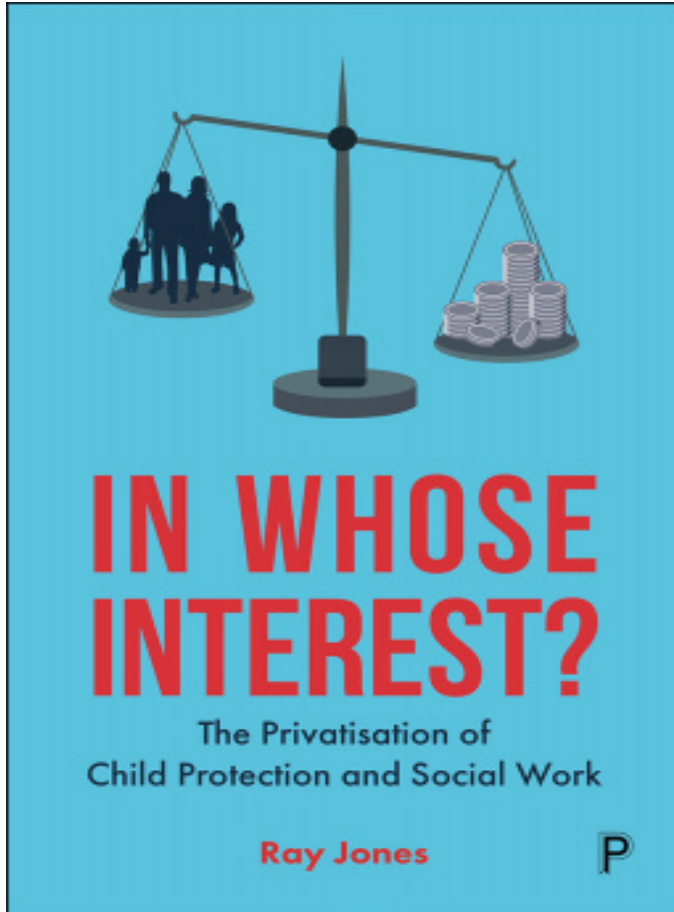


IN WHOSE INTEREST?

THE PRIVATISATION OF CHILD PROTECTION AND SOCIAL WORK



RAY JONES

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL WORK



IN WHOSE INTEREST?

THE PRIVATISATION OF CHILD PROTECTION AND SOCIAL WORK IN ENGLAND

- **THE LONG HAUL**
- **WHAT HAS HAPPENED RECENTLY**
- **WHY IT IS NOT SENSIBLE**
- **AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE**



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THE PRIVATISATION OF CHILD PROTECTION AND SOCIAL WORK IN ENGLAND

- **THE LONG HAUL - A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS**
- **WHAT HAS HAPPENED RECENTLY – A CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS**



THE SEVENTY YEAR LONG HAUL



THE LONG HAUL



**AUSTERITY AND
THE CREATION
OF THE
WELFARE STATE**

**THE WELFARE STATE
CONSENSUS
[BUTSKELLISM]**

**OIL AND IMF CRISIS
WHO GOVERNS BRITAIN
AND THE WINTER OF
DISCONTENT**

**THATCHER AND
THE PRIMACY OF
MARKETS**

**NEW LABOUR
AND
MODERNISATION**

**CAMBORNISM
AND A NEW AGE
OF AUSTERITY**

1944-1951

1951-1974

1974-1979

1979-1997

1997-2010

2010-CONTINUING

**CREATING AND EMBEDDING
THE WELFARE STATE**

**THE FIRST ATTACK
AND THE END OF
CONSENSUS**

**NEOLIBERALISM
AND THE MANTRA OF
MARKETS**

**USING THE
BANKING CRISIS
TO TARGET THE
POOR AND
PUBLIC SERVICES**

THE LONG HAUL 70 YEARS AGO

THE WELFARE STATE CREATED AT A TIME OF POST-WAR AUSTERITY



THE FIVE GIANTS

IGNORANCE
WANT
DISEASE
IDLENESS
SQUALOR

1944 EDUCATION ACT
1945 FAMILY ALLOWANCE ACT
1945 NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT
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CAMBORNISM AND A NEW AGE OF AUSTERITY

2010-CONTINUING

USING THE BANKING CRISIS TO TARGET THE POOR AND PUBLIC SERVICES

THE 1970s AND THE END OF THE WELFARE STATE CONSENSUS

- **THE 1970-74 HEATH GOVERNMENT**
- **INDUSTRIAL UNREST AND STRIKES**
- **1973 YOM KIPPUR WAR AND THE OPEC OIL CRISIS**
- **HIGH INFLATION AND HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT**
- **THREE DAY WORKING WEEK AND ‘WHO GOVERNS BRITAIN?’**



THE FIRST TIPPING POINT



THE 1970s AND THE END OF THE WELFARE STATE CONSENSUS

- **IMF LOANS TO PROTECT THE VALUE OF STERLING**
- **THE CONDITIONS OF THE IMF LOANS**
- **PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND PUBLIC SERVICE CUTS**
- **1978-79 WINTER OF DISCONTENT**



THE LONG HAUL



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THATCHER AND THE PRIMACY OF MARKETS

THE MEANS AND MECHANISMS TO UNDERMINE PUBLIC SERVICES

- EMPHASISE THE THREE Es (ECONOMY, EFFICIENCY, EFFECTIVENESS)
- ATTACK (SELF-SERVING) PUBLIC SERVICE PROFESSIONS
- CLAIM PUBLIC SERVICES NOT VALUE FOR MONEY (VFM)
- INTRODUCE THE CULT OF MANAGERIALISM
- PRIORITISE BUT ALSO RIG MARKETS



THATCHER AND THE PRIMACY OF MARKETS

THE MEANS AND MECHANISMS TO UNDERMINE PUBLIC SERVICES

- **FORCED PRIVATISATIONS OF PUBLIC UTILITIES**
- **COMPULSORY COMPETITIVE TENDERING**
- **1990 NHS AND COMMUNITY CARE ACT**
- **CUT REVENUE FUNDING AND CAP COUNCIL TAX INCREASES**
- **MAKE GRANTS AND PAYMENTS ONLY AVAILABLE OUTSIDE THE PUBLIC SECTOR**
- **CAPITAL SPEND CONTROLS**



THE LONG HAUL



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OF THE
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NEW LABOUR AND PUBLIC SERVICE MODERNISATION

THE RE-SETTING OF PUBLIC SERVICES



- **VFM BECAME ‘BEST VALUE’ REVIEWS OF ALL PUBLIC SERVICES**
- **‘BEST VALUE REVIEWS’ BASED ON COMPARE, CHALLENGE, CONSULT AND COMPETE**
- **CONTINUE TO UNDERMINE PUBLIC SECTOR PROFESSIONALS (“SCARS ON MY BACK”)**

NEW LABOUR AND PUBLIC SERVICE MODERNISATION

THE RE-SETTING OF PUBLIC SERVICES



- LEAGUE TABLES AND HIT-AND-RUN RATINGS INSPECTORATES
- WHICH GAVE THE MEDIA FODDER TO FEED THE NARRATIVE OF PUBLIC SECTOR BAD
- AND INTRODUCE NEW PUBLIC-PRIVATE SECTOR MODELS
 - PFI
 - FOUNDATION HOSPITALS
 - ACADEMY SCHOOLS

THE RECENT JOURNEY
FOR
SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL
SERVICES

THE ROAD TO PRIVATISATION?



SOCIAL WORK PRACTICES OPPORTUNITY OR THREAT?

2006 AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICES

LE GRAND AND ANTECEDENTS

- ACADEMY SCHOOLS
- FOUNDATIONS HOSPITALS
- INTRODUCED BY LABOUR



WHO HAS BEEN ADVISING GOVERNMENT?

SIR JULIAN LE GRAND

- ACADEMY SCHOOLS
- FOUNDATION HOSPITALS
- THINK AHEAD



SIR MARTIN NAREY

- PRIVATE PRISONS
- FRONTLINE



SIR JULIAN LE GRAND



MOTIVATION, AGENCY,
AND PUBLIC POLICY
Of Knights & Knaves, Pawns & Queens



JULIAN LE GRAND

KNIGHTS AND KNAVES PAWNS AND QUEENS

THE NARRATIVE

- **PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL BAD**

- SELF-SERVING
- SLUGGISH
- STUCK IN THE PAST
- SINK HOLE FOR PUBLIC FUNDS

- **PRIVATE AND PROFIT GOOD**

- MARKET DRIVES EFFICIENCY
- MARKET DRIVES LOWER COSTS
- MARKET DRIVES INNOVATION
- MARKET DRIVES RESPONSIVENESS



AND THEN !!!!!!!



BANG

2008

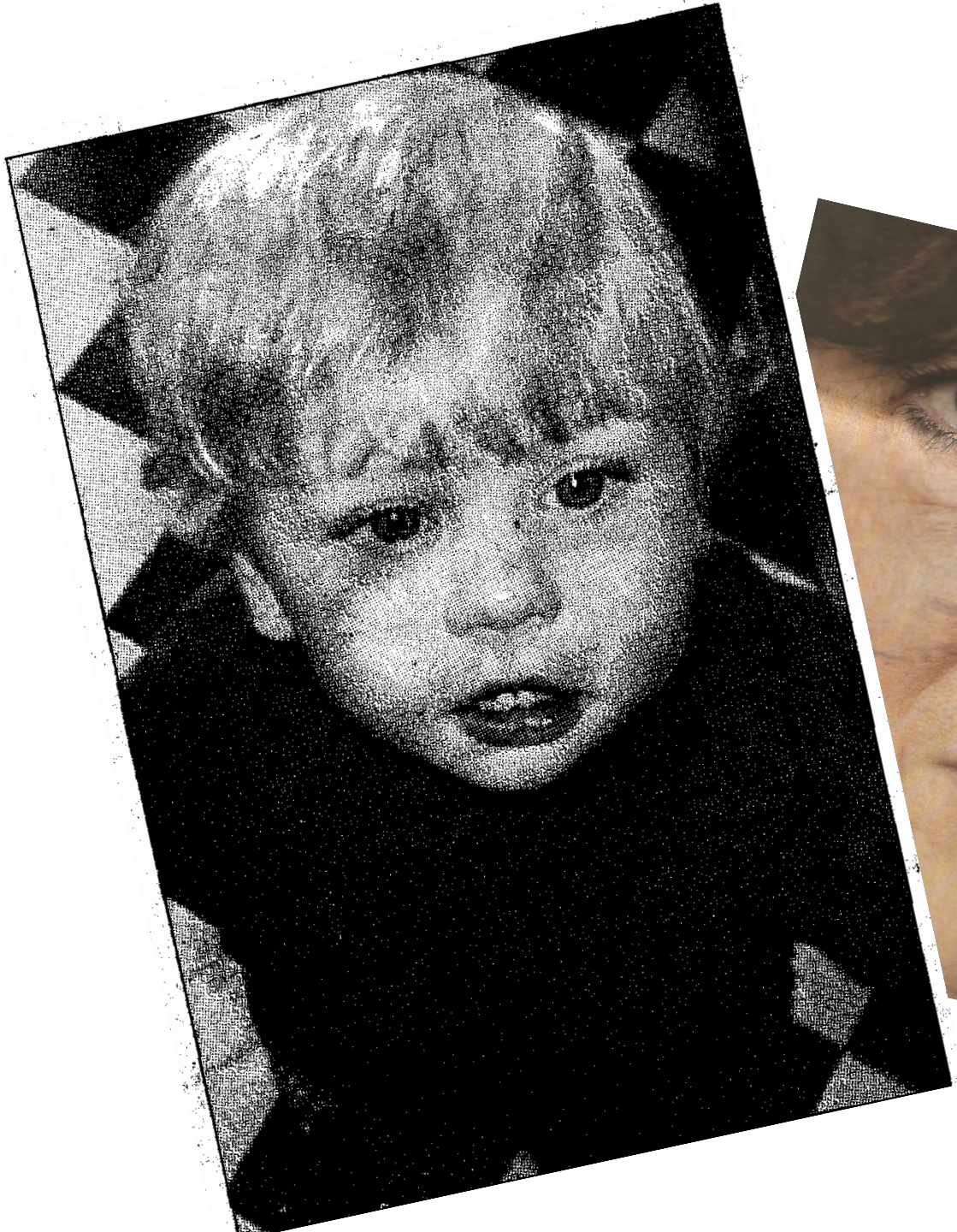
CRASH!

THE INTERNATIONAL BANKING CRISIS



**BUT WHAT WAS
THE BIG (TABLOID) MEDIA
STORY CREATED
IN NOVEMBER 2008?**





THE Sun By **BEAUTIFUL BABY P**

FACTORY EXCLUSIVE Rachel brother charged with murder FULL STORY SEE PAGE 1

First picture of tragic tot

CAMPAIGN FOR JUSTICE SEE PAGES 4, 5 & 6

Have you

Sun SAYS **Join our fight**

How could anyone kill this lovely little boy?

BABY P PETITION

5 WHO HAVE NO SHAME

Have you

SIGN BABY P PETITION Wednesday, November 16, 2011 5:20:11 PM

THE PEOPLE

HAVE SPOKEN

THE FIGHT GOES ON.

Sun readers' vow to tortured tot

Timeline of death, scandal & failure

NO SACKINGS, NO APOLOGIES, OF BABY P, SUN DEMANDS ALL

OUTRAGE OF SUN READERS OVER BABY P: See thesun.co.uk/news

no shame?

NO ONE TAKING BLAME...ON BEHALF OF THIS DISGUSTING LOT BE FIRED

BABY P PETITION

MUM CHAS

THE FIGHT GOES ON.

Sun readers' vow to tortured tot



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CAMBORNISM AND A NEW AGE OF AUSTERITY

2010-CONTINUING

USING THE BANKING CRISIS TO TARGET THE POOR AND PUBLIC SERVICES

THE SECOND TIPPING POINT



BANG

2008

CRASH!

THE INTERNATIONAL BANKING CRISIS



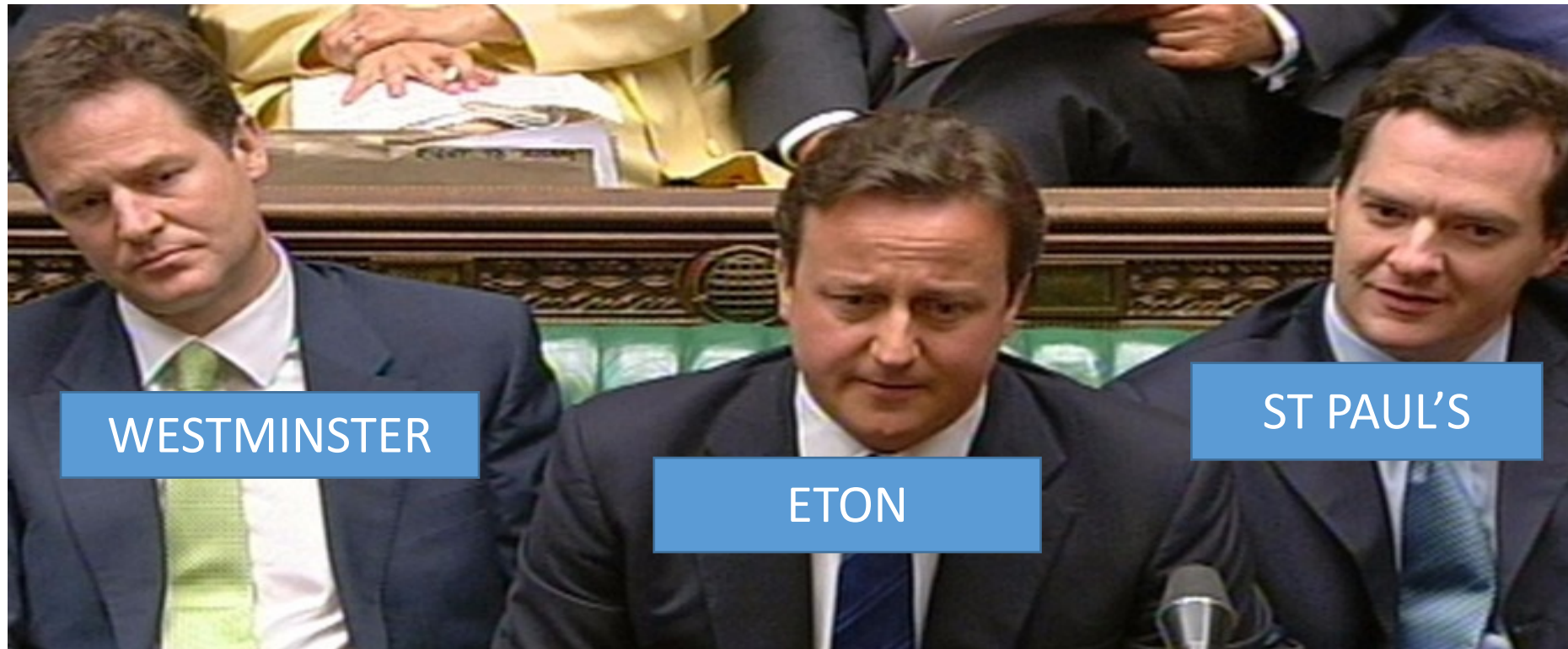
2010 THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND POLITICALLY-CHOSEN AUSTERITY

TARGETTED AT THE POOR, PUBLIC SERVICES
AND PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS



2010 THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND POLITICALLY-CHOSEN AUSTERITY

TARGETTED AT THE POOR, PUBLIC SERVICES
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2010 THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND POLITICALLY-CHOSEN AUSTERITY AND PRIVATISATION



**ANDREW LANSLEY
HEALTH**



**IAN DUNCAN SMITH
WORK AND PENSIONS**



**MICHAEL GOVE
EDUCATION**



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2010 THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND POLITICALLY-CHOSEN AUSTERITY AND PRIVATISATION



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theguardian NOVEMBER 2013

HOW TO PRIVATISE CHILD PROTECTION IN SIX EASY STAGES

1. RUBBISH SOCIAL WORKERS BY TARGETING THEM IN SERIOUS CASE REVIEWS
2. PLACE OTHER AGENCIES ON THE MARGINS OF SCRUTINY
3. STATE SOCIAL WORKERS POLITICALLY CORRECT AND NAIVE
4. INTRODUCE FAST-TRACK COURSES WHICH FRAGMENT SOCIAL WORK
5. CREATE SYSTEM OVERLOAD AMID CUTS AND INCREASING WORKLOADS
6. HAVE INSPECTORATE INTRODUCE HARDER STANDARDS AND HARSHER RATINGS

THE UNDER-THE-RADAR UNOPPOSED STEP CHANGES FOR STATUTORY CHILDREN'S SOCIAL SERVICES IN 2014



THE TWO 2014 STATUTORY CHILDREN'S SOCIAL SERVICES REGULATORY CHANGES

CHANGE 1

- ANY PROVIDER
- AS LONG AS THEY ARE NON-PROFIT OR MAKE THEIR PROFIT THROUGH SETTING UP A NOT-FOR-PROFIT SUBSIDIARY

CHANGE 2

- WILL NOT BE REGISTERED, REGULATED OR INSPECTED

WHAT THIS MEANS

ANY COMPANY OR ORGANISATIONS CAN NOW BE CONTRACTED TO

- **INTRUDE INTO FAMILIES**
- **UNDERTAKE ASSESSMENTS AND SECTION 47 INVESTIGATIONS**
- **SET AND MANAGE CHILD IN NEED AND CHILD PROTECTION PLANS**
- **DECIDE WHETHER TO INITIATE CARE PROCEEDINGS**
- **DECIDE WHERE AND WITH WHOM CHILDREN LIVE**

THE PLAYERS ALREADY ON THE PITCH FOR CHILDREN'S SERVICES



- G4S
- SERCO
- VIRGIN CARE
- AMEY
- MOUCHEL
- AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR MANAGEMENT AND MARKET CONSULTANCIES LIKE KPMG, AND LAING BUISSON



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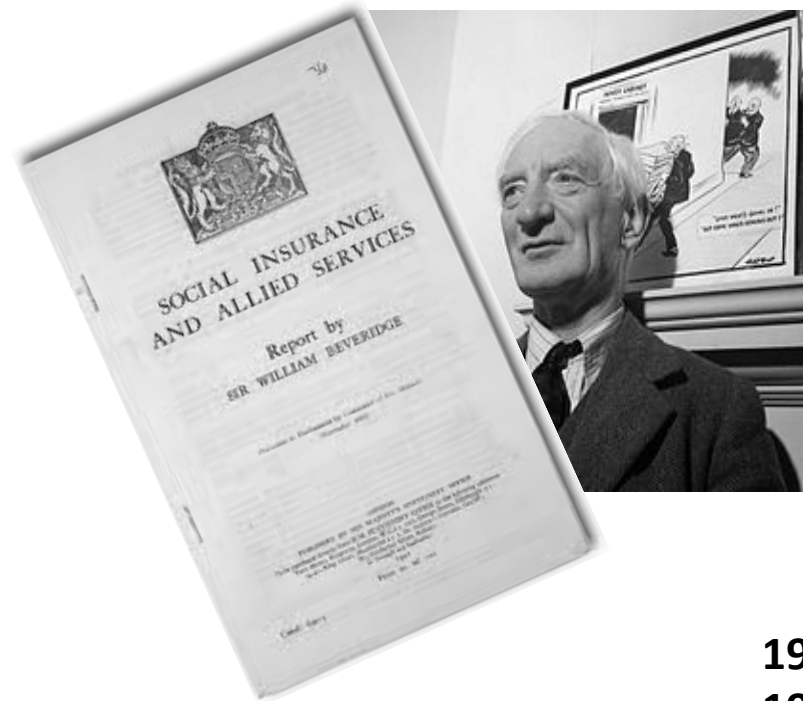


LOOK AT WHAT
HAS ALREADY HAPPENED



THE LONG HAUL 70 YEARS AGO

THE WELFARE STATE CREATED **AT A TIME OF POST-WAR AUSTERITY**



THE FIVE GIANTS

IGNORANCE
WANT
DISEASE
IDLENESS
SQUALOR

1944 EDUCATION ACT
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WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WELFARE STATE
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THE FIVE GIANTS AND THE WELFARE STATE AND PRIVATISATION AND FRAGMENTATION

IGNORANCE

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

WANT

SOCIAL SECURITY AND WELFARE BENEFITS

DISEASE

HOSPITALS AND COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICES

IDLENESS

PBR TRAINING AND PLACEMENT AGENCIES AND THE GIG ECONOMY

SQUALOR

PRIVATE SECTOR RENTED HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WELFARE STATE
CREATED **AT A TIME OF POST-WAR AUSTERITY?**

**THE FIVE GIANTS AND THE WELFARE STATE
AND PRIVATISATION AND FRAGMENTATION
TWO NEW GIANTS**

FEAR AND THREAT

POLICE

PRISONS

PROBATION

FORENSIC SERVICES

NEGLECT

ADULT SOCIAL CARE

CHILDREN'S SOCIAL SERVICES

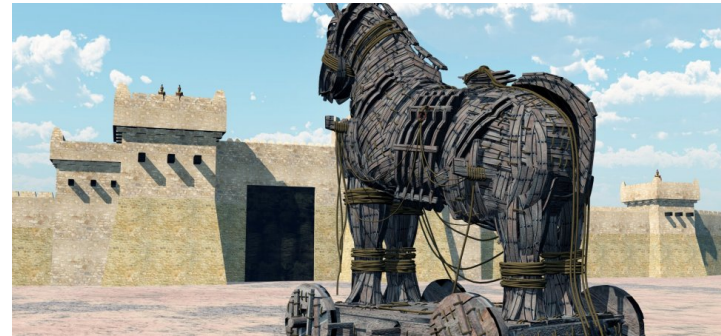
LOOK AT WHAT
HAS ALREADY HAPPENED
IN CHILDREN'S SOCIAL SERVICES



LOOK AT WHAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED

THE POTENTIAL TROJAN HORSES CROSSING THE RUBICON REMOVING STATUTORY CHILDREN'S SOCIAL WORK SERVICES FROM PUBLIC SECTOR LOCAL AUTHORITIES

- RICHMOND AND KINGSTON
- WINDSOR AND MAIDENHEAD
- OTHERS MAKING THEIR PLANS



LOOK AT WHAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED

**THE FORCED AND COERCED REMOVAL
OF STATUTORY CHILDREN'S SOCIAL WORK SERVICES
FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES**

LABOUR-CONTROLLED DONCASTER, SLOUGH, SANDWELL, BIRMINGHAM, READING, SUNDERLAND

LOOK AT WHAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED

THE FORCED AND COERCED REMOVAL OF STATUTORY CHILDREN'S SOCIAL WORK SERVICES FROM LOCAL AUTHORITIES

- LABOUR-CONTROLLED DONCASTER, SLOUGH, SANDWELL, BIRMINGHAM, READING, SUNDERLAND
- CONSERVATIVE-CONTROLLED WORCESTERSHIRE AND NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

[AND REMEMBER MR CAMERON WAS ON A MISSION TO HAVE ALL
CHILDREN'S SOCIAL SERVICES 'ACADEMISED'
AND INTO 'NEWCOs' WITH 'MARKET INSURGENTS' BY 2022]

LOOK AT WHAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED

LOCAL AUTHORITY CHILDREN'S SOCIAL WORKERS

- IN ENGLAND ALMOST 20% OF CHILDREN'S SOCIAL WORKERS ARE INTERIM AGENCY SOCIAL WORKERS PROVIDED THROUGH FOR-PROFIT **PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES**
- JUST TWO [SANCTUARY AND LIQUID PERSONNEL] OF THE MANY EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES ARE EACH MAKING PROFITS OF OVER £2m A YEAR
- THEY PAY EACH OF THEIR SENIOR DIRECTORS OVER £250,000 A YEAR

LOOK AT WHAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED

PRIVATE FOR-PROFIT SECTOR INFILTRATION AND COLONISATION INTO THE CHILDREN'S SERVICES 'INDUSTRY' INCLUDES

- KPMG AND MOTT MACDONALD DEVELOPING **ACCREDITATION PROCESS** FOR SOCIAL WORKERS
- DELOITTE MANAGE THE **CHILDREN'S SERVICES INNOVATION FUND**
- **HEDGE FUND** NOW **FUNDING SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION**
- SOCIAL WORK **PRACTICE AND ORGANISATIONAL MODELS** SUCH AS 'SIGNS OF SAFETY' AND 'RECLAIMING SOCIAL WORK' OWNED AND PROVIDED BY PRIVATE COMPANIES

LOOK AT WHAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED

THE CARE OF LOOKED AFTER CHILDREN

- 72% OF **CHILDREN'S HOMES** NOW PRIVATE 'FOR PROFIT'
- ALMOST HALF OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND PROVIDE NO CHILDREN'S HOMES
- STAFFING LEVELS ARE LOWER IN PRIVATE CHILDREN'S HOMES
- PRIVATE CHILDREN'S HOMES CLUSTERED IN AREAS OF LOW PROPERTY PRICES

- A THIRD OF CHILDREN IN **FOSTER CARE** ARE WITH FOSTER CARERS PROVIDED BY FOR-PROFIT FOSTER CARE AGENCIES
- IN 2015 IT WAS REPORTED THAT 8 FOSTER CARE AGENCIES ALONE (THERE ARE MANY MORE) WERE TAKING PROFITS OF OVER £40m A YEAR FROM CHILDREN'S SOCIAL SERVICES
- PRIVATE FOSTER CARE AGENCIES NOW BEING SOLD ON TO HEDGE FUNDS

**WHY IS THIS NOT A SENSIBLE
DIRECTION OF TRAVEL?**

WHAT THIS MEANS

CONTRACTING OUT WITHIN A MARKET PLACE

- **ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH CONTRACT MANAGEMENT**
- **NO TRANSPARENCY OR OPENESS**
- **NO LOCAL LEADERSHIP OR COMMUNITY COMMITMENT**
- **COMPETITION NOT COOPERATION**
- **CHURN AND COMPLEXITY**

WHAT THIS MEANS

CONTRACTING OUT WITHIN A MARKET PLACE

BUT ALSO

- **THE ADDITIONAL TIME, DISTRACTION AND COSTS OF:**
 - SPECIFYING, TENDERING AND CONTRACT LETTING
 - MANAGING AND REPORTING ON CONTRACTS
 - RE-TENDERING AND RE-LETTING CONTRACTS
 - A ONE-WAY STREET AS LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND OTHER PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONERS LOSE THEIR SERVICE EXPERTISE

WHAT THIS MEANS

CONTRACTING OUT WITHIN A MARKET PLACE

- PRIMACY OF PRICE AND PROFIT
- DOWNSKILLING THE WORKFORCE MIX
- ASSET STRIPPING
- TAKING THE PROFIT AND THEN SELLING ON



**[REMEMBER WHAT HAS ALREADY HAPPENED IN ADULT SOCIAL CARE ...
AND PROBATION]**

WHAT THIS MEANS

CHILDREN ARE BEING PLACED:

- WITH **CARERS UNKNOWN TO [AND UNSEEN BY] THE LOCAL AUTHORITY,**
- **OFTEN AT A DISTANCE,**
- **THROUGH SPOT PURCHASING 'BROKERAGE TEAMS',**
- **BY SHORT-TERM INTERIM AGENCY SOCIAL WORKERS WHO HARDLY KNOW THE CHILDREN AND FAMILIES**
- **AND THE SOCIAL WORKERS LARGELY UNKNOWN TO THE LOCAL AUTHORITY**
- **WHO THEMSELVES ARE MANAGED AND SUPERVISED BY INTERIM AGENCY FRONT-LINE MANAGERS**
- **WITH THE SERVICE LED BY SHORT-TERM SENIOR MANAGERS PROVIDED BY EXECUTIVE RECRUITMENT AGENCIES**

IT DOES NOT HAVE TO BE THIS WAY
NO TO TINA
THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE FUTURE



A COMPARISON BETWEEN A POSITIVE AGENDA AND DIRECTION FOR STATUTORY SOCIAL WORK AND THE PERSONAL SOCIAL SERVICES AND THE CURRENT AGENDA

A POSITIVE FUTURE AGENDA

- **CHAMPIONING SOCIAL WORK'S VALUES**
- ETHICS OF PUBLIC SERVICE
- FOCUS ON FRONT-LINE PRACTICE
- **EMPHASIS ON COLLABORATION**
- **INTEGRATION**
- **FAMILY AND COMMUNITY FOCUS**
- **LOCAL LEADERSHIP AND ACCOUNTABILITY**
- TRANSPARENCY
- SEEKING LESS COMPLEXITY
- SHAPED BY SERVICE PROFESSIONALS
- **SERVICE CONTINUITY**
- **STABILITY**
- IMPROVEMENT FOCUS
- PRIORITISING QUALITY

THE CURRENT AGENDA

- CONCENTRATING ON FINANCIAL VALUE
- ETHICS OF BUSINESS SUCCESS
- FOCUS ON SPREAD SHEET BOTTOM-LINE
- EMPHASIS ON COMPETITION
- FRAGMENTATION
- FINANCE AND COMMERCIAL FOCUS
- REMOTE LEADERSHIP AND OWNERSHIP
- OPAQUENESS
- CREATING MORE COMPLEXITY
- SHAPED BY MANAGEMENT ACCOUNTANTS
- COMPETITIVE CONTRACT CHANGES
- CHURN
- INNOVATION FOCUS
- PRIORITISING CUTTING COSTS

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LEEDS. HAMPSHIRE. IoW. ESSEX. EAST SUSSEX. HERTFORDSHIRE ...

AND LOOK HOW QUICKLY
IT CAN CHANGE!!!!

LOOK HOW QUICKLY IT CAN CHANGE!!!!

2016-2019



SO IT CAN BE DIFFERENT!
AND LET'S KEEP TRYING TO MAKE IT SO

