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**Getting There, Being There, Staying and Belonging: A Case Study of Two
Indigenous Australian Children's Transition to School**

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous Australians are among the most unhealthy populations in the world and yet they reside in a country where the non-Indigenous population enjoys high standards of well-being. Education has been identified as the key mechanism for closing this equity gap. At school commencement many Indigenous children are already at risk of disengagement. This four-year longitudinal study of two Indigenous boys from a socially marginalised community examined key factors affecting transitional trajectories into school. While child characteristics affected level of achievement the critical factors in sustaining positive educational engagement were social support, school practices, inclusion of family and positive expectation.

Introduction

Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Indigenous) have been identified as among the most unhealthy populations in the world (UNICEF, 2011; United Nations, 2011 WHO, 2006) and yet they reside in a country where the non-Indigenous population enjoys a high standard of well-being, educational and economic attainment. Indigenous peoples are socially, economically and politically disadvantaged (MCEEDYA, 2006). Effects of disadvantage continue to pervade in the areas of health, education, employment and rates of incarceration (SCRGSP, 2009). The State and Federal governments of Australia have recognised the imperative for ‘Closing the Gap’ between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians (COAG, 2009). The equity gap represents a cost not only for individuals but also for Australian society.

Education has been identified as the key mechanism for closing the equity gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians (COAG, 2009). The early years of

life, have been acknowledged as the foundation of life-long learning and social inclusion (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2007). Engagement in education commences at the beginning of life and, by entry to school, social and learning possibilities are already markedly affected (Thorpe et al., 2004). Worldwide, governments have recognised the importance of the early years and have increased investment in improving experiences of young children through antenatal, parenting and early education and care programs with the aim of optimising children's life chances (Anderson et al., 2003; Wise et al., 2005). Such strategies have been seen as critical to improving the opportunities for Indigenous Australians (Hutchins et al., 2007; HREOC, 2009). A range of programs targeting disadvantaged families, in general, and Indigenous families specifically have been implemented. Among these is the *Communities for Children (CfC)* (FaHCSIA, 2009) program. *CfC* targets disadvantaged communities and aims to enhance the experiences of children aged zero to five years, improve their "school readiness" and facilitate positive school transition. The program is managed by local agencies and provides funding to existing service providers to expand and develop their operations. This study was conducted within a *CfC* site and examines a school transition program funded to engage families in the culture of education, optimise children's preparation for school and facilitate positive educational trajectories.

The conceptualisation adopted by the current study encompassed an ecological theoretical perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Mc Turk et al., 2008). This recognises the complexities and multiple inputs that contribute to the transition process and views educational transition as a long-term process commencing at conception and continuing across the years of schooling (Pianta et al., 1999; Ramey et al., 2004). This emerging

conceptualisation asserts that transition cannot be restricted to a single time event at school entry, nor view school readiness as a homogenous set of skills and attributes that are prerequisite for the child commencing school (Petriwskyj et al., 2005; Pianta et al., 2003). Rather transition is seen as an ongoing process of adaptation for children, families, communities and schools (Ramey et al., 2004). The multi-year, multi-faceted model of school transition emphasises the need to extend the conceptualisation of school readiness beyond child qualities to include the quality of early education services (Burchinal et al., 2002) and the inclusion of families and communities (Petriwskyj et al., 2005).

Drawing from this model the current study aimed to identify key processes affecting the developmental trajectories of Indigenous Australian children in the early years of life as they transition into school. To date, while there is considerable documentation of the “problem” of low school attainment and attendance among Indigenous Australian children there are comparatively few studies that advance beyond description to contribute to understandings of underlying mechanisms and directions for positive change. In response, this study undertook an intense longitudinal study of two Indigenous boys who experienced multiple adversities and highly complex lives. It mapped their transitional trajectories across four years and identified experience in their lives associated with changes in direction and rate of educational progress.

Three research questions guided data collection and analyses in this study:

1. How do personal qualities and experiences in the family environment affect early engagement in education and school transition?

2. How do material and social supports in the community and school environment promote and sustain early engagement in education and school transition?
3. How do changes in context over time influence educational engagement and school transition?

