

SMART CUTS?

Public spending on children's social care

A report produced by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (CIPFA) for the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC)



About CIPFA

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PREFACE

That children's services are facing cuts in funding this year is hardly news. Yet surprisingly little is known about the extent and nature of the spending reductions currently being implemented across Britain. Most available evidence is based on snapshot surveys; much is anecdotal. But it suggests that decisions are being made very rapidly, in isolation and with almost no debate about the consequences.

The available evidence also tells us that children's services have been hit disproportionately by spending cuts and that local authorities have had to face up to a wide range of responses – from freezing pay to closing services and everything in between.¹ Cuts to children's services of around 13% have been reported.² The message from the front-line is that Councils are trying to avoid closing services for children wherever possible, especially in child protection where local authorities have statutory responsibilities to fulfil. As a result, cuts are inevitably falling on preventative services, universal services are being scaled back or targeted on the most vulnerable and 'non-essential' functions such as monitoring and quality assurance are particularly at risk.

In commissioning this report the NSPCC set out to achieve three things. First, we sought to put the current spending cuts into a wider context of the spending patterns of the last decade. It is worth remembering that, striking though today's cuts are, they come on the back of a decade of steadily increasing investment in children's social care. Will the current cuts take us back to the spending levels of a decade ago, or just back a few years? The evidence suggests that the latter is more likely.

We also set out to ask whether the spending patterns were uniform across local authorities in England and Wales. This report reminds us that while every local authority increased its spending on children's services over the last decade and now faces a relative period of retrenchment, not every local authority has followed an identical path. Particularly striking is the divergence in the approach of local authorities in England and Wales in the coming year and the evidence that the cuts will be deepest among local authorities with the highest proportion of looked after children.

Finally we set out to ask where the cuts are likely to fall and what the implications might be. Rather than debate whether or not funding should be cut, we felt it more important to ask whether the right cuts are being made. In the context of rising demand for child protection services, local authorities face the monumental challenge of achieving more with less. How they rise to this challenge – rather than the absolute level of funding – will be the most important determinant of the effectiveness of our child protection system for years to come. In this context some of the evidence presented here makes for sober reading. Cutting away the services that prevent children from entering the child protection system may prove to be a false economy, with costly consequences for children and the state alike.

Andrew Flanagan, Chief Executive, NSPCC

¹ Youth Services and Children's centres worst hit as cuts average 13 per cent in one year, *Children and Young People Now*, 25 January 2011; Children's Services achieve 'fastest' council cuts, *Children and Young People Now*, 7 July 2011.

² *ibid.*

KEY FINDINGS

Cutting fast and deep

- **Children's social care spending³ in England is expected to be reduced by an average of 24% in 2011–12** – this is significantly more than the overall real-terms reduction in local government spending of around 10%, and more than the budget reductions for most other local authority services. For example, adult social care spending was projected to fall in 2011–12 by less than 2%.
- **The cuts are most apparent in English urban areas and those authorities that have a high proportion of looked after children.** Seven councils plan to reduce this spending in 2011–12 compared with the previous year by over 40% and a further 38 plan to shrink their children's social care budgets by over 30%.
- **In contrast to England, a number of Welsh councils have actually increased their children's social care budgets for 2011–12, and this spending is only projected to fall by 1.96% in Wales as a whole.** This is partly because local government grants are set to fall by significantly more in England than in Wales over the next three years (27% rather than 7.1%). This suggests that Welsh councils will be able to spend much more on children's social care than their English counterparts in the future.
- **Services focused on prevention, such as Sure Start,⁴ are particularly vulnerable to cuts.** This will further shift the balance of spending away from prevention; in 2010–11 broadly speaking three-quarters of all expenditure on children's social care by English councils was on protection services, as opposed to prevention. In the aftermath of the Peter Connelly case spending on commissioning, social work, safety and child protection rose sharply, reversing a previous trend of convergence in the levels of spending on prevention and protection services.

On the back of a significant increase in spending

- **Spending on children's social care rose steadily throughout the last decade, peaking in 2009–10** at £8.54 billion across England and Wales. This equates to just over £650 for each 0–19 year-old, compared with £357 in 2001–02.
- **A large part of this increase can be attributed to the introduction of Sure Start funding in England.** These grants are no longer ring-fenced and therefore spending on these services is more likely to fall over the Spending Review period.
- **Projected spend on children's social care for 2010–11 totalled £8.14bn (£620 per young person), but it was set to fall sharply to £6.28bn in 2011–12.** This means that 2011–12 expenditure will equate to £478 for every 0–19 year-old, slightly below the level in 2005–06.

³ For the purposes of this report, 'children's social care' incorporates the following services: young people's services; youth justice; looked after children; fostering; young people's safety; preventative services; child protection; family support services; adoption and guardianship; social care strategy; commissioning and social work; Sure Start (England), and; other children's and families services. Note that this excludes education, the NHS, criminal justice system, police and fire services, and also services for asylum seekers.

⁴ Sure Start is an initiative in England. In Wales some services for young children are funded through the Cymorth and Flying Start initiatives but they have been excluded from our analysis as we were unable to obtain the relevant data.

The future

- **Cuts in future years are unlikely to be as deep as they have been in 2011–12** – otherwise councils will soon be unable to deliver statutory services to young people, particularly if the number of looked after children continues to increase. Instead, authorities will need to make reductions in other areas to balance their budgets.
- **Deep cuts to discretionary early intervention services may lead to a further increase in the numbers of children in need and looked after.** The knock-on effect of this would be increasing demands on statutory protection services, which would force authorities to divert even more funding away from prevention. This could put additional young people at risk, increase the numbers of children who are in need or looked after, and result in further cuts to discretionary prevention budgets.

The implications

- **While cuts in spending are currently commonplace in all public services, the sheer pace of change in spending on children's social care in some local authorities is of concern.** It is hard to imagine that mistakes won't be made in the face of cuts of 40% to some children's social care budgets.
- **Cutting preventative services may prove costly if it is not done very carefully.** If cuts to preventative services result in more children becoming in need, child protection costs could spiral.
- **Local authorities can not continue as they are in the face of rising demand for child protection services and reduced resources.** More effective interventions and smarter investment are both required.

INTRODUCTION

The 2010 Spending Review set out how the Government intended to cut total public spending by 19% in real terms (a total of £81bn) between 2010–11 and 2014–15. This followed many years of significant growth in public expenditure: between 2004 and 2007 it grew by just over 4% per annum in real terms, whilst it increased by around 2% a year between 2007 and 2010.

Children's social care services⁵ were a major beneficiary of these previous increases: between 2001–02 and 2009–10, English and Welsh councils' spending on these services almost doubled in real terms – from £4.66 billion to £8.54 billion in 2010 prices. However, although the Spending Review promised that education budgets would not be cut as deeply as those of other services (spending on schools will essentially be frozen during the four-year period), central government grants to local authorities will be reduced by 28% in real terms. In addition, the vast majority of 'ring-fences', which specified that council grants must be spent on a particular service, have been removed. As a result, local authorities will have more freedom to decide how to allocate their resources – but a lot less money to spend overall. The net result is likely to be a significant drop in children's social care spending over the coming years.

This report tracks the rise in spending on children's social care over the last decade in England and Wales, highlights how it is predicted to fall in 2011–12, and projects how this downward trend might develop in future years. Finally, it estimates how spending reductions (particularly in early intervention) might affect the overall demand for and cost of children's services over the medium term.

It is important to note that the report only analyses the actual and potential levels of spending on children's social care (the *inputs* into the service), and makes no attempt to judge how *outputs* or *outcomes* have been or will be affected as a result. In short, we cannot be sure that cuts in spending will result in equivalent reductions in levels or quality of services, or exactly what the impact on children and families will be. However, the extent and pace of the proposed cuts will almost certainly have a major affect on the welfare of children and young people, as well as other public services and wider society.

⁵ For the purposes of this report, 'children's social care' incorporates the following services: young people's services; youth justice; looked after children; fostering; young people's safety; preventative services; child protection; family support services; adoption and guardianship; social care strategy; commissioning and social work; Sure Start (England), and; other children's and families services. Note that this excludes education, the NHS, criminal justice system, police and fire services, and also services for asylum seekers.

NOTES ON THE METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The analysis is based on spending data submitted by English and Welsh councils to the Department for Communities and Local Government and Welsh Assembly Government respectively. These submissions highlight how much money each authority spends against a series of budget headings that are set out in CIPFA's Best Value Accounting Code of Practice (BVACOP) Service Expenditure Analysis.⁶

The figures for what was actually spent in 2010/11 and 2011/12 (the 'outturn' data) have not yet been published – nor approved by external auditors at the time of writing – and therefore our calculations for these years have used projected spending totals that local authorities included in their Revenue Account (RA) submissions. The 2011–12 RA returns have not been broken down into specific budget lines, and this detailed information is also not yet available for Welsh councils for 2010–11. Therefore, we have based our overall analysis on the total forecast spending for both of these years, although used the broken-down English figures for 2010–11 where applicable.

All spending quoted in the report is in 2010 prices, with figures re-calculated using the June RPI measure for each year.⁷ These RPI calculations are set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Retail price index, 2001–2011

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
RPI	1.8%	1.7%	2.9%	3%	2.8%	3.2%	4.3%	4%	-0.5%	4.6%	5% ⁸

Unsurprisingly, spending by local authorities varies considerably according to the size and characteristics of the population they serve. For the purposes of this report, and to identify how spending trends vary by type of authority, each authority has been placed into one of 15 comparator groups, which are detailed in Table 2.⁹ The English groupings are based on a tool on the Department for Education (DfE) website that can be found at <http://www.education.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/STA/t000712/index.shtml>. The Welsh

⁶ Authorities may allocate different responsibilities to various service departments or have different budgetary systems, and therefore it could be the case that some of the spending data do not represent a true picture of the resources that are allocated to children's social care. Nonetheless, this report is based on local authorities' own official financial outturn data and estimates, rather than anecdotal information or non-binding survey responses.

