the program delivery stage. Some of the other things to assess were the extent at which community members were involved in making major changes to program objectives and have access and control to program resources. This is in addition to the extent which the community members are involved in planning, designing, implementing and evaluating CDPs. To effectively develop an all-inclusive assessment tool, one of the respondents said that the voices of those affected must be heard and the approach should be bottom-up approach as opposed to top-bottom.

The results of the study suggest that community members' involvement with program design, implementation and evaluation is vital. This provides community members with opportunities to influence and contribute to decision-making about how programs should be run and also on matters which affect them. By involving the community members, they are able to understand the relation between the program and the expected outcomes. In addition, involving the community members in running the programs helps the program providers to fulfil their mission and achieve their objectives. This is because when community members participate in running the programs, they contribute ideas, expertise and efforts in solving problems and making decisions. Judging by the results of this study, it is evident that when community members are involved in design, delivery and evaluation of a program, the human capital among Indigenous community members is improved.

Available research on program effectiveness provides a number of factors which are vital to evaluation of CDPs. Among these crucial factors is community involvement (Hansen & Spitzeck, 2011). When the interviewees talked about involvement in program design, implementation and evaluations, they mentioned that community involvement was key to measuring program effectiveness. The views from the interviewees were that when community members are actively

involved with program design, implementation and effectiveness, there are better chances of such programs being effective.

The results of this study suggest that community programs promoting self-determination among Indigenous communities were viewed as more effective than those which did not. Available literature on program effectiveness and evaluations indicates that among several critical factors which need to be considered by evaluators when evaluating community programs is self-determination. Self-determination was mentioned by the participants as a factor which contributes to effective implementation of CDPs. According to Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESC), all peoples have the right to self-determination. That is, people have the right to freely determine their political status as well as their economic, social and cultural development. Self-determination is linked to Indigenous community and political development since it encourages Indigenous people to freely determine their political status. In addition, people have a right to freely dispose of their wealth and resources. Self-determination is crucial to program effectiveness. Self-determination is the right of people to determine their destiny (Kukutai & Taylor, 2016).

The results of this study suggest that self-determination can be measured by assessing the programs which have been initiated (designed) and delivered by the community members. This was clearly evidenced by one of the respondents who said:

> *''when we produce good results like building the weir dam, using our own people, these are good stepping stones to self-management and self-determination. It's about our people managing our own affairs and showing the rest of the world that we can do it, so I'm very pleased and proud that the community are continuing to provide these types of results on behalf of our community''*.

Since programs are initiated and implemented in communities, the community members have a right to participate in program design, implementation and evaluations. When community members designed and delivered the programs, the study notes that this led to self-determination which in effect led to effective programs. To measure "self-determination" in a program is however, not easy. The study suggests that use of Indigenous people to run their programs with no assistance from stakeholders is a good measure of program effectiveness.

To conclude, while evaluating effectiveness of a program, community consultation, involvement and control in all stages of program implementation is crucial. Inclusion (for example, by engaging community members) of community members with the aim of building genuine and sustainable relationship and capacity is necessary. When community members are involved in designing, implementing and evaluating programs, they improve their skills including governance and

leadership. To effectively achieve this, there should be a positive relationship between community members and program staff. Also, there is a need for community support, regular feedback and consultations between community members and other interested parties. To measure effectiveness of community programs, one should consider the extent to which the community members have been involved in program design, implementation and evaluation. This study refers to this as participation rate. The study concludes by noting that including community members is a key indicator of program success.

5.22 Culturally appropriate

The current study notes that to effectively evaluate Indigenous programs, the methodology of designing the assessment tool and the process of evaluating the programs should be culturally appropriate. In addition, data collection and analysis methods should also be culturally appropriate. To measure cultural appropriateness of a program is not easy (Caprar, Devinney, Kirkman, & Caligiuri, 2015). Nevertheless, the study findings suggest that cultural appropriateness can be assessed by checking the extent to which cultural advisers have been employed to work in a particular program. The cultural advisers can either work full-time or part-time. The study also suggests that cultural appropriateness can be determined by verifying the number of non-Indigenous program staff who have been trained on cultural awareness. Cultural appropriateness may however, be seen to contradict the modernisation theory of community development (Reyes, 2001). This is because modernisation breaks social ties which brings people together in Indigenous communities.

Further, the study notes that cultural appropriateness can be verified by checking whether the program providers have cultural advisory policies. The study also suggests that when evaluators are assessing the effectiveness of Indigenous programs, they need to be guided by Indigenous cultural knowledge and Indigenous perspective on how programs are to be implemented and evaluated. This, together with culturally working ways, was considered by the respondents of the study as culturally appropriate. The findings of the current study also suggest that characteristics of a good evaluation practice should include use of culturally appropriate methods which are developed in collaboration with Indigenous people. It is also necessary to consider whether the program providers promote and acknowledge cultural heritage, local people, their knowledge and country.

5.23 Respect

Another success indicator arising from the study was respect for community members by program providers during the program design, delivery and evaluation. Study findings suggest that respect was highly rated by respondents as one of the factors which matters to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples when researching and assessing Indigenous programs. When assessing the effectiveness of Indigenous programs, the evaluators need to assess the extent to which the program providers respected local culture, protocols, community history and their input. The study also

suggests that program providers were expected to respect the history of Palm Island people including the landscape, colonisation and dispossession. Other things which were mentioned by the respondents were child removal, trauma, poverty and racism. To assess the context of respect, the study notes that evaluators should assess the extent to which program providers place respect on the environment on Palm Island location including other factors like unemployment rates, overcrowding and homelessness. Further, this study developed success indicators of a Palm Island evaluation framework while keeping in mind the ethical conduct of research in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ethics. These includes respect, equality, responsibility, survival and protection, and spirit and integrity (Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), 2012.

5.3 Indigenous perspectives on measuring/evaluating the effectiveness of community development programs

As mentioned earlier, this study identified program evaluation as a theme which was vital to any program design and delivery. Without program evaluation, it would be difficult for the program providers and other stakeholders to know the performance of a program (Muir & Dean, 2017). This is because it was considered as a salient element, which needs to be part of the program design with a goal of measuring the effectiveness of a program. The respondents of the current study defined program evaluation in terms of assessing the extent to which the programs were able to positively contribute to the quality of life for the community members. The respondents of the study cited several factors, which the evaluators should consider while evaluating CDPs. Most of these factors have been discussed in the earlier sections of this study and include community involvement, achievement of program's objectives, cultural appropriateness and respect for local community members, cost efficiency, programs outcomes, and simple and clear evaluation guidelines/tools. Available literature suggests that defining program evaluation can be controversial. There is, however, consensus that program evaluation is based on a set of guidelines. Further, research on program evaluations defines evaluation as a process, which involves collecting information about activities, characteristics, and outcomes of programs with an objective of improving program effectiveness and decisions about development of future programs. In many cases, evaluation questions fall into several groups which include implementation, effectiveness, efficiency, cost effectiveness and attribution (Rossi, Lipsey, & Henry, 2018).

5.4 Implications for practice: suggestions for an evaluation tool/approach for Indigenous development programs

Evaluation of a program is vital to ensure that the program is being implemented as per the original design and intent. While it may be expensive to include an evaluation budget in community programs (especially small programs), past literature indicates that internal program evaluations can be more cost-effective (Rountree & Smith, 2016). They continue to argue that the characteristics of an evaluation practice which leads to successful evaluations of programs in Aboriginal communities includes an evaluation practice which measures a number of variables like flexibility, the inclusion of

an evaluation budget in the program design and sharing of program budgets and other management reports with the stakeholders.