Method

Design and analyses

A four-year longitudinal study of two Indigenous boys was conducted. The design and methods are outlined in Figure 1. Mixed methods were employed, including narrative accounts from multiple informants alongside standard measurement of behavioural and academic outcomes. Although not allowing for generalisation across populations, the contrast between the two children provided opportunity for an intensive analysis of a “within community” sample. **Participants**

Two boys were selected for intense study from a cohort of children living in a residential community considered at “high risk” for educational disengagement. At the commencement of the study, both boys had come from homelessness to reside in a “town camp” (designated Aboriginal land), situated in a remote Australian town. This socially marginalised Indigenous community was characterised by chronic unemployment, high levels of alcohol consumption and violence. The children had no prior engagement with early education programs. The *CfC* program assisted both boys with the transition from home into mainstream learning environment, by providing school uniforms, food and transportation to school and health services. The two boys were selected for specific study from the cohort of children participating in the

transition to school program. Selection was based on reports received from *CfC* staff and teachers at the time of initial contact, because the boys presented very different potential educational trajectories. Whilst one was identified as having high levels of behavioural difficulties that might hinder his school transition and subsequent academic outcomes, the other was found to be adapting well, with few behavioural difficulties, good peer relationships and sound academic attainment. Throughout this paper, to protect the identities of children and community, the pseudonyms Eli and Taylor for the children and Indigenous Residential Community (IRC) for the community, in which the children resided, are used. The methodology followed was informed by the values and ethics guidelines of the Australian National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC, 2003). Written consent was obtained from parents and school staff, *CfC* staff and classmates who provided information on the children. To ensure informed consent, an Indigenous employee spent time with the parents explaining the research procedure.

Procedure

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were used to collect data regarding each child's individual, familial, community and school experience across a four-year period with a minimum of two visits per year. Narratives were obtained through conversations with children, parents, *CfC* staff and school staff who were engaged with the children. With permission of each participant, the conversations were audio-recorded and later transcribed for thematic analysis. Assessments of the children's school and behavioural adjustment, attainment and social inclusion were made using standard teacher and child report measures. Analyses examined the individual progress of each child across time and contrasted the trajectories of each to assess risk and protective factors.

Measures

School adjustment. School adjustment was measured using a short form (the Settling into School Scale - SIS) of the Teacher Rating Scale of School Adjustment (TRSSA) (Birch & Ladd, 1997). The SIS is an 18 items teacher report measure of children's adjustment and behaviour in the school setting. The measure has 3 sub-scales: Cooperative Participation (7 items); Independent Participation (6 items); Social Participation (5 items). Items are rated on a 3-point scale (not true, somewhat true, and true). The measure has been previously used in longitudinal studies in Australia and with Indigenous populations (Thorpe et al., 2004). Normative data from the Queensland *Preparing for School Study* (Thorpe et al., 2004) provides a representative population sample of Indigenous children from Queensland with which to compare the outcomes for the children in the current study.

Behavioural adjustment. Behavioural adjustment was measured using teacher report on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman, 1997). The SDQ is a rating scale of children's behaviour and social functioning for children aged 4 to 16 years. The measure contains 25 items comprising of 5 sub-scales: Emotional problems, Conduct Problems, Hyperactivity, Peer Problems, Pro-social Behaviour. Again, normative data from the Queensland *Preparing for School Study* (Thorpe et al., 2004) were available as normative comparisons.

School attainment: Teachers completed questions concerning the children's academic attainments by rating them as above- average, average, below- average and well-below average relative to classmates in three domains: oral language, social skills and literacy.

Social inclusion: Peer nominations were measured using a modification of the 'The Bus Story' procedure reported by Perren and Alsaker (2006) as reported by Thorpe and

others (2010). In this measure, children are asked to nominate three friends to come with them on an imaginary adventure, indicating their nomination by drawing each nominated friend on a standard image of a bus. Each child is then interviewed about the reasons for their nomination and the quality of the friendship coded using a standard protocol (Thorpe et al. 2010). Social inclusion was measured both by the number of nominations and the cultural identity (IRC, Indigenous, non-Indigenous) of the nominated friends.

Analyses

Analyses adopted an ecological theoretical perspective and examined the influences of family, school and social agencies and changing context across time on the children's school transition experience. Composite narratives of each child's experiences from the antenatal period through to the end of their fourth year of school using data from all informants were constructed. For each child analyses of key formative processes were derived from reading all accounts and identifying key emergent themes among these. Contrasts between the boys provided a higher level of abstracted thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The summative assessments of each child's behaviour and attainments were not analysed quantitatively but rather provide a descriptive account of each child's progress at the specific points of measurement across the four-years. Comparisons with outcomes for class peers and a normative Queensland population were undertaken to provide a referent for the boys' behaviour and attainment in school. As the sample size is only two, there were not statistical analyses. Rather the method follows those used in clinical cases and case series (Woodside, 2010).

Results

A narrative, including measured outcomes, is provided for each child separately, followed by an integrative ecological theory analysis of the two cases.

Eli's narrative

Eli's experiences prior to school entry

Eli's early life experiences, prior to starting school, were characterised by high levels of instability and peri-natal adversity. During Elis's antenatal period his father died leaving his mother as the sole carer and provider for six children. This was a significant stressor and was provided by Eli's mother as a reason for alcohol consumption during pregnancy. Eli's life story thus commenced with possible teratogenic injury. During these early years, Eli grew up in a family context of marked instability. Dislocated from traditional homeland kinship ties, family relationships and broader support structures, Eli's mother and his siblings moved to the IRC. Eli's mother struggled with ongoing social problems associated with alcohol consumption, including domestic violence, chronic unemployment and constant marginalisation. Prior to school entry Eli had no experience of an early education program and seemingly little access to educational experiences at home that prepared him for entry to school.

Eli's first year of school

In 2008, Eli began attending school at the standard entry grade at age five (Preparatory). The period of adjustment from home into the mainstream educational environment, was difficult. Eli had high levels of absenteeism, with school records indicating a total of 110 (52%) full days absent within his first year of school. When he attended school, Eli's teachers reported that he exhibited serious disruptive behaviours,

including provocation and fighting with peers. Eli's teacher reported high levels of hyperactivity and conduct problems. As indicated in Figure 2, scores for Eli on the SDQ were in the high clinical range and exceeded normative scores for Indigenous Australian children. As seen in Figure 3, Eli's attainments of oral language and literacy were comparable to those of classmates, but his social skills were rated as considerably lower. Eli had difficulty transitioning and adjusting in the school environment and experienced difficulties with cooperative and independent participation, taking social responsibility, adhering to rules and expectations of the classroom and cooperating with others. As indicated in Figure 4, Eli's scores on the SIS were well below the Queensland normative scores for Preparatory children (aged 5-6 years) and below the mean for Indigenous children. Reports from the friendship bus story showed that Eli received fewer peer nominations and had poorer quality friendships compared with other children from the IRC community.

At the time of school entry, there were a number of concerns with the stability of Eli's home environment expressed by the teacher. Eli's teacher felt his home environment was unsupportive:

“Quite often...Eli gets himself up and walks over to the centre by himself...I think it is someone getting them out of bed and ready in the morning is the problem...last year with Eli, mum would often say oh I'm coming up (to school) and then if she did... it was 11-12 o'clock because she had been sleeping all morning.

The tone and content of the teacher's account suggested that she attributed Eli's behaviour to a lack of parental support. There was evidence that the teacher did not fully understand or empathise with the complexity of Eli's family life. This was likely

symptomatic of the poor communication between home and school, that was reported by parents, teachers and CfC staff during interviews.

Eli's second and third years at school

During Eli's second year of school his behavioural and adjustment difficulties intensified. He spent three months in a unit providing an intensive behavioural intervention and had a number of school suspensions. Eli's mother was in contact with the school regarding his behavioural difficulties during this time, although the home-school relationship was strained. As seen in Figure 3, Eli's teacher reported that his social, language and literacy skills were well below that of classmates.

During his third year of school, Eli continued to experience difficulties in behaviour and academic achievement. However, there was variation in the school response to these difficulties that had notable effects. For example, the introduction of a new principal who implemented some innovative approaches to behavioural management resulted in increased attendance and absence of suspension. The strategies used by the principal included providing an older Indigenous student as a mentor, the teaching of positive playground behaviours, and release from class for intensive support and breaks to accommodate Eli's difficulties with maintaining attention. These approaches had a positive impact on Eli's behaviour as reported by his mother and CfC staff. The success of this approach to behaviour management was, however, short lived as Eli's ongoing disruptive and aggressive behaviours at school continued into term 2 resulting in suspension. Eli's mother also described increased aggression:

"..he is always fighting. At the beginning of the year he's real good ay, he didn't get sent home or anything like that." (Eli's mother, 2010).

This re-emergence of disruptive behaviour may be attributed to be a number of stressors present in Eli's family environment. Continued social disruptions associated with his mother's drinking and violent outbursts culminated in the removal of the family from the IRC, by the housing authority.

Later that year, Eli's mother was incarcerated after a violent attack on her partner. Following the altercation, the family home was burnt down leaving Eli and his siblings homeless. Eli returned to the IRC and was placed in the care of relatives. Interestingly, Eli's behavioural difficulties were reported to improve during this period, possibly reflecting reduced social instabilities in his immediate environment and a return to the familiar social community of the IRC.

Eli at final contact

At final contact with the research team Eli was in his fourth year of school and was residing with relatives in the IRC and continued to be supported by *CfC* staff. Across his four school years, there had been four principals at Eli's school, each with different management approaches to his difficulties that has been reflected in levels of suspension and absence. Though still experiencing significant attention, behavioural and academic difficulties, he was reported to be enjoying school and attending regularly with the support of *CfC*. Eli had been placed in a classroom for intensive remedial work and had not been suspended in the prior five months.

Taylor's narrative

Taylor's experiences prior to school entry

Taylor's antenatal period was uneventful with no complications or health problems. His mother reported that Taylor had an easy temperament, was a placid toddler, and well behaved throughout early childhood. The second child of four, Taylor

was born into an intact family that offered stability in their provision of care. Despite the fact that his parents had limited educational experiences, both parents had been engaged in employment or commenced vocational study to develop literacy skills to assist with work opportunities. Taylor's mother and her family originated from the same geographical location as the IRC and therefore were not displaced from their traditional land. However, the family experienced disadvantage and were homeless prior to their arrival in the IRC during 2006. Although his family experienced instability in their living arrangements, including transience and homelessness, Taylor experienced a close relationship with his two parents and three siblings. During 2007, Taylor and his two younger sisters began attending the program run by *CfC*. Towards the end of 2007, the family moved out of the IRC, but the children were still transported to school by *CfC* staff.

Taylor's first year of school

Taylor commenced school at aged eight, entering into Year 2 and was a year older than the average child in his class. Prior to school entry Taylor had no formal educational experiences and had not attended any early education programs. School attendance was supported by his parents who established a morning routine, with Taylor's father taking responsibility of getting the children ready for school in the mornings. Despite his late start and limited early opportunities, as shown in Figure 2, Taylor was described as having strong pro-social behaviours and positive peer relationships. As indicated in Figure 3, when compared to peers in the classroom Taylor was reported by teachers as comparable to classmates in oral language, literacy and social skills. As seen in Figure 4, Taylor adjusted well and engaged actively in the

school environment. During his first year of school, Taylor experienced no significant health or social-emotional problems and had relative stability in his home environment.

Taylor's second and third years at school

Taylor attended school regularly and continued to adjust well. Taylor excelled at sport and in his second year of school voiced aspirations to become a school leader. As shown in Figures 2 and 3, Taylor had no reported behavioural problems, made steady academic progress and was popular with students and staff:

“He’s a good reader, he’s a good writer. He’s just so enthusiastic. He knows his maths. He’s just – he’s a wonderful support for the other kids from IRC as well.”

“He’s very popular. He just sets such a great example for them [children from IRC community]... They want to be just like him (Taylor’s teacher 2009).

Stability in Taylor’s care in the home environment and his relationship with parents and siblings supported a positive school transition through his second and third years of education. Taylor’s mother regularly read with him and helped with his homework. Taylor’s family did not, however, have any established relationship with the school. Neither parent had visited the school since his entry in year 2 and remained largely unaware of his good progress. Past negative experiences of education strongly influenced his mother’s willingness and confidence to engage with school. She stated that she felt “*shame*” but reported that she would be willing to visit the school if accompanied by CfC staff.

However, by the end his third year of school, a number of problems were emerging for Taylor outside of the school environment. An increased prevalence of school truancy became evident as Taylor spent more time with his same-aged cousins

who had dropped out of school. Taylor's parents were concerned with his behaviour and sought the assistance of *CfC* staff.

Taylor at final contact

At final contact, Taylor was in his fourth year of school. Despite a relatively smooth early transition, Taylor was experiencing increased school absences and family disruptions. There was increased instability in the home including extended parent absence. The growing influence of Taylor's peer group outside of school had taken precedence over school attendance. Consequently, Taylor has been involved in criminal activities outside of school, resulting in a charge for breaking and entering. When Taylor was attending school, there were no reported behavioural or academic problems. The lack of visible problems at school may explain missed attention to his increasing risk for educational disengagement.