⁷ The RPI (retail price index) measure of inflation is calculated on a monthly basis by the Office of National Statistics (ONS). The ONS identifies price rises in a "shopping basket" of over 650 goods and services, the contents and weightings of which are adjusted annually. RPI differs from the Consumer Price Index (CPI), in that includes housing costs such as Council Tax and mortgage rates.

⁸ Note that the 2010 Spending Review assumed an RPI figure for 2011 of 2.95%, and this figure is used occasionally in Chapter 4 when discussing future projections – where this is the case it has been clearly signposted. The 5% figure, which has been adopted for the vast majority of this report, looks to be more accurate at the time of writing (September 2011).

⁹ For the purposes of simplicity, we have used the pre-2009 local authority boundaries in England. Therefore figures relating to the new unitary councils of Central Bedfordshire and Bedford, and of Cheshire East and Cheshire West and Chester, have been incorporated into analyses of the former county councils of Bedfordshire and Cheshire respectively. Similarly, figures for the Isles of Scilly have been added to the total for Cornwall.

groupings are based on a tool developed by the Local Government Data Unit in Wales, which is available via <http://www.dataunitwales.gov.uk/ComparableAuthorities.asp>.¹⁰

These groups of councils were then ranked in order of the percentage of young people living in the area who were in the care of the local authority in 2010. This provides a proxy indicator for the likely workload of children's social services departments. We have also named each group after the authority where the proportion of young people in care was closest to the average for the group. The groupings are set out in Table 2.

Table 2: Local authority comparator groups identified for the report

Group 1: Islington Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 8.27	Group B: Newcastle Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 8.02	Group C: Torfaen Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 7.64
Camden Hackney Islington Lambeth Lewisham Manchester Newham Southwark Tower Hamlets Waltham Forest	Gateshead Halton Hartlepool Kingston-upon-Hull Knowsley Liverpool Middlesbrough Newcastle-upon-Tyne Salford South Tyneside St Helens Sunderland	Caerphilly Carmarthenshire Flintshire Gwynedd Merthyr Tydfil Neath Port Talbot Powys Rhondda Cynon Taff Swansea Torfaen Wrexham
Group D: Cardiff Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 6.73	Group E: Peterborough Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 6.68	Group F: Wolverhampton Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 6.68
Blaenau Gwent Bridgend Cardiff Ceredigion Conwy Denbighshire Isle of Anglesey Monmouthshire Newport Pembrokeshire Vale of Glamorgan	Barking and Dagenham Bolton Bradford Coventry Derby Kirklees Nottingham Oldham Peterborough Rochdale Telford and Wrekin Walsall	Birmingham Blackburn with Darwen Croydon Enfield Harrow Hillingdon Hounslow Leicester Luton Sandwell Slough Wolverhampton

¹⁰ The DfE model incorporates a weighted system of 25 different indicators that cover characteristics such as ethnicity, population density, the number of children eligible for free school meals and the prevalence of single parent families. The Welsh authorities were grouped according to their scores against a basket of five indicators: the number of pupils who gained 5 or more A*- C grades; the number of looked after children; the number of people on the child protection register; the level of child poverty (measured as the proportion of children in the population living in families claiming income support and income-based job seekers allowance); and teenage conception rates.

<p>Group G: Doncaster Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 6.64</p>	<p>Group H: Portsmouth Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 6.55</p>	<p>Group I: Brent Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 5.90</p>
<p>Barnsley Blackpool Doncaster Dudley Isle of Wight North East Lincolnshire Redcar and Cleveland Rotherham Stoke-on-Trent Tameside Torbay Wigan</p>	<p>Bath and North East Somerset Brighton and Hove Bristol Leeds Plymouth Portsmouth Reading Sheffield Southampton Southend-on-Sea York</p>	<p>Barnet Brent Corporation of London Ealing Greenwich Hammersmith and Fulham Haringey Kensington and Chelsea Redbridge Wandsworth Westminster</p>
<p>Group J: Wakefield Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 4.94</p>	<p>Group K: Essex Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 4.38</p>	<p>Group L: Herefordshire Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 4.01</p>
<p>Bury Calderdale Darlington Durham Lancashire North Tyneside Northumberland Nottinghamshire Sefton Stockton-on-Tees Wakefield Wirral</p>	<p>Bedfordshire Bexley Essex Havering Kent Medway Milton Keynes Northamptonshire Solihull Stockport Thurrock Trafford</p>	<p>Cornwall Cumbria Derbyshire Devon Herefordshire Lincolnshire Norfolk North Lincolnshire Somerset Staffordshire Suffolk</p>
<p>Group M: Poole Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 3.89</p>	<p>Group N: East Riding Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 3.64</p>	<p>Group O: Sutton Average number of looked after children per 1,000 young people: 3.25</p>
<p>Bournemouth Dorset East Sussex Gloucestershire Hampshire North Somerset Poole Shropshire South Gloucestershire Swindon West Sussex</p>	<p>Buckinghamshire Cambridgeshire Cheshire East Riding of Yorkshire Leicestershire North Yorkshire Rutland Warrington Warwickshire West Berkshire Wiltshire Worcestershire</p>	<p>Bracknell Forest Bromley Hertfordshire Kingston-upon-Thames Merton Oxfordshire Richmond-upon-Thames Surrey Sutton Windsor and Maidenhead Wokingham</p>

CHAPTER 1: CURRENT LEVELS OF SPENDING ON CHILDREN'S SOCIAL CARE IN ENGLAND AND WALES

This chapter looks at current levels of spending on children's social care¹¹ in England and Wales, focusing particularly on the comparator groups identified on pages 9 and 10.

In 2009–10, spending on children's social care, including grants for Sure Start in England, peaked at £8.54 billion. This equated to just over £650 for each 0–19 year-old. Projected spend for 2010–11 totalled £8.14bn (£620 per young person), but it was then predicted to drop sharply to £6.28bn in 2011–12 – or £478 for every young person. This means spending on children's social care in England is projected to fall by an average (mean) of 24% in 2011–12 (the median reduction is 22.8%), and will be at a level slightly below that of the 2005–06 financial year.

Table 3 shows how this compares with a selection of other local authority services (for England only), and highlights that only planning and development services face a larger percentage budget cut than children's social care in 2011–12. Details of 2011–12 children's social care spending projections for all authorities in England and Wales, along with the real-terms cuts these amount to since 2009–10, are available in the appendix.

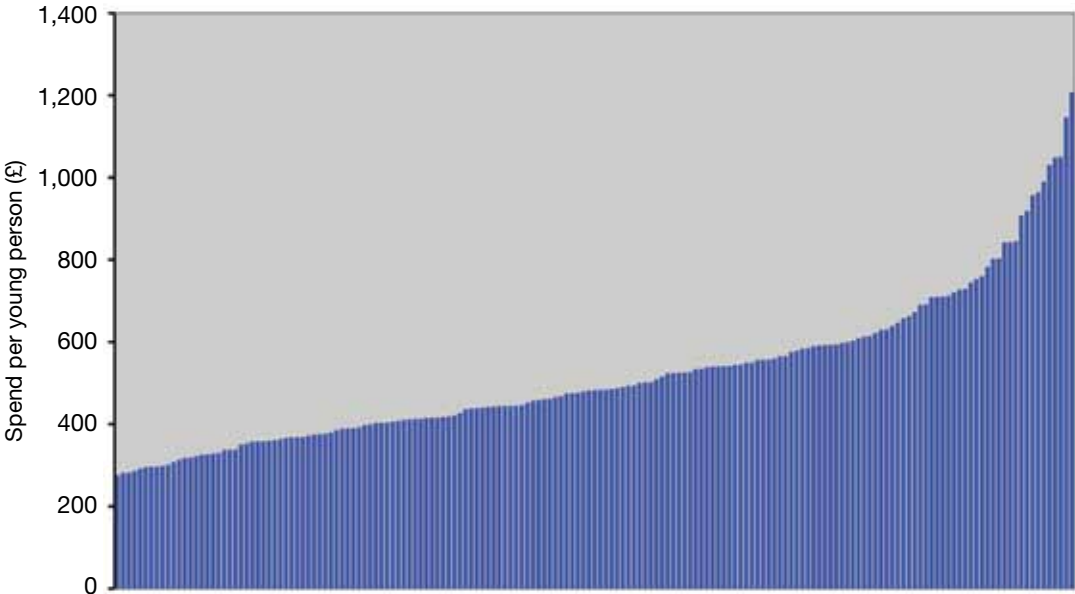
Table 3: Projected spending cuts for 2011–12 across local authority services in England (2010 prices)

	Projected spend 2010–11 (£m England)	Projected spend 2011–12 (£m England)	Cut in spending (£m England)	Cut in spending (% England)
Education ¹²	45,965	40,852	5,113	11.12
Adult social care	14,439	14,153	286	1.98
Police	12,165	11,248	917	7.54
Children's social care	7,735	5,883	1,852	23.95
Environmental & regulatory services	5,505	5,067	437	7.95
Culture & leisure	3,391	2,906	485	14.31
Housing	2,736	2,211	525	19.19
Fire & rescue	2,284	2,113	171	7.47
Planning & development	2,057	1,328	729	35.45
Total	105,164	94,529	10,634	10.11

¹¹ For the purposes of this report, 'children's social care' incorporates the following services: young people's services; youth justice; looked after children; fostering; young people's safety; preventative services; child protection; family support services; adoption and guardianship; social care strategy; commissioning and social work; Sure Start, and; other children's and families services. Note that this excludes education, the NHS, criminal justice system, police and fire services, and also services for asylum seekers.

¹² Education spending covers spending on schools and also on local authority support services for schools.

Chart 1: Projected spending per young person by each English and Welsh local authority in 2011–12



Spending levels per head vary considerably by local authority, reflecting the different circumstances under which they operate and the sometimes unpredictable demands on their services. Chart 1 above highlights how children’s social care budgets per young person will range from £273 in Hampshire (the local authority that spends the least) to £1,205 in Hammersmith and Fulham (the authority that spends the most).

