## SPICe The Information Centre An t-Ionad Fiosrachaidh

## Social Justice and Social Security Committee

# 8<sup>th</sup> Meeting, 2022 (Session 6), Thursday, 24 February

## **Kinship Carers Roundtable**

### Introduction

The Committee will hold a roundtable evidence session on kinship care on 24 February. The session will focus on the following areas:

- Challenges faced by kinship carers when accessing support.
- How support could be improved in this session of Parliament.
- Progress on taking forward the recommendations of the 2018 National Review of Care Allowances.

#### The Committee will hear from:

#### Panel One:

- Kirsty Doull, Permanence Lead, Centre for Excellence for Children's Care and Protection (CELCIS)
- Laura Caven, Chief Officer, Child and Young People Team, Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA)
- Vivien Thomson, Children and Families Policy and Practice Lead, Social Work Scotland (SWS)
- Linda Richards, Service Manager Looked After Services, Perth and Kinross Council

#### Panel Two:

- Micheleine Kane, Chair, Scottish Kinship Care Alliance
- Gill Westwood, Manager of Peebles & District Advice Bureau, Citizens Advice Scotland (CAS)
- Alison Gillies, Welfare Rights Worker, Child Poverty Action Group in Scotland (CPAG)

The Committee has received written submissions from The Promise Scotland, CAS, CELCIS, COSLA, SWS, Perth and Kinross Council and CPAG and extracts of these are featured in this SPICe paper. The Committee has also received a late submission from the Kinship Care Advice Service for Scotland, which has not been covered in this briefing. The submission has been circulated as a paper for the meeting.

## **Background**

## Kinship care arrangements

Kinship care is where a child who cannot be looked after by their parents is looked after by extended family or someone known to them. Section 10(2) of the **Looked After Children (Scotland) Regulations 2009** defines a kinship carer as:

"a person who is related to the child" or "a person who is known to the child and with whom the child has a pre-existing relationship".

The Centre for Excellence for Children's Care and Protection (CELCIS) states kinship care arrangements can often arise as a result of an emergency, for example, a child's parent being taken into hospital. They are also an important way to provide children with stability from family or friends when parents cannot provide this themselves.

When a local authority is placing a child with a kinship carer, under Section 10(3) of the **Looked After Children (Scotland) Regulations 2009**, they must undertake an assessment of the kinship carer's suitability to care for the child. The assessment of kinship care arrangements is undertaken by local social work teams. There is no statutory requirement for the review or re-approval of kinship carers, although some local authorities do have a process of assessment and/or kinship care panels in place.

Children living in kinship care are not always formally 'looked after' (i.e. where a local authority has some legal responsibility for the child). Children can live with kinship carers in informal or formal arrangements. The features of informal and formal kinship care are set out below, and more information can be found in the January 2022 SPICe briefing on Scotland's Care System for Children and Young People.

### Formal kinship care:

- The <u>Scottish Government's 2021 National Guidance for Child Protection</u> states that kinship care placements arranged under the Looked After Children (Scotland) Regulations 2009 are "often referred to as formal kinship care".
- The 2009 regulations give local authorities powers to approve a kinship carer for a child looked after by a local authority under the terms set out in section 17(6) of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995. This section of the Act has been amended in recent years to include:
  - o looked after children subject to Compulsory Supervision Orders

 the introduction of <u>Permanence Orders</u>, which have the potential for parental rights to be shared between kinship carers, parents and the local authority. This was introduced under section 80 of the <u>Adoption</u> <u>and Children (Scotland) Act 2007</u>.

### Informal kinship care:

- Children in informal kinship care arrangements are not considered 'looked after' by a local authority. Their kinship care arrangement may have come about:
  - Via the <u>Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014</u>, which introduced the provision of 'kinship care orders'. This describes existing court orders made under <u>section 11 of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995</u> granting parental responsibilities and rights to a qualifying person or residence orders regulating where a child lives if the child was looked after previously, **once a kinship care order has been granted a child is no longer looked after** by a local authority. The 2014 Act sets out support local authorities should offer to eligible kinship carers who have or are seeking a kinship care order. Not all carers with a kinship care order are eligible for financial support: if a child was not previously looked after or placed with local authority involvement, the carer will likely not receive a kinship care allowance from the local authority.
  - Some children may be living in a completely private arrangement, with no involvement from the local authority, no court orders and no granting of guardianship. There is no legal requirement for the state to be notified of such an arrangement when a child is being cared for by a close relative (through blood, marriage or civil partnership). Informal kinship care differs from private fostering. Private fostering is where a parent makes an arrangement to have their child cared for by someone who is not an approved foster or kinship carer, guardian of the child or close relative of the child.