Ecological theory analysis

Ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) suggests that there are multiple levels of influence on the child. The broad economic and political context (Macrosystem), though distant from the child's everyday life, impacts on resources available to a child and his or her family. In contrast, the child's characteristics and family circumstances (Microsystem) affect day-to-day experiences of the child. Between these are the school and other agencies that link the child to broader society (Mesosystem). Additionally, there are indirect effects of systems (e.g. work or community services) that do not contain the child but may influence the family functioning (Exosystem). Development and change of circumstances also occur across time and affect ongoing trajectories (Chronosystem). The political context of the 'Closing the Gap' agenda and the *CfC*

intervention provide the policy context in which we viewed the boys (Macrosystem). Education has been viewed as a primary ameliorating mechanism to address inequities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Early intervention programs have targeted disadvantaged communities, like IRC, to support educational engagement of Indigenous children.

Though both boys lived in the same community and participated in the *CfC* program, their individual and familial characteristics (Microsystem) presented different challenges that affected their transitional trajectories. Taylor had an easy temperament from infancy and good relationships both in and out of the school environment. In contrast, Eli had marked difficulties in behaviour that have possibly resulted from an antenatal history of suspected teratogenic exposure. Eli's behaviour problems created controversy and conflict with peers and adults, and attracted negative attention in the school environment. Whilst both boys had instabilities in their social contexts, Eli's was substantially greater. Each family experienced homelessness. However, whilst Taylor's circumstances had many aspects of stability including his family relationships, Eli's circumstances remained volatile throughout the four-years of the study.

The relationship with the school and *CfC* program was instrumental in engaging the boys in education (Mesosystem). *CfC* provided functional support in provision of food, school uniforms, transport to school and, when needed, access to health care. They also provided a linkage between home and school and served as advocates for the boys whose parents had become alienated from the school system. Each family had different types and levels of connection with school, although neither felt empowered. Taylor's parents were reticent about engaging with school and had never attended or directly communicated with school staff. Nor had school staff made regular visits to the IRC,

despite the close proximity of the school to the IRC Eli's mother had frequent contact with the school; however, this was almost entirely a reactive response to Eli's behavioural difficulties. The school focussed on the children, but the level of outreach to families was limited and most of the bridging between home and school dependent on the work of the CfC staff.

“There's an issue the parents never come up (to school) so that's my let-down with them, the parents down there (IRC). I talk to CfC staff not the parents... you never get to talk to the parents” (Early years teacher)

The transitional trajectory for Eli and Taylor, though from the same disadvantaged community, took very different paths (Chronosystem). Each child entered school at different ages and school grades; Eli in Prep at age 5, Taylor at Year 2 aged 8. At commencement, it appeared that Taylor had established a positive transition while Eli seemed destined to experience on-going challenges and slow and variable progression in his education. Across the first two years, this expectation was realised. However, over time influences, both within school and outside affected these trajectories. Despite the positive inputs of family, school and CfC staff, by the fourth year of the study, peer influences had resulted in Taylor engaging in anti-social behaviour. Though Eli's risk status was higher, he showed improvements and appeared to be responsive to interventions. Indeed school represented a stable influence in his life and he enjoyed attending.

Discussion

This study tracked the transitional trajectories of two boys from a socially marginalised and educationally disengaged community for four years to identify factors affecting transitional pathways. Though from the same community, the two boys presented contrasting levels of susceptibility to educational disengagement. Three implications are drawn from this study with respect to the role of individual and family characteristics, support systems and ongoing educational trajectories.

1. Educational trajectories, the child and the family

Findings from the current study highlighted considerable individual differences within a cultural group and even within the same “at risk” community. While statistical studies aggregate results at the level of broad cultural identity, the variation within culture is considerable and provides a valuable source of information about appropriate responses to issues of inequity.

The social stability of the family and consequent effects on parent health behaviours and social engagement were particularly evident in the contrast between the trajectories of the two boys in this study. These differences commenced prior to birth and had enduring effects on the children’s educational experiences. Taylor’s personal characteristics, despite a very late entry to school, were the basis of a smooth transition. In contrast, the context of Eli’s early life and associated behavioural difficulties appeared to have increased his susceptibility to poor social and educational attainment and ongoing difficulties. These data highlight the need for supports for families that extend beyond those that simply target school attendance.

The differences in the two boy’s experiences highlight the limitations of a single time event conceptualisation of transition and intervention strategies that focus primarily on material supports. While material and structural supports of food, clothing,

health and transport overcame issues of access to school for both children, variability in engagement in the school community arose from the levels of individual challenges that each child presented. While Taylor might be described as more 'ready' for school, both children had the right of access. Despite this right, there was no evidence of strategic preparation of the school for receipt of these two children into the school environment nor recognition and adaptations to their potentially diverse needs.

2. Educational trajectories, support systems and relationships

Structural supports provided by the social agency were essential in enabling school attendance, but not sufficient to sustain ongoing educational engagement. *CfC* staff provided a bridging between home and school, and served as advocates for the children, in the absence of proactive parental engagement. However, a difficulty for the program was the engagement of parents.

Prior studies have indicated that home-school relationships can have an effect, positive or negative, in determining a child's adjustment and long term experience of school (Rimm-Kaufman et al., 2000). Among Indigenous parents, poor prior experiences of school have been reported to affect educational engagement and the academic outcomes of their children (Zubrick et al., 2004). There was clear evidence of this process in the examples of both the children tracked in this study. Although one child was maintaining levels of academic attainment and social adjustment comparable to class peers, his parents did not feel confident to attend or communicate with school to support their son in his achievements. Many parents of the community indicated that the only contact with school was "if there was trouble". This was the case for Eli's mother. The absence of positive engagement speaks to the need for outreach and the building of positive relationships between parents and schools. This might include education of

teachers to increase understanding of social and cultural complexities and visitation by key school staff to establish relationships of trust.

3. Educational trajectories, expectations and ongoing support

The four-year longitudinal tracking of the two children allowed us to examine changes in the children's school transition and associated factors that affect this process. Such a study is essential to fully understanding the complexity of school transition. There were many contextual changes, identified through each boy's narrative, that affected their functioning and engagement at school. Most notably, for Eli changes in the stability of his care environment impacted on his behavioural difficulties. Alongside, Eli was more susceptible to the frequent changes in school leadership and consequent variations in approaches to behavioural management. Whilst Taylor was less susceptible to contextual change throughout most of the period of observation, the absence of behavioural difficulties perhaps removed the school focus of attention on him. The school was content with his level of performance and there is the possibility that he was not sufficiently challenged. Sarra (2003) suggests that levels of expectation of Indigenous children within families and schools are frequently low and result in less than optimal outcomes. An initial successful transition to school may not be sustained across time, but rather requires ongoing positive expectations and ongoing support.

There is also the possibility that there are more general developmental influences that result in increasing social and educational difficulties across time. In emerging adolescence, with the intensifying influence of peers, interest outside the school become more motivating than those provided in the school context (Prinstein et al. 2011). Research indicates that retention rates for Indigenous students declines considerably throughout secondary school (Purdie et al., 2010). The emergence of this

shift is witnessed very clearly in Taylor's narrative. Although the current study focused on the early school transition, there is a need for increased research examining the transition from primary to secondary school. Without sustaining engagement across this transition and through to the completion of school, Australian society will continue to be faced with the individual and social costs of cycles of disadvantage for Indigenous people and unacceptable inequities.

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Figure 1. Overview of research design