Chart 2 shows how these figures apply to the comparator groups of similar authorities. As outlined previously, each cluster has been ranked according to the share of young people who are in the care of the local authority – with the Islington authorities having the most (8.27 for every 1,000 young people), and East Riding group having the least (3.25). Therefore the percentage of young people in the care of the local authority reduces as we look at the chart from left to right. Unsurprisingly, it shows that those councils that look after a higher proportion of young people tend to spend more on children’s social services.

The major outlier in this trend, the Brent cluster, is made up exclusively of London Boroughs, and therefore the figures for these authorities almost certainly reflect the higher costs of delivering services in the capital. Indeed this factor also helps to explain why authorities in the Islington group expect to spend significantly more per head than the others.

Chart 3 below includes an extra column to show the mean average spend per young person for each comparator group over the period 2001–10.¹³ Bearing in mind that all figures have been indexed to 2010 prices, the chart shows that the average spend across England and Wales in 2011–12 is projected to be lower than the average over the previous decade. It also shows that spending is set to drop more significantly in those areas where a high proportion of children are in the care of the local authority. The figures on which this chart are based are shown in Table 4.

¹³ The 2001–10 average is used because spending levels peaked in 2009–10.

Chart 2: Average projected spend in 2011–12 for each comparator group

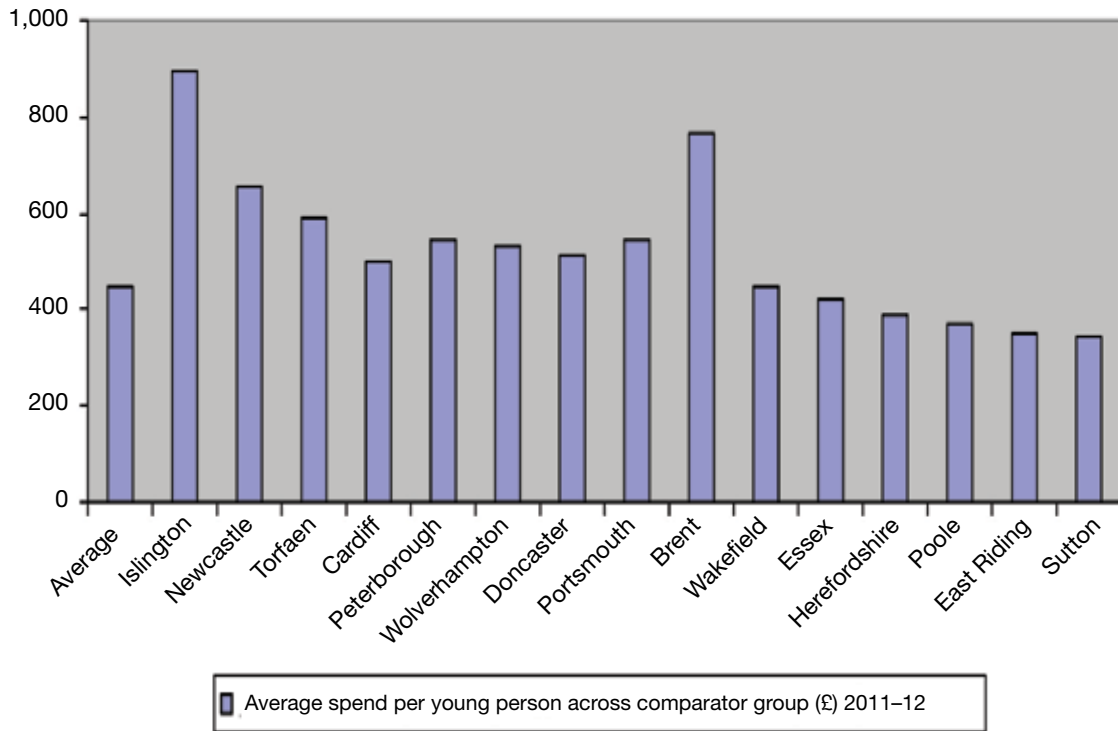


Chart 3: Average spend between 2001–10 and projected for 2011–12 for each comparator group

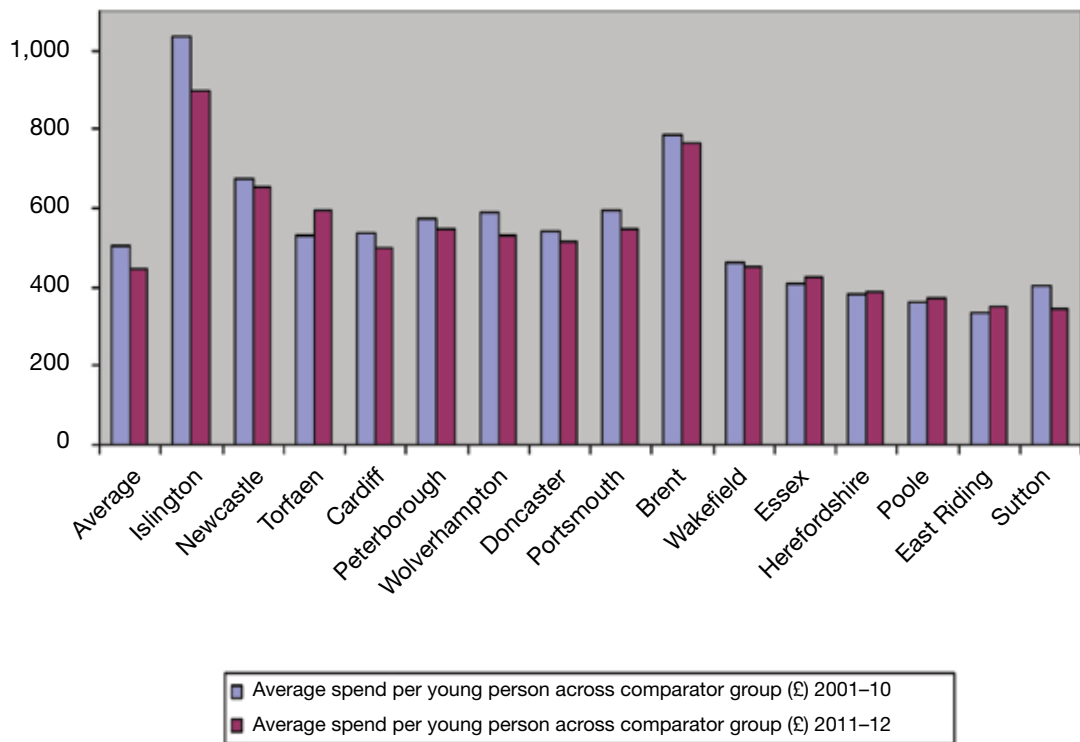


Table 4: Percentage change in average spend across comparator groups, 2001–10 and 2011–12

Comparator group	Average spend per young person across comparator group (£)	Average spend per young person across comparator group (£)	% increase in 2011–12 spending against 2001–10 average
	2001–10	2011–12	
Islington	896	1,037	-13.6
Newcastle	656	676	-3.1
Torfaen	593	530	11.7
Cardiff	499	537	-7.1
Peterborough	547	576	-4.9
Wolverhampton	530	587	-9.8
Doncaster	514	542	-5.1
Portsmouth	545	595	-8.3
Brent	768	784	-2.2
Wakefield	450	464	-2.9
Essex	424	408	3.9
Herefordshire	389	381	2.2
Poole	373	363	2.6
East Riding	348	336	3.7
Sutton	346	404	-14.2
England and Wales average	448	506	-11.4

As the chart and table show, in four of the five clusters where fewer than 4.5 in every 1,000 young people are looked after (the Essex, Herefordshire, Poole and East Riding groups), spending in 2011–12 will remain above the previous decade's average. In contrast, in nine of the ten remaining areas (the Islington, Newcastle, Cardiff, Peterborough, Wolverhampton, Doncaster, Portsmouth, Brent and Wakefield groups), spending per head is set to be lower. Since the groups at this end of the spectrum spend significantly more on children's services, overall expenditure across England and Wales is set to drop – from the 2001–10 average of £506 per young person to around £448 for every 0–19 year-old in 2011–12. Chapter four will discuss some of the implications of this in more detail.

CHAPTER 2: BREAKDOWN OF SPENDING ON CHILDREN'S SOCIAL CARE, 2009–10

This chapter sets out the latest detailed breakdown in spending for children's social care. It sets out where money is spent and which local authorities focus their resources in particular ways. This can give us an appreciation of current demand for services and help to predict the effects of the cuts. The figures in this chapter relate to actual spend on children's social care in England and Wales in 2009–10. Breakdown estimates for English authorities for 2010–11 are available (and we have used them where applicable, although they have not yet been subjected to external audit), but the corresponding Welsh data have not yet been published. Therefore we are not yet in a position to identify exactly which areas of expenditure have been most affected by the budget reductions highlighted in chapter two, although chapter four sets out a number of projections.

All authorities report their spending against a series of budget headings set out in CIPFA's Best Value Accounting Code of Practice (BVACOP) Service Expenditure Analysis, and these data form the basis of this report. Over the last decade some of the definitions for these headings have changed, and new ones have emerged so that central government is kept informed of how money is being spent on specific activities.¹⁴ More detailed definitions for each heading are available on the Department for Education website.¹⁵

- **Sure Start**¹⁶ – the figure for this heading is the amount of Sure Start grant the authority received to spend on these services.
- **Family support services** – this includes direct payments, and spending on respite breaks for disabled children, home care, equipment and adaptations, substance misuse, teenage pregnancy and other family support services.
- **Preventative services** – this is made up of spending on early intervention initiatives for children aged 5–13 years.¹⁷
- **Young people's services** – this covers positive activities for young people and youth work.
- **Looked after children (LAC)** – this incorporates residential care, secure accommodation, respite breaks for looked after disabled children, children placed with family and friends, advocacy and education services for LAC, and support services for young people leaving care. For the purposes of this report it excludes fostering and spending on asylum seekers.
- **Fostering** – this includes in-house and external provision, and the support provided for foster parents.

