Accommodating Complexity: The Need for Evidence-Informed Mental Health Assessments for Children in Out-of-Home Care

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RH = Clinical Perspectives

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Children in out-of-home care have all experienced adversity and most have been exposed to maltreatment. Research across many decades has shown that these experiences are important risk factors for mental health problems. However, there is a lack of consensus about how best to formulate and manage the mental health needs of these children. Our own experience, supported by the empirical literature and clinical commentaries, suggests that there can be considerable reluctance to use standard assessment protocols and diagnostic frameworks when formulating the needs of this group of young people. Whilst some children in the welfare system may experience significant emotional distress and functional impairment yet not meet current diagnostic thresholds, multiple reviews have shown that almost half of children in the welfare system do meet criteria for a diagnosable mental health disorder. More still may be subsyndromal but still benefit from assessment and formulation based on current diagnostic frameworks. Thus, we contend that standard diagnostic frameworks should be central to the formulation and management of mental health difficulties for this group of children, as for any child. Of note, both our opinions here and the empirical literature are near exclusively derived from work in high-income Western countries. Further research across a range of cultures and particularly in lower- and middle-income countries is vital.

Deliberations about the appropriateness of diagnostic classification systems are crucial for advancement in science and healthcare, but while these deliberations take place, services should be modelled on current evidence. Indecisive and inconsistent practice has potential to cause confusion and delays for service providers and families. It can limit understanding of the child’s difficulties, the ability to advocate for their needs, and reduce referrals and access to the treatment approaches most likely to be effective. We can only know if a child has a treatable psychiatric condition, or needs support with impairing subsyndromal symptoms, if we offer them a full and evidence-informed diagnostic assessment.
We are calling on service-providers to challenge assumptions that can cloud decision-making around assessments, diagnoses, and support/management. Assumptions might include that recognized diagnostic categories do not suit these children (despite significant evidence to the contrary), or that because they are in out-of-home care they must have an attachment disorder (which might or might not be the case). Such assumptions may lead to clinicians failing to assess disorders that commonly occur in the context of trauma, such as major depression.\textsuperscript{8}. Ironically, diagnoses classified as trauma- and stressor-related, including posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), reactive attachment disorder (RAD), and disinhibited social engagement disorder (DSED), are also often missed or misdiagnosed.\textsuperscript{3}

When children in out-of-home care do access services, practitioners often describe mental health problems using general terms such as ‘developmental trauma’. These terms do not have established definitions or evidence-based treatments. They are used to describe both the exposure to severe adversity, including maltreatment, and the presumed mental health effects that follow such exposure. This ignores the substantial variation in outcomes between individuals exposed to maltreatment. Not all individuals who have experienced developmental or complex trauma, including children in out-of-home care, will go on to develop mental health difficulties. Conflating the experience with the mental health outcome can be confusing and problematic.

**What Needs to Be Considered in an Assessment?**

A holistic assessment should ideally include assessment of internalizing and externalizing symptom profiles, trauma- and stressor-related symptoms, neurodevelopmental conditions (including learning disabilities), as well as assessments of risk (eg, self-harm and suicidality, substance use, risk of harm from others). All of these areas are more common in youth who have experienced maltreatment.\textsuperscript{6-8} While there is no measurement pack universally recommended for assessing child mental health, there are many options available depending
on the resources of the service and the purpose of the assessment (see Table 1 for examples). Using standardized diagnostic assessment tools, like the DAWBA, K-SADS, or RADA, helps to ensure thorough, efficient, and full assessments of a broad range of needs. Where services are too stretched to conduct full diagnostic assessments (although we argue that these can improve efficiency), there are many readily-available validated screening tools for common mental health difficulties, which are time- and cost-efficient to deliver and do not require training (see Table 1). These can then also be used to track progress (e.g., during an intervention). While the original validation of these measures has predominantly been with non-care-experienced youth, many have since been widely and effectively used in research with those in out-of-home care. The strengths and difficulties questionnaire (SDQ) has been shown to identify children in out-of-home care who would benefit from a more comprehensive assessment\[9\]. England has opted for government-mandated yearly screening of children in out-of-home care using the SDQ. However, unless screening triggers more detailed needs assessments and specialist referrals, this becomes a simple data gathering exercise with little impact on access to healthcare.

Even though children in out-of-home care often have complex symptoms and needs, the underlying symptoms requiring treatment may provide a usefully focused path forward. For example, a child could have PTSD and ADHD, and – following treatment guidelines – might benefit from psycho-education, a trauma-focused CBT (for PTSD), and stimulant treatment (for ADHD). For those whose symptoms are under the threshold for diagnosis, or clearly over threshold yet not quite meeting typical criteria, a structured and consistent evidence-informed assessment and formulation will ultimately be beneficial if communicated in a way that allows children, their carers, teachers, and service providers to better understand their needs and to develop support and treatment strategies. Many children in out-of-home care presenting to mental health services will have competing complex needs, such as placement instability,
school refusal, or serious risky behaviour. These needs should not preclude the use of a thorough mental health assessment (as they would not in a physical health assessment). If anything, a thorough mental health assessment is even more crucial when the child’s life circumstances are challenging.

**When Should We Be Conducting Assessments?**

There is no clear empirically grounded guidance for when to assess, but the timing should balance the burden on services, young people, and caregivers with the importance of understanding their needs. Ideally, mental health would be assessed as soon as appropriate when entering the out-of-home care system, given evidence for chronicity in their difficulties. Assessments should not be delayed because of placement instability. At the very least, a thorough assessment should be conducted when children first have contact with mental health services. Assessments should not be seen as one-offs, but rather as part of an ongoing careful monitoring of needs and progress.

**Who Should Be the Source of Reporting?**

Empirical evidence shows general poor agreement between young people and caregivers (as it does in the general population). Thus, a triangulated approach is best practice, where possible\[9\]. If not possible, the young person’s self-report should be prioritized, as well as the caregiver’s report, if they are a caregiver who is familiar with the child and their current mental health. The views of a professional may also be useful (e.g., social worker, teacher). Given that both caregivers and social workers can change regularly, it is crucial that assessment information is accurately recorded and appropriately shared (with the child’s knowledge, when age appropriate). This ensures continuity of care and minimises the burden on young people to have to continuously report the same information to different sources. Ultimately, the voice of
young people should be central to discussions on their mental health. Like all children, children in out-of-home care are a heterogeneous group. They will have differing views on topics like the language used around mental health, which should be explored and respected.

**Where to From Here?**

Mental health and social services remain chronically under-funded. Poorly resourced services are hugely problematic for young people, families, and the people who work in them, especially if poor resources mean long waiting lists or absent services except in crisis situations. While capacity and resourcing are potential barriers to conducting thorough assessments, if a child in out-of-home care does access mental health services, ensuring that their needs are thoroughly assessed so that appropriate support can be offered is very likely to be cost-saving in the long run. Fully understanding the type and extent of needs in these young people also provides crucial information that enables advocacy for greater resources, workforce capacity- and competency-building, and more targeted research. The field needs to test existing best evidenced treatments in this population, as well as develop new, culturally- and contextually-relevant treatments. Understanding holistic mental health support for complex needs also remains crucial, including support outside of professional services. Although far more research is needed, services cannot wait for this research to be done. We must draw on existing evidence in child mental health and provide this group of children with excellent assessments, to ensure we are providing the best possible care now.
References


Table 1. Overview of Examples of Diagnostic and Symptom Severity/Screening Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure name</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Versions</th>
<th>Example non-English translations</th>
<th>Time burden</th>
<th>Further information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAWBA</td>
<td>Interview and questionnaire format to identify <em>DSM</em> and <em>ICD</em> psychiatric diagnoses for 2-17 year olds</td>
<td>Parent/carer interview</td>
<td>Interview with 11-17yos Questionnaire for teachers</td>
<td>Approx. 20 official translations available. Translated versions all available at website.</td>
<td>Parent/carer interview ~1hr Young person interview ~30 min Teacher questionnaire ~10 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-SADS</td>
<td>Semi-structured diagnostic interview for</td>
<td>Interview with caregiver and young person, with capacity to</td>
<td>Translated into multiple languages, including</td>
<td>~60-90 minutes</td>
<td>Freely available for non-commercial purposes (e.g., clinical usage) Should be administered by a trained clinician.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Language(s)</td>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>Availability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>RADA</td>
<td>Carer report instrument for identification of symptoms of Reactive Attachment Disorder and Disinhibited Social Engagement Disorder; 6-17 year olds. Can be used as a parent/carer interview or parent/carer can complete online and clinician can rate or use to support face to face clinical assessment.</td>
<td>Farsi, Icelandic, Korean, Japanese, Mandarin, Portuguese.</td>
<td>Norwegian French</td>
<td>~30-60 minutes for parent/carer and 5 mins for clinician to review.</td>
<td>Available at low cost for clinical or research purposes. Does not require psychologist or psychiatrist to administer. Designed so it can be administered by people with limited prior experience of child mental health. Time burden is primarily on the parent or carer. When used as a diagnostic aid interpretation of responses should be by experienced mental health professional.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDQ</td>
<td>Screening tool for 25 items</td>
<td>Translated into &gt;50</td>
<td>~10 minutes</td>
<td>Freely available.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **CRIES-8** | **Screening tool for PTSD symptoms; 8+ year olds.** | 8-item young person report. The items cover re-experiencing and avoidance symptoms.  
Note, a 13 item version is also available (CRIES-13), | Translated into >20 languages  
Translated versions available on website. | <5 minutes | Used extensively with different trauma-exposed populations.  
Very brief validated screening tool, that can be completed by the young person in 2 minutes, and may form a useful part of an assessment for trauma-exposed children, such as those in out-of-home care.  
Available at: childrenandwar.org |

Note, there is a general lack of normative and validation data on 2 year olds.
which includes items for altered arousal symptoms.

The CRIES-8 performs as well as the CRIES-13.

There is no carer-report version.

| RCADS | Measures anxiety and depression symptom severity; 8-18 year olds  
25-items (original version is 47-items, provides scoring breakdown that is disorder specific) | Translations include Arabic, Danish, Hindi, and Spanish.  
See childfirst.ucla.edu for all versions | ~10 minutes | Freely available.  
47-item and 25-item versions available at corc.uk.net and childfirst.ucla.edu |
| ACC  | ACA  | Measures maltreatment-related symptoms, across empirically-defined clinical scales, including attachment difficulties, mental health, and risky behaviours (e.g., self-harm); 4-17 year olds. | Carer report. ACC, 120-items ACA, 108 items Validated with out-of-home care populations | German, Spanish | ~30 minutes | Freely available for clinical purposes. Clinicians must register with the test developer at childpsych.org.uk |
|------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
| BITSEA | Screening tool to assess emotional and behavioural difficulties, and social-emotional development; 12-36 month olds. | Carer report 42 items | Dutch, Japanese, Spanish, Turkish | ~10 minutes | Free for individual clinicians, but ‘fees may apply’ for clinical organisations eprovide.mapi-trust.org |

Note. This table provides an overview of some potential diagnostic and symptom/screening checklists, which have evidence of good psychometric properties and have been used in research with care-experienced young people. It is not designed to be an exhaustive list of...
available measures. Websites like corc.uk.net provide information on a large range of measures suitable for young people. ACA = Assessment Checklist for Adolescents, 12-17yrs; ACC = Assessment Checklist for Children, 4-11yrs; BITSEA = Brief Infant-Toddler Social and Emotional Assessment; CRIES-8 = Child Revised Impact of Events Scale; DAWBA = Development and Wellbeing Assessment; K-SADS = Kiddie Schedule for Affective Disorders and Schizophrenia; RADA = Reactive Attachment Disorder and Disinhibited Social Engagement Disorder Assessment; RCADS = Revised Child Anxiety and Depression Scale; SDQ = Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire.