CHILD PROTECTION AND SOCIAL SERVICES SYSTEM

Organisation: Parenting Research Centre

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Submission to the inquiry into the child protection and social services system

Submission to the Parliament of New South Wales Committee on Children and Young People

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Introduction

The Parenting Research Centre is an independent, not-for-profit organisation. We seek better outcomes for children by increasing effectiveness and innovation in the way families are supported in their parenting.

We thank the Parliament of New South Wales (NSW) Committee on Children and Young People for the opportunity to make a submission on the child protection and social services system of NSW. Our submission focuses on strategies for ensuring that families can access and received high-quality information and services that are informed by the best available evidence.

This submission draws on our research, evaluation and practice portfolio of work, and on the Australian Government-funded parenting website, raisingchildren.net.au, an initiative of the Parenting Research Centre, the Murdoch Children's Research Institute and Centre for Community Child Health, Royal Children's Hospital.

Our submission reflects where we view evidence can be brought to bear on improvements to the child protection system in NSW. It is presented under six headings:

1. An integrated parenting support system
2. Effective referral and triage systems
3. Effective and accessible parenting support
4. Strengthening evidence-based practice to support families
5. Applying a developmental perspective across the service system
6. Changing how we talk to and about parents.

About the Parenting Research Centre

The Parenting Research Centre is an independent, non-profit organisation that helps children thrive by advising on new and better ways to support families in their parenting. We help governments and community organisations in the fields of parenting support, disabilities, child welfare, health and education to put the best evidence on family support into action. Our work draws on the best available evidence to ensure we help policy makers and service providers bridge the gap between evidence and practice.

An integrated parenting support system

Systems that aim to improve children's outcomes need to recognise the centrality of parents as the change agents in children's lives. This can be achieved through a system that places parenting support at the centre of practice and delivers an integrated approach to parenting support. This involves the following core elements that we address in this submission:

- Accessible, reliable, evidence-based information for all parents (page 8)
- Structured, targeted parenting support that is embedded within universally accessible services (page 10)
- Early intensive supports for parents experiencing disadvantage and vulnerability (page 11)
- Collaborative relationships between practitioners and families that are based on a skills-based coaching approach (page 12)

We also highlight the importance of effective referral and triage systems (page 6), the potential for a developmental perspective to improve cross-sector collaboration (page 14) and discuss how changing how we communicate with and about parents could increase parental help-seeking (page 16).

An integrated parenting support system
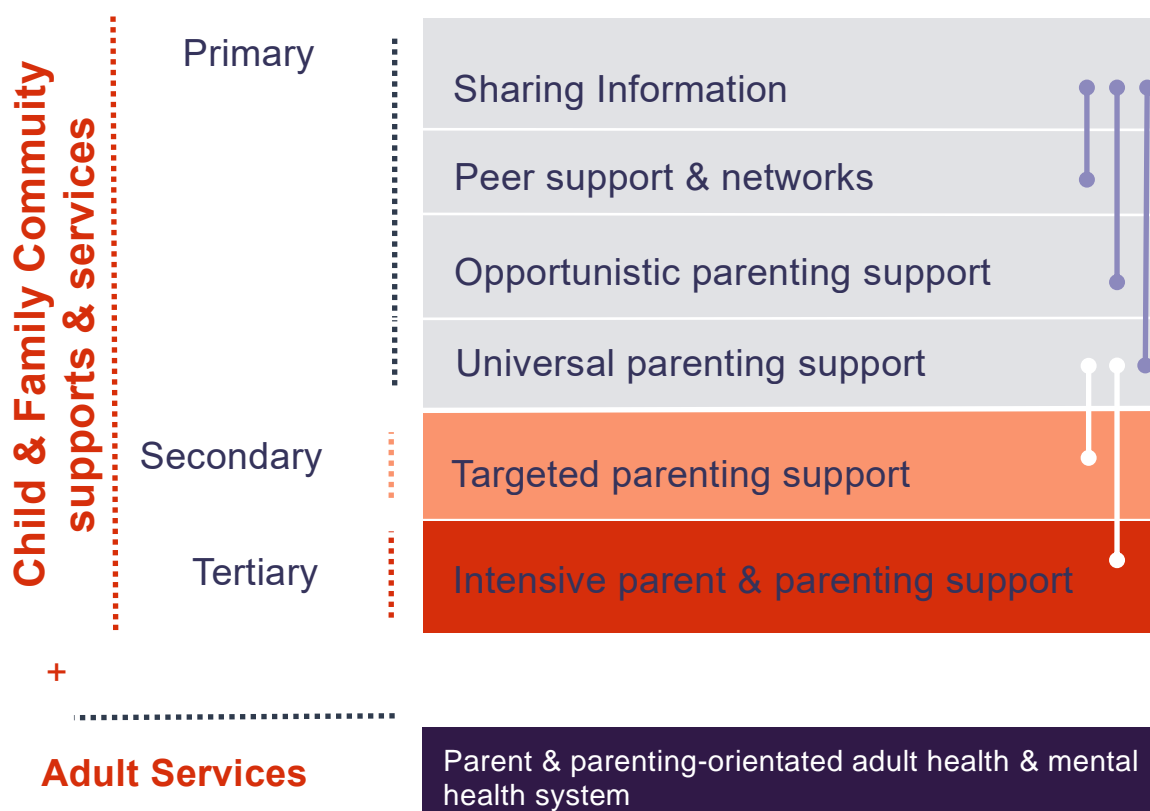
Effective referral and triage systems