The results of the current study indicate that a better evaluation tool can be developed by embedding the Indigenous views as to what "program success" is. The developed tool can be used to assess the effectiveness of programs that affect the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The evaluation framework includes the perspectives and knowledge of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living on Palm Island. While most of the evaluations tend to focus on assessment of program based on outcomes only, this study focuses on all success indicators including the process indicators of success and outcomes.

The Palm Island evaluation framework (Figure 5.3) has seven of these indicators of success. These include community involvement, cultural appropriateness, respect, cost efficiency, program objectives, outcomes, and education. While some indicators of success are easy to measure (for example education), there are constraints on measuring others (e.g., cultural appropriateness and respect). The developed assessment tool avoids a one-off judgement of a program as "failure" or "success".

Evaluation Framework for Palm Island

Theme	Key Evaluation Questions	Indicators	Data Sources
Community Involvement	- To what extent are community members involved in making program's strategic decisions? - To what extent does the community access the program?	- Increased number of community's members in the program steering groups - Increased number of programs staff encouraged to engage with the community	- Interviews with community members and program staff - Existing data bases - Past data bases
Cultural Appropriateness	- To what extent do programs involve services of a cultural adviser? - To what extent are programs culturally designed and implemented?	- Increased number of program staff trained on local culture - Presence of cultural advisers and cultural policies	- Interview with community members and program staff - Organisation charts and program policies
Cost Efficiency	- Amount of inputs used on a program to produce a unit of output - Efficient use of program's resources/funding /grants	- Existence of purchasing and procurement policy to demonstrate value for money - Outcomes produced with less input cost per unit compared with previous ones	- Interview program staff - Existing program policies and websites - Audited financial statements and annual reports
Objectives & Outcomes	- To what extent are program objectives and outcomes clearly defined	- Objectives well-defined	- Interview program staff - Existing program policies and websites

	- To what extent are activities completed as per the original intent?	- Measurable outcomes/data before the program start and after completion	
Economic Development	- To what extent do programs contribute to job opportunities and new local businesses? - To what extent do programs support local tourism and tourism sites?	- New community jobs as a result of intervention - Number of new businesses created as a result of intervention	- Interview with community and program staff - Existing government and program data bases - Local council annual reports
Capacity Building	- To what extent does program support community training? - To what extent does program use local resources, local skills and expertise?	- Number of community members with driving licences - Number of community members participating in program planning, implementation and evaluations	- Interview with community and program staff - Government sources
Cost Effectiveness Analysis (CEA)	-To what extent does program utilise the resources well to achieve desired results? - To what extend does program complete the activities on time and as per funding guidelines?	- Decreased number of duplicated activities compared with previous years - Increased number of activities completed on time compared with previous years - Low costs/outcome ratios	- Interview program staff - Program audited financial statements and annual reports

Figure 5.2 Evaluation Framework

5.5 Implications for conceptual development in research into Indigenous development program evaluation

This study has identified opportunities for future research. These opportunities for future research were developing and testing an assessment tool which combines both qualitative and quantitative indicators of success. Further research is also required to compare success indicators (and quantify them) from the perspective of more than one Indigenous group or community. Lastly, future studies are necessary to develop an assessment model which is acceptable to all stakeholders including community members, funding bodies and program providers. The results of the present study could be valuable for future researchers, government (local, state and federal), non-government organisations and private sector as well as the local communities who are the main stakeholders.

Though the AGIES report recommended early planning of evaluations so that the right evaluation questions are asked, and the right data collected, the findings of the current study support the need for involving the Indigenous community members in evaluating

Indigenous community development programs. This study also highlights that the evaluation objectives should be clear and achievable. In addition, the evaluation process should be culturally appropriate and should be respectful to community members and their values/customs. This was perceived to build trust among Indigenous people. This study also highlights the need for evaluators to assess cost efficiency of programs and outcomes. The evaluators also need to assess whether the programs were completed on time. Identification of outcomes which matter (results) to the community were also identified as factors which the community values.

5.6 Opportunities for Future Research

While reviewing the literature, there was limited research which had been done on other capitals such as social and cultural capitals, and how they affect community-controlled programs, government-controlled programs and economic development. More research on this area is therefore necessary to understand the connection between these capitals and community programs. This study only identified few quantitative indicators of success. More research is therefore needed to identify more quantitative indicators of success to measure effectiveness of Indigenous programs. In addition, identifying success indicators to measure community empowerment in Indigenous communities was difficult. While identifying success indicators, several respondents only focused on community deficits such as inadequate funding and limited resources. There is therefore a need for further studies to better understand both the challenges and success factors associated with community-based programs, inadequate funding of programs and limited resources to adequately implement and evaluate Indigenous programs.

Exploring the relationship between the Indigenous programs and community development was not easy. More research is therefore necessary to identify the relationship between some programs like youth engagement programs and community development in Indigenous communities. Lastly, this research did not involve triangulation of data analysis because the target population was the Palm Island community. In regard to this, there is a need for a further study to compare data from another target population and develop other assessment methods which have economic components of the program like cost effectiveness and efficiency. This is in line with available literature that there is a need to develop assessment tools which have quantitative variables (Hudson et al., 2017).

5.7 Conclusion

Evaluation of Indigenous community programs is necessary to see whether they have been implemented as per the original intent (McDavid, Huse, & Hawthorn, 2018). Evaluation is also vital since it ensures that the stakeholders' interests are protected and that the program is efficiently run. There are several characteristics of an evaluation practice which have emerged from the current study. These include community involvement and use of culturally appropriate methods. Community members need to participate from the program design stage, implementation and evaluation stage. For program evaluation to be effective, there should be minimal red tape. Based on the current study findings, it's clear that "success indicators" to be considered by the evaluators while assessing effectiveness of CDPs are community involvement, designing, delivering and evaluating programs in a cultural appropriate way and respect to the country/land and people of Palm Island. Others are cost efficiency, well-defined objectives and outcomes and lastly education for the community residents. Indigenous culture, cost effectiveness of interventions /programs and acceptability of stakeholders are some of the reasons identified for why evaluation parameters are different. While several participants of the study felt that positive outcomes of a program are some of the success factors to be measure, there were other participants who felt otherwise. They said that the time spent on a program is what should be assessed and not the outcomes.

Community development programs need to be seen to contribute to community coming together which enhances the social capital. Other indicators that need to be measured to determine success of a development program include community programs' link to increased employment opportunities, culturally appropriate activities and training. Other factors include right to hunting and fishing as alternative source of economic development. Hunting and fishing is in line with the hybrid economy model by Altman (2018). Further, there were more success indicators identified in the current study including number of jobs created as a result of the community or the government implementing a program, decrease of cost of living, increased new homes, increased renovated homes and finally increased number of programs using culturally appropriate methods. The results of the current study also suggest that limited employment opportunities and culturally appropriate after-hours activities for the youth contribute to quality of life of the Palm Island community. When children receive formal education, they have better opportunities for formal employment. CDPs on Palm Island were seen to contribute to reduced juvenile crime.

In government, program evaluation aims to asses the relevance and priorities of program objectives in light of the current political and economic circumstances. In addition,

program evaluations in government assesses the appropriateness of the programs and any changes to the policies. This helps to test the programs outcomes and whether the objectives have been achieved i.e., effectiveness. This process can therefore be political since the aim is to test the effectiveness and quality of the programs aimed at improving the outcomes and services to the community. In Indigenous communities, the funding of the programs evaluations however remains a constraint (Hudson,2016).

The current study argues that for a program to be effective, program providers should respect local culture. Community control, community input and cultural appropriateness were found to be the key indicators of program success. The community members needed to take ownership of the program and get involved with the design, delivery and evaluation of programs. Respondents of the study preferred programs which had tangible outcomes/success indicators. To have effective programs, there was a need to understand and find solutions to any program implementing challenges. Some of these challenges arising from the study are remoteness, decreased funding, limited skills and absence of culturally appropriate programs and non-involvement of local residents in program design, delivery and evaluations.

There was a consensus that youth engagement programs such as sporting programs have a positive relationship to community development. However, available research indicates that sporting youth programs should also go a step further and help youth learn life skills and transfer these skills to other areas such as homes, school and work (Holt, Deal, & Pankow, 2020). This study also notes that building new houses on Palm Island was considered as a form of community development because it contributed to decreased social issues arising from overcrowding and homelessness. To be effective, these infrastructure programs should be culturally appropriate i.e., design, delivery and evaluation should be seen to be culturally appropriate. The argument here is that for a program to be accepted and the services utilised by the local community, they must feel culturally safe. Based on this, it is clear that for a program to be considered successful/effective, program providers (if not from the community) are expected to be trained in the local culture and protocols. This study however, notes that in most cases, it does not make economic sense to evaluate small programs.

This study focused on the Indigenous perspectives on programs and the development of an assessment tool to measure effectiveness of community managed programs,

government managed programs and those programs which are jointly managed by the government and the community members. This research project also focused on the economic development issues and effectiveness of community managed programs in remote and Indigenous communities. It critically analysed the links between community and government managed programs and economic and community development in these communities. This research project sought to provide an overview of community-controlled programs and the impacts they have on community and economic development. It also identified factors which need to be taken into consideration to achieve successful community development programs and how to overcome any barriers.

The long-term goal of the research was achieved by developing a model or an assessment tool to support the success of community-controlled programs. In order to address these goals, the proposed research was conducted in two stages. The goal of the first stage was to develop success indicators to measure the outcomes of programs and the role they play in community and economic development. The goal of the second stage of the research was accomplished by developing an evaluation tool to assess both community-controlled programs and other programs. In this research process, community members and researchers worked together to define the research questions, methodology, data collection and analysis and finally interpret the findings. This is in line with similar past studies including those by Israel et al., (2019).

The study concluded by suggesting the need for further studies to develop and test an assessment tool which combines both qualitative and quantitative indicators of success. Further research is also required to compare success indicators from the perspective of more than one Indigenous group or community. Future studies are also necessary to develop an assessment model which is acceptable to all stakeholders including community members, funding bodies and program providers. The findings of the thesis will be communicated through clear and in plain language reports.

5.8 Research Contributions

Available literature indicates that in Australia, there are very few Indigenous programs (8 per cent) which were evaluated in the year 2016. This was partly because of lack of cultural appropriate evaluation tools or due to lack of data (Hudson, Salvatierra, & Andres, 2017). There was also lack of strong evidence to show the performance and effectiveness of many Indigenous programs in Australia. In addition, many of the Indigenous programs which were evaluated in Australia lacked suitable data (Hudson, 2016). To date, there has been no

assessment tool developed which includes both qualitative and quantitative indicators of success and is also cultural appropriate. Hence the call to develop an assessment model which is cultural appropriate and considers both qualitative and quantitative indicators of success.

This thesis used a thematic approach to develop indicators of success which form part of the evaluation tool. More importantly, it developed an evaluation tool which was culturally appropriate and embeds both qualitative and quantitative indicators of success. The developed evaluation framework is an enhanced version of the existing assessment tools which in most cases measures only one parameter of success (for example cultural appropriateness). The developed model also combines both qualitative and quantitative indicators of program success. This thesis makes three specific research contributions (Figure 5.2).

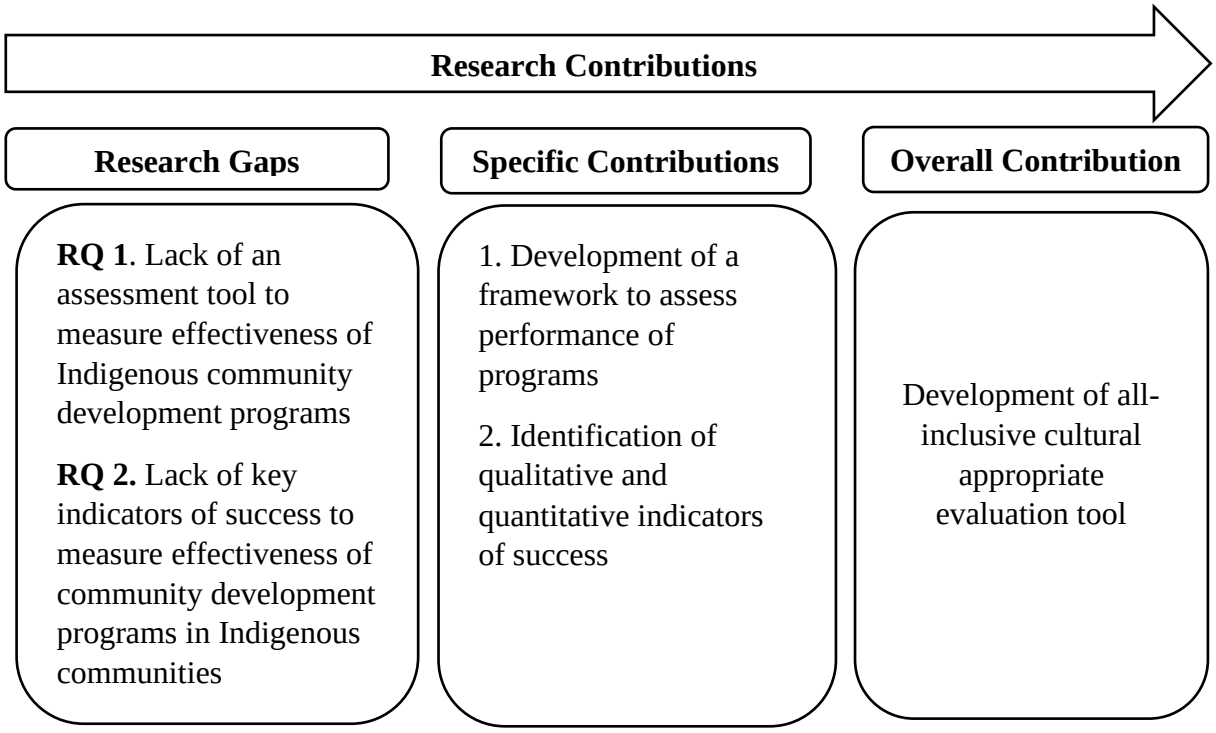

Figure 5.3: Research Contributions

First, this thesis has developed a framework to assess the effectiveness of community and government managed programs. The developed framework has three columns comprising of indicators of success, what to measure and cultural appropriate evaluation questions. The developed framework is all inclusive and considers both qualitative and quantitative indicators of success. This framework will be used by all stakeholders including the government, program providers, evaluators and beneficiaries of the programs/interventions. The developed tool will be used to assess the effectiveness of

programs that affect the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This model is useful because it can measure programs without necessarily monetarising the output.

Second, the two research questions have been answered. By answering the two research questions, this study has clarified some of the constraints which are experienced by evaluators of Indigenous development programs. Most of these programs are managed by the government and the community members themselves. Identifying programs' constraints is crucial to the government and other policy makers who make decisions regarding CDPs in Indigenous communities.

Third, the study has identified key success indicators which need to be observed/measured by evaluators as they aim to evaluate community and government managed programs among Indigenous communities. The identified indicators were both qualitative and quantitative.

Fourth, though the developed model/framework is based on the perspectives of the Palm Island Indigenous community, it can be assumed that it can reasonably be used in mainstream communities as well. However, this is not often done which leads to a possibility of further studies.

Lastly, this research has shown how evaluation of Indigenous programs is critical element of establishing accountability for program performance against objectives and providing information to ensure future improvement in program impact and at the same time sharing of evaluation outcomes. This study also shows the need to observe and respect Indigenous culture and involve Indigenous people when evaluating programs in Indigenous communities.

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