# Best Practice Principles for In Schools Programmes

An evaluation of what works for behavioral intervention programmes in schools

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#### **Executive Abstract**

This report serves as a guide to the Rātā Foundation to assist them in their decision-making of which in-school behaviour intervention programmes to fund.

Twelve principles have been developed through a large-scale literature review and analysis. These principles are based on what has been proven to work in changing behaviour of young people (often called behavioural interventions). This is a strengths-based report, and is designed in such a way that the Rātā Foundation can easily compare applications with what the literature indicates is best practice, and therefore will be most likely to be effective in achieving the desired outcomes.

#### The twelve principles are:

- Appropriate behaviour change techniques are used.
- Kaupapa Māori / bicultural values are incorporated whereappropriate.
- Programmes are culturally responsible and responsive.
- Programmes protect and enhance mana.
- There is parent or whānau involvement in the programme.
- Programmes span multiple environments.
- Programmes are age and developmentally appropriate.
- Those who are teaching programmes have sufficient expertise.
- Programmes have sufficient time and intensity.
- Programmes are evidence based and evaluatory.
- Programmes take a whole of school approach.
- Programmes do no harm.

Modelling of behaviour and skills-based/didactic learning are the two most common ways of changing behaviour in children and adolescents, and both have proven efficient for different areas of behaviour change. This report has noted which type of programme will be effective for what area of behaviour that is wanting to be changed.

Appendix One, attached at the end of this report, is a supplement to this report and has tabulated the twelve principles, their logic, and how the principle can be applied in assessing funding applications.

## 1. Appropriate behaviour change techniques

#### 1.1. Modelling of Behaviour Programmes

Programmes or behavioural interventions that focus on the modelling of behaviour, reinforcement of good behaviour, or habit formation are the most effective methods for behavioural change across nearly all of the types of programmes that the Rātā Foundation funds. These methods of behaviour change are better suited across all age groups, from young children to adults, and work better for most behavioural change programmes when compared to mindfulness/spirituality programmes, didactic-methods (seminars, lectures), and cognitive-based programmes (Brigden, et al., 2019; Cross, 2013).

Modelling of behaviour, reinforcement of good behaviour, and habit formation are often classed as "First Wave" techniques of behavioural change, and are based on the theory that all behaviours are learnt. Because behaviours are learnt, they can also be changed using principles such as reinforcement, modelling, graded tasks, and habit formation (Brigden, et al., 2019).

Take for example, anti-smoking programmes. Programmes or interventions that model good behaviour (how to say no when offered a cigarette) have been shown to work significantly better in the reduction in the uptake of smoking than educational content, where young people are shown the harmful effects that smoking has on the body (Bruvold, 1993; Fanshawe, et al., 2017).

In addition to anti-smoking programmes, there is evidence that these types of programmes work best for mental health programmes for those aged 11 or under (Browne, Gafni, Roberts, Bryne, & Majumdar, 2004; Brigden, et al., 2019), health and wellbeing programmes including programmes that focus on sleep, exercise and diet, and stress (Bidwell, 2016), alcohol and drugs (Smit, et al., 2018; Warren, Kirk, Lima, & Siataga, 2006), anti-social or disruptive behaviour (Regan & Howe, 2017), and educational outcomes (Lazowski & Hulleman, 2016).

#### 1.2. Skills-based Programmes

For programmes that focus on pornography, sexuality education and mental health (for those aged over 11), skills-based or didactic learning programmes are more effective. Skills-based or didactic learning, sometimes classed as "Second Wave" behavioural interventions, are based on "the principle that thoughts, feelings, physical sensations and actions are interconnected; individuals are supported to identify negative/unhelpful patterns in their cognitions, emotions, behaviours, physical sensations and supported to adopt more adaptive patterns" (Brigden, et al., 2019, p. 2). These programmes can be taught in the classroom as a lecture/seminar, or in smaller groups (including one-on-one).

Successful pornography education programmes do not rely on behaviour modelling, instead these programmes involve teaching the types of pornography, sexting, how pornography can be harmful, etc. Programmes like this successfully reduced young people's consumption rates of pornography, and also fed into more positive relationship building/healthy views around consent (Rothman, Daley, & Alder, 2020). The literature shows that those programmes that are teaching sexuality should have both a skills-based and a theoretical understanding. For example, a successful sex education programme will develop knowledge, understanding and skills relating to sexual development - physical, emotional and social, as well as develop knowledge, understanding and skills to enhance their sexual and reproductive health (Tasker, 2013).