¹⁴ These data originate from local authorities and we have not sought to validate them or vouch for their robustness. However, the final spending figures for the years up to and including 2009–10 will have been subjected to external audit.

¹⁵ The 2009–10 guidance is available via <http://media.education.gov.uk/assets/files/doc/b/budget%202009%2010%20to%202010%2011.doc>, with budget headings for social care beginning on page 39.

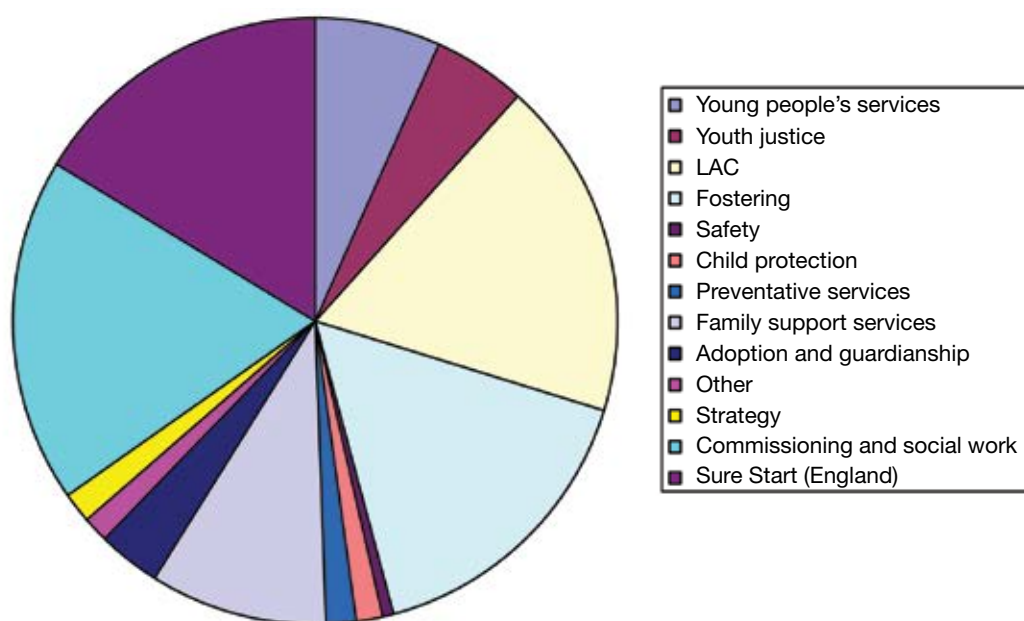
¹⁶ Until 2011–12, English councils did not have to specify how much money they spent on Sure Start services, so we have used central government's grant allocations as the basis for these calculations.

¹⁷ Prior to 2007–08 the Department of Health provided Children's Fund partnerships (not local authorities) with a specific grant to deliver these services. This meant that councils did not have to account for the spending, so we have not been able to obtain this data and use them for analysis.

- **Adoption and guardianship** – this covers the costs of setting up and supporting an adoptive relationship and helping adopted children contact their natural parents. It excludes fostering and any social work costs related to adopted children.
- **Child protection** – this incorporates planned expenditure on carrying out the authority's functions under the Children Act 1989 and under section 175 of the Education Act 2002 and other functions relating to child protection.
- **Safety** – this heading covers the expenditure associated with child death reviews and the local safeguarding children's board.
- **Commissioning and social work** – this incorporates social workers' direct costs for the care of children and the commissioning of services for them, field and hospital social work, children's and adolescents' mental health services, occupational therapy, and social work costs associated with child protection.
- **Youth justice** – this includes spending on secure institutions, youth offending teams and other youth justice services.
- **Other children's and families services** – such as grants to other organisations that cannot be grouped under another heading, and spending on counselling and generic services that cannot be classified elsewhere.
- **Strategy** – this includes spending on the Children and Young People's Plan, partnership costs and costs associated with operating a central commissioning unit for children's and families' services.

Chart 4 below shows the breakdown of total spend in 2009–10 under each of these headings. It shows that services for looked after children accounted for a large share of expenditure – spending on LAC and fostering services constituted 18% and 16% of the overall total respectively. As we might expect, commissioning and social work also takes up a large share (18%) of spending, along with Sure Start (16.5%). The amount of money that was available for Sure Start indicates that many authorities may reduce their budgets for these services in 2011–12 because the funding is no longer ring-fenced.

Chart 4: Breakdown of total spend in England and Wales in 2009–10 by budget heading



Each of these headings was then categorised as 'prevention' or 'protection' spending, as set out in Table 5. Although in many cases these classifications are relatively crude (as some protection funded services will be engaged in preventative work and vice-versa), this nevertheless gives us an approximate indication of spending priorities. It shows that three-quarters of total spending in 2009–10 (74.7%) was on protection.¹⁸

Table 5: Categorisation of spending by prevention and protection

Prevention spending	Protection spending
Young people's services	Youth justice
Preventative services	Looked after children
Family support services	Fostering
Other services	Safety
Strategy	Child protection
	Adoption and guardianship
	Commissioning and social work

Charts 5 and 6 show how this pattern applies to our Islington and Sutton comparator authority groupings. These charts use the 2010–11 estimates, as both groups contain only English authorities. Since the councils in the Islington group have the highest proportion of looked after children, and those in the Sutton cluster have the lowest, it might be expected that they would have different splits between spending on protection and prevention services – and between individual budget headings within those broad categories.

These charts show some differences – with authorities in the Islington cluster spending a greater proportion of their budgets on young people's services and fostering, and the Sutton group spending a bigger share on family support services and commissioning and social work. However, when these headings are amalgamated into prevention and protection spending, there is very little difference between the groups. Indeed, 74% of spending in the Islington authorities was on protection with the remaining 26% being allocated to prevention services: the corresponding figures for the Sutton group are 73% and 27%. We might have expected those councils with fewer looked-after children (the Sutton cluster) to have spent a much greater proportion of their children's social care budgets on preventative services, but this was certainly not the case in 2010–11.

Although this approximate ratio of 3:1 for protection and prevention expenditure is apparent in these comparator groups, and it mirrors the overall national average, there is variation between different authorities in their spending priorities. Haringey, for example, spends the highest proportion of its budget on protection services (86.8%), which is perhaps unsurprising considering legacy of Victoria Climbié and Peter Connelly. Indeed, most of the English authorities that spent a relatively high percentage of their budgets on protection in 2010–11 are urban boroughs – and a number of them have been the subject of high-profile cases in recent years. However, as Tables 6 and 7 show, similar authorities split their spending across prevention and protection services in significantly different ways. For example, Manchester spends 83.92% of its children's social care budget on protection services, yet Tower Hamlets spends 43.7% on prevention – and both are in the Islington cluster of comparator authorities. Since

¹⁸ Note that for the purposes of this exercise, Sure Start grants were excluded, primarily because this spending is difficult to class as either protection or prevention.

we can assume that these authorities have similar children's social care challenges to address, it would appear that local political preferences are the main reason for this difference in spending priorities.

Chart 5: Breakdown of total 2010–11 spend by authorities in the Islington group by budget heading

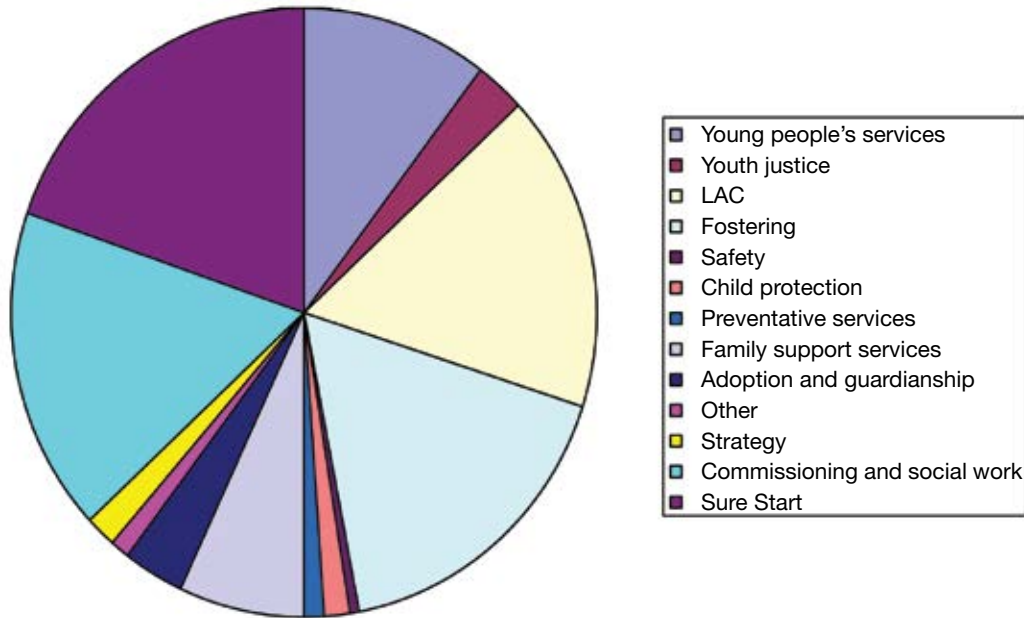


Chart 6: Breakdown of total 2010–11 spend by authorities in the Sutton group by budget heading

