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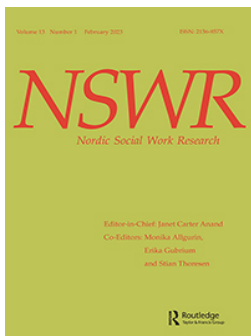
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Reinventing the wheel? Children's wellbeing in the journey along the GIRFEC stream

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ABSTRACT

The Wellbeing Wheel is a tool used for early detection, assessment, and planning around children. This study examines how this artefact has been translated from Scotland to Sweden and what that process involved in relation to transformation from the original ideas when travelling from one specific context to another. The analysis was based on three graphic wheels and their supporting documentation, interviews, and field notes. The results reveal great similarity in the overall 'spirit' of the work performed to introduce the Wellbeing Wheel to the Swedish context, but on several points significant differences can also be noted, with some content being removed or relocated, and new content being added. These changes were conscious and intentional in some instances, while others arose spontaneously and ad hoc during the development processes.

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Wellbeing; Child welfare; Implementation; GIRFEC

Introduction

There is currently a high degree of pressure from national authorities in Sweden to develop promotional and preventative work aimed at supporting children and young people. Coordinated early interventions are recommended to increase long-term wellbeing, improve living conditions, and prevent a number of problems, such as poor performance and truancy from school, rising mental health issues, serious violent crimes among youth, and greater number of maltreated children at home (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2019; Swedish Government Official Reports 2021).

To address these identified problems, the Scottish model *Getting it right for every child* (GIRFEC) has been held up as an exemplary model by several national bodies (Grefve 2017; SALAR 2018; Swedish Government Official Reports 2018), and is currently being introduced in several places. A central aspect of the model is the Wellbeing Wheel, which translates the theoretical and values-based foundations of GIRFEC regarding the needs of children and youth into a comprehensive tool used for overall guidance as well as assessments and planning around individual children. The wheel is intended to be used across agencies and aims at a unifying 'language' broadly between practitioners who meet children and young people at different ages and situations.

The Wellbeing Wheel has been shown both in Scotland and in Sweden to play an independent role in the work of assessing and identifying needs among children and youth and planning for possible support measures (Anderberg & Forkby 2021). In this way, the wheel constitutes an artefact with encapsulated ideas and intentions, which thus has its own agency (Czarniawska 2017). In concrete terms, the Wellbeing Wheel is often the image that is placed on the table around

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which family, children, and professionals gather to identify needs and plan for possible support measures. Through its visual design and supporting documentation, the wheel determines what of the child's need is or is not important to pay attention to and highlights the interconnectedness of different areas of life. It therefore becomes an active component in the articulation and realization of children's wellbeing.

Results from two collaborative research projects linked to the implementation of local versions of GIRFEC in Falun Municipality and in Region Kronoberg and confirmed by stakeholders in Ystad highlighted the Wellbeing Wheel as one of the most essential aspects of GIRFEC. The wheel was said to provide structure and clarity for how conversations with and about children and youth could be conducted. However, while speaking in common terms of its function, their visualizations of the wheel showed significant deviation, both between the three projects and from the original. Few professionals brought up theoretical or research-based presumptions about child development, or how the dynamics between different areas of life should be managed, which was central to the conceptual development of the Scottish Wellbeing Wheel.

Difficulties when transferring a model between different social, political, and cultural contexts are well documented. While a process of translation needs to take place in order to retain the original meaning, deviating too much will threaten the integrity of the intention; and the lesser the control of the implementation setting, the greater the chance of ending up with something other than intended (Durlak and DuPre 2008).

Introducing a practice framework and assessment tools (e.g. the Common Assessment Framework, Signs of Safety, strengths-based approaches) in child welfare/social work could be motivated by a perceived need to establish a better structure for the daily work, to distinguish the professionals' and the organization's identity, and to find a comprehensive idea for formulating questions and gaining information about children's and families' lives (Baginsky, Ixer, and Manthorpe 2021). However, without a deeper understanding of the underpinning theories, a professional ethos, adequate organizational resources, and competent leadership, such attempts could turn out as merely superficial cosmetics. A holistic and elaborate understanding could be restricted in favour of an intuitive search for risk indicators without any profound assessment of their causes or interplay (Baginsky, Manthorpe, and Moriarty 2021).

Implementation therefore necessitates translation processes that, depending on the control of the addressed settings and the structure and facilitation of the interpretations, will have uncertain outcomes both for the affected practitioners and for the targeted groups, in this case, children and families. The translation process of the wheel was achieved in a process of negotiation aiming at a broad agreement, and with the intention of facilitating inter-agency, cross-professional usage. This article examines how probes into questions about the social and cognitive processes of the microstructure of this translation and discusses how even small changes can create unintentional transformation that significantly might change both practice and the way in which children and youth are understood and approached. The article also comments on the potential roles and cautions of a research-practice partnership which can be beneficial to these translations.

Wellbeing in the spotlight

Wellbeing is usually understood as a state arising from a dynamic, multidimensional interplay among various areas of life, conditions, and the individual's subjective experiences (Watson, Emery, and Bayliss 2012). The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) has been influential in ensuring that wellbeing is included in many countries' policies and has also influenced international comparisons and provide a tool for benchmarking between countries (Bradshaw et al. 2011; Pollard and Lee 2003; Swedish National Agency for Education 2019; Spratt 2016). However, the fusion of the idea of wellbeing with the rights perspective is not without its critics (Tisdall 2015a, 2015b). Wellbeing and rights rest on different theoretical foundations since the former can be understood without the political connections to power and

redistribution that the rights perspective presupposes. Wellbeing is an umbrella concept that has its roots in medicine, public health, psychology, economics, and philosophy and aligns well with current policy trends such as public health agendas and evidence-based practice, while children's rights have an Enlightenment philosophical and legal foundation linked to human rights in order to improve children's and young people's economic welfare and life chances (Coles et al. 2016; Tisdall 2015a, 2015b; Watson et al. 2012).

GIRFEC is a working model that since 2009 has expressed a national policy for how the wellbeing of all children and young people is to be ensured and, when necessary, strengthened. This model is based on the UNCRC and has drawn ideas from both Scandinavian universal welfare policy and research on children's development, risk and protective factors, and resilience (Stradling, MacNeil, and Berry 2009). As such, it has been described as being knowledge-based with a stable theoretical foundation (Coles et al. 2016). The model takes a holistic view of children and young people, and presumes a close collaboration between important people in the child's environment and the agencies involved. GIRFEC aims for a greater prioritization of prevention, meaning universal efforts to strengthen children's general health and capacities along with specific provisions to individuals at risk at earlier stages. The theoretical platform is expressed by the Wellbeing Wheel, and is built up from established theories in social work, such as Bronfenbrenner's system-ecological model, attachment theory, and resilience, risk, and protective factor prevention theory (Aldgate and Rose 2011). In addition to providing an orientation to important areas of life for children and youth in general, the wheel serves as a basis for identifying problematic situations that can hinder children's wellbeing.

Change as controlled adaptation

Implementation research includes both linear models that, for example, describe how a method should be implemented with as much resemblance to the original as possible (Fixsen et al. 2005), and constructivist approaches that instead emphasize the need for local translations and negotiations (Kingdon 2011). Integrative or dynamic models can be slotted in between these (Mitchell 2011; Stirman, Crits-christoph, and DeRubeis 2004). A common assumption, however, is that implementation is challenging and involves processes that could result in unintentional changes, unpredictable or variable outcomes, and setbacks (Albers and Pattuwage 2017; Dusenbury et al. 2003). Implementation efforts in Sweden have shown that when introducing new working methods, considerable challenges can arise from overly complicated methods, contextual and organizational hindrances, lack of interest on the part of practitioners and decision-makers, and the particular difficulties associated with the implementation of knowledge-based methods (Denvall and Johansson 2012; Ingemarsson et al. 2014; Lundström and Shanks 2013; Ponnert and Svensson 2011).

Implementation processes can be viewed in terms of interactions that occur between ideas, traditions, working routines, and actors in the meaning-making, relationship-building, concretizing, and evaluation phases (May and Finch 2009). A method that is perceived as 'easily adopted' has a greater chance of being well received, insofar as it is also perceived to be beneficial for the work, compatible with existing working routines, easy to understand, possible to test, and adaptable to the context in question (Rogers 2003).

Hence, adapting to a new model often requires mutual adjustments of both the prefigurative methodology and the receiving contexts in order to be true to the original idea, while there always is a risk of unforeseen drift (Aarons and Palinkas 2007; Mitchell 2011; Nutley, Walter, and Davies 2007). New working methods have been seen to undergo repeated changes, or *iterative refraction*, when they are 'filtered' through various levels of a system during implementation (Weinbaum and Supovitz 2010). The original method can then 'mutate' in unpredictable ways by going through alterations at each level during implementation, based on

different contextual considerations, personal values, and interpretations. A key consideration for implementation therefore concerns how adaptations occur between one context and another (Durlak and DuPre 2008).

Method

The data for the analysis consisted of the three graphic wheels and their supporting documentation, individual interviews with six process leaders from Falun, Ystad, and Region Kronoberg, and a focus group interview with them to discuss the preliminary analysis and fill in gaps regarding the development process. The process leaders planned the development work and led different working groups by assisting with methods for handling questions and tasks. Supporting data were drawn from the overall ongoing evaluations, including continuous dialogues with process leaders, field notes from workshops and training sessions with professionals, observations of a total of 15 steering meetings, and interviews with key practitioners on the pilot tests and use of the Wellbeing Wheel in Falun (10) and in Kronoberg (16). Tests of the model in the three areas involved a number of different pilot agencies (e.g. preschools, primary schools, social services, health care and police) which were chosen based on their relevance and suitability. These data were collected by the first two authors and a colleague. The study has received ethical approval (refs: 2019–02115, 2020/00811).

Similarities and differences between the Wellbeing Wheels, the guidance materials, and the processes in which they were carried out were identified, coded, and categorized. [Appendix 1](#) contains a summary of the similarities and differences between the three translations. The initial categorizations were then analysed as translations, adaptations, or mutations with the support of implementation theories (e.g. Mitchell 2011; Weinbaum and Supovitz 2010), and were related to work with children's and young people's wellbeing.

In order to handle both text and images, the analysis took inspiration from the type of multimodal discourse analysis developed by scholars including Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001), and from aspects of Fairclough's work (Fairclough 1995). From this perspective, it is not only text that is perceived as discursive expression, but also phenomena such as spatial arrangements, musical expression and genres, and pictorial designs. The Wellbeing Wheel, with the multimodal construction of its visualization and supporting documents, lends itself to this approach, and we posed questions about aspects such as the structure of visual representations, substantive agency, and the correspondence between text and image. While translation processes also involve language difficulties in doing full justice to concepts and expressions, we focused on the structural construction, transformation of theoretical ideas, and formative moments of the translation process that are not dependent on difficulties with word-wise interpretation.

Results

We begin by presenting the original Wellbeing Wheel, followed by a descriptive analysis of the development work carried out in the three contexts. We then analyse the visualizations of the three local wheels in relation to the original, pointing out several key aspects of their translations. Deviations may be considered a necessary consequence of the translation process, but the extent and nature of these differences are not always deliberately decided. For instance, one might question whether the difference in the integration of the CRC is required or more haphazard. The GIRFEC wheel successfully integrated almost every article (35 of 41 in part I of CRC) that specifically addresses the rights and needs of individual children, as demonstrated through their own attempts to show relevance (Scottish Government 2013). In the Swedish cases, such links were identified to a slightly lesser degree (Ystad 29, Falun 31,

Kronoberg 27). None of these translations included a connection to articles about the rights of looked after, adopted, and migrated children. Notably, Kronoberg's translation lacked two of the four basic principles, namely article 2 on non-discrimination and article 12 on respecting the views of the child.

Starting point: the GIRFEC Wellbeing Wheel

The GIRFEC Wellbeing Wheel is intended to support a child-centred, holistic, and ecological approach that understands and relates to children's needs based on eight dimensions (Figure 1). These dimensions are referred to as indicators or elements and are considered central to both wellbeing and development. The wheel aims generally to facilitate common understanding among stakeholders (including children and parents) and to provide a tool for planning and following up on universal and selective prevention, articulated as early detection and support (Coles et al. 2016; Scottish Government 2018).

When it comes to the visual structure, we can first take note of the relationship between the components. At the hub of the circle, we find a marker of the high ambitions that GIRFEC is based upon: 'Best start in life: Ready to succeed'. This is in turn related to the four overarching goals that together characterize the 'end product' of how children and young people can be described because of benefitting from this intended upbringing: being successful in their learning, developing self-confidence, contributing effectively to society, and being responsible citizens. The intermediate eight sections are characterized as areas of



Figure 1. The wellbeing wheel (scottish government, 'understanding wellbeing' leaflet. www.gov.scot. Retrieved 2021-09-28).

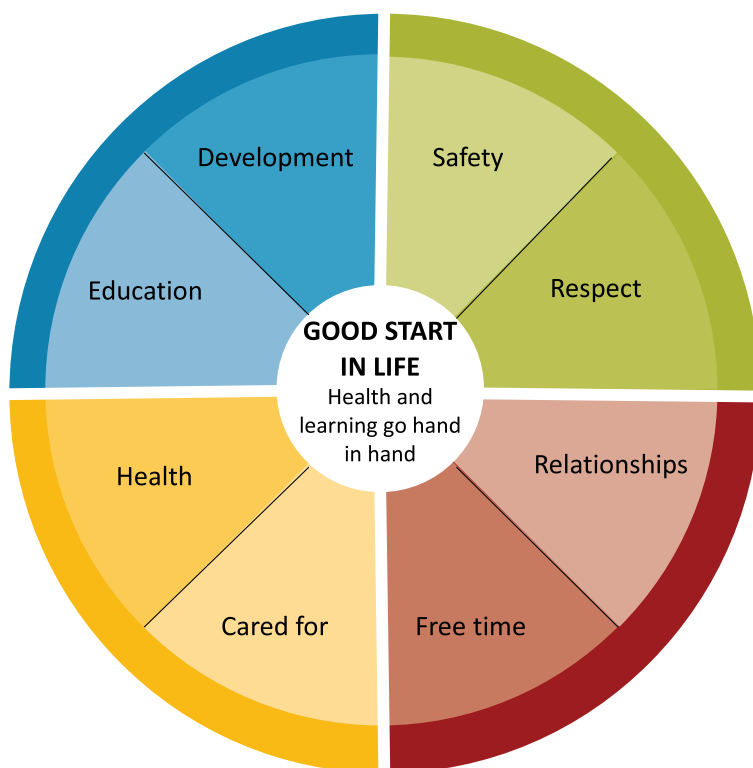


Figure 2. Falun's feel-good wheel. Author's reproduction and translation.

need, summarized in the acronym SHANARRI (safe, healthy, achieving, nurtured, active, respected, responsible, and included), and function as mediating links between intentions and goals. Practical need assessment work involves taking a stance on quality in the form of fulfilled or unfulfilled needs within the sectors, as well as on what is necessary to accomplish in order to enable children and young people to achieve their full potential in the target areas. The areas of need are related to the views of the UNCRC, stating that adults are responsible for creating structures and handling any shortcomings that may become apparent, while at the same time recognizing the child's agency and participation in support processes.

For each wellbeing indicator there is explanatory text stating that the child should be given an opportunity to engage in or be protected from something, such as the opportunity to play or to be protected from abuse. It should be noted that the specifications all have an inclusive character; that is, they describe a need and then relate this need to all relevant arenas in which the child or young person takes part. For example, the wellbeing indicator *Achieving* indicates:

Being supported and guided in their learning and in the development of their skills, confidence and self-esteem at home, at school and in the community.

It is worth emphasizing that the Wellbeing Wheel itself is convey a reduction of complexity in which more comprehensive ideologies and theories about children and young people's wellbeing have been visualized. In use this necessitates a contextualization and thereby a return to complexity.

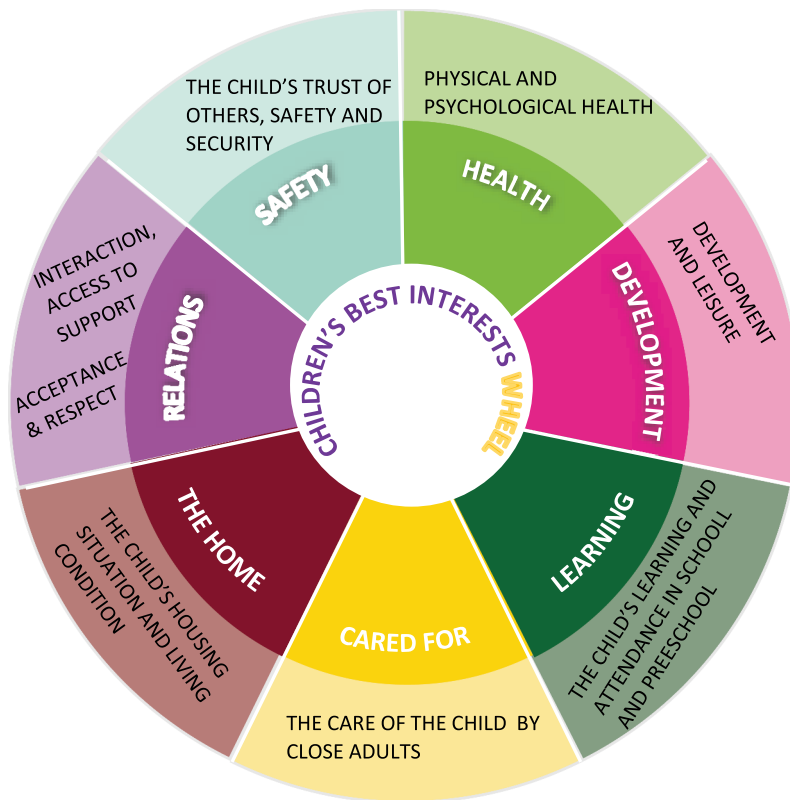


Figure 3. Region kronoberg's children's best interests wheel. Author's reproduction and translation.

The translation processes

To better understand the differences between the three wheels that we present later, we will describe how translations were carried out in the three different contexts.

During development work on *Together For Every Child (TFEC)* in Falun, the wheel was initially translated in principle verbatim from the Scottish model, the Wellbeing Wheel. Initial translation work took place with social services and a pilot school, while health care representatives joined at a later stage. The translation was adapted and subsequently modified several times by a particular working group including representative professionals from within the contributing authorities, and in collaboration with children from the pilot school. The adaptation on the professional level was focused on reaching correspondence with Swedish legislation, the UNCRC, and the school's curriculum. Children's participation was incorporated by asking groups of children to respond to the wheel being developed and to designated terms, which were then adjusted. For example, the original name, 'Wellbeing Wheel', was changed to 'Feel-Good Wheel' as a result of these discussions. The practical goals had high aims, and the Feel-Good Wheel was intended to constitute 'a strategic tool that will promote a holistic perspective on children and young people' and contribute to 'identifying children in need of support' (guidance material). At the same time, the instruction materials stated that questions only needed to be asked concerning the 'necessary' wedges for the case in question, after the initial process of establishing strengths and difficulties as they concerned parents and children's own views. The initial assessment also came with additional numbering and emojis indicating the quality within a specific area of need.

A key moment in the creation of the wheel for *Children's Best Interests in Kronoberg!* was a workshop conducted with several executive and middle management professionals from health

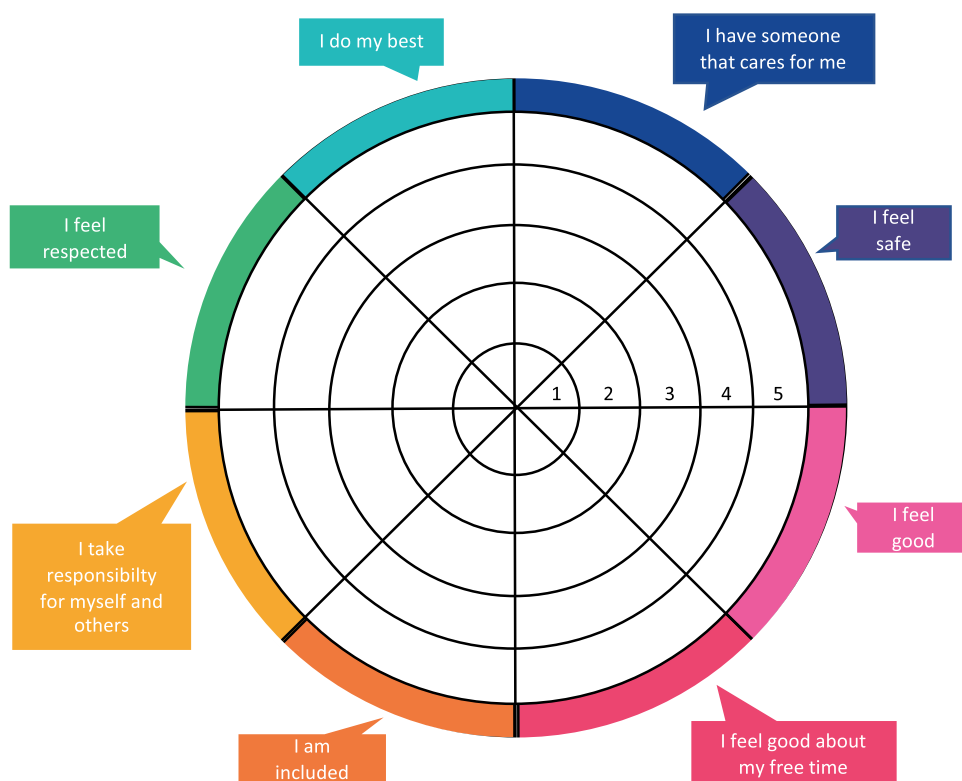


Figure 4. Ystad's needs compass. Author's reproduction and translation.

care, social services, and the school. The idea was that the workshop would result in 'a Kronoberg variation of the Wellbeing Wheel' (observation notes). Prior to this workshop, the language of the original wheel and the information materials about GIRFEC had been translated into Swedish. This began with a schematic comparison of the areas of need in the BBIC investigative model¹ and how these could be considered to correspond with the Wellbeing Wheel. Groups were then formed, and each group was given responsibility for two sections. They were asked, first individually and then as a group, to write down their spontaneous thoughts about what was important for children's wellbeing. From these, they chose keywords so that even a 'small child could understand what each section means'. Observation notes show that the workshop hosted probing discussions and strong voices advocating for specific translations. Associative similarities and differences to existing investigative models were highlighted. One participant argued that SHANARRI and BBIC were apparently 'quite similar in content' and that the optimal course of action would be to 'take the best of both'. Others thought that they should stick with the original model, which was perceived to be written in more positive and salutogenic language and was also seen to be easier to use in practice. Yet other voices suggested that the final translation should be characterized more clearly by a child's perspective than that given by the first linguistic translation. One participant suggested that one of the areas should be named *Home*, to cover the conditions at home and parents' 'basic caretaking of children' in relation to the authorities' responsibilities. Each municipality was encouraged after the workshop to discover children's needs by providing opportunities for children to participate in the process; however, this part of the process does not seem to have been realized.

The development work on *Backing Up Children* (Ystad) began with a preliminary study focused on examining how the framework linked to the Scottish model stood up in a local Swedish context. During the development phase, participating organizations took a 'user-driven approach' (SALAR

2021) in order to get participants more actively involved in the process and to achieve a sense of joint ownership. Staff from each of the participating divisions took part in a day-long workshop focused on meeting children's needs in the various organizations. GIRFEC was introduced together with the UNCRC. Participants initially attempted to construct a new wheel according to their conditions, but 'ended up with the same number of areas' as in the Scottish Wellbeing Wheel (interview). Pupils from some of the school's classes and a number of children and young people who had experienced support measures gave their feedback and suggestions for the concepts and design of the wheel, and designations of different roles. They emphasized the need for having friends and being included in different contexts, suggested that one of the eight subsections should be reformulated as *Free time*, and renamed the overall development work and specific roles to make it easier for children to understand them. Professionals were not allowed to change the suggestions back. Ystad also has an *Extended Needs Compass* that has been integrated with the Scottish tool *My World Triangle*,² which has several similarities with BBIC.

In the next section we scrutinize the three different wheels one by one.

Translation into separation

In Falun Municipality, the overarching process of change is called Together for Every Child (TFEC). Within this framework, the authorities developed the Feel-Good Wheel as a joint working instrument for collaboration between preschool, school, social services, and regional health and medical care (Figure 2). The idea behind the new approach is that it 'should be based on existing good practice and on the trust that over time has been created within and between agencies'. The information materials also emphasize the joint work and shared approach where each person should come together to share a common understanding of wellbeing that is illustrated by the Feel-Good Wheel.

The wheel devised by TFEC gives the impression of conformity with the original model, as it has sectional divisions, a central level of ambition, and colours of a similar appearance. However, there are several significant differences. The wheel is divided into four subsections that are indicated by means of slight nuances in the paired colours and by broad boundary lines. The process leaders spoke of these separate wedges with similar colours as being interrelated, which is something not obvious in the GIRFEC wheel. There are also different designations for some of the sections: *Achieving* has been replaced by *Education and Development*, while *Responsible, Included, and Active* have been left out in favour of *Leisure and Relationships*. In practice, the wheel is intended to initiate an exploration of each wedge in conversation with children and parents. Subsequent communication with professionals concerning adequate help can then concentrate on just those areas that seemed problematic during the initial conversation.

The translation from the original wheel is meant to include both professionals and children, which is reasonable from several perspectives including adaptation and children's right to participation. However, it seems to have come about at the expense of a diminished holistic perspective on needs, compared to the prefigurative model (Aldgate and Rose 2011). Instead of elaborating a dynamic interplay between different areas of need in different contexts, the Feel-Good Wheel promotes separate treatment of each need. The replacement, for example, of *Achieving* with the narrower focus on *Education and Development* could lead to missing the intention of GIRFEC, namely, to examine areas of need in relationship to the quality of the child's or young person's opportunities to perform and succeed in all areas of life (specified in the GIRFEC wheel as home, school, and society). Furthermore, the introduction of the designation *Free time* involves a temporal division of daily activities instead of the idea of having needs (such as being active) to be more or less satisfied within different domains of life. The omission of *Responsible* and *Included* is also notable, as both areas are closely related to the issues of children and young people's rights and participation, which were considered key issues when the model was translated.

In addition, the central level of ambition is formulated in a more restrained tone, with ‘Good start in life’ instead of ‘Best start’. The connection to the individual has become vaguer due to the use of ‘Health and learning go hand in hand’ instead of the GIRFEC statement ‘Ready to succeed’. The TFEC version is thus formulated as a general idea of children and young people’s development, while GIRFEC is aimed at the sought-for capacity. It is also worth mentioning that the TFEC visualization lacks correspondence between the central level of ambition and overall objectives in relation to what is to be achieved, which adds to the perception that the logical structure of the original model has been broken.

Associative translation

The corresponding development process in Region Kronoberg is *Children’s Best Interests in Kronoberg!* (CBlIK). This version of the wheel is known as the Children’s Best Interests Wheel (Figure 3). It is intended to constitute ‘a support for identifying and putting into words that which has been noticed about a child’s life by a professional, a football coach or a concerned neighbour’ and aims to contribute to the work processes primarily by suggesting a common language, as expressed in the wheel (guidance material). Linked to the seven sections of the wheel, there is clarification of what each section involves in reference to the UNCRC and ‘issues that facilitate the identification of areas that are challenging in the child’s life’.

The same incongruence of translation involving areas of need found in Falun’s wheel in reference to *Free time* is also present here. However, even greater changes have been made to the sections, leaving only *Health*, *Safety*, and *Nurturing* essentially intact. Although the supporting materials include text that to some extent includes dimensions of the other sections of the GIRFEC wheel, this version implies a narrower understanding of the meaning of the sections. Instead of taking needs as starting points for time and space connections in all relevant areas of life there seems to be a duality of logics in the graphic representation: an underlying temporal logic where school has been isolated as a separate area in relation to what happens at home and during leisure time, and a concurrent logic that focuses on needs.

During the observation of the workshop where the formative translation took place, it was noted that the outcome was strongly influenced by associations with a traditional mindset that delineates children’s lives and needs in accordance with the authorities’ responsibilities. Hence, *Achieving* was replaced by *Learning* and then made specific to what happens in preschool and school, while *Development* became a broader view of what happens outside of school hours. However, in the context of a concrete child assessment, it is not self-evident how to compartmentalize living conditions in the *Home* section, or how *Development* is something particularly related to *Free time*. The visualization of the wheel does not, as in Falun’s version, lend itself to the perception of wedges of similar colours belonging together, but rather disconnects each of the areas from the others. The dynamic interplay between the areas of need and the idea of a holistic approach is thus set back even more by the visualization than in Falun’s case. It can also be noted that the graphic representation lacks a central level of ambition, as well as overall aims. Moreover, the designations of the sections consist of nominalizations that speak a more bureaucratic language than do the adjectives used in GIRFEC, where the language focuses on the child or young person; for example, *safety* in comparison with *(being) Safe*.

Innovative translation

In Ystad Municipality, the comprehensive transformative work has been given the name Backing Up Children, and the local version of the GIRFEC Wellbeing Wheel is called the Needs Compass (Figure 4). This is intended to form ‘the basis for an initial assessment of the early identification of various needs that have not been met’ among children and young people, and to provide a common language for discussing a child’s needs (guidance material). The importance of a holistic approach is also emphasized, as well as the necessity of discussing

issues in all the areas of need to facilitate earlier detection; this distinguishes Backing Up Children from both TFEC and CBIK. The Needs Compass is intended to offer a structured analysis in which children and young people's possible needs of support can be identified, as well as to illustrate aspects that are already working well. The materials also indicate that the child should be actively involved and take part in the analysis that is performed with the support of the Needs Compass. Development work has been carried out with the clear ambition of including children as participants.

The aspects that especially distinguish this visualization relate to how the wheel was developed. Firstly, the child is the main actor in this wheel, which is particularly evident in the speech bubbles containing text such as 'I am happy', and 'I feel safe'. These can be seen as the child's experiences and should not be confused with the outer target ring of the GIRFEC wheel, which is of a conceptually higher level and uses wording such as '*Confident learners*'. There are also more uses of adjectives in the designation of sectors, such as *responsible* and *respected*, although others are designated by nominalizations, such as *caretaking*. This could, however, be purely due to the difficulty of linguistic translation; for example, *nurtured* is difficult to translate into one specific word in Swedish. Another aspect that stands out is the numbering of concentric circles and the Needs Compass is linked to an assessment form that is filled out by the professionals, guardians, and the child to 'make the child's entire situation and needs visible and to agree on a joint assessment' (guidance material). However, there are no developed guidelines to indicate what the different degrees signify; rather, what constitutes a 2 or a 4 is left up to individuals in the relevant situation to negotiate. Although this translation is closer to GIRFEC, *Free time* replaces *Active* just as in TFEC, creating similar issues in the logical structure. It is also notable that the aspects that GIRFEC places in the *Active* indicator are placed in other areas of need in the Ystad wheel, such as being active in school, at home, and while at leisure. In addition, there is no central level of ambition as a reminder for users of what the work aims to achieve, and no detailed aims specifying how this work should contribute towards helping individuals achieve their goals.

Overall, each of the three translations can be said to violate the logical structure of the GIRFEC Wellbeing Wheel in different ways. Based on the visualizations and the supporting documents, it seems likely that practitioners can expect challenges in realizing the holistic ambitions that GIRFEC is built upon; that is, placing different areas of need in relation to all relevant areas of life (temporal and spatial contexts). In addition, each of the translation's places greater emphasis on the responsibility of the child or young person than on the adults' duty to provide opportunities and support them. In this regard, the GIRFEC formulations raise clearer challenges for those who are put in charge of managing the child's wellbeing. Compare, for example, 'Having opportunities and encouragement to play active and responsible roles at home, in school and in the community, and where necessary, having appropriate guidance and supervision, and being involved in decisions that affect them' (GIRFEC) with 'I take responsibility for myself and others' (Ystad).

It can also be noted that much of the connection to the socio-political sphere is missing in the Swedish counterparts. This is evident in the translation of the area of need *Included*, which has been translated as *Relationships* (Falun and Region Kronoberg) and *Belonging* (Ystad). Scotland's wheel highlights the need to 'overcome social, pedagogical, physical and economic inequalities', something which is entirely lacking in the Swedish equivalents. Instead, we have mentions of access to 'social networks' and 'positive relationships with peers' and guardians. Ystad also speaks of being 'important and appreciated' at home, by friends, and at school. Kronoberg's version emphasizes that children and young people should also show 'empathy' and 'respect' for others, 'understand the consequences of actions', and 'handle the demands and expectations of others'. Given the traditional social democratic welfare regime in Sweden, it is somewhat surprising that greater weight is accorded to the children's responsibility for their own sentiments and actions and less emphasis is placed on socio-economic equality.

Discussion

Similarities and differences between the wheels

This study shows that, on the one hand, there is great similarity in the overall ‘spirit’ of the work to introduce GIRFEC on Swedish soil, possibly because the ideas behind GIRFEC were inspired by Scandinavian welfare policy, and so there is already a resonant foundation for them (Anderberg et al. 2022). However, significant differences can also be noted on several points, with some content being removed or relocated, while new content has been added (Durlak and DuPre 2008; Dusenbury et al. 2003). These changes were conscious and intentional in some instances, while others arose spontaneously and ad hoc during the development processes. Differences can be noted in several respects regarding the specifications in the wheels, with the most salient being the delimitation of temporal and spatial locations, rather than using the holistic specification of different spheres of life as in GIRFEC (Aldgate and Rose 2011). In addition, each of the Swedish versions lacks an outer ring for the wheel where the goals that govern the working model are specified. These changes of the logical structure could, in practice, result in more diffuse and tacit targets that make it difficult to see how the sections work together as a whole. The theoretical and values-based ideas of children and young people’s development and the responsibility of adults for providing the prerequisites may then be difficult to identify, and could as a consequence be violated. In this respect, the translation is a case of how an original model becomes filtered and mutated during implementation (Weinbaum and Supovitz 2010). Reasons for this could be found partly at the level of the individuals involved, regarding their personal interest and agency at formative moments when the translation took place and needed adjustments for the model to connect contextually, and partly in path-dependent thought structures about existing work models and division of responsibilities (Rogers 2003).

Of interest for implementation research in general is the contribution from the frequent use of various forms of creative and innovative meetings (for example, workshops). These allowed the participants to influence wording and design, which may have given a sense of co-ownership and a common language. The downside is that the emerging ideas and transformations were not drawn forth systematically or supported by research. Despite the advantages of participatory methods, some processes require the opportunity to delve more deeply into the underlying theories, values, and design of the technical (visual) aids; otherwise, the field is left open to those who care mainly about promoting their own ‘pet’ projects and to more or less spontaneous ideas. This consideration should not be understood as a call for a traditional top-down implementation strategy, but rather as meaning that strategies should be detailed in relation to the particular stage, needs, and prerequisites the process is currently facing. Mitchell (2011), and others describe these as integrative implementation models that presuppose both a more in-depth knowledge of the method or model to be introduced, and a more systematic analysis of the agency or area that it will be introduced to. The aim is to instal a process of concurrent evaluation, feedback, and necessary changes, to prepare both the seed and the soil in which it will be planted.

Significance of working with children’s and young people’s wellbeing and welfare

Do the differences between the wheels have any practical significance, and do the precise designs or word choices matter for this work? Our view is that they might do, not least as notions from local testing of the model indicate that visualizations and supporting text can take on a separate life of their own in practice. In a concrete situation, sitting at a desk where the Wellbeing Wheel is placed as a visual artefact will affect children’s, guardians’, and professionals’ ways of thinking about what is important, which questions are asked, and whether contexts are or are not related to one another. Other important aspects are how rights and responsibilities should be directed, who should be included, and how and when they should be included in a thought collaboration.

Leaving out or changing the comprehensive target in the centre of the GIRFEC wheel and the four aims that surround the sections in the three translations is also notable from a socio-political angle. The hub of Falun's wheel emphasizes that 'Health and learning go hand in hand' for a 'Good start in life'. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the GIRFEC Wellbeing Wheel contains expressions of welfare policy positions that point in completely different directions. One is evinced by more social democratic ideas of overcoming social and economic inequalities, where greater responsibility is placed on society and adults to promote and support children's wellbeing. The other bears influence of neoliberal thinking and accountability, where the responsibility for improving school results, opportunities, and health is placed to a large degree on the individual; that is, the child or young person (Söderström 2006). The latter posture has been incorporated into the supporting documents to a greater extent, perhaps because the former set of ideas seem too political or sensitive, or are considered to be issues that should be articulated at the national level – as done in Scotland but not in Sweden. Even so, when the instruments leave out the link to socio-economic structures, they tend to increase the weight on individuals and restrict wider-reaching explanations.

Although GIRFEC contains statements that clearly address social and economic inequality, Coles et al. (2016) argue that the model also plays into the increasing individualization of social problems. Children's general right to welfare is transformed into issues of children's individual wellbeing, leading to a pull away from a genuine welfare agenda that includes the creation of conditions and opportunities for children and young people, and a push towards a more clearly individual responsibility for one's own situation (see also Watson, Emery, and Bayliss 2012). The policy also does not fully address the broader political and structural aspects of wellbeing such as the status of children, the consequences of poverty, or the fundamental causes of inequality (Clark and Smith 2012; Coles et al. 2016; Davis et al. 2014).

Tisdall (2015a) maintains that an emphasis on children's wellbeing has gradually replaced previous efforts to place children's rights in the foreground. A corresponding development can be discerned in Sweden, where increased child poverty (UNICEF 2020) has received little attention in comparison to issues such as increased mental illness or poor school performance, even though increased inequality is critically important for children and young people's wellbeing (Kim and Hagquist 2018; OECD 2019).

Further explanation for the increased prevalence of the wellbeing concept can be found in the greater emphasis placed on psychological and medical approaches and interventions that focus on children's behaviour within the fields of social sciences, such as in education and social services (Watson, Emery, and Bayliss 2012). One concrete example is 'health for learning' in schools, where pupils learn to manage their physical and mental health more effectively (Swedish National Agency for Education 2019).

The introduction of GIRFEC in Sweden thus raises questions not only as to what the starting point and guiding light for this work should be and to what extent positive values obscure the view of fundamental social and economic injustices, but also in relation to how welfare organizations change and what forms of partnership are required between research and practice to enable more knowledge-based work to be carried out.

Unintentional operations despite collaborative research

It should be noted that all the translation processes took place during the time that the project was being studied via collaborative research which, in addition to examining what and how things were handled, also aimed to contribute knowledge, and positively influence the development work. However, despite the ambition to create continuous dialogue and give feedback to those who led the development work, there were clear divisions involving key issues of how central aspects of the work should be prepared and carried out (Ellström 2008). Different agendas with regard to time and demands for action had an effect, as those who were leading the development work were often

working under immense time pressure to push the work forward and accomplish everything from producing guidance materials to communicating information to employees, while at the same time conveying to those higher up in their organizations a positive image of the work as progressing according to plan.

An important lesson for continuing teamwork between researchers and practitioners is the need to delve more deeply into what a partnership between research and practice can and should involve, not least in terms of keeping a model's deeper structures (mechanism and technologies for change) and how this is explained at the surface (terms, articulated goals, etc.) (Resnicow et al. 2000). Tentatively, this requires researchers to be included in fine-tuning the details of the operational work, not just responding to its result. There is a need for a mutual responsibility, with researchers being integrated in a tangible way that allows for questions about working methods, analysis of planned working models, and investigation of the local contexts. Overall, research efforts should be so closely connected to the practical conditions and so well-informed about the deep and surface structures of the object of implementation that competing strands of logic can be revealed, if necessary, also in situ.

Conclusions

By reinventing the wheel into the three contexts the original GIRFEC shows both similarities and differences with the original which may unintentionally have changed practice in which children and youths are understood. Policy translation processes should therefore involve a careful identification of the theoretical foundation and functional construction of a model to be introduced to keep core elements intact and to achieve functional equivalence between settings. A crucial step would be to isolate what dimensions of a prefigurative model that are contextually dependent, explain the terms and conditions for this and to designate resources and work processes (including research) for this specific translation, and keep this apart from translating dimensions that should be stable across contexts.

Notes

1. Barns behov i centrum (BBIC) [Children's needs in the centre] is an investigative tool based on the Common Assessment Framework.
2. 'My World Triangle' is an assessment tool based on ecological system theory and on *The Common Assessment Framework* where children's needs and risks are analysed. Unlike the English version, the child is more evidently highlighted as a subject in the Scottish tool (Coles et al. 2016). The triangle includes three key areas of the child's circumstances under the headings: (1) how I grow and develop; (2) what I need from people who look after me; and (3) my wider world.

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Appendix 1. The table below contains key specifications in the translation of the GIRFEC wellbeing dimensions in supporting documentation and visualizations

GIRFEC	Together for Every Child	Children's Best Interests in Kronoberg!	Backing Up Children
Safe	<i>Safety</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – trustworthy adults 	<i>Safety</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – trustworthy adults - free from honour-related oppression – using social media in a safe manner 	<i>Safety</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – trustworthy adults – able to assess and handle risky situations
Healthy	<i>Good health</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - refraining from the use of tobacco, alcohol, or narcotics – regulating and managing emotions and difficulties 	<i>Good health</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - refraining from the use of tobacco, alcohol, or narcotics – regulating and managing emotions and difficulties 	<i>Feel well</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – good health – healthy lifestyle - managing any illnesses/disabilities
Achieving	<i>Education</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - attendance, ability to concentrate - achieving required knowledge/schooling 	<i>Development/Learning</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - attendance, ability to concentrate – linguistic ability – good leisure activities 	<i>Developed</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – receiving support – achieving knowledge requirements in school
Nurtured	<i>Caretaking</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – encouraging living environment – extra support and care when needed – appropriate clothing 	<i>Care</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – adults present – positive adult role models – appropriate clothing 	<i>Care</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – positive adult role models – appropriate clothing
Active	<i>Free time</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - economic opportunities to participate in activities, sports, and games 	<i>Home</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – safe and suitable home – safe upbringing – basic needs are met 	<i>Free time</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - conditions for taking part in activities, sports, and games
Respected	<i>Respect</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – being listened to – participating in decisions that affect them – experiencing integrity and boundaries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – support and encouragement of their studies – opportunities for leisure activities – access to their background/history 	<i>Respected</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – being listened to – participating in decisions that affect them – experiencing integrity and boundaries – exhibiting acceptable behaviour
Responsible	[Missing data]		<i>Responsible</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - taking responsibility at home, at school, and in society – knowing what is right and wrong – being able to understand and follow rules
Included	<i>Relationships</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social network, positive relationships with peers 	<i>Relationships</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social network, positive relationships with peers – showing empathy and respect for others – understanding the consequences of their actions – managing requirements and expectations in their environment 	<i>Belonging</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social network, positive relationships with peers - being important and appreciated at home, by friends, and at school