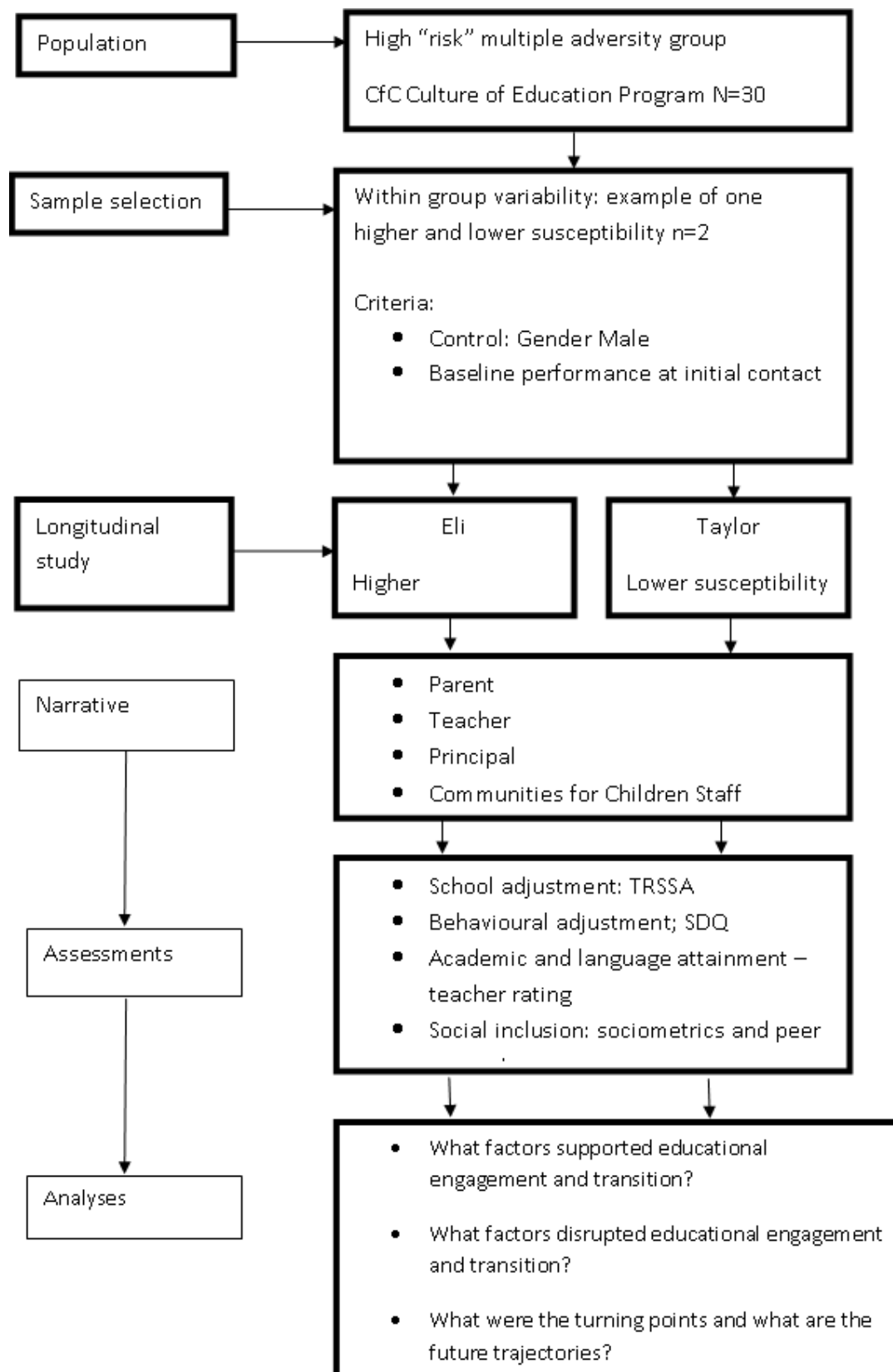


Figure 2. SDQ sub-scale scores for 2008-2010.

Note. Clinical cut-points represent abnormal range for standardised scores

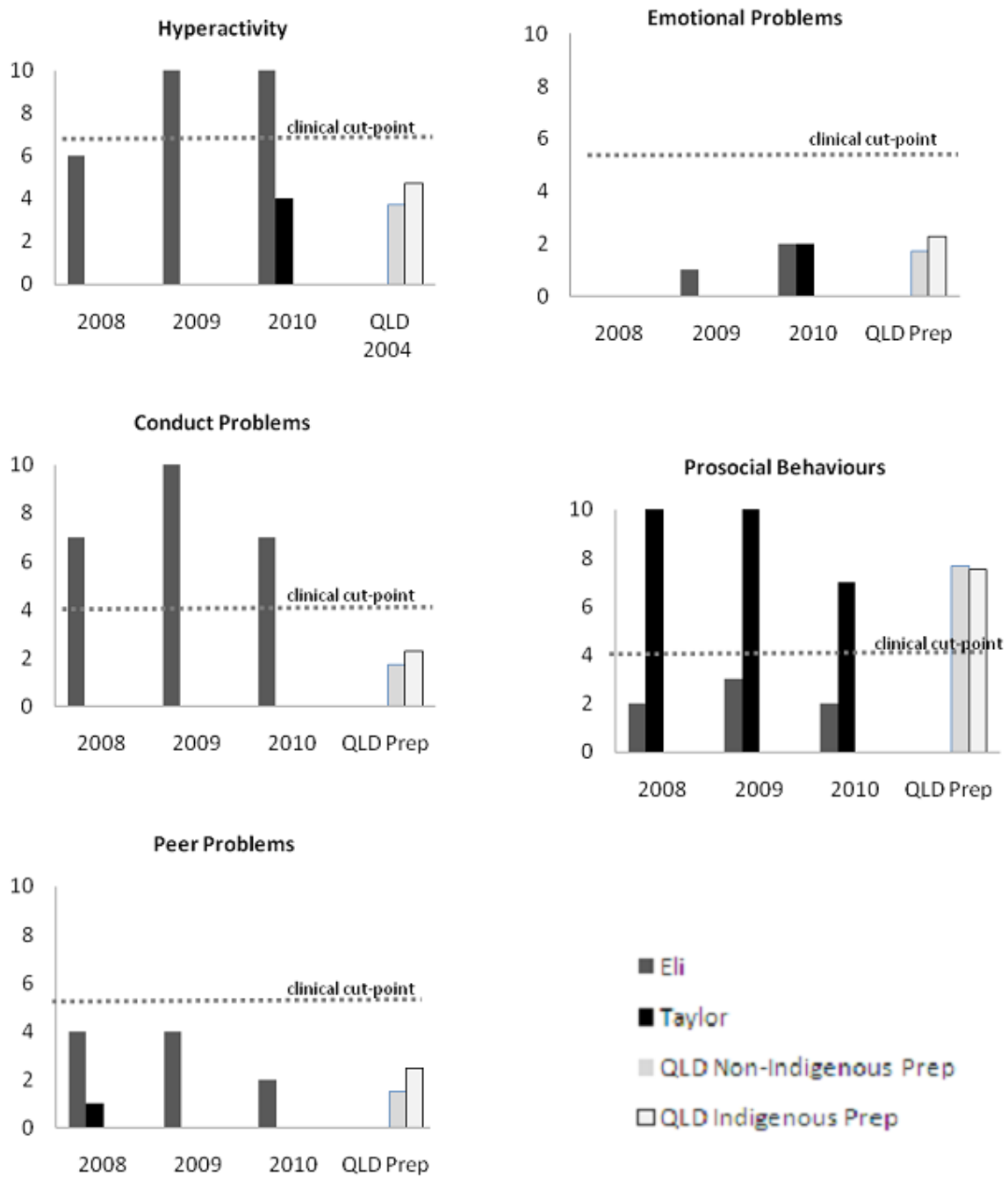


Figure 3. Teacher ratings of attainment for Taylor and Eli 2008-2010

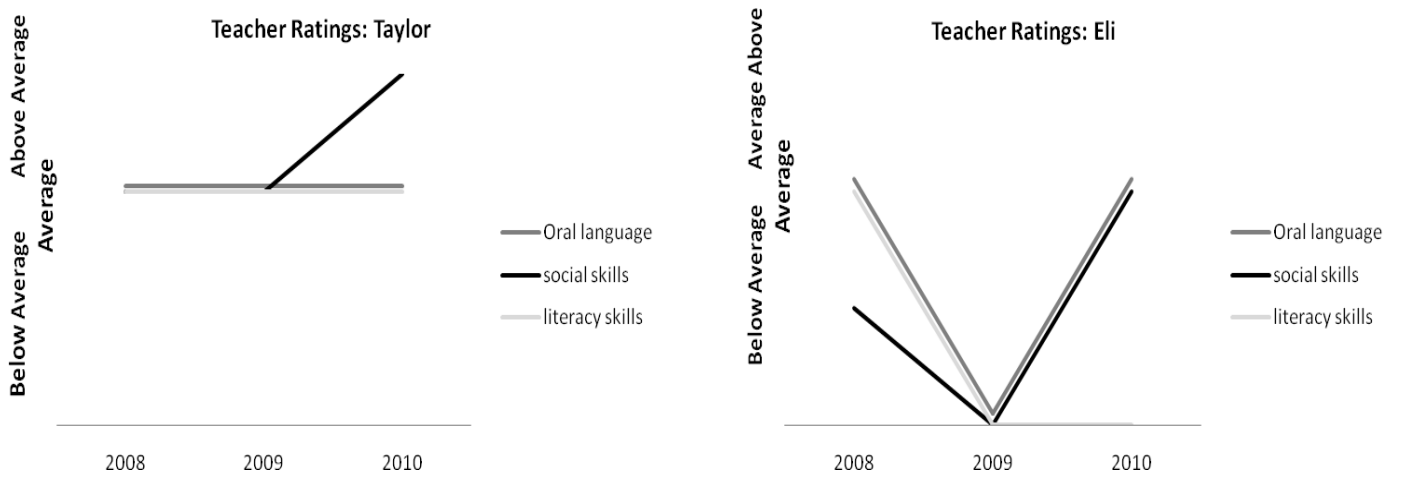


Figure 4. SIS total scores and subscales for Eli and Taylor 2008-2010.