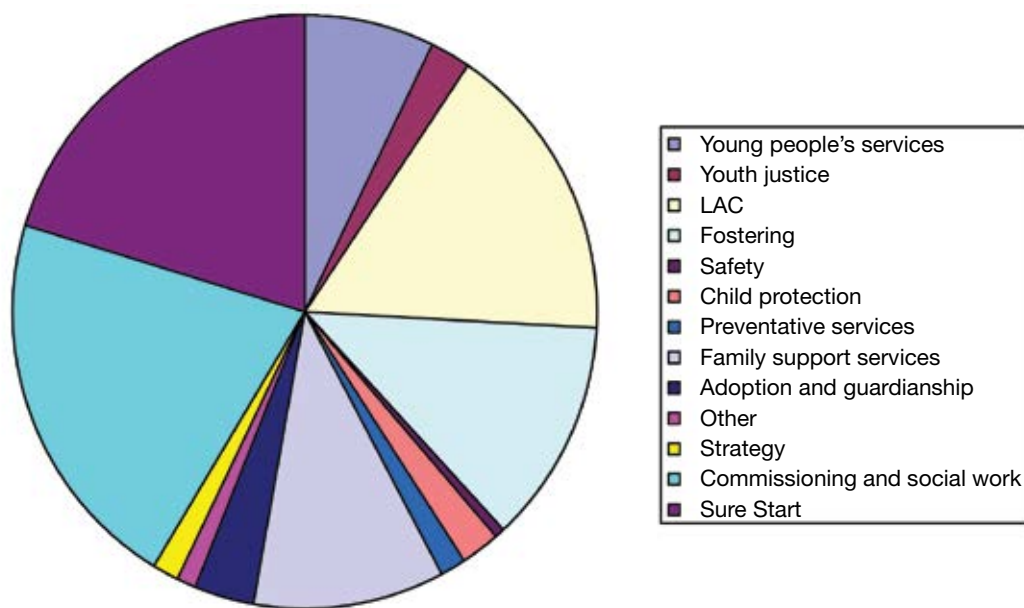


Table 6: Top ten authorities for percentage spend on protection services

Authority	% spend on protection
Haringey	86.8
Wokingham	86.3
Croydon	86.2
Southend-on-Sea	84.9
Barking and Dagenham	84.2
Manchester	83.9
Doncaster	83.2
Telford and Wrekin	83.2
Bromley	82.2
Brighton and Hove	82.0

Table 7: Top ten authorities for percentage spend on prevention services

Authority	% spend on prevention
Buckinghamshire	46.9
Halton	46.0
Worcestershire	45.6
Peterborough	45.1
Tower Hamlets	43.7
Derby	43.5
Harrow	42.8
Hackney	41.6
Kingston-upon-Thames	40.8
Corporation of London	40.8

CHAPTER 3: TRENDS IN SPENDING PATTERNS ON CHILDREN'S SOCIAL CARE, 2001–11

TRENDS BY COMPARATOR GROUP

The decade 2001–10 saw a steady rise in spending on children's social care in England and Wales. By 2009–10, spending per young person was almost twice the level of 2001–02 (£652 compared to £357). In almost every authority across England and Wales,¹⁹ spending per young person increased during this period. Chart 8 overleaf shows how this increase was relatively steady over the decade, before falling away in 2010–11 and 2011–12. By assessing each of the comparator groups against the overall average, we find that this trend was replicated by most types of authority.

The exceptions are the two groups of Welsh authorities (Torfaen and Cardiff), which differ in several ways. Firstly, their projected spend for 2011–12 is not noticeably lower than for the previous year. This reflects the different spending review arrangements in England and Wales: the Welsh Assembly Government only cut local authority funding by 1.4% in cash terms in 2011–12, and is committed to reducing grants by 'just' 7.1% in real terms by 2014–15 – significantly less than the 27% that is planned for England. In addition, Sure Start funding for English councils is no longer ring-fenced, and therefore many authorities are likely to have re-allocated this money to other services. There have been different arrangements for funding services for young children in Wales (Cymorth and Flying Start). Chapter 4 discusses this finding in more detail.

In addition, closer analysis of the spending increase between 2001–02 and 2010–11 shows that some types of authority increased spending by a much larger percentage than others. For example, Chart 7 shows that spending per young person rose least as a percentage in the Islington, Brent and Cardiff clusters. The first two of these are made up almost exclusively of London Boroughs, whilst the Cardiff cluster consists of Welsh authorities. This finding apart, there appears to be no other clear explanation for the pattern: the urban authorities in the Doncaster group experienced the largest percentage increase, but they were followed by the East Riding cluster, in which shire counties predominate.

¹⁹ The only exception is the Corporation of London, where spending fell slightly over this period. See page 21 for more information on this outlier.

Chart 7: Percentage increase in spending per young person by comparator group between 2001-02 and 2009-10

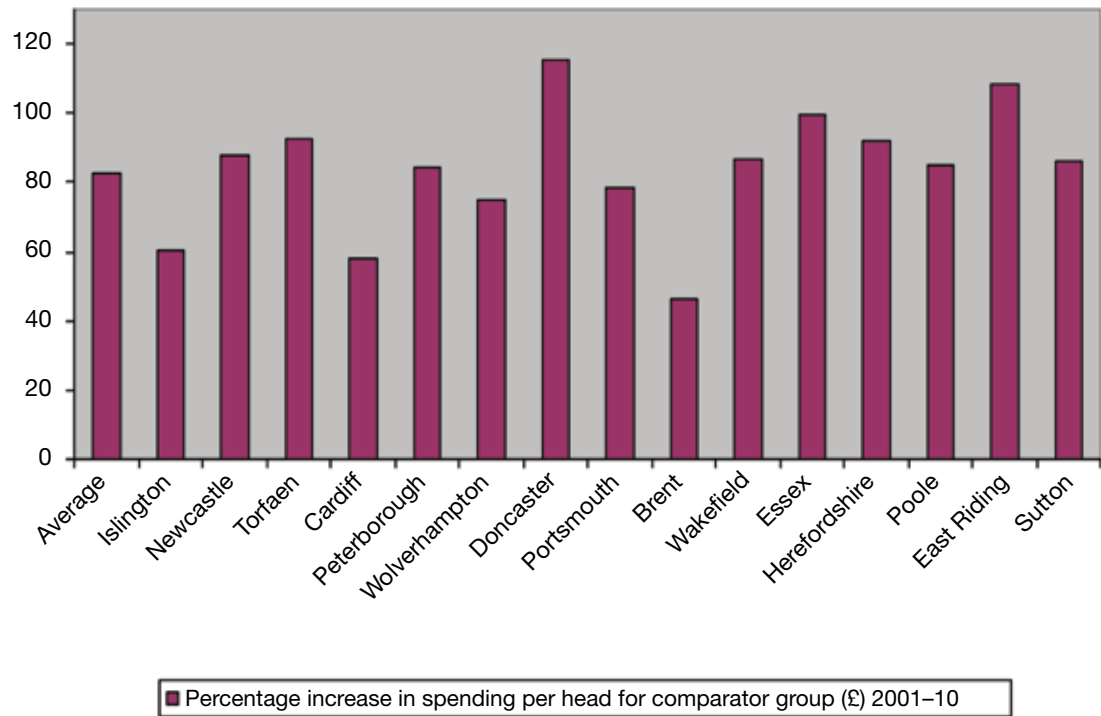
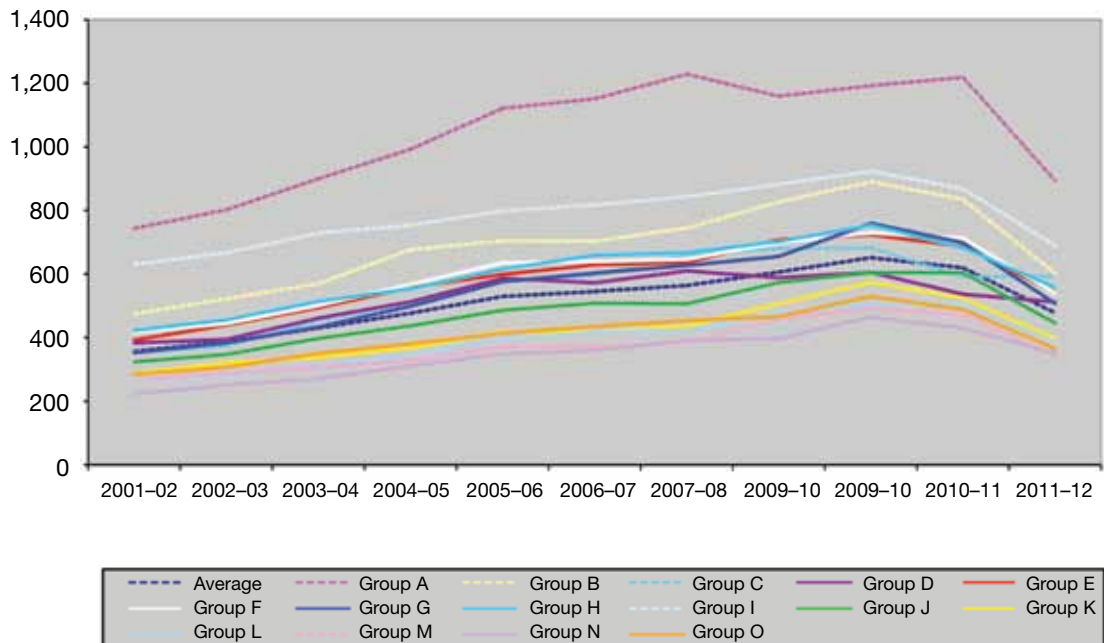


Chart 8: Trend in total spending per young person by comparator group (£), 2001-02 to 2011-12



TREND BY LOCAL AUTHORITY

The following charts show how spending increased in each authority across England and Wales, and compares them with the other councils in their group. They show that the vast majority of authorities have a similar pattern of steady growth from 2001–02 onwards, before falling away sharply in either 2010–11 or 2011–12. However, the rate of increase and drop does vary by individual authority and type of council. For example, many urban boroughs predict a more rapid drop in spending in 2011–12 (seven local authorities predict a fall of over 40 per cent), whereas some Welsh councils have actually increased their children's social care budgets for the current year. The average (mean) drop across England and Wales combined is 22.86%, which represents a significant cut. This compares to real-terms reductions in total local authority spending of just over 10% in English unitary and upper-tier councils, and 4.3% in Wales – see Table 8 below:

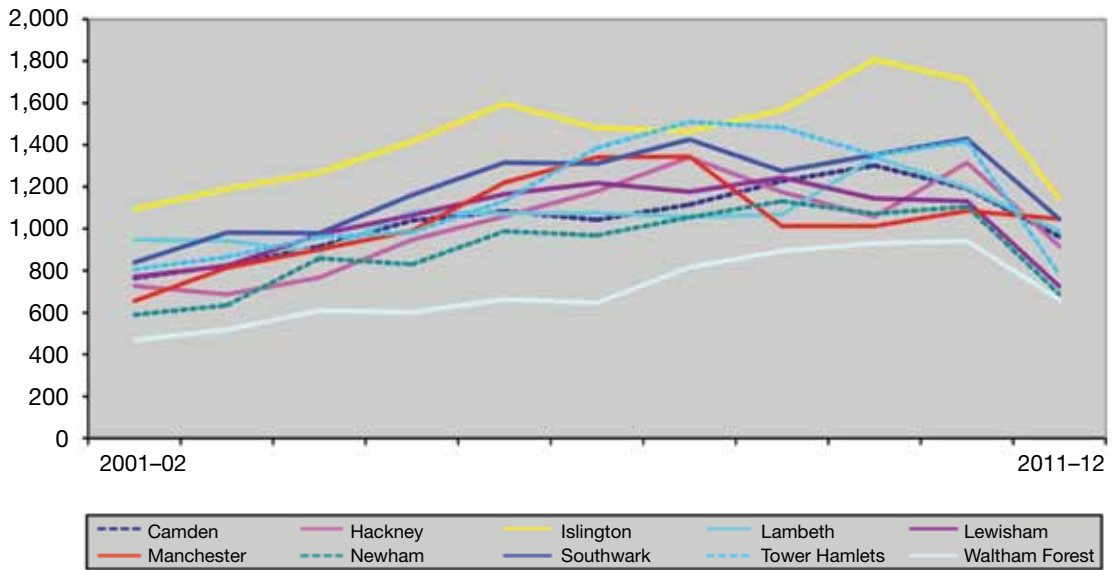
Table 8: Planned reductions in total spending and children's social care in England and Wales, 2011–12 (2010 prices)

	2010–11	2011–12	Reduction, 2010–11 to 2011–12	% reduction, 2010–11 to 2011–12
Children's social care spending (England)	£7.73bn	£5.88bn	£1.85bn	23.95%
Children's social care spending per young person (England)	£623	£474	£149	
Children's social care spending (Wales)	£403m	£395m	£7.9m	1.96%
Children's social care spending per young person (Wales)	£567	£556	£11	
Total local authority spending (England)	£105.2bn	£94.6bn	£10.6bn	10.11%
Total local authority spending (Wales)	£7.55bn	£7.22bn	£327m	4.33%

However, the charts also show that budgets in lower-spending authorities (as well as Wales) have not fluctuated as much as in those English councils that spend more on children's services. It may be the case that these lower-spending areas will be better placed to cope with the retrenchment that has now begun, as they will not have increased the size of their departments, or scope of their services, as much as others.

All authorities in the Islington group (see chart 9) increased their spending on children's social care between 2001–02 and 2007–08, after which several (notably Southwark, Hackney and Manchester) began to cut back. The following three years saw some fluctuations in spending per head across the group, probably partly due to the fallout from the Peter Connelly case in 2009. However, all councils set budgets for 2011–12 that will entail a significant drop in spending. In Tower Hamlets, children's social care budgets in 2011–12 will be just over half their 2010–11 size (£45m rather than £81.5m, figures that equate to £781 and £1,417 per young person respectively).

Chart 9: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Islington group)



As chart 10 shows, spending in the Newcastle cluster increased less consistently than it did in the Islington group. In some authorities (notably Hull and South Tyneside) it fluctuated markedly, whereas Hartlepool and Liverpool saw a much steadier increase up to 2009–10. As was the case across most of the groups, every authority predicts a sharp fall for 2011–12. The drop is particularly marked in Halton (where spending per head is set to more than halve from £770 to £372) and Hull (where it will fall from £1,047 to £689). In the case of Halton, it may well be that most of these reductions will be made in prevention services, as it spent the second-highest percentage of its budget on these initiatives in 2011–12 (see Table 4).

Chart 10: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Newcastle group)

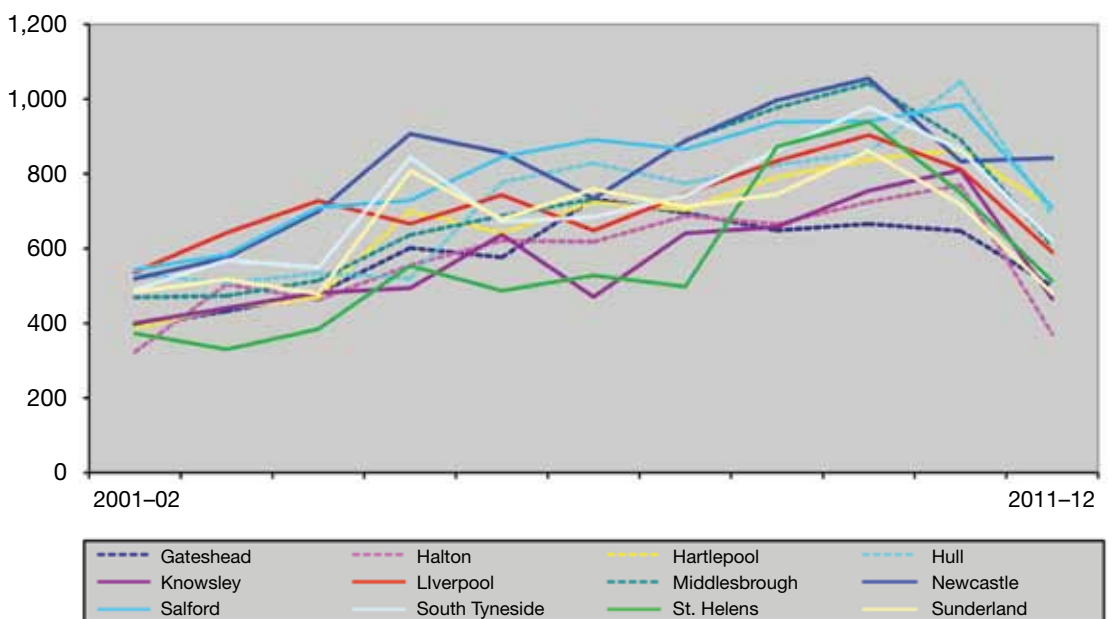
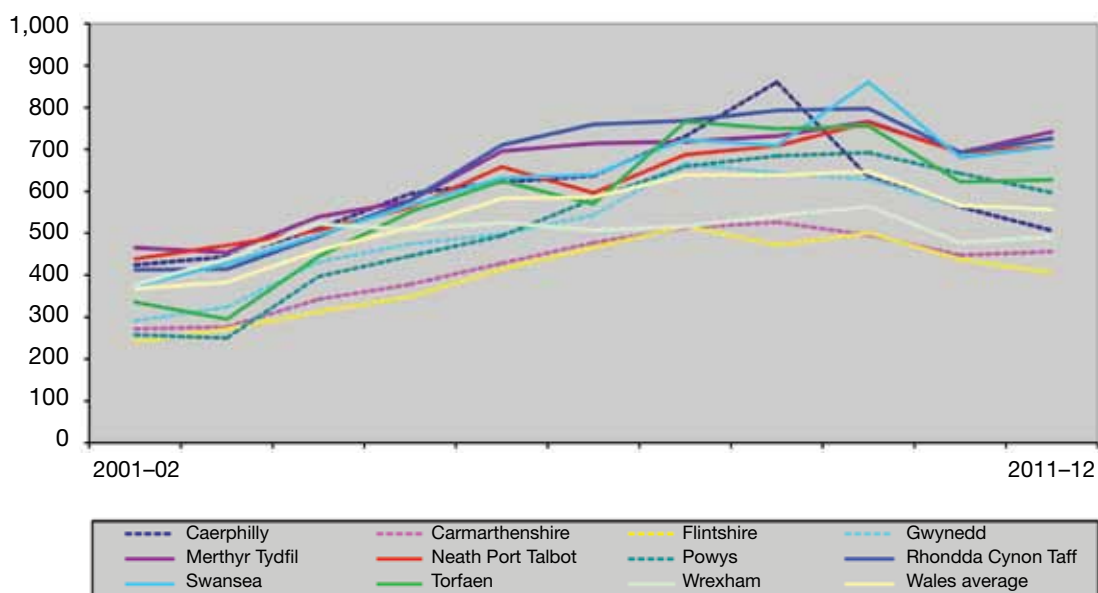


Chart 11: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Torfaen group)



Charts 11 and 12, which cover the Welsh authorities, tell a different story – the pattern appears much more uniform and steady than in many other groupings. Compared with the English authorities, most councils in the Torfaen group increased spending by slightly more between around 2003–04 and 2006–07, and in both cases the sharp increase appears to begin a year later than in England. In addition, there is not such a sharp fall predicted for 2011–12, with several authorities in this cluster actually expecting to spend more in the current financial year than the previous one (perhaps partly because many had already made deep cuts in 2010–11). As discussed earlier, this is most likely due to the Welsh authorities not being subjected to such major funding reductions as their English counterparts. Also, in April 2003 Sure Start Wales was amalgamated with the Children and Youth Partnership Fund and the childcare strategy to form a new fund: Cymorth. A further funding stream, Flying Start, was added in 2010/11. The changes being seen in relation to Sure Start funding in England are not mirrored in Wales.

On only three occasions does a single authority appear to have diverged very much from the overall trend: Ceredigion in 2007–08; Caerphilly in 2008–09; and Swansea in 2009–10. Monmouthshire spent markedly less per young person than every other Welsh authority throughout the decade.