For programmes that focus on bullying, there is evidence that both skills-based and modelling-based programmes can work (Wilson & Lipsey, 2008).

Considering the above evidence, applicants seeking funding from the Rātā Foundation should ensure that they are addressing the problem area with the appropriate behaviour change technique. These have been put in a table, below, which provides an easy reference for the Rātā Foundation for which techniques work best for which area of behaviour change.

Behaviour change technique	Area of behaviour change
Modelling of behaviour, reinforcement of	Anti-smoking
good behaviour, or habit formation.	
	Mental health (for those aged under 11
	years old)
	Health and wellbeing
	Alcohol and drugs
	Anti-social or disruptive behaviour
	Educational outcomes
Skills-based or didactic learning	Pornography
techniques.	Sexuality education
	Mental health (for those aged over 11 years old)

## 2. Kaupapa Māori / bicultural programmes

All programmes should have a commitment to te Tīriti o Waitangi. In particular, programmes should have a commitment to partnership and biculturalism *and* show how they will act to fulfil this commitment.

The literature suggests that if programmes include how they will incorporate the principles of te Tiriti o Waitangi into the programme, they are more likely to act in good faith in regards to te Tiriti (Berghan, et al., 2017).

Where appropriate, it is recommended the programmes/interventions incorporate kaupapa Māori values of behavioural change. These include:

- Have an emphasis on reaching consensus through collaborative decision-making involving members of the whole community;
- Reconciliation and a settlement that is acceptable to all parties, rather than a focus on punishment;
- Not to apportion blame, but to examine the wider reasons of why the behaviour is occurring; and
- Less emphasis on the breach of law (or tikanga) but a greater concern with the restoration of harmony (adapted from Savage, Macfarlane, Macfarlane, Fickel, & Te Hēmi, 2012).

However, the literature also says that if schools/programme providers do not have adequate Māori expertise/knowledge then these programmes can do more harm than good. The literature provides a list of pre-conditions that should exist before a kaupapa Māori approach to behaviour change is used:

- a) There is school wide commitment to culturally responsive practices for Māori students and whānau;
- b) There is school wide commitment to restorative practices as a general school ethos and for making amends to resolve conflict;
- c) There is rejection of deficit perspectives and retributive reactions that focus on blame and punishment for conflict;
- d) Key school personnel have relevant expertise in both culturally responsive pedagogies and restorative practices;
- e) On-going support exists for staff, Māori students, and whānau to respond in restorative ways to challenging behaviour and conflict;
- f) Individualised specialist services provide support to Māori students with severe and

- challenging behaviours, their whānau, and teachers; and
- g) The school has on-going access to appropriate Māori cultural expertise (adapted from Savage, Macfarlane, Macfarlane, Fickel, & Te Hēmi, 2012).

Therefore, it is recommended that funding applicants, where appropriate, utilise a kaupapa Māori framework. However, it is also recommended that applicants only use this framework if they can show that they have the adequate resources to do it well. If they cannot do it well, it does not represent value for money for a funding organisation as it is likely to do harm.

## 3. Culturally responsible and responsive

Programmes should be both culturally responsible and responsive. The evidence says that those programmes which are situated within the appropriate cultural context are more likely to work, and therefore represent better value for money for the Rātā Foundation. Furthermore, those programmes that are not culturally appropriate can lead to lesser outcomes for those young people who are from minority cultural groups (Fallon, O'Keeffe, & Sugai, 2012).

One example of this is sex education programmes. Findings from Mexico suggest that one of the reasons why the sexuality education programmes being implemented there were not working was because they were imported from the United States without key cultural contexts being considered (Pick, Givaudin, & Poortinga, 2003). Therefore, funding applicants to the Rātā Foundation who are importing overseas models of sexuality education should adapt the programme to better suit the cultural context of Aotearoa and the target community.