Social Work Scotland's (SWS) submission to the Committee notes that all children have a right to have their needs met in line with <u>Getting It Right for Every Child</u> (<u>GIRFEC</u>) and the <u>UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC</u>). However, SWS also states confusion around kinship care status:

"...can often make it difficult for a carer and professionals in universal services to understand how to secure the right support, or to understand the extent and limitations of their responsibilities." – SWS submission to Committee

### CELCIS also notes in its submission:

"The use of the phrases 'formal' and 'informal' kinship care can be confusing at best, and at worst are arbitrary categories ascribed to different families whose needs and circumstances may be similar, yet, based on these categories, can mean vital support is much harder to access for some carers than others." – CELCIS submission to Committee

### Number of children in kinship care

The number of children looked after in formal kinship care arrangements has risen in recent years. The latest Scottish Government <a href="Children's social work">Children's social work</a> <a href="Statistics">statistics</a> published in March 2021 find there were 4,456 children in formal kinship care in 2020; up from 4,175 the previous year and 3,172 in 2010.

The total figure is likely to be far higher, as these figures do not include children living in all informal kinship care. To illustrate this point, a 2017 policy report from the Hadley Centre for Adoption and Foster Care Studies at the University of Bristol estimated 12,630 children in Scotland were living in some form of kinship care arrangement in 2011.

## Theme 1: Kinship care and reform of children's care services

The Independent Care Review (Care Review) was commissioned in 2017 and reported in 2020. People with experience of the care system represented half of the review group's co-chairs and working group members. The views of over 5,500 care experienced children and adults, as well as parents, carers and the care workforce were listened to during the review process.

The review findings were published in February 2020, setting out the steps toward significant reform to the care system for children and young people. The main findings were set out in main report <u>The Promise</u>.

The final report set out a vision for Scotland where all children grow up loved, safe and respected. Further detail on the conclusion of the Care Review can be found in this SPICe briefing on the care system.

On kinship care, the Independent Care Review highlighted the need for continued support for kinship carers, stating:

"Too often, children have been placed with an 'auntie' or 'granny' or other relation with no ongoing support to manage a complex set of circumstances. Finding a biological relation to place a child with is not enough to ensure that a child grows up in the context of love and kindness. These families are often managing the impact and pain of the biological parent not being able to care for their children." – The Promise, p21

As set out in The Promise Scotland's submission to the Committee, kinship families told the Care Review they were often fearful asking for help may lead to them "being seen as not being able to cope". If they do ask for help "it can feel punitive and they worry about what might happen as a result".

The Care Review concluded that financial support for kinship carers must match that of foster carers. Kinship carers should not have to fight for support or professionalise their role to access support. Support in place must recognise that children being cared for may have experienced deep trauma, and carers themselves may be experiencing pain because of family breakdown. Ensuring a balance of support and supervision for kinship carers was also highlighted.

Following the publication of the Care Review, The Promise Scotland was set up by Scottish Ministers as an independent organisation to drive change using the review conclusions. Its overarching goal is to ensure that by 2030, care experienced children and young people have the same chances to grow up loved, safe and respected as all children in Scotland. Further detail on The Promise Scotland can be found in this SPICe briefing on the care system.

The <u>Promise Scotland's Plan 21-24</u> sets out expected outcomes up to 2024. <u>Change Programme One</u> is the first of a series of annual change programmes that will provide a framework for delivery towards these outcomes.

In relation to kinship care, Change Programme One focuses on improving support needs, highlighting that kinship carers must be considered in relation to whole family support programmes and able to access trauma informed family therapies.

In line with work to improve support, the <u>2021-22 Programme for Government</u> (<u>PfG</u>) committed to a <u>Whole Family Wellbeing Fund</u> of £500m over Session 6 of Parliament. While not solely focused on kinship care, the fund is aimed at tackling issues faced by families before they need crisis intervention. The PfG also states that from 2030, at least 5% of community-based health and social care spend will be focused on preventative measures. The overall intention of this preventative spend is to reduce the number of children being taken into care.

## **Kinship Collaborative**

The Kinship Collaborative was set up by the Scottish Government following a commitment in the <u>2020-21 Programme for Government</u> to better support kinship carers and resolve the variation in support received across the country.

The group is co-chaired by the Scottish Government and Social Work Scotland. Among its aims is to develop a network to deliver improvements at local and national level for kinship families. It will consider and take forward solutions to support children and young people living in kinship families and develop social work knowledge and practice of the issues faced by kinship families.

The SWS submission to the Committee states the Collaborative has a "critical role" in resolving issues of concern to kinship carers.

The Kinship Collaborative is not taking forward current work on establishing a national rate of allowance for kinship carers and foster carers. This is being taken

forward by the Scottish Government and COSLA. Further detail on this is provided in the 'Financial Support for Kinship Carers' section of this briefing.

### Theme 1: Kinship care and reform of children's care services

Members may wish to discuss with **Panel 1**:

- How reform of the care system can have a positive impact on kinship carer families.
- What role the Kinship Collaborative can have in improving support for kinship carers and how success can be measured.
- How care system reform might ensure better support for kinship carers of non-looked after children in informal arrangements.
- How might the Whole Family Wellbeing Fund be used to offer improved support to kinship families.
- What actions local authorities can take now to improve support for kinship families.

### Members may wish to discuss with Panel 2:

- The current issues facing kinship families of looked after and non-looked after children.
- How might the Whole Family Wellbeing Fund be used to offer improved support to kinship families.
- What actions local authorities can take now to improve support for kinship families.

## Theme 2: Financial support for kinship carers

As noted in SWS's submission to the Committee, financial support for kinship carers was historically provided as a 'relative' payment provided by local authorities. The rate for this payment was often set as a proportion of the weekly allowance paid to foster carers.

The 2007 Concordat between the Scottish Government and local authorities agreed allowances for kinship carers of looked after children to treat them on an "equivalent basis to foster carers". In 2014, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) found differences between allowance rates paid by some local authorities to kinship carers and foster carers. The EHRC took the view that these arrangements may be in violation of the European Convention of Human Rights and the Human Rights Act 1998. The EHRC considered challenging the arrangements via judicial review, but in 2015 the Scottish Government announced it would act to bring about parity.

The <u>Scottish Government's 2015-16 Programme</u> stated that from October 2015, eligible kinship care families would receive the same level of support as foster carers. <u>Funding of £10.1 million per year</u> was provided to local authorities to pay these allowances. The <u>Scottish Government's 2017-18 Programme</u> committed to review allowances for kinship care, fostering and adoption and the subsequent <u>National Review of Care Allowances</u> published its report and recommendations in September 2018. One of the recommendations of this review was that the Scottish Government and COSLA should consider a Scottish Recommended Allowance for kinship and foster care.

As CELCIS and SWS state in their submissions to the Committee, Scotland is currently the only part of the UK that does not have a nationally agreed allowance rate.

In response to a Parliamentary Question in <u>December 2018</u>, the <u>Scottish Government stated</u> a joint response to the report was planned with COSLA, however this has not yet been published. In response to a further Parliamentary Question August 2021, the Scottish Government stated that it was working with partners to take forward a recommendation of the 2018 National Review of Care Allowances to introduce a Scottish Recommended Allowance for kinship and foster carers.

The level of support currently received by kinship carers varies depending on the local authority area they live in, the route the child took into kinship care, whether they have been placed by the local authority into a formal kinship care arrangement or whether they live in an informal arrangement with family/friends of the family. This is explored in further detail below.

In its submission to the Committee, CELCIS states that a national rate is "required as a matter of urgency" due to children living with kinship carers disproportionately living in the poorest households in Scotland. 80% of the 43 kinship carers taking part in a <a href="2019 CELCIS survey">2019 CELCIS survey</a> reported becoming a kinship carer had caused them financial difficulty.

The SWS submission states it "has long supported" the introduction of national rates for foster and kinship carers, though highlighted:

"...if such a change is not properly funded, the money would need to come from elsewhere in social work budgets, thus reducing other forms of support for children and families, and impeding delivery of the Promise." – SWS submission to the Committee

SWS states work to update projections on the costs of a national allowance was underway with the intention that these are implemented "in the very near future".

However, as it stands, work to implement a national rate would not improve support for kinship carers in informal arrangements.

COSLA's submission to the Committee states they had been clear from the start of work on a national allowance that it would not be possible within current levels of funding. Citing cuts to the local authority core settlement and the "£251m real terms

cut in 22/23", COSLA states that any increases to allowances resulting from national policy commitments "will need to be fully funded by the Scottish Government".

In addition, it is COSLA's view:

"... that funding for foster and kinship carers – including level of allowances paid and additional benefits provided in-kind - is a matter for local discretion, based on local needs (such as cost of living, rurality, and demographic challenges)." – COSLA submission to the Committee

## Local authority assistance for kinship carers

In its submission to the Committee, CAS highlights the differing support for kinship carers across the country:

"It remains the case that there are 32 local authorities making payment of Kinship Care Allowance at different rates, using three different legal mechanisms, all of which, along with the legal status of the child, impact differently on kinship carers' entitlement to receive child related UK state benefits." – CAS submission to the Committee

CAS also reports confusion from kinship carers around the distinctions between 'looked after' and 'not looked after' and around whether a child has been placed formally by a local authority or informally by a social worker.

CELCIS' submission to the Committee highlights a <u>2021 survey from the Fostering Network</u>, which found significant difference in allowance rates between local authorities. The ranges were between:

- £77.96 to £200 per week for children aged 0-4
- £96.40 to £200 per week for children aged 5-10
- £120.00 to £240.40 per week for children aged 11 to 15
- £125.86 to £266.75 per week for children aged 16+

Eligibility for local authority assistance and financial support largely depends on the legal basis of and details behind the kinship care arrangement in place. Looked after children in formal kinship care will generally qualify for support, while those in informal arrangements only qualify in certain circumstances, as explored later in this section.

<u>Child Poverty Action Group in Scotland's January 2022 briefing on kinship care and benefits</u> sets out that local authorities can make financial payments to eligible kinship carers in the following ways:

• Under Section 22 of the <u>Children (Scotland) Act 1995</u>, which sets out the local authority's duty to safeguard and promote welfare of children 'in need'.

Payments made under this power are often short-term or occasional, but regular payments can also be made.

- Section 50 of the <u>Children Act 1975</u>, which enables a local authority to make payments for a child under 18 and living with someone other than their parent, however this provision does not place a duty on the local authority to make payment.
- Regulation 33 of the Looked After Children (Scotland) Regulations 2009, and section 110 of the Adoption and Children (Scotland) Act 2007, which allows the local authority to pay an allowance to kinship carers of looked after children.

Most recently, the <u>Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014</u> introduced a new duty for local authorities to provide assistance to informal kinship carers where a kinship care order is in process or in place and the child was previously looked after, at risk of becoming looked after or placed with local authority involvement. Following the passage of the 2014 Act the **Kinship Care Assistance (Scotland) Order 2016** came into force on 1 April 2016, introducing the duty for local authorities to provide assistance. Section 3 of the Order sets out:

'A local authority must provide kinship care assistance in such a way as to safeguard, support and promote the wellbeing of an eligible child.'

Section 4 of the Order details 'assistance' may include support, information or financial assistance. Scottish Government guidance states that the financial allowance is intended to recognise the "additional costs associated with caring for a child in kinship care".

Perth and Kinross Council's submission to the Committee does not detail the rates of kinship care allowance they pay to carers. However, it does provide details of its Kinship Care Team of six social workers, who sit alongside the fostering team. The Council states that having a specialist team in place was:

"... a deliberate attempt to ensure that kinship carers were given equal status to foster carers in terms of assessment, support and training." - Perth and Kinross Council submission to the Committee

## Social security entitlement

The <u>Citizen's Advice Scotland (CAS) website</u> notes that the rights and responsibilities of kinship carers are complicated, as is working out entitlement to social security benefits. There are different entitlements for kinship carers of looked after and non-looked after children.

CAS also highlights that kinship carers may also be eligible for other benefits such as Housing Benefit, Child Tax Credit, <u>Best Start Grant</u>, <u>Scottish Child Payment</u> and Child Benefit.

