Permanence for children in the care system: Policy paper 2014

SUMMARY

Permanence for children who are in the care system involves building and maintaining strong and stable relationships, a sense of family membership, stability of living arrangements and clarity as to the legal or administrative arrangements. The Fostering Network believes that permanence can be achieved in a range of settings and that the option chosen should depend on the best interests of the individual child.

The Fostering Network recommends that:

- The quality of permanence planning needs to be assured.
- Support for families to prevent children entering care, and to enable children to be successfully reintegrated into the family after being in care, require much more attention across the UK.
- Kinship Care and Family and Friends Care should receive higher priority and better support.
- The status of foster care as a permanency option needs to be raised, especially in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.
- The framework of security for individual long-term foster care placements needs to be addressed to improve stability.
- The operation of special guardianship in England and Wales needs to be reviewed by governments and issues identified must be acted on. A form of special guardianship should be introduced in Northern Ireland.

In order to explore these issues, the paper is organized in the following sections:

1. General principles which guide the Fostering Network
2. General perspective on the issue of permanence
3. Permanence in foster care
4. Recommendations
1. General principles which guide the Fostering Network

1.1 The Fostering Network strongly believes that interventions by public authorities and the courts in the lives of children must be guided by the best interests of the child, and should fully reflect the principles of children’s rights as expressed in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. This must include taking account of the views of the child.

1.2 International principles for world-wide implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in relation to children in care have been set out in United Nations Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children. These state that they “seek, in particular

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a) To support efforts to keep children in, or return them to, the care of their family, or, failing this, to find another appropriate and permanent solution, including adoption and kafala of Islamic law

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b) To ensure that, while such permanent solutions are being sought, or in cases where they are not possible, or are not in the best interests of the child, the most suitable forms of alternative care are identified and provided, under conditions that promote the child’s full and harmonious development.”

1.3.1 The Centre for Excellence for Looked-after Children in Scotland (CELCIS), together with International Social Services, Unicef, SOS Children’s Villages and the Oak Foundation, has produced a manual for implementing the UN Guidelines. This identifies two key pillars: necessity and suitability. Alternative care should be truly necessary (emphasising the importance of prevention); however, if the child does require alternative care, the care setting should be matched with the individual child concerned and it should be of a high standard. A range of options must be available, and priority should be given to family and community based solutions.

1 http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/comments.htm
3 CELCIS, 2012, Moving Forward: Implementing the “Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children” p.22
1.4 The Fostering Network believes that the state must support and enable parents and families in their role as care givers, and that it should only intervene against the wishes of the parents and carers where this is clearly necessary in the best interests of the child.

1.5 The Fostering Network also supports the core principles of the Children Act 1989, the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 and the Children (Northern Ireland) Order 1995 under which the welfare of the child is the paramount consideration. In these instruments issues such as contact with the birth family, kinship care or family and friends care, the importance of meeting the needs of the individual child and permanence planning are emphasised.

2. **General perspective on the issue of permanence**

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The care system needs to ensure that children have a stable environment and consistent care, that they have secure emotional attachments, and that the legal status of the relationships they have with their carers provides security. These principles are shared in all four UK countries.

2.1.2 The definition of permanence stated in regulations in England, and applied in Wales and Northern Ireland, relates to these three factors.

“Permanence is the framework of emotional permanence (attachment) physical permanence (stability), and legal permanence (the carer has parental responsibility for a child) which gives a child a sense of security, continuity, commitment and identity. The object of planning for permanence is therefore to ensure that children have a secure, stable and loving family, to support them through childhood and beyond.”

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4 Such principles have guided the Fostering Network’s recent responses to consultations on contact and fostering to adopt in the context of the Children and Families Bill 2013, for example.

5 The Children Act 1989, Guidance and Regulations, Vol. 2: Care Planning, Placement and Case Review 2010, Section 2.3
The use of the term ‘permanence’ in Scotland relates more usually to legal permanence, but this is seen as a crucial underpinning for a care giver’s relationship with the child in providing security and attachment. The Permanence Order, introduced in 2007, applies to children who cannot live with their birth family. It permits the court to limit the rights and responsibilities of the birth family, and to transfer many or all of the parental rights and responsibilities to the carer in partnership with the local authority, the latter securing key decision making responsibility as to where the child shall live. The Scottish Government explained its intention that:

“The introduction of a Permanence Order into Scottish legislation is recognition that vulnerable children must have stability to develop attachments to their carers”.7

2.2 Permanency Planning

2.2.1 Permanency planning begins from the time the child enters the care system. This means identifying the best form of care to meet the needs of the individual child right through to adulthood. The plan for permanence must be addressed in care proceedings (or in Children’s Hearings in Scotland) and subsequently it must be reviewed along with all other aspects of the plan for the looked–after child or young person.

2.2.2 Permanency planning for looked–after children has become more structured over recent years. Nonetheless, the Fostering Network believes that the importance and efficacy of permanence planning for children within the care system requires much more attention, building on the principles contained within established frameworks.

2.2.3 In Scotland the Scottish Children’s Reporter Administration prepared a report on Care and Permanence Planning for Looked–after Children in Scotland in 2011. This highlighted delays and poor practice, particularly early on in the care planning process. The Scottish Government responded swiftly and positively to this report. An intensive

6 Parental rights to exercise parental responsibilities have a status in Scottish law which does not apply in the other three countries.

7 The Scottish Government 2007, Getting it right for every child in kinship and foster care, p.18.

8 The Scottish Children’s Reporter Administration, 2011, Care and Permanence Planning for Looked–after Children in Scotland
effort to improve the practice of permanency planning is now being delivered through the Centre for Excellence for Looked-after Children in Scotland (CELCIS) in an effort to create improved and consistent standards. Two of the key issues identified are the need for local leadership to track the progress of permanency planning within agreed timescales, and the need to develop the confidence and competence of social workers and others to engage effectively with permanency planning.

2.2.4 The Fostering Network conducted a survey amongst its members in England, Wales and Northern Ireland to learn from their experiences and views of permanency planning. This showed that there is a serious lack of confidence in the care planning system. Only 40 per cent of those surveyed thought that care planning works well. Only 28 per cent thought that sufficient care is taken in care planning. In our view the shortcomings seem to lie in poor practice, and the failure to implement regulations and guidance thoroughly. This demands a cultural change, and support for improving practice.

2.2.5 The Children and Young People Committee of the National Assembly of Wales discussed permanency planning in the context of its Inquiry into Adoption. This reported that official data shows that 13 local authorities in Wales did not meet the requirement of completing the permanence plan by the time of the second LAC review as required. In most local authorities it is achieved in 80 per cent of cases but in one authority only 40 per cent of cases met the target. The Welsh Local Government Association and the Association of Directors of Social Services told the Committee that this timeliness indicator alone was insufficient to make judgments about the quality of permanency planning, and they are currently considering how to improve effective monitoring of local authority performance in this area.


9 Tearse, M. Permanency Planning: Views from Fostering Network members, The Fostering Network, April 2013

10 See report November 2012

www.senedd.assemblywales.org/documents/s11356/Adoption%20Report%20November%202012.pdf

11 Ibid. pp.21 - 24
2.2.6 In England, the Department for Education is also working on more effective performance data which will reveal more about outcomes. Individual studies cast some light on the issues. A comprehensive summary of recent research on permanence for looked-after children was produced by Janet Body for the Care Inquiry in England\textsuperscript{12}, an initiative organised by the Fostering Network and a group of children’s charities.\textsuperscript{13}

2.2.7 In Northern Ireland the Health and Social Care Board are currently reviewing their approach to permanence and permanence policy.

2.3 Routes to permanence

2.3.1 The Fostering Network takes the view that, because the circumstances and needs of children differ considerably, a range of permanency options must be available and given full consideration when deciding on the plan for each individual child. These are: to remain with or return to the birth family, to live in family based care with friends, relatives, non-related foster carers or adopters (and special guardians in England and Wales), or to live in residential care.

2.3.2 Permanence for most children lies within the birth family. The Fostering Network would support better preventative action with the families of children on the edge of care which might avert the necessity of the child leaving the birth family. Sustained support is more likely to succeed than quick-fix interventions. Preventative services have been relatively under-developed in the UK.

