Error, Blame and Responsibility in Child Welfare: Problematics of Governance in an Invisible Trade

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End of Award Report

Background

The Report into the death of Victoria Climbie marks a watershed for child welfare services in England (Laming 2003). The re-configuration of professional work into formalized “business processes” and a talismanic faith in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) to enable radical organisational change are defining themes of the modernisation agenda in child welfare (Peckover et al., 2008a; 2008b). Such ICTs are exemplified *par excellence* by the Integrated Children’s System (ICS) which is centrally prescribed in England and Wales.

The ICS, which translates professional practice into a range of standardised procedures, workflows, protocols, templates and timescales, aims to produce an audit trail against which key performance targets may be measured. It also aims to enhance reliability and accountability in human performance by reducing variability. These systems, however, create new demands for institutional actors. They have a range of unintended malign consequences, including the exacerbation of ‘latent conditions’ for error (Fish et al., 2008; Munro 2005a; Reason, 2000). To date research offers few insights about how, *in practice*, workers interact with ‘support’ systems and how these impact upon decision-making and professional judgement. This study builds on previous ethnographic work undertaken by members of the team (Hall, Peckover, White), funded by the ESRC e-Society programme (Hall, 2007), which found that whilst the policy rhetoric was considered to have moral value, there was a gap between expectations and the everyday realities of practice, demonstrating the complex dialectics entwining policy implementation and actual outcomes. The current study develops and expands this work by examining in detail the impact of risk and performance management systems on everyday practice. As Horlick-Jones (2005) notes:

> [F]ormal bureaucracy of risk may provide an outward appearance of control and efficiency, while masking a diverse underlying tapestry of emergent practices….Understanding the contours of this sphere of everyday action presents a major research challenge, one with potentially far-reaching practical implications for public and private sector organizations (pp 304-5)

We focus upon the working practices and moral accounts of professionals in their everyday settings to display the unintended effects within the structuring ‘logic’ of the prescribed systems. Practitioners’ situated work of managing risk comprises contingent acts of judgement, discretion and care, which cannot be reduced to standard formulas and algorithms. Whilst technological paraphernalia may help legitimize an external image of social work as rational and efficient, their potential to spawn perverse incentives cannot be underestimated.
Objectives
The initial objectives were as follows:

- To identify processes by which an error comes to be categorised as an incident, which may or may not invoke some formal response by the organisation and/or its partners.
- To classify the ways in which governance is applied to different categories of errors and the consequences of this for supervisory and managerial relationships with front-line practitioners.
- To describe the ways in which the treatment of errors impacts upon risk management, decision-making, and organisational learning and the potential of this to inform better safeguarding in child welfare.
- To analyse decision-making (moral reasoning, causal attributions) in relatively controlled, simulated experiments, enabling a range of relevant factors to be manipulated (e.g. formalisation, responsibility, blame culture, strategic priorities).
- To synthesise findings in order to inform the user-centred design of risk management tools.

The objectives will be addressed in the ‘Results’ section. Whilst we have detailed data on all of these broad domains, we have had to modify our concept of ‘error’ in response to the empirical findings. Error per se is little discussed by social workers or managers, often being glossed over in some pervasive fear of ‘getting it wrong for a child’, or being perceived to have failed to follow procedure. However, risk, blame and the possibility of organizational sanctions are routinely invoked as relevant for social workers and their managers alike.

Thus, we have focused our attention on errors of the latent kind. Derived from systems thinking, these are defined thus:

Latent conditions have two kinds of adverse effect: they can translate into error provoking conditions within the local workplace (for example, time pressure, understaffing, inadequate equipment, fatigue, and inexperience) and they can create long-lasting holes or weaknesses in the defences (untrustworthy alarms and indicators, unworkable procedures, design and construction deficiencies, etc.) (Reason, 2000, p 769).

Our findings show that situated, contingent responses to anxieties about risk, blame and sanction produce latent conditions for error.

Methods
We have used an innovative mixed-methods approach, incorporating institutional ethnography, interviews, documentary analysis, analysis of key indicators in the public domain and a quasi-experimental micro-world simulation.

The Ethnographies
Multi-method ethnographic studies took place from early 2007 to January 2009, in five UK children’s services directorates.

- A London borough (Metroville)
- A county council (Shire)
- A metropolitan borough (Westford)
- A unitary authority (Seaton)
- A Welsh authority (Valleytown)

The ethnographies have involved various levels of engagement across the sites, with access often affected by the authorities’ local pre-occupations, such as preparing for onerous external quality audits (Joint Area Reviews- JARs), undertaking reorganizations, or implementing new ICTs.

Members of the research team have undertaken participant and non-participant observation of management and practice, in key decision making loci, such as the duty desk, the social work ‘referral and assessment’ teams, strategy and review meetings, interactions between team leaders and social workers, middle and senior managers. Interviews (60+) and focus groups (12+) have taken place exploring the ways in which practitioners and managers negotiate the systems and protocols, respond to referrals and make decisions about priorities and interventions. Documentary analysis of electronic case records and paper files has also been undertaken. In total, this has amounted to some 280 days of observation of everyday practice. Transcripts and field notes were uploaded to a dedicated secure project website to allow the research team to share and discuss the data. Regular meetings were held, supported by group e-mail exchange and discussion. Syntheses and draft papers have also been circulated for comment by email to various members of the expert panel identified in the Case for Support.

**Making the Microworld**

Based on the findings from the ethnography, a micro-world simulation has been developed, through which we can study the contents of social workers’ and managers’ reasoning. The Microworld (known as Brigit – a loose acronym of the project title) is based on design principles adapted from Sauer et al. (2000). It has been developed using Visual Basic Express, and runs under Windows XP or Vista.

The micro-world resembles an electronic social care record, with three important differences which have been designed to serve our research requirements.

1. Detailed patterns of interaction with the electronic record can be measured, e.g. the length of time an “initial assessment” or referral document was inspected, or whether an email from the health visitor was read.

2. Information about resources (e.g. foster parent placements) and organisational performance targets can also be made available to be taken into account.

3. The temporal dimension can also be controlled; i.e. cases can be presented in a dynamic, structured chronology with only certain subsets of information
available at any point. Subjects may also be placed under varying degrees of time pressure. This finite “time budget” also provides a methodology for assessing the relative importance of different sources of information by putting a premium on the allocation of viewing time.

The simulation guides subjects through a series of consecutive phases in each case. During each phase, participants have access to all the documentation in the record at this point in time and every interaction with the database is recorded for subsequent analysis. After making sense of the documentation in each phase, they are set a problem to solve, typically involving a decision about a case involving a degree of conflict between child welfare and available resources. They are asked to record their reasoning. Some of these scenarios embody errors, such as developments that were not accurately appraised, or reported by other professionals at the end of the foregoing phase. By asking users to comment on these errors, we are able to gauge characteristic patterns of moral reasoning and accounting, particularly attributions of blame and exoneration, including the impact of externalities such as performance targets and scarce resources. Laboratory experiments are normally associated with a positivist epistemology, but we have adapted these methods to incorporate an interpretive dimension, focusing on the accounts given by subjects. That is, decisions are reviewed with participants, enabling patterns of causal accounting to be explored.

The cases are composed of multi-agency records, written by different hypothetical professionals, each element being available in a different window. Important clues regarding risk are embedded in this “hyper-text” and access to the different sources of information is automatically monitored, enabling measurement of the ordering and duration of access.

**Producing the Case Materials**

We have developed 7 highly detailed cases for the microworld, including cases involving neglect, domestic abuse, substance misuse and/or mental health issues, child with disabilities and incidents leading to swift decisions to institute care proceedings and/or convene child protection case conferences. Establishing the list of potential cases was informed by the fieldwork and drew upon the types of incidents and the problematics of decision making observed within the fieldwork sites.

The next stage in the design process involved the establishment of an overall story for each case. It was necessary to create names and details for the characters, locations and services involved in each case. This process of storyboarding was important as it laid the foundations for a credible fiction for each case, although the level of detail required was initially underestimated. Once the outline story of events as captured by the social work records had been completed, this was used as the basis for the documentation used within the case simulation. This required an engagement with the language and writing practices of professionals (Hall 1997; Hall et al., 2006).

**Results**

Results are mapped against the objectives and relevant academic outputs are indicated with the corresponding number (see Outputs).
In our analyses to date we have concentrated on generic features of practice across the sites, which we argue are systemic effects of the current regime. In subsequent work, for example analysing the data from the microworld, we shall be examining the greater detail the differences between the sites and the candidate reasons for these in relation to organizational resources, team stability, culture and so forth.

**Error and Blame**

As explained, we have shifted our focus from the conventional idea of error to the notion of ‘latent error’ produced as practitioners seek to negotiate inflexible systems and limit the possibility of personal blame. In all sites, we observed workers at the front-door in the ‘referral and assessment teams’ typically receiving over 300 referrals a month, faced acute challenges arising from the competing imperatives to safeguard children and support families, whilst minimising the possibilities of blame for failing to meet performance targets. The Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families (DoH, 2000) defined the initial statutory response to a ‘contact’ or ‘referral’ as a distinct stage and ascribed performance timescales to that activity. Within 1 day of a contact being received, a decision must be made about what response, if any, is required and within 7 days an initial assessment must be complete. All forms are standardised nationally. The integrated children’s system (ICS) has configured the processes electronically, creating new and consequential demands.

These demands have led to a number of ‘workarounds’ in some of our sites where new activities like ‘passed to team’ have evolved to enable more information to be sought before committing a decision to the system. Similarly, we noted in some of our sites that in order to meet the 7 day deadline, the initial assessment was ‘signed off’ as complete after the child had been seen, rather than at the point when the paperwork was completed. However, such ‘workarounds’, themselves create the conditions for future blame from an inspectorial regime charged with checking that standardized processes have been followed. Where initial assessment identifies the need for a ‘core assessment’ (a much more detailed report about the child’s development) this must be completed on an electronic template within 35 days. In this context, rapid decisions are required to identify the relevant from the non-relevant, the high from the low priority, all within strict timescales. Data input demands erode face-to-face time with children and their parents/carers, with social workers spending between 60 and 80% of their time on recording (self-report and detailed observation).

The particular demands that face the longer-term teams arise from the competing demands of resource, performance and risk imperatives. Where children are subject to child protection plans, workers are required to put together tight packages of support to ensure the management of risks which are also strictly time-limited. Cases that are not ‘resolved’ within twelve months, either by way of initiation of care proceedings or case closure may be deemed examples of poor practice, given that the performance system counts the number of children who are subject to child protection plans in consecutive years (31st March). Local Authorities who can count a high number of this category (sometimes referred to as re-registrations) render themselves liable to increased Ofsted scrutiny. Families with long-standing difficulties, such as parental illness, many of whom will have difficulty in engaging with plans, do not easily fit into the performance framework. We noted practitioners found difficulty working to the standardised and ‘e-configured’ domains of the Assessment
Framework, but risked sanction where they deviated too far from the framework, albeit with good intentions. The detailed requirements of child protection plans to monitor the family’s compliance (check the child’s room, see the child alone, check if there is food in the house etc.) and record such ‘statutory visits’ on the system, structured the nature of the contact, often undermining relational work.

The aggregation of targets and timetables results in the comparison and publication of performance indicators for particular teams, sectors and local authorities. These performance indicators are scrutinised at all levels – by team managers, senior local authority staff, local politicians, inspectorates and national government audit. Our findings indicate that performance requirements in themselves create further loci for (latent) error and manifest blame.

Governance and the Curtailment of Discretion

The ‘street-level bureaucrat’ (SLB) was first described by Michael Lipsky to refer to the fact that front-line workers have considerable discretion in carrying out their duties. Operating within rules which never quite fit the singularity of local circumstances, the SLB is obliged to make sense of the directives, rules and procedures as they apply to the individual case. In terms of cybernetics, this is a reflection of the Law of Requisite variety, coined by the British psychiatrist W. Ross Ashby (1956). Discretion is not some incidental feature, it is fundamental to the operation of any “viable system”. The Law proclaims “Only variety absorbs variety”. Rules, policies and procedures are all abstractions and intrinsically lack variety; intelligent human agents provide the necessary “variety amplifiers” (Beer, 1994) which enable the rules to be applied effectively.

The formalising tendencies inherent in current reforms thus pose a significant challenge to the SLB, usurping their essential discretion through increased audit and procedural control embodied in mandatory ICT systems. This tension has been recently examined by Evans and Harris who argue that the situation is not one of simple ‘curtailment’, but there are ‘gradations of power’ between managers and professionals, and that discretion is not ‘an all-or-nothing phenomenon’ (2004, p.881). Our findings are less optimistic. The pace of modernisation has continued unabated; performance management has taken a stronger hold. Our findings show that procedures and rules (inscribed in ICTs) increasingly constrain what can be done. Whilst we saw many examples, as we have discussed above, of artful ‘workarounds’ emerging, for example to circumvent timescales, the embedding of the performance management framework in ICT has increased the ‘visibility’ of certain auditable aspects of the work and this has resulted in a noticable curtailment of discretion. With anxieties about blame and sanctions it may feel safer to follow procedures, even those which do not seem rational, than to challenge those procedures. Compliance has become an everyday fact of life, with frequent references in social workers’ talk to having ‘workflowed’, or ‘outcomed’ cases, which means they have been able to move them through the rigidly prescribed pathways in the IT ‘process models’. Local context matters and team cultures are crucially important: for example, some managers are more willing to support workarounds than others.
Risk as a Negotiated Phenomenon

Children’s social care is saturated by the language and techniques of risk. From actuarial risk assessment schedules to centrally mandated templates for core assessment in longer-term work, the presence of a risk apparatus that bears the stamp of instrumental rationality is wide-spread. However, as we found from detailed analysis of practitioners’ talk about their work, there is much more to the day-to-day management of risk. Practitioners’ work of risk management, whilst arguably, shaped and constrained by this standardising apparatus, defies its totalising potential. Abstract bureaucratic rules might seek to erase variability in human performance, but the interactive quality of social work practice renders it an essentially social, interpretive and interactive enterprise, in which both the logics and strategies of risk management are fundamentally contingent. We found that the management of risk results from the contextual detail of the case - ‘risk trade-offs’ are calculated and made in each and every situation, having as much to do with dialogue and the quality of relationships, as this or that formal procedure.

We observed practitioners shifting between a range of risk management strategies and resources. For example, practitioners understood the need to complete and log risk assessment schedules, paying due regard to the demands of protocol. However, they were clear about the limits of procedure and that other ‘work’ was required to assess the case and make decisions. We have produced the following typology of aspects of risk-management in children’s social work:

1. The logics of risk management strategies are emergent/contingent – they arise in relation to particular cases as reflexive, individualised and tailored responses.
2. Risk assessment practices are embedded in social relations – team culture, client-worker relationships create unique contingencies.
3. A multiplicity of rationalities are invoked that go beyond purely instrumental concerns, calling on human virtues of compassion, empathy and a sense of responsibility for others.

Top down approaches to risk management, that are now more difficult to ‘workaround’ in the context of ICS, inhibit effective and skilled professional risk management practices. These arise from careful analysis, balancing and trade offs which are negotiated anew on each and every case – and subject to reflexive review. The curtailment of the reflexive, dialogical spaces necessary to undertake this work thus increase the likelihood of error.

Decision-Making in the Microworld

The design and development of the microworld has been a significant undertaking, taking rather longer than anticipated. The production of a set of realistic cases has been very labour intensive. Negotiating access for on-site testing caused further delays. There have also been difficulties recruiting “subjects” as staff are under severe pressure and struggle to take 2 hours from their day to undertake the exercise. Nonetheless a full experiment has been undertaken, using one of the cases (the
Bradley-Taylor twins). 11 social workers have been tested, 5 on-site in Metroville, the others on university premises, hailing from Shire, Westford and Seaton.

The experiment provides proof-of-concept for the microworld. All subjects found the experience convincing, became thoroughly engaged in carrying out the task, and generated rich data as a result. At the end of sessions, users were debriefed and proffered a range of very constructive technical suggestions for enhancing the usability and functionality of the software, most of which have been incorporated in the final design of Brigit. The need to integrate and synchronise real-time chronologies with source documents is perhaps the best example of this. As a result, Brigit is superior in certain technical respects to many commercial systems currently deployed. This is highly significant for the case argued below regarding user-centred design and an important research result in its own right.

The microworld allows the case content to be held constant across operational sites. Striking contrasts in local culture were thus revealed. Social workers from Metroville showed consistently more emphasis upon careful assessment and social work involvement throughout the test case with a general move towards a Core Assessment at a much earlier stage. Less concern was shown to categorise cases (e.g. as child-in-need or child protection) with a stronger emphasis on the need to make professional sense of the case. Our other subjects seemed more preoccupied with constructing the case in terms of the parent/family/environmental issues, with little if any mention of the child in their responses. Adverse comments were made on targets throughout, though there were important nuances. In Metroville, the sense was that targets were an impediment to be circumvented, whereas remarks by subjects from the other sites depicted targets as directly driving practice. Although we have limited data at this point, these results are suggestive and confirm the value of the microworld as a research tool.

Brigit also enables patterns of interaction with the electronic file system to be monitored and quantified. It provides information in two main channels: a chronological list of key events (the running record) and a list of source documents (letters, reports etc.). Preliminary results show two main reading patterns:

1. Users show a strong preference for the running record, reading source documents very selectively

2. Users prioritize the source documentation.

These preliminary findings demonstrate the value of information on the dynamics of reading behaviour, not only to gain better theoretical understanding of the cognitive psychology of case comprehension, but to use this knowledge to inform the design of more effective electronic documentation systems. The results suggest that mechanisms for directly influencing reading behaviour (e.g. encouraging a more systematic approach) could be useful; the microworld would allow this hypothesis to be empirically tested in terms of case comprehension, quality of decision-making and acceptability to users.

Policy Implementation and User-Centred Design (UCD)
Important public policy implications flow from our work. We noted in the Introduction the gap between policy rhetoric and the everyday realities of practice, alluding to complex dialectics entwining policy implementation and actual outcomes. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11

Our work shows that there are certainly more effective ways of effecting public sector reform than the top-down model. Policy objectives rely on the responsible use of professional judgement by committed staff if they are to achieve their intended aims. As our analysis of risk practices has found, professional judgements cannot simply be condensed to procedure and protocol. There are very significant risks inherent in ‘automating’ professional practice. As Hubbard et al. (2006, p. 240) note “implementation dominates outcome” in the policy world. Reform-as-learning provides an alternative approach based on mutual learning, and has been shown to be efficacious in the educational domain (ibid) where top-down methods have failed.

From a design perspective, the possibility of alternative, more effective, methods are opened up. We have argued in several outputs for a sociotechnical approach to the design (STSD) of systems in the public services. Core principles of STSD include: user participation, minimum critical specification and the optimization of local autonomy (Pava, 1983; Mumford, 2003). Above all, it is essential to focus the design of systems on the needs of users, founded on a rigorous understanding of their working practices (Norman, 1998). Failure to involve users in the development of systems inevitably engenders alienation, and there were unmistakable signs of practitioner disquiet (complaints of additional workload and excessive “bureaucratization”) in early studies of the ICS (Cleaver and Walker, 2004; Cleaver et al., 2008; Bell et al, 2007). These early warning signals apparently went unheeded, and were attributed to implementation problems and user resistance. As a result, the strictures of the work regime imposed by ICS not only produced unsafe practices but are now provoking overt resistance from the workforce (Unison, 2008).

Systems and technologies can be developed which both assist the users in their daily work and achieve desired organizational goals, but without an ethnographically-informed understanding of human practice (as our research provides), this virtuous circle will not be achieved. There are parallel examples of similar problems in other large scale IT-enabled modernization projects, such as National Programme for Information Technology (NPfIT) in the NHS, which Eason (2007) argues has generally followed a “push strategy, leaving little room for local design”. He argues a similar case for a flexible socio-technical approach, based squarely on user needs.

With other interested academics and enthusiastic LAs, the team are in the process of developing an application for follow-on funding to make use of ‘Brigit’ to undertake user-centred design (Munro, 2005b).

**Activities**

The team have presented findings at 6 international conferences and 12 UK conferences. The audiences included practitioners and policy makers. Full details of these events are given in Appendix 1.
Seminars have been presented at the Universities of Sussex, Brunel, Kingston, NUI Galway, Cardiff, Salford and Kent County Council and at the “Destructive Innovation” event at the Social Study of ICT workshop, LSE (April 2009).

**Outputs**

*Bright Microworld* – this and the simulated cases will be made available to all our sites for their own use. The software will be made freely available, upon application, to any interested *bona fide* researcher. It is planned to develop further cases in future research.

**Media and Professional**


**Academic**


‘Child Welfare and the informal logics of risk management’. British Journal of
Social Work Special Issue (under review).

paradoxical outcomes in the e-government reform of UK children’s services.
In Dhillon, G. et al (Eds). The role of IS in leveraging the intelligence and
creativity in SMEs. Springer, in press.

Management in UK Child Welfare: Causes and Consequences of Injudicious
Policy-Making. Chapter commissioned by Prof Holger Zeigler, University of
Beilefeld for German book to be published by Waxmann.

11. Pithouse, A; White, S.; Broadhurst, K; Hall, C and Wastell, D. 'No credit for child
care social work: the (mis) management of discretion through new
technologies of control', shortly to be submitted to Critical Social Policy

Impacts
The case of Baby P. and subsequent media coverage have brought the research to
attention of politicians, policy-makers and the mass media. There has been very
extensive media coverage of the study. Selected examples are given in Appendix 2.
The research has been cited in the examination of Ed Balls, Secretary of State by the
Select Committee for Children, Schools and Families. Sue White has been appointed
to the Social Work Task Force, Chaired by Moira Gibb, charged with addressing the
whole range of issues relating to the future of social work in England. She is part of
the Integrated Children’s System (ICS) subgroup of the task force which is addressing
the systemic problems created by aspects of the current design. Government has
announced that there is to be a review of the ways in which systems of performance
management and the practice model embedded in the ICS are affecting practice.

Future Research Priorities
The microworld has been included in the methods to be used in a successful bid for a
CASE studentship with one of our sites and as part of a submitted bid under the ESRC
Finnish/UK bilateral fund.

Work has been commissioned by one of our sites (Shire, a large and diverse county
council) to deploy the microworld with their safeguarding staff to explore decision-
making and safe systemic practice. A follow-on application to ESRC is in process to
undertake 'engagement/knowledge transfer' with this site.

Pithouse will be submitting a bid to the forthcoming call from WORD (Wales Office
for Research and Development) with a view to undertaking further fieldwork on risk,
technology and the discretion/blame axes, also making use of Brigit.

We have detailed above our intention also to apply for follow-on funding to explore
user-centred design. This will be alongside a planned EPSRC proposal on the design
of an electronic documentation system for social care.

It is intended to develop a research community around the use of Brigit for research,
pedagogic and design purposes. The Social Care Institute for Excellence and the
Higher Education Academy, Social Work and Policy (SWAP) are involved in this
activity.
Ethics
Approval was granted through the procedures in each local authority. Ethical approval was granted by the Universities of Huddersfield, Cardiff and Lancaster for ethnographic and experimental aspects of the study. NHS ethical approval was obtained for the Metroville site, where multi-professional meetings involving NHS staff were observed.

References


http://www.unison.org.uk/acrobat/B4364b.pdf
Appendix 1: Conference Papers


3. Pithouse, A. (June 2009) International Conference of Social Work and Counselling, City University Hong Kong ICT and the common assessment – key messages from research in Wales and England (Keynote)


Sociological Association Research Committee 33 (RC33) On “Logic and Method in Sociology” September 1-5, 2008 Naples, Italy


Appendix 2: Mass Media


2. 16/11/08 Research cited , A child in need. Scotland on Sunday http://news.scotsman.com/comment?articleid=4698613


5. 19/11/08 Evening Standard (letters) Response to Ed Balls’ proposed reforms to Children’s Trusts


7. 19/11/08 Research cited, We are truly sorry: council leader heckled over first apology for death of Baby P.’ The Times http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article5184326.ece


9. 20/11/08 Research cited Contactor UK, IT in the dock over the death of Baby P.


11. 23/11/08 Research cited, Birmingham Post


13. 24/11/08 Interview on Baby P. and Child Protection, BBC Radio Lancashire, Breakfast Show with Tony Livesey

14. 24/11/08 Comment: “Social workers cannot be out seeing families while they are in the office inputting data.” Family Law Week

16. 5/12/08 *Computer Weekly*, ICS and Baby P. What role did it play?  
   [http://www.computerweekly.com/Articles/2008/12/05/233743/ics-and-baby-p-what-role-did-it-play.htm](http://www.computerweekly.com/Articles/2008/12/05/233743/ics-and-baby-p-what-role-did-it-play.htm)

17. 15/12/08 Computer System Fails the Children it was Designed to Protect  

18. 15/12/08 Warning over social work software, *Channel 4 News*,  

19. 22/12/08 Are computer systems failing vulnerable children? *Huddersfield Examiner*

20. 12/2/09 Research cited in interview with Ed Balls Secretary of State for Children Schools and Families, Radio 4, PM

21. 15/2/09 The 228 child deaths they didn’t tell you about, David Rose, *Live Magazine, The Mail on Sunday*