The <u>National Kinship Care Advice Service for Scotland website states</u> that being in receipt of Kinship Care Allowance can impact on entitlement to other social security

benefits and tax credits, though child benefits and child-related tax credits should not be impacted.

The <u>Child Poverty Action Group's (CPAG) November 2021 briefing on kinship care</u> and <u>Universal Credit</u> (UC) looks at **eligibility of kinship carers of looked after and non-looked after children for each element of UC.** This highlights the following:

- Payments made by local authorities are disregarded as income for UC.
   CPAG's submission to the Committee notes that local authorities can deduct from kinship care allowance any child-related benefits the carer is entitled to that a foster carer would not be entitled to, though guidance on this has not been updated since the introduction of UC.
- While kinship carers of non-looked after children should get the child element of UC, carers of a looked after child will not usually qualify for this.
- Non-looked after children in kinship care count toward the size criteria for the
  housing costs element of UC, while looked after children are not included in
  the size criteria. CPAG states kinship carers of looked after children are
  "allowed one extra room in the size criteria, regardless of how many children
  they care for".
- A kinship carer of a looked after child cannot usually get help with childcare costs for that child through UC, as this can only be claimed if the carer is in work and also qualifies for the child element of UC. However, a working kinship carer of a non-looked after child may qualify.
- The work allowance that some UC claimants can earn before their earnings start to affect the amount of UC they get can also only be claimed if a kinship carer gets the child element of UC. Again, this means kinship carers of looked after children will not qualify for this.
- The two-child limit on UC and child tax credit does not apply to children in kinship care if the kinship carer:
  - has a kinship care order under section 11 of the Children (Scotland)
     Act 1995;
  - is appointed as guardian under section 7 of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995;
  - o is entitled to guardian's allowance for the child/children;
  - has parental rights/responsibilities as a result of a permanence order in respect of the child;
  - one of the above applied before the child turned 16 and the kinship carer continues to care for the child:
  - took on the care of the child where otherwise it is likely that they would have been looked after by the local authority.

CPAG's submission to the Committee notes that carers who are exempt from the two-child limit may find themselves "no better off" due to the benefits cap.

CPAG also notes that there are "various troublesome complexities arising from the interaction between the system of local authority kinship care allowances and the social security system". This not only creates difficulties for kinship carers themselves, but also for local authorities and for social workers supporting kinship carers. For example, CPAG notes that while kinship carers caring for a 'looked after' child are not eligible for the child element of UC, the Department for Work and Pensions sometimes awards this element to the carer. This can result in overpaid UC, which needs to be repaid, and can also impact the allowance paid by the local authority.

### Theme 2: Financial support for kinship carers

Members may wish to discuss with Panel 1:

- How rates of support for kinship carers are currently decided and what the reasons are for varying levels of support by local authority.
- What Scotland can learn from the experience of implementation of a national allowance rate in other UK nations.
- How kinship carers in informal kinship care arrangements not currently eligible for support might be better supported. (Members may also wish to ask Perth and Kinross Council what arrangements are in place currently.)
- Whether the introduction of support for kinship carers not currently eligible would result in this group having greater involvement with social services.
- Whether informal kinship carers are aware of the social security benefits they are entitled to and what issues exist in relation to current entitlement criteria.
- What role Social Security Scotland might have in supporting kinship carers.
- What impact the introduction of Universal Credit has had on kinship carers and whether any existing guidance needs to be updated as a result.
- What progress has been made in relation to the Scottish Recommended Allowance and when this will be implemented.
- Whether informal kinship carers should also benefit from the Scottish Recommended Allowance and how this might be done.

### Members may wish to discuss with Panel 2:

- What Scotland can learn from the experience of implementation of a national allowance rate in other UK nations.
- How kinship carers in informal kinship care arrangements not currently eligible for support might be better supported.

- Whether the introduction of support for kinship carers not currently eligible would result in this group having greater involvement with social services.
- Whether kinship carers are aware of the benefits they are entitled to and what issues exist in relation to existing entitlement criteria.
- How the introduction of a Scottish Recommended Allowance would improve support for formal kinship carers or those with kinship care orders.
- Whether informal kinship carers not currently eligible for support should also benefit from the Scottish Recommended Allowance and how this might be done.
- What role Social Security Scotland might have in supporting kinship carers.
- What impact the introduction of Universal Credit has had on kinship carers and whether any existing guidance needs to be updated as a result.

## Theme 3: Further support for kinship families

The Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014 made provisions for kinship care support including counselling and advice, financial support or support in kind and the provision of subsidised services provided by local authorities. As SWS sets out in their submission to the Committee, while there is no requirement for a formal assessment of kinship carers of non-looked after children the 2014 Act sets out support local authorities should have in place for eligible kinship carers who have/are seeking a kinship care order.

As set out in Theme 1 of this briefing, better provision of non-financial support for all kinship families was also highlighted in the Independent Care Review. This can include support for mental and physical health and wellbeing as well as therapeutic and group support. All support should be trauma informed and the rights of the child should be at the centre.

A <u>CELCIS</u> survey carried out in 2019 found that 38% of 42 kinship carers surveyed rated the help and support the received from children's services as 'very poor'. CELCIS' submission to the Committee states that kinship carers and the children they care for often have health needs requiring support. In addition, CELCIS highlights:

- Many children in kinship care have experienced trauma in their early life and this may require ongoing support for the child.
- Children in kinship care are less likely to receive mental health services than children in foster care.
- While Continuing Care arrangements for young people up to the age of 21 mean that those in kinship care should be provided with the same accommodation and assistance the local authority was providing before the

young person ceased to be 'looked after'. However, local authority interpretation of this guidance varies, and clarity is needed around continued provision of allowances to families in these circumstances.

Arrangements for working with kinship carers differ across local authorities. In its submission to the Committee, Perth and Kinross Council outlines its approach to support for kinship carers, which begins when a support worker from its Kinship Care Team is allocated to a family as soon as a child is placed with a kinship carer:

"Once approved the support worker will continue to offer the practical and emotional support to carers. The team have also provided fun activities for kinship families, group support and individual advice. Each arrangement is reviewed annually, and the carer can say within this process whether they are happy with the support." – Perth and Kinross Council submission to Committee

The Council's Kinship Care Team works with health, housing, education and third sector partners. The team can also arrange respite support for kinship carers who need it, which, the council states, is having positive impact in preventing placement breakdown and supporting the health and wellbeing of kinship carers.

The need to improve support to make it possible for children who come into kinship care to remain in their placement and stay with their family is highlighted in the CAS submission to the Committee:

"...families frequently stated that they felt they were not supported to provide this care. Many kinship families expressed to me that they felt like the "cheap option"." – CAS submission to the Committee

CAS also highlights knock-on effects of kinship carers being under prepared and supported when they take on caring for a child can include the following:

"...frequently housing is inappropriate to accommodate a child or children, kinship carers are caused to rethink the hours they can work, so that earnings are significantly reduced, and other family relationships, particularly relationships with other grandchildren, are impacted. Also, significantly, the kinship carer often becomes the "gatekeeper" between the child and their parent(s), forcing them to make a choice between their child and their grandchild." – CAS submission to the Committee

The CAS submission highlights there are a number of kinship care peer support groups. Some of these are run by independent charities, some facilitated by local authorities and some by the third sector "but this is not a consistent picture nationally, as some are larger and stronger than others, and all differ in what they are able to offer."

### Theme 3: Further support for kinship families

Members may wish to discuss with Panel 1:

- What can be done to make kinship carers feel valued in their role.
- Whether councils across the country have Kinship Care Teams in place as in Perth and Kinross and what the benefits of this approach might be.
- What support kinship carers need when a child comes into their care.
- How might kinship carers who have received no help from authorities be better provided for.
- The importance of groups such as peer support for kinship carers and what can be done to improve consistency across the country.

### Members may wish to discuss with **Panel 2**:

- What can be done to make kinship carers feel valued in their role.
- What differences in provision of support exist throughout the country and how this might be addressed.
- What support kinship carers need when a child comes into their care.
- The challenges kinship carers face when attempting to access any support from local authorities.
- The importance of groups such as peer support for kinship carers and how consistency across the country might benefit carers.

## Lynne Currie, Senior Researcher (Children's social work), SPICe Research 18 February 2022

Note: Committee briefing papers are provided by SPICe for the use of Scottish Parliament committees and clerking staff. They provide focused information or respond to specific questions or areas of interest to committees and are not intended to offer comprehensive coverage of a subject area.

The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, EH99 1SP www.parliament.scot