



Children and Young People's
Centre for Justice

EEI Practice & Process Survey

Karen Suszek

April 2024

Introduction

Background to the Survey

This scoping exercise, conducted by the Children and Young People's Centre for Justice (CYCJ) explores how Early and Effective Intervention (EEI), a key tenet of the Scottish Government's Whole System Approach (WSA) (Scottish Government, 2022) which guides best practice on working with children and young people in conflict with the law, is delivered throughout Scotland. It was undertaken on the direction of the WSA Implementation Group, which works to deliver the priorities of the Youth Justice Improvement Board (YJIB) as it strives to meet the priorities of successive youth justice strategies. The survey aims to identify any practice development or research needs in relation to EEI, to inform the work of the WSA group. It will also be shared with respondents and CYCJ's EEI Practitioner's Forum members to help shape practice and ensure it respects the rights of children and young people.

The survey was originally circulated as a Word document template to the EEI Practitioners Forum by e-mail in early July 2022, with two extensions thereafter made to the closing date, from August until September, and finally the end of October 2022, due to small numbers returned. Ten responses were received by the end of this period. Eight were from local authorities and two were from national organisations – though it later transpired one of these covered a single local authority, with further information gained and added to their response in 2023.

In September 2023 efforts resumed to gain responses from local authorities who had not yet responded. The template was adapted slightly to prompt fuller answers where only aspects of lengthier questions had been routinely answered in the first round. This involved separating multi-faceted questions and providing yes or no options where applicable. The wording of the questions was not changed, to allow effective comparison over the two rounds of responses. The template was emailed to youth justice contacts known to CYCJ, requesting it be passed to whoever dealt with EEI in their area. Responders were given the option to complete and return the form or answer the questions via a scheduled interview with the member of the CYCJ Practice Team conducting the survey. Fourteen further local authority responses were received, roughly half choosing the interview format.

The following analysis is based on these twenty-four responses, comprising twenty-three local authorities and one national agency. The role of the national agency within EEI meant they were only able to answer select questions, as highlighted.

Responses were provided by persons with a level of responsibility for EEI oversight in their area/ organisation. This was mainly local authority Social Work teams, though Police Scotland responded in some areas, some responding jointly with a local authority, with others completed by voluntary sector or non-Social Work local authority employees, responders reflective of the varying ways in which EEI is delivered nationally. It is notable therefore that certain answers may be enhanced or limited by the role within EEI of the agency who the responder represents.

Thanks to all those who took the time to provide the information requested. Questions appear below as they did in the survey, followed by findings, and related analysis.

Questions and Analysis

Who/ what agency is responsible for EEI delivery and oversight in your area?

The twenty-three local authorities responded to this question. Social Work was responsible for EEI oversight and delivery exclusively in ten areas, with four of these specifying that responsibility was within a youth justice team. Police Scotland were cited as responsible in four areas, whilst in a further four responsibility was shared between Social Work and Police. Non-social work local authority teams were responsible in four areas and in one a voluntary sector organisation. Social Work therefore has a level of responsibility for EEI oversight and delivery in fourteen areas, and Police in eight areas, Social Work is therefore responsible for EEI delivery and oversight in around 60% of responding local authorities, and Police in 35%.

EEI was conceived to respond to low-level concerns, providing a proportionate response that diverted children away from formal systems. It is therefore of interest that Social Work retain oversight in over half of the responding areas. Additionally, in two-thirds of the areas where Social Work is not responsible, the organisations who are liaising with them are at an early stage in the decision-making process. Social Work therefore retains a level of oversight in the vast majority of areas, even if not involved in intervention delivery.

This raises questions over a need for guidance on which organisation should have responsibility for oversight and delivery of EEI. Resources and ability to oversee processes such as EEI are impacted by budgeting and service commissioning and, regardless of who oversees EEI, Social Work Services or another local authority team could deliver the intervention, which likely means recording on Social Work systems. EEI could equally be overseen by the Police or a third-sector organisation, who provide some of the same interventions as Social Work depending on how services are commissioned locally. Under the Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) policy (Scottish Government, 2012), on which EEI principles are based, children need the right help at the right time, and for some, the service able to provide this may be Social Work led, to ensure the “timely and proportionate response” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.2) EEI aims to deliver.

For children to receive effective intervention also relies on a “holistic assessment of needs and risk” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.3) and the agency responsible for delivering EEI must be able to carry this out assessment competently. This in practice is often a Social Work team, with Social Work competent and experienced in this type of assessment, possessing the structure to absorb this task timeously, meaning they may well be best placed to oversee EEI even if not a prominent intervention provider under this process.

However, it's essential to consider the evolving landscape of social services and the need for flexibility in roles and responsibilities. As community needs and resources change, so too might the most appropriate agency to oversee EEI. Continuous training and inter-agency collaboration can ensure that irrespective of which organisation holds primary responsibility, all involved parties remain adept at providing the necessary support to children.

Moreover, the integration of multi-disciplinary approaches can enhance the effectiveness of EEI. By fostering partnerships between Social Work, Police, Education Services, Health Services, and Third-sector organisations, a more comprehensive support network can be established. This could lead to a more nuanced understanding of each child's circumstances and needs, thereby improving the quality and timeliness of interventions.

Feedback mechanisms should also be put in place to evaluate the effectiveness of EEI oversight and delivery. Regular reviews and audits can help identify best practices and areas needing improvement. Incorporating the voices of children and families who have experienced EEI interventions can provide valuable insights into the system's strengths and weaknesses.

Ultimately, the goal remains to provide the most effective support to children, helping them navigate challenges and avoid the escalation of issues that could lead to more serious consequences. By ensuring a well-coordinated, competent, and responsive system, we can better meet the objectives of EEI and uphold the principles of GIRFEC, ensuring that every child receives the right help at the right time.

POINT FOR CONSIDERATION:

Should there be guidance on which organisation is best suited to delivering EEI and what delivery should look like?

Who can refer into EEI in your area?

The 23 local authorities responded to this question. Police unsurprisingly can refer in all areas, and exclusively in thirteen areas. Of the other ten, three cited Social Work as referrers, two cited non-Social Work local authority teams, six cited Education, five cited SCRA, two cited Health (one specifying CAMHS), and one cited the Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service (COPFS). Two areas, whilst also specifying key referrers, were open to referrals from anyone.

Given that “EEI was developed as a mechanism to support children who came to the attention of police for offending” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.1) it was expected that Police would refer in all areas. Referrals have been extended to include other agencies in just over 40% of responding areas. This may allow for behaviours that constitute offending for those over 12, or harmful/ concerning behaviours of those under 12 that have not yet come to Police attention to be addressed before they potentially reach that stage, which could be beneficial to the child in avoiding contact with Police altogether, allowing for even earlier intervention.

EEI scope however remains inconsistent and not equitable for all children in Scotland, given over half of responding areas do not allow for agencies other than the Police to refer. This does not mean however that behaviours evading Police attention in these areas are not receiving appropriate interventions via other pathways. This is an area where data collection could be utilised to inform best practice: analysis of data collected by local authorities could be used to establish the volume, nature, and outcome of referrals to EEI from sources other than Police Scotland, to explore how this compares with supports and outcomes in areas where the same agencies cannot refer to EEI.

Of particular note is that five local authorities report that EEI is open to referrals from the Scottish Children’s Reporter’s Administration (SCRA). This potentially allows for EEI to interject at another point to provide an alternate, less invasive process than the full integrated assessment potentially required by SCRA, something that may be welcomed in other areas. When these findings were presented at the EEI Forum in March 2024 one attendee noted this discrepancy, stating that in their area they have tried without success to encourage SCRA to refer to EEI. More information was thereafter sought from areas where this referral route exists, to potentially explore extending this further with SCRA. Of the five areas contacted three responded, all noting this was not the case, inaccurate information effectively contained in their survey responses, highlighting discrepancies depending on the knowledge of the individual completing the survey. One area had recently written to SCRA inquiring about them referring to EEI and will advise of their response.