2.3.3 Most children who are removed from their parents (either voluntarily or through legal proceedings) will return home, and many of those who cannot return home will retain close links with their birth families. We strongly support a presumption of contact between the child and his/her birth family (both parents and siblings) unless there are good reasons why this would be damaging to the child. The Fostering Network believes that maximum assistance must be given to birth families to overcome their problems within a timescale that can meet the child’s needs, and to nurture their

\textsuperscript{12} Body, J., April 2013, Understanding Permanence for Looked-after Children: a review of research for the Care Inquiry www.nuffieldfoundation.org/sites/default/files/files/Understanding%20Permanence%20for%20LAC.pdf

\textsuperscript{13} www.fostering.net/the-care-inquiry#.Uua1WaNFBdg
relationship with the child in care, unless this is contrary to the best interests and wishes of the child.

2.3.4 For many children who cannot live with their birth family, members of their wider family can provide stable alternative care. We strongly believe that family and friends care, or kinship care, should be actively explored as a first option unless there are reasons why this is not in the best interests of the child, including the wishes of the child, or unless it is not practicable. In order to be a viable option, family and friends care or kinship care requires sufficient support – whether financial assistance, or social work advice. Currently, impoverishment and lack of support is a very real problem for many such carers outside the care system.14

2.3.5 For children who need to be in the care system, foster care provided by family and friends carers, kinship foster care in Northern Ireland, or kinship care in Scotland, should be a primary option. If this is the option chosen it should receive sufficient support from social work services and sufficient financial support to ensure the success of the placement. In practice, insufficient levels of support are frequently offered to such placements.

2.3.6 For those who cannot live with their birth parents, or who cannot live with their wider family under formal or informal arrangements, a stable long-term placement in foster care with unrelated carers may provide the best option. For a smaller number, particularly young children, adoption will be the preferred choice, and this may also be the right resolution for older children. For a few older children who cannot live with any alternative family, or who do not wish to do so, residential care may be most suitable.

2.3.7 The development of the child’s emotional attachments and provision of a stable environment can be achieved in any of the settings mentioned above, provided the particular placement chosen meets the child’s individual needs. This also depends on the commitment of adults who can forge emotional bonds with the child. In addition to the overall type of care selected, it is absolutely essential that children are well

14 See, for example see Gautier, A. et al., 2013, Forgotten Children, Grandparents Plus, and Griggs, J., 2010, Protect, Support, Provide, Grandparents Plus with the Equality and Human Rights Commission and the University of Oxford
matched with individual carers, and that sufficient support is provided to all placements so that they can meet the individual needs of the child.

2.3.8 Children in the care system who are accommodated away from home have all experienced some degree of rupture in their family relationships. For most children in care, attachments with parents and family need to be repaired and developed, while new attachments need to be established with new carers. Sustainable relationships must be nurtured, not just with day to day carers, but with other family members, and with friends or significant contacts. Ideally the child’s attachments will endure well into adulthood, although this cannot be prescribed, depending as it does on practicalities and the on-going mutual emotional commitment of the persons involved.

2.3.9 The Fostering Network wishes to see radical improvements to leaving care support, which can help ensure that young people do enjoy stability, and that attachments can flourish even after young people leave the care system. With other agencies the Fostering Network is campaigning for better leaving care support in general. In particular the Fostering Network has led campaigning, with considerable success, for the right of young people to remain with their former foster carers until the age of 21.

2.3.10 This is important, not only to ensure that whatever beneficial effects young people have derived from being in care are not undermined when they leave care, but also so that young people can have confidence in their future whilst they are still in the care system, rather than being preoccupied by uncertainty which can blight their development in care.

2.3.11 Recently, the Fostering Network collaborated with seven other charities in the Care Inquiry in England, an investigation of the research evidence, and the views of children and adults involved with the care system, which concluded that it is the quality of relationships which matters rather than the legal status of a placement. “The relationships with people who care for and about children are the golden thread in

15 See, for example, The Care Leavers’ Coalition 2013, *Still Our Children*. 

16 The Fostering Network, Don’t Move Me campaign www.fostering.net/policy-and-campaigns/campaigns/dont-move-me
children’s lives, and the quality of a child’s relationships is the lens through which we should view what we do and plan to do”. The Fostering Network considers that much more importance must be attributed to supporting the development of such relationships.

2.3.12 At the same time we recognize that enduring bonds can be achieved only by mutual commitment, and that permanence can mean different things. Ian Sinclair developed the following model for permanence in foster care:

- Objective permanence (if the placement lasts throughout childhood providing backup, and possible accommodation after age 18)
- Subjective permanence (if the child feels he/she belongs in the family)
- Enacted permanence (if the child is treated as a family member by all)
- Uncontested permanence (if the child feels no split loyalty between foster and birth families).

2.4 Legal permanence

2.4.1 Over recent years growing policy emphasis has been placed on legal status. Adoption has been strengthened in England and Wales, and Special Guardianship has been introduced in England and Wales involving a significant partial transfer of parental responsibility to the carer. In Scotland the new Permanence Order has been deployed since 2009. The Permanence Order can apply to a child placed in foster care, freed for adoption or placed in residential care. In Northern Ireland there are currently

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17 The Care Inquiry, 2013, Final Report, Making not Breaking; building relationships for our most vulnerable children, p.2 www.fostering.net/the-care-inquiry#.Uua1WaNFBdg

18 Ian Sinclair (2005) Fostering now: Messages from research p.32

19 E.g. The Adoption (Northern Ireland) Order 1987; The Adoption and Children Act (England and Wales) 2002; Adopting the future (Northern Ireland Policy Paper) 2006; Regional Permanence Policy Review in Northern Ireland and the forthcoming Adoption and Children Bill; The Adoption and Children Act (Scotland 2007); the Children and Families Act 2014 (affecting England and Wales)

proposals to consider the range of legal permanence through an Adoption and Children Bill.

2.4.2 The Fostering Network welcomes initiatives to improve legal permanence. However, we are concerned that undue emphasis on legal status, and insufficient attention to the needs of the child to feel that he or she belongs in a particular family or care setting, can prevent much needed improvements to the overall success of permanency planning.

2.4.3 Among some policy makers there appears to be a presumption that attachments and stability are hard to achieve within the care system but that these will follow from secure legal status outside the care system. The Fostering Network challenges any such presumption – we believe that permanence involving stable placements and secure attachments should be the aim for all children in care. What really matters to children in care is the quality of personal relationships. Cultural change in the system and the application of best practice is needed to ensure that these are given priority.

2.4.3 There has been a tendency for adoption, involving the full transfer of parental responsibility, to be viewed as “the gold standard”, particularly in England. Both Labour and Conservative UK Prime Ministers have championed adoption in recent years.21 The Fostering Network thinks it is unhelpful to regard adoption as “the best” option, although it may be best for specific children. At the same time, we believe that the potential of foster care as a permanency option has been very much under-rated.


21 Tony Blair championed adoption from 2000, and David Cameron championed adoption reform in 2012.
3. **Permanence in foster care**

3.1 Introduction

Foster carers play a very important role in achieving permanence for many looked-after children. They may themselves become the long-term or permanent carers of the child. Alternatively they may provide a stable placement for a limited period during which the problems are tackled which resulted in the child having to leave the birth family, and preparations are made for a return home or permanent care for the child in another setting. Both of these scenarios will now be discussed.

3.2 Foster care as an interim option whilst other options for permanence are pursued

3.2.1 Many children are placed in foster care whilst steps are taken to enable the child to return to the birth parents, or whilst other options such as family and friends care or, in a minority of cases adoption, are pursued. Foster carers have a vital role in preparing the child for the situation he/she will meet ahead, and in helping the child to maintain or develop relationships with the parents, or potential carers or adopters.

The foster carer also has an important role in helping the child to understand his/her history, as well as to prepare for the future. Foster carers can provide stable environments and secure attachments, whilst the long-term arrangements are determined and developed. The foster carer’s role in supporting a child to move to a permanent care arrangement has a significant impact on the child’s ability to feel secure within that placement. On-going contact with former foster carers when the child moves to a permanent placement is a very important consideration, which is frequently neglected.

3.2.2 In response to a recent survey on permanency planning among our members, foster carers said they could see the merits of different permanence options, and were clear that the best option depends on the needs and wishes of the individual child. However, they were also clear that foster care has much to offer as a permanence option.\(^\text{22}\)

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\(^{22}\) Tearse, M. 2013, op.cit.
3.3 Foster care as a permanence option\textsuperscript{23}

3.3.1 In some cases, a foster care placement may be the best permanence option for a particular child. This may be the case, for instance, where the child cannot live with the birth family but wishes to maintain a relationship with them, or perhaps where the child has significant and exceptional needs which cannot be met by the birth family and which may require on-going professional support. The child is likely to remain in the placement until he/she leaves care and later on may well continue to live with the former foster carer after leaving care.

3.3.2 One perceived problem is that long-term foster care is frequently regarded as a second-best permanency option. Inevitably the absence of legal status is an on-going obstacle, but other steps can be taken to raise the credibility of long-term foster care as a placement of choice. On the one hand this needs to be addressed by striving for excellence in foster care. On the other, there needs to be a clearer commitment by services to identify and provide the support that foster carers need. For example, a high level of delegated authority will be important, or access to on-going training, support and advice as the child’s needs change over the years, or the availability of respite breaks (see the Fostering Network’s policy on long-term foster care).

3.3.3 Also, the status of individual long-term fostering placements can sometimes be unclear even though a shared and clear understanding for all parties should be achieved through the process of permanency planning.\textsuperscript{24} In England the Department for Education is currently formulating proposals to give long-term foster care placements a clear status.\textsuperscript{25} One problem reported by our members is that placements which may last for years are never confirmed as long-term. Another issue is that both foster carers and fostered children in England frequently report fears that the child may be moved unnecessarily, even though this is contrary to regulation and good practice. Children

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\textsuperscript{23} Please see the Fostering Network’s policy \textit{Long-term foster care} for a fuller perspective. Also see report by the Fostering Network: Tearse M. 2014, \textit{Long-term foster care: views from our members}

\textsuperscript{24} For more information on England see Schofield G. et al., 2011, \textit{Care Planning for Permanence in Foster Care}, University of East Anglia. \url{http://www.uea.ac.uk/centre-research-child-family/child-placement/care-planning-for-permanence-in-foster-care}

\textsuperscript{25} Department for Education, \textit{Improving Permanence for Looked-after Children}, Consultation, September 2013
and young people want their views to be taken into account to a much greater extent. There is also evidence that they want to know they can end a placement if it is not working out. The Children’s Rights Director for England reported in 2012 that the most common view amongst children and young people is that permanent placements are a good thing – but it is “also important for a child to be able to leave and move to a different placement if they need to”.  

3.3.4 In Scotland long-term foster care placements made under supervision requirements, and not secured by a Permanence Order, are regarded as temporary. This differs from the current definition of all fostering as a temporary arrangement which appears on the Scottish Government website. “Foster care is a way of offering children a safe, secure and nurturing place to stay while their family is unable to care for them. Unlike adoption, fostering is a temporary arrangement – on either a short or long-term basis – and many children in foster care will return to their birth family.” This “temporary” status of long-term foster care relates to the powers of the panels under the Children’s Hearings system to review the placement and to change the plan for the child. This is all the more concerning because since 2013 foster carers are no longer deemed as relevant persons who can inform or advise the panel with regard to issues such as place of residence, or long-term planning. This situation is potentially undermining for foster carers and contradicts the reality of the growing importance of long-term foster care.

3.3.5 The view of the Fostering Network is that the stability of specific placements is very important – children should not be moved without very good reasons and without taking account of their wishes. All necessary support must be provided to enable placements to flourish and endure. However, the quality of relationships is the most important consideration, and if the attachment between the child and the fostering

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26 The Views and Recommendations of Children and Young People involved in the Care Inquiry, April 2013, The Care Inquiry op.cit.


28 http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Young-People/protecting/lac/fostercare

29 The Children’s Hearings (Scotland) Act 2011, applied since 2013
family is not strong enough, and particularly if the child wishes to move to another foster carer, then it may well be positive that the child should move to another fostering family.

3.4 Special Guardianship

3.4.1 Some foster carers go on to adopt children to whom they are offering long-term care, and others in England and Wales apply for Special Guardianship Orders. Where this is in the best interests of the child, and the foster carer is committed to offering legal permanence, we believe this should be fully supported by statutory authorities. Special guardianship is particularly appropriate for older children as it does not sever all legal ties with the birth family, but transfers parental responsibility for all day to day matters to the former foster carer.

3.4.2 The Fostering Network is concerned that the policies of local authorities towards special guardianship vary significantly. We have the impression that in some authorities foster carers are pressurised into applying for such orders, whereas in others the local authority may not favour them. Such discrepancies are highlighted in our recent survey of members on permanence. 30

3.4.3 We also have concerns about the levels of support offered to foster carers who opt for special guardianship. Currently, according to law, the package of support must be agreed in advance, and may be guaranteed only for two years. Often the needs of adolescent children can change significantly, and people who take out such orders can find that they are very much under-supported.

3.4.4 In general the Fostering Network regards special guardianship as a very positive option both for foster carers and kinship carers, especially for older children, and we welcome the likelihood that a similar, though not identical, provision is likely to be introduced in Northern Ireland in the near future. However, we do consider that a review of the operation of special guardianship in England and Wales is overdue, particularly in the light of the consideration recently given to adoption. 31

30 Tearse M. 2013 op. cit.

31 In England a research review of special guardianship has been commissioned by the DfE from the University of York. (Wade J. et al., 2014, An Investigation of Special Guardianship: Final Report, DfE
Recommendations

4.1 The quality of permanency planning needs to be assured.

This will involve:

- the development of effective monitoring to identify exactly what steps need to be taken
- a strategy for developing performance on a consistent national basis
- effective leadership and capacity building at local level
- professional training of social workers and other key decision makers

The Fostering Network will monitor foster carers’ experiences of permanency planning, and use this information to influence policy and practice.

4.2 Support for families to prevent children entering care, and to enable children to be successfully reintegrated into the family after being in care, require very much more attention across the UK.

The Fostering Network will lend support to the policy work of other knowledgeable organisations seeking to promote this agenda. In particular, we will share our expertise based on the experiences and views of fostering families from which children and young people return home.

3.4 Kinship Care and Family and Friends Care should receive higher priority and better support

The Fostering Network emphasises that for children in care who cannot live with their parents, local authorities should first ensure that potential placements with family and friends (or kin) are always explored and assessed for suitability. Many such placements will be permanent.

Local published policies on family and friends care, or kinship care, should include details of the arrangements in place to ensure that family and friends foster carers

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forthcoming). This, together with the policy and practice recommendations of stakeholders, especially young people and special guardians themselves, will provide important background to such a review.
receive the support and advice they require, and that this is delivered in a way that
is respectful of their status.

4.4 The status of foster care as a permanency option needs to be raised, especially in
England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The Fostering Network will continue to press for, and lend support to, work by
government officials on the definition and interpretation of permanence in England. It
will also apply its expertise to opportunities arising in Wales and Northern Ireland. This
will include influencing the Regional Permanence Policy Review in Northern Ireland and
the forthcoming Adoption and Children Bill. In Scotland the Fostering Network will
continue to work with the Centre for Excellence for Looked–after Children in Scotland
and the Scottish Government to improve the status of foster care.

4.5 The framework of security for individual long–term foster care placements needs to be
addressed to improve stability.

This is likely to involve:

- An improved process for agreeing that a particular placement will be deemed long–
term.
- Ensuring that children are not moved for reasons other than those of promoting
  their best interests.
- Ensuring that the wishes of the child are respected, and applied where this is
  consistent with the child’s best interests.
- Ensuring that children and foster carers are supported to address issues and
difficulties that may arise in permanent foster care placements, just as they should
be in other permanence options.

The Fostering Network will continue to work with the Department for Education in
England to establish a national framework for the introduction of a long–term foster
care agreement and system of sign off at leadership level. We will work to investigate
and apply appropriate solutions in Wales and Northern Ireland. We will seek to
minimize insecurity for children under supervision orders in Scotland, and we will seek
improvements in the process of children’s hearings in Scotland. In all countries we will
work with partner agencies to ensure that the views of children and young people on
this matter are heard.
4.6 The operation of special guardianship in England and Wales needs to be reviewed by governments and issues identified must be acted on. A form of special guardianship should be introduced in Northern Ireland.

- The Fostering Network will add its influence and will seek to ensure that the views and experiences of foster carers and young people are heard in this matter.

- The Fostering Network will particularly address the issue of financial support for special guardians and local authority policies concerning applications. We will support the introduction of a system of special guardianship in Northern Ireland.

ENDS