The literature also suggests that minority ethnic groups should not be disproportionately affected by behavioural change programmes, and that programmes should have a mechanism to monitor this (Boneshefski & Runge, 2014). If programmes are designed to change disruptive classroom behaviour, and minority ethnic groups are having to do these programmes at higher rates than the majority ethnic group, then it could be an indicator that there are structural issues that need to be addressed. Without addressing structural issues, it is less likely that these programmes will work.

Therefore, it is recommended that funding applicants:

- Ensure their programme is culturally appropriate; and
- Have a mechanism to ensure that minority ethnic groups are not going though behaviour change programmes at a higher rate than the majority ethnic group.

#### 4. Protect and enhance mana

Programmes and behavioural interventions should be conducted in a way that protects and enhances the mana of the young people participating in them. Whilst this principle could be seen as a subset of the Kaupapa Māori approach to conducting behavioural interventions, there is evidence of this principle in other programmes, namely sexuality education and relationship programmes.

Programmes that are rights-based have proven to be more effective in teaching of sexuality education (in regards to knowledge retention) but are comparable to other evidence-based programmes in terms of behaviour change. Rights-based sexuality education has a "rights- based framework that focuses on human rights, gender equality, access to health care services, and critical thinking, and emphasized the relationship between broader social and cultural factors and individuals' sexual decisions" (Constantine, et al., n.d.).

Successful behavioural interventions that focus on interpersonal violence in relationships have a focus on protecting and enhancing the mana of those who are undertaking the programmes (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2013). One successful programme, the *Respect, Protect, Connect*, does this by working with young men to promote non-violent and respectful ways of relating to themselves and others, while encouraging broader understandings of masculinity. The programme for young women takes a rights-based approach, providing a framework for recognising violence, and encouraging young women to proactively seek support for themselves or others if faced with a situation involving violence.

Therefore, it is recommended that when funding programmes or interventions that focus on sexuality education or relationship education the programmes are right-based, and are done in such a way that protect and enhance the mana of the young people undertaking the programme.

#### 5. Parent or whānau involvement

For most of the programmes that the Rātā Foundation funds, the literature shows that they will work best if they have some degree of parent (or wider whānau) involvement (Head, Kane, Cogan, & Nicola, 2003). This is because parents can assist in the intervention by serving as a reinforcement tool for the desired behaviour (Mingebach, Kamp-Becker, Christiansen, & Weber, 2018). Extending interventions to the parents and whānau also ties into the wider ecological framework that is commonly associated with a kaupapa Māori framework of interventions (Savage, Macfarlane, Macfarlane, Fickel, & Te Hēmi, 2012).

The literature supports that extending interventions to include parents or whānau across nearly all

programmes that the Rātā Foundation funds (Epstein, Fonnesbeck, Potter, Rizzone, & McPheeters, 2015; Sheridan, Smith, Kim, Beretvas, & Park, 2019), but there a wide range of literature published on the importance of parent involvement in educational and anti- alcohol/drug interventions.

Educational interventions work best when parents/whānau are also given the skills to assist children in their educational development (Blok, Fukkink, Gebhardt, & Leseman, 2005). This could be as simple as ensuring that parents/whānau are aware of the intervention and are offering support, to more complicated styles of support such as the parent learning the curriculum at the same time, so they can assist the young person in that way.

In regards to alcohol and drug programmes, the literature shows that there are very few effective programmes that can be taught solely in the classroom which reduce alcohol and drug usage (Massey University's Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation, 2009). There is evidence, however, that shows with parent/whānau involvement there can be some improvement in attitudes towards alcohol and drugs.

However, the literature across all of these programmes highlights that this can be a substantial time commitment for many parents and whānau. Considering some whānau may be time poor and unable to commit fully to a programme, programmes that are ambitious in their involvement of the whānau should have a solid base of evidence to show that this is possible for the communities that they are working in.

Considering the evidence, programmes or interventions that incorporate parents or whānau of the young person are more effective than programmes that do not. However, applicants should have a clear plan on how they intend to do this, with consideration given to the availability of parents/whānau being involved.

## 6. Span multiple environments

Programmes or interventions that span multiple environments are more effective at creating long-lasting behaviour change. For many of the programmes that the Rātā Foundation funds, the literature suggests that programmes or interventions that occur across multiple environments will have longer-lasting or stronger effects (Brigden, et al., 2019). It could be that the primary intervention occurs in the classroom, but is reinforced on the playground, in the family home, or at sports games.

The literature singles out three areas in particular where it is important that programmes or interventions span multiple environments: anti-suicide programmes, educational interventions, and relationship.

There is some evidence that school-based anti-suicide interventions are not effective in decreasing thoughts of suicidality amongst young people (Robinson, et al., 2018). However, the research has identified that schools are suitable screening-areas where teachers who are trained in identifying suicidality in students can then refer the young person to external counsellors/clinicians who can treat them. Applicants who are seeking funding for programmes should therefore show strong ties to established crisis centres or clinicians.

Educational interventions work best if they are not solely school-based. Considering the earlier principle of parent or whānau involvement in educational interventions, it is logical that the evidence says that educational interventions aimed at improving performance should not occur solely in the classroom. Evidence from the Dutch approach to educational interventions has shown that these have not been successful because they are limited solely to the classroom (Fukkink, Jilink, & Oostdam, 2017).

Programmes that focus on relationships, in particular programmes that focus on interpersonal violence within relationships, have been found to work better when not solely confined to the classroom (Family Commission, Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2013). One example of a successful programme that reduced the rate of violence in these relationships was the *Safe Dates* programme, which had two distinct components: one in the school and one in the community. The school component targets primary prevention, while the community component targets secondary prevention by increasing access to support services for youth and providing information for parents.

Having programmes or interventions that span multiple environments increases the effectiveness of the programme, therefore funding programmes structured in this way would constitute good value for money for the Rātā Foundation.

## 7. Age and developmentally appropriate

Whilst this principle is covered partially by the principle of choosing appropriate behaviour change techniques, there is substantial literature that indicates that the technique should also match the audience, not just the behaviour that needs changing.

For example, mental health programmes that are aimed at younger children (11-years old and under) should focus on good behaviour modelling and habit formation. Programmes that focus on techniques of interrupting bad thought patterns, or on metacognition skills (such as Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT)) are more suited for those aged 11 or older (Kavanagh, et al., 2009).

Programmes that are aimed at those who have developmental disabilities work best if they involve

modelling of good behaviour, reinforcement of good behaviour, or habit formation (Meyer & Evans, 2006). Effective interventions involve the young person's peers, are organised by a professional or teacher, and can be carried out in a number of contexts. Behavioural interventions for self-injurious, socially inappropriate and destructive behaviours work better than those interventions aimed at aggressive and disruptive behaviour.

If programmes or interventions are not using age or developmentally appropriate techniques, then this does not constitute value for money. Furthermore, there is ability to harm participants of programmes if they are not appropriate. If programmes have a robust grounding in peer-reviewed evidence, then it is unlikely that inappropriate techniques will be used.

### 8. Expertise

It has been widely established that the person delivering the programme or intervention within the school should be an expert. This can be either the teacher, or an external facilitator. If the person is not trained to an adequate level, this will weaken the effectiveness of the programme (Ayre, 2013). In most instances, the literature suggests that teachers are adequate facilitators of the programmes, if they have required training. For example, the literature on interpersonal relationship programmes says that teachers, provided they have adequate training, are best

placed to carry out the programmes as they have 'classroom capital' which can be useful when teaching about the subject (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2013).

Applicants should demonstrate how they will provide adequate training to the teachers for the delivery of the programme or intervention.

## 9. Sufficient time and intensity

Programmes or interventions are only effective if they are of sufficient time and intensity. Many studies have shown that one-off programmes do not work (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2013). However, the literature is not unanimous in its definition of what constitutes sufficient time and intensity for the areas that the Rātā Foundationfunds.

For example, literature on the use of cognitive interventions to reduce rates of depression in 11-19 year olds found that this technique was both effective in intense sessions (five sessions, total time 5.5 hours) and standard sessions (ten sessions, total time 15 hours) (Haughland, et al., 2020). Yet another study around the use of behavioural interventions for those with developmental delays found that

more doses of behavioural treatment resulted in increased results (Linstead, et al., 2017).

Another study on behavioural interventions aimed at combatting weight loss in adolescents did not find a correlation between intensity and duration of a programme and successful completion, with the authors noting that as individuals respond to weight-loss programmes in fundamentally different ways it is difficult to determine what is an optimal minimum duration for a programme of this type (Heerman, et al., 2017). An analysis of anti-bullying programmes found that they were most effective if they were less than one year in duration (Jiménez- Barbero, Ruiz-Hernández, Llor-Zaragoza, Pérez-García, & Llor-Esteban, 2016).

Considering this gap and conflicting evidence in the literature, it is recommended that it is sufficient for applicants to determine what constitutes a sufficient time and intensity, if it is supported with evidence that this type of programme or intervention has worked elsewhere.

## 10. Evidence-based and evaluatory

Programmes are most effective when they are evidence-based, and are guided by past evaluations of programmes, and conduct their own evaluations during and after the intervention (National Center on Intensive Intervention, 2014; The Scottish Government, 2015; Titler, 2008).

In practical terms, organisations should do the following when applying for funding:

- 1. Conduct a literature review, or demonstrate that such research has been previously undertaken. Applicants look at past evaluations of programmes and ensure what they are proposing is in line with this, or have justified changes to the programme they are proposing based on the findings of these evaluations.
- 2. Have a mechanism to ensure they are monitoring outputs as the programme is running, and after it is completed. Monitoring changes of behaviour whilst the programme is ongoing means they can change the programme as needed.

This process is particularly important within the New Zealand context, as a lack of evaluation of behavioural interventions and programmes has meant that the sector does not have a good data set to assess future interventions and programmes (Massey University's Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation, 2009).

It constitutes best value for money to the Rātā Foundation if they fund programmes that have a strong-evaluation and evidence-based focus, as they are more likely to be effective.

## 11. Whole of school approach

Programmes are more likely to be effective when they employ a whole of school approach (sometimes called an ecological approach). A whole of school approach is a concept and model that acknowledges the social, political, economic and demographic contexts within which schools operate, and programmes or interventions operate within all of these contexts (Hunt, Barrios, Tellijohann, & Mazyck, 2015).

Programmes that focus on fostering positive mental health have been shown to work substantially better in a whole of school approach (Weare, 2015). Whilst a large number of studies have found that anti-bullying programmes only have a small impact on decreasing rates of bullying, a whole of school approach provides slightly better results, though notably it can increase the bystander effect (Merrell, Gueldner, Ross, & Isava, 2008; Polanin, Espelage, & Pigott, 2012).

Therefore applicants should demonstrate how they will incorporate a whole of school approach into the programme or intervention that they are seeking funding for.

#### 12. Does no harm

All programmes can do harm if they do not follow the other eleven best-practice principles described within this report (and even then, there is still the chance that they can do harm).

To minimise the risk of harm, the Evidence Based Intervention Network notes that those behaviour change programmes that are rooted in evidence are less likely to do harm (Evidence Based Intervention Network, 2011). For example, interventions that focus on minimising interpersonal violence in relationships (both platonic and romantic), but are only conducted in a one-off session, can harden attitudes towards violence, and some have reported a spike in violence after this type of intervention was conducted (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2013). However, one of the principles developed through this research is that interventions should be of sustained time and intensity, therefore funding would be unlikely.

Drawing the scope of the principle out more broadly, the literature suggests that programmes or interventions aimed at the reduction of harm from alcohol or tobacco should not be funded if they are designed or produced by those companies who create alcohol or tobacco products (Connor, 2020; Fanshawe, et al., 2017). Not only are these programmes less likely to be effective, they can result in further harm to the young people participating in the programme. Whilst the literature in the area of vested interests (such as pornography companies creating healthy pornography habit programmes) is still being developed, at this stage it is advised that organisations who have a vested interest in the ongoing sale of their products not befunded.

It is recommended that the Rātā Foundation fund programmes which are evidence-based, as they are less likely to do harm. Further, it is recommended that programmes or interventions that have ties to the industries they are seeking to reduce harm with, are not funded.

# Appendix one

Best Practice Principle	Explanation	Application of Principle
Appropriate behaviour change techniques are used.	Different areas of behaviour change require different methods to effectively change the behaviour.  Using methods that have not been proven to work would not constitute good value for money for the Rātā  Foundation, and could also do harm to the young people involved in the programmes.	Applicants wanting to deliver programmes focused on anti-smoking, mental health (for those aged under 11 years old, health and wellbeing, alcohol and drugs, anti-social or disruptive behaviour, and educational outcomes should use modelling of behaviour, reinforcement of good behaviour, or habit formation.  Applicants wanting to deliver programmes focused on pornography, sexuality education, and mental health (for those aged over 11 years old) should use skills-based or didactic learning techniques.
2. Kaupapa Māori / bicultural values are incorporated where appropriate.	It is fundamental that programmes and interventions are rooted in principles of te Tīriti o Waitangi, particularly that of partnership.  Programmes that demonstrate this commitment are more likely to be effective. Programmes that use a Kaupapa Maori approach are also more effective, if they have the prerequisite structural factors.	Applicants should demonstrate how they will incorporate te Tīriti o Waitangi into their programme.  Applicants wanting to undertake a kaupapa Maori approach should show that they have the systems in place for it to be successful.

Best Practice Principle	Explanation	Application of Principle
3. Programmes are culturally responsible and responsive.	For programmes to be effective, they need to be culturally responsible (not unduly single out minority ethnic groups), and culturally responsive (are designed in a way to account for cultural differences for those participating in the programme).	Applicants should ensure their programme is culturally appropriate and have a mechanism to ensure that minority ethnic groups are not going through behaviour change programmes at a higher rate than the majority ethnic group.
4. Programmes protect and enhance mana.	Programmes are more effective if they protect and enhance mana. If the young people are built up through the process, then the effects are felt more strongly for longer.	Applicants seeking funding for programmes should demonstrate how the programme will protect and enhance mana. This is particularly important for applicants wanting funding for programmes or interventions aimed at sexuality or relationship education.
5. There is parent or whānau involvement in the programmes.	Programmes are more effective if parents or whānau are involved, as they serve as good role models of desired behaviour, and/or can support the programme in the teaching of skills.  Programmes that involve parents show better changes in attitudes and educational outcomes.	Applicants should detail how they will involve parents/whānau in the programme, or justify why they have not included parents/whānau (time commitments in time-poor communities, etc).

Best Practice Principle	Explanation	Application of Principle
6. Programmes span multiple environments.	Programmes are more effective if they span multiple environments: the classroom, the playground, the home, etc. Programmes that utilise this approach are more likely to be successful, as they re-enforce behaviour across multiple environments.	Applicants should detail how their programme will span multiple environments, or justify why their programme will not span multiple environments.
7. Programmes are age and developmentally appropriate.	Programmes that are not age or developmentally appropriate are less likely to create long-lasting change of desired outcomes. Some programmes are not suited for younger children or those who have developmentally delays.	Applicants should ensure that their programme or intervention is age and developmentally appropriate, and show how they will take this into consideration in the planning and implementation of the programme or intervention.
8. Those (whether teachers or external facilitators) teaching programmes have sufficient expertise.	Having a poorly trained facilitator weakens the effectiveness of the programme, and can do harm.	Applicants should detail the training they will offer to the teaching staff (if relevant), and ensure that those teaching the programmes or interventions have sufficient resources.
9. Programmes have sufficient time and intensity.	The literature is not unanimous on what constitutes sufficient time and intensity for the different areas that the Rātā Foundation funds.  However, it is clear that one-off seminars/lessons do not work.	Applicants should ensure that the programme they are seeking funding for is of sufficient time and intensity.  Applicants should give an indication of what evidence they have consulted in the design of the time and intensity of their programme.

Best Practice Principle	Explanation	Application of Principle
10. Programmes are evidence-based and evaluatory.	Programmes or interventions that are evidence-based are more effective. Programmes or interventions that have an evaluation mechanism that can monitor the outputs of the programme, and change them as needed, are more effective as they are more adaptive.	Applicants should include the evidence they have considered in their creation of a programme, and should have an evaluation mechanism built into their programme or intervention.
11. Programmes take a whole of school approach.	Programmes or interventions that take an ecological/whole of school approach are more effective in creating and sustaining long-term behaviour change.	Applicants should demonstrate how they will take a whole of school approach, or, justify why they have not taken this approach, drawing on appropriate literature.
12. Programmes do no harm.	Programmes or interventions should not do harm to those participating in, or facilitating them.	Applicants should be cognisant of the harm that programmes can do, and show how they will mitigate against it. Applicants should not seek funding for programmes or interventions that have ties to the industries they are seeking to reduce harm from.

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