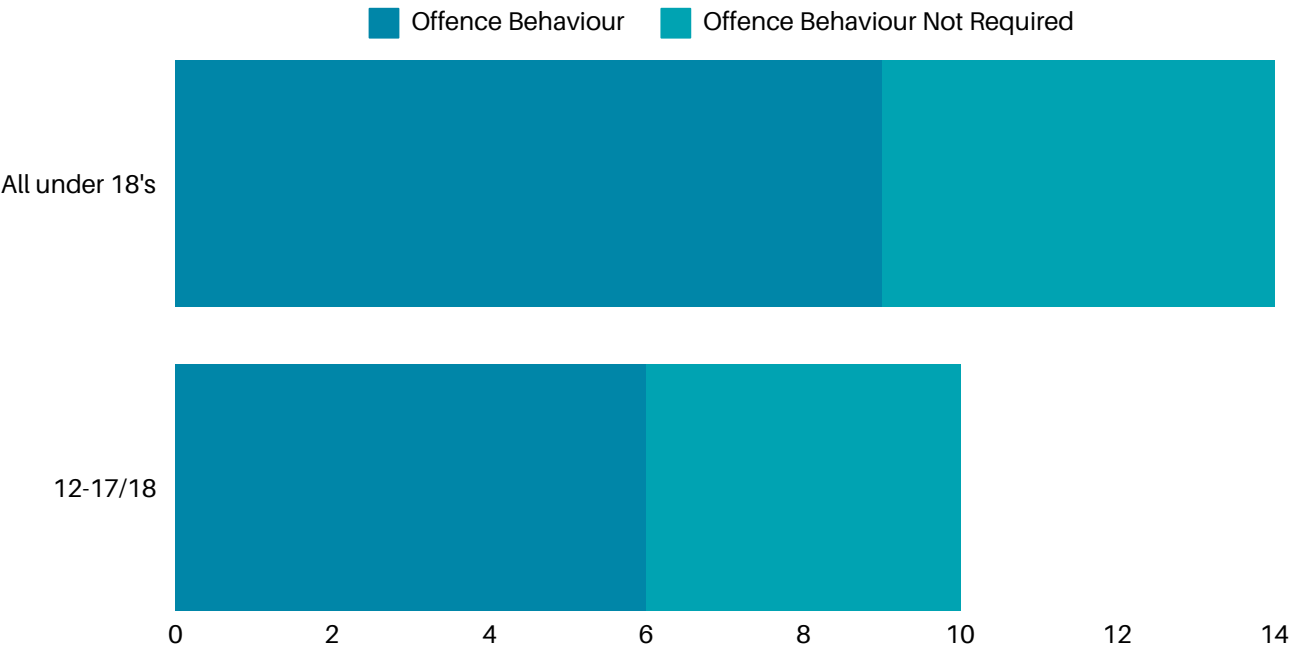
POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Collection of data on referrals and outcomes of those from other agencies to explore the benefits of non-Police referrals. Explore nationally with SCRA the potential of referrals from SCRA to EEI, potentially with a pilot.

Who is EEI available to in your area and what types of behaviours are referred?

Who is EEI available to?

Age range: Fourteen of the twenty-four responders stated EEI was open to any child under 18, one extending the age to 26. Of these, nine cited a need for criteria including the word/phrase ‘offending’, ‘charged’, or ‘in conflict with the law’. The remaining five stated no requirement for behaviours of this description, though three stated a requirement for behaviours that were deemed ‘harmful’, ‘concerning’, or ‘risky’. The other ten responders stated an age range of 12-17/18, and of these six stated a requirement for an ‘offending’ type behaviour. Two of these areas covered by the same Police Division, which completed both surveys, also noted that if appropriate interventions could cover younger siblings.



EEI was designed to “respond to children who come to the attention of the Police for offending, concerning or harmful behaviour” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.2). Over a third of responders, however, limit EEI to children involved in ‘offending’ type behaviour.

Three responders stated EEI that referrals mainly occurred when the child wasn’t already on a Compulsory Supervision Order (CSO) or an open SCRA referral, two others highlighted under 12’s were actively not referred to EEI but to Social Work teams, one other noting under 12’s could be referred for support due to welfare concerns but not formally via EEI. This indicates that some children are potentially subject to referral to statutory services for behaviours that for other children are dealt with via EEI, which was designed to limit contact with formal systems.

As discussed previously, without knowledge of alternative provisions for these children it is unclear whether this is 'up-tariffing' or simply the way, due to local service provision, in which these children get "the right help, at the right time, from the right people" (Scottish Government, 2021, p.2), as directed by GIRFEC.

The EEI Core Elements state that "the scope of EEI should widen to include the concerning and harmful behaviour of children aged under 12 years" (Scottish Government, 2021, p.1) and so it is encouraging that this is happening in over half of responding areas. It is assumed that Children's Services planning allows for alternative referrals for those under 12 displaying "concerning and harmful behaviour, which may "be anti-social, cause a nuisance or harm (Scottish Government, 2021, p.1), as was noted by three responding local authorities. Without having invited information on referral routes for those under the age of 12 in areas where EEI is not open to them it is not possible to comment on preferred options, something on which further insight may be sought.

The Core Elements also state that 16- and 17-year-olds can be subject to EEI as an alternative to reporting to COPFS, even when not classed as a 'child' for purposes of Children Hearing's (Scotland) Act 2011 – those not subject to a CSO or an open SCRA referral. It is positive therefore that this appears to be happening, with no responders stating that 16- and 17-year-olds were excluded from EEI. One area did comment that they have seen a drop in referrals for this age group since the 'Lord Advocate's Guidelines: Offences committed by children' were introduced in 2014 (updated in 2021), a further two noting they dealt with 16- and 17-year-olds via EEI if not directed otherwise by these guidelines, which specify certain offences which must be reported to COPFS. Prevalence of referrals by age was not queried, however, so whilst referrals may be welcomed in theory it is unclear how many are received for 16- and 17-year-olds. It does appear from questions on data gathering that this data is available however, examining this could provide better insight.

The EEI Core Elements advise that even if a child is subject to a CSO or an open SCRA referral, EEI should be considered alongside, if it would provide an appropriate response to the offending or harmful behaviour. They do state that if a child is on a CSO or an open SCRA referral there is a presumption that they will be referred to SCRA, but "this presumption may be rebutted if, due to the very minor nature of the offence it is decided that either no further formal action or Police direct measures are the appropriate response" (Scottish Government, 2021, p.5). One area highlighted that generally a child won't be referred to EEI if they are already open to SCRA but would if it was felt it could add value to the current plan. Another stated that if a child is open to SCRA and the Police feel EEI could be appropriate then there would be a joint EEI and SCRA referral, noting that they would also submit an Initial Inquiry Report to SCRA to provide outcome updates, seeking to divert the child from SCRA in line with the 'minimum intervention principle'. A third noted if a child is open to SCRA or they have been jointly reported to SCRA/ COPFS then they will not be referred to EEI. From responses, it is only in one local authority that an open SCRA referral definitively inhibits referral to EEI.

Whilst this is positive overall this denotes a level of inconsistency and the possibility that children in this area, and perhaps those who did not respond, or whose response omitted this level of detail, are potentially subject to more serious measures and future disclosure implications, than those in other local authorities.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Data gathering on referral pathways for under 12s in areas where EEI is only for age 12 and above. Collation of data on EEI referrals by age, specifically looking at how often it is used for 16- and 17-year-olds, and analysing whether this varies nationally.

Clearer guidance on the use of EEI for concerning and harmful behaviours as well as 'offending' behaviours.

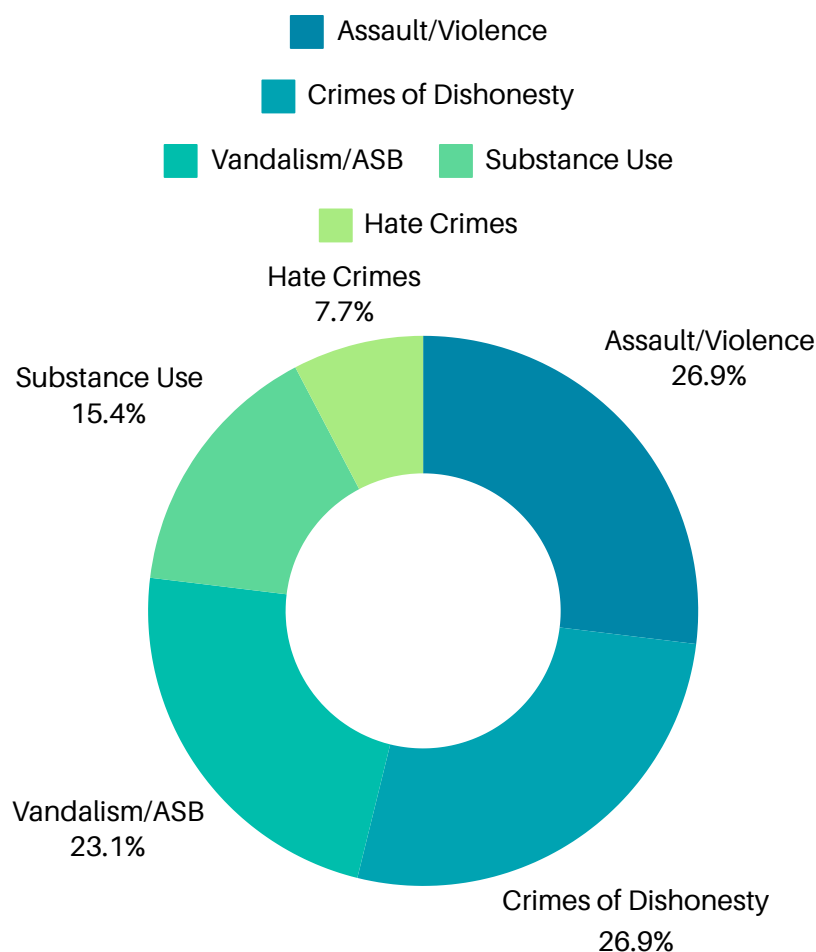
Review of Core Elements language so that children are not labelled as 'offenders' or stigmatised, reflecting the recommendations of The Promise (Independent Care Review, 2020). Equally with anticipated further increases in the age of criminal responsibility 'offending' will not be applicable to most children, whilst EEI will still be required: removing offending-related language will reduce stigma and future proof the guidance.

