Cambridge Primary Review Trust

...children, their world, their education

RESEARCH REPORTS

CPRT Research Survey 6 (new series)

VULNERABLE CHILDREN: NEEDS AND PROVISION IN THE PRIMARY PHASE

Michael Jopling and Sharon Vincent

SUPPORTED BY

PEARSON

VULNERABLE CHILDREN: NEEDS AND PROVISION IN THE PRIMARY PHASE

Michael Jopling and Sharon Vincent

A report for the Cambridge Primary Review Trust

April 2016

Professor Michael Jopling is Professor of Education in the Department of Education and Lifelong Learning at Northumbria University.

Dr Sharon Vincent is a Reader of Child Welfare in the Department of Social Work and Communities at Northumbria University.

VULNERABLE CHILDREN:
NEEDS AND PROVISION IN THE PRIMARY PHASE

Introduction: why is a focus on vulnerable children important in the primary phase?

In their recent Cambridge Primary Review Trust report on tackling social and educational inequity, Kate Pickett and Laura Vanderbloemen (2015: 3) emphasised the individual and socio-economic benefits of education:

> Education is seen as good for individual wellbeing and also good for society, which depends on the contributions and economic productivity – not to mention the tax – of a skilled and educated workforce.

Allen's (2011) influential and contentious report on early intervention to support young children's development made similarly instrumental claims, emphasising that early intervention can result in increased educational attainment which is associated with a range of positive opportunities and outcomes, such as improved future employment opportunities and positive mental health in adulthood, and can prevent issues such as offending and substance misuse. Moreover, a growing body of evidence also demonstrates the pitfalls of getting this wrong (Gilbert et al, 2009). For example the California Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) study found that there is a strong relationship between vulnerability in childhood (including abuse and neglect, exposure to domestic violence, parental substance misuse and mental health) and levels of violence and antisocial behaviour, mental health problems, school underperformance, economic underperformance and poor physical health in adulthood (Felitti & Anda, 2009). This means that schools have a much broader role to play than just increasing educational attainment for children they identify as vulnerable.

The evidence suggests that intervention may be necessary whenever difficulties arise in the lives of children and young people and needs to occur as soon as problems arise (Vincent, 2015a). Allen (2011) argued that services often fail children because they do not intervene until problems have become entrenched. Late intervention is expensive and often fails to achieve positive outcomes. Teachers and other primary school staff see children every day, with exceptions such as traveller children, school refusers and those who are home-schooled who are less likely to attend school, and are therefore well-placed to identify need at an early stage and respond to vulnerability in partnership with other agencies. Compulsory education has regular access to vulnerable children in a way that other agencies and services do not, which means that schools, particularly in the primary phase, are also well-positioned to link such services together and respond to vulnerable primary children's needs, in the same way that children's centres were designed to for pre-school children. According to Chowdry & Oppenheim (2015), early intervention for vulnerable children through public services, in which they include schools alongside other agencies including councils and healthcare providers, should have the ambitious target of:

> addressing the root causes of social disadvantage, ensuring that everyone is able to realise their full potential by developing the range of skills we all need to thrive. It is about getting extra, effective and timely interventions to all babies, children and young

people who need them, allowing them to flourish and preventing harmful and costly long-term consequences (Chowdry & Oppenheim, 2015: 4).

However, while the need for early intervention may appear inarguable in theory, it is complex to implement in practice and to evaluate. In an analysis of the early intervention literature undertaken almost 20 years ago, Guralnick (1998) contrasted the reproducibility of short term outcomes of early intervention with the need for intensive interventions across a child's life to achive longer term gains. He also identified specificity as the challenge for future initiatives and research, by which he meant the difficulty of addressing the interactions between child and family factors, the interventions and their outcomes. More recent research (for example, Lindsay et al, 2011; Ecclestone, 2011) suggests that such concerns have intensified a early intervention programmes have become even more fragmented and complex. This is not helped by the frequent confusion about what 'early' means in this context. It can refer to the 'early' stages in a child's life or the need to intervene as soon as possible after difficulties arise. We follow Lindsay et al (2011) in considering both of these meanings relevant in the context of the primary phase.

Schools have statutory responsibilities towards some vulnerable children including children who are in the child protection system and children in need (discussed in more detail in section one). Under the Children Act 2004 a range of agencies have a statutory duty to safeguard and promote the welfare of children. The Children and Young Person's Act 2008 placed similar responsibilities on schools (Parton et al, 2010). Although the education system is not a statutory child protection agency, schools may be involved in all parts of the child protection process. This may include referring a child about whom they have concerns to statutory agencies; being involved in strategy discussions with other agencies as part of an initial investigation; working with other agencies to assess a child's needs; attending case conferences to decide whether a child is in need of a child protection plan; or working alongside statutory agencies as part of a core group of professionals when a child has a child protection plan. Schools also play an important role in identifying and responding to vulnerability in children who are not in the child protection system. This means that it is important that all staff in schools have the skills and knowledge to be able to respond to vulnerability. Universal services are able to identify vulnerable children and families at an early stage and intervene to change their lives to prevent possible future pathways to abuse and neglect (O'Donnell, Scott and Stanley, 2008) and schools can work across the whole spectrum of vulnerability and need outlined in figure one.

We all have a responsibility to identify and respond to the needs of vulnerable children throughout childhood and primary schools are in an advantageous position to respond to vulnerability in children aged 4-11, in partnership with other agencies to provide an integrated, coordinated package of policies and support to address such children's needs. Integration is difficult. Schools can coordinate support but they cannot, and should not, try to provide all the support themselves. Schools are a place where agencies can meet to discuss ways in which they can meet children's needs. Parents may feel more comfortable meeting in school during or after school hours, if they have a positive relationship with school staff, and children may welcome having teachers or support staff they know coordinating support. In fact, schools may represent a safe place for children whose lives outside school are characterised by disadvantage, discontinuity or upheaval. School may be where they thrive

through engaging with friends or in extra-curricular activities, but only if provision meets their needs. The danger is that if it does not, education can become another 'structural aspect of a risky environment, presenting perils which some young people fail to navigate successfully' (Lumby, 2012: 261).
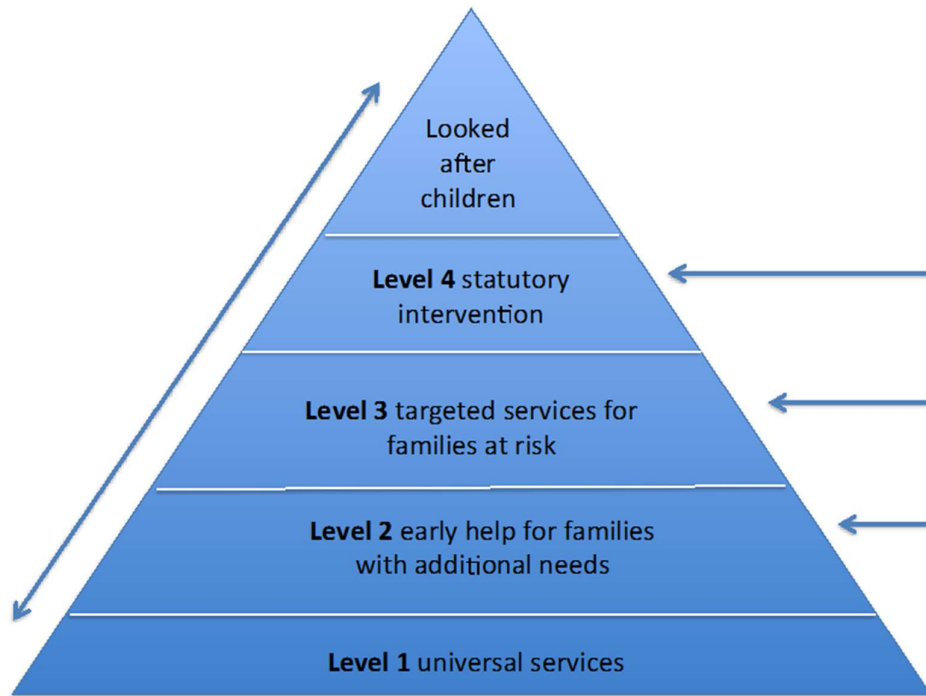
Figure 1: *The spectrum of vulnerability need* **(adapted from Lamont, Price-Robinson and Bromfield, 2010)**

Structure of the report

This report is not a systematic review. Rather, it draws on policy documents and research to offer a summary overview of how policy changes since the Coalition Government came to power in 2010 have affected how primary schools in particular might support vulnerable children. It also outlines some of the practice that has developed during the period. In doing so, we draw on and update aspects of previous survey reports undertaken for the Cambridge Primary Review (for example, Ainscow et al, 2010; Barron et al, 2010; Daniels and Porter, 2010). Although New Labour policy before 2010 had a strong focus on reducing social exclusion and supporting disadvantaged children through initiatives such as Every Child Matters (DfES, 2004a), it is noticeable from literature searches and our analysis of key policy documents that 'vulnerable children' has become a much more commonly used term in policy and research since 2010. In this report, we examine this development and policy shift by looking in the first section at how 'vulnerable children' have, or have not, been defined. In the second section, we briefly outline some of the key New Labour initiatives before focusing on the most influential of the relatively few national policy initiatives that have been developed to meet the needs of vulnerable children since 2010. The final section looks at, and tries to exemplify, some of the national, local and school policies and initiatives which directly

affect how primary schools can support vulnerable children. We have taken a dual perspective to approaching the still contentious and under-defined area of vulnerability in children, combining an educational perspective and a social welfare approach with the intention of shedding light on the phenomenon from these allied but different angles.

1 - DEFINING CHILDREN'S VULNERABILITY

This section examines issues related to defining the terms and scope of children's vulnerability, how vulnerability has been defined in research and policy, and the implications for how schools understand and approach vulnerability.

The difficulty of defining vulnerability in children

Daniel (2010: 231) has argued in the context of child protection that even where potential harm to children appears to make the need for a protective system incontrovertible, 'the explicit and implicit definitions of 'adversity', 'risk' and 'vulnerability' can have profound effects upon understandings about the most appropriate policy and practice response'. However, as Potter and Brotherton (2013: 1) emphasise in their introduction to a recent study of working with vulnerable children, there is no commonly accepted definition of vulnerability: 'the concept of vulnerable individuals or vulnerable social groups is often easier to talk about than to define' and it has been called a 'vague and nebulous concept', more often used than understood by practitioners (Brown, 2011: 314). Definitions have often reflected Campion's (1994: 5) conceptualisation which took a needs-based approach that distinguished between vulnerable children 'with developmental difficulties and those who live in deprived or damaging circumstances' or Mantle et al's (2006) distinction between conditions and effects. This takes us back to the emphasis placed by Pickett and Vanderbloemen (2015) on both individual needs and socio-economic demands, with which we began and which reflects longstanding sociological distinctions between structure and agency.

The fact that vulnerability remains under-defined has allowed the term often to be neutralised in policy:

> One of the results of this hybridization of the causes of vulnerability is that it has encouraged policy makers to depoliticize the notion of vulnerability and see it as something with common characteristics that is located in the outside world and which can be identified and measured. (Potter and Brotherton, 2013: 2).

Potter and Brotherton (2013) suggest that governments with a broadly social democratic perspective have tended to focus on developing structures which reduce or compensate for vulnerabilities - the creation of the Welfare State by the 1945 Labour Government is a pre-eminent example - and claim this has the effect of depersonalising the debate by underplaying individual factors. Neo-liberal governments, such as the Thatcher administrations of the 1990s or the Coalition and Conservative governments in power from 2010, have tended to reverse the focus, seeing vulnerability as a deficit or weakness and individuals as 'architects of their own disadvantage' (Potter and Brotherton, 2013: 7) who represent a cost to wider society. An example can be found in the Foreword to *Social Justice: transforming lives* (DWP, 2012: 1) by

Iain Duncan Smith, then as now Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, where he spoke of '120,000 troubled families whose lives are so chaotic they cost the Government some £9 billion in the last year alone'. Paliokosta and Blandford (2010: 184) have warned of the danger of professionals, including teachers, absorbing such characterisations to 'function in the context of a medical model and see the deficit within the child'. This is how vulnerability becomes a 'professional euphemism' (Alexander, 2010: 60), emptied of meaning or loaded with unexamined assumptions or judgements.

Characteristically, even while focusing strongly on attempting to overcome disadvantage, particularly in the second half of its period in power, the New Labour Government's policy was somewhat dichotomous. The Government tried to have it both ways by attempting to reconcile a concern with overcoming structural factors and an emphasis on parents' weaknesses through the introduction of key policies such as *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2004a) which is discussed in Section 2. Thus, the drivers behind the recent Special Educational Needs and Disability (SEND) reform (DfE, 2015a) can be traced back to the New Labour administration (DCSF, 2010), which the Coalition Government subsequently translated into a concern about 'perverse incentives to over-identify children as having SEN' (DCSF, 2010: 9) and the associated costs of such provision (Tomlinson, 2012). This is relevant in the context of this report both because special educational needs (SEN) are included in some categorisations of children's vulnerability and because it is part of the cost-cutting agenda also reflected in other key Coalition policies such as the Troubled Families programme (see Section 2). Finally, however, it should be noted that there have also been attempts to reclaim vulnerability as a 'progressive attribute of an understanding, empathetic citizenship' (Ecclestone & Lewis, 2014: 207) and use it as a means to reject the division, common in policy, between autonomous individuals and those who need support and care (Sherwood-Johnson, 2013).

Vulnerability in social and education policy since 2010

The rather uncertain position this leaves us in with regard to defining vulnerability in children underlines the importance of also examining how vulnerable children, and families, have been discussed and defined in policy since the Coalition Government came to power in 2010. It is noticeable that the term 'vulnerable child' does not feature as strongly in the exploration of policy in previous Cambridge Primary Review research reports and final report (produced between 2007-2010) as it has more recently in subsequent policy documents. When it did appear, it is in the historical context of concerns about child protection in the 1970s and inter-agency working in the 1990s, which Barron et al (2010: 123) locate 'within a compensatory discourse of cultural and social deficit', which as we have seen still endures. From 2010 onwards, vulnerability again becomes a key term in the school context. It is used repeatedly, and variously, in *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010), the Coalition Government's White Paper which signalled sweeping changes to the education landscape in England, but there is no definition of the term provided. For that we have to turn to other government policies.

Table one summarises five taxonomies drawn from four key policy documents, which remain active or influential, and a research paper. Each document has a different starting point, focus, and breadth of field. Here we will briefly discuss the implications of these categorisations and the documents from which they have been extracted from. In so doing, we reflect Ainscow et al's (2010: 197) insight that 'difference in the primary school population is not so much

identified as constructed […] and that implications for policy and practice flow from these constructions'. Thus, their variability is one of the most striking features of these taxonomies. The vulnerabilities, which are variously described as 'problems', 'disadvantages', and 'risk factors' in the documents, relate to the child, their parent(s) or carer(s) and the socio-economic context in which they live. Mental health is the only vulnerability common to all five documents. After this, structural contextual factors affecting a child's family are the most commonly cited – poverty, parents' unemployment, and domestic violence, then criminality and substance abuse, along with a child being in need of protection, which is both a response to, and an indicator of, vulnerability. Two vulnerabilities – having SEN and having a disability – are individual to the child and only one, non-attendance at school, is directly related to the child's agency. We now consider each of these five documents in turn and examine their impact, both in relation to the conceptualisation of vulnerability in childhood and to policymaking.

Working together to safeguard children (HM Government, 2015)

There are clear procedures in place for working with a child who is deemed to be at risk of 'significant harm'. Legislation defines the circumstances and threshold at which the statutory child protection system is legally required to intervene to protect a child. In England, the Children Act 1989 stipulates that if statutory services have reasonable cause to suspect that a child is suffering, or likely to suffer 'significant harm', they have a duty to make child protection enquiries. Inter-agency guidance which in England is known as Working Together to Safeguard Children supports this legislation. It outlines the way in which cases should be investigated and managed if it is suspected that a child may be at risk of 'significant harm'. The guidance is for all professionals who work with children. *Working Together under the Children Act 1989: A Guide to Arrangements for Inter-agency Co-operation for the Protection of Children from abuse* (Home Office et al, 1991) was introduced in 1991 following the 1989 Children Act. It has been updated on numerous occasions since then. The latest version of the guidance originally developed in 1991 is *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (HM Government, 2015) [Table 1, column 1]. In addition, every organisation which comes into contact with children has its own procedures: *Keeping Children Safe in Education* (DfE, 2015b) is the latest guidance for education staff. If a child is considered to be at risk of significant harm he or she will be categorised under a specific type of abuse neglect; physical abuse or injury; sexual abuse or emotional abuse. These categories are outlined in Working Together, which also provides a framework for responding to any 'concerns about a child's welfare' (Parton et al, 2010). In addition to having responsibilities to protect children at risk of harm, the 1989 Children Act also placed a duty on agencies to 'safeguard and promote the welfare of children in their area who are in need'. In some cases a child may not meet the high threshold for child protection procedures but may receive support as a 'child in need'. In other cases a child may have had their child protection needs met in which case a child protection conference may decide that they no longer require a child protection plan but they may decide that the child still must be offered support as a 'child in need'. Therefore, 'children in need' comprises a much wider list of vulnerabilities than child abuse.

Accordingly, *Working together to safeguard children* (HM Government, 2015), is the most child-focused of the documents summarised in table 1. It highlights seven areas of children's vulnerability, based on the requirement for professionals to 'identify the symptoms and

triggers of abuse and neglect' (HM Government, 2015: 13). It is the only taxonomy to identify SEN as a specific vulnerability and also collates challenging family circumstances such as substance abuse, adult mental health problems and domestic violence. It is the only classification to refer to the issue of children as carers and also highlights the potential risks of children returning to their family from care. However, it does not address key structural areas such as poverty, unemployment or housing or vulnerabilities associated with parents such as having low levels of qualifications (Dixon et al, 2013).

CATEGORY	HM Govt (2015)	Ofsted (2013)	SETF (2007)	DCLG (2015)	Sabates & Dex (2012)
Parental mental health/other illness	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Poverty/low income		✓	✓	✓	✓
Domestic violence	✓	✓		✓	✓
Criminality	✓	✓		✓	
Parental unemployment			✓	✓	✓
Child in need of protection	✓	✓		✓	
Parental substance abuse	✓	✓			✓
Looked after child	✓	✓			
Poor housing			✓		✓
Lone and/or teenage parents		✓			✓
Parents' (lack of) qualifications			✓		✓
SEN	✓				
Child's disability	✓				
Non-attendance at school				✓	
Child carer	✓				
Transience		✓			

Table 1: *Categories of vulnerability (children and families)*

Ofsted framework (2013)

Ofsted's *Framework for children's centre inspection* (Ofsted, 2013) [table 1, column 2] has important implications for primary schools although they fall outside its specific remit. This framework appears to be an attempt to be all-encompassing and has the highest number of categories (12) of the classifications we analysed. They are presented as 'target groups' requiring 'particularly perceptive intervention and/or additional support' (some of the groups have been amalgamated in table 1). However, the report is nevertheless at pains to emphasise that it is 'not exhaustive and does not imply that young children or families in any of these categories require additional support' (Ofsted, 2013: 25). Its focus is on the family and it addresses key areas such as poverty, parents' criminality, and being a lone or young parent. It is also the only classification that highlights the characteristic of belonging to a transient family, reflecting one of the key Pupil Premium criteria, and includes 'families identified as "troubled families"' as a catch-all category. However, it does not refer to other key areas, such as parental unemployment or children's disability. Unlike the other classifications examined, fathers of all kinds, particularly teenage fathers and those in custody, are identified as a specific target group without further explanation. Another catch-all target group is 'those with protected characteristics'. These characteristics reflect some classifications of 'hard to reach' groups and according to the report 'may include those for whom English is an additional language; those from minority ethnic groups; those from Gypsy, Roma and Traveller families; or those from lesbian, gay or transgender families' (Ofsted, 2013: 25).

Families at Risk (SETF, 2007)

The *Families at Risk* taxonomy developed by the Social Exclusion Task Force under the New Labour Government is included in table 1 [table 1, column 3] because it has influenced policy development in both the Coalition government's Troubled Families programme (see below) and policy in other UK countries, notably Scotland (Stone, 2013). Like the Ofsted classification, it is family-focused and was based on analysis of the longitudinal Families and Children Study. It identifies seven 'disadvantages', which are: one parent's illness or disability; a mother's mental health problems (but not a father's); unemployment; having a low income; being unable to afford key items; poor housing; and parents with no qualifications. In fact, the list resembles key aspects of 'children who do not have enabling homes' identified in an earlier Cambridge Primary Review research survey (Mayall, 2010: 54). Other areas, such as criminality, domestic violence, or substance abuse are not included. The report also stated that around 2% of families with children in Britain experience five or more of the disadvantages identified, equating to around 140,000 families who were regarded as facing 'multiple and entrenched problems' (SETF, 2007: 4), although it did not provide a rationale for its selection of five of the seven disadvantages as a threshold. This acknowledgement of the importance of taking account of the interaction of multiple disadvantages, or vulnerabilities, influenced the development of the Coalition's Troubled Families programme, which arrived at a slightly lower number of families (120,000) in need of support. These are the 'interlinked inequalities' highlighted in the CPR final report (Alexander, 2010: 110). However, the various estimates of the number of families affected by multiple disadvantages and of the costs associated with supporting them which have their origin in the *Families at Risk* report have subsequently been challenged (see, for example, Levitas, 2012).

Troubled Families (DCLG, 2015)

The Troubled Families programme [table 1, column 4] is discussed and critiqued in detail in Section 2 of this report.   The vulnerabilities identified, which the Troubled Families documentation refers to as 'problems', have changed since the programme was initiated in 2011. Then, there were only four categories for identifying a family as 'troubled': crime/anti-social behaviour; children not in school; adult on out of work benefits; and, most tellingly, causing 'high costs to the public purse' (DCLG, 2012). A 'local discretion filter' could also be applied to address the final criterion and families that met only some of the criteria but were a cause for concern could also be added. Levitas (2012) has discussed the difficulty involved in determining and applying these criteria. In the expanded programme (DCLG, 2015), 'troubled families' are identified when they are considered to be experiencing two or more of the six problem categories. The first three criteria from the original programme were retained, supplemented by children in need or subject to a Child Protection Plan; domestic violence or abuse; and parents or children with a range of health problems.

Multiple risk factors in young children's development (Sabates and Dex, 2012)

Sabates and Dex's research paper (2012) has been included in the analysis because they offer a more in-depth problematisation of the issues involved in identifying multiple vulnerabilities, which they refer to as 'risk factors' [Table 1, column 5]. Their list of factors, based on analysis of data from the Millennium Cohort Study, combines most of the categories in the Families at Risk and troubled families taxonomies. Focusing on family processes, factors and environmental characteristics, it does not include criminality but does address domestic violence, substance abuse, housing, lack of basic skills, and teenage parenthood. What is more important to recognise, however, is their concern with emphasising the complexity of attempting to address multiple vulnerabilities at the same time:

> Analyses of MCS children's outcomes at ages three and five suggested that being exposed to two or more risks in first years of life is likely to disadvantage children's cognitive and behavioural development as they grow up. Similar associations were found for children living in households with low income. Some studies have suggested that income may be more important for cognitive outcomes than other features of the family. We found that both low income and the experience of other risks in the family are important for child development, but more important are the problems associated with compounding risks. The greater the number of risks experienced by the child, the greater the problems that the child will face during the lifecourse (Sabates and Dex, 2012: 22).

They also found that there were not obvious sets of circumstances that together could be described as risk types or clusters: 'our findings point to the conclusion that there is relatively little to be gained by policy from tackling clusters of disadvantage rather than individual disadvantages' (Sabates and Dex, 2012: 23). This suggests that government claims that initiatives such as the Troubled Families' programme have 'turned around' a significant proportion of families involved should be treated with caution. It also suggests that schools and other agencies should regard recognising vulnerabilities, such as those collated in table 1, as a trigger for consideration and support, rather than as prompts for immediate referral to

other agencies. There are also vulnerabilities that do not appear in any of the taxonomies included in table one, such as family homelessness, children outside of mainstream education including those who are excluded or home schooled, parents with a learning disability, and involvement in bullying. Mantle et al identified the close association between vulnerability and bullying:

> Children with special educational needs can also be "vulnerable" in terms of their own emotional and behavioural difficulties and because they may be more likely to be subjected to taunts and bullying (Mantle et al, 2006: 42).

However, it is also important to recognise that the act of bullying may itself be caused by a child's vulnerability and thus also be an indicator of a child in need of support.

Previous research has suggested that many of the vulnerabilities identified in table one have significant effects on children and families. Parental substance misuse, mental health and domestic violence may impact on parents' capacity to care for their child and should be taken into account in assessments of need. In families where more than one of these factors is found children may be more vulnerable (Vincent, 2010; Sidebotham et al, 2011). Similarly, environmental factors such as poverty, housing problems or unemployment can be significant stress factors for families. In isolation, poverty, housing problems or unemployment may not be indicators of vulnerability but as Brandon et al. (2002) pointed out they may form a backdrop to other factors likely to impede parents' capacity to meet the developmental needs of their child. Professionals therefore need to consider the implications of these structural factors in families where parenting problems may already have been identified (Vincent 2010). For example, moving house frequently, poor attendance at school or persistent lateness may be an indicator that something is wrong.

Recent research relevant to vulnerable children in the primary phase was also examined, although it was noticeable that this was much more likely to problematise existing definitions of vulnerability than develop new definitions or clarify existing ones. The research examined fell into three broad camps, tending either to reflect the definitional opacity of the policy literature (for example, Brown, 2011); to focus on a specific group, such as looked after children (Brewin and Statham, 2013), or a single intervention (Binnie & Allen, 2008); or to criticise the vagueness or inappropriate application of the term 'vulnerable' (Ecclestone, 2011; Sabates and Dex, 2012). In focusing on emotional and psychological vulnerability, Ecclestone (2011, 2012) offers a potential way past this in her identification of two common themes in contemporary social policy which she connects with the emergence of an increasingly therapeutic culture (Furedi, 2003; Wright, 2008): consensus and crisis. The crisis relates to 'an increase in formal and informal estimates of the numbers of people experiencing, variously, poor emotional well-being, lack of emotional literacy, and emotional vulnerability' (Ecclestone 2011: 98), which like Daniel (2010) she associates with expanded, but conceptually imprecise notions of 'vulnerability' in both education and health services for children and adults. The consensus that has developed alongside this is that 'certain universal interventions prevent future mental illness whilst helping those with early problems' which are said to parallel attempts in welfare and health policy to develop 'asset-based' interventions (Ecclestone, 2012: 466). The effects of this have included an increase in interventions intended to develop emotional skills in children and young people and the expansion of cognitively-

derived ability labels, disorders and syndromes. For Daniel (2010: 235), 'vulnerability appears simultaneously to be conceptualised broadly and narrowly with a view that all children are vulnerable, but some are more vulnerable than others'. Parton (2008) associates this dual focus with increased levels of regulation and surveillance of children as a whole and Newman and Blackburn (2002) regard current preoccupations with reducing or eliminating risk for children as potentially increasing the risk of poor outcomes such as poor mental or physical health. This has made it problematic for research and practice to assess the effectiveness of policies and interventions for vulnerable children:

> In the light of conceptual confusion, strong advocacy for intervention and competing claims about the best approach, it is difficult to see how evaluations of interventions can offer more than contradictory or inconclusive evidence. Nor […] do we yet know their long term effects. (Ecclestone, 2012: 469)

All of this leads us to suggest that, rather than focusing on definitions, schools adopt a needs-based construction of vulnerability based on a holistic approach which takes as its starting point the fact that a child may be affected by multiple, interacting vulnerabilies. This has parallels with the 'more fluid constructions of diversity' advocated by Ainscow et al (2010: 213). It also suggests the need for a more ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Belsky, 1993) in which schools work with partnership with other agencies to bring together universal *and* selective local interventions (Brewin and Statham, 2011; Cefai and Camilleri, 2015) in putting the child and their needs at the centre of support, rather than moving directly to referral to support services. This is closer to the rights- and asset-based approaches common in countries such as Scotland, in which vulnerable children are regarded as having special educational, complex and/or additional needs, while acknowledging concerns that have been expressed about the tendency of some such approaches to assessing risk and resilience to be regarded as moralising (Ecclestone and Lewis, 2014) and the difficulty of evaluating asset-based approaches (Packham and Foster, 2014). Schools and other agencies working with children must take into account the fact that children's needs can be caused by a range of intrinsic and extrinsic factors, which practitioners have to be in a position to be able to identify and recognise, before they can be used as indicators of a child's need.

From definitions to indicators

Schools may also benefit from more guidance in recognising potential indicators of vulnerability in children. The vulnerability indicators outlined here are intended to be used by schools to think about children's potential vulnerability. They are not risk factors and they may not be significant when considered in isolation. As we have emphasised, it is the coexistence, and interaction, of multiple vulnerability factors which are likely to be most important in predicting vulnerability (Vincent, 2010; Sabates and Dex, 2012). The indicators identified here have been separated into three needs-led categories: child, parent/carer, and environmental, and are intended to be used by professionals in schools to identify need and potential support in partnership with other agencies.

Child indicators

- *Educational indicators:* low attendance/often late/ attainment below what might be expected.
- *Behavioural indicators:* withdrawn/depressed; fatigue/listlessness; hunger/stealing or begging for food; inhibition to play; wary of personal contact; not wanting to change for PE; disruptive, aggressive behaviour or habit disorders e.g. rocking; self-harming; not wanting to go home with carer; inappropriate sexual behaviour/ knowledge of sex.
- *Health indicators:* serious health problem or disability; delayed physical or emotional development; significant weight loss/gain; unattended health needs.
- *Other indicators:* victim or perpetrator of bullying; poor hygiene; dirty or inappropriate clothing; low self-esteem; poor peer relationships; running away; unexplained bruising/other injury.

Parent/carer indicators

- *Behavioural indicators:* often late to pick up child; appears to be under the influence of substances; exhibits disturbing behaviour; evasive when questioned about bruises, non-attendance etc.; aggressive towards child or staff; uncooperative; lack of understanding of children's needs; negative interactions with child; appears stressed.
- *Health indicators:* learning disability; physical disability or other significant health issue.
- *Other indicators:* different partners picking up the child; not attending parents evening or school meetings or responding to written communication; large number of children to care for.

Environmental indicators

- *Socioeconomic indicators:* unemployment; low income.
- *Housing indicators:* transience; homelessness; living in overcrowded or inadequate housing.
- *Community indicators:* social isolation; family facing problems in their community.

2 - RECENT NATIONAL POLICY INITIATIVES

Just as definitions of vulnerability are influenced by the political philosophies and prejudices of the Government in power, the reach and targeting of the policies they develop to address vulnerability are also subject to ideological push and pull. In order to understand current and recent social policy, it is important first to contextualise it and compare it to the policies and legislation that preceded it. As we have already emphasised, the New Labour Government introduced a number of policies and programmes aimed to address what it termed 'social exclusion'. This shift is described with reference to three key policies: (i) Sure Start, (ii) the assessment of need, and (iii) Every Child Matters and safeguarding.

National policy from 1997-2010

Sure Start

The Labour Government which was elected in 1997 aimed to reduce social exclusion and created the Social Exclusion Unit in 1997 and subsequently the Social Exclusion Task Force in 2006 (Barron et al, 2010). Policies focused on children and young people were at the heart of New Labour's plans which placed a strong focus on improving educational attainment (Parton et al, 2010; Powell, 2008). Family support was seen as a major contributor to combating social exclusion (Featherstone, 2004) by increasing opportunities for children and young people, particularly those from poorer backgrounds (Hills et al., 2009). There was a particular emphasis on 'education, the care and wellbeing of children, financial support for families with children, services for families, parental employment, work/family reconciliation and family functioning' (Daly, 2010). The Labour administration invested heavily in the early years of childhood as part of their commitment to end child poverty, developing interventions designed to improve the social, emotional, and cognitive wellbeing of vulnerable and disadvantaged infants in the belief that the quality of childcare and education in these early childhood years significantly affected children's life chances (Pithouse and Emlyn Jones, 2015). Sure Start, launched in 1999, offered targeted parenting support for mothers as well as a range of supports for children in disadvantaged communities delivered in children's centres.

From an initial 250 projects, Sure Start was later expanded significantly. This was widely supported as a welcome shift towards universal provision (Eisenstadt 2011) in the recognition that targeted programmes could not meet the needs of all families. Indeed the national evaluations of Sure Start (NESST 2008; 2010; 2012) identified some positive developmental outcomes for infants but noted that the aims of the programme were not met in respect of some 'hard to reach' populations and that the subsequent introduction of universal free early education for all children had made it difficult to evaluate Sure Start's longer term effects.

Assessment of need

Prior to 1997, children's policy had focused very much on risk. After this point, there was a much greater focus on 'need' and this was reflected in policy and guidance on assessment (Parton et al, 2010). The 1999 version of *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (see pp. 9-10 for more information on *Working Together*) discussed the need to assess all children in need, including those where there were child protection concerns, and the Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families (DoH, 2000) was published shortly after this. Both documents placed much greater emphasis on 'safeguarding and promoting the welfare of the child' which was later defined in guidance as protecting children from maltreatment; preventing impairment of children's health or development; ensuring children grow up in circumstances consistent with the provision of safe and effective care; and undertaking that role so as to enable those children to have optimum life chances and to enter adulthood successfully (HM Government, 2006).

The Common Assessment Framework (CAF) was introduced in England in 2004 but local authorities were not required to use it until 2008. Although the CAF uses the same domains as the Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families and is similarly

based on an ecological approach, it was intended to be used to identify children who might have additional needs at an earlier stage (Stafford et al 2012). It also introduced the concepts of very early assessment and multi-agency intervention to meet additional needs of children for whom professionals had concerns about their progress. The aim was to bring professionals together at an early stage to offer support to any children with additional needs, although there was evidence that different threshold criteria were adopted locally in order to manage demand (Garrett, 2009) and that CAF assessments were not equally available to all children with 'additional' needs (Gilligan and Manby, 2008). There were also concerns that the CAF would change the role of universal services as 'reporters or detectors of problems and concerns to the main players in facilitating families to finds resolutions to their problems' (Adamson and Deverell, 2009). Brandon et al (2006) found that assessing children holistically required a new set of skills and new ways of thinking for practitioners in education and health, and professionals in the Adamson and Deverell (2009) study expressed concerns about the length of the CAF process. Although the CAF was intended as a tool to identify need at an early stage and universal services, including schools, were not supposed to refer on unless needs could not be met within their own agency, universal services often used it as a tool to identify risk and this resulted in an increase in referrals to children's social care following its introduction (Adamson & Deverell, 2009; Simpson 2015).

Every Child Matters (ECM) and Safeguarding

The Every Child Matters (ECM) programme (DfES, 2004a) was a response to the Laming Report (2003) on the death of Victoria Climbié and to *Safeguarding Children: A Joint Chief Inspector's Report on Arrangements to Safeguard Children* (Department of Health 2002) which had similar findings to the Laming report (Frost and Parton 2009). It was a strategy for establishing integrated children's services to improve outcomes for all children and as such created tensions in its attempts to bring together empowerment and enforcement (Barron et al, 2010; Daniels & Porter, 2010). The ECM vision was to bring about a 'shift to prevention while strengthening protection' (DfES, 2004b). The priority would be to intervene at a much earlier stage in children's lives in order to prevent a range of problems in later life in relation to educational attainment, unemployment, crime and anti-social behaviour. Ambitiously, it included all children since it was felt that any child might be vulnerable at some point in their life and might require help (Parton et al 2010; Ainscow et al, 2010). Practice would be determined by the needs of the child, there would be a continuum of services from early intervention through to child protection risks, and children and families would get a more 'joined up', coordinated response without the need for multiple assessments. The Children Act (2004) aimed to give statutory force to the new, shared vision of a child-centred, outcomes-based approach to child welfare services within ECM, to create clearer accountability between agencies, to enable better joint working to improve children's wellbeing and to secure a better focus on safeguarding children (Rose 2009; Frost and Parton 2009; Luckock 2007). Section 11 imposed a duty on agencies working with children and young people to safeguard and protect their welfare and every local authority had to merge their education departments with their children's social care departments.

The Green Paper (Chief Secretary to the Treasury, 2003) outlined a number of risk factors that would be likely to lead to poor outcomes for children and was an early attempt in policy to acknowledge the interaction of multiple risk factors, discussed in Section 1. Factors identified

included low income and parental unemployment; homelessness; poor parenting; children's low birth weight; individual characteristics such as intelligence; and community factors, such as living in a disadvantaged area. However, concerns were expressed about the conflict between ECM's holistic approach and the continuation of the testing regime in schools (Robinson and Fielding, 2010) and the death of Peter Connolly in 2008 raised significant questions about the effectiveness of the Labour Government's ECM and safeguarding policy. The Government had claimed that it introduced ECM as a response to the Laming report to ensure that such a failure would not again occur in children's services, yet Haringey was once again involved in a very high profile scandal (Parton et al, 2010). The case prompted a refocusing away from 'safeguarding' back towards 'child protection', which began with the Munro review (2011) and continued with the election of the Coalition Government in 2010. The change in policy direction under the Coalition Government was signalled explicitly by the change of name from the Department of Children, Schools and Families to the Department for Education and the deletion of *Every Child Matters* documents from the new Department's website overnight in May 2010 (Rose, 2015).

National policy since 2010

Alongside jettisoning *Every Child Matters*, the Coalition Government claimed to place much greater emphasis on professional autonomy and localism, although this has been questioned in a range of contexts (see, for example, Ludwig & Ludwig, 2014). Policy was therefore not characterised by an overall integrative approach, rather by a small number of national initiatives designed to be complemented by local initiatives. This overview of national policy since the Coalition Government assumed power in 2010 discusses three key policies. Two are from England: early help and the Troubled Families programme, and one is from Scotland: Getting it Right for Every Child.

Early help

The Coalition Government's policy for vulnerable children needs to be considered within the context of acute social and economic challenges which have placed a huge strain on children's services. Austerity policies, which have been sustained since the election in 2015 by the new Conservative Government, have meant that local authorities have faced severe funding pressure at a time when families are experiencing additional debt, housing and employment pressures. Within this context of public service cuts resources need to be used more effectively and governments and the devolved administrations across the UK which are charged with the task of developing effective services to meet the needs of children and families and improve outcomes, have inevitably recognised the value of early intervention and the role that schools can play in it (Vincent, 2015a). Since 2010, government policy in England has therefore placed considerable emphasis on the concept of 'early help'.

Early help is premised on the fact that all children should be able to get the help they need when they need it. This means developing new ways of working with vulnerable children and families and moving from reactive late responses to anticipating problems at an early stage. Primary schools are clearly well-placed to contribute to such ways of working in partnership with key agencies such as health and social services. Despite criticisms of its emphasis on risk and interpretation of evidence from neuroscience (Featherstone et al, 2014a; McCrory et al,

2012), the Allen report (2011) has been highly influential and has been promoted as government policy. The Munro review of child protection (2011) played an important role in emphasising the need for early help. Munro praised the 'Hackney model' which is premised on early intervention and accurate assessment and brings together a range of professionals including child psychologists in small locality-based teams headed by a consultant social worker.

However, despite this emphasis on early help the Coalition Government ended the Labour Government's child poverty pledge and the Coalition and Conservative Governments have implemented a series of austerity policies which have impacted disproportionately on vulnerable children and families through benefit cuts and cuts to services (Lupton et al, 2015). A realignment of welfare expenditure has reduced spending on working age adults and children by £7 billion (Hood and Philips, 2015). In addition, Sure Start expenditure has fallen by 32% since 2010 (Lupton et al, 2015) and there have been 622 Sure Start closures since the coalition took office. The CAF has continued but has been adapted into a shorter family assessment in most local authorities in recognition of the need for child and family assessment and professionals' complaints about how long it took to undertake lengthy assessments on each child in the family.

Troubled Families

As we have seen, the Conservative Government continues to insist it is committed to early intervention and prevention, but the focus of recent national policy initiatives, has moved from all children and families with additional needs to a 'troubled' or 'troubling' substratum of families who are deemed 'suitable for treatment' (Levitas 2012; Pithouse & Emlyn Jones, 2015). As we have indicated, the Troubled Families Programme is a whole family, multi-faceted, intensive intervention which was initially targeted at 120,000 families in England. The Government provided £448 million, £4,000 for each troubled family a local authority worked with. The Government claimed these families were causing problems to the community and were a heavy cost on the public purse. The Troubled Families Programme changed the whole discourse around vulnerable children and families placing much more emphasis on blame, cost and crime. It was introduced following the 2011 summer riots when the Prime Minister asserted that:

> We've known for years that a relatively small number of families are the source of a large proportion of the problems in society. Alcohol abuse. Crime. A culture of disruption and irresponsibility that cascades through generations. We've always known that these families cost an extraordinary amount of money. But now we've come up with the actual figures. Last year the state spent an estimated £9 billion on just 120,000 families. That is around £75,000 per family. (David Cameron, cited in Levitas, 2012: 6)

Similar claims were made, using similar language, by other key players in relation to the troubled families programme in 2012, notably Eric Pickles when he was Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government and Louise Casey, Director General of the programme. Despite the contentiousness of such claims, the Programme was extended to 400,000 more families in 2013.

The Allen report (2011) emphasised the fact that families who needed support are characterised by drug or alcohol misuse, crime, domestic violence and show poor bonding, social isolation, poor parenting skills, postnatal depression, lack of stimulation for the child and negative behaviour management. However, while Allen argued that these difficulties may be the consequences of poverty rather than the causes of poverty, the Coalition and Conservative governments have arguably used the evidence in the report to demonise the poor and blame parents for their children's problems (Simpson, 2015). The financial report on the Troubled Families Programme (DCLG, 2012) describes poor families being beset by a range of personal failings which need to be addressed through early intervention, reflecting the shift towards an moralising focus on individual responsibility criticised by Featherstone et al (2014b) and Ecclestone and Lewis (2014), and away from consideration of some of the structural causes of vulnerability we have already identified.

By March 2015 the Government was claiming that 89.6% of families had been 'turned around' through the Troubled Families Programme and that there were estimated average cost savings of £11,200 per family. There has, however, been significant criticism of these figures and the approach which has been taken to turning families around (Fletcher et al, 2012). Many local authorities did not like the term 'troubled families' and some areas have renamed their local Troubled Families programmes. For example, it is called Think Family in Birmingham and the Families Programme in Liverpool (see below). There is also evidence to suggest that most of the people targeted were not involved in crime or anti-social behaviour and were not alcohol or drug-dependent. Most were poor and unemployed and both adults and children had high levels of mental and physical illnesses and disabilities which was why their support costs were so high. The National Evaluation of the Troubled Families Programme (ECORYS UK, 2014) found that 90% of adults had not committed a criminal offence and a further 93% of adults, and 88% of children, had no record of anti-social behaviour. However the evaluation did find that the families suffered high levels of health problems and disabilities. 39% of adults had a child or children with SEN statements and 46% had a child with school problems; 15% had a child with a temporary exclusion. The families were also poor and often living in social housing. Thus, the common characteristics shared by most families were poverty, unemployment, illness and disability and a high welfare cost to the state. The evaluation provided little evidence that the families who have been included in the Troubled Families Programme were likely to be 'turned around' in the long term, as Louise Casey admitted in a speech to a meeting of the Reform think tank in 2014:

> As hard as it is to accept, the truth is despite our best efforts over many years - and I include myself in that - we just haven't got it right. We haven't succeeded in getting these families to change or in stopping the transmission of problems from generation to generation. (Wirralleaks.wordpress.com)

Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) in Scotland

The policy context in Scotland offers an illuminating contrast to England's focus on a small group of vulnerable and 'troubled' families. Scotland's national policy framework for children, GIRFEC, recognised the need for change in all agencies working with children and families and involved whole system change and focused on addressing cultures, systems and practice simultaneously. The universal approach to all children, building on the universal

services of education and health 'has permeated every aspect of central and local government policy concerning the well-being of children as well as the practice of every agency in touch or working with children and their families' (Rose, 2015).

For Scotland's Children (Scottish Executive 2001) paved the way for an integrated approach to children's services facilitating a new way of working across agencies and organisational structures where children's needs would be met wherever possible by universal health and education services (Aldgate, 2010; Rose, 2015). Under GIRFEC which was launched in 2005 and rolled out nationally from 2008, a national, integrated framework for assessment, planning and recording was introduced to be used by all agencies to ensure that 'children get the help they need when they need it' (Scottish Executive, 2005). GIRFEC is based on an ecological understanding of children's development which promotes strengths and resilience and the importance of families and friendships, schools and communities in supporting children (Rose 2009). A shared concept of children's wellbeing was developed, using a common language and tools across all services, which forms a coordinated framework together with a National Practice Model for assessing how well a child is doing and what needs to change to improve their outcomes (Aldgate, 2010). GIRFEC is supported by policies in education (A Curriculum for Excellence: Scottish Executive 2004), health (Health for All Children 4: Scottish Executive, 2005) and the early years (The Early Years Framework: Scottish Government and COSLA 2008).

To facilitate the delivery of support when it is needed a Named Person for every child from birth to 18 in the universal services - usually a health visitor for pre-school children and a teacher for school age children - was charged with ensuring that children have the right help in place to support their wellbeing, including coordinating arrangements for intervention for children with additional needs. The Named Person is now a mandatory requirement under the Children and Young People (2014) Act, along with a single planning system for each child and new statutory functions for sharing information (Scottish Government, 2014). After early fears about teachers' reluctance to take on Named Person responsibility, teachers and guidance staff in schools, who already provided support and pastoral care for children and their families, appeared to adjust to the new changes (Rose 2015).

In contrast to England, stability and coherence have characterised children's policy development in Scotland. GIRFEC was initially introduced by the Scottish Labour Party but has remained a policy priority of the SNP Government and has cross-party support in local authorities (Children in Scotland, 2014). Additionally, although it is a national policy framework, the Scottish Government has encouraged local authorities to develop local strategies and solutions. It is likely that the political and cultural differences, compared to England, that have been reflected in the frequent election of centre-left governments in Scotland have led to the implementation of more progressive, universalist child welfare policies than has been evident in England (Stafford et al 2012); Drakeford (2005) has made similar comments in relation to welfare policies in Wales. There is evidence that GIRFEC has resulted in better integrated working between education, social work and health services and earlier identification of vulnerabilities and earlier support and intervention (Stradling and McNeil, 2009; Rose, 2015) and schools have played their part in achieving this. However, Rose (2015) argues that there is now a need to ensure that there is consistent implementation across

Scotland and to demonstrate that the programme has actually had an impact on individual children's wellbeing in both the short and the long term.

3 - POLICIES FOCUSED ON SCHOOLS AND IN-SCHOOL RESPONSES

This section is divided into three sections which focus on national, local, and school-based policies and initiatives affecting how schools work with vulnerable children.

National policies

This begins with a brief discussion of a key Coalition policy document, *The Importance of Teaching*, and a flagship policy, The Pupil Premium. They remain central to the current Conservative administration's education policy and emblematic of their approach to supporting vulnerable children.

The Importance of Teaching (DfE, 2010)

There are 13 references to vulnerable pupils or children in the 2010 Schools White Paper, *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010). Nine of these refer to local authorities, which even in an era of increasing academisation and school autonomy, are said to retain 'a strong strategic role as champions for parents and families, for vulnerable pupils and of educational excellence' (DfE, 2010: 61). Vulnerable pupils are said to include 'looked after children, those with Special Educational Needs and those outside mainstream education'. Later in the document, local authorities are held to be 'best placed to act as the champion for vulnerable pupils in their area' (DfE, 2010: 64). In this context, the focus is on ensuring provision for disabled children and those with SEN. This is not a role that is described in detail in a document which otherwise promotes schools' independence from local authority oversight. The other references to vulnerable children relate more narrowly to bullying, alternative provision, exclusion and their overrepresentation in failing schools. As Tomlinson (2012: 281) has argued, the emphasis in the White Paper and subsequent policy on performativity and making teachers more accountable for pupil attainment also affects disadvantaged pupils:

> But there was to be more official recognition that this could not be done without the removal of more problematic and disruptive young people from mainstream classrooms; hence a whole chapter was devoted to disruptive behaviour and ways of excluding the disruptive.

This echoes and intensifies concerns expressed in several CPR research surveys about the tensions in New Labour's dual focus on raising standards and promoting inclusion (Daniels & Porter, 2010; Ainscow et al, 2010).

DfE subsequently commissioned two research projects which are relevant to this report. In the first, Parish et al (2012: 10) found that the nine local authorities involved appeared to be at that point 'less confident that, together with schools, they will continue to be able to offer good quality support for the most vulnerable children' (which are not defined) than they were in their capacity to meet other priorities. The local authorities' concerns were two-fold: securing

a good quality school place for every vulnerable child and ensuring every vulnerable child received the best possible combination of services and support to enable them to succeed. Other concerns highlighted were that schools were less confident commissioning services for the most vulnerable pupils than they were in commissioning school improvement services. Finally, some local authorities feared that increased school autonomy could 'lead to individual schools deciding to "opt out" of taking their fair share of students who face multiple challenges and are consequently hard to place' (Parish et al, 2012: 10).

Follow-up research in 2014 in ten local authorities (Sandals & Bryant, 2014) found that approaches to supporting vulnerable children were evolving more gradually than school improvement and place-planning (the other areas examined in the research) and that school leaders were less certain and confident about the future evolution of support for vulnerable children than in the other areas. While they found examples of schools developing expertise and partnerships in supporting vulnerable children, they also emphasised that primary school leaders were less confident than secondary or special school leaders as to whether there is the right provision for vulnerable children across their local system. They attributed this to the fact that primaries are traditionally more reliant on LA support for vulnerable children and, being smaller than secondaries, have less internal capacity to develop or commission support themselves. Some of the examples in Sections 2 and 3 of this report illustrate attempts to overcome these barriers. However, it should be noted that the examples in the report of school-led approaches for vulnerable children being developed were limited to 'behaviour provision, funding and the pupil premium' (Sandals & Bryant, 2014: 59), suggesting that the authorities were operating with the same restricted conceptualisations of vulnerability as *The Importance of Teaching.* Furthermore, concerns have subsequently been expressed about some local authorities' understanding of their safeguarding duties towards pupils in academies (Public Accounts Committee, 2015), about the vagueness of their role as 'champion' of vulnerable pupils (Hatcher, 2014) and the fragmentation of the school system in general (Jopling & Hadfield, 2015) and of SEND provision in particular (Bernardes et al, 2015).

The Pupil Premium

The Pupil Premium was introduced in 2011 as one of the Coalition government's key education policies to raise achievement and improve outcomes for disadvantaged pupils, identified as children from low-income families who were eligible for free school meals, looked after children and those from families with parents in the Armed Forces (Ofsted, 2012). The policy was discussed in some detail in Pickett and Vanderbloemen's (2015) recent CPRT report on inequality. Therefore, we will restrict ourselves here mainly to noting the association found in the most recent Ofsted report between the overall effectiveness of the school and the impact of the Pupil Premium (Ofsted, 2014) and Pickett and Vanderbloemen's (2015: 19) emphasis on the clear geographical variations in the impact of the pupil premium which 'suggests that the Pupil Premium helps good schools, with good leadership to do even better for their students but isn't enough to overcome the problems of weaker schools'. Recent analysis by Lupton and Thomson (2015: 17) concludes that evaluation of the effectiveness of the pupil premium cannot be undertaken in isolation:

> Assessments of a government's record in tackling educational inequalities cannot be confined to its flagship additional policies, but must also include mainstream

educational policies and wider social policies, affecting the distribution of income and, in particular, the circumstances of the poorest children whose attainment the targeted flagship policies are intended to raise.

All of this suggests that, in the absence of a more integrated and holistic approach to supporting vulnerable children, relatively discrete school-focused initiatives like the Pupil Premium are unlikely to have a positive impact on vulnerable children, however they are defined.

Locality-based initiatives

Here we include three indications of how locality-based initiatives, typically facilitated by local authorities but also involving new forms of partnership, have developed to meet the needs of vulnerable children in the absence of an integrated, national approach. Their local nature means that evaluative evidence is relatively sparse and the examples given here are not intended to be comprehensive.

Liverpool

Liverpool's Families Programme is a strategic change programme looking at how public sector services support families, across the spectrum of need and includes the national Troubled Families programme. The main aims of the Families Programme are to improve intelligence about families at risk; give earlier support where issues are identified; achieve better information-sharing across organisations; have fewer professionals involved with families; and change the culture within and across organisations about working with families to develop a 'whole-family' approach (Vincent and Jopling, 2015). Within the Families Programme are several smaller programmes designed to address specific issues. One of these is the School Families Support Service (SFSS) a voluntary, medium intensity, early intervention service that was introduced in 2014 and expected to support 800 families a year. There was a particular need for the service in primary schools as Liverpool had some of the worst persistent absence rates in primary schools in England. Referrals come through schools. SFSS staff undertake intensive work with families for up to 12 weeks but can intervene for longer if necessary. The main aim is to improve outcomes for schools and families including improved family functioning and parenting capacity. Families access the service when they match at least two of nine criteria which include poor school attendance; behavioural difficulties; crime/anti-social behaviour; and disclosed neglect. Although referrals come through schools, the SFSS works with families in their homes as well as in school. The service is intended to be a needs-led family support service based on what families say they need help with, not what schools think they need, but SFSS staff work closely with SENCOs and Education Welfare Officers. They use the Early Help Assessment Tool to assess need and coordinate support in partnership with the family. Local outcomes data and findings from an internal evaluation (Liverpool Council, 2015) suggested that the SFSS service has already resulted in marked improvements in educational attendance and behaviour, and in reductions in exclusions, absence and repeated referrals for families who did not meet the social care thresholds. An external evaluation of the Families Programme (Vincent and Jopling, 2015; Vincent, 2015b) demonstrated positive outcomes for children and families involved with the service including improved behaviour at home and school, reduced numbers of exclusions,

improved parenting skills and better family functioning. It also found that family intervention had little impact on some children where it was not possible to tackle significant individual education or mental health needs and that children's views were not routinely sought in determining support strategies for vulnerable children and families.

Middlesbrough

Middlesbrough's Strategy for Vulnerable Learners is part of its overarching Vision and Strategy for Education and Achievement as the local authority takes on its role as 'champion' of vulnerable learners and families. The Vulnerable Learners strategy is closely linked to its early intervention strategy. The strategy is supported by a cohesive and unified model of provision for pupils with SEN supported by the Middlesbrough Inclusion Collaborative; a broad approach to achievement; and re-shaping the role of the authority to focus on the needs of vulnerable learners. In the primary phase, emphasis has been placed on improving the achievement of vulnerable learners and building on existing links between schools, families and communities. This has involved creating two hubs of specialism for communication, language and literacy development and behaviour and delegating funding to clusters of primary schools to establish nurture units (see below), but no evaluation of its effectiveness have yet been undertaken.

Barnet

The Vulnerable Children Leading Edge Group (VCLEG) is a collaborative, multi-agency group of Barnet practitioners working with vulnerable children and young people. Organisations and services represented on the VCLEG include schools, the multi-agency support team, safeguarding and social care, and the narrowing the gap team. Support and services offered include tools to help practitioners identify and support young carers, parenting courses, examples of good practice in how schools spend Pupil Premium, and the multi-agency safeguarding hub (MASH). Common to many LAs, MASH is a single point of entry for all referrals regarding concerns for a child or young person. In Barnet, the initiative was said to have been created in response to findings of several Serious Case Reviews and public enquiries in relation to agencies' poor practice in sharing information (VGLEG, 2013).

In-school responses

As there is less evidence about the effectiveness of primary school-based interventions focused on vulnerable children than those based in pre-schools, for example, it is important to emphasise that the examples included are intended to be regarded as illustrations of innovative in-school approaches to supporting vulnerable children, rather than a comprehensive overview of current provision. Some of the interventions cited appear in Stone's (2013) overview of the school's role in supporting vulnerable children and families, alongside examples from other countries, such as the Seasons for Growth programme aimed at enhancing children's social and emotional wellbeing and Bounce Back Resiliency Program, both in Australia. Evaluations of these and initiatives such as the Place2Be school-based counselling service suggest impact but further research needs to be conducted to assess their effectiveness in a range of contexts. Some of the factors that have been identified as key to the success of interventions in the early years, such as targeting multiple areas of need; addressing

children's cognitive and emotional development alongside parenting skills and capacities; undertaking assessment to identify social and emotional problems; multi-agency working involving health, education and social care; high quality education; and support for vulnerable mothers are likely to be equally effective in interventions in the primary phase.

Nurture groups

Nurture groups have been part of early intervention for the prevention of social emotional and behavioural difficulties within mainstream schools and settings for decades and are referred to in the Cambridge Primary Review report (Alexander et al, 2010), but they have become key primary phase initiatives in Scotland and Wales in recent years. According to Binnie and Allen (2008: 201) who examined their effect on vulnerable children, nurture groups are 'an approach that provides a carefully routined day, where there is a balance of learning and teaching, affection and structure, within a home-like environment' and where children have missed early experiences that promote good development. An Ofsted report based on visits to 29 schools found that where nurture groups were effective, they made a considerable difference to the behaviour and the social skills of the pupils who attended them. The most effective schools regarded each pupil as an individual and implemented additional support accordingly (Ofsted, 2011). An earlier national research study found that improvement in social, emotional and behavioural functioning was greater for the children in nurture groups than it was for the children in the same schools who were not attending them (Cooper and Whitebread, 2007). However, research has also questioned the opportunity cost of removing children from the classroom, their long term impact in general and the failure of many evaluations to examine their impact on children's attainment (O'Connor and Colwell, 2002; Cooper and Tiknaz, 2005; Hosie, 2013).

Families and Schools Together (FAST)

Families and Schools together (FAST) is an internationally recognised universal prevention programme. Its objectives are: strengthening the family and the parent-child bond; increasing the child's achievement at school; reducing family stress and social isolation; and improving family-school communication and relationships (Lindsay et al, 2011). Introduced in England in 2009, FAST has been implemented in 14 countries, mainly in primary schools but also in secondaries. FAST is an after-school, multi-family group programme which is offered to all children and their families in a school year group and is designed to support disadvantaged and hard-to-reach families. The course runs for eight weeks, and participants are encouraged to take part in a peer-support network, 'FASTWORKS', for at least two years after they have completed the course.

An evaluation of the FAST model in Canada concluded that it provided 'a remarkably hopeful outlook for vulnerable families' by enabling them to build social capital and thereby providing protective factors to mitigate risks associated with low income, stress, and isolation (Stone, 2013: 5). Pre- and post-intervention evaluation of over 2000 FAST programmes in eight countries found high retention rates among vulnerable families; increased parental involvement in schools and increased social capital among parents; and positive mental health outcomes, increased social skills, improved academic and school behaviour, and reduced aggression and anxiety among children following involvement in the programme (UNODC,

2010). A large scale trial of FAST in England, funded by the Education Endowment Foundation, began in 2015.

Building resilience

FAST is an example of a number of programmes and initiatives that have been implemented in schools to build resilience among vulnerable children and their families. The Marmot Review (2010), a strategic review of health inequalities in England post-2010, emphasised schools' key role in building resilience and recommended that 'schools, families and communities work in partnership to reduce the gradient in health, wellbeing and resilience of children and young people' (Marmot, 2010: 104). Allen (2014) has identified a number of successful approaches for building resilience in schools. They included improving achievements, in terms of not only academic performance but also engagement and success in areas such as sports, arts and music; promoting healthy behaviours; and ensuring smooth transitions, such as from home to school, between schools, and from school into work or further education. However, Furedi (2008: 649) has described resilience as a 'second-order concept that is subordinate to the more powerful condition of vulnerability' and Daniel (2010) has highlighted the conceptual slipperiness of resilience, especially in relation to adversity and positive outcomes. Similarly, Lumby's (2012) study of what she describes as 'buoyant and agentive' youth at risk focuses on secondary age students, but is relevant in its concluding call for schools to:

> make the voice of young people more influential, and in response to shift policy more radically, rather than continuing to create policies which, though putatively designed to address the 'needs' of this group, function to pathologise them and provide a smokescreen for the maintenance of educational homeostasis. (Lumby, 2012: 276).

However, in a period characterised by fragmented, locality-based policy and severe budget restrictions on both interventions and evaluations, there is a danger that both vulnerable children and support agencies will not have consistent access to evidenced-based initiatives which can make a difference to their lives.

4 - CONCLUSIONS

Although there is now a growing evidence base relating to the effectiveness of pre-school interventions (see Schrader-McMillan et al 2011; Taylor et al 2013), far less is known about the effectiveness of interventions in primary schools. As already suggested, many of the factors that have been identified as key to the success of interventions in the early years, may be equally effective in the primary phase. A body of evidence suggests early intervention across the age range and focused on the whole family improves wellbeing, protects children and makes financial sense, as exemplified by initiatives such as the Family Nurse Partnership; Sure Start; and Family Intervention Projects (Vincent, 2015a). The evidence also suggests that narrowly-focused programmes that address single issues and rely too much on short term engagement centred on behaviour are unlikely to deliver the desired outcomes (Pithouse and Emlyn Jones, 2015). Furthermore, Munro (2011) criticised the adoption of a simplistic 'what

works' approach towards vulnerable children and families arguing that the complexity of family problems requires an ongoing, multifaceted relationship-based approach.

Research also indicates that one of the best ways to help children is to help the whole family (Dillane et al, 2001; Nixon et al, 2006; NCSR, 2009). Children need to be understood in the context of their families and environments. Interventions therefore have to be informed by a developmental approach that tackles all ecological levels (Vincent, 2015a; Cefai and Camilleri, 2015). Positive parenting has a direct impact on children and if we want to improve long term outcomes we need to support parents as well as children (HM Government, 2010; Waldfogel and Washbrook, 2011). This might include providing access to a range of support mechanisms for tackling social and economic disadvantage within the family, in addition to offering parenting support (HM Government, 2010). Schools may not be able to work directly with parents and carers but more support services could be offered via schools, for example, by providing access to food, clothing, benefits and employment advice, mental health advice for children and adults, parenting courses, or activities for parents and children promoting social interaction. Programmes such as Liverpool's School Family Support Service appear to be effective at bridging the gap between home and school for some families.

The evidence also indicates that interventions will be more effective if they are easily accessible and respond to local need. National approaches like GIRFEC in Scotland achieve this level of responsiveness because local authorities are able to adapt these interventions to local circumstances. We also need to consult children and families about what interventions are needed because interventions are likely to be more effective if children and families have been involved in their design and can co-construct solutions to the difficulties they face. Children and families are experts in their own vulnerabilities but are not typically central to decision making about their needs (Vincent, 2015a). Similarly, research has highlighted the value of schools listening to vulnerable children and their families and recognising children's own agency to determine their support needs (Mantle et al, 2006; Daniel, 2010; Tucker et al, 2015). The Cambridge Primary Review final report, together with its research reviews on children's voice (Robinson & Fielding, 2000; Robinson, 2014), demonstrates the importance of placing children's voices at the core of effective provision. Similarly, peer support, exemplified in the FAST programme, can offer children opportunities to develop key life skills as they help other children. Peer mentoring schemes are becoming increasingly common, particularly in secondary schools, and there is a need to evaluate their impact (Robinson, 2014) and the implications for primary provision, particularly in relation to vulnerable children. Thus, rather than encouraging professionals to focus too narrowly on definitions of vulnerability or considerations of risk, we follow Daniel (2010: 239) in concluding with some initial 'principles of practice' for schools to develop further in partnership with other key agencies to recognise the indicators of children's vulnerability and respond to their needs.

Recommendations for policy, practice and research

- A mix of universal, specialist and targeted services is required that focus on multiple indicators of vulnerability and need, as outlined in Section 1's discussion of the difficulty of defining vulnerability in children. Schools are well-placed to offer universal services via teachers and school nurses and to signpost children and parents to more specialist services. Integrating all the services that work with children and

families – education, health, social care, housing and welfare rights - is key as in Scotland (GIRFEC) or Liverpool (Families Programme), but this will require major structural and cultural changes to join up adult and child services and break down traditional professional boundaries and roles.

- Drawing on aspects of a strengths- and solution-focused approach may help to equip children and families with coping skills which will increase their resilience and self-reliance and reduce their dependence on external assistance. Combined with peer support, this is likely to enable them to sustain progress once formal supports have been withdrawn.

- Support should be tailored to need. This may involve practical hands-on support and therapeutic support customised to the child's and family's needs to take the child's cognitive and emotional development into account in consideration of multiple, interacting vulnerabilities. Liverpool's School Families Support Service is a good example of this helping some families.

- Cultural change takes time to achieve and may require new thinking about the relationship between agencies, professions and practitioners. Similarly, impact is not immediate and is difficult to demonstrate. More evidence is needed of successful initiatives which support vulnerable children in primary schools and their impact on improving children's lives through partnership between schools and other agencies. Schools need to take ownership of monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of such initiatives and interventions in partnership with other agencies, integrating this into existing ways of working.

- More research is needed to establish which support strategies work most effectively for different kinds of vulnerable children in specific contexts.

- In identifying vulnerability, school staff should listen to and observe children carefully, and understand that vulnerability may be displayed in very subtle ways. Consideration of a range of indicators such as those listed in Section one should be combined with flexible use of assessment frameworks like those discussed in Section two. This will help schools to consider vulnerability factors and identify potential strengths and supports in children's lives that may protect them from vulnerability, working in partnership with other agencies. Listening to and responding to the voice of vulnerable children and parents should be integral to such assessment procedures.

REFERENCES

Adamson, S. and Deverell, C. (2009) CAF in the country: Implementing the Common Assessment Framework in a rural area. *Child and Family Social Work*, 14, 4: 400-09.

Ainscow, M., Conteh, J., Dyson, A. & Gallanaugh, F. (2010) Children in primary education: demography, culture, diversity and inclusion, in Alexander, R.J., Doddington, C., Gray, J., Hargreaves, L., Kershner, R. (eds.) *The Cambridge Primary Review Research Surveys*. London: Routledge, 195-216.

Aldgate, J. (2010) Child well-being, child development and family life in McCauley, C. and

Rose, W. (eds.) *Child Well-being: understanding children's lives*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Alexander, R.J. et al (2010) *Children, their World, their Education: final report and recommendations of the Cambridge Primary Review.* London: Routledge.

Allen, G. (2011) *Early Intervention: the Next Steps, an independent report to Her Majesty's Government.* London: Cabinet Office.

Allen, M. (2014) *Local action on health inequalities: Building children and young people's resilience in schools*. London: Public Health England.

Barron, I., Holmes, R., MacLure, M. & Runswick-Cole, K. (2010) Primary schools and other agencies, in Alexander, R.J., Doddington, C., Gray, J., Hargreaves, L., Kershner, R. (eds.) *The Cambridge Primary Review Research Surveys*. London: Routledge, 97-135.

Belsky, J. (1993). Etiology of child maltreatment: a developmental-ecological analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114, 3, 413-434.

Bernardes, E., Shaw, B., Menzies, L. and Baars, S. (2015) *Joining the dots: Have recent reforms worked for those with SEND?* London: Driver Youth Trust.

Binnie, L.M. and Allen, K. (2008) Whole school support for vulnerable children: the evaluation of a part-time nurture group, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 13:3, 201-216.

Brandon, M., Howe, D., Black, J., and Dodsworth, J. (2002) *Learning how to Make Children Safer part 2: an Analysis for the Welsh Office of Serious Abuse Cases in Wales*. Norwich: University of East Anglia/Welsh Office.

Brandon, M; Howe, A. and Dagley, V. (2006) What appears to be helping or hindering practitioners in implementing the Common Assessment Framework and Lead Professional Working? *Child Abuse Review* 15, 6: 396-413.

Brewin, M. and Statham, M. (2011) Supporting the transition from primary school to secondary school for children who are Looked After, *Educational Psychology,* 24, 4, 365-381.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of Human Development Experiments by Nature and Design.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Brown, K. (2011) 'Vulnerability': Handle with Care, *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 5:3, 313-321.

Campion, J. (1994) *Working with vulnerable young children: Early intervention*. London: Cassell.

Cefai, C. and Camilleri, L. (2013) A healthy start: promoting mental health and well-being in the early primary school years, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 20, 2, 133-152.

Chowdry & Oppenheim (2015) *Spending on Late Intervention: How we can do better for less*. London: Early Intervention Foundation.

Chief Secretary to the Treasury (2003) *Every Child Matters.* London: the Stationery Office. Children In Scotland (2014) *Briefing: Children and Young People (Scotland) Bill – Part 4 (Provision of Named Persons).* Edinburgh: Children in Scotland.

Cooper, P. & Tiknaz, Y. (2005). Progress and challenge in nurture groups: Evidence from three case studies. British Journal of Special Education, 32, (4), 211-222.

Cooper, P. and Whitebread, D. (2007) The effectiveness of nurture groups on student progress: evidence from a national research study, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 12:3, 171-190.

Daly, M. (2010) Shifts in family policy in the UK under New Labour, *Journal of European Social policy*, 20, 5: 433-43.

Daniel, B (2010) Concepts of Adversity, Risk, Vulnerability, and Resilience: a discussion in the context of the child protection system, *Social Policy and Society*, 9, 2 231-41.

Daniels. H. & Porter, J. (2010) Learning needs and difficulties among children of primary school age: definition, identification, provision and issues, in Alexander, R.J., Doddington, C., Gray, J., Hargreaves, L., Kershner, R. (eds.) *The Cambridge Primary Review Research Surveys*. London: Routledge, 217-240.

Department for Communities and Local Government (2012) *The Troubled Families Programme: Financial Framework for the Troubled Families Programme's Payment by Results Scheme for Local Authorities*. London: Information Policy Team.

Department for Communities and Local Government (2015) *Financial framework for the expanded Troubled Families programme.* London: DCLG.

Department for Children Schools and Families (2010) *Breaking the link between special educational needs and low attainment.* London: DCSF.

Department for Education (2010) *The Importance of Teaching. The Schools White Paper 2010.* London: DfE.

Department for Education (2011) *Support and aspiration: a new approach to special educational needs and disability*. London, DfE.

Department for Education (2015a) *Implementing a new 0 to 25 special needs system: LAs and partners.* London: DfE/DOH.

Department for Education (2015b) *Keeping Children Safe in Education*, London: DfE.

Department for Education and Skills (2004a) *Every Child Matters: Change for children.* London: The Stationary Office.

Department for Education and Skills (2004b) *Every Child Matters: Next Steps*. London: DfES.

Department of Health (2000) *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families*, London: DOH.

Department of Health (2002) *Safeguarding children: A Joint Inspector's Report on Arrangements to Safeguard Children*, London: DoH.

Department for Work and Pensions (2012) *Social Justice: transforming lives.* London: The Stationery Office.

Dillane, J., Hills, M., Bannister, J., and Scott, S. (2001) *Evaluation of the Dundee Families Project*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, Dundee City Council, NCH Scotland

Dixon M, Gregg P, Robinson H (2013) *Early, Late or Never? When does Parental Education Impact Child Outcome?* Bonn: IZA Discussion Paper.

Drakeford, M. (2005) Wales and a third term of New Labour: Devolution and the development of difference, *Critical Social Policy*, 25, 4:497-506.

Ecclestone, K. (2011) Emotionally-vulnerable subjects and new inequalities: the educational implications of an 'epistemology of the emotions', *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 21:2, 91-113.

Ecclestone, K. (2012) From emotional and psychological well-being to character education: challenging policy discourses of behavioural science and 'vulnerability', *Research Papers in Education*, 27:4, 463-480.

Ecclestone, K. and Lewis, L. (2014) Interventions for resilience in educational settings: challenging policy discourses of risk and vulnerability, *Journal of Education Policy*, 29, 2, 195-216.

ECORYS UK (2014) *National Evaluation of the Troubled Families programme; Interim Report Family Monitoring Data*. London: DCLG.

Eisenstadt, N. (2011) *Providing a Sure Start: How Government Discovered Early Childhood.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Featherstone, B. (2004) *Family Life and Family Support: a Feminist Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Featherstone, B., Morris, K. and White, S. (2014a). A marriage made in hell: early intervention meets child protection. *British Journal of Social Work*, 44, 7, 1735–1749.

Featherstone, B, White, S. and Morris, K. (2014b) *Reimagining Child Protection: Towards Humane Social Work with Families.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Felitti, V.J. and Anda, R.F. (2009) 'The Relationship of Adverse Childhood Experiences to Adult Medical Disease, Psychiatric Disorders, and Sexual Behavior: Implications for Healthcare', in Lanius, R. & Vermetten, E. (eds.) *The Impact of Early Life Trauma on Health and Disease: The Hidden Epidemic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 77-87.

Fletcher, A, Gardner, F., McKee, M. and Bonell, C. (2012) The British Government's troubled families programme: a flawed response to riots and youth offending, *BMJ*, 344: e3403: 8-9.
Frost, N. and Parton, N. (2009) *Understanding Children's Social Care: Politics, Policy and Practice*. London: Sage.

Furedi, F. 2003. *Therapy culture: Cultivating vulnerability in an uncertain age*. London: Routledge.

Furedi, F. (2008) Fear and Security: A Vulnerability-led Policy Response, *Social Policy & Administration*, 42, 6, 645-661.

Garrett, P.M. (2009) *Transforming Children's Services: Social Work, Neo-liberalism and the Modern World.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Gilbert, R., Spatz Widom, C., Browne, K., Fergusson, D., Webb, E. and Janson, S. (2009), 'Burden and consequences of child maltreatment in high-income countries', *Lancet*, 379, 758-772.

Gilligan, P. and Manby, M. (2008) The Common Assessment Framework: Does the reality match the rhetoric? *Child and Family Social Work*, 13,2, 177-87.

Guralnick, M.J. (1998) Effectiveness of Early Intervention for Vulnerable Children: A Developmental Perspective, *American Journal on Mental Retardation*, 102, 4, 319-345.

Hatcher, R. (2014). Local authorities and the school system: The new authority-wide partnership, *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 42, 3: 355-371.

Hills, J., Sefton, T. and Stewart, K. (2009) *Towards a More Equal Society*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

HM Government (2006) *Working Together to Safeguard Children: A guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children.* London: The Stationery Office.

HM Government (2015) *Working Together to Safeguard Children: A guide to inter-agency working to safeguard and promote the welfare of children*. London: The Stationery Office.

Home Office, Department of Health, Department of Education and Science and the Welsh Office (1991) *Working Together Under the Children Act 1989: A Guide to Arrangements for Inter-agency Cooperation for the Protection of Children from Abuse*. London: HMSO.

Hood, A. and Philips, D. (2015) *Benefit Spending and Reforms: The Coalition Government's Record*. London: Institute for Fiscal Studies.

Hosie, C. (2013) *An Evaluation of the Impact of Nurture Provision upon Young Children, including their Language and Literacy Skills.* University of East London: Professional Doctorate thesis.

Jopling, M. and Hadfield, M. (2015) From fragmentation to multiplexity: Decentralisation, localism and support for school collaboration in England and Wales, *Journal of Education Research Online*, 7,1, 47-65.

Laming, W. (2003) *The Victoria Climbié Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Lord Laming*, Cm 5730, London: the Stationery Office.

Lamont, A., Price-Robinson, R., and Bromfield, L. (2010) *Intake, Investigation and Assessment: Background Paper, Australian Institute for Family Studies,* Melbourne: Australian Institute for Family Studies.

Levitas, R. (2012) *There may be 'trouble' ahead: what we know about those 120,000 'troubled' families, Policy Response Series No. 3*. Bristol: ESRC.

Lindsay, G., Cullen, S. and Wellings, C. (2011) *Bringing Families and Schools Together: Giving children in high-poverty areas the best start.* London: Save the Children UK.

Liverpool City Council (2015) *Schools Family support Service: 12 Month Evaluation.* Liverpool: Liverpool City Council.

Luckock, B. (2007) Safeguarding children and integrated children's services in Wilson, K. and James, A. (eds.) *The Child Protection Handbook*, 3rd edition. London: Balliere Tindall.

Ludwig, C. & Ludwig, G. (2014) Empty gestures? A review of the discourses of 'localism' from the practitioner's perspective, *Local Economy*, 29, 3, 245-256.

Lumby, J. (2012) Disengaged and disaffected young people: surviving the system, *British Educational Research Journal*, 38, 2, 261–279.

Lupton, R., Burchardt, T., Fitzgerald, A. *et al* (2015) *The Coalition's Social policy Record: Policy, Spending and Outcomes 2010-2015,* London and Manchester: The Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion.

Lupton, R. and Thomson, S. (2015) Socio-economic inequalities in English schooling under the Coalition Government 2010–15. *London Review of Education*, 13, 2.

Mantle, G., Gelling, L. and Livingstone, S. (2006) Supporting the Vulnerable Child: Engaging Fathers in the Home–School Dimension of Pastoral Care, *Pastoral Care in Education*, 24:3, 41-48.

Marmot, M. (2011) *Fair Society, Healthy Lives: Strategic Review of Health Inequalities in England Post-2010.* London: The Marmot Review.

Mayall, B. (2010) Children's lives outside school and their educational impact in Alexander, R.J., Doddington, C., Gray, J., Hargreaves, L., Kershner, R. (eds.) *The Cambridge Primary Review Research Surveys*. London: Routledge, 49-82.

McCrory E, De Brito SA, and Viding E. (2012). The link between child abuse and psychopathology: a review of neurobiological and genetic research. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 105, 151–6.

Munro, E. (2011) *The Munro Review of Child Protection: Final Report a Child Centred System*. London: The Stationery Office.

NESST (2008) *The Impact of Sure Start Local Programmes on Three Year Olds and the Families*. London: HMSO.

NESST (2010) *The Impact of Sure Start Local Programmes on Five Year Olds and the Families*. London: HMSO.

NESST (2012) *The Impact of Sure Start Local Programmes on Seven Year Olds and the Families*. London: HMSO.

Nixon, J., Parr, S., Hunter, C., *et al*. (2006) *Anti-social Behaviour Intensive Intervention Family Support Projects: An evaluation of six pioneering projects*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government

Newman, T. & Blackburn, S. (2002) Transitions in the Lives of Children and Young People; Resilience Factors (Full Report). Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Education Department

O'Connor, T. & Colwell, J. (2002). The effectiveness and rationale of the 'nurture group' approach to helping children with emotional and behavioural difficulties remain within mainstream education. *British Journal of Special Education*, 29, 2, 96-100.

O'Donnell, M; Scott, D; and Stanley, F. (2008) Child abuse and neglect – is it time for a public health approach? *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 32, 4: 325-30.

OfSTED (2011). *Supporting children with challenging behaviour through a nurture group approach*. London: Ofsted.

OfSTED (2012). *The pupil premium: How schools are using pupil premium to raise achievement for disadvantaged pupils*. Manchester: Ofsted.

OfSTED (2013) *Framework for children's centre inspection*. Manchester: OfSTED.

OfSTED (2014) *The Pupil Premium: An Update*. Manchester: OfSTED.

Packham, C. and Foster, S. (2014) *Valuing our Communities - Developing Community Resilience Through Asset Based Approaches: Research Review*. Tameside: Community Voluntary Action Tameside/Tameside Metropolitan Borough Council.

Paliokosta, P. and Blandford, S. (2010) Inclusion in school: a policy, ideology or lived experience? Similar findings in diverse school cultures. *Support for Learning*, 25(4), 179-186.

Parish, N., Baxter, A. and Sandals, L. 2012, *Action research into the evolving role of the local authority in education,* London: DfE and LGA (DfE-RR224).

Parton, N. (2008), 'Towards the "preventive-surveillance state"', in Burns, K. and Lynch, D. (eds.) *Child Protection and Practice Perspectives*. Dublin: A. and A. Farmer Ltd.

Parton, N; Noyes, P; and Rose, W. (2010) Every Child Matters: Change for Children programme in England, in Stafford, S; Vincent, S; and Parton, N. (eds.) *Child Protection Reform Across the UK*. Edinburgh: Dunedin.

Pickett, K. and Vanderbloemen, L. (2015) *Mind the Gap: tackling social and educational inequality*. York: Cambridge Primary Review Trust.

Pithouse, A., Hall, C., Peckoever, S., and White, S. (2009) A tale of two CAFs: the impact of the electronic Common Assessment Framework, *British Journal of Social Work*, 39,4, 599-612.

Pithouse, A. and Emlyn Jones, R. (2015) Early Intervention: A Perspective from Wales, in Vincent, S. (ed.) *Early Intervention: Supporting and Strengthening Families*. Edinburgh: Dunedin.

Powell, M. (ed.) (2008) *Modernising the Welfare State, the Blair Legacy*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Potter, T. and Brotherton, G. (2013) 'What do we mean when we talk about 'vulnerability' in Brotherton, G. and Cronin, M. (eds.) *Working with Vulnerable Children, Young People and Families.* London: Routledge, 1-15.

Public Accounts Committee (2015) *School oversight and intervention*. London: The Stationery Office.

Robinson, C. (2014) *Children, their Voices and their Experiences of School: what does the evidence tell us?* York: Cambridge Primary Review Trust.

Robinson, C. and Fielding, M. (2010) Children and their primary schools: pupils' voices, in Alexander, R.J., Doddington, C., Gray, J., Hargreaves, L., Kershner, R. (eds.) *The Cambridge Primary Review Research Surveys*. London: Routledge, 17-48.

Rose, W. (2009) The Assessment framework in Horwath, J. (ed.) *The Child's World, 2nd edition*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Rose,W. (2015) The Policy Context in Scotland in Vincent, S. (ed*.) Early Intervention: Supporting and Strengthening Families*. Edinburgh: Dunedin.

Sabates, R. and Dex, S. (2012) *Multiple risk factors in young children's development. CLS Cohort Studies Working paper 2012/1*. London: Centre for Longitudinal Studies.

Sandals, L. & Bryant, B. (2014) *The evolving education system in England: a "temperature check"*. London: Department for Education RR359.

Schrader McMillan, A. and Barnes, Jacqueline and Barlow, J. (2011) *Primary study evidence on effectiveness of interventions (home, early education, child care) in promoting social and emotional wellbeing of vulnerable children under 5*. *Project Report.* National Institute for Clinical Excellence, London, UK.

Scottish Executive (2001) *For Scotland's Children: Better Integrated Children's Services*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (2004) *A Curriculum for Excellence – the Curriculum Review*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (2005a) *Getting it Right for Every Child: Proposals for Action*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Executive (2005b) *Health for all Children 4: Guidance on Implementation in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Scottish Government and COSLA (2008) *The Early Years Framework: a joint Scottish Government and COSLA policy statement*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government

Scottish Government and COSLA (2011) *Early Years Framework: Progress so far*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government (2014) *Proposal for the Development of Guidance to Support the GIRFEC provisions in the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Sherwood-Johnson, F. (2013) Constructions of 'vulnerability' in comparative perspective: Scottish protection policies and the trouble with 'adults at risk', *Disability & Society*, 28:7, 908-921.

Sidebotham, P., Brandon, M., and Bailey, S., et al. (2011) *Serious and Fatal Child Mistreatment: Setting Serious Case Review Data in Context with other Data on Violent Mistreatment Related Deaths in 2009-10*. London: DfE.

Simpson, G (2015) Strengthening Families? From Labour to the Coalition (1997-2014) in Vincent, S. (ed.) *Early Intervention: Supporting and Strengthening Families*, Edinburgh: Dunedin.

Social Exclusion Task Force (2007) *Families at risk: Background on families with multiple disadvantages.* London: Cabinet Office.

Stafford, A; Parton, N; Vincent, S; and Smith, C. (2012) *Child Protection Systems in the United Kingdom: A Comparative Approach*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Stone, K. (2013) *The role of schools in supporting vulnerable children and families*. Stirling: WithScotland.

Stradling, B. and McNeil, M. (2009) *Changing Professional practice and culture to get it right for every child: an evaluation of the development and early implementation phases of Getting it Right for Every Child in Highland, 2006-2009*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Taylor, C., Rhys, M., and Waldron, S. (2013) *The best start in life: what do we know about the impact of early interventions on children's life chances? Evidence Symposium Briefing Paper.* Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Tomlinson, S. (2012) The irresistible rise of the SEN industry, *Oxford Review of Education*, 38:3, 267-286.

Tucker, S., Trotman, D., and Martyn, M. (2015) Vulnerability: The role of schools in supporting young people exposed to challenging environments and situations, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 41 301-306.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2010) *Compilation of Evidence-Based Family Skills Training Programmes*, UN, New York

Valls, R. and Kyriakides, L. (2013) The power of Interactive Groups: how diversity of adults volunteering in classroom groups can promote inclusion and success for children of vulnerable minority ethnic populations, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 43, 1, 17-33.

Vincent, S. (2010) An overview of safeguarding and protecting children across the UK in Stafford, S., Vincent, S., and Parton, N. (eds.) *Child Protection Reform Across the UK*, Edinburgh: Dunedin.

Vincent, S. (2015a) Introduction in Vincent, S. (ed.) *Early Intervention: Supporting and Strengthening Families*. Edinburgh: Dunedin.

Vincent, S. (2015b) *Families programme evaluation: case studies.* Unpublished report for Liverpool City Council.

Vincent, S. and Jopling, M. (2015) *Families programme evaluation*. Unpublished report for Liverpool City Council.

Vulnerable Children and Young People Leading Edge Group (2013) *Vulnerable Children and Young People in Barnet: What do we know? Starting Points for Action*. Barnet: VCLEG.

Waldfogel, J. and Washbrook, E. (2011) 'Early Years Policy.' *Child Development Research*, 1-12. Wright, K. 2008. Theorizing therapeutic culture: Past influences, future directions. *Journal of Sociology* 44, 4, 321–36.

Wirralleaks.wordpress.com (2015) *Troubled Minds*. [Internet] Available from: https://goo.gl/siuXZI [Accessed on: 07/03/16]

CAMBRIDGE PRIMARY REVIEW TRUST PUBLICATIONS

CAMBRIDGE PRIMARY REVIEW
Full list and downloads at http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/ .

Introductory booklet. *Introducing the Cambridge Primary Review* (2010). Illustrated 42-page booklet about CPR and its final report. Read/download at http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/introductory-booklet/ .

31 interim reports. Full list at http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/interim-reports/. 28 of these reports were published in revised form in Alexander, R.J. *et al* (ed) (2010), *The Cambridge Primary Review Research Surveys*, Routledge. The other three may be downloaded.

28 research briefings. Four-page executive summaries of the original 28 CPR research reviews. Read/download at http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/research-survey-briefings/ .

13 synoptic briefings. These include four-page summaries of the research briefings, grouped thematically, plus briefings on the curriculum, the final report and the 2010 policy priorities. Read/download at http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/synoptic-briefings/ .

Final report. The key publication for both CPR and CPRT. Alexander, R.J. (ed) (2010) *Children, their World, their Education: final report and recommendations from the Cambridge Primary Review*, Routledge. 600 pp. Obtainable through usual commercial channels. http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/final-report/ .

Companion research volume. The original 28 research surveys, revised and re-edited with commentaries. Alexander, R.J. *et al* (ed) (2010), *The Cambridge Primary Review Research Surveys*, Routledge. 856 pp. Obtainable through normal commercial channels. http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/companion-research-volume/ .

Other CPR publications. These include numerous public lectures, newspaper articles etc relating to CPR. Read/download at http://cprtrust.org.uk/cpr/cpr-publications/ .

CAMBRIDGE PRIMARY REVIEW TRUST
Full list and downloads at http://cprtrust.org.uk/about_cprt/cprt-publications/ .

CPRT Essentials. *Cambridge Primary Review Trust Essentials.* Two-page leaflet, regularly updated, providing basic facts and figures about CPRT. Read/download at http://cprtrust.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/CPRT-briefing-essentials-150416.pdf .

CPRT Research Reports. Commissioned by CPRT to update and/or supplement the 28 research reviews published by CPR. View/download at http://cprtrust.org.uk/about_cprt/cprt-publications/ .

1. Harlen, W. (November 2014), *Assessment, Standards and Quality of Learning in Primary Education.*
2. Robinson, C. (December 2014), *Children, their Voices and their Experiences of School: what does the evidence tell us?*
3. Goswami, U. (February 2015), *Children's Cognitive Development and Learning.*
4. Pickett, K. and Vanderbloemen, L. (September 2015), *Mind the Gap: tackling social and educational Inequality*
5. Bourn, D., Hunt, F., Blum, N. and Lawson, H., (February 2016), *Primary education for global learning and sustainability.*
6. Jopling, M. (April 2016), *Vulnerable children: needs and provision in the primary phase*.
7. Burnett, C. (*June 2016), *The digital age and its implications for learning and teaching in the primary school.*
8. Ainscow, M., Dyson, A. and Hopwood, L. (*May 2016), *Primary schools responding to diversity: barriers and possibilities.*
9. Mansell, W. (*May 2016), *The systemic reform of primary education since 2008: what does the evidence tell us?*

10.   Hall, K. and Øzerk, K. (*September 2016), *Autonomy, accountability and quality assurance in primary education: England and other countries.*
11.   McNamara, O., Murray, J. and Phillips, R. (*July 2016), *How should primary teachers be trained? Policy and evidence.*
12.   Hogan, D., Kwek, D. and Renshaw, P. (*TBC 2016), *Research on teaching: what do we know and how should we act?*

* Expected date and provisional title.

CPRT Research Briefings

Four-page briefings on each of the above research reports accompany their publication. Read/download those already published at http://cprtrust.org.uk/about_cprt/cprt-publications/.

Primary Colours

Alexander, R.J. (ed) (June 2015), *Primary Colours: Westminster postcards from the Cambridge Primary Review Trust.* An edited collection of CPRT blogs published between July 2014 and June 2015. View/download at http://cprtrust.org.uk/about_cprt/cprt-publications/.

Primary Curriculum 2014 (CPRT with Pearson)

Primary Curriculum 2014: developing an outstanding curriculum in your school. 86-page Illustrated handbook to support the introduction of the new national curriculum. Contributions from Pearson, CPRT and eleven of the subject associations. Published by Pearson. http://cprtrust.org.uk/about_cprt/cprt-publications/

Other CPRT publications

These include responses to DfE consultations, public lectures, articles etc. http://cprtrust.org.uk/about_cprt/cprt-publications/ .

The Cambridge Primary Review Trust is the successor to the Cambridge Primary Review (2006-12). It aims to extend and build upon the Review to advance the cause of high quality primary education for all. It is supported by Pearson Education, based at the University of York, and chaired by Professor Robin Alexander.
Further information: ww.cprtrust.org.uk
Enquiries: administrator@cprtrust.org.uk