Terms of reference addressed in this section:

- How vulnerable children and families are identified and how the current system interacts with them including any potential improvements, particularly at important transition points in their lives.
- The child protection intake, assessment, referral and case management system including any changes necessary to ensure that all children assessed as being at risk of significant harm receive a proactive and timely in-person response from child protection staff.

Recommendations

1. Ensure that families are actively referred to other services (warm referrals) to increase engagement.
2. Implement dual-track response and active holding approaches to better engage and maintain families in child and family services.

Effectively referring families to support services

The Parenting Research Centre works closely with many non-government organisations (NGOs) in NSW to develop and implement new and better ways of supporting families. Our experience of working with NGOs that deliver the Brighter Futures early intervention program is that the referral practices that are commonly used in the child protection system frequently fail to engage families.

Passive (cold) referrals from Department of Communities and Justice (DCJ) to early intervention programs such as Brighter Futures are common practice. Brighter Futures practitioners are required to contact parents and let them know that a risk of significant harm report has been made relating to their child and offer their services. This approach does not support the development of a trusting relationship and frequently leads to parents declining or disengaging from Brighter Futures.

Our experience suggests that active (warm) referrals can be a highly effective approach to improving engagement requiring minimal investment. Active referrals involve a three-way conversation with the parent and practitioners from both agencies, explaining why a referral is being made and how it can support them. This practice provides open, transparent communication between all parties, reduces the need for parents to repeat their story and discuss difficult issues, and helps to establish a collaborative partnership with the second agency. In our experience, this low-cost simple practice can significantly improve the likelihood that families will engage – and remain engaged with – early intervention support services.

The Collaborative Support Pathways Pilot conducted by DCJ in South West Sydney tested alternative support pathways for families. One of the main challenges they sought to address was low consent and engagement in voluntary early intervention services. The pilot highlighted a number of support pathways that showed promise in improving services' ability to gain consent and engage families.

Improving engagement during triage and referral

Inquiries such as the 2015 Independent Review of Out of Home Care in NSW (the Tune Review) have highlighted an urgent need to reform the assessment and referral system in NSW so that families receive a response that meets their needs as quickly as possible.

Our review of triage and segmentation models (Parenting Research Centre, 2018) highlighted that a differential (dual-track) response approach can lead to increased engagement in in-home services and reduced rates of child removal. This approach is supported by evidence from the United States, Canada and Australia. A study of the Child FIRST and Integrated Family Services in Victoria found that differential response processes improved the number of vulnerable families accessing services earlier, providing an alternative to statutory child protection.

There is also some evidence that 'active holding' can improve family engagement. Active holding is the practice of maintaining contact with families who are waiting to access services. This practice maintains the relationship between practitioner and family members and can help to reduce the risk of families disengaging within the system. The CHILD First study found that some family issues can be resolved during the active holding process. (See Their Futures Matter, 2018).

Effective and accessible parenting support

Terms of reference addressed in this section:

- The availability of early intervention services across NSW including the effectiveness of pilot programs commissioned under Their Futures Matter program.
- How vulnerable children and families are identified and how the current system interacts with them including any potential improvements, particularly at important transition points in their lives.
- The adequacy of current interventions and responses for vulnerable children and families and their effectiveness in supporting families and avoiding children entering out of home care.
- The child protection intake, assessment, referral and case management system including any changes necessary to ensure that all children assessed as being at risk of significant harm receive a proactive and timely in-person response from child protection staff.

Recommendations

3. Embed the systematic use of accessible, evidence-based digital platforms such as raisingchildren.net.au into services working with vulnerable families including Targeted Earlier Intervention and child protection services, to ensure that parents and practitioners have access to credible, practical, easy to understand information about child development and parenting skills.
4. Embed structured, evidence-based parenting support (evidence-based practices, frameworks and programs) within existing services to increase parents' engagement.
5. Further refine and expand intensive early support initiatives that show promise such as Thriving Families New South Wales and A Place To Go.

Connecting parents with reliable online information about parenting

Parents experiencing vulnerability are increasingly accessing digital support and information, as are parents in general. Our research shows that parents overwhelmingly turn to online information for advice, second only to family and friends – including parents experiencing socio-economic disadvantage and psychological distress (Parenting Research Centre, 2017).

Audience survey data[1] from the Australian government funded, evidence-based parenting website, raisingchildren.net.au, shows that connecting with trusted, credible information helps parents know what to do next, try something new, feel less worried, grow their confidence and connect with support services.

Raising Children Network website analytics for November 2019 - October 2020 reflect **21.9 million visitors*** to the site with **42 million pages** read during that period. During the COVID-19 pandemic, website traffic has increased greatly, for example:

7,323,149 visits (or sessions) - **increase of 42.7%** on same time period 2018-2019

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1 Raising Children Network Audience Survey 2019/20 (unpublished)

Organic search referral traffic **increased by 46.1%** compared to the same time period 2018-2019. [2]

The Raising Children Network developed resources and information on the first 1000 days of a child's life (conception to age two) as part of the Australian government's First 1000 Days campaign. These resources provide parents with information about how to support their child's development during these critical foundational years. Analytics showed that the most viewed topic landing page was Development, and the most viewed article page was Anger Management for Parents.

At the time of submission, the most frequently accessed pages on raisingchildren.net.au indicate the information and support that parents are seeking:

/toddlers/behaviour/crying-tantrums/tantrums

/babies/breastfeeding-bottle-feeding-solids/solids-drinks/introducing-solids

/newborns/sleep/settling-routines/helping-babies-sleep-settle-0-6-months

/babies/sleep/understanding-sleep/sleep-2-12-months

/newborns

/babies/health-daily-care/health-concerns/fever

/toddlers/sleep/understanding-sleep/toddler-sleep

Parents also seek information and advice relating to their own wellbeing, according to the most frequently accessed pages relating to adults:

family-life/routines-rituals-relationships/good-family-relationships

looking-after-yourself/your-relationship/sex-intimacy-after-baby

family-life/managing-money/government-payments

family-life/routines-rituals-relationships/family-routines

fathers/early-days/new-dads-10-tips

Raising Children Network content meets the needs of diverse parents and families, including information for grandparent and kinship carers, information about children with disability, family violence and child sexual safety. Content is presented to cater for different preferences and literacies, including audio, video and parenting in pictures. Collaborating with the Raising Children Network can ensure that services are providing families with up-to-date, evidence-based, user-friendly information, as shown in the following case studies.

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[2] Users coming to RCN through natural search engine results (unadvertised). This indicates that people are searching on the internet for information about parenting, child development and so on and being directed to the Raising Children Network.

> ***Digital resources for parents with intellectual disability and learning difficulties***
>
> Most parents and carers of children with a disability face a steep learning curve to understand National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) processes and make decisions about goals, support needs and services to exercise the choice and control the NDIS offers.
>
> Recognising a strong need for quality, trusted information products to support informed choice and control in how families experience disability support, the National Disability Insurance Agency partnered with Raising Children Network to develop information products to support parents and families with disability. One of the priority cohorts was parents with intellectual disability and learning difficulties. Using raisingchildren.net.au's co-design approach, in conjunction with the establishment of a Parent Panel, we developed a suite of online resources designed to increase choice and control in how parents access disability supports.
>
> Online articles, videos, and Easy English resources catering for diverse parent literacy levels are published on raisingchildren.net.au. The resources link parents and families with relevant supports in their geographic area.

> ***Evidence-based information for every new parent in NSW***
>
> The Parenting Research Centre worked with the NSW Government to design the State's first baby passport. Every parent receives the Baby Passport in their hospital pack
>
> Parents need high quality, trustworthy information as they navigate the first weeks and months of their child's life. This approach provides government with a unique opportunity to connect with new parents to lay the foundations for healthy child development.

Embedding parenting support within universal programs

Effective and accessible parenting support is fundamental to achieving long-term, sustainable and widespread improvements in child and family outcomes.

Structured evidence-based parenting programs have long been recognised as an important part of the overall infrastructure that government provides to support parents in their parenting role. However, a range of different forms of support is vital to ensure that the diverse needs of parents and their preferences for access to information are met.

One of the major challenges facing the NSW child protection system is that the very risk factors that contribute to children's vulnerability (such as parent mental health problems and socio-economic disadvantage) are associated with decreased enrolment and attendance in parenting programs (see Hackworth et al., 2018). Engaging parents is time-intensive and costly but absolutely critical to the success of the social services system.

Traditionally, early intervention and child protection services identify and focus on 'hard to reach' client groups. We would argue that many services and programs are, in fact, hard to access. If service systems were to think in this way, it would lead to better designed support and improved outcomes for children.

The Parenting Research Centre's study (Hackworth et al., 2018) suggests three key elements that help to attract and retain parents:

- connecting parents with services that have a focus on child needs provides a softer entry point for families
- Individualised support to help parents overcome the individual and logistical barriers to enggaging with community-based programs, including in-home coaching
- in-home coaching for parents experiencing high levels of disadvantage
- Practitioners focusing on building genuine, collaborative relationships with parents can build their confidence to engage with services and seek support when needed.

Embedding support within existing services that are universally available provides an effective 'soft entry' point for parents who are less likely to enrol in a structured parenting program. Incorporating evidence-based parenting support within universal programs such as supported playgroups will improve access to parenting support for vulnerable parents. Our Reframing Parenting research (see page 16) also suggests that improving how we communicate about and with parents can increase support for child and family services and potentially increase the likelihood that parents will access those services.

Increasing and sustaining enrolment in parenting support

smalltalk improves learning outcomes in children experiencing disadvantage by applying evidence-based strategies that increase parents' skills, confidence, and ability to manage stress and seek support. *smalltalk* is a structured, evidence-based intervention that is embedded within existing supported playgroups and can be supplemented with in-home coaching support.

Universal services such as playgroups are available in all local government areas and are widely accessed by a diverse range of parents. Hackworth and colleagues (2018) found in a recent randomised controlled trial that embedding *smalltalk* within a universal service successfully supported the enrolment of parents experiencing social or economic disadvantage. Incorporating a structured, evidence-based curriculum within a group that is oriented towards play and social connections can be more effective in engaging parents than a 'stand-alone' structured parenting program.

Early intensive support for vulnerable parents

Inquiries such as the Tune Review have found that the child protection system fails to address the complex needs of vulnerable children and families. The NSW Government's reform Their Futures Matter piloted a range of initiatives that show promise in supporting vulnerable families and improving cross-agency coordination.

The Parenting Research Centre reviewed the *Thriving Families New South Wales* and *A Place To Go* initiatives. Early findings suggested that a well-designed, well-implemented multi-disciplinary, cross-agency approach can be effective in improving collaboration between organisations and engaging vulnerable groups.

Thriving Families showed promise as an approach to supporting young and young expectant parents. The flexible practice approach and multidisciplinary wraparound service design are worthy of further development and investment. *A Place To Go*, which targeted young people who had come into contact with the criminal youth justice system, incorporated strategies for multiple agencies and disciplines to work together. This model of care is also worthy of further refinements and expansion.

Strengthening evidence-based practice to support families

Terms of reference addressed in this section:

- The child protection intake, assessment, referral and case management system including any changes necessary to ensure that all children assessed as being at risk of significant harm receive a proactive and timely in-person response from child protection staff.
- How vulnerable children and families are identified and how the current system interacts with them including any potential improvements, particularly at important transition points in their lives.

Recommendations:

6. Provide organisations and practitioner with the skills and tools they need to be able to able to shift away from a solely case management approach to deliver tailored, individualised evidence-based support to parents and families.
7. Implement a coaching approach to support parents and families develop long-term, sustainable parenting and problem-solving skills and confidence.

Case management is used throughout the child protection and broader social services system in NSW. Case management practices form an organising structure around a range of clinical services and are commonly used as a mechanism of responding to complex needs in a fragmented service system. There is currently insufficient evidence for the effectiveness of case management for improving children's outcomes (Sartore et al., 2015). Case management alone does not close service gaps or improve individual outcomes; it needs to be combined with good quality evidenced-based practice if it is to lead to benefits for different target audiences. The traditional case managemetn approach relies on referring clients to other services for parenting and specialised support, which in turn requires effective referral mechanisms and widespread service availability and accessibility.

Increasingly, governments and services are incorporating manualised evidence-based programs into the case management structure to improve outcomes for children and families. Ready-made programs such as SafeCare and Multisystemic Therapy for Child Abuse and Neglect are currently being trialled in the NSW child protection system. Evidence-based programs such as these can play an important role as part of a broader suite of support and services for families. However, evidence-based programs alone are not sufficient to improve outcomes for children and families who are experiencing disadvantage. Limitations of focusing on evidence-based programs alone include limited adaptability to local communities and contexts, exclusion criteria, staff training requirements and sometimes significant costs.

Our experience, and emerging evidence, suggests that **skilled coaching** embedded within a **flexible practice framework** that is supported by **case management** can support timely, responsive, evidence-informed service delivery in a variety of contexts.

Coaching is a strategy that aims to build adult capacity. It requires a genuinely collaborative coach-parent relationship that focuses on problem-solving now and into the future (rather than on unpacking historical events). Coaching can be an effective strategy for parents and families who need to achieve significant change – such as refraining from drug or alcohol use, learning new ways of parenting, achieving stable housing. Embedding the coaching approach within a flexible practice framework enables practitioners to support parents and family members through a process of change, building skills and confidence in a long term, sustainable way.

The Association of Children's Welfare Agencies is leading an initiative to develop a systematic approach to workforce development in child and family services in NSW. The Joint Workforce Development and Training initiative aims to ensure that workers receive skill development in core skills and knowledge, with coaching and on-the-job professional development embedded into this approach.

There is an urgent need to provide practitioners with skills and support to be able to take the best available practice evidence and tailor it to an individual client's needs, preferences and circumstances. Evidence-based practice requires the integration of three components:

From Sackett et al., 1996

The Parenting Research Centre partners with agencies to develop structures and processes that enable them to embed evidence-based practice in their work with families. Organisations report significant changes in their ability to engage with families and bring about change for children and young people. In the child protection system, where levels of trust are low and feelings of stigma are high, these changes are critical.

> ### *Operationalising evidence with non-government organisations – PracticeWorks*
>
> We have worked with many non-government organisations to develop an evidence-based practice framework for supporting parents, carers and families. These frameworks help organisations to improve children's outcomes by:
>
> - building practitioners' capacity to tailor best practice evidence to individual needs and context
> - focusing on building and sustaining a collaborative relationship between practitioner and parent (or carer)
> - building parents' own problem-solving skills, self-efficacy and resourcefulness for sustainable change.
>
> This approach involves practitioners viewing parents as the solution – not the problem – and working on goals that a parent wants to achieve rather than setting goals for them.
>
> Organisations have reported significant shifts in how they work with families and the outcomes they are achieving, as they expand beyond a case management approach.
>
> > "Our whole process feels alive. There is a vitality in the way we are working. We've had staff telling us 'this is the best work day I've ever had' when they see results with families."
> >
> > Catherine Wood, Operations Manager, Wesley Brighter Futures Metro West, Wesley Mission NSW

Applying a developmental perspective across the service system

Terms of reference addressed in this section:

- How vulnerable children and families are identified and how the current system interacts with them including any potential improvements, particularly at important transition points in their lives.
- The respective roles, responsibilities, including points of intersection, of health, education, police, justice and social services in the current system and the optimum evidence based prevention and early intervention responses that the current system should provide to improve life outcomes.
- The adequacy of current interventions and responses for vulnerable children and families and their effectiveness in supporting families and avoiding children entering out of home care.

Recommendation:

8. Improve engagement and outcomes for families by adopting a developmental perspective to drive the design and delivery of policy and practice across all sectors.

All programs and services are based on theory-driven assumptions and conceptual frameworks. These assumptions are at the heart of planning, decision-making and practice at the individual, organisational and systems level – even when not explicitly stated. They drive the values, principles and approaches across the continuum of child and family support services. Trauma, attachment and resilience theories are commonly cited in the child protection service system. Similarly, the Education and Health sectors are informed by a number of different theoretical foundations.

It can be challenging for practitioners, services and sectors to operate across different conceptual frameworks. Different world views can lead to sectors and services 'speaking a different language', making it challenging to find collaborate effectively and provide seamless services for the individuals and families. While some diversity in world views is not inherently problematic, finding some common conceptual ground could improve decision-making at a policy level and support a more integrated approach to working with individuals and families.

We propose that adopting a developmental perspective to underpin services for children and families could lead to improved engagement and outcomes for families, and support cross-sector collaboration. A development perspective focuses on supporting children and adults to learn, grow and change. Crucially, it incorporates an understanding that development is related to context, recognising that a child's development is impacted by their immediate environment (most often their family). This focus on development is supported and maintained when practitioners apply the coaching approach to working with parents and families.

We recommend this brief five-minute video from Harvard University's Center on the Developing Child which describes the importance on focusing on developing parent and carer capabilities and strengthening communities to achieve good outcomes for children.
https://developingchild.harvard.edu/resources/building-adult-capabilities-to-improve-child-outcomes-a-theory-of-change/

Applying this perspective would result in the service system focusing on developing parents' and carers' capacity to support children's development. This involves moving away from a solely case

management approach toward a focus on parental skill development for sustained improvement in children's outcomes.

The NSW Government's initiative *Brighter Beginnings: the first 2000 days* is grounded in developmental theory. This initiative recognises the impact of environmental factors on child development and that supporting parents and carers to develop their own skills and capacity is critical to improving outcomes for children. A shared developmental language across the education, health and welfare sectors could significantly improve cross-sector collaboration.

We recommend taking the following steps towards applying a developmental perspective in NSW:

- Developing a White Paper that provides the accessible application of a developmental framework to service and practice design in child and family services.

- A coordinated effort of cross-sectorial events designed to build awareness of and consensus in the application of a developmental framework to child and family services.

- Design and delivery of sector capacity-building initiatives that promote the uptake of evidence-based approaches to supporting parents and carers in creating nurturing environments for children. This could also include cross-sector collaborations designed to share knowledge and practices.

Changing how we talk to and about parents

Terms of reference addressed in this section:

- How vulnerable children and families are identified and how the current system interacts with them including any potential improvements, particularly at important transition points in their lives.
- The adequacy of current interventions and responses for vulnerable children and families and their effectiveness in supporting families and avoiding children entering out of home care.
- The child protection intake, assessment, referral and case management system including any changes necessary to ensure that all children assessed as being at risk of significant harm receive a proactive and timely in-person response from child protection staff.

Recommendation:

9. Increase public support for, and parental engagement in, child and family services by reframing how we talk about parenting away from a focus on 'effective parenting' to the child development master narrative.

Parenting has an impact on every aspect of child development, including physical health, mental health, and social, emotional and cognitive development. Parenting that influences child outcomes in a positive way is underpinned by several universal parenting qualities: nurturance, warmth, sensitivity, responsiveness and flexibility.

Our research shows that warm, responsive and confident parenting can help to mitigate the effects of disadvantage on children (e.g. Parenting Research Centre, 2017). This indicates the critical role of all services along the continuum of child and family service system in supporting parents to build parenting skills and confidence including those experiencing adversity and disadvantage.

We know that parenting is a learned set of skills, developed 'on the job', and that all parents will need support at some stage as their children grow and develop. However, our recent research highlighted major gaps between this expert view and how the Australian public understands parenting (Volmert et al., 2016). Our early work with The FrameWorks Institute, supported and funded by the NSW Department of Communities and Justice, revealed a number of deeply held beliefs and assumptions about parenting and child development that can undermine public support for policy and funding solutions and may prevent parents seeking help. These same beliefs may also affect how practitioners and services respond to parents. This includes:

- the belief that good parenting comes naturally – rather than is a set of skills that can be learnt
- a strong assumption that the greatest influence on how people parent is how they themselves were parented, with less understanding of how context and circumstances affects parenting.

Beliefs such as these lead to a fatalistic attitude that cycles of parenting are almost impossible to disrupt, and that little can be done to support change – particularly in people experiencing social and economic disadvantage.

Our research with The FrameWorks Institute went on to show that when we change how we talk about parenting we can significantly change how people think, feel and even act (L'Hote et al., 2017). The study recommends adopting a new 'master narrative' to shape how people think about parenting and help reshape sector-wide policy and service delivery. This new narrative focuses on the importance of child development rather than on effective parenting. Reframing our

communications away from 'effective parenting' to 'child development' led to clear shifts in attitudes and strong increases in support for services and policies that support families.

This research has major implications for how communicators, policy-makers, researchers and practitioners talk about parenting if we are to increase public support for child and family services and increase the likelihood that parents will seek help and access those services.

Reframing how we talk about parenting

In partnership with the Australian Department of Health and Human Services and The FrameWorks Institute we developed a range of resources to support organisations as they incorporate research findings into their work. We have also provided training, coaching and implementation support for organisations, campaigns and initiatives across Australia including the National Association for Prevention of Child abuse and Neglect, Every Child, Parentline and raisingchildren.net.au.

Interest in this important work is not limited to the child and family sector; government and non-government organisations in health and education have also changed how they communicate about parenting.

- 331 individual users have completed 532 modules of our Reframing Parenting online learning course.

Stakeholders report that they:

- have changed their conversations and language around supporting parents
- now question how messages are formulated and how language is used in practice
- shape their discussions and look at problems differently
- have updated their marketing and parent-facing information and materials.

"Our conversations end up a lot more focused on what can be done to support parents, than on the notion of 'good' and 'bad' parents."

Every Child Campaign

Conclusion

Improving children's safety, wellbeing and healthy development requires the provision of high-quality, evidence-based support for parents.

This submission makes the following recommendations.

1. Ensure that families are actively referred to other services (warm referrals) to increase engagement.

2. Implement dual-track response and active holding approaches to better engage and maintain families in child and family services.

3. Embed the systematic use of accessible, evidence-based digital platforms such as raisingchildren.net.au into services working with vulnerable families including Targeted Earlier Intervention and child protection services, to ensure that parents and practitioners have access to credible, practical, easy to understand information about child development and parenting skills.

4. Embed structured, evidence-based parenting support (evidence-based practices, frameworks and programs) within existing services to increase parents' engagement.

5. Further refine and expand intensive early support initiatives that show promise such as Thriving Families New South Wales and A Place To Go.

6. Provide organisations and practitioners with the skills and tools they need to be able to able to shift away from a solely case management approach to deliver tailored, individualised evidence-based support to parents and families.

7. Implement a coaching approach to support parents and families develop long-term, sustainable parenting and problem-solving skills and confidence.

8. Improve engagement and outcomes for families by adopting a developmental perspective to drive the design and delivery of policy and practice across all sectors.

9. Increase public support for, and parental engagement in, child and family services by reframing how we talk about parenting away from a focus on 'effective parenting' to the child development master narrative.

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