Common Offence Types

Ten responders did not specify offence types, although three stated "all" or "any" offences could be considered, a few others alluding to this though using non-definitive language.

Fourteen specified offences or offence types, all mentioning assaults/ violence, and four specifically carrying an offensive weapon. One response noted possession of a knife in school would not be considered for EEI, always resulting in a joint referral, despite awareness that this could be for various reasons, such as having a camping multi-tool, but it is taken seriously given that the '[Lord Advocate's Guidelines](#) to the Chief Constable on Reporting to Procurators Fiscal of offences alleged to have been committed by children' state this offence must be jointly reported. The [Offending by Children, Police SOP](#) section 8 'Dealing with Children and Young People with Weapons in Schools' states a child must be reported to the agency commensurate to their age, though as an indictable offence, this could be interpreted as meaning jointly reported to SCRA and the COPFS, removing discretion promoted in other areas. This issue was raised separately at the National Youth Justice Advisory Group (NYJAG) in February 2024, discussion indicating some areas do use discretion, and others do not due to this guidance, despite at times feeling joint reporting is disproportionate. This raises questions as to whether the minimum intervention and the best interests of the child principles are being respected. The wider picture is unclear, though a review of guidance may be welcome to ensure consistency.

The below chart shows the main offences quoted by those who name specific offences, with the following offences mentioned in smaller numbers: communications offences (3), Breach of the Peace (2), Fire-raising (2), resisting arrest (1), and culpable and reckless conduct (1).



Two responders cited harmful sexual behaviour (HSB). Notably one other local authority highlighted they actively do not accept referrals for HSB and that these go straight to SCRA - another inconsistency which may be more widespread. Again, this data is gathered and could show the national picture if collated.

In one area EEI also dealt with “non-criminal behaviours” such as non-school attendance, neuro-diversity-related behaviours, and self-harm. This local authority was the one whose criteria related to the child/ young person being a risk to themselves or others, and extended referrals to age 26, suggesting a broader approach to EEI.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

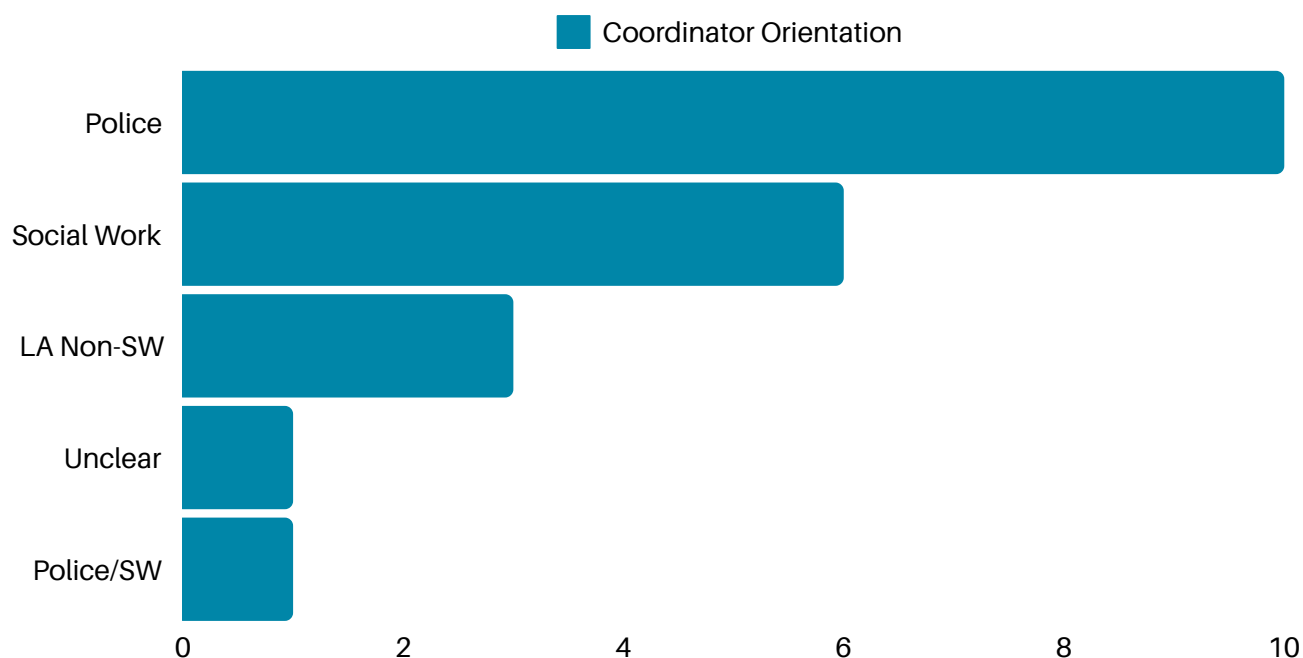
More specific guidance is perhaps required on what types of behaviour can be referred to EEI, required to ensure national consistency. HSB and weapons in schools are examples of where this could be beneficial.

Please outline below the pathway process of an EEI referral from start to finish.

The 23 local authority responders answered this question:

Co-ordinator role:

When concerns about a child's behaviour arose, twenty local authorities discussed someone in a co-ordinator/ screening role deciding EEI suitability. Titles varied but included 'EEI co-ordinator' 'youth justice team leader', 'specified officer', and 'youth justice co-ordinator'. The graph below shows their agency designation (LA = local authority):



Of these, nine decided as to EEI suitability following a discussion with a colleague from another discipline, commonly between Police and Social Work. Of the three responders with no co-ordinator all involved Police making the decision, one through looking at criteria, the other two following discussion with Social Work.

Screening Group/ Forum

Sixteen local authorities advised that they have a multi-agency screening group/ forum where referrals are discussed and actions agreed.

Frequency: Three meet monthly, five fortnightly, one every 7-10 days, three weekly, and four did not state frequency.

Forum Attendance: Thirteen of the sixteen responders who held a forum stated who attended. Social Work was the main attendee, cited as attending the forum in thirteen areas, including two areas where attendance wasn't specified but it was clear Social Work attended. Police Scotland were noted to attend in twelve areas, and Education in nine.

In smaller numbers there was attendance noted from; a third sector organisation (4), local authority non-Social Work teams such as Intense Youth Service or EEI specific service (3), Community Safety (3), Substance Misuse Service (2), Advocacy (2), Antisocial Behaviour Team (1), and Housing (1).

Attendance appeared static, rather than agencies attendance dependent on case-specific issues, which raises issues of proportionality of information sharing under data protection legislation in terms of the child and their family's information, and the child's right to privacy under Article's 16 and 40 of the United Nation's Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (United Nations, 1989). The EEI Core Elements state that "Partners must use their professional judgement and only share information which is relevant and proportionate to the concerns identified." (Scottish Government, 2021, p.7), with examples provided as to what information is required to support decision making. It is unclear if at times certain attendees leave the discussion, though this was not mentioned by any of the responders, despite many in-depth responses, therefore this appears not to be happening. There are concerns, therefore, that children's rights are not being respected, and over the legalities of information sharing in this way. Further guidance on EEI processes, given two-thirds of respondents use a forum model, may be required.

The Core Elements advise that "Relevant mental or physical health assessment or diagnosis and response to treatment." is one area for consideration (Scottish Government, 2021, p.7) and it is notable that, whilst this may be covered to an extent by others, there was no mention of health professionals attending forums by any of the responding areas, this noted by one responder as a deficit.

The forums all considered information brought from attendees and there were various disposal options discussed, including a Police Formal Warning (PFW)/ No Further Action (NFA) Letter (which could also have been issued before a child came to EEI). Whether third-sector organisations sat on forums or not, most forums had the option to refer to them to deliver interventions, although some also included statutory support options or SCRA referrals, albeit generally where there were also welfare concerns.

The remaining seven local authority responses had no forum as such, including the three with no EEI coordinator role, of which:

- Two involve the relevant Police team referring to a third-sector organisation to agree on a plan with the child and family if EEI was progressed.
- One involves a discussion between Police and Social Work before Police either complete work with the child or refer them to another agency to do so.

Of the four areas with a coordinator:

- In one the Youth Justice Co-Ordinator within the Police Concern Hub does a further assessment by reviewing Police information and current supports.
- Another sees the EEI coordinator within Social Work liaising with the family for further information and consent, contacting other agencies if agreed to explore the best way to support the child, then either doing short-term work themselves or referring to third sector organisation, if the family agrees.
- In one Police and Social Work liaise before the Police based co-ordinator reviews records and determines EEI suitability, referring to Social Work if agreed.
- In the final one, the Police send the referral to Social Work who carry out agency checks before liaising with the Police to make the final decision jointly.

Additional flowcharts/ formal processes were received from five areas to support answers to this question.

These variations in EEI delivery highlight there are ways of processing EEI referrals whilst minimising non-essential information sharing, though significantly the consent of the child and family to share any information remains largely absent from most processes.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Further consideration in the guidance on how EEI delivery can be rights respecting overall, including specifically guidance round forum models of delivery - i.e. are these appropriate and if so, how can they be rights-respecting and respective of information sharing legalities?

Assessments and diagnosis may not be available despite children experiencing symptoms, in part due to NHS waiting times. There is also no mention of neurodivergent considerations in the guidance, and this may be something to add. Given underdiagnosis and waiting times guidance around basic assessment of well-being and speech, language and communication needs (SLCN) should be included in EEI materials given the prevalence of these issues in children who come into conflict with the law.

More robust guidance as to when and how to seek and gain child and family consent within EEI processes would be beneficial.

Contact with child/ family pre-forum/ decision made:

The EEI Core Elements highlight that, in line with the UNCRC, children's voices must be heard in all matters that affect them, and that children must be supported to be heard at all stages within the youth and criminal justice system "which includes EEI" (Scottish Government, 2021, p.2).

Only five areas noted that families were contacted before discussions with other agencies as part of EEI processes. The importance of children and family views were noted by these and one other area but were not sought before agency checks, variations as below:

- Family views are sought at the same time as other agency checks are conducted.
- The coordinator contacts the family following initial system checks but before the EEI meeting, advising of processes.
- The EEI Youth Justice Social Worker contacts the family to gain their views prior forum and explain the process.
- The EEI coordinator contacts the parent/ carer for permission to discuss the child at the forum.
- The EEI coordinator contacts the family (by phone or letter) after initial Social Work system checks, advising of EEI and offering support.
- The family are written to “inviting contact” by the EEI service after the Police referral is received.

Two further areas included seeking views as part of the process, but not before information had been shared, as below:

- When social workers screen the EEI referral from the Police the lead professional/ duty worker contacts “relevant services and the child and their family” and will “discuss the incident with the child to establish wider circumstances and views”. Whilst it appears contact with the child/ family is not before agency checks, it is before the decision is reached and appears an established part of the decision-making process.
- The EEI coordinator visits the family to discuss possible support if agreed by the screening group that EEI may be beneficial.

Agency checks would not continue without the child and family’s consent in only two local authorities. This suggests a widespread lack of consent to share information and non-compliance with Article 12 of the UNCRC, which states that the child must be able to express their views in any process affecting them and have due weight given to these views (United Nations, 1989).

The EEI Core Elements also state that in making decisions “EEI should ensure that relevant core agencies are involved in decision making. It should also include the child and parents either physical attendance or clear expression of their views and decision whether to participate or not.” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.6). This is an area where the Core Elements are not being followed.

It appears that in all other areas that information is shared, and disposals agreed, without the child or their family being informed, leaving the agency identified to support the child to contact the family once an intervention has been agreed.

Some responders advised that Police officers should have discussions with the child/ family when behaviours initially come to Police attention, informing of the possibility of EEI and what it is, gaining views at this stage. This appeared to be followed inconsistently, with several responders noting this and reflecting that efforts are required to ensure this occurs consistently. One responder noted there was no contact with the child or family before the EEI forum, expressing awareness that this was not rights-based, but a pragmatic and resource-led decision. They noted Police should inform the family at the initial contact but that often letters sent following the EEI forum decision caused confusion or upset as the family had assumed that no further action had been taken as no formal charges were brought.

“EEI should ensure that relevant core agencies are involved in decision making” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.6), said to include Social Work, Police, Scottish Fire & Rescue Service (SFRS), Education, Health, and Community Safety/ Antisocial Behaviour Services. This appears broadly the case regards Social Work, Police and Education, with Community Safety and Health mentioned less often. Proportionately, the SFRS appear more involved in interventions than EEI decision-making. It is unclear if having health input would always be proportionate and may depend on service capacity and individual circumstances.

Regards decision making “It should also include the child and parents either physical attendance or clear expression of their views and the decision whether to participate or not.” This is an area requiring improvement as is not happening in the majority of areas. No responder processes involved child/ family forum attendance or discussed clear involvement in decision-making, and whilst their views were sought in some cases before the forum there was no mention of attendance being an option to allow participation in the discussions.

The national agency responder noted that if Formal or Recorded Police Warnings or NFA are not appropriate they could refer to the relevant local authority EEI coordinator or SCRA. If the referral was returned unsuitable for EEI they then referred to SCRA or the COPFS, a notable up-tariff. Similarly, if they were advised there was a failure to engage then they “will most probably report the matter to SCRA”.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

The views of children and their families are not routinely sought in EEI processes, breaching children’s rights under the UNCRC, and adherence to the EEI Core Elements. Consent to information sharing is not being sought routinely despite this being a legal requirement, unless there is a risk of harm to the child or others by not doing so.

Anecdotally, information provided by Police to the child and family at the initial point of contact is inconsistent. Consideration should be given as to how this can be routinely provided effectively, in a way the child understands, with national guidance considered.

The minority of areas seek consent and the child’s views appropriately, highlighting this can be achieved. There may be learning to be had from these processes. Clearer criteria may be useful when cases should escalate to a Social Work or SCRA referral if there is non-agreement to or non-engagement with an agreed EEI intervention.

What information is considered when deciding the best course of action in response to EEI referrals? *Please advise what assessments may be used at this stage, and how they inform decision-making.*

Types of information considered:

There was an overlap in answers to questions 4 and 5 in terms of when information was considered. Of the twenty-three local authority responders, all reviewed information on agencies' records, either accessed via their attendance at the local EEI forum/ meeting/ screening group, or by the coordinator contacting agencies. Information held by the Police was a key consideration, with multiple references made to establishing whether the child was known to the Police, the offence type/ seriousness, and frequency of offending behaviours.

Success of previous interventions and current engagement with services and/ or Social Work involvement, and whether the child was involved with SCRA, also commonly influences whether an incident is progressed under EEI - i.e. if a child was already allocated to Social Work, then often this meant no further action under EEI.

Views of the child:

Three responders referenced the initial attitude of the child/ family recorded by the Police and their current level of engagement with services informing the decision as to whether to refer to EEI, but with no specific mention of the child/ family views on the best course of action contributing to decision making:

- One contacts the family pre-forum to gain their views, if possible.
- Two noted in a previous answer that discussion with parent/ carer before the forum to discuss EEI and gain consent took place, indicating it a reasonable assumption that their views would be considered.

One local authority, which does not employ a forum model, also noted that the child/ family views were actively sought to inform decision-making.

As noted in the discussion on question 4 above, the gaining of the child's views is an area requiring improvement. One of the six EEI objectives is "Consideration must be given to the child's wellbeing and their views must be obtained and considered, alongside the views of the wider family and community." (Scottish Government, 2021, p3). It does not appear the views of children and families are consistently sought and considered in most areas. Initial views upon their first contact with Police may by nature be reactive to the event and do not allow time for the child and family to fully assess and reflect on the incident, which could impact their response. Whilst views should be sought at this stage they should also be revisited throughout the process offering the child opportunity to participate directly in processes, or at the very least, directly before decision-making, following a rights-based approach (United Nations, 1989) and the EEI Core Elements (Scottish Government, 2021).

Additional needs:

One area referenced consideration of indicators including Autism, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), or disability, with one other checking if the child was open to Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS). Whilst agency information gathered may inform on the above indicators, it is notable that only two areas mentioned some assessment of additional needs, particularly given the higher prevalence rates of these indicators in children in conflict with the law, and direction within the Core Elements that health information be considered. This has been noted previously in this analysis as a 'point for consideration'.

Types of Assessment used:

All responders appear to use a structured professional judgement assessment approach to decision-making. Three mentioned professional judgement or referrer judgement specifically, and several mentioned an initial assessment process. Just under a third noted use of assessment tools:

- One carries out an Initial Inquiry Report for all receiving an EEI response.
- Four use SHANARRI Indicators in assessment.
- One uses My World Triangle and START AV.
- One uses START AV when offending is serious, but notes they are undertrained.

One other responder stated intent to start using START AV and other specialised risk assessments such as AIM3 (for Harmful Sexual Behaviour) if it became apparent after working with a child these were required to inform a longer-term intervention. One area noted though they consider SHANARRI and the risk of harm in decision making they are mindful of Kilbrandon Principles, specifically the 'minimum intervention' principle, and so no risk assessment tools were used at this initial EEI stage. Other responses highlighted that whilst there was no official assessment used when deciding the outcome, if an onward referral is agreed then the agency taking the referral carries out its own assessment, suggesting a proportional and individualised response.

This highlights the qualitative information provided is dependent on answer depth and not necessarily indicative of conflicting approaches.

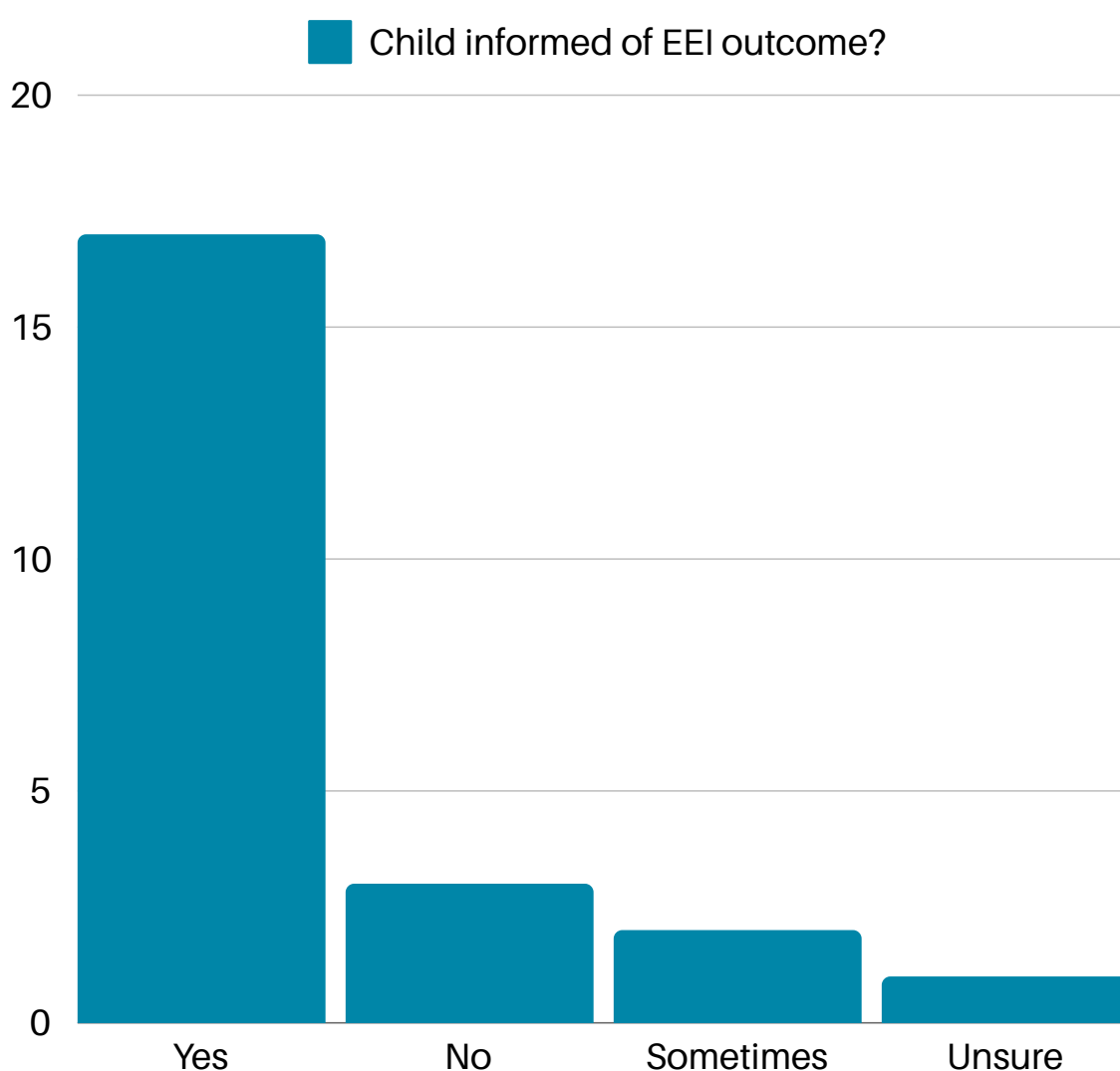
The assessment approaches therefore appear relatively consistent, with it perhaps unlikely, given the intended efficient nature of EEI, that full assessments would be practical or meaningful within the recommended timescales: "Decisions must be made timeously if EEI is to be credible and effective. It is recommended that EEI decisions are made within ten working days of a police report being produced" (Scottish Government, 2021, p.6).

EEI Core Elements state as an objective “When responses and interventions are necessary they must be child-centred, based on a holistic assessment of need and risk and in the best interests of the child in line with GIRFEC and the UNCRC.” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.3). This appears to be being followed, with appropriate use of GIRFEC’s National Practice Model tools (SHANARRI Indicators and the My World Triangle) used to guide this assessment, with more comprehensive assessments being applied further down the line when deemed appropriate.

Once the most appropriate course of action has been decided, what happens next?

Are the child and their family informed?

YES/NO



If YES, how is this done and by whom?

Responsibility for informing the child and family varied and included: the initial referrer, identified intervention provider, named person, and the reporting Police Officer. It was less clear how this was done. Only five local authorities always send an outcome letter to the child, and another four do so only if no ongoing intervention is agreed upon. Of the three areas that answered 'sometimes', one informed the child if there was an onward referral but not if no further action and two did not specify. Responsibility for sending the letter varied.

The 'unsure' response was from the responder where the EEI co-ordinator (Social Work) visited the family after the EEI forum if intervention had been recommended to discuss this before an onward referral was made. They were unsure if the Police made contact if there was no further action or a warning issued. Two responders made no contact with the child. Under EEI Core Elements, "Children and parents/ carers should be notified in writing of the outcome of EEI within 10 working days." Where additional supports are required the details of the key contact person should be provided and responsibility for this should be outlined in local government arrangements. (Scottish Government, 2021, p.8). This is not happening with only around a fifth of responders sending an outcome letter in all cases.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Clear direction is perhaps required on when outcome letters should be sent, with consideration of local authorities being clear in their own guidance with whom this responsibility lies.

All twenty-three local authorities answered this question as below:

- Ten stated that agencies who are aware of the referral all record on their own systems (i.e. those present at the forum/ involved in discussions or receiving an onward referral).
- Three stated by the EEI Co-ordinator (Social Work) on a spreadsheet.
- One stated by the EEI Co-ordinator (Community Safety) on a spreadsheet.
- Five stated by Social Work and Police on their systems.
- One stated by Social Work, Police & the EEI service (local authority non-Social Work team) systems.
- One stated the EEI worker (local authority non-Social Work team) on Social Work records.
- One stated by the third sector organisation commissioned to do EEI admin (there would be no record on the Social Work system if no Social Work referral).
- One stated by Social Work and the onward referral agency.

As seen, it varies as to whether decisions were recorded on children's files by agencies involved in the EEI referral processes or onward referral work and/ or specific spreadsheets: nine responders mentioned the use of a specific EEI spreadsheet/ database. It is expected that agencies involved in the decision-making process would record their involvement, however, given the lack of contact in many areas between these agencies and the child/ family within the EEI processes, these files are likely held without the child's knowledge - a Social Work file entry for example, not something likely anticipated following Police contact.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Guidance should consider making the child and family aware as to who will be involved in the decision-making process and how and where information on these processes and the child will be held.

Are there review mechanisms in place?

The twenty-three local authorities responded.

YES/NO

If YES, when are these triggered, what do they look like, and what do they focus on?

Eight areas responded 'YES'. Of these:

- Four had set frequency (1 x 4 weekly; 1 x 4-6 weekly; 1 x 6 weekly; 1 x 6-8 weekly).
- One agreed to a review time at the initial meeting.
- Two were decided by the worker or required by a specific assessment used.
- One was dictated by EEI service-specific performance indicators.

Six areas responded 'NO'.

- Three stated if needs dictate i.e. further Police attention, change in circumstances.
- One depended on the processes of the onward referral agency.
- One only if the child doesn't engage.

The remaining four responses were classed as unclear. They answered 'YES' but answers were concerning EEI process reviews, not reviews for individual children, looking at trends such as with types of incidents, engagement levels, and intervention effectiveness, covered in a later question, this question perhaps unclear.

Two responders mentioned they may consider referral to another agency if there was non-engagement, both mentioning SCRA. One noted this would only be considered if there were continued concerns (only having made one such referral in the past year). The other mentioned they may refer to SCRA or COPFS if there was non-engagement, as would the national agency. Whilst SCRA referral following non-engagement was only mentioned in a small number of areas, the number of children impacted is unknown and it must be made clear that non-engagement with an EEI referral alone, as a voluntary process and effectively the end disposal of a case, should not routinely result in a referral to SCRA.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Guidance on review processes may be welcome to ensure consistency.

Further referrals, including to SCRA, should not be automatic following non-engagement with EEI, and this could be more explicit in Core Elements (Check).

Are there set timescales for intervention delivery?

YES/NO

Few areas stated they had set intervention delivery timescales and those that did were not overly prescriptive, using comments such as 'asap' or that the intervention should have begun by the first review. Some areas gave rough averages/ aims though none were prescriptive, nor did any give a specific timescale for intervention ending. This is expected given interventions are needs-led, assessment of needs is fluid, and a detailed assessment is likely not fully developed at the time EEI commences.

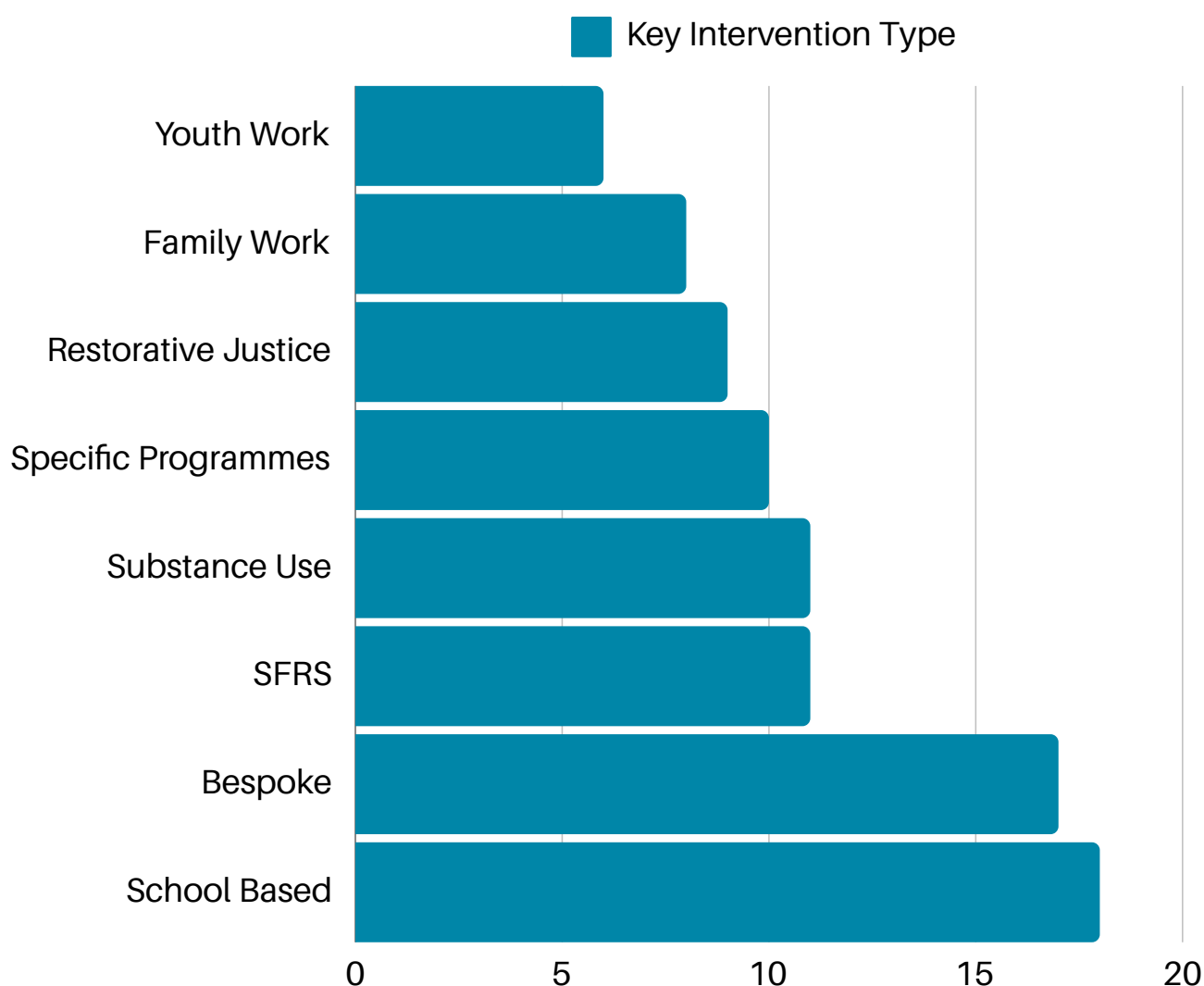
What types of interventions are available in your area? *Please include information on which partners you can link in with and what services do they provide.*

Responses varied in depth of detail and in the range of interventions delivered, which was vast and non-exhaustive. Differences were highlighted from area to area on what was available, likely dependent on local service provision and investment. Some had prevailing intervention approaches not used in every area, such as Restorative Justice and Youth Work, which other areas may learn from.

Three-quarters of responders referenced offering bespoke, needs-led interventions. Some were delivered by Social Work, some by third sector organisations, and others from specialised local authority teams, with it not always clear whether these teams were within Social Work Services. Interventions broadly included offence focus work, consequential thinking, and risk-taking, or delivery of specific programmes. These included the Pitchin In Programme on football-related violence (3), the SACRO STOP programme (3), and No Knives Better Lives (4). Just under half of responders mentioned interventions being available from the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service (11).

Three areas also provided support to children affected by parental substance use. Family interventions were used in a third of the areas, half offering general parenting or family support, others using specialist programmes such as Functional Family Therapy (FFT) or Family Group Decision Making. Given that children lack full autonomy and require parental/ carer guidance in line with their evolving capacities this is an area that could be highlighted within the Core Element for consideration as an EEI intervention.

The graph below shows the main supports referenced, the following mentioned in smaller numbers: CAMHS/ Mental Health Support (3), Exploitation Service (1), Education and Employability Support (2), Council Leisure (1), Venture Trust (1), Befriending and Mentoring (1), Police Intervention (1). These services are generally available universally or on referral, regardless of Police contact.



POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

It may be worth considering if there are any programmes or types of intervention that should be recommended for national use to ensure national consistency of support.

Promotion of family interventions.

How do you measure the impact and meaningfulness of an EEI referral for the child and their family?

The twenty-three local authorities responded, though only around one in five appeared to actively measure meaningfulness for the child and family.

- Two provide an evaluation by the intervening agency at the end of the support period.
- Two issue family/ child feedback forms.
- One introduced an external third-sector company to do work with the children involved on impact/ meaningfulness.

Just as many responders noted they actively do not measure this, one highlighting EEI is a process not a service so this would be hard to do, highlighting a contradiction in responses.

The remaining thirteen offered examples of how they may review successes, but it was not clear in any case that the impact or meaningfulness for the child/ family was sought or captured:

- Three noted they hear anecdotally or through partner agencies feedback on engagement.
- One noted they do so via the wider local authority Youth Justice Review.
- Seven do so via data trends.
- Two noted onward referral agencies do their own evaluations, providing no further data.

This is an area requiring further guidance as child and family feedback appears mainly ad hoc, vaguely reviewing intervention success via actuarial means rather than experientially. Some local authorities did do this, one via an innovative venture, however, given the vast spectrum of responses, it seems this is an area where guidance could be beneficial, and welcome, to provide consistency and better inform intervention provision.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

The development of guidance or resources on how best to capture child and family views on EEI processes, interventions, and the meaningfulness of these should be considered.

What happens if the child or family refuses to engage with EEI or an offered intervention?

The twenty-three local authorities responded. Ten noted some variation of there being no consequence given that EEI is voluntary, though perseverance and signposting were used.

In total, eleven local authorities highlighted there may be a SCRA referral, with one of these noting a response under Child Protection Procedures or Acre and Risk Management (CARM) processes would be considered. Although many noted SCRA would only be considered if concerns were serious, and most also acknowledged 'no further action' as an option, one resulted in an 'EEI Warning', and nine responses indicated a worker would follow up with the child/ family, two of which noting this would be to agree an alternative intervention.

Whilst all noted to some degree children and families could not be compelled to engage with an EEI intervention, it is also notable that around half mentioned a referral to SCRA as an option if the child/ family choose not to engage.

This appears a high tariff intervention for what is designed as a voluntary option to divert children from formal systems. When considering EEI for a child who is not on a CSO or an open referral to SCRA then a referral should only be made when the “statutory criteria” are met (Scottish Government, 2021, p.3). It is not to say any resultant referrals are not proportionate, though given Police familiarity with SCRA referrals it would be expected that they would have referred to SCRA at the point of contact rather than to EEI if this appeared proportionate. There is also a presumption that children already on a CSO or open to SCRA should be referred to SCRA, although EEI should still be considered, and referral to SCRA can be rebutted if no further action or Police Direct Measures are deemed more appropriate (Scottish Government, 2021, p.5).

It is not possible to say whether this guidance is being followed in all cases, however given the variation in responses to non-engagement and that the Core Elements do not discuss non-engagement, adding guidance on how best to respond should be considered, particularly given only one response mentioned “SCRA or Social Work” as an option, indicating that in cases where there are concerns that some sort of intervention is required that voluntary Social Work support could be being bypassed in favour of a more intrusive SCRA referral.

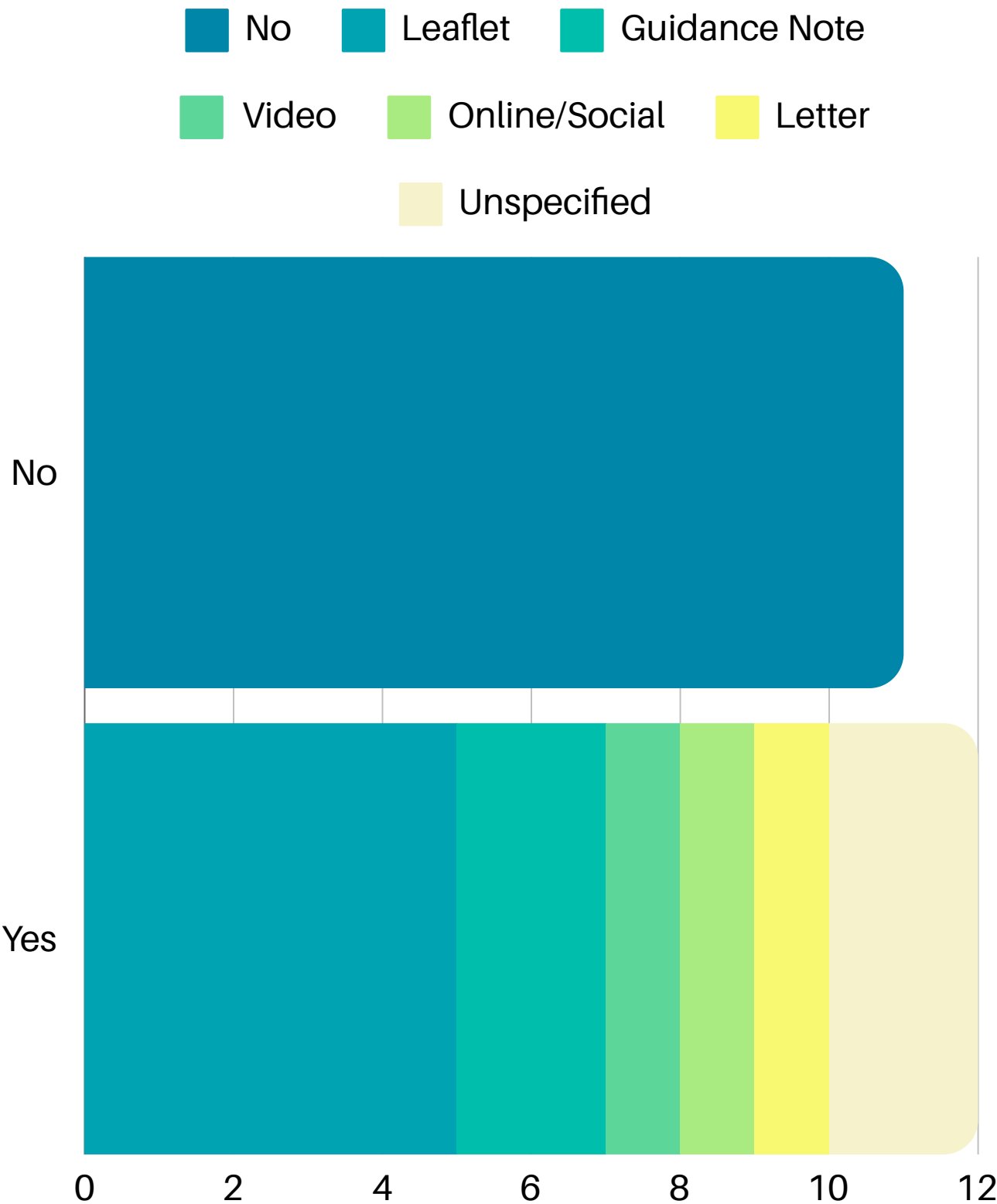
One response noted there can be conflict when the child wants to engage with an offered intervention, but their parents don’t want them to, raising an interesting dilemma between parental and children’s rights.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

The addition of guidance on appropriate responses should a child or family not engage with EEI should be considered to ensure proportionate, rights-respecting responses, and national consistency.

Do you have any materials you share with children and families to raise awareness of/ explain EEI? **YES/NO**

The twenty-three local authorities responded, as close as possible to an even split between those who do, and those who do not, have informative materials on EEI.



One objective of EEI is to: “Provide clear information to children and families on the purpose of EEI” (Scottish Government, 2021, p.3). This is a noted area requiring development.

Comments provided highlighted this has fallen off the radar, with some local authorities stating it is hard to create something: of those who had leaflets, most noted they were probably out of date, ongoing use unclear. A national resource advising of the purpose of EEI, though stating interventions will be bespoke and localised, could help address comments that it would be hard to produce a standardised resource. Some areas did not feel this, with one area sharing an online poster and video, and another a leaflet.

For many areas however this is an area requiring development to meet UNCRC obligations: Article 12 (right to express views and for them to be given due weight in all proceedings, specifying admin and judicial ones) and Article 13, freedom of expression, which states children must be able to access all kinds of information, in a media of their choice, to allow them to assert this right of freedom of expression (United Nations, 1989) are not currently being met in the main, despite some areas of good practice.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

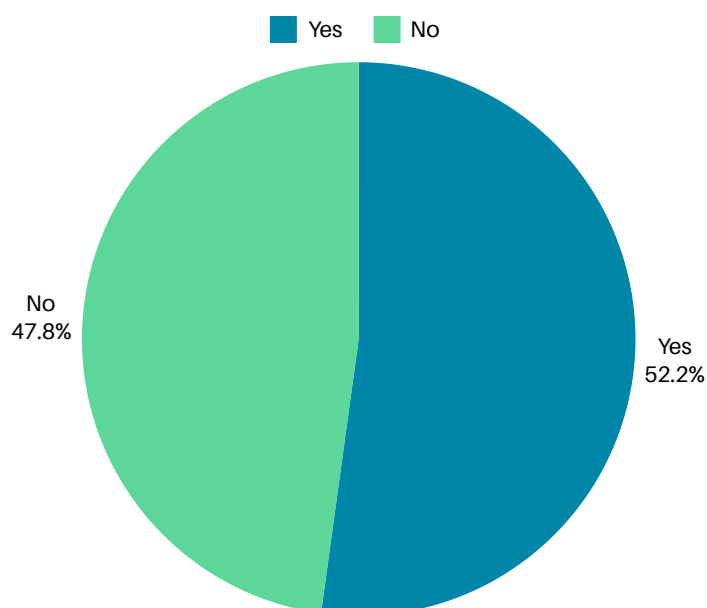
National proformas on the nature and purpose of EEI could be beneficial to some areas where time/resources are in short supply and should be considered in a variety of accessible formats to make these UNCRC compliant.

Are EEI processes and practice actively reviewed?

YES/NO

If YES, please explain the review process below.

If applicable, please explain any oversight/ quality assurance and how this impacts EEI.



Just over half of the twenty-three local authority responders answered 'yes', mainly noting who carried out the review. Answers focussed on who carried out the review:

- Six were internal reviews
- One a mix of internal and external
- One internal between Police and Social Work
- One internal and with Police
- Two are reviewed as part of their wider local authority youth justice service review
- One as a commissioned service is reviewed externally by the local authority

No two reviews looked the same, indicative of how local authorities and EEI processes are run, though this lack of consistency does not aid comparison and learning of good practice. Although few provided much detail on the process, one noted they had drafted a recent detailed paper, and another described a variety of means including development sessions, skills practices, partner events, attendance at forums, and links to national practice development, providing some insight in places.

The EEI Core Elements state that "To support internal monitoring and evaluation of EEI a review of cases or a sample of cases at 6-month intervals will support learning and best practice." (Scottish Government, 2021, p.8). Case sampling and review were not detailed in any of the responses as happening, albeit this is not to say they are not.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Production of templates to aid case sampling and review should be considered for inclusion in the guidance.

Clear guidance on the review process may be beneficial, given there is a lack both in measuring EEI meaningfulness for families and in the consistency of EEI process reviews, and what they involve.

What data is collected regarding EEI in your area and how is this used?

The Core Elements state: "To support local and national monitoring of EEI, data collection is essential. All cases considered by EEI and the outcomes, including any disposal codes, must be accurately recorded. Child - Age, gender, legal status and number of times previously discussed at EEI in 12-month period. Offence - Offence (by category), date of offence and date considered by EEI. Response - Decision of EEI and reasons for decision. Date intervention started, concluded and outcome." (Scottish Government, 2021, p.9).

Three areas were unsure if data was collected past basic numbers, one noted the local authority collected data but provided no detail, one indicated this had been answered previously ("see above") but this was not stated, one noted they do not collect data specifically on EEI, one alluded to doing so but didn't provide details, another noted 'see attached' but this attachment was not available, three gathered basic data on disposals and personal details but were unsure what this was used for.

A number of local authorities do collect a good amount of data, broadly in line with what the Core Outcomes dictate, used to inform trends and patterns of behaviours, including in some areas locations or schools where trends were identified. This seemed widely to be used to help target resources, such as group work, and inform interventions and service provision, one noting data was directly used to gain funding.

Most were gathering data broadly in line with Core Elements requests, though with a notable absence of outcomes being recorded. There were five exceptions: One uses the Outcome Star, and three noted 'EEI by outcome'/'outcome of EEI' as a recorded indicator, though it was unclear if this means the actual outcome of the intervention or what the EEI referral outcome/ disposal is. One area records 'offence types and outcomes' said to be held by each agency, indicating this isn't held centrally and used, one other notes a breadth of data without describing it, though noting it's use to determine whether an intervention is effective. This highlights only one in four responding local authorities are specifically measuring EEI outcomes, albeit others may be but omitted detail. This is a low level, as was the number of areas that measured the meaningfulness of interventions for the child, indicating an overall lack of focus on outcomes within EEI processes and data collection.

Three areas noted data being captured and held by different agencies, and though used to inform individual service provision, trends, etc. there was no indication this was gathered and analysed collectively. There was also no indication of awareness from responders of data being used to inform national EEI monitoring or reference of the data requested for collection by the Core Elements being fed back to a national source. One responder did not that "occasionally" the Scottish Government would seek feedback on the WSA progress, but this had not happened "for a while".

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

Core Elements are clear on what data is to be collected and why but there appears to be no collection of this data to inform national EEI monitoring as stated. It would be helpful to confirm with the Scottish Government whether this is collated and what it is used for, and if not if there are ways in which it could be used to establish trends and inconsistencies, i.e. referral by age, offence types/ trends, and how these may vary or correlate nationally and to inform national policies and local processes.

Standardised data collection tools should be considered that could assist with data collection and analysis nationally, with guidance on how to gather data showing what works and allowing sharing of good practice and better targeting and roll-out of effective resources.

What funding and resourcing does EEI receive in your area and from which sources?

Twenty-two local authorities responded. Eighteen stated they received no specific funding for EEI, and many commenting costs are absorbed by existing services, mainly Social Work and Police. Of these, one noted the local authority does fund a specific admin worker, and another a specific EEI service, classing their funding as core as via local authority.

Two other responders were from third-sector services commissioned to run EEI, funded through their local authority's Social Work budget. In one area the responder was a local authority EEI team funded by Social Policy (i.e. local authority budget).

One local authority responder discussed a variety of funding sources; core local authority funding, Promise Whole-family Wellbeing Fund, CORRA, Alcohol and Drug Partnership (local authority), a named local trust, Covid recovery fund, and Health and Wellbeing Fund money. They noted they were very proactive in sourcing funds!

All responses largely involved local authority funding, several alongside Police Scotland, which was viewed as core funding, with costs, aside from the few exceptions mentioned above, being absorbed by existing services.

It is not stated in the Core Elements who should fund EEI, clear from the wider responses to the survey that different approaches are applied nationally. Most services working within EEI processes don't do so exclusively, EEI one of several referral sources. Intervention work is picked up by a variety of universal, specialist, and at times statutory services nationally, based on need, and so funding is absorbed by these services, albeit administratively this is in the main Social Work and Police.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

There were examples of specifically funded posts co-ordinating EEI which may be something other areas wish to consider.

One area in particular was very creative in their sourcing of funding to enhance EEI, and indeed wider provisions, the same one who used data to help inform this, and again this practice may be learned from.

How useful do you consider the EEI Core Elements in delivering EEI and why?

Twenty-three local authorities responded, and these responses were largely positive.

Eighteen noted only useful comments, some more enthusiastically than others, of these:

- Eight note they are useful in providing a framework/ structure to processes
- Three note their use in delivering timely support
- Two note they are useful for training
- Four note their use in promoting a child-centred approach/needs-led/rights-led approach
- Two note their benefit in creating less formal system responses – one stating SCRA referrals noticeably reduced following their introduction, another noting this encouraged exploration of all angles
- One note their use in providing a clear process of standards and routes available to Police and Social Work, as well as clarifying EEI aims and objectives
- One responder felt they could be stronger if they had more of a focus on early exit from processes and more emphasis on using professionals already involved
- One noted they are helpful, but not consistently applied
- One noted their use, but that they mean different things to different agencies.

Five responses were less positive. Of these:

- Two described them as not particularly useful
- Three noted they were useful initially as a baseline and to check processes aligned, one of these noting GIRFEC and UNCRC guide them more day to day now, another noting they are also good for training purposes.

POINT FOR CONSIDERATION:

The EEI Core Elements are noted largely as being useful but given discrepancies in answers throughout their survey between their guidance and how this is applied in practice, it is clear overall they are not being followed to the letter. This highlights, as many previous points note, that a refresh considering some of these discrepancies and comments could be beneficial, improving their application and national consistency of EEI implementation

Considering children's rights and participation, can you please advise below whether you have any EEI processes or practice examples where children are/ have been actively involved in EEI processes/ development, and describe these?

This was added by the Children's Rights Implementation Group (CRIG) midway through the survey so only fifteen of the twenty-three local authority responders were asked this question (65% of all local authorities), although all fifteen of these answered.

The vast majority (12/ 15) acknowledged EEI is voluntary and so children had a say as to whether the recommended intervention goes ahead and in shaping their support plan. Three of these also gathered children's views at the start of the process, some at reviews also, whilst others noted individual agencies taking on the intervention may also do this.

Three local authorities seek children's views towards the end of their intervention to inform service design, and one area uses case studies in their community justice annual report.

Six acknowledged there is no active participation work done on EEI processes. Of this one noted whilst views are sought this needs to be balanced with safeguarding, one other noting that whilst they try and tailor supports and encourage engagement and alternatives, that if a child's behaviours are out of control, they may need to take control and become more forceful with interventions, in line with the child's best interests.

Two local authorities actively involved children in participation work. One employed an external company to gather views via a music project which informed their youth justice strategy and are developing an ongoing participation tool. Another spoke about co-production at every stage, with children's views sought to inform local policy via youth forums, youth council, and focus groups.

It is encouraging that children largely have a say in their support plan and in agreeing to recommended interventions, and there is some gaining of their views on their experiences of EEI-generated support. There are two good examples of practice as to how children can actively participate in the wider development of services, not limited to EEI, and these examples may be learned from. It is notable also that there may be more good participation happening, given less than half of the total local authorities in Scotland were asked this question.

POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION:

This may be a question that we wish to gather views on again to gain a better response rate, perhaps via the EEI forum.

Participation in processes is not widely happening and any review of the Core Elements should involve children who have experience of being supported under EEI. This may include guidance as to how local authorities can include participation work in their service and EEI process reviews and designs.

Survey Limitations

- Answers are limited by the role and knowledge of the responding agency/ individual.
- The survey nature means that the depth of information supplied varied: some responders added more info, raising areas of note/ identifying issues, and raising further questions/ concerns, however, the absence of data in other areas doesn't necessarily denote a lack of consistency.
- The response rate to the survey, despite targeted attempts, means that around a third of local authorities in Scotland (9/32) are not represented in these results.

Future Plans

The results of this survey are to be presented to the Whole System Approach (WSA) Implementation Group for consideration. They will also be discussed within the CYCJ's EEI Forum, concerning practical implications and identifying any barriers and enablers to better respecting the rights of children within EEI processes, and implementing the Core Elements as discussed.

References

Crown Office & Procurator Fiscal Service. (2021). Lord Advocate's guidelines: Offences committed by children. Available: <https://www.copfs.gov.uk/publications/lord-advocate-s-guidelines-offences-committed-by-children/>.

Independent Care Review (ICR). (2020). The Promise. Available: https://www.carereview.scot/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/The-Promise_v7.pdf

Scottish Government. (2012). A Guide to Getting It Right for Every Child. Available: <https://www.gov.scot/policies/girfec/>.

Scottish Government. (2021). Early and Effective Intervention – Framework of Core Elements. Available: <https://www.gov.scot/publications/early-effective-intervention-framework-core-elements/>.

Scottish Government. (2022). Youth Justice: Whole system approach to young offending. Available: <https://www.gov.scot/policies/youth-justice/whole-system-approach/>.

United Nations. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. Available: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child>.