Chart 13 shows a much more mixed picture, with Peterborough and Walsall in particular not following the overall pattern. Despite the fact that the group is made up of urban unitaries, metropolitan authorities and a London Borough (and it is therefore similar in this sense to the Newcastle cluster), the predicted drop in spending for 2011–12 is not as steep for most councils. Although Nottingham and particularly Barking and Dagenham will spend a lot less this year, Bolton has increased its budget for children's services compared to 2010–11.

Chart 12: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Cardiff group)

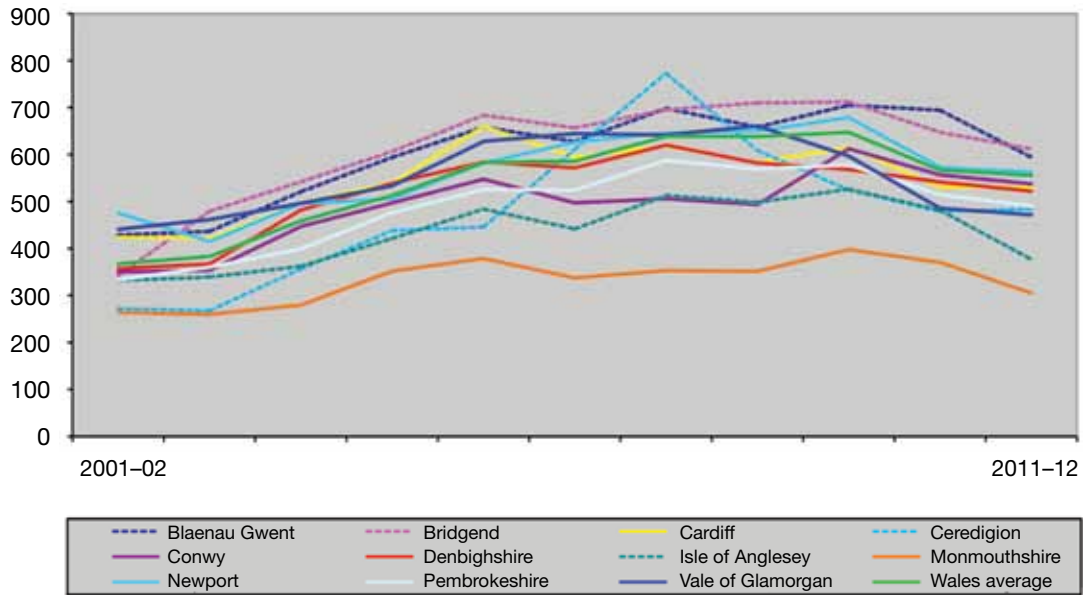
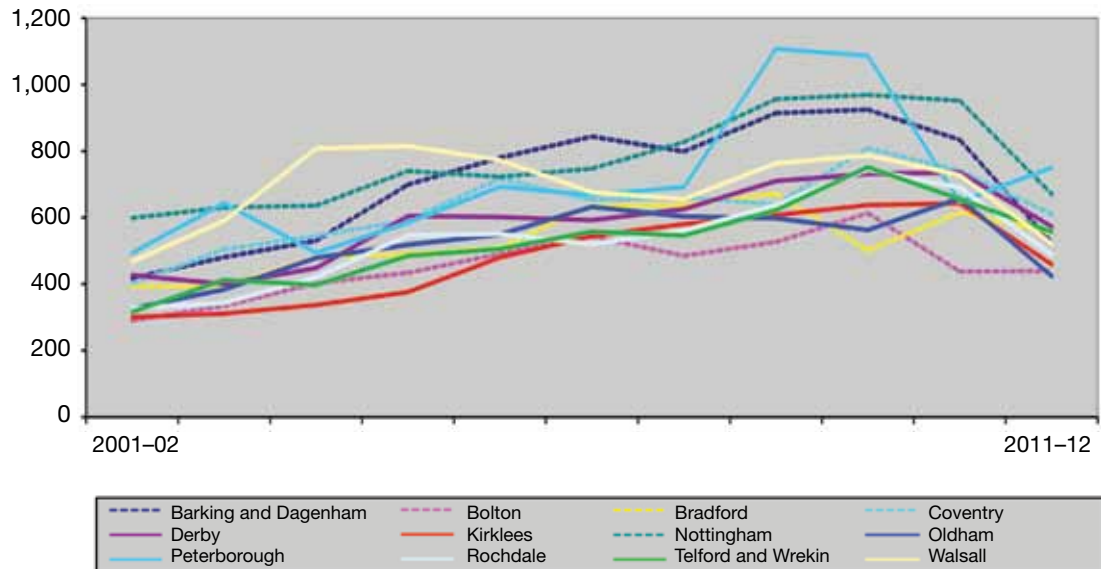


Chart 13: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Peterborough group)



A first glance at Chart 14, which tracks the changes in the Wolverhampton cluster, suggests that the spending increase in these authorities has not been significant. However, the chart is skewed slightly by Slough's spending figure for 2009–10, when spending per young person (at £1,306) was around double the amount spent in both 2008–09 and 2010–11 (£686 and £638 respectively). This anomaly distorts the y-axis to a certain extent, and therefore disguises the gentle upward slope that other authorities followed. Nonetheless, the figures for 2011–12 do not predict as sharp a drop in spending as is expected for other groups: Hillingdon is predicting the largest fall, from £629 to £395 per young person. Harrow expects to spend almost exactly the same this year as last, and Sandwell is actually predicting a small increase.

The Doncaster authorities are shown in chart 15. This is notable for the fact that spending per young person was very similar in each council. Only Blackpool and Stoke-on-Trent differ markedly from the other councils, with the other lines on the graph packed tightly together for most of the decade. This suggests that these authorities – largely urban unitaries and metropolitan councils – did not have to respond to any sudden developments within their areas, and were able to channel increases in central grants into children's services budgets.

Chart 14: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Wolverhampton group)

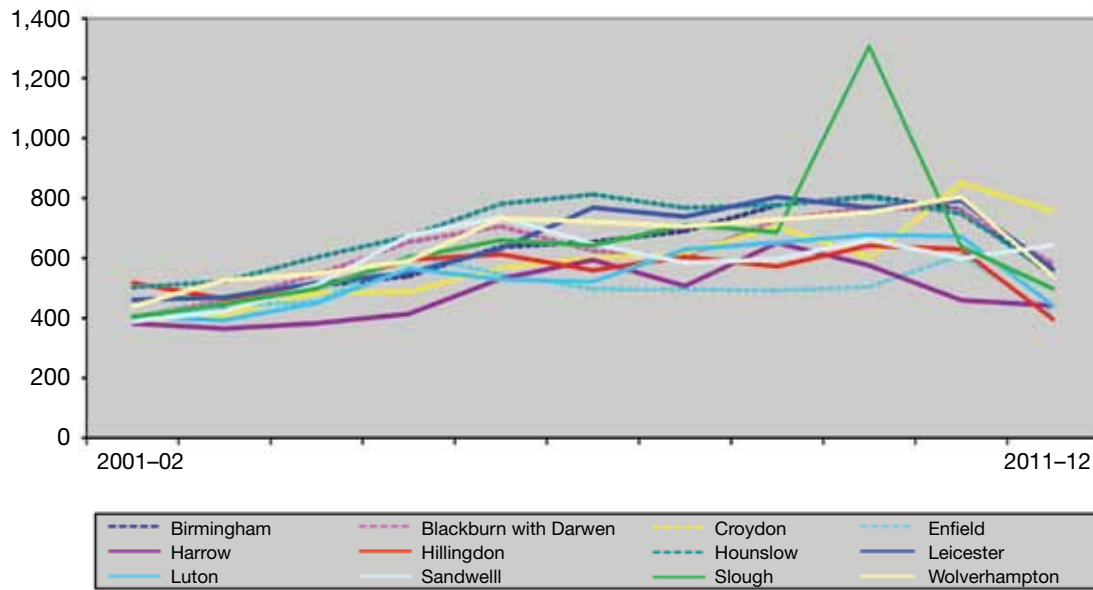


Chart 15: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Doncaster group)

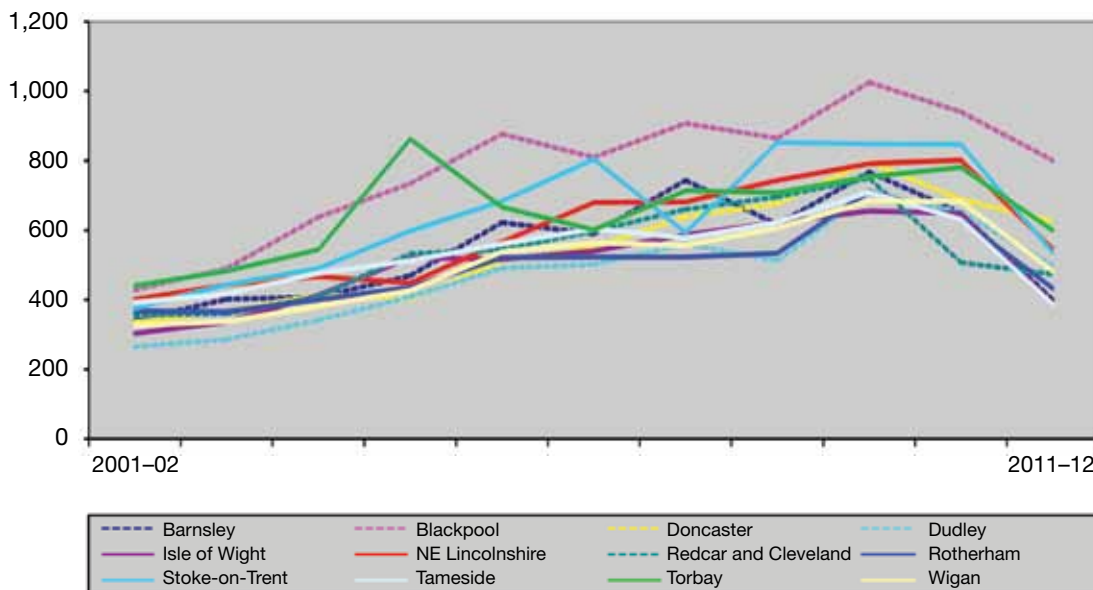


Chart 16 shows the trends in the Portsmouth cluster. There is much greater variance between the authorities in this group, with the children's social care budget of the lowest spender (York) being around half that of the highest (Brighton and Hove) throughout the period. Interestingly, this is the case for almost all of the eleven years analysed, which shows that both authorities increased – and then cut – spending by a similar percentage each year. Sheffield bucks the general trend somewhat: it starts from a comparatively low base but was the second-highest spender in the group by 2009–10. All authorities cut their children's social care budgets in 2011–12, although reductions elsewhere in England are more severe. The steepest drop is from £759 to £589 per young person in Plymouth – this is less than most authorities in the Islington and Newcastle groups, for example.

Chart 16: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Portsmouth group)

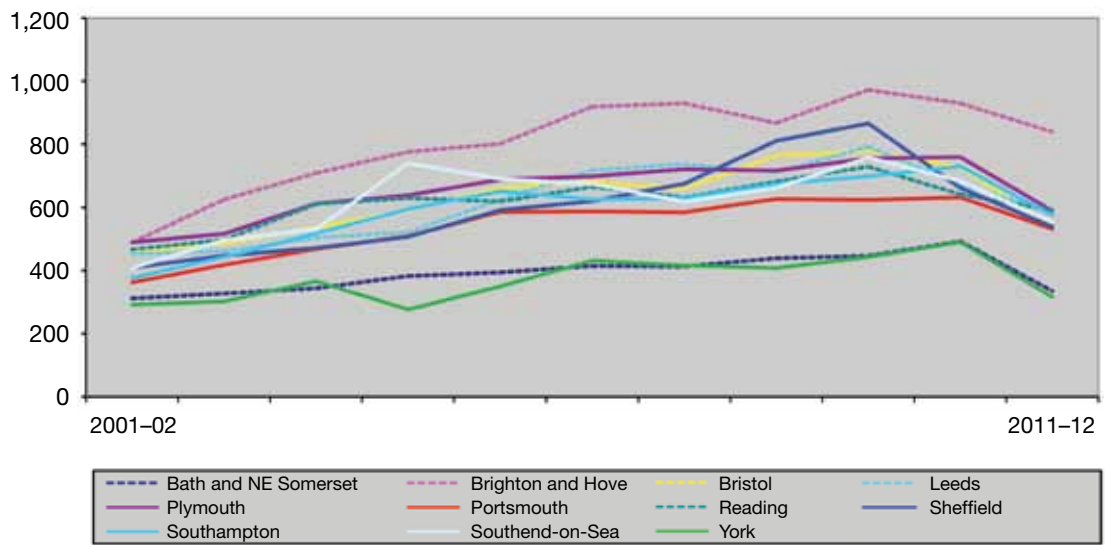
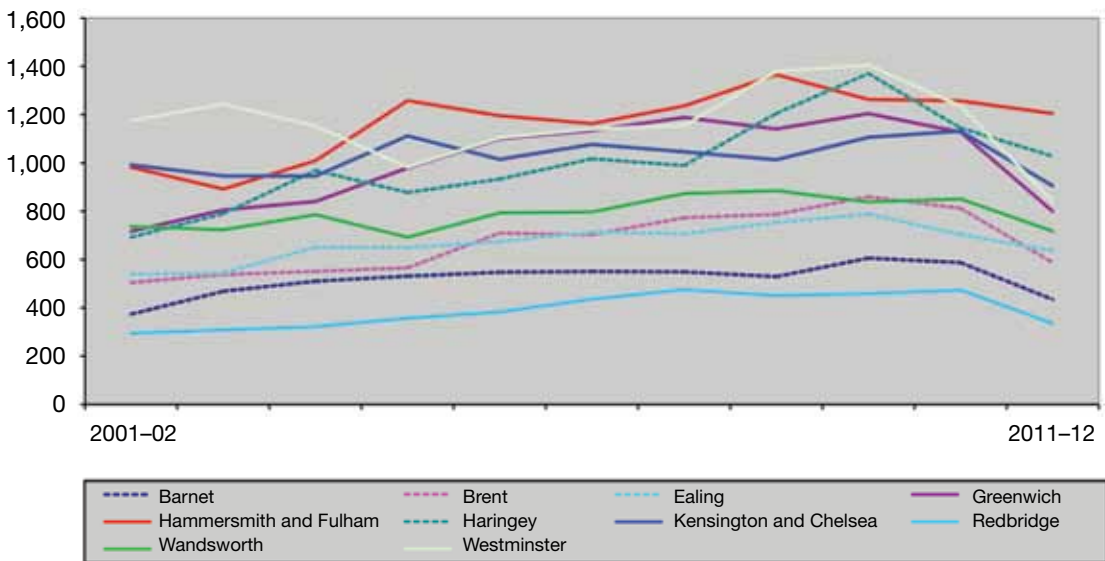


Chart 17: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Brent group)



The Brent cluster contains the Corporation of London, which has been discounted for the purposes of this chapter.²⁰ The other authorities feature in Chart 17, which is notable for the fact that spending in Haringey did not differ markedly from the overall pattern, in spite of the Victoria Climbié and Peter Connelly cases. As we identified in Table 5 however, the vast majority of Haringey's spending is on protection services, and therefore the authority may have reacted by re-allocating its prevention budgets towards more urgent priorities. It is also interesting to note that Hammersmith and Fulham's spending figure for 2010–11: at £1,864 per young person it represents a major spike compared with the previous and subsequent years. Even after cutting spending for 2011–12, this authority remains the highest-spending per young person in the current financial year. Otherwise the authorities in this group follow the overall pattern of a steady upward trend followed by a sudden dip in 2011–12.

Chart 18, which shows the spending for the Wakefield group, also has several data points that do not appear to fit with the trend. Most noticeable is the total for Stockton-on-Tees in 2009–10, when spending plummeted from £620 to £137 per young person. This is almost certainly to do with a change in the way the authority produced its accounts, as several of its budget lines reported zero spending for this year, and the 2010–11 figure reverts to the previous trend. We can therefore treat this single instance as unreliable and discount it from the overall trend.

North Tyneside was clearly the highest spender in this group between 2001–02 and 2007–08, but it then cut budgets whilst other authorities were still increasing theirs, meaning that many others caught it up by the end of the period. Interestingly, Nottinghamshire, Wirral and Wakefield all increased budgets significantly in 2010–11, at a time when other councils began to rein in spending: this may mean that all three authorities will have introduced even deeper cuts in future years to balance the books.

The authorities in the Essex group all began from a similar starting point, spending between £224 and £330 per young person on children's social care in 2001–02 (see chart 19 overleaf). Within a few years it becomes clear that some (particularly Solihull and Milton Keynes) spend more than others, but by the end of the decade all of the councils (except for Solihull) are grouped closely together once more. It is also noticeable that most authorities in this group do not wait until 2011–12 before cutting expenditure: the majority make reductions in 2010–11 and three (Trafford, Stockport and Thurrock) began to rein in spending in 2009–10.

The Herefordshire group fits with the nationwide pattern, but the upward climb is not as steady for these councils as it is for many others (see chart 20). As with the Brent and Wakefield clusters, expenditure per young person in 2011–12 was budgeted to be broadly similar across the group, in spite of some significant differentiation in the middle of the previous decade.

²⁰ Only around 1,000 young people live in the City, which is approximately one-tenth of the number of 0–19 year-olds in Rutland, the second-smallest authority. This means that the Corporation of London has significantly less scope for the kinds of economies of scale that would be possible at a larger organisation, and therefore has the potential to be a major outlier. Indeed average spending for the City between 2001–02 and 2009–10 was significantly higher than for any other authority in England and Wales. However, it was one of the two authorities that cut their children's social care budgets by more than half in 2011–12.

Chart 18: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Wakefield group)

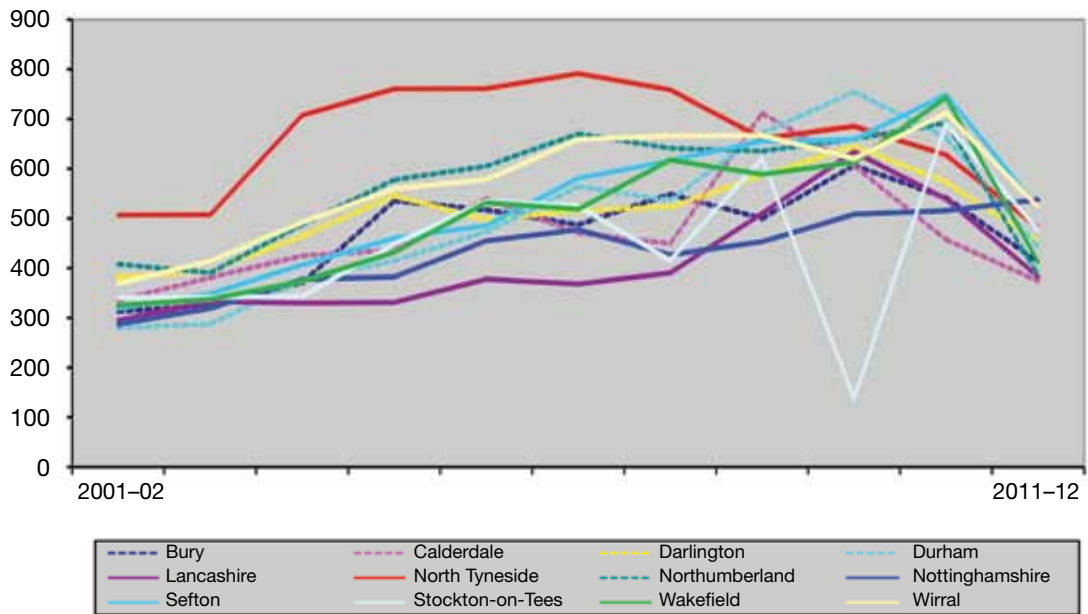


Chart 19: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Essex group)

