Child protection, social work reform and intervention

Research priorities and questions

March 2014

Contents

General approach to research needs and priorities

This paper is one of a series of 15 which aims to:

- promote the importance of robust quantitative evidence, in combination with other methods, to increase understanding of 'what works' in education and children's services;
- identify evidence gaps and promote discussion of them with the research community, practitioners and other stakeholders;
- initiate collaboration with the research community, practitioners and other stakeholders to research these issues; and,
- support work that helps understand and tackle the barriers to evidence based practice, including how to make evidence accessible to practitioners.

The principles behind the Department's research strategy are inspired by Ben Goldacre's vision[1] in the Department for Education Analytical Review[2]. In future, the development and use of evidence should be increasingly driven and owned by the research community, sector bodies and practitioners.

The published suite of priority and question papers between them cover the department's key areas of work and provides a coherent strategic context for the research community, sector bodies and practitioners as well as the department, to plan and prioritise research. The department will continue to commission research, informed by the published priority questions

Views about the research questions and priority papers, recent findings, on-going research or evidence gaps are warmly welcomed. We will also be arranging a series of discussions throughout 2014 with practitioners, the research community and other stakeholders to discuss views and help shape departmental plans to filling evidence gaps. If you want to be involved please email us at: Research.PRIORITIES@education.gsi.gov.uk, follow us on Twitter (@educationgovuk) or like us on Facebook (www.facebook.com/educationgovuk).

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[1] Goldacre, B.(2013), Building Evidence into Education
[2] The Department for Education (2013), Analytical Review: The Department

Child protection, social work reform, intervention and improvement: the policy context

Protection from abuse and neglect is a fundamental right of all children.[3] The NSPCC report, *How safe are our children?,* concluded that while there is still much to do, in some ways today's children are safer from abuse and neglect than those of previous generations. The child homicide rate is in decline and fewer children are dying as a result of assault or suicide.[4] The numbers of deaths reviewed by the child death overview panel as being due to 'deliberately inflicted injury, abuse or neglect' has remained relatively stable with 50 deaths in the year to March 2013, 43 in the year to March 2012, and 47 in the year to March 2011. There is excellent work from dedicated individuals, agencies and local authorities (LAs) which improves the lives of children and families. However, for some children the system is failing. At times social work practice is not good enough: sometimes LAs deliver an inadequate service and children's voices are not heard until too late.[5] Successive serious case reviews (SCRs) have identified such failures for individual children. Ofsted inspections of child protection and safeguarding judged that, as of January 2014, 21 LAs were 'inadequate', 64 'adequate', 62 'good' and just 5 'outstanding'.

This is why the Department is seeking significant improvements in six areas:

- improving the overall quality of day to day social work practice, so that: social workers and other professionals are able to identify signs of abuse and neglect early: are able to assess the needs of children and their families effectively – with support from appropriate tools and from strong and effective supervision; share information effectively and appropriately within and between organisations; and develop interventions that are effective in improving the lives of the children they are intended to help;
- ensuring that social work training and induction provide a strong grounding for successful social work careers in the challenging environments of children's social work and of child protection in particular;
- developing an evidenced-based approach, and a learning culture so that good practice is built on, and lessons from serious case reviews and from wider evidence of failure are used across the system to avoid a recurrence of problems identified;
- encouraging and spreading innovative practice and exploring new models of delivery and delivery structures so that LAs are better able to move from satisfactory to good and excellent performance;

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[3] UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, The Children Act 1989 and 2004.
[4] NSPCC (2013) How safe are our children?
[5] Ofsted's Annual Social Care Report 2012/13

- where there is failure in LAs, facilitating a rapid turn-around in the quality of services through intensive intervention, new delivery structures and the creation of innovative partnerships; and
- helping to improve the leadership of children's services, so that it is better able to drive its own improvement.

Research will play a central part in driving policy in each of these areas, but the evidence base is variable across these issues and in none of the six areas is it comprehensive.

Research Summary and Gaps

Child protection

Children suffering or at risk of abuse or neglect need to be identified early and provided with appropriate support to help prevent problems from escalating and give them the best chance to thrive in life.[6] 593,500 referrals were made to children's social care during 2012-13, a slight decrease over the previous year. In March 2013, 378,600 children were assessed as being in need of support (CIN) and 43,100 children were the subject of a Child Protection Plan (CPP).[7] Just a third (33.7%) of children in need achieve 5+ A*-C at Key Stage 4 compared to 81.1% of all children.[8]

The negative impact of abuse and neglect on children's developmental trajectories and outcomes has been described in a wide range of literature.[9] [10] Brown and Ward's overview of research on the impact of abuse and neglect on children's long-term development concluded that service responses are often out of kilter with children's timescales and it is of the utmost importance that children are assessed and decisions made in a manner that responds more closely to their needs.[11] Similarly Professor Eileen Munro's independent review concluded that child protection had lost its focus on the needs and experience of the individual child and had become too focused on compliance and procedures.[12]

There is extensive research about factors that can impair parental capacity to meet children's needs, including drug and alcohol misuse, domestic violence, mental illness and learning disabilities, particularly where these factors occur in combination.[13] An overview of the research, including evidence around the effectiveness of interventions to support parental change, is due to be published by the Department in 2014. This suggests that, although a range of materials for assessment have been developed, most

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[6] Hildyard, K.L. and Wolfe, D.A. (2002) 'Child neglect: developmental issues and outcomes. Child Abuse and Neglect 26, 679-695.

[7] DfE (2013) Characteristics of Children in Need in England 2012-13

[8] Additional data is provided at annex A

[9] Norman RE, Byambaa M, De R, Butchart A, Scott J, et al. (2012) The Long-Term Health Consequences of Child Physical Abuse, Emotional Abuse, and Neglect: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. PLoS Med 9(11): e1001349. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1001349.

[10] Van IJzendoorn, M.H., Schuengel, C. and Bakermans -Kranenburg, M.J. (1999) Disorganized attachment in early childhood: Meta-analysis of precursors, concomitants, and sequelae. Development and Psychopathology 11, 225-249

[11] Brown, R. and Ward, H. (2012) Decision-making within a child's timeframe: an overview of current research evidence for family justice professionals concerning child development and the impact of maltreatment' Childhood Wellbeing Research Centre, Working Paper No 16

[12] Professor Munro published her final report *A child centred system* in May 2011. Government published its formal response in July 2011 and in May 2012 Professor Munro published her progress report *Moving towards a child centred system.* Professor Munro's reports available on GOV.UK website

[13] Cleaver, Unell and Aldgate (2011) Children's Needs – Parenting Capacity.

need further validation and/or translation and trialling in a UK context. Robust evidence around 'what works' in terms of interventions to support parents is limited, as is evidence about the impact of different models of assessment. There is a particular paucity, for example, of evidence around the efficacy of interventions with perpetrators of domestic violence. [14]

The *Safeguarding Children Research Initiative (SCRI)* reported that children could be better protected in three key areas: identification and initial response to abuse; effective interventions after abuse or its likelihood has been identified; and effective inter-agency and inter-disciplinary working to safeguard children. [15]

Identifying abuse and neglect and understanding when to take action remains a difficult area for practitioners. This is particularly so in cases of emotional abuse or neglect.[16] In addition, for certain groups of children, such as adolescents, responding to neglect can present particular challenges. They may, for example, signal neglect by exhibiting behaviours which are harmful to them and/or are considered anti-social. They may also be exposed to increased risks within the community linked to their increasing independence.[17]

Knowing when, what and how to refer, and making that referral swiftly, is fundamental to ensure the right level of support and intervention is provided to children in need or at risk of harm.[18] Government guidance is already clear that, where people working with children have a safeguarding concern, they should report to children's social care.[19] However, a number of Serious Case Reviews (SCRs) have identified failures to report.[20] This may be due to the difficulty in identifying signs of need or harm (such as neglect), to a lack of clear referral procedures, or to cultural and institutional factors in specific regulated settings. We need to know more about these barriers and how to address them to ensure consistently high quality and timely referrals in all cases.Ofsted's thematic review of neglect, due to be published later this year, will note the challenges to effective practice including properly taking into account family history, understanding the impact of neglect on the child, and cases drifting or being delayed resulting in children's social care

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[14] Ward, H., Hyde-Dryden, G. and Brown, R. (forthcoming) Assessing Parental Capacity-to-Change when Children are on the Edge of Care: an overview of current research evidence

[15] The key messages from these studies are summarised in the research overview; Davies, C. and Ward, H. (2012) Safeguarding Children Across Services: Messages from Research, London: Jessica Kingsley Publications.

[16] Daniel, B. Taylor, J. and Scott, J. (2011) Recognizing and Helping the Neglected child: Evidence -Based Practise. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

17 Rees, G., Stein, M., Hicks, L. and Gorin, S. (2011) Adolescent Neglect: Research, Policy and Practise. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

[18] The Munro review of child protection: final report - a child-centred system

[19] DfE (2013) Working Together to Safeguard Children 2013

[20] NSPCC - National repository of published case reviews

not always taking the right action at the right time and missing opportunities for care proceedings.[21] A number of additional reasons for delay in children's services and the family justice system have been identified, such as a temporary solutions identified by children's services to reduce the pressure to resolve a crisis resulting in case drift, issues around resourcing and the use of expert witnesses and dispute resolution. [22] [23]

In response to these issues the Department has published training materials to help staff identify and respond early to neglect.[24] The Department is also funding a two year project to implement evidence-based practice through multi-agency training to identify and respond to signs of neglect.[25] It is also working with a panel of experts to identify indicators of neglect in younger children (due to report in spring 2014). In order to better to understand which factors contribute to error it is bringing greater rigour and scrutiny to the serious case review process, including through the establishment of a national panel to advise LSCBs, training for SCR authors, and a national SCR repository.

In March 2013 the Department published revised statutory guidance, *Working Together to Safeguard Children,* removing the statutory distinction between initial and core assessments. [26] It is currently trialling the removal of other statutory timescales, to allow cases to be driven by the child's needs rather than arbitrary timescales, and an evaluation of the trial is due to report in the summer. The Department is working with the Ministry of Justice and the Family Justice Board on data and research needs arising from the Government's reforms to the family justice system[27] and with NICE who are developing guidance and quality standards for social care in England. As part of this NICE are developing guidance on identifying and responding to abuse and neglect of children and young people for practitioners working in all health and social care settings.[28] The Department is also part of the advisory group for a research programme on 'adolescent neglect' which The Children's Society is conducting in partnership with the University of York.[29]

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[21] Ofsted's thematic review *'In The Child's Time- Professional Responses to Neglect'* due to be published on Ofsted's website later this year.

[22] Ofsted (2012) Right on Time: Exploring Delays in Adoption

[23] McKeigue, B. and Beckett, C. (2010) 'Squeezing the toothpaste tube: Will tackling court delay result in pre-court delay in its place?' British Journal of Social Work 40, 154-169

[24] The neglect training materials and resources, published June 2012, are available on the DfE website

[25] Further information about the Child and Family Neglect Training and project outcomes can be found on their website

[26] Working Together to Safeguard Children 2013 is available on the DfE website

[27] More information about family justice reforms is available on GOV.UK

[28] This work is due to be published in 2016 following consultation, more information is available on the NICE website

[29] The overarching objectives for this research are to increase understanding and awareness and make workable recommendations for how to improve policy and practice around child neglect.

Social work reform

Social workers operate in a pressurised environment where decisions often have to be made with insufficient, unreliable, missing or conflicting information.30 Research conducted for the Department for Education by the Cabinet Office Behavioural Insights Team also identified a range of behavioural biases (such as confirmation bias) that might affect social workers' ability to make objective judgments.[31]

A review of assessment models found that 'structured' analysis and decision-making tools have the potential to *support* professional judgment, but not to act as a substitute for it.[32] To help fill the gap in evidence and build the assessment evidence base the Department is working with NSPCC on research around the effectiveness of the graded care profile and on pre-birth assessment. In addition, the Department is funding a Randomised Control Trial of the Safeguarding Assessment and Analysis Framework (SAAF).[33] The Department is also collecting new data on the source of referral and factors identified at assessment – for example, concerns about the child due to domestic violence – due to be published in autumn 2014.[34]

Assessment requires high professional skill. We are seeking to improve the skills, knowledge and understanding of social workers and boosting the calibre of new entrants. A review of social work training by Sir Martin Narey found university standards to be of variable quality and in some cases entry requirements to be too low.[35]

Reform of the social work training system will be led by the Chief Social Worker for Children and Families. Since 2010 the Government has spent more than £256 million on

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[30] Budd, K .S, 2005, Assessing parenting capacity in a child welfare context. Children and Youth Services Review 27,429-444.

Gambrill, E, 2005, Critical thinking in clinical practice Improving the quality of judgments and decisions (2nd ed), New York John Wiley & Sons,

Munro E, 1999, Common errors of reasoning in in child protection work. Child abuse and neglect, 23, 745-758.

Webb, S, 2002 Evidenced based practice and decision analysis in social work. An implementation model. Journal of Social work 2,45-63

[31] Publication of initial findings forthcoming

[32] Barlow, Jane, Fisher, Joanne D. and Jones, David (2012) Systematic review of models of analysing significant harm. Oxford University: Department for Education.

[33] Developed in the UK, SAAF is a comprehensive, consensus-based, family strengths and needs assessment tool used at the point the child is subject to a section 47 (child protection) inquiry. It comprises 120 assessment items over 20 domains. The information gathered is analysed to make judgements on the overall level of risk of harm to the child and the prospects for successful intervention. SAAF will be randomly assigned to social workers in trial areas. Their child protection results will then be compared with those using alternative existing approaches. The first outputs are expected in spring 2015. More information about RCTs and this work is available on GOV.UK website

[34] These data were identified as key missing data as part of Professor Munro's review of child protection. Information about the additional factors identified as part of assessment is available on .GOV.UK website

[35] Narey (2014) Making the education of social workers consistently effective

social work training, including Step Up to Social Work and the development of Frontline. We have some evidence of the effectiveness of a number of social work training programmes; however the messages about what is effective are mixed. Participant feedback from Step Up to Social Work cohorts 1 and 2 is highly positive, with over 96% of completers saying the training had prepared them adequately or better for practice as a NQSW. The programme was valued by employers and thought to have generated high calibre new entrants to the profession. The Frontline initiative is due to be evaluated from 2014 and may generate a tool to assess the quality of individual participants' practice, which if successful could be used in other contexts to gauge professional practice.

The evaluation of the NQSW programme, which looked at the findings of the first three years of the NQSW programme 2008-2011, found it to be successful in increasing skills and confidence of NQSWs and enabled more focused support for them. However the effects on retention and recruitment of the NQSW programme and a subsequent Early Professional Development Pilot which helped support social workers in their second and third years were not clear. [36] [37]

There is a high turnover of social workers,[38] a short working life (estimated as an average of just eight years in the UK),[39] and perhaps in consequence a shortage of experienced social workers in England,[40] which can result in NQSWs dealing with complex cases too early in their career. High caseloads can also contribute to early departures from child protection work. The impact of these factors on practice and difficulties with retention is a concern in a number of developed countries, including Sweden, the USA and Australia. Research in this area indicated that interventions addressing organisational and administrative factors (rather than individual employee factors) produced stronger effects in preventing undesirable turnover.[41]

There is a lack of basic data on the number and characteristics of children and family social workers in England, including information about their qualifications, age, recruitment and retention patterns, pay and career progression, and reasons for local variations. A new Departmental data collection has been developed to collect

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[36] Carpenter et al (2012) Newly Qualified Social Worker (NQSW) Programme Final Evaluation Report (2008 to 2011)

[37] Carpenter et al (2013) Early Professional Development Pilot Programme - Final Evaluation Report

[38] Harlow, E. (2004) 'Why don't women want to be social workers anymore? New managerialism, postfeminism and the shortage of social workers in social services departments in England and Wales', European Journal of Social Work, 7(2), pp. 167–79.

[39] Curtis, L., Moriarty, J. and Netten, A. (2010) 'The expected working life of a social worker', British Journal of Social Work, 40(5), pp. 1628–43.

[40] A Local Government Association survey from 2009 available on their website reported children's services reporting difficulties in both the recruitment and retention of children's social workers.

[41] Webb & Carpenter (2011) What Can Be Done to Promote the Retention of Social Workers? A Systematic Review of Interventions, *British Journal of Social Work,* 41(7)

information from LAs about their social workers including numbers of social workers, vacancies, new starters and leavers and use of agency staff. [42]

There is also little evidence about the role of front line managers, how this role is delivered in different LAs, capability levels and turnover. We know a range of factors may help retention and that high turnover can result in reliance on agency social workers to deliver services.[43] However, there is limited robust evidence about social worker turnover and career progression, why social workers leave the profession, where they go, and to which positions it is hardest to recruit. [44]

One of the focuses of the Department's innovation programme [45] will be to test models of working which encourage the retention of experienced social workers in front line practice.

Intervention & improvement

The Department intervenes in LAs where there are statutory failings in their provision of child protection, looked after children and adoption services. The Department is currently intervening in 25 LAs. Seven have been formally directed to take improvement action using the Secretary of State's statutory powers, while 18 have non statutory improvement notices. Since May 2010, 23 have been supported to leave formal intervention. On average, discounting some LA outliers, the length of time to see improvements to an adequate level is about 18 months. However, there is a lack of robust evidence about the effectiveness of different delivery models.[46]

Ofsted's annual social care report highlighted stable leadership as being particularly important in driving improvement. In LAs judged inadequate inspectors saw little evidence of a shared vision between front-line staff or key partners, an unclear expectation of performance and underdeveloped relationships with statutory partners both professional and strategic.[47]

It is important that innovation and improvement are fostered, not just in the weaker authorities or in response to failure, but also in stronger LAs. In October 2013 the

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[42] Information about the data collection can be found on the DfE website These data will be available March 2014.

[43] Baginsky (2013) Retaining experienced social workers in children's services: the challenge facing LAs in England

[44] Baginsky (2013) op cit

[45] More information about the innovation programme can be found in the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State Edward Timpson's speech at the National Children and Adult Services Conference available on .GOV.UK website

[46] The evaluation of delivery models in education, published September 2009, is available on the .GOV.UK website

[47] Ofsted (2103) annual social care report

Department announced the children's services innovation programme to act as a catalyst for developing innovative ways of supporting vulnerable children.[48]

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[48] If you have an idea that could transform the lives of vulnerable children please contact DfE at CS.innovationprogramme@education.gsi.gov.uk and tell us what your idea is trying to address, how it would work, and why you think it is likely to succeed.

Future research priorities

The research questions identified below have been formulated to help identify where further analytical and evaluative work might most usefully be focused – whether that work is undertaken by government, by independent researchers, or by LAs and agencies themselves. We also need to understand how these issues vary across England's LAs, child protection agencies, front line workforce and leaders. These questions are intended to be reiterated at regular intervals, as gaps are addressed and new areas for investigation arise.

Child protection

- How could professional awareness of abuse and neglect be improved to achieve more appropriate referrals, and what motivates professionals to refer, or not?
- What are the barriers which prevent professionals who work with children referring safeguarding concerns about individual children to social services in an effective and timely manner?
- What interventions – including training, new procedures or regulations and legal requirements – have been shown to be most effective in improving the quality and consistency of referrals?
- What are the factors most likely to lead to abuse and neglect and how can these be used as indicators for intervention?
- Which factors improve the quality and timeliness of social worker decision making?
- What impact do different models of inter-agency working and inter-agency information sharing have on the quality and timeliness of decision making?
- What can we learn from models of management, feedback and supervision in other professions in the UK and internationally?
- Which tools and assessment methods best support social workers robustly to analyse and interpret information?
- What are the most effective ways of ensuring that knowledge from research and from best practice elsewhere influences social work practice?
- Which factors determine interpretations of thresholds for statutory intervention, between LAs and between LA practitioners and other professional groups? What is the impact of the different thresholds?
- What is the evidence base for successful interventions designed to prevent child abuse or neglect or to mitigate its impact, and what have been the implementation issues?
- What is the correlation between LAs' spending on child protection and social care interventions and the impact and effectiveness of children's services?

Social work reform

- What are the skills and knowledge needed to be an effective social worker? What are the skills gaps for existing social workers?
- What is the most effective way to train a social worker and what are the best methods for testing a social worker's competence? What works most effectively to improve skills, knowledge and understanding of social workers already in the profession?
- What are the most effective approaches for attracting and retaining high quality social workers and front line managers?
- Which workplace factors provide optimum conditions for social workers

Intervention & improvement

- What are the common factors that make for successful children's social care services - how do they become 'self-improving'?
- Which factors support a local authority to improve rapidly?
- How can we effectively evaluate the impact of Government intervention to drive improvement?
- How effective is inspection as a means of driving improvement?
- In what ways can the children's social care data held by LAs be interpreted to learn more about effectiveness and decision making?
- In what ways do local organisational and leadership changes impact on children's services?
- Which factors influence the effectiveness of LSCBs? How does the operation of LSCBs vary around the country?

Engaging with Future priorities

We would like individuals or organisations to respond to this and you can do this in various ways:

- Share with DfE any existing research evidence or current work relevant to questions. Email to Research.PRIORITIES@education.gsi.gov.uk.
- Prioritise research effort or bids in the light of the evidence questions.
- Debate evidence gaps and priorities with your own associations or other stakeholders. DfE would be interested to hear any views emerging - email as above.
- Follow us and join the discussion on Twitter (@educationgovuk)
- Like us on Facebook (www.facebook.com/educationgovuk)

Annex A - Key numbers and trends[49]

Children's Social Care Referrals and Assessments

- Overall **593,500 referrals** were made to children's social care during 2012-13, a slight decrease from 605,100 in 2011-12; around a **quarter of referrals (24.9%) were re-referrals** (within 12 months of the previous referral)
- **441,500 initial assessments have been completed** during 2012-13, a small decrease from the 451,500 reported in 2011-2012.
- **232,700 core assessments** were completed during 2012-13 a continuing increase from 220,700 during 2011-12.

Children in Need

- There were **378,600 children in need (CIN)** at March 2013**,** an increase from 369,400 in March 2012; this represents a rate of 332.2 per 10,000 children aged under 18 years. The national figures encompass significant variation both between LAs (with the highest rate in Middlesbrough at 785.3 per 10,000 and lowest in Wokingham at 154.4) and within individual LAs over time (for example, Birmingham with a rate of 216.1 per 10,000 in March 2012 and 412.9 in March 2013)
- **Almost half of new CIN cases (47.3%) were categorised as 'abuse or neglect'** during 2012-13, increasing from 45.5% in 2011-12. Family dysfunction was the second most common need (18.0%).
- Children in need are more likely than all children age 5-16 to have **Special Educational Needs** (61.0% compared to 19.8%) and to be eligible for **Free School Meals** (55.6% compared to 17.0%).
- Levels of school attendance and attainment are lower among children in need than all children. Around **a third (33.7%) achieved 5+ A*-C grades** at Key Stage 4, compared to 81.1 per cent of all children, and almost **one in six (15.3%) was a persistent absentee**[50] compared to 4.9 per cent of all children.

Child Protection

- There were **127,100 section 47** enquiries carried out during 2012-13, an increase of 2.0 per cent in the last year (from 124,600).
- **52,700 children became the subject of a child protection plan (CPP)** plan during 2012-13 and as of **31 March 2013 43,100 children were the subject of a CPP**. These figures are little changed in the last year.
- **41.0% of cases have 'neglect' as the initial reason for being subject of a CPP**. Emotional abuse is the next most common category (31.7%), followed by physical

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[49] Unless stated, figures are taken from: DfE (2013) *Characteristics of Children in Need in England 2012-13*
[50] Persistent absentees are defined as pupils who have missed 15% or more of school sessions through authorised or unauthorised absence.

(11.7%) and sexual abuse (4.8%). These figures are little changed over the year and again there is much local and regional variation.

Child Deaths

- **3,857 child death reviews were completed** in the year ending 31 March 2013[51]. **50 of the deaths were due to 'deliberately inflicted injury, abuse or neglect'** and 30 of these had modifiable factors[52]. 1% (41) of reviews completed were for children subject of a child protection plan (CPP) at the time of their death, with a further 2% (64) having been the subject of a CPP previously, but not at the time of death[53]. A **Serious Case Review** was carried out for 2% (79) of the child death reviews completed.

Social Workers

- 83,407 social workers are currently registered with Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC). It is not possible to tell how many are currently practicing or working with children.
- A survey of LAs[54] in 2011 estimated a 9.1% turnover rate for social workers in children's services (equivalent to 1 in 11 workers leaving per year). The vacancy rate for children's services social workers was 6.1%. The majority of social workers (82%) are female and almost one in six (16%) were aged 55 or over.

LA Intervention and Improvement

- As at January 2014 the Department is formally intervening with 25 LAs, either through a statutory direction or an Improvement Notice.
- As at the end of March 2013, 10 out of 14 authorities subject to Departmental intervention re-inspected by Ofsted improved from 'inadequate' to 'adequate'.[55]

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[51] The latest child death statistics for the year ending March 2013 available on GOV.UK website

[52] A modifiable factors is defined as 'where there are factors which may have contributed to the death', these factors are defined as those which, by means of nationally or locally achievable interventions, could be modified to reduce the risk of future child deaths.

[53] Percentages have been rounded

[54] The findings of the survey are available on .GOV.UK website

[55] Data on inspection judgments for individual local authorities is available on Ofsted's website