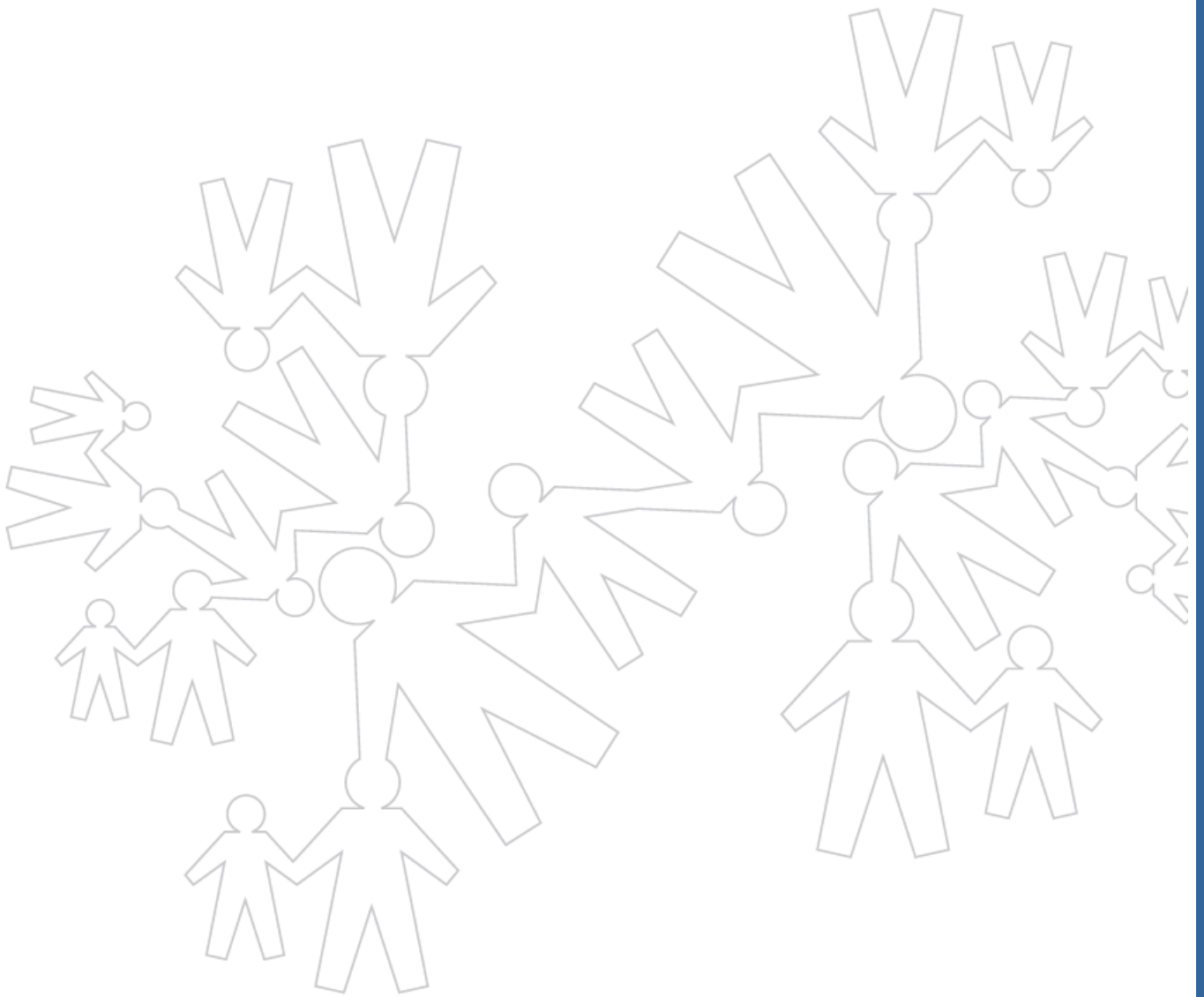


Community Capacity Building – A review of the literature



Government of South Australia

Department of Health

Community Capacity Building – A review of the literature

**Prepared for the Department of Health,
Health Promotion Branch**

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Foreword

Community capacity building is recognised as an essential strategy to strengthen the wellbeing of individuals, families and communities and underpins much of the work of government and non government agencies. The evolving nature of our understanding of community capacity building is reflected in the continued development and expansion of the language used to describe the concept.

Following review of recent community capacity building projects, it became clear that it would be beneficial to develop a conceptual framework that pulled together the range of theories and models that have come to be known as community capacity building.

Fiona Verity, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Administration and Social Work at Flinders University of South Australia was commissioned to prepare a report, which both captured the capacity of communities to shape, lead and contribute to their own well being and provided a critical overview of the conceptual thinking informing community capacity building with exploration of the implications for practice.

This report has been written primarily for people working with communities, from the health and community sectors and non government organisations. However it will also be of interest to students, academics, teachers and other professional staff who would like to learn more about the conceptual thinking informing community capacity building.



Michele Herriot

Director

HEALTH PROMOTION BRANCH

Executive Summary

This Literature Review is a summary of a copious and growing volume of material on the construct and practices of 'community capacity building'. The material used in this Review has been drawn from literature searched in the social science databases for abstracts and full text articles and 'Google' internet searches of key terms. This includes material from wider than health or health promotion areas; ie local government, urban regeneration, community work, international development, social work and social planning. There is a distinction between literature written for those intent on building community capacity, literature exploring how the notion is understood and explained, and literature that critically analyses the intentions and practice.

The Review is divided into three sections. **Section One** is entitled a 'first glance' and here the concept 'community capacity building' is overviewed in general terms. This includes definitions, an overview of explicit agendas for promoting 'community capacity building' and practices to build community capacity. This part of the Review does not introduce the critical literature which is the subject instead of Section Three.

Key points 'A first glance'

There are many definitions of 'community capacity building'. At 'first glance' community capacity building can be viewed as a notion that describes 'community' effort, time, resources, leadership and commitment directed towards 'community' identified goals and change. These, in turn, are the basis of further change and development. Intrinsic to most descriptions of community capacity are ideas and practices of community participation. Community capacity building efforts may be part of a government program or involve to some extent a paid worker. Some writers make the point that the language of community capacity building may not have utility or meaning outside these worlds.

Other notions also feature in definitions and these, in varying ways, might touch upon leadership, social realms, individual drives and actions, organisational and system change, and community building processes. Some authors explicitly relate community capacity to social capital literature and concepts. A range of values and ideas on social issues, power, resources and change, in turn, inform meanings given to these concepts. A key point then is that the idea of community capacity building is discussed in many ways- it is contested.

Often the explicit reasons named for undertaking community capacity building reflect the policy arena or functional context of the authors/instigator. For example government agencies may state that community capacity building is an *instrument to change a perceived problematic social condition*, whether it is to respond to poverty and unemployment, renew urban environments, improve health issues, increase self and communal responsibility, or readdress disadvantage. Another way that community capacity building is conceptualised is as a *process tool with intrinsic value*. Some writer's suggest it can be a tool to support links between issues facing humans and social structures, a social planning tool, an empowerment tool and so on. A further key point is that some writers explicitly link community capacity building processes with broader structural or systems change, whereas for others, the notion is not about wider system change but pertains to processes and 'transformations' occurring mostly within the 'community' system (variously defined).

It is common for 'community' to be defined by some combination of the following:

Heterogenous groups of individuals who share something and combine to act collectively

- Based in geography-place
- Based in networks and organisations
- Based in aspirations, needs and interests
- Based in bonds and ties

It is further common that within definitions of 'community capacity building' there is reference to the following dimensions, domains or sites for action (ie see Laverack, 2001).

- **Community domain** (power, history, profile, conflicts, leadership, participation)
- **Institutional domain** (influence, voice, resources, policies, discourses, responsiveness)
- **Linking domain** (networks between and within formal and informal systems, interactions, collaboration, responding to community needs)
- **Knowledge domains** (critical reflection, awareness of power, processes for change, knowledge of community needs)
- **Skills and abilities domains** (leadership, confidence, ability to solve problems)
- **Resource transfer domain** (resource mobilisation)

Section Two of the Literature Review is concentrated on reviewing descriptions of how 'community capacity building' is seen to be done, models and dilemmas that emerge with practice.

Key points

The literature is awash with models that describe community capacity building and they are presented using different combinations of organising logics (that is, practice described by elements, strategies, approaches, skills, attributes, values). Much of the material presented as 'how to build community capacity' will be familiar to readers of manuals and kits on consultation, community participation, social planning, needs assessment, leadership development, community formation, community development, building social or human capital. It is less usual to read in any depth the theoretical positions that inform models of community capacity building.

In terms of practice techniques there is a lengthy literature on techniques to support processes for building community capacity. In this Review they are grouped under the 6 domains for action that are described above. It is common to read that building community capacity is seen as taking time. In some literature community capacity building is considered best achieved with an integrated suite of strategies. Such a stance conveys a multi-dimensional nature of process, where capacity requires an enabling policy and institutional environment as much as it does activity within the 'community' domain.

- **Community domain**

Strategies Asset mapping
 Training
 Community profiles
 Needs assessments
 Community organisation building

- **Institutional domain**

Strategies: Policy support for community capacity building
 Balanced, holistic and participatory social planning
 Resource allocation
 Investments (financial, human resources, services)
 Organisational development

- **Linking domain**

Strategies: Advocacy
Bridge building
Collaborative strategies
Shared planning
Communication flows
Policy feedback loops

- **Knowledge domains**

Strategies: Leadership development
Critical thinking skills
Bridges between professional and experiential knowledge
Consciousness raising

- **Skills and abilities domains**

Strategies: Leadership development
Conflict resolution
Problem solving
Mentoring
Skills in governance and community action

- **Resource mobilisation/transfer domain**

Strategies: Asset mapping
Funding (adequate)
Social supports
Community bases and structures

Section Three is an overview of a critical literature where 'community capacity building' is subject to critical analysis. Here the discussion more directly draws attention to issues of power, ideology and 'whose interests are served'.

Key points

A key question raised in a much smaller critical literature is a need to ask 'whose interests are served' through community capacity building (Mowbray, 2004; 2005). Questions are also posed about how community capacity building work sits with government action in addressing complex issues that might face 'communities'. As argued through this literature, social change in complex times cannot be just laid at the feet of 'communities'. These considerations will be familiar to community development/health promotion workers. A further dilemma raised is that capacity building can unwittingly uphold traditional power structures rather than widen the range of concerns and interests that are voiced and responded to in a public domain.

Some writers identify that capacity can drain from 'community' whether through influences outside or within 'communities', or because of the conditions and time limitations of government funded capacity building projects. In some accounts cited in this literature community members have reported decreased local or community capacity due to 'burn out' and cynicism, especially in the face of short-term funding, high expectations and unresponsive institutions. Some writers call for more attention to this issue. A number of authors raise the implication that the language 'capacity building' implies a 'lack of' capacity and that this can be viewed as negative, patronising and paternalistic (Appalachian Regional Commission; Hunt, 2005). It can also imply that 'community' is a fixed and homogenous 'something'.

The practice literature on community capacity building is deemed by some writers to be weak in any in-depth discussion of conflict or tensions in 'community capacity building' (Mowbray, 2004; 2005). This absence is viewed as problematic given there is evidence that

'community' activities can be as regressive, exclusive, inequitable and unhealthy as they can be otherwise. Deep and complex understandings of 'community' are also rare in practice literature especially in terms of intersecting dimensions of race and culture, gender, class, age, and health status (Fraser, 2005; Mowbray, 2004; 2005).

Writers like Susan Kenny (2001) suggest that the contemporary language of community capacity building is emblematic of a 'fused discourse' where seemingly dissimilar ideas are melded and held together in union. For instance, market/private responsibility and individual obligation with communal action; business entrepreneurship and community development; local control with increased regulation; long-term visions realised in short time periods. Kenny and others suggest this generates new paradoxes for community workers and she uses the metaphor of 'a Trojan horse' to depict this. Others contend that this 'fusing' is not a new phenomena but rather the old paradoxes of community development/capacity building are intensified in a world of rapid social change.

Finally there is an ongoing debate about the need for more precise criteria for community capacity building and evaluation mechanisms.

The issues raised in Section Three present the community capacity builder with dilemmas to think about. For instance, ethical issues of when to lead to support community building and when is leadership manipulation or social control; when is participation co-option into unnamed agendas; when is self help leaving 'complex issues to communities' rather than working for change for redistribution and equity (Mowbray, 2004: 2005). How do workers discern and interpret the fluid situations within which they are working? What can support health promotion workers in reflective practice? In short the critical literature points to the need to think and question in 'community capacity building'. This is not to throw the baby out with the bathwater but to inch hopefully forward with a reflective headset- to engage in critical community capacity building.

Section Four is an annotated reference list of some of the articles reviewed (listed alphabetically under the author's name).

Section one

A 'first glance' at community capacity building

Introduction

Here was the world itself, with its many component parts, and it was shown to be a place of extraordinary varieties and a singular whole. (Binding, 2003:3)

There are always a variety of competing ideas and 'descriptions' of the world and the problems to which policy makers want to respond. (Bessant et al, 2005:267)

The words 'community capacity building' increasingly are part of policy and program language in health and other functional areas (ie social welfare, family and community services, education, environment, local government, social and urban planning) (Hounslow, 2002). This is evident in Australian governmental initiatives that either directly or indirectly aim to finance or facilitate community capacity building; (eg *the Federal Government's Mutual Obligation policies, Stronger Families and Communities Program, Queensland Government's Community Enhancement Strategy, initiatives lead by local government, Indigenous Community Capacity Building Programmes, community recovery and renewal developments in rural Australia, South Australia's Government State Strategic Plan and community based health promotion*). An uptake of 'community capacity building' is not just peculiar to the Australian governmental context but has occurred elsewhere across the world and is also part of the lexicon and program intentions of civil society organisations (United Nations, 1996; Chapman and Kirk, 2001; Craig, 2002; 2007; Labonte and Laverack, 2001a; Mowbray, 2004; 2005, Our Community).

It is not surprising then to find that there is a voluminous amount of material on community capacity building. Community capacity building is the focus of many reports, studies, literature reviews, resource booklets, case studies, toolkits, best practice projects, websites and 'how to' guides, academic articles and books. It has been described as 'elusive', 'slippery', 'shifting', 'contested', 'muddled', 'ill defined' (Chapman and Kirk, 2001:7-8; Frankish, 2003); familiar terms to readers acquainted with historical debates in 'community' literature and debates in a broader social policy world (Hillery, 1955; Bryson and Mowbray, 1981; Bryson, 1992; Mendes, 2003; Jamrozik, 2005; Bessant et al, 2006). Mitchell and Macfie write, '*Community capacity building is not a clear concept with an agreed meaning*' (2004:8). The Appalachian Regional Commission in a literature review on community capacity building also notes the '*...considerable variation of terminology in describing similar things*' (www.arc.gov/index.do?nodeId=2283).

Community capacity building has also been described as 'exciting', 'innovative', 'empowering', 'significant' and 'new'. Proponents of the construct point to emerging research evidence that 'community capacity building' can support community based empowerment; the development of skills, knowledge and resources; strengthened social relations; support health gains and stronger links between policy environments/communities/organisations. In the words of Chapman and Kirk it can promote the preconditions for 'community development in the long term' (2001:iv).

At 'first glance' community capacity building can be viewed as a notion that describes 'community' effort, time, resources, leadership and commitment directed towards 'community' identified goals and change, which in turn, provides the basis for further change and development. Intrinsic are ideas and practices of community participation. Labonte and Laverack define community capacity building as '*...a more generic increase in community groups' abilities to define, assess, analyse and act on health (or any other) concerns of*

importance to their members' (2001:30). The Human Resources and Skills Canada Group write that:

'...capacity is simply the ways and means needed to do what has to be done' (www.hrsdc.gc.ca).

Cooper, Verity and Bull (2005) writing for the Stronger Families and Communities Program, use dictionary definitions of the terms 'capacity' and 'building' in their explanation of the term.

Capacity: 'power of containing, receiving, experiencing, or producing' (Oxford Dictionary, page 147)

Building: 'construct by putting parts or materials together'...'gradually establish itself' (Oxford Dictionary, page 129). (Cooper, Verity and Bull, 2005:2)

This conjunction of terms conveys 'capacity' as a generative and productive process and 'building' as processes of construction and assembly out of which an entity or 'thing' emerges. Further implied is a need for a 'container' or base and the materials and means for assembling parts together.

Community, a key aspect of 'community capacity building', is most likely to be described in the literature reviewed as being some combination of the following:

- Community as place:
physical location, workplace, suburb, neighbourhood, geo-political space
- Community as social system:
networks and connections, bonds and interactions between people
- Community as interest based group:
heterogeneous groups of people who share needs, tasks, occupations, struggles, interests or aspirations.

Community capacity building is frequently pegged to efforts to redress disadvantage, health promotion, social and urban improvement and foster social change goals (Smith et al, 2001; Hawe et al, 1997; Hounslow, 2002). Building community capacity is also associated with a series of techniques and practices, and in various accounts, it is stitched together with other notions of social capital, community competencies, asset based social planning and social participation.

An underlying idea informing community capacity building is that improvements and solutions to 'community problems' can, and should be, 'unleased' from within communities rather than imposed from outside- whether through the market, state institutions, or 'experts' with little affinity to the issues facing the community. These communitarian ideas have been influential in both New Right and Third Way politics as Giddens notes (2000:62). The Appalachian Regional Commission expresses such a position in suggesting there is:

...a strong case to be made that...struggling communities are in need not of external financial assistance, or infusions of new industry and business, but rather of a kind of transformation from within wherein whole communities come together to envision their future and awaken to their potential for collective action and improvement. Community capacity building not only entails imagining how things might be, but realising what it takes to get there and then translating plans into action. It involves challenges to the status quo, and in some cases, conflict with the established modes of behaviour and governance.

(Appalachian Regional Commission. www.arc.gov/index.do?nodeId=2283)

In literature where authors advocate for community capacity building, it is typical to read that the benefits of these efforts include the following:

- Empowerment of individuals and groups within defined 'communities'
- Development of skills, knowledge, and confidence
- Increased social connections and relationships
- Responsive service delivery and policy based in community identified needs and solutions
- Audible community voices
- Community involvement
- Responsive and accountable decision makers
- Resource mobilisation for communities in need
- Community acceptance of programs because they have been involved in their development.

(Chapman and Kirk, 2001:4; Pawar, 2005; Winkworth, 2005:85)

There is a small and thought provoking critique of community capacity building: that the notion is a 'smokescreen', 'policy rhetoric', and 'red herring' in respect to what it claims to do and can actually do; that community effort promoted by state institutions can be reinforcing of dominant interests and certain types of leadership groups within 'communities'; that communities and localities can be left to deal with complex social problems which emerge from historical, global and structural influences. This critique runs along similar lines to more general critiques of communitarian policies.

How then do we make sense of these competing descriptions and assessment of community capacity building? Is it something new? Is it 'muddled' and too amorphous to be of much use, or is it the key to solving some of the complex issues that face communities and people living in their social worlds? Is it community development wrapped up as something else? Do these questions matter? This Section One is a first glance at the concept, tracing definitions and from where the concept has emerged.

Where does the concept 'community capacity building' come from?

Community capacity building has been tagged as a 1990s and early 21st century notion and practice (Criag, 2007). In respect to health promotion, Hawe et al (1998), suggest that it emerged in the early 1990s and they draw attention to its place in the Jakarta Declaration of Health Promotion. Mowbray (2004) also pegs it as a 1990s development and one that is intertwined with a more widespread adoption of communitarian ideas. This term 'communitarian' refers to values and ideas wherein 'community' is considered to meet individual and social needs, provide services, empower people and engender social 'good/s' more beneficially than the 'state'. For example Chapman and Kirk (2001:9) writing about the United Kingdom, note that community capacity building is embedded in New Labour policies to address social exclusion, stimulate urban regeneration, build social cohesion and extend quality services and processes.

Poole (1997), writing in *Health and Social Work*, traces the origin of community capacity building to the Healthy Cities movement and suggests its emergence is a logical next step on a pathway laid down by policies of decentralisation, increased concern for citizen or community participation, outsourcing to non government organisations and community alternatives to institutional care. Canadian health promoters and writers Smith, Littlejohn and Thompson (2001) are proponents of this viewpoint and they write of capacity building:

We too often lose sight of the goal of community empowerment when faced with the daily pressures to provide education or services to people accustomed to having government 'do things' for them. We have struggled with this tension in our own work...After reflecting upon our experiences, we join the growing chorus of those who argue community capacity building is our future. The capacity building approach has strong roots...It also resonates well with the current political emphasis on decentralisation and community responsibility. (2001:30)

The policy shifts referred to by Poole (cited above) are part of wider changes in the nature of welfare states like Australia and the United Kingdom, and run with individualised and market orientated 'participation' developments (Mendes, 2003; Rawsthorne, 2005:227; Jamrozik, 2005; Bessant et al, 2006). For instance Pawar (2005) and colleagues, in a publication *Capacity Building for Participation*, discuss the social participation requirements that emerged in the Howard Federal Government's Welfare Reform agenda (see for example, The Reference Group on Welfare Reform 2000, *Participation Support for a More Equitable Australia*). Again there are competing views on why these policy shifts have occurred and whether they signify positive or detrimental developments and these reflect value positions. Pawar (2005:8), for instance, expresses a view that '*welfare reform policies in Australia appear to have employed the concept of participation in a restrictive, perhaps manipulative way*'.

Hunt (2005), in her discussion paper *Capacity Development in the International Development Context and implications for Indigenous Communities*, views community capacity building efforts to be the consequence of two trends in international development. One trend is the twinning of capacity building and economic development agendas (often the latter set by bodies outside 'community'). The other influence, according to Hunt, is prevailing ideas about 'strengthening civil society' (2005:1), where the focus is on social capital goals. She however notes a dual and contradictory focus. Social capital building programs are both linked with neo-liberal economic agendas and emerge in resistance to them.

The Appalachian Regional Commission suggest that the uptake of community capacity building is due in part to a reaction against community development, which included negative and patronising practices in 'development'. In Hunt's paper, community capacity building is a subset of broader ideas and concern for 'capacity building' a notion that has utility in organisational change and management literature, research fields, urban development and in adult educational arenas (Hawe et al, 1998; Hunt, 2005). These ideas of community capacity building have currency in United Nations' documentation (see UN 1997; Craig, 2007).

How does community capacity building differ to community development?

There are varied perspectives on the question of how, or indeed if, community capacity building differs from community development. Some writers and commentators see there is no difference between the two and use the terms interchangeably; community capacity building is what community development was called in the 1990s and now in the early 21st century. Gilchrist (2003) however, suggests that the change in language serves a purpose and she uses the metaphor of 'smuggling' to describe how community capacity building is able to introduce values of community development into situations where they may not have legitimacy. She writes of 'community capacity building':

This term first appeared in policy statements as a means of 'smuggling' community development values and methods into what would otherwise have been rather technocratic strategies for regenerating deprived neighbourhoods. (Gilchrist, 2003:18)

In the eyes of other commentators, community capacity building is a sophisticated or 'evolved' community practice more suited to contemporary contexts (that is, political, organisational and policy contexts) and to solving 21st century social 'intractable' problems. The distinction is more than a matter of semantics; community capacity building is a

significant change in the practices. From this viewpoint community capacity building is significant because it melds social planning ideas and organisational and cross system wide collaboration with effective technical practices. This practice is furthered informed by community developmental values and processes such as participation and community ownership. This joining of practices and players across domains, it is contended, allows for a holistic approach in responding to the difficult social issues facing 'communities'.

Finally there is a fourth view that the uptake of the language and practices of community capacity building is the antithesis of a social justice community development. This is because the practices are viewed as conservative and serve dominant agendas even though they appear to be participatory and positive. These ideas are fleshed out more comprehensively in Section Three.

Unpacking definitions of community capacity building

Richard Crilly in reporting on research on 'community capacity building' funded by Canadian Health writes:

...there are currently no universally accepted definitions, processes, or evaluation indicators for community capacity building; terminology is used inconsistently and often incorrectly; it is quite common for projects to use the term community capacity building but not to practice the principles intrinsic to the definition. (Crilly, 2003:1)

Crilly (2003) further suggests that differences swirl around competing perspectives on the diagnosis of problems that capacity building might address, reasons for encouraging community capacity building, processes and practices of capacity building, sites, bases or domains for action and evaluation mechanisms. This is familiar terrain for health promotion workers who work with communities and engage in community development, as navigating the implications of diverse value positions and beliefs is part and parcel of the work. It is also a familiar theme in the history of community development. In the following section of the review some of the definitions are canvassed.

Definitions that stay broad

There are many definitions of community capacity building that are broad statements. As such they paint a picture of key characteristics of community capacity building (ie action, resources, planning, process and skills), a developmental direction, and in general terms, flag whom the players might be. For example:

Community capacity is the capacity of the people in communities to participate in actions based on community interests, both as individuals and through groups, organisations and networks. It is defined as the activities, resources and support that strengthen the skills and abilities of people and community groups to take effective action and leading roles in the development of their communities. (www.ccwa.org.uk/ccwa/pdf)

Community capacity is identifying the capacities of communities to enable them to support their own needs and aspirations. (www.community-life.org.au)

Definitions that foreground processes

Other definitions, whilst incorporating the ideas referred to above are explicit in suggesting that community capacity building is a continuous, iterative or dynamic process. In other words, the actions, strengthening of skills and abilities of individuals/groups are mutually reinforcing and this process is ongoing and recurring, rather than one off or time limited. Labonte and Laverack describe this process as:

Community capacity is not an inherent property of a particular locality, nor the individuals or groups within it, but of the interactions between both. It is also a function of the resource opportunities or constraints (economic, political and environmental) of the conditions in which people and groups live. (2001:113)

Within such definitions the focus is on the means (or journey of capacity building along the way) as well as the ends. Words such as ‘dynamic’ and ‘improve’ seen in the definitions below convey processes of development that are durative and which further expand and animate ongoing developments. For instance:

Community capacity building is a dynamic process which improves the assets and attributes of heterogeneous groups of people who have shared needs and interests. (John Snow Institute, www.jsiuk.com/docs/whatis)

Community capacity building is the continuous process required to foster the pride and appropriate local leadership that allows communities, through their members, to take responsibility for their own development’. (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, (www.hrsdc.gc.ca/en/hip/solmc/publications/toolkit/tk4.shtml))

Community capacity building is a process that increases the assets and attributes that a community is able to draw upon in order to take more control of and improve the influences on the lives of its members. (www.healthcomms.org/pdf/)

Capacity building is an approach to development that builds independence. It can be:

- a ‘means to an end’, where the purpose is for others to take on programs
- an ‘end’ in itself, where the intent is to enable others, from individuals through to government departments, to have greater capacity to work together to solve problems
- a process, where capacity building strategies are routinely incorporated as an important element of effective practice. (NSW Health, 2001:1)

Definitions anchored in a purpose

Further definitional refinement is offered when generative capacity building processes are explicitly anchored in a purpose. For instance, a quotation above from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada links the purpose of community capacity building to communities taking *more control and responsibility for their own development*. There are however many stated purposes or intentions for community capacity building; to meet needs and ‘improve assets and attributes’; promote responsibility for solving local problems; build local leadership; stimulate active and reflective participation in urban renewal or regeneration; empower; promote health gains; local improvements; readdress disadvantage; allow for effective services and promote better risk management.

At a first glance when a purpose is stated it tends to openly reflect the policy or functional context of the author/s. This can be seen in the definitions below, one from health promotion, the other from the field of urban regeneration. Evident is that the purpose of community capacity building is in relation to the mission of the functional area. It is an instrument towards a wider goal.

Health promotion

Community capacity building is the development of sustainable skills, organisational structures, resources and commitments to health promotion in health and other settings and sectors in order to prolong and multiply health gains many times over. (Hawe et al, 1997)

Urban regeneration

Community capacity building is the term used to describe the process by which the capability of the community is strengthened in order that it plays a more active role in the economic and social regeneration of their area through long-term ownership of the regeneration process. (Napier, 2002)

A link to empowerment is frequently cited as one of the reasons for and outcomes of community capacity building. Empowerment is discussed at the level of individual empowerment (*changes in skills, knowledge, consciousness and awareness, hope, action and beliefs*)

in abilities to affect change) and changes in wider social structures and processes that result in increased resources and opportunities (amongst other things). Smith et al (2001) outline an advantage of capacity building processes to be constructing links and connections between community issues and policy players and political arenas.

Some writers refer to Giddens' theory of 'structuration' as a theoretical underpin to their interpretation of empowerment processes. This social theory in very broad terms is predicated on change as a product of interactions between individual agency and structures. Labonte and Laverack (2001:1) take the line that the construct 'community capacity building' '*...recognises a confluence of ideas...there are elements of peoples' day to day relationships, conditioned by economic and political practices, that are important determinants of the quality of their lives, if not also of communities' healthy functioning*'.

The range of variables associated with an empowerment process cross a spectrum as seen in the following quotes:

Community capacity building is acquiring and using knowledge and skills, building on assets and strengths, respecting diversity, responding to change and creating the future. (American Association of Family and Consumer Sciences, 2001)

Community capacity building means developing the capacity and skills of the members of a community in such a way that they are better able to identify, and help meet, their needs, and to participate more fully in society. (www.charity-commission.gov.uk)

Capacity building should enable people to move from the status of objects manipulated by external forces and victims of social processes, to the status of subjects and active agents of change. (Albee, 1995)

Community capacity is the use of power (control of resources and decisions) to solve problems as well as the actual knowledge and skill sets that community groups require to effectively address local issues and concerns. (Jackson et al, 1999).

The degree to which a community can develop, implement and sustain actions which allow it to exert greater control over its physical, social, economic, and cultural environments. (Smith, Littlejohn and Thompson, 2001: 33)

Community capacity building is improving the abilities of communities to enhance their quality of life and assisting disadvantaged groups in communities to participate in these processes and obtain their fair share of the benefits. (www.communitybuilders.nsw.gov.au)

Definitions with links to social capital

A link between the social capital and community capacity building literature is also common. At first glance this is in two ways; in dimensions or domains within which capacity is built and second, in delineation of types of social capital. For example, Frankish (2003) from research identified eighty-three specific characteristics of capacity building that he grouped into themes in a literature review. Common domains of capacity building are financial, human, physical, social and institutional. Other examples are as follows:

Community capacity building is the capabilities that exist within communities and within the networks between individuals, communities and institutions and civil society that strengthen individual and community capacity to define their own values and priorities and the ability to act on these. Community capacity has a number of dimensions including financial capacity and physical, human and social resources. (Benevolent Society, www.bensoc.asn.au/research/communitycapacity.html)

Capacity is simply the ways and means needed to do what has to be done. It is much broader than simply skills, people and plans and includes:

- people who are willing to be involved
- skills, knowledge and ability
- wellness and community health
- ability to identify and access opportunities
- motivation and ability to carry out initiatives
- infrastructure, supportive institutions and physical resources
- leadership and structures for participation
- economic and financial resources
- enabling policies and systems. (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, www.hrsdc.gc.ca/en/epb/sid/cia/com)

Drawing upon Putnam's work the notions of bonding (links between people alike), bridging (links between people not alike) and linking (system links) social capital are often used as conceptual stepping-stones across a potential path of action. There are yet other definitions where more precision is gained because the techniques or 'hows' are included. For example, the definition below from the Aspen Institute stresses collective action and a 'common good' and gives three ways it is to be built, through commitment, resources and skills:

Community capacity is the combined influence of a community's commitment, resources and skills that can be deployed to build on community strengths and address community problems and opportunities. Three ways it is built are by commitment, resources and skills. Without capacity communities are merely collections of individuals acting without concern for the common good and are really not communities in any meaningful sense. (Aspen Institute - Rural Economic Policy Program)

A comprehensive definition of community capacity building is that articulated by Goodman et al who write:

It is a process as well as an outcome; it includes supportive organisational structures and processes; it is multi-dimensional and ecological in operating at the individual, group, organisational, community and policy levels (our understanding of community is that it encompasses all these sectors); and it is context specific. (1998:260)

Summary

A 'first glance' at the literature points to four types of definitions:

- General definitions of community capacity building
- Definitions foregrounding process
- Definitions explicitly anchored in a purpose
- Definitions with links to social capital.

Table 1 outlines a wide-lens depiction of ‘community capacity building’ (akin to looking at planet Earth as a ‘singular whole’), incorporating aspects of the many definitions canvassed in this Section of the Review.

Table 1. ‘First glance’ summary of community capacity building

Community	Capacity	Building
<p>Definition Heterogenous groups of individuals who share something and combine to act collectively</p>	<p>Definition A container or base which can allow for exchange, and production</p>	<p>Definition Assembling and constructing</p>
<p>Characteristics Based in geography-place Based in networks and organisations Based in common aspirations needs and interests Based in bonds and ties</p>	<p>Characteristics Relationships Commitment Resources Skills Knowledge Abilities Assets Leadership Infrastructure Supportive institutions Physical resources Participation structures Economic and financial resources Enabling policies, institutions and systems Links and networks between groups and systems</p>	<p>Characteristics Processes that are: Dynamic Iterative Sustained Multiple Responsive Imaginative Mutually reinforcing Spontaneous and planned</p>

Domains				
<p>Physical Infrastructure</p>	<p>Institutional Enabling policies and structures Policy feedback loops Intersystem linkages</p>	<p>Economic Resources Opportunities Knowledge</p>	<p>Social Networks Participation Structures Shared trust Bonding Bridging and linking</p>	<p>Human Relational abilities and trust Skills Motivation Imagination Confidence</p>

Section Two

Models and Practice

Introduction

The literature on ‘community capacity building’ is bursting with models and strategies for practice. Much of this will be familiar to readers of manuals and kits on consultation, community participation, social planning, needs assessment, leadership development, community formation, community development, building social or human capital. Duncan and Thomas (2000:7) cited in Chapman and Kirk (2001:12) contend that ‘...it is now recognised that capacity building is central to achieving sustainable changes that will have a lasting impact, although what this means in practice is less clear’. Given the generalised and vague definitions for building community capacity outlined in Section One, it is not surprising that a lack of clarity slides into the practice literature.

There are now many models and frameworks for community capacity building. This material is organised and discussed in different ways (ie as described by elements, qualities, approaches, dimensions and domains, skills, attributes, values or outcomes). Frankish (2003) makes the distinction between frameworks that *describe* and those that can *prescribe or explain*. He argues that many community capacity building frameworks tend to be descriptive of what might be happening if community capacity is being built. Labonte and Laverack on this point suggest that a usual description would include ‘...a short list of qualities of a capable community’ (2001:1). It is further noted that there is a distinction between frameworks that relate only to community capacity building and those wherein it is a sub-set of capacity building.

In the following discussion some common frameworks are overviewed. In the interests of not regurgitating this material the reader is also referred to the annotated references in Section Four.

Capacity building as the umbrella

Community capacity building is frequently described as one component in a project of ‘capacity building’ which the United Nations in a 1997 document labelled an ‘umbrella concept’ (1997: para 5). Under this umbrella community capacity building is interdependent and interconnected with other types of capacity building; organisational, technical, and infrastructure capacity as shown below.

Figure 1: Capacity Building



Within capacity building frameworks it is also usual to see the delineation of three levels for action or effort:

- the **individual**
- the **entity** (organisation, department, program, territory or place)
- the **broad system** (the enabling environment).

There are other models, such as one presented by Foster-Fishman et al (2001), that focus on a particular aspect for capacity building, in this instance collaboration. Foster-Fishman et al have a schema where processes and abilities for effective collaboration occur at levels of member capacity, organisational capacity, relational capacity and programmatic capacity. Thus action to build community capacity involves attention to enhancing capacity within each level.

Member capacity	Organisational capacity	Relational capacity	Programmatic capacity
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(Source: Foster-Fishman et al, 2001)

Community capacity building in health

There are also frameworks that specifically describe community capacity building in health. Crisp, Swerissen and Duckett (2000) in their description of community capacity in health take a systems approach and articulate four approaches for action and change. These are summarised in Table 2:

Table 2. Approaches to community capacity building

Approach	Top Down organisational approach	Bottom up organisational approach	Partnership approach	Community organising approach
Example	Changing agency policy and practices	Skill development for staff	Relationship building between organisations	Formation of community groups

(Source: Crisp, Swerissen and Duckett, 2000)

There is a similarity between the work of Crisp et al and that of John Snow International who depict spheres of activity for community capacity building occurring across a continuum of activity:

- Personal action
- Development of small mutual groups
- Development of community organisations
- Partnerships
- Social action.

Such continuums for action are familiar in health promotion (see for example Jackson’s continuum for community development and the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion).

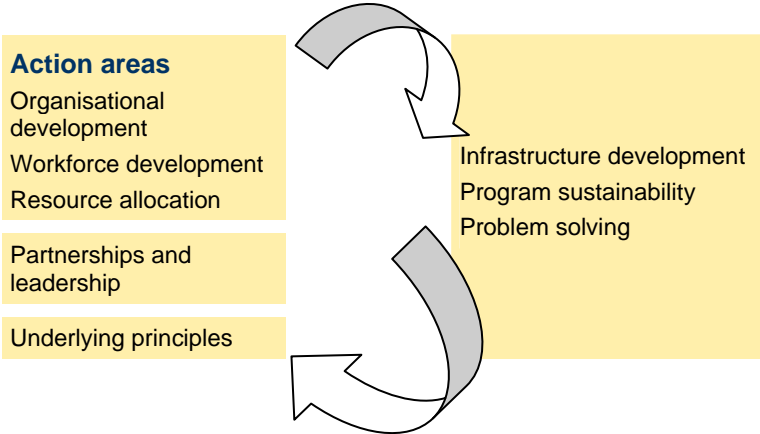
Figure 2. Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion

- | Action for health promotion |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build Healthy Public Policy • Create Supportive Environments • Strengthen Community Action • Develop Personal Skills • Reorient Health Services |

NSW Health developed a now well known schema for capacity building in health that depicts three arenas or action areas of development: organisational, workforce development and resource allocation. Partnerships and leadership are crucial in all arenas and these sit within wider contexts. As they outline, in each arena capacity is built through infrastructure development, program sustainability and problem solving (NSW Health 2001:2). This framework envisages that capacity is built within and between programs and systems, which in turn contributes to capacity development within communities, organisations and individuals to promote health (2001:3).

This framework also is informed by systems analysis of interlocking systems or levels for change. It outlines a set of underlying principles that should inform a practice of building capacity. These are to develop planned and integrated strategies, be responsive to context and avoid ‘pre-packaged ideas and strategies’, and honour and respect ‘pre-existing capacities’ (2001:5-7). Figure 2 below depicts this model.

Figure 2. NSW Health Model



The writers of the NSW Health framework also suggest that the strategies to build capacity should be responsive to the context and needs of the ‘community’, sensitive to the skills of the worker, the organisational situation or ‘sphere of influence’ and the history of interventions (2000:8). Together these imply that there is sensitivity to the nuances of multiple contexts and critical self- awareness or reflexivity.

Chapman and Kirk (2001) in their consideration of research literature also draw out the importance of appreciation of context and history, planning, integration, adequate funds and collaboration across sectors, agencies and leaders within a ‘community’ (2001:iv). Furthermore they suggest that a facilitator, skilled worker or key community agent is necessary to support processes of community capacity building. They write ‘*The use of animators, development officers or facilitators as intermediaries is also a key feature in the literature on community involvement in rural development*’ (Chapman and Kirk, 2001:25). As with the

material presented by NSW Health, Chapman and Kirk also view a sensitive, skilled and reflexive worker as significant to community capacity building.

Hawe et al explored this theme (1998:286) through focus groups with health promotion workers in NSW. Drawing on intuitive and practice wisdom of workers they identify 10 broad strategy areas for building community capacity. These are: use of self in engagement and relationship building, consciousness raising and education, responding to needs, strengthening local networks, skills and the confidence of ‘community’ members. This list of strategies is echoed elsewhere in the literature.

Domains of community capacity building

Another approach to describing community capacity building is to group its features by domains. Bush and Mutch from the University of Queensland take this approach and have developed a framework and audit tool for community capacity building. This framework has four domains and within each domain are levels of capacity. Known as the Community Capacity Building Health Development Index it is shown in Table 3 below. This framework draws attention to knowledge transfer as a component of capacity building.

Table 3. Framework for Building Capacity to Improve Health

Domain 1	Domain 2	Domain 3	Domain 4
Network partnerships	Knowledge transfer	Problem solving	Infrastructure
<i>Levels of capacity</i>	<i>Levels of capacity</i>	<i>Levels of capacity</i>	<i>Levels of capacity</i>
1. There is capacity to identify the organisations and groups to implement and sustain a program	1. There is capacity to develop a program to meet local needs	1. There is capacity in the network to work together to solve problems	1. Policy investments
2. There is capacity to deliver the program through a network of organisations and groups	2. There is the capacity to transfer knowledge in order to implement/sustain the program within a network	2. There is the capacity to identify and overcome problems/ barriers to implementing/sustaining within your own organization	2. Financial investments
3. There is a sustainable network established to maintain and resource the program through a network of partnerships	3. There is the capacity to integrate a program into the mainstream practices of the network partners	3. There is the capacity to sustain flexible problem solving over time across the network	3. Human investments
			4. Social investments

(Source: Bush and Mutch, University of Queensland, reproduced from NSW Health, pg 21)

Labonte and Laverack (2001) also take a domain approach to describing community capacity. This schema draws on Laverack’s work and overviewed are nine interacting domains, each which stand alone yet in combination, constitute the building blocks for capacity within communities. In Laverack’s work power issues are crucial.

Table 4. Laverack's nine domains for community capacity building

Participation
Leadership
Organisational Structures
Problem Assessment
Resource Mobilisation
"Asking why" (critical reflection)
Links with others
Role of outside agents
Program Management

(Source: Labonte and Laverack, 2001)

Goodman et al (1998) in a very detailed paper entitled *Identifying and Defining the Dimensions of Community Capacity to Provide a Basis for Measurement* draw together a very similar list of domains to those above (although they term them 'dimensions'). Goodman et al, separate community power and history as a dimension with five sub-dimensions. The detail of this community dimension, as seen below, will be familiar to readers acquainted with community profiling literature.

Sense of community that is characterised by:

- High level of concern for community issues
- Respect, generosity and service to others
- Sense of connection with the place and the people
- Fulfilment of needs through membership

Understanding of community history that is characterised by:

- Awareness of important social, political, and economic changes that have occurred recently or more distally
- Awareness of the types of organisations, community groups, and community sectors that are present
- Awareness of community standing relative to other communities

Community power that is characterised by:

- The ability to create or resist change regarding community turf, interests or experiences
- Power with others, not control over them (non-zero sum or win-win strategies)
- Influence across a variety of domains or community contexts

Community values that are characterised by:

- Clearly defined norms, standards and attributes
- Consensus building about values.

(Taken from Goodman et al, Table 1. 1998:261-262)

Summary

Differences in conceptual logic and emphasis is evident across the how to 'build community capacity' material. There are however, some common features. Some of these are things to know about, some are explicitly about examining values and power, others tease out arenas and practices for change, including the wherewithal of the practitioner and culture and functions of an auspice agency. There is a common concern for bridge building or linking across systems and knowledge areas (ie recognition of community knowledge).

- **Community** (power, history, profile, conflicts, leadership, participation)
- **Institutional** (influence, voice, resources, policies, discourses, responsiveness)
- **Linking** (networks between and within formal and informal systems, interactions, collaboration, responsive to community needs)
- **Knowledge** (critical reflection, awareness of power, processes for change, knowledge of community needs)
- **Skills and abilities** (leadership, confidence, ability to solve problems)
- **Resource transfer** (resource mobilisation).

In terms of practice techniques there is a substantial descriptive literature on methods to support processes for building community capacity. It is common that building community capacity is seen as taking time and, in some models, it is identified as requiring an integrated suite of practice strategies. For instance, that capacity building requires an enabling policy and institutional environment as much as it does activity within whatever 'community' domain (see Goodman et al, 1998 and NSW Health, 2001, Labonte and Laverack).

Listed below is a common set of strategies described as contributing to building capacity. It is not an exhaustive list. The strategies are grouped under the six domains named above.

Community Capacity Building Action Areas					
Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asset mapping • Training • Community profiles • Needs assessment • Appreciative Inquiry • Community organisation building 	Institutional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy support for community capacity building • Balanced, holistic and participatory social planning • Resource allocation • Investments (financial, human resources, services) • Organisational development 	Linking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy • Bridge building (relational and systemic) • Collaborative strategies • Shared planning • Communication flows • Policy feedback loops 	Knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership development • Critical thinking skills • Bridges between practical and experiential knowledge and ideas • Consciousness raising 	Skills and abilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership development • Conflict resolution • Problem solving • Mentoring • Skills in governance and community action 	Resource mobilisation/transfer <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asset mapping • Funding • Social infrastructure • Community bases and structures.

Section Three

Beyond Face Value

Suppose everyone had a box with something in it: we call it a 'beetle'. No one can look into anyone else's box and everyone says he knows what a beetle is by looking at his (sic) beetle. Here it would be quite possible for everyone to have something different in his (sic) box. One might even imagine such a thing constantly changing. (Wittgenstein *Philosophical Investigations*, 1974, para. 293)

Introduction

At first glance community capacity building can be viewed as positive, desirable and unproblematic. Indeed as Crilly writes (2003) '*...there is an inherent assumption that community capacity building is valuable*'. Sections One and Two provide ample views of this position. There is however a body of literature (although much smaller) that more squarely deals with the problems of an uncritical engagement with the ideas and practice of community capacity building. As Mowbray says there is a need to look beyond 'face value' (Mowbray, 2004:19). Such an approach is the focus of this Section.

That this is necessary is brought home by some of the narrow positions informing community capacity building. Consider the following examples. Murphy and Thomas suggest that community capacity building '*...is proactive, and is based on an assumption that communities which have an active and spirited citizen will be robust, vibrant, more caring and have fewer social problems*' (Murphy and Thomas, undated:3). What however of conflict (Mowbray, 2005)? What of social problems that are by-products of industrial restructuring (ie retrenchments) and change outside the influence of 'communities' no matter how robust, vibrant and caring they are? The Human Resources and Skills Development Canada state the purpose of community capacity building is for communities to take '*...more control and responsibility for their own development*'. How does this allow for consideration of interdependence between developments needed at the policy and institutional levels and individual development (Williams, 1999)? What of factors like rising insurance costs and government requirements for risk management that are making community building hard? (see Verity, 2006).

There is often a lack of explicit attention in community capacity building literature to naming underlying values. Heather Fraser emphasises the centrality of ideology and politics in matters of 'community' and participation, and she contends that '*...no matter how much one claims to be 'apolitical', or even 'eclectic', the practice of community work is invariably bound up in questions about power, status and resources*' (Fraser, 2005:298). These arguments draw attention to ideological dimensions in the use of the notion of 'community capacity building'. These dimensions can often be hidden, and the metaphor is often used of an iceberg where the bulk of the ice is submerged below the surface and out of immediate view.

The focus of this third Section of the Review is a summary of literature that discusses these above-mentioned questions and ideas. From this critical literature emerge valuable insights for community capacity building.

Constraints to building community capacity

There is a literature that directly attends to the constraints or barriers to capacity building. Hunt (2005:16-17) reviews an uptake of the notion 'community capacity building' in Indigenous communities. Her paper is strong in expressing how any capacity building activity or initiative in Indigenous communities must acknowledge and address the many constraints to that capacity building. She outlines in broad terms such constraints to include:

- A lack of Indigenous participation in policy formulation
- Capacity building as promoted within 'service delivery paradigms' rather than valued for intrinsic factors or that it is an end in itself
- A need to acknowledge diversity of Indigenous contexts
- Power imbalances between governments and Indigenous communities
- Fragmented and complex institutional arrangements
- Short term funding programmes
- Under resourcing of capacity building initiatives. (2005:19-22)

The results of a survey of Not for Profit services, undertaken in 2004 by the Social Policy Unit of the Western Australian Government, reports barriers to building community capacity. These include time availability, skills (in committee work, participation processes, planning, governance, community development), funding limits, insurance pressures, abilities of individuals and groups to collaborate, lack of skilled community development practitioners (2004:14-15). Chapman and Kirk (2001) writing for the Scottish Homes Department synthesised from the research literature lessons about difficulties in implementing capacity building. They point to the problem of 'participation fatigue' where much is asked of 'communities'. Cynicism and disappointment can be the result (2001:9). They deem further challenges to be the silo nature of government departments, the fragmentation within the 'community' sector, and the need for indicators and an evidence base for how processes of community capacity building do actually contribute to health outcomes. This latter point relates to concern that knowledge about capacity building is theoretically weak.

On the question of evaluation Labonte and Laverack (2001) overview a number of ways of measuring community capacity building, including the spider numerical ranking system developed by Bjaras and Rifkin (1991) and modified subsequently by others. They raise some of the problems with a quasi-scientific approach, namely an assumption that capacity building can be measured through subjective processes that rank variables. Laverack has worked to develop processes for increasing rigour in evaluating community capacity building that allow for time to talk and debate meanings, values and perceptions of change. There is also a view that evaluation of community capacity might be better seen as a piece in a wider health promotion evaluation jigsaw.

In a nutshell constraints to building capacity point to issues of power (including institutional power), contested values and mixed expectations. These can be hidden by a belief that shared language spoken conveys shared values, understandings of 'community' and open agendas. It can often be quite the opposite.

What do these words mean?

The NSW Health Department notes that the language of community capacity building seems to be acceptable to a wide audience, which they see as advantageous. However the implications of being acceptable to all, is they argue, that underlying intentions and values can be hidden and unquestioned, and that the concept can be hollow and rhetorical (2001:26). For example, many of the definitions canvassed in Section Two of this Review are general in how they define 'community'. Chapman and Kirk (2001) in a review of research evidence on community capacity building highlight that '*...definitions of a community are made by Government departments charged with funding...by individuals involved in the delivery of community development programmes, by people who work in the community sector and by the local community itself*' (2001:1).

Gary Craig (2002:7-8) in a submission on behalf of the International Association for Community Development to the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation, draws attention to hegemonic pull of language of 'community'. He calls this

the 'confusion of community' and goes on to say that it is '*...now yet again being sprayed in an undifferentiated way onto programmes, initiatives and interventions on a world wide basis*' (2002:8). As a 'cloak' he argues, community is used across the political spectrum to convey certain values whilst beneath the cloak are 'world views' that might be very unrelated to values and ideas of empowerment, or social justice. In other words, behind the same language spoken or words written, are experiences, values, thought patterns, imagination and feelings that are rooted in different values, ideas, and interpretations of the world. These differences might not be easy to see.

Writers such as Labonte (2001), Mowbray (2004; 2005), Hunt (2005), Kenny (2001), Shaver and Tudball, (2001) convey how this confusion, mentioned above, is problematic and potentially reinforcing of dominant interests. For instance Hunt in her paper on Capacity Building cites a powerful quote from Richard Ahmat quoted in Tedmanson and Maher (2005). Hunt (2005:23) says:

Indigenous people may even feel that the term 'capacity building' itself reflects a patronising view of them:

To restore capacity to our people is to let us be responsible for our own future...we have had 40 to 60,000 years of survival and capacity! The problem is our capacity has been eroded and diminished...the concept of capacity building is the idea that Aboriginal people are innately deficient, or incapable, or lacking...there is a danger of fostering a hidden bureaucratic racism and prejudice against our people...our people do have skills, knowledge and experience. (Richard Ahmat, 2001, quoted in Tedmanson and Maher 2005). (Hunt, 2005: 23)

A recurring theme is the call for discernment in how a language of community capacity building is used, especially to think and probe for what might be some underlying intentions (NSW Health, 2001:4), or to use Craig's (2002) phrase, some of the underlying 'world views'. The NSW Health Department authors contend this warrants '*...questioning the language and principles that underpin effective practice, and increase understanding of each others definitions and approaches to capacity building*' (NSW Health 2001:26).

Kenny (2001:10) too talks about the problematic nature of the language of community capacity building which she calls an exemplar of a 'fused discourse'. She puts social capital and mutual obligation into the same basket. By fused discourse Kenny means a language that holds together very different values and intentions in ways that can be misleading. This can obscure the underlying values, beliefs and interests served with problematic results. Kenny writes:

There are a number of community development workers who see the new discourses as Trojan horses. The rehabilitation of community and the 'social' enables the market to gain a foothold in community organisations. (2001:10)

Shaver and Tudball (2001) in their Literature Review on factors contributing to community capabilities write that caution is needed about '*...an uncritical embrace of community, or strategies aiming to promote community for its own sake*' (2001:ii). There is a simpatico here with the words expressed elsewhere by Bauman who observes '*...let us not be fooled, though, by the apparent commonality of the 'safety in community' urges; it glosses over profound differences in socially shaped life conditions*' (2000:118). There are a number of reasons for this caution and these are taken up below.

Community building-transformative potential?

Commentators like Mowbray (2005:263), Labonte and Laverack (2001), and Gilchrist (2003) suggest a need for caution in attributing to 'community capacity building' *transformative* social change potential. They remind the reader of political and economic factors outside of 'communities' such as global capitalism. Mowbray takes issue with what he calls the

'grandiose' nature of claims for change embedded in government sponsored community capacity building. From his perspective community capacity building fostered by government is more likely to be about '*...strengthening central governmental agendas*' than any actual empowerment developments. Instead, he writes, a concern for empowerment would see governments '*...embark on wholehearted socio-economic reform*' and support practices that are long term, well funded, and with decision-making power devolved (Mowbray, 2005:264). Labonte and Laverack (2001a), while supportive of the intentions to build community capacity, argue similarly in stating that improving capacity is '*...not a panacea to complex social problems arising from unregulated economic globalism*' (2001:8). They powerfully remind the reader that to address health promotion requires '*...an eye on the national and global policy ball*' (2001:8).

Stoker and Bottom (2003) raise the question as to whether 'community' can provide 'the social glue' a 'society' needs to meet contemporary challenges. Labonte and Laverack (2001a) offer the critique that community capacity, social cohesion, and social capital 'suffer a tendency to reification'. They make the point that:

There are groups whose capacity is created primarily by denying the same to others: racists, xenophobes, sexists, totalitarians and, it can be advanced, private (individual or corporate) economic decisions that fail to consider their effects on distributive justice or environmental sustainability. There is a need to make choices over which groups in society should have their capacity increased and claim that the more conscious the choosing the more it is 'subject to theoretical, empirical and ethical review. (2001a:127)

This position is now well established. A focus on 'community' alone can skew attention away from the multiple factors which shape unemployment, poverty, poor health status and lack of access to information, including an appreciation of the inequalities inherent in the workings of contemporary capitalism. Participation and communal interaction can only do so much in addressing the inequitable effects of global technological and economic changes, the consequences of changed patterns in government spending for social equity, and the growing wealth and social divide in countries such as Australia. 'Community', as used in contemporary community capacity building texts, can be used in ways that mystify complex and interrelated economic, gender, social, racial and political relations.

This critique does not just pertain to the idea of 'community'. Other concepts that inform 'community capacity building' are also contested. For example there is a lengthy literature about the varied and contradictory reasons associated with the encouragement of participation by institutions, or its engagement by humans. Participation can be promoted as the ingredient for collective action and activism towards empowerment and health promotion. Alternatively lessons of the past show that participation can be proposed by governments as a strategy to minimise risk, manage potential problems or massage a development through the politics of decision-making. The wider literature on community participation highlights the interconnectedness of participation undertaken by different actors in different circumstances to broad social, cultural, gender and economic divisions. Participation can be constructed in ways that make light of these social divisions.

In respect to women's participation it has been found to be influenced by a range of factors related to a split between the private and the public sphere (Lister, 1993:4). Lister in tracing what she calls the 'contours of woman's citizenship' outlines how women's subordinate role in relation to the paid economy and paid employment has influenced the extent of their participation in the public sphere. Relevant to this discussion is also research that exposes what women identify as conditions conducive to public participation. These included time outside caring responsibilities, permission from men to participate, feeling safe, mobility allowed by access to transport, reimbursement for childcare or the availability of child care (Lister, 1993:10; Kaye, 2001; Neysmith, 2000; Van der Plaats and Barrett 2000:32, Pocock, 2003). Van der Plaats and Barrett make clear that '*...overcoming practical barriers requires resources*'

(2000:32) a point repeated in community development literature. This includes resources or arrangements for childcare, transport and funds to cover out of pocket expenses (Van der Plaats and Barrett, 2000).

Finally there is the issue of expert knowledge or professional superiority. There is as some writers suggest, a fine line between the intervention of workers with their professional world-views, values, motivations and skill sets and the aspirations of people who reside in the 'communities' concerned. Shaver and Tudball (2001) contend from their review of literature that:

...workers represent an important resource for innovation and change...however it appears that the more longstanding residents of the towns and suburbs do not necessarily value this potential, or at least do not see it in a positive light. (2001)

Summary

The issues raised in this Section present the community capacity builder with dilemmas. For instance, ethical issues of when to lead and when is leadership manipulation or social control; when is participation co-option; when is self help leaving 'complex issues to communities' rather than working for redistribution and equity (Mowbray, 2004: 2005). How do workers discern and interpret the fluid situations within which they are working? What supports health promotion workers in reflective practice? The critical literature points to the need to think and question 'community capacity building'. Whilst there is much evidence that community practices are potent in achieving levels of change, there is also evidence that for many complex reasons, community effort can be exclusionary, unjust and unhealthy. Embracing the critical literature is not a call to throw the baby out with the bathwater but to inch hopefully forward with a reflective headset: to engage in a critical community capacity building.

Section Four

References

The following list includes all authors cited in the preceding discussion as well as all articles downloaded; both abstracts, full text articles, and online sources. In addition the reader is referred to the following web links. These identify the location of general material about community capacity building, literature and toolkits which outline practice strategies.

Web links:

The Stronger Families Learning Exchange website

www.aifs.org.au/sf/resources.html

This site has a comprehensive annotated review of Australian literature on themes related to community capacity building at www.aifs.gov.au/cafca/index.html

Our Community

www.ourcommunity.com.au/index.jsp

This site is a veritable treasure trove and rather than present here an overview it is recommended the reader take a virtual visit.

Community Wise WA

www.communitywise.wa.gov.au/tools/submission.htm

Community organisation and management

www.community.gov.au/Internet/MFMC/community.nsf/pages/section?opendocument&Section=FOR%20COMMUNITY%20GROUPS

National Volunteer Skills Centre

www.nvsc.org.au

Human Resources and Skills Development Canada

A community capacity-building toolkit for Quebec's English-Speaking Communities www.hrsdc.gc.ca

University of Queensland (2000) Community Capacity Index

www.spmed.uq.edu.au/CPHC/comcapacity/index.html

This provides information on acquiring the Community Capacity Index (CCI) which is a tool designed to help identify the extent of existing community capacity in a local network of groups and orgs.

Community Toolbox

<http://ctb.ku.edu/>

As outlined in the promotion material this Community Toolbox 'provides over 6,000 pages of practical skill-building information on over 250 topics'. They also offer a tour of the site.

Community Capacity Building workshop material and Facilitator's Guide

<http://intracom.hq-ac.prv/hrib-dirh/lmld/common/438.shtml>

This is a Guide and Workshop format for the exploration and development of community capacity building. It is fairly comprehensive and includes a useful section on challenges of building capacity.

University of Queensland. (2000) Community Capacity Index

www.spmed.uq.edu.au/CPHC/comcapacity/index.html

This provides information on acquiring the Community Capacity Index (CCI) which is a tool designed to help identify the extent of existing community capacity in a local network of groups and orgs.

Papers, Books, Reports & Web Resources:

Adams, D. and Hess, M. (2001) 'Community in Public Policy: fad or Foundation' *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol 60, No 2, pp 13-23.

Anonymous. (1996) 'Building capacity within community organisations', *The Healthcare Forum Journal*, Vol 39 Issue 4 p 74-75. (full text).

WK Kellogg Foundation and The Healthcare Forum, as an outcome of extensive work in this field, have developed training modules for 2-3 day workshops that address community capacity building. In their discussion they compare community based and community development approaches.

Appalachian Regional Commission Perspectives on Community Capacity Building Projects Online Resource Centre (www.arc.gov/index.do?nodeId=2283-accessed August 2006).

This resource has been used in the literature review.

Aspen Institute Rural Economic Policy Program Tools for Practice: Measuring Community Capacity (www.aspeninstitute.org/Asp-accessed August 2006).

Available for download is a comprehensive and accessible workbook that is thorough in an overview of community capacity building. Following an introductory section which introduces the concept and key ideas is in-depth presentation of 8 community capacity outcome measures. For each outcome measure is listed performance indicators.

Bauman, Z. (2000) 'The Bottom Line: The Ghetto' *Community Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*, Polity Press, Oxford, Chapter 8.

Bessant, J., Watts, R., Dalton, T., and Smyth, P. (2006) *Talking Policy*, Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest NSW.

Binding, P. (2003) *Imagined Corners, Exploring the World's First Atlas*, Headline Book Publishing, London.

Black, A., and Hughes, P. (2001) *The Identification and analysis of indicators of community strength and outcomes*, Occasional Paper Number 3, Department of Families and Community Services, Commonwealth of Australia.

Borland, J., Gregory, B., and Sheehan, P. (2001) 'Inequality and economic change', Chapter One in *Work rich, work poor, Inequality and economic change in Australia*, Centre for Strategic Economic Studies, Victoria University.

Brent, J. (2004) 'The desire for community: illusion, confusion and paradox', *Community Development Journal*, Vol 39, No 3 pp 213-223 (full text).

Brent provides a personal reflection on the way 'community' can be invoked as an answer but may or can 'be illusory'. This article has been listed as one of most read articles of the *Community Development Journal*.

Bryson, L., and Mowbray, M. (1981) 'Community: The spray-on solution', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, Vol 16, No4 P255-267 16/4, 255-267.

Bryson, L. (1992) 'Conventional Welfare Discourses: Their relevance in the 1990s' Chapter 2 in *Welfare and the State: Who Benefits?*, Macmillan, Houndsmill, UK.

Buck, S. (2003) 'Building capacity through leadership development programs', *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences*, Alexandria, Vol 95, Issue 3 p 8- (full text).

The author discusses the contested nature of capacity even though it is increasingly invoked as 'a foundational tenet of family and human service professions'. Buck has a particular focus on leadership as an aspect of capacity.

Chapman, M., and Kirk, K. (2001) *Lessons for Community Capacity Building: A summary of the research evidence*. Research review to Scottish Homes (full text accessible through scot-homes.gov.uk).

This is an extremely comprehensive review of literature related to community capacity building. It includes; communities and social capital, a capacity building process, role of organisations in a capacity building process, financial matters and barriers and difficulties. Chapman and Kirk are regularly cited in the literature and their document has a large bibliography. In discussing the findings of the review, the authors also remind readers that 'community capacity building can be a risky business...projects do fail and there are no guarantees that joined -up solutions will deliver the desired results' (2001:4).

Chaskin, R (2001) 'Building Community Capacity', *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol 36, No3 pp 291-323 (abstract).

The author discusses the rhetoric, missions and activities of community development efforts in light of capacity building. He suggests a definitional framework which is referred to in this literature review.

Churches Community Work Alliance, What is Community Capacity Building? (www.ccwaq.org.uk - full text-accessed August 2006).

This document offers a definition of community capacity building.

Community Development Foundation What is community development? (www.cdf.org.uk/html/whatis.html).

The CDF provides a range of key terms around community development. Four different kinds of capacity are identified: organisational, technical, infrastructure and community capacity.

Community Life Project What is community capacity? (www.community-life.org)-accessed July 2006).

This article gives definitions and key dimensions of community capacity building. These dimensions are 'participation and leadership, skills, resources, social and inter-agency networks, sense of community, understanding of community history, community power, community values and critical reflections'.

Cooper, L., Verity, F. and Bull, M. (2004) *Identifying good practices and pitfalls in community-based projects, Final Report to the FACS*, Department of Social Administration, Flinders University.

Craig, G. (2002) 'Globalisation, migration and social development', *Written Submission to the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation*, International Association for Community Development.

Craig, G. (2007) 'Community Capacity-building: Something old, something new...?', *Critical Social Policy*; Vol 27; pp 335-359.

Crilly, R. (2003) 'Synthesis research on community capacity', The Lawson Health Institute, Applied Research and Analysis Directorate (ARAD) (Executive summary) (This article is included in the preceding discussion).

DeBates, D. (2003) 'Capacity Building for FCS education students through experiences in a tribal community' *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences*, Alexandria.; Vol 95, Issue 3, p 69 (full text).

This paper outlines a process whereby capacity is built through experience within community.

Diamond, J. (2004) 'Local regeneration initiatives and capacity building: Whose 'capacity' and 'building for what?' *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences*, Alexandria, Vol 95, Issue 3, p 69 (abstract).

'New Labour' emphasises community capacity building but the author suggests that while initiatives use a new language they are 'steeped in old practices'.

- Duncan, P., and Thomas, S. (2000) *Neighbourhood Regeneration: Resourcing Community Involvement*, The Policy Press, Bristol.
- Eichler, M. (2002) 'Building community capacity', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Chicago, Vol 68, Issue 3, pp 321-323 (full text book review of Robert Chaskin's book of the same name).
This is a book review where the reviewer talks of 'buzz words' of community building, social capital, human capital and community collaboration. In discussing Chaskin's book Eichler states that the term community capacity 'remains elusive in its complexity'.
- Flora, J., and Flora, C et al (n.d.) Leadership and community capacity building: An inventory and analysis of curricula and tools (associated with North Central Regional Centre for Rural Development USA (www.ag.iastate.edu.centers)).
This article focuses on leadership development for capacity building. It provides a number of tools related to community organising, community building/civic renewal, building specific leadership skills, excluded groups, economic development, environment, health, housing, public policy, and work in schools and youth settings. There are extensive references provided.
- Foster-Fishman, P., Berkowitz, S., Lounsbury, D., Jacobson, S., and Allen, N. (2001) 'Building Collaborative Capacity in Community Coalitions: A Review and Integrative Framework', *American journal of Community Psychology*, Vol 29, No 2, pp 241-261.
- Francisco, et al (2001) 'Using internet-based resources to build community capacity: the community tool box', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, New York, Vol 29, Issue 2, p 293 (full text).
This article describes an internet-based support system for building the capacity to support action for community building. A copy of a "Community Tool Box" drawing on health promotion ideas is attached.
- Frankish, J (2003) Conceptualisation and measurement of community capacity. Applied Research and Analysis Directorate (ARAD) Canada, (executive summary) (www.hc.gc.ca).
Frankish discusses research into a framework of community capacity at the three levels of the individual, organisation and community. As he writes 'What community capacity is and how it is measured remains elusive'. Systematic and rigorous processes and /or outcome evaluations of capacity building efforts are lacking.
- Fraser, H. (2005) 'Four Different Approaches to Community Participation', *Community Development Journal*, Vol 40, No 3, July, Oxford Journals, pp 286-300.
- Frazer, E. and Lacey, N. (1993) *The Politics of Community: A Feminist Critique of the Liberal-Communitarian Debate*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Giarchi, G. (2001) 'Caught in the nets: A critical examination of the use of the concept of 'networks' in community development studies', *Community Development Journal*, Vol 36, No 1, pp 63-71 (full text).
The paper is a fascinating discussion of the use of the term 'networks' in community studies and the 'nebulous' meanings involved. The author puts forward the view that concept of network is a metaphor that should only be used in formal domains and is a misnomer for informal relationships.
- Giddens, A. (2000) *The third way and its critics*, Polity Press Malden, Mass.
- Gilchrist, A. (2003) 'Community development in the UK – possibilities and paradoxes', *Community Development Journal*, Vol 38, No 1 pp 16-25 (full text).
The author, in support of socially just community development, cautions the reader that there is a need '...to proceed with caution rather than allow its skills and strategies to be co-opted for purposes which do not reflect key values and commitments.'

Goodman, R., Speers, M., Mcleroy, K., Fawcett, S., Kegler, M., Parker, E., Smith, R., Sterling, T. and Wallerstein, N. (1998) 'Identifying and Defining the Dimensions of Community Capacity to Provide a Basis for Measurement' *Health Education and Behaviour*, Vol 25, No 3, pp 258-278 (full text).

This is a very comprehensive work where the authors, in operating from a base that the term 'community capacity' requires clarification, describe dimensions of the term (1998:258). The premise is that 'community capacity is a complex, multidimensional and dynamic concept that requires precision'. They provide a detailed and useful table which draws linkages across dimensions and sub-dimensions of community capacity. The dimensions of community capacity, as described by the authors, include participation and leadership, skills, resources, social and inter-organisational networks, sense of community, understanding of community history, community power, community values and critical reflection.

Hawe, P., King, L., Noort, M., Gifford, S., and Lloyd, B. (1998) 'Working Invisibly: health workers talk about capacity-building in health promotion' *Health Promotion International*, Vol 13, No 4, Oxford University Press.

Healy, K. (2001) *Community capacity building: From ideas to Realities*, Paper presented at Australian Association of Social Workers Conference Melbourne, Sept 2001(full text). The paper reports on the beginnings of a three-year project between University of Sydney and the Benevolent Society on the topic of community capacity building. As the author describes it the project 'aims to understand how this is built in those communities undergoing rapid social and economic change. There is interest in comparing urban, urban fringe, regional and rural communities'. They utilise a definition of community capacity has comprised of financial capacity, physical resources, human resources and social resources.

Hill, M. (2003) 'A sustainable state: Built from the bottom up', Presentation at Centre for Public Policy, University of Melbourne, 9th Sept.

Hill argues the value of local government in capacity building work. He draws attention to the capacity, strategic abilities and knowledge of 'communities' held by local councils whilst also outlining the benefits to be gained through capacity building training and support.

Hillery, G. 1955. 'Definitions of Community; Areas of Agreement', *Rural Sociology*, 8 (March) 13-28.

Hounslow, B. (2002) 'Community capacity building explained', *Stronger Families Learning Exchange Bulletin 1*, Autumn pp 20-22. (full text).

An instructive text in which Hounslow overviews how community capacity building has become a central objective in public policies and programs in Australia. She discusses related concepts, values, tensions and success factors.

Hughes, V. (2003) 'Putting the 'community' in community building and the 'social' in social capital: What governments can and can't do.' Paper delivered to the Centre of Public Policy Forum Series on Capacity Building and Social Capital, University of Melbourne 16th Sept.

The author argues for a view that government's role in community building is limited to the influence of 'policy environments'. This is not to deny the important role they have and he advocates for a 'radical reinvention of government'.

Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, A community capacity-building toolkit for Quebec's English-Speaking Communities, (www.hrsdc.gc.ca)

An extensive toolkit including a glossary of terms on capacity building.

Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, Community Capacity Building: A facilitated workshop- Facilitator's Guide.

This provides extensive workshop material and exercises for delivering a session on community capacity building.

Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, (2002) 'Draft community development framework, Health and Community Services, St John's Region. (www.commhealth.nf.ca/ddf/c).

The article discusses various aspects of community capacity including knowledge, attitudes and skills required.

Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, Section 1, 'Understanding the terms' (section of a handbook on community development).

The authors claim that community development and community capacity building are not the same thing but a complimentary process. Terms are defined.

Hunt, J. (2005) *Capacity Building in the International Development Context: Implications for Indigenous Australia*, Discussion Paper No 278/2005, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University.

Iwami, M., Petchey, R. (2002) 'A CLAS act? Community-based organisations, health service decentralisation and primary care development in Peru', *Journal of Public Health Medicine*, Vol24, No4, p 246-251(abstract).

The authors describe health service reform in Peru that 'combined primary care development and community participation' within neo-liberal economic policies. The authors draw from this experience lessons for other capacity builders.

Jackson, S., Cleverly, S., Poland, B and Burman, D. (2003) 'Working with Toronto Neighbourhoods towards developing indicators of community capacity', *Health Promotion International*, Vol18, No4, p 339-350, December 2003 (abstract).

The article presents a summary of research on a model and definition of community capacity building. The main significance is the focus on 'identifying and measuring the facilitating and constraining socio-environmental conditions'.

Jackson S; et al (1999) Towards indicators of community capacity: a study conducted with community members of Parkdale, Regent Park and two sites in Jane Finch (cited in John Snow International).

Jamrozik, A. (2005) *Social Policy in the Post Welfare State*, Pearson Education, Frenchs Forest.

Johnston, N; Benitez, B (2003) 'Faith: a project in building community capacity, *American Journal of Health Studies*, Tuscaloosa, Vol 18, Issue 2/3 p 138 (full text).

This paper discusses the implementation of a health promotion capacity building programme through Faith communities in North America. Health needs assessment occurred through the congregations of select Faith communities. Needs were developed into programs and small grants allocated for these purposes. There are some valuable lessons documented for those who work in or with church based agencies.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation An evaluation of a community development worker project, (www.jrf.org.au).

A community development worker was engaged by JRF to help residents find solutions to local problems. This article discusses the evaluation of the project.

Jupp, B (2000) Working together: creating a better environment, Cross Sector Partnerships Demos London, cited in Chapman and Kirk online article p 15.

Kenny, S. (1999). *Developing Communities for the Future. Community development in Australia*, Second Edition. Nelson, ITP, Melbourne.

Kenny, S. (2001) Tensions and dilemmas in community development: New Discourses, new Trojans? *Conference Proceedings*, International Community Development Conference, Rotorua, New Zealand.

Kirk, P., and Shutte; A (2004) 'Community leadership development' *Community Development Journal*, Vol 39, Issue 3. p 234 (abstract).

The paper presents a model for community leadership capacity building and a framework that has three components; 'leading change through dialogue, collective empowerment and connective leadership'.

Labonte, R., and Laverack, G. (2001a) 'Capacity Building in Health Promotion, Part 1: For Whom? And for what purpose?' *Critical Public Health*, Vol 11, No 2, p 111-128.

The authors claim that social constructs of community capacity building, social capital, social cohesion, community development and community empowerment 'claim the same social space'. They describe three uses of the term community capacity building and distinguish community capacity indicators from population health indicators and program specific indicators.

Labonte, R. and Laverack, G. (2001 b) 'Capacity Building in Health Promotion, Part 2: Whose use? And with what measure?' *Critical Public Health* Vol 11 No 2, p 129-138 (full text).

The focus in this article is the measurement of community capacity building and in this regard it is a very useful reference. The author's overview a number of ways of measuring community capacity building including the spider numerical ranking system developed by Bjaras and Rifkin, 1991, and modified in later versions by others. The authors raise some of the problems with a ranking system-namely the implications that there is a linear process where discrete variables can be ranked and the nature of subjective interpretations which may not necessarily be comparable. They draw on the developments by Laverack who outlines a workshop methodology (where there are methods for ensuring rigour) for evaluating community capacity building. The authors conclude that evaluating of community capacity is but one piece of a wider evaluation jigsaw and should be viewed as complimenting other more established forms of health promotion evaluation.

Labonte, R. et al (2002) 'Community capacity building: A parallel track for health promotion', *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, Ottawa, Vol 93, Issue 3, pp 181-182 (full text).

The authors consider how community capacity building can be integrated into programs to enhance public health. Community capacity can be improved when health programs are delivered through groups and in community settings.

Labonte, R. et al (2002) 'Community Capacity Building: From Means to Program End, to End from Project Means' *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, Vol 93, Issue 3, p 181-2.

Laverack, G. (u.d) Building Capable Communities: A new approach for building community capacity (www.healthcomms.org/pdf full text).

As stated in the summary there is a broad literature on community capacity building. The paper introduces a 'domains approach' for the assessment and strategic planning of community capacity.

Laverack, G. (2003) 'Building capable communities: Experiences in a rural Fijian context', *Health Promotion International*, Vol 18, IssueNo 2, p 99-106.

The paper discusses an approach for building community capacity in a health promotion context and draws on experiences in two rural Fijian communities as case material. Laverack outlines nine domains of community capacity building that feature in other work he co-authors with Ron Labonte.

LeHew, C. (2000) 'Development of Community Capacity for Outreach to Underserved Populations: A Demonstration across Four Sites', American Sociological Association, Association Paper:2000S39542 (abstract).

Processes of community capacity building and institutionalisation are explained in terms of resource dependence and institutional theories of organisational behaviour.

- Leighley, J. (1990). 'Social Interaction and Contextual Influences on Political Participation', *American Politics Quarterly*, 1Vol8, p 459-475.
- Lipsky, M. and Lounds, M. (1976). 'Citizen Participation and Health Care; Problems of Government Induced Participation', *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 1, Spring, p 85-111.
- Lister, R. (1993) 'Tracing the Contours of Women's Citizenship', *Policy and Politics*, Vol 21, Issue 1, p 3-16.
- McGinty, S. (2002) 'Community Capacity Building', A paper presented at the Australian Association for Research in Education Conference, Brisbane 2002.
The paper is in two parts: a literature review and results of a study. In her literature review McGinty, traces 'historical antecedents' to community capacity building including the work of Ivan Illich and Paulo Friere, and roots in a broader adult education movement. McGinty analyses indigenous education through a community capacity building window.
- Mendes, P. (2003) *Australian Welfare Wars: The Players, the Politics and the Ideologies*, UNSW Press, Sydney.
- Miles, J, and Ralston, P. (2002) 'Capacity building: a practice perspective', *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences*, Vol 94, Issue 2, p 11.
The authors argue that as people are stretched to the limits in the various facets of their lives they must now 'think of building capacity not as an 'add on' but as a lifestyle'. Lifestyle plans suggest that people make deliberate decisions towards a particular goal and community capacity can too through strategic planning.
- Mitchell, M. and Macfie, G., (2004) "Communities, Capacity and Disadvantage", *Impact*, Autumn, 2004, pp 8-9.
- Moore, G. (2002) 'Community capacity building programmes and approaches', NSW Health Promotion director's Forum 19/2/02. (full text)
Presentation notes defining community capacity building, abilities, features of approaches, NSW Premier's Dept approaches and key issues. These issues as raised by the author are:
- Is community capacity a core objective or 'peripheral goal of current activities'
 - 'Whole of government approach' needs 'whole of community'?
 - How are there improvements if not all key players are engaged?
 - Issues of measurement of outcomes?
 - How to involve long-term outcomes if short-term results are needed?
 - What does longer-term change look like?
 - Should silos between government departments be bridged and if so what are best options for doing this? (Moore, 2002)
- Morrissey, J. (2000) 'Indicators of citizen participation: lessons from learning teams in EZEC communities' (full text).
The article has a focus on measurement of citizen participation in community development.
- Mowbray, M. (2005) 'Community Capacity Building or state opportunism?' *Community Development Journal*, Vol 40, No 3, July, Oxford Journals, pp255-264.
- Mowbray, M. (2004) 'The new communitarianism: Building great communities of Brigadoonery?' *Just Policy*, No32 June, pp. 11-20.
- Murphy, J. and Thomas, B. (n.d.) 'The Role of Business in Community Capacity Building: An Alternative Approach' (www.communitybuilders.nsw.gov.au).
The authors discuss the role of business in community capacity building, with a focus on how this relationship can best achieve community capacity outcomes.

Napier, A. (2002) *Lessons for community capacity building: a summary of the research evidence*, Mt Isa Centre for Rural and Remote Health (full text).

The author presents a very brief literature review in making the point that community capacity building requires a shift in power relations from leaders and professionals to local communities. Gaps are suggested in the understanding of processes and outcomes of capacity building.

New Economics Foundation. (2000) *Prove it! Measuring the effect of neighbourhood renewal on local people*. NEF London, cited in Chapman and Kirk online article p 15.

NSW Health. (2001) *A Framework for Building Capacity to Improve Health*, NSW Health Department, Gladesville, NSW.

Pawar, M. (2005) 'Participatory welfare: conceptual and practice issues' in *Capacity Building for Participation: Social Workers' thoughts and reflections*, (ed) Manohar, Pawar, Community of Scholars, Community Capacity Building, Charles Sturt University.

Pearce, J., and Blakey, H. (2004) 'Background of Distances' *Participation and Community Cohesion in the North: Making the Connections*, International Centre for Participation Studies, University of Bradford, ICPS Working Paper 1, University of Bradford.

Poole, D. (1997) 'Building community capacity to promote social and public health: challenge for universities', *Health and social work*, Vol 22, Issue 3, pp 163-171 (full text). The paper is about the renewed interest in community capacity building which they suggest can be traced to the Healthy Cities movement and subsequent 1990s developments in public health and primary care. Poole echoes other writers in stating 'that community involvement and community action structures are not a cure-all for national health and social problems or a substitute for federal and state policy action'.

Plant, R. 1974. *Community and Ideology- an essay in applied social philosophy*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Putnam, R. (1993) 'The prosperous community: social capital and public life', *The American Prospect Inc*, 13 Spring, cited in Simpson et al (2003).

Rawsthorne, M. (2005) 'Community Development activities in the context of contracting' *Australian Journal of Social Issues* Vol 40, No 2, Winter.

Robinson, J. (2003) 'Asset mapping: A tool for building capacity in communities', *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences*, Vol 95, Issue 3, p 52.

Asset mapping which documents a range of community capabilities is a five- step process.

SACHRU. (1995). *The Effective Consultation Guide: Resources for Consultation*, Report of a research consultancy for the Commonwealth Department of Human Services and Health, Canberra.

Sarkissian, W. and Perlgut, D. (1986) *The Community Participation Handbook*, Impacts Press, Roseville, NSW.

Schlozman, K., Verba, S. and Brady, H. (1995) 'Participation's not a Paradox: the View from American Activists', *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol 25, January. Cambridge University Press, p 1-36.

Shaver, S. and Tudball, J. (2001) *Literature Review on Factors Contributing to Community Capabilities*, Final Report prepared for the Department of Family and Community Services, December, Social Policy Research Centre, NSW.

Simpson, L. Wood, L. and Daws, L. (2003) 'Community capacity building: Starting with people not projects', *Community Development Journal*, Vol 38, No 4, pp 277-286.

The authors discuss rural community development initiatives and in particular the pressures on rural communities which in turn place limits to how much a community

'can be stretched'. They discuss an important but often hidden aspect of community capacity building.

Social Policy Unit. (2004) *Indicative inventory of Capacity building services for the Not-For-Profit Sector*, Department of the Premier and Cabinet, Government of Western Australia.

Stoker, G. and Bottom, K. (2003) *Community Capacity Building: Notes for a talk given to MAV Conference, Lorne, 25-27 July 2003* (full text).

Taylor, M. (2003) *Public Policy in the Community*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan.

Torres, G. and Barnett, K. (2002) 'Hospitals as community builders', *Health Forum Journal*, Vol 45, Issue 6, p 12- (full text).

The authors provide five principles for providing the framework for community building.

United Nations, (1997) *Operational activities of the United Nations for International Development Cooperation: follow-up to policy recommendations of the General Assembly*, Economic and Social Council.

Van der Plaat, M., and Barrett, G. (2006) 'Building community capacity in governance and decision making' *Community Development Journal*, Jan 01, 41: 25-36.

Verba, S. (1993) 'Citizen Activity: Who Participates? What do they Say?,' *American Political Science Review*, 87, pp 303-318.

Verba, S. and Nie, N. (1972) *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*, Harper and Row, New York.

Williams, F. (1999) 'Good Enough Principles for Welfare', *Journal of Social Policy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Winkworth, G. (2005) 'Public Officials and collaboration: Centrelink and the Creation of pathways to employment' in *Capacity Building for Participation: Social Workers' thoughts and reflections*, (ed) Manohar, Pawar, Community of Scholars, Community Capacity Building, Charles Sturt University.

Wittgenstein, L. (1974) *Philosophical investigations* translated by G. E. M. Anscombe, Oxford, Blackwell.