The glue that enables place-based initiatives to work

ourplace

education is the key to the door

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Introduction

In social systems such as health and education, place-based approaches aim to bring together the resources communities need to thrive. Grounded in collaboration within and across community, they work towards strengthening communities and making sure the service system is responsive to local needs (Australian Government, 2021).

They are one of the most promising solutions to the persistent challenge of a fragmented, ineffective and inefficient service system that does not meet the needs or deliver changes in outcomes for children, families or the community (Fox et al., 2015; Moore et al., 2014).

As outlined in the paper W*rap-around health and wellbeing supports matter*, the core issues with existing service systems are that:

- There are low levels of trust with the communities they aim to serve. Trust has been eroded through past and traumatic encounters with service systems, rigid and bureaucratic processes, or stigmatising requirements for accessing support.

- Services are hard to access. There are often low levels of awareness about what services, resources and supports are available, as well as practical barriers like lack of access to transport, cost, and appointment times conflicting with work and other responsibilities.

- Services don't provide what families need. Narrow eligibility criteria, siloed systems and narrowly scoped programs often result in a misalignment between the services and support on offer and what families actually need (see Our Place, Wrap Around Service Delivery and Support).

As a result of these systemic issues, there are significant inefficiencies in what and how services are delivered, children and families miss out on the kinds of supports that would make a real difference, and entrenched disadvantage persists.

There is a large and growing body of research on what it takes for place-based approaches to be effective, and there are clear and consistent messages that:

- There is no one-size-fits-all model. Every community has a unique set of strengths, challenges and priorities; particular relationship dynamics; and different starting points.

- Integrating and co-locating services is necessary but not sufficient. It is only when these initiatives actually deliver greater access to higher quality and more effective services and resources, that align with the needs and priorities of families in the community, that they can have an impact.

- Relationships are key. Strong relationships and trust are needed, both to effectively engage and centre the voice and priorities of local communities and to enable collaboration and innovation between service providers.

- Change doesn't just happen. 'Backbone' or 'intermediary' enabling roles are critical for helping set a shared agenda, coordinating action, maintaining momentum and creating accountability – while also acting as an independent advocate for children and families (Coram et al., 2021; Ennis and Tofa, 2019; Moore, KA et al., 2017; Moore, T et al., 2014; Trent & Chavis 2009; Lynn, 2018).

This paper outlines the evidence on four key enablers required for place-based initiatives to be effective:

- Chapter 1: Building community relationships and engagement.

- Chapter 2: Forming collaborative governance.

- Chapter 3: Guiding evidence informed decision-making.

- Chapter 4: Providing advice on space and infrastructure.

Each chapter synthesises why it matters, the evidence of its impact on outcomes, key challenges experienced by communities leading place-based change, and what works or what's needed.

It is important to note that while there is a large body of literature on place-based initiatives, there are more frameworks, case studies and grey literature synthesis than peer-reviewed empirical studies (Ennis and Tofa, 2019). In part, this is related to the complexity of evaluating and measuring implementation and outcomes of place-based initiatives.

Given the ambition of the kinds of outcomes place-based initiatives are seeking, the complex systems they are intervening in, and the timeframes required for significant population-level change, clear empirical evidence of impact is challenging. Similarly, isolating the particular practices that contribute to change is difficult, when they involve multiple actors, change over time, and are necessarily multi-component.

This synthesis draws on empirical studies, systematic reviews and meta-analyses where possible, but also draws from some of the key theoretical frameworks and analysis that distil key practices and evidence in this space (for example, the debates around Collective Impact).

1

Building community relationships and engagement

WHY IT MATTERS?

Reviews of effective place-based initiatives highlight the critical importance of delivering on the needs, aspirations, interests and priorities of the community, and the importance of including community voice in decision-making. Multiple studies show the effectiveness of place-based initiatives is enabled by the development of trust, creation of multiple avenues and opportunities for community participation, and an ethos of "doing with, rather than doing to and doing for" (Dunston et al., 2009).

There are clear benefits to prioritising the voice and participation of communities, and transparent risks in not doing so (BSL, 2015; Burns and Brown 2012; Moore et al., 2014). For example, a 2017 review of Collective Impact practices in Australia points to the risks of not enabling full and meaningful community engagement, including that:

- The actions and solutions pursued may not be appropriate, acceptable or compatible with community needs.

- Processes and any change may simply reinforce inequitable power structures, particularly where the people leading the initiative come from different cultural or socio-economic backgrounds from the communities they are aiming to serve.

- Actions might focus on service-oriented improvements or the agendas of service delivery organisations or leaders, rather than the kinds of transformative change that would tackle the root causes of complex issues (Smart, 2017, p.8).

The potential for place-based initiatives to deliver meaningful change in the lives of children and families is significantly reduced if the solutions aren't right, inequality is maintained, and service improvements fix symptoms rather than the cause. Conversely, the potential benefits of deep and authentic community engagement are clear. The Tamarack Institute point to the importance of:

- 360-degree insight into the nature of problems and how they can be solved – understanding problems and solutions from all angles being critical to impact.

- Building a broad constituency for change, and thereby ensuring long-term commitment and momentum.

- Increasing accountability to the community (Cabaj and Weaver, 2016).

There is some empirical evidence confirming the importance of centring community voice and engagement in place-based initiatives:

Some studies highlight the benefits to individuals who are contributing to and participating in community change initiatives, with one study reporting "benefits for their physical and psychological health, self-confidence, self-esteem, sense of personal empowerment and personal relationships" (Atrtee 2011, in CFCA 2016) and a 2018 systematic review also found significant wellbeing benefits from participants in community change initiatives across a range of fields, including health, education and others (Pennington et al., 2018).

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> **An implicit assumption of Collective Impact is that if the right leaders, professionals, and experts are at the table, and if they examine enough data, they can create a "common agenda" that the community will support. But the success of Collective Impact depends on genuine ownership by the larger community."**
>
> **Harwood, 2014**

A 2022 review of community strengthening initiatives highlights studies that found engaging Indigenous families and communities in all aspects of project design/delivery resulted in more culturally safe and responsive services; and that involving communities through engagement and empowerment during an urban regeneration program was significantly associated with improved health and wellbeing outcomes (Parker et al, 2022).

Another study links community participation with increased service access, utilisation and quality (Bath and Wakerman, 2015 in CFCA 2016),

Several reviews suggest that more effective place-based initiatives prioritise community engagement and have clear strategies and processes for engagement in place. For example, O'Neill outlines that purposeful and expanded forms of community engagement were critical for driving significant change in school lunch provision in a community where poor nutrition was prevalent (O'Neill, 2020).

Research on Aboriginal Community Controlled health services, which embed extensive formal and informal engagement with community, has also found they are more effective at engaging Aboriginal clients and improving their house outcomes (Honisett et al., 2023).

WHAT'S CHALLENGING?

While the importance of engagement with community is widely acknowledged, reviews of place-based initiatives consistently note how challenging it is to achieve and how variable it is in practice.

For example, a recent and comprehensive review of Collective Impact initiatives found that few were genuinely inclusive, all struggled to achieve even minimal levels of engagement, and at times had made decisions to exclude particular parts of the community (Abresch et al., 2022). The review found that initiatives tended to "include likeminded colleagues, exclude others when trust or values were in question, and routinely miss populations with direct experience of the issues being experienced (Albresh et al., 2022, p.67). Initiatives consistently report struggling to find the time and resources to adequately prioritise community engagement.

Another study of 25 Collective Impact initiatives also found meaningful inclusion to be a significant challenge, and that *"most sites struggled with implementing inclusion strategies that ensured adequate representation and shifted power to the communities being affected"* (Lynn et al., 2018, p.70).

A comprehensive evaluation of children's centres in the United Kingdom identified similar barriers to involving parents, with families reporting that the bureaucratic nature of the partnership processes, use of jargon and community divisions made engagement difficult. They suspected that professional agencies made the key decisions outside of collaborative forums or in other meetings (Ball, in Lewing et al., 2020). Lewing et al. also highlighted particular challenges in engaging the whole community – with priority cohorts being under-represented (including fathers, particular ethnic groups, people with disabilities) (Lewing et al., 2020).

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> **...parents or carers, as one of the primary target groups for the activities devised by community partnerships, are frequently absent from the table altogether, even if they are sometimes included in community consultations of various forms.**
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> *Homel et al., 2015*

WHAT'S NEEDED?

In spite of persistent challenges, there are a range of strategies and approaches that the literature identifies as important enablers of engagement (Zanghi et al., 2014; Raderstrong and Boyea-Robinson, 2016; Lynn et al., 2018; CFCA 2016; Welsh Government, 2022; Rodrigues and Fisher, 2017; Lewing et al., 2020; Pennington et al., 2018; Moore 2021; Hall et al., 2022; Smart, 2017). These include:

- **Explicit commitment.** Clear, strategic and whole-of-initiative commitment to including community voice and involvement in decision-making.

- **Dedicated time and resources for engagement.** Recognition of the time required to build and maintain relationships and trust – including building this explicitly into people's roles and responsibilities, recognising the sophisticated skills required, and building in time for relationship development in project planning.

- **Focus on relationships.** Trust built through personal relationships that grow over time, which are grounded in respect and focus on recognising and working with people's strengths rather than focusing on deficits.

- **An ongoing approach.** Community voice and participation is fostered through ongoing, persistent efforts that become part of business as usual rather than one-off activities, events or efforts – while at the same time, not asking too much and overburdening the community.

- **Established processes for engagement.** Informal or ad-hoc approaches to engagement are likely to lack consistency, clarity, transparency, inclusiveness. Purposeful processes and pragmatic protocols for engagement help embed engagement in routine ways of working.

- **Active outreach – going to families, inviting them in, and tailoring engagement approaches to their needs.** This is particularly important for priority cohorts. Hiring community members and local staff to act as trusted intermediaries is an important strategy for this.

- **Shifting power and being accountable to community.** Awareness of how power dynamics are operating is critical, with an overarching objective of shifting ownership of decision-making and power from system leaders to the community members over time. This includes consistently amplifying community voice, government and service providers reporting back to community and being accountable to the community (for ways of working and driving meaningful outcomes and impact) via ongoing feedback loops.

- **Openness to learning.** A culture of learning, adapting and improving, with established feedback loops and a commitment to understanding community dynamics, norms and values, histories and demographics.

Underpinning all these elements is recognition that building positive community relationships and enabling effective engagement with families cannot be superficial or ad-hoc – it must be prioritised and adequately resourced. Building genuine trust and engagement with the community is a collective effort, involving leaders and partners across the community. But it also requires dedicated community facilitation leaders with responsibility for engagement (dandolopartners, 2022), along with a deep understanding of local contexts and sophisticated relationship-building skills.

Research on effective community development highlights the central importance of relationship-building skills for community development practitioners and the skills required to create culturally safe and inclusive environments (Parker et al., 2022).

A recent review of the skills and attributes required of specialists who link families with local services also draws particular attention to the sophisticated relationship-building skills required: Linkers build trust and connection quickly. They explicitly and intentionally project warmth, respect and genuineness; listen and observe carefully and are responsive to body language; work at the pace people are comfortable with – and take the time that's needed; and seek opportunities to make connection (dandolopartners, 2022). The importance of dedicated engagement roles, and the skills required, is outlined further in the following chapter.

Lynn's 2018 review of place-based initiatives found that those with a firm commitment to inclusion, a shared language, and a focus on capacity building, had more actions targeted at engaging the community, and higher levels of meaningful inclusion of those with lived experience in the leadership, governance and delivery (p.72).

Similarly, a 2022 review from Wales found that the area-based initiatives that were most successful in community inclusion were those who used best practice techniques more frequently – including a strong presence in the community, targeted approaches like doorknocking and community events, and using local partners (Welsh Government, 2022). Pennington et al's systematic review of the impact of joint decision-making on community wellbeing summarises a range actions and processes for engaging community that are backed by research (Table 1) (Pennington et al., 2018).

Table 1: Summary of recommendations on factors that may promote more effective involvement of communities in joint-decision-making (Pennington et al., 2018, p.52)

CATEGORY OF ACTION	RECOMMENDATION
Communication and transparency	• Create clear and transparent arrangements for partnership working. • Be open and realistic about what can and cannot be achieved, and about how long delivery may take. • Ensure good communication and monitoring and provide feedback to participants on what has and has not been delivered. • Share learning and examples of best practice.
Organisational culture and commitment to empowering communities	• Promote full commitment to partnership working at all levels of organisations and make it a responsibility for all. • Allow the community participants greater control over the rules and processes of participation. • Trust the process of involvement and the ability of participants and be prepared to relinquish control to communities. • Deliver the plans that communities helped to develop.
Timing and accessibility of involvement	• Involve communities from the start, so they are involved in key decisions and to promote a sense of ownership and maintain involvement of both communities and public agencies throughout. • Identify and address barriers to communication and involvement for all participants (for example, physical and spatial barriers; financial barriers; literacy, numeracy and language barriers; cultural barriers; barriers relating to caring responsibilities and time/availability to participate) and identify any adverse impacts on participants with a view to addressing them. • Allow community participants greater flexibility to engage.
Training and support	• Provide training and ongoing support to community participants and staff from public agencies engaged in joint decision-making.

2 Forming collaborative governance

WHY IT MATTERS?

Central to the ambition of most place-based initiatives is the development of more effective and locally responsive services, support and resources for families. As outlined in the companion paper on wrap-around services and support, the fragmentation of the service system is a significant barrier to families accessing the support and resources that meet their needs and enable improvements in their wellbeing and outcomes. The paper points to the considerable benefits of coordinated and collaborative services – for example, beyond enhanced access and outcomes for families, service coordination and collaboration combines the "insights, knowledge and key strengths of multiple organisations" and reduces the risk of duplication and waste (National Literacy Trust, 2020).

Achieving this kind of coordinated and aligned service system requires effective and collaborative governance – leaders, organisations and service providers coming together to make collaborative decisions aligned with community priorities. It requires an aligned vision, clear strategic priorities, and ongoing accountability for making decisions in line with that vision. Without strong governance structures, it's difficult to drive systemic change.

WHAT'S CHALLENGING?

While consistently acknowledged as critically important, forging and maintaining collaboration between service providers is not simple to achieve. Indeed, Homel et al refer to the "historic failure of attempts at collaboration or service integration, despite the rhetoric and despite more than one hundred years of effort" (2012, p.375).

The Tamarack Institute also argues that co-location is not guaranteed to lead to enhanced service offerings for families: "while families benefit from having services in one place and an advocate willing to help them navigate them, the majority of programs still operate with inflexible eligibility criteria, offer cookie-cutter supports, and are so poorly coordinated that accessing them is a full-time job" (Cabaj and Weaver, 2016, p.9).

To be effective, service coordination needs to change what and how services are delivered – a more challenging and

transformational change than simple co-location, often requiring change on the ground (what and how support and resources are provided) and at system-level (what and how initiatives are funded and administered).

It requires people, organisations and governments to form different kinds of relations, to make decisions in different ways, to invest their resources (time and financial) in different ways, and to consider different perspectives and priorities than they might otherwise (ASISB 2011; Gill, Dakin & Smith 2017; Wilks, Lahausse & Edwards 2015). The challenges of cross-agency, cross-professional collaboration span logistical, mindset and power-related issues (Crew 2020; Lynn 2018; Moore and Fry 2011; Huxham and Vangen in Smart, 2017; Homel et al., 2015; Aceves and Greenberg, 2016; Gill et al., 2017). These include:

- **Competing agendas or divergent incentives.** Challenges securing alignment on vision and purpose, particularly when organisations have very different purposes, or when organisational demands / incentives (like funding, accountability, professional ways of working) hinder alignment.

- **Conflict and power imbalances.** Conflict between individual, organisation and collaborative aims and competition for resources, profile and influence.

- **Getting the right people involved.** Being able to engage a broad coalition, get the decision-makers around the table, and go beyond the usual suspects to grow the coalition.

- **Lack of time.** Challenges finding time for collaboration and engagement on top of business as usual, and balancing task and process.

- **Variable collaboration skills.** Varying capability for forging and maintaining relationships, and lack of time / resources to support capacity building.

- **Misaligned ways of working.** Differences in decision-making cultures and processes between organisations, competition for resources internally that get in the way of contributions to the partnerships.

- **Ambitions that outstrip resourcing and partnership fatigue.** Which can lead to disillusionment, burnout and disengagement.

- Sustaining long-term commitment. Managing constant changes in context, leadership, governance, and approach, and/or over-reliance on individuals or charisma.

Interestingly, although the paper on wrap-around services and support identifies school-based hubs as a particularly promising model of service integration, a 2015 analysis based on the experience of a number of Australian Communities for Children sites notes that schools often struggle to participate in place-based and community engagement initiatives:

"Our experience in the Pathways to Prevention Project is that when offered external resources principals were keen to cooperate and to refer children to the family support team, but were generally unwilling or felt unable to take responsibility for shared goal setting and for the development of joint initiatives tailored to their needs. In short, schools were reluctant to take the next step along the continuum from cooperation .... to full collaboration." (Homel et al., 375)

This finding was echoed in the UK's experience of implementing family hubs, with the evaluation reporting noting that schools struggled to engage and participate in collaborative models (Department for Education, 2022). This is likely a reflection of the time, incentives and resources available to schools to participate in collaborative work — while they clearly see the value, they struggle to make it happen.

WHAT'S NEEDED?

While these challenges are significant, there are core and consistent themes in the literature about effective place-based initiatives and what's required for effective coordination across services (for example, Box 2). This section outlines four key factors:

- A shared vision that reflects community aspirations.
- Investment in relationships and sophisticated interpersonal capabilities.
- A dedicated partnership broker or enabler to create and hold shared governance (often known as a 'backbone' organisation or intermediary).
- Collaborating effectively with government.

SHARED VISION THAT REFLECTS COMMUNITY ASPIRATIONS

A shared vision and ambitious agenda is considered critical for securing buy-in from the community and partners. It helps crystallise a sense purpose, create alignment with existing efforts and broader agendas, and ensure

community voice and community priorities are at the centre of the collective effort. Research on place-based initiatives highlights the critical, foundational role that developing a shared vision plays in harnessing effective collaboration.

A review of 25 Collective Impact projects found that taking the time for inclusive and comprehensive vision-setting paid off in the long term, securing greater engagement, more action and greater alignment between organisations. The review also found that initiatives with the strongest common agendas had engaged a wider group of stakeholders through the process (Lynn, 2018, p.86). Another recent review of community change initiatives found that sustainability required alignment with the broader goals of organisations and local government agencies (Maxwell et al., 2017).

The Tamarack Institute point to the importance of developing a common understanding of the nature of the problems and their root causes, so that collective efforts can focus on causes rather than symptoms – and for the vision to be reflective of community values and priorities. They also reflect that "this is more than a simple planning exercise. Indeed, it requires would-be collaborators to find (or create) common ground despite their very different values, interests and positions" (Cabaj and Weaver, 2016, p.6).

- A history of effective partnerships and collaborative arrangements.

- Leadership which enables staff to transcend traditional professional boundaries, particularly at the centre level.

- An understanding of each other's professional ethos, priorities and role in early childhood services, and combining these into new ways of working.

- Clearly defined shared aims, objectives and outcomes prioritising the needs of the child, particularly when services are being rationalised.

- Joint funding and commissioning arrangements, which, although the terminology is ambiguous, appear to be associated with systems that are more joined up.

- Co-location, which was found in some studies to be important to strong and enduring integrated working and the ability to share concerns, issues and information; although others have suggested that the quality of joint working is more important than co-location.

- Inter-professional development, including shared training, mentoring and supervision, to helping different disciplines to understand the expertise and concerns of their peers.

- Effective data and information sharing, enabled by appropriate hardware and software, and taking account of data protection and differing professional practice and habits.

- The sharing of skills and expertise between professional groups and a willingness to be honest about gaps in knowledge.

- Processes to manage ambiguity and conflict, promote trust and contain anxiety between partners (Lewing et al., 2020).

INVESTMENT IN RELATIONSHIPS AND SOPHISTICATED INTERPERSONAL CAPABILITIES

Given the complexity and challenge involved in forming and sustaining partnerships for ambitious change, the literature highlights the central importance of strong relationships. Indeed, studies show that formal and informal relationships are indispensable drivers of change, and that an intentional approach to developing and sustaining relationships, growing trust and modelling / building cultures of collaboration is essential. For example:

- A 2016 quasi-experimental study on facilitators of collaboration found that informal relationships was a key predictor of trust and engagement of partner organisations (Gilliam et al., 2016).

- Bunger (2010) concludes that initiatives where there are personal relationships between partners are more successful: *"the personal relationships that providers develop with one another are key drivers of service coordination"* (Bunger, 2010, p.393).

- Wong et al.'s 2012 review of collaborative practice in integrated service delivery highlighted the importance of relational agency, described as "the strong and sustaining relationships that provide a platform for ongoing and new collaborative endeavours". They found that *"mutual respect, trust and effective communication"* are pre-conditions for supporting service integration (Wong et al., 2012, p.5).

- Moore's review of integrated children's centres concludes that how services are delivered are as important as what is delivered, but that staff need to be taught to work in these ways and to work together (Moore, 2021).

Central to both service coordination, and the kind of community engagement and outreach outlined in the previous chapter, is investment in dedicated relationship-building roles. Research on community change initiatives highlights the importance of dedicated roles with the time, capacity and sophisticated interpersonal skills required for proactive relationship development and facilitating collaboration (Branch et al., 2022). Discussing the complexity of enabling community change initiatives, Lynn argued that the combination of dedicated time and significant capability are important:

"You can engage in cross-sector collaboration with limited capacity, but you cannot bring it to scale and represent the full set of actors needed. It also takes capacity to overcome the typical challenges facing a collaborative group, such as competition, resource sharing, communication and miscommunications, sharing credit, managing confidentiality concerns, handling liability / insurance needs

for implementation of shared strategies, and dealing with collaboration in large geographic areas." (Lynn, 2018, p.59).

A core premise of the Collective Impact framework is recognising the importance of adequately resourcing and supporting collaboration: *"the expectation that collaboration can occur without a supporting infrastructure is the most frequent reason why it fails" (*Kania and Kramer, 2011). Cabaj and Weaver echo this point, arguing that the complex work of community change and working across organisational and sectoral boundaries cannot be done 'off the side of the desk' and must be the day the day work of dedicated roles.

The challenge of driving collaboration without dedicated resourcing isn't just seen in place-based Collective Impact initiatives. A review of Public Health Networks (PHNs) identified limited time, resources and capacity for collaboration as a significant handbrake on their ability to enable local service coordination (Javanparast et al., 2018).

A 2022 evaluation of integrated children's hubs in the UK found that sites struggled to create a vision for the hub and translate it into practice without additional staffing – with site leaders consistently expressing concerns about being able to deliver without the necessary resources (Department for Education, 2022). Analysis of effective integrated school hubs also identify the importance of support staff within the hub who both lead the coordination activities, convene the partners, and people overseeing the partnership and ensure benefits flow through to families (Teo, 2022; Chandler and Cleveland, 2020, 2021).

Consistent with these findings, an evaluation of Australian extended service school models found that coordinator roles were considered to deliver multiple benefits:

- Sharing responsibility between a coordinator and Principal for maintaining the model was felt to increase the likelihood of sustainability.

- Having a dedicated contact to connect with partner agencies, seek new partnerships, and submit grant applications to obtain funding was felt to increase efficiencies.

- A dedicated role was felt to provide a greater sense of permanency to school staff and to parents of the school's long-term commitment extended service schooling.

- The coordinator role was also described as one that facilitated building deeper relationships with parents and children, helping to bridge the gap between the home and school. In turn, this assisted in the identification of at-risk children and their families (oftentimes as part of a case management–style approach) through linking them with the services they need (O'Donoghue and Davies, 2014).

In Anderson Moore et al.'s analysis of community schools, principals report that having a coordinator dedicated to integration and coordination makes the difference between high and low impact community schools (Anderson Moore et al., 2017, p.6). Chandler and Cleveland's analysis of school hubs in the US and Canada also points to the need for specialist roles and skills to support community collaboration – in particular, that school principals may be excellent school leaders but not well-equipped to support and manage complex collaborations across multiple sectors.

The literature also highlights the sophisticated skills and attributes needed to fulfil these relationship-building roles effectively, including the capacity to navigate multiple levels of the system, understanding community dynamics and the contextual factors that shape the priorities and challenges for families. Branch et al. argue that: *"they need to be independent to offer honest observations, challenge the status quo, and guide transformational systems change"* while *"finding the balance between listening to and understanding individual agendas, and creating the conditions for a shared agenda"* (Branch et al., 2022, p.2).

Bianchi et al explain that formal organisational factors, like protocols, rules, structures and roles are necessary but not sufficient for enabling collaboration. They suggest informal factors like facilitative leadership, trust, commitment, shared understanding and values are how collaborative governance is turning good intentions into practice to generate sustainable outcomes (Bianchi et al., 2021). Burns and Brown (2012) also highlight the important role of adaptive leaders with the skills and time to build coalitions, inspire action, achieve compromise and bring the community along.

The critical role of skilled and dedicated partnership roles is also highlighted in Bierbaum et al., who outline an ambitious Baltimore initiative to revitalise school communities by becoming whole-of-community hubs. However, the ambition was not realised because *"partnering agencies shared little trust, culture for collaborative governance, understanding of decision-making rules of implementing agencies, hierarchical integration within and among implementing agencies, language or values, and few metrics of success"* (Bierbaum et al., 2020, p.17). They suggest that the spirit of collaboration and transformative investment was *"often side-tracked by turf battles and micro-legal battles"* (Bierubaum et al., 2020, p.17). Even where there is a strong willingness to collaborate and strong values alignment, place-based change is complex and challenging work that requires skilled and capable facilitation.

A DEDICATED PARTNERSHIP BROKER OR ENABLER TO CREATE AND HOLD SHARED GOVERNANCE

Another key element of contemporary place-based initiatives is the critical role of 'backbone' or intermediary organisations. These organisations provide practical enabling support for partnerships, including establishing effective and shared governance. The Collective Impact Forum identifies critical roles for backbones in guiding vision and strategy, supporting aligned activities, supporting shared measurement, cultivating community engagement and outreach, advancing policy and mobilising resources (Collective Impact Forum, 2021). Research consistently identifies backbone or intermediary organisations as a key driver of impact. For example:

- A 2022 synthesis of some of Australia's most mature place-based community change initiatives identified backbone organisations as one of the key drivers of impact, arguing that "without the local governance infrastructure and ways of working that they provide, [significant] changes wouldn't happen" (SPSP Backbone Team, 2022).

- A review of the Stronger Communities for Children model found that backbone organisations provided a range of technical and best practice skills and provided academic, financial or business skills, or alternatively, provided cultural leadership and authorisation, and guided local organisations in the appropriate ways of working. It found that this model was effective in bringing a range of stakeholders who had never worked together into a collaboration, and held them in place (Niddrie et al., 2017).

- Crew's 2020 review of place-based initiatives identified the importance of "building an infrastructure and creating the conditions for impact by developing leadership and organisational capacity, leveraging new resources, improving holistic partnership working, and building a community's capacity to respond to challenges." (Crew, 2020, p.2).

- Lynn's review of 25 established collective impact projects found that the strongest backbone organisations focused on building networks, building capacity and supporting others to lead and engage (Lynn 2018, p.85), and found that more mature initiatives tended to have Backbones able to contribute to more complex initiatives, and with stronger capacity to lead and coordinate (p.46).

- Lewing et al.'s review of children's centres in the UK highlighted the importance of aligned strategy, formal and consistent arrangements to support joined-up working, joint commissioning of services, the

development of support pathways / journey maps, and shared training and professional development as critical enablers of effective hubs (Lewing et al., 2020). They highlight research linking more effective partnerships to greater outcomes for children and families.

The particular importance of strong governance is also highlighted in the literature. Homel argues that the success of community coalitions depends on the establishment of good governance systems that regulate the way power is exercised, hold accountability, and ensure that energy is directed at better outcomes for children (Homel et al, 2012, p.37).

A 2018 review identified regular convenings, accountability, national visibility, top-level leader involvement, and coaching as the critical contributions of backbone organisations (DuBow et al., 2018), and an evaluation of family hubs in the UK found that dedicated leadership and hard accountability for delivery was critical for impact (Department for Education, 2022).

Similarly, a 2022 study of community change initiatives found that shared goal-setting, transparency, being physically present, informal meetings, trust and leadership are the key features of effective collaborative governance – with an accountability structure that facilitates collaboration while not hampering innovation with time-consuming process (Grootjans et al., 2022).

This dual rule of enabling trust and providing accountability is echoed in Weaver's framework for collaborative governance highlights two key roles, the inward work based on relationships and trust needed to build, nurture and retain the group, and the outward work of driving actions that deliver on the goals of the group, which depends on coordination and support for action (see Figure 1) (Weaver, 2021).

INWARD WORK

- identifying issues for common work
- setting up structures and processes
- honour diversity
- orientation and training
- promote participation and respect
- balance of power and ownership

STRONG & SUITABLE GROUPS

OUTWARD WORK

- work with member to effectively engage partners and allies
- work with partners to work together to make change
- build trust and relationship with lived/ing experience
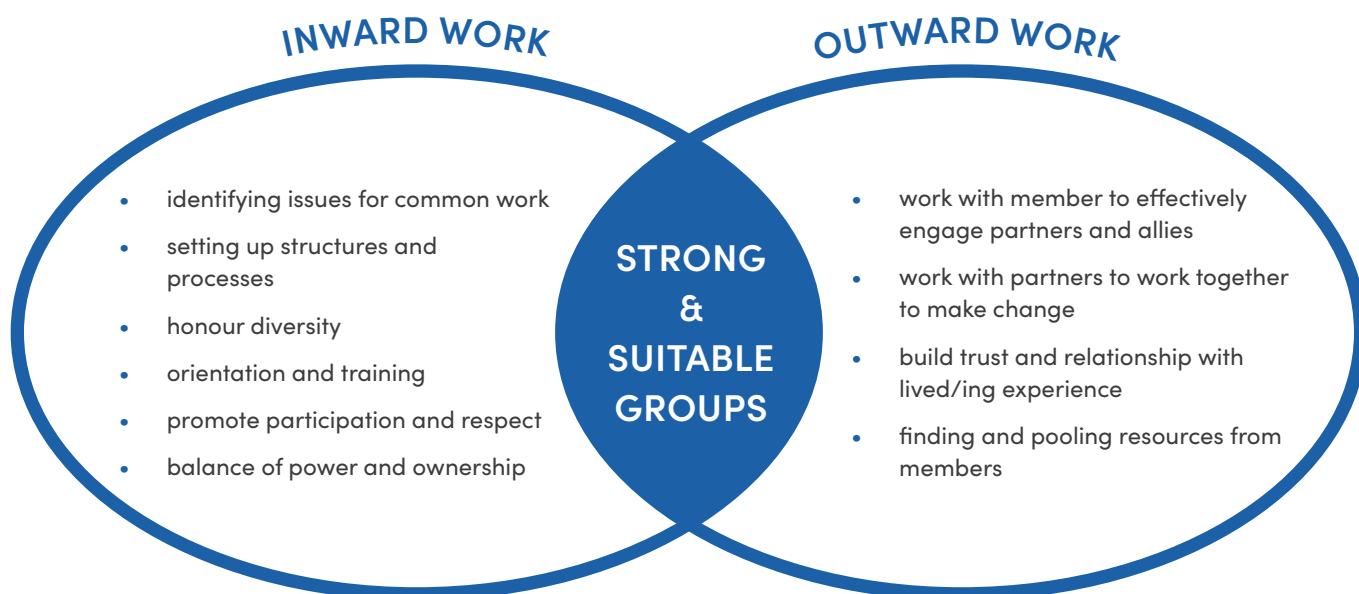- finding and pooling resources from members

Figure 1: Functions of collaborative governance

The importance of these factors is also recognised in the research around school-based hubs, and may be particularly important for enabling schools to deepen their collaboration with the community. A 2022 review of school-based hubs recognises that the goodwill that brings services together can be undermined by the pressures of day-to-day business as usual – particularly given the length of time it takes to *"build trust, shared commitment and an appropriate balance of power and boundary setting"* while also establishing a raft of new processes and ways of working (Teo, 2022). The review highlights the fact that establishing a shared governance mindset is considerably more complex than building the physical infrastructure.

Similarly, a review of the role of community schools in place-based initiatives in the US highlights the importance of combining collaborative leadership with backbone enabling support, to ensure schools are able to participate fully in place-based initiatives. They argue that "collaborative leadership structures play an essential function in the alignment of planning, resource development, and implementation at both the school and community level.

The leadership structure often guides the work of an intermediary [who] leads the planning, coordination, and management. The intermediary's role is to ensure communication between community-wide and school-site leaders and to facilitate operational functions across sites" (Potapchuk, 2013). Implementation guides for community schools also highlight the critical role of implementation partners, and of the engagement of school leaders. The National Centre for Community Schools argues that community school implementation requires:

- A dedicated facilitation and implementation lead. Either an external agency or a dedicated site coordinator, who is responsible for the planning and coordination functions that are essential. This role has responsibility for *"leading the community involvement for the principal and facilitates the overall process by helping with the assessment, creating momentum, identifying and assembling partners, organizing meetings, spearheading fundraising, hiring staff and conducting program oversight".*

- A school leadership team. Key leaders in the school, including the Principal, responsible for setting the direction and monitoring progress: *"there is consensus among practitioners and researchers that the principal drives change in the school and works with partners to build capacity within the school to transform its culture and climate, and to implement a holistic approach through the community schools strategy"* (National Centre for Community Schools, 2021).

- The National Centre for Community Schools (2021) also point to the key capabilities that underpin effective community schools, highlighting the importance of:

- Leadership that boldly challenges conventional thinking and practice, cultivates champions across the community, uses power and influence to generate support and consensus, and plans for sustainability.

- Governance structures that are responsive to change; reflect the community they service; offer technical assistance to build capacity and drive continuous improvement; provide best-practice financial management, communications and human resources; and hold partners accountable.

An American Institute for Research paper highlights these conditions, but also point to the importance of the full school leadership being committed to the initiative, and ensuring the capacity and capability exists within the school. They discuss the critical role of professional learning and ongoing skills assessments to ensure that staff have the knowledge and skills to do the work effectively (AIR, 2021).

There is considerable consistency between the evidence base on place-based initiatives generally, and the literature on school-based hubs and community schools, particularly in highlighting the critical role of collaborative governance and backbone support for implementation.

COLLABORATING EFFECTIVELY WITH GOVERNMENT

Australian research on place-based initiatives also points to the importance – and challenge – of bringing governments to the table and including them in governance arrangements. The root causes of issues experienced by communities are often not solvable at local levels – they relate to systemic challenges that need policy changes, or reflect economic policies including taxation, benefits, interest rates, international trade and employment (Katz in Smart, 2017, p.7).

A key challenge in Australia is engaging the right level/s and area/s of government. Federal, state and local governments are all relevant to solving community level challenges, but building engagement alignment across jurisdictions is time-consuming and complex.

Similarly, it is common for health, community services, education and welfare departments to be engaged in Collective Impact projects, but often the root causes of the issues experienced at community level are the responsibility of other departments – such as housing, transport and employment. Building engagement and alignment across all relevant departments and all levels of government is a formidable logistical challenge (Smart, 2017, p.18; Gill et al., 2017).

Smart also highlights the structural and cultural challenges that get in the way of governments working effectively in place-based or Collective Impact initiatives, including the way policy and financial decisions are made, a focus on outputs rather than outcomes, a culture of risk aversion, and challenges in balancing the collective work of the initiative as well as their own organisational responsibilities (Smart, 2017, p.18).

Government representatives in place-based initiatives often experience a tension between the aspiration of local flexibility and the requirements of centralised accountability. This tension is evident in an evaluation of Commonwealth-led place-based initiatives, which found that:

- Conflicts between national and / or state policies and systems meant that processes were not as well streamlined as they could have been.

- In the absence of effective collaboration and integration between agencies, resources could not be used effectively to address issues.

- Complex governance arrangements – particularly those working across federal and state agencies – created tensions and challenges and caused delays.

- Multiple levels of hierarchy hindered the responsiveness and flexibility of implementation (Willks et al., 2015).

Smart suggests that some governments are beginning to work in different ways – with staff shifting from contract management to enablers of local change, shifting authorising environments enabling frontline staff to be more responsive to local contexts, supporting local innovation, and increased flexibility in funding arrangements (Smart, 2017, p.19).

A Victorian Government policy paper on place-based ways of working highlights the importance of government sharing *"control, influence and accountability with community by partnering in decision-making with local people and organisations"*, but also recognises that this is a different way of working for government (Victorian Government, 2020).

A review of governance models for joined-up working identified a number of successful models of bringing government to the table, and identifies a shared vision, clear strategic priorities, a more coherent local voice (representing a wider group of local interests) and the ability to exert regional and national influence as critical ingredients (Willks et al., 2015, p.11), but this remains an emerging way of working for government.

In this context, another critical role that backbone organisations play is equipping communities to engage effectively with government, building and sustaining relationships across the range of departments and levels of government needed to achieve change, helping build the authorising environment within government to work differently, and helping provide the evidence champions in government need to secure the required funding or flexibility.

Guiding evidence-informed decisions-making

WHY IT MATTERS?

A critical element of place-based initiatives is the capacity to use data effectively. Given the often-entrenched issues place-based approaches aim to resolve, and the long timeframes required to achieve change, being guided by data is necessary to:

- Understand local strengths and challenges, including highlighting inequalities experienced by particular cohorts in the community.

- Identify priorities for action and build consensus on where to focus effort.

- Monitor progress and support iteration, experimentation and innovation.

- Measure impact, celebrate achievement, maintain momentum and enable continuous improvement (Fox et al., 2015; Kingsley, Coulton & Petit 2014; Smart 2017).

Lynn's review of effective Collective Impact initiatives identified that shared measurement was a precondition for effectiveness, and was enabled by a backbone with responsibility for leading measurement. They found:

- Commitment to and measurement of progress towards shared goals, built trust, transparency and made people want to continue to participate in the initiative.

- Setting a goal brings discipline to systems, helps people concentrate, get motivated and get noticed.

- Data rallied people around a common outcome, even when ongoing tracking wasn't especially useful for informing the evolving work.

- Although efforts at collecting and using data had been made previously, it was the funding of a backbone and a data dedicated role that made the difference.

- Sites that were more likely to show plausible population-level change had implemented data strategies, focused on shared measurement, prioritised data-related systems change as a critical part of their work (Lynn, 2018, p.22).

Grieve points to successful shared measurement approaches reinforcing commitment to the agenda and to the partnership, promoting peer exchange and learning,

development of a common language, helped create and show alignment between initiatives at different levels, more focused and ambitious action (Grieve, 2014).

In a health context, a 2021 systematic review of the learning health systems approach to using data to improve access and outcomes delivered shorter waiting times, better information sharing between practitioners, better indicators of pain / distress, improved surgical outcomes, and better performance on key indicators, like numbers of vaccinations, compliance with clinical guidelines and screening rates (Enticott et al., 2021).

The importance of data-driven and improvement focused collaboration is also highlighted in school improvement literature. For example, the Carnegie Foundation's core principles for improvement in teaching practices and school communities, based on the transformation of Chicago's school system, includes a strong focus on understanding the nature of the problem and driving action through data:

- Ensure the work is problem-specific and user-centred – what specifically is the problem we're trying to solve?

- Understanding variation in outcomes – it's not 'what works' but 'what works, for whom, in what circumstances'?

- See the system that produces the current outcomes – it's hard to change what you don't fully understand.

- We cannot improve at scale what we cannot measure – we intervene in complex contexts, measuring progress and unintended consequences / impacts is critical.

- Anchor practice in disciplined inquiry – rapid cycles to learn fast, fail fast and improve quickly.

- Accelerate improvements through networked communities – collaboration is needed for change (Bryk et al., 2015).

This work points to the important role data plays in understanding the system that holds the problem in place, being precise about the problems you're trying to solve, and using data to guide action (Russel et al., 2021).

Cabaj and Weaver also highlight the importance of data feedback loops for embedding a learning approach in community change initiatives: "unlike the relatively routinised nature of an automotive production line, social innovators are trying to change the dynamic and complex systems that underlie social problems. They want measurement systems that (a) provide real-time feedback on the multiple outcomes expressed in their theory of change or strategy; (b) are manageable; (c) have robust

processes for sense-making and decision-making; and (d) can co-evolve with their ever-changing strategies (Cabaj and Weaver, 2016, p.8).

This type of nuanced understanding of the system and of progress requires both qualitative and quantitative data, and the capacity to bring together insights from the frontline and from families and communities with key metrics and data sources.

> **"**
>
> **Gathering data on multiple levels across the system is critical for generating a more complete picture of what is happening and how the system is performing … In looking across the system and coming to a shared understanding of the interdependencies across players and chain-reactions among their actions, network partners could begin to see avenues for changing patterns in the system that would produce better results.**
>
> *Bowie and Inkelas, 2014, p.382*

WHAT'S CHALLENGING?

Research on place-based and other community change initiatives highlights the significant challenges involved in identifying, collecting, analysing, interpreting and using data (Gill and Smith, 2017). Many early adopters of Collective Impact set out to establish complex shared measurement systems, but ran into trouble with:

- Agreeing what to measure. Building alignment about priorities, shared understanding about what can and should be measured, ensuring community voice is centred in the process.

- Getting access to the data they were seeking. Struggling to understand what data was available, permission to access to government-held data sets, public data not released with sufficient frequency, aligning different data collection systems between organisations, concerns about privacy limiting data sharing between partners.

- **Measuring data at the wrong level.** Collecting population level indicators and no short-term success measures, excessively ambitious targets, or blurred lines between outputs / progress indicators / outcomes.

- **Gaps in what they were measuring.** Measuring a narrow subset of outcomes, not including measures of progress or partnership health, or having the capacity to capture unintended outcomes, as well as struggling to get sufficiently granular / local data, at sufficiently frequent intervals, and an appropriate balance between qualitative and quantitative data.

- **Limitations in their ability to interpret and use the data.** Limited technical skills and capability to conduct analysis, spending lots of time / effort / resources in establishing a measurement framework and not using it to track progress or inform decisions, and navigating difficulties around contribution vs attribution for outcomes.

- **Finding time to collect, analyse and use the data.** Difficulty in finding staff and resources to do the work is a persistent challenge.

- **Difficulty translating data into decision-making.** Even when timely and meaningful data was available, agreed processes and approaches to using that data to make decisions, confront trade-offs, redirect funding or change approach was challenging.

- **Shared measurement overshadowing more formal evaluation.** Collective Impact has encouraged a focus on shared measurement and the formation of community level indicators, and this potentially comes at the expense of independent evaluation and a formalised continual learning process (Lynn, 2017, p.62; Gill and Smith, 2017; Smart, 2017; Grieve, 2014).

Some of these challenges relate to technical skills and access to data tools, but good data analysis alone is not the answer – understanding the meaning of the data, what is says and does not say, and using that data to make good decisions, is the critical piece. Data-informed decision-making requires both technical capacity, strong data communication, and decision-making processes and cultures that are responsive to data (BSL 2015; Kingsley, Coulton & Petit 2014).

WHAT'S NEEDED?

The research does identify a number of enablers for enhanced data collection and use. A key insight comes from Bowie and Inkleas, who argue that "data that only helps to identify a problem is not adequate. The data must also help fill in the details of the possible pathways for addressing the problem. Without the latter, organisations find it difficult to use the data when designing system-level improvements" (p.386).

There are a range of factors that need to come together to ensure data goes beyond identifying problems to guiding and driving meaningful action. These include:

- **Relationships and trust.** Trust is often a precondition for organisations to feel comfortable with sharing data or confronting challenging findings highlighted by the data.

- **Building data literacy.** Support and scaffold the data literacy of community members and partners, as well as growing technical capacity among partners, and coaching to translate data into changed practice, actions or behaviour.

- **Being creative about data sources.** Empower community members to collect and share qualitative and quantitative data, collecting qualitative and quantitative insights, community initiatives designed to fill knowledge gaps, and focusing on how people's everyday experiences of services and the community are changing.

- **Provision of data collection and analysis tools.** Access to easy-to-use data collection and reporting tools.

- **Data access partnerships.** Collaborations with researchers or government agencies to seek access to government data (although there are limitations to this approach, see Homel et al., 2020).

- **Investment in independent evaluation.** Building more precision about how and why the initiatives are having an impact.

- **Focus on action.** Ensuring data is shared as part of a change process that helps them to take actions in their sphere of influence (rather than to admire the problem).

- **Rapid review cycles.** Collecting diagnostic data as well as population data, particularly focusing on indicators that show the if the community and the system are operating as intended – for example, smaller-scale factors that shape whether or not outcomes are likely to be achieved, like the expected behaviours of service providers, the experiences of families, the reach of initiatives to target cohorts (Gill and Smith, 2017; Smart, 2017; Inkelas and Bowie, 2014; Grieve, 2014).

These enablers are summarised in Bowie and Inkelas's principles for data collection (Box 2). These are informed by the experience of a large-scale multi-agency collaboration, the Magnolia Community Initiative, which had a strong focus on selecting indicators on how the local service system was operating and the experience of community members, collecting data regularly and routinely, and focusing on iterative improvement (Bowie and Inkleas, 2014).

PRINCIPLES FOR DATA COLLECTION FOR IMPROVEMENT

The purpose of measurement is understanding and reflection, plus change. To that end:

- Select a set of measures that reflect your theory of change from action to results, being mindful not to overwhelm those you hope will participate by adopting too many measures.

- Design a measurement system for scale so that all the community members, community-based organisations, and decision makers who are important for the outcomes will receive the information they need to take the appropriate actions at their level.

- Design for sustainability so that the data support an enduring change process.

- Consider all the different roles that community members play when providing or helping gather and use information.

- Avoid giving people (actors, stakeholders) measures without a change process that helps them to take actions in their sphere of influence.

- It is also essential to shift to providing timely, monthly progress on process of care measures overall and by service sector to provide diverse programs and providers both shared accountability and a common change process.

- Offer coaching and other support to make a change. Remember that having information alone is insufficient to drive change in professional practice, in resident actions, or in personal behaviours.

- Be ready to change both measures and strategies if they appear not to be as informative, effective, or change-inducing as predicted (Bowie and Inkleas, 2014)

In addition, research suggests that there are two related enablers of effective use of data – a backbone organisation that brings the technical skills, maintains the discipline around data use, and creates the space and a culture of effective data use.

- Dedicated data resources and focus led by the backbone organisation. Backbones play a critical role in bringing stakeholders together to understand local data, support learning, and building the capacity and authority to take action. They can also help mitigate the risk of data being collected but not used.

- Learning cycles that create a 'safe-to-fail' culture and support reflection and innovation. Aligning data with broader efforts to shift the culture of systems to one of learning and innovation, including embedding data in regular learning cycles as part of a culture that makes reflection, experimentation and adaptation the norm.

Providing advice on space and infrastructure

WHY IT MATTERS?

Space and infrastructure are also critical – and often overlooked – enablers of place-based initiatives. They are also central for enabling schools to become community hubs and making services and resources more accessible for families (ARACY 2015; Dryfoos, Barkin & Quinn 2005; Hoy 2011; Royston & Rodrigues 2013; Sobo, Seid & Reyes Gelhard 2006). Research points to the value of schools offering wrap-around services, including:

- Helping create a sense of belonging and community around the school.

- Increasing access to formal services – like early learning, parenting support, allied health, adult education and other specialist services (see the paper *Wrap-around health and wellbeing supports matter*)

- Increasing engagement in informal activities – like sport, dance, arts and crafts, informal learning opportunities (see the papers *Adult engagement, learning, volunteering and employment pathways*).

This value is created and enhanced by ensuring there is dedicated space within the school. For the Coalition for Community Schools in the US it is both the physical space and the partnerships that define a community school: *"both a place and a set of partnerships between the school and other community resources. Its integrated focus on academics, health, and social services, youth and community development and community engagement leads to improved student learning, stronger families and healthier communities... Schools become centres of the community and are open to everyone – all day, every day, evenings, and weekends"* (cited in Anderson Moore et al., 2017).

A single entrance and shared reception desk staffed by friendly and knowledgeable people is critically important for ensuring the school is welcoming and accessible. Chandler and Cleveland (2022) point to the value of "a shared public space at the front of a building, which gives it more of a civic look and appearance. That's important in terms of telling the community that the space is theirs, available and accessible" (p.4).

Similarly, a recent evaluation of family hubs in the UK found that a physical presence in the community was a critical enabler, both for visibility for families of the services available, but also spaces that were familiar and comfortable for families were central to accessibility (Department for Education, 2022).

Tasmania's child and family centres are one of the most effective models of community hubs in Australia and exemplify this careful attention to design and the use of space (Taylor et al., 2017). This is evident in the functional design brief, developed to support the design and development of new child and family centres, which requires that the physical design of new sites develop and enhance quality, evidence-based practices, respond to specific community requirements and needs, and provide physical spaces that align with the values of the centres and enable the ways of working they envision (Tasmanian Department of Education, 2020). Independent evaluation of the hubs found that:

"The comprehensive, complementary and coordinated early childhood services' that were available locally under one roof addressed many of the physical barriers to access, such as transport, cost and time that can impact on service use. The single entry point also facilitated soft contact with service providers by parents and families through drop-in sessions, which then led to engagement with more targeted services and supports where necessary. Co-location of services also enabled some parents to access services and supports without having to disclose their use to family and friend" (Taylor et al., 2017, p.1506).

Lack of appropriate space is consistently cited as a barrier to more collaborative and integrated ways of working (Department for Education, 2020). In their review of children's centres in the UK, Lewing et al point to a trend towards more 'hub and spoke' models of support for families, but reflect that this has "come at the cost of providing fully accessible sites through which to provide services and identify vulnerable families. A key question for local areas is how a reduction in open-access sites affects the ability to reach and build trusted relationships with vulnerable parents and to build community resilience …" (Lewing et al, 2020, p.308).

WHAT'S CHALLENGING?

The literature also recognises the challenges of rethinking the role of schools as community spaces. For example, the Schools as Community Hubs initiative at the University of Melbourne is one of the few research programs that explicitly considers the design and architectural elements of integrated hubs. In a series of international workshops in 2020 and 2021, they identified a range of logistical and practical considerations for the design of school-based hubs, including:

• The design challenges of retrofitting existing sites to create dedicated space for collaboration and enable shared use across multiple services – including linking spaces together to ensure they are accessible and welcoming and building the right level of safety and security structures.

- The political challenges of re-using existing facilities in different ways, including common perceptions that people have to let something go or give up ownership of spaces.

- How to deliver best practice design to support soft entry and community spaces with requirements around safety, security and restricted access — which were considered easy to overcome with collaboration and resources to invest in enabling technologies.

- The value of planning schools alongside other community infrastructure – including with local sports centres, libraries, green space – but also in designing schools as community spaces. They highlight the example of Denmark, where it's the norm to build schools with multipurpose community facilities – *"any kind of association you can think of, handicrafts, computers, games, music, youth clubs, sport associations, political parties, are collaborating with schools because they can rent rooms very easily"* (Chandler and Cleveland, 2020, p.10).

- The importance of establishing a site manager, given the complexity of a multi-purpose site usually goes beyond the capacity of existing school leadership structures to manage effectively (Chandler and Cleveland, 2020, 2022).

Bierbaum et al analysis of the revitalisation of Baltimore schools found that the aspiration of creating schools as community hubs faltered as stakeholders were locked out of early design decisions – with community members and local agencies perceiving the decision-making process as a closed, controlled process (Bierbaum et al., 2020). They suggest that the disjointed outcomes from the initiative reflect the disjointed implementation process.

WHAT'S NEEDED?

Although there's little direct empirical evidence of the impact of space and infrastructure on the effectiveness of school-based community hubs, there are clear themes in the available literature. These include:

- Space that is welcoming and inviting for families and communities.

- Multi-purpose spaces that enable service integration and formal and informal use by the community.

- Community engagement from design and through to implementation and ongoing operation is essential to ensure what's offered through the school is aligned with family needs and priorities.

- Space alone isn't enough – dedicated site management, collaborative governance and effective implementation is needed to ensure the space is used well (Lewing et al., 2020; Tasmanian Department of Education, 2020; Valli et al., 2014; Butler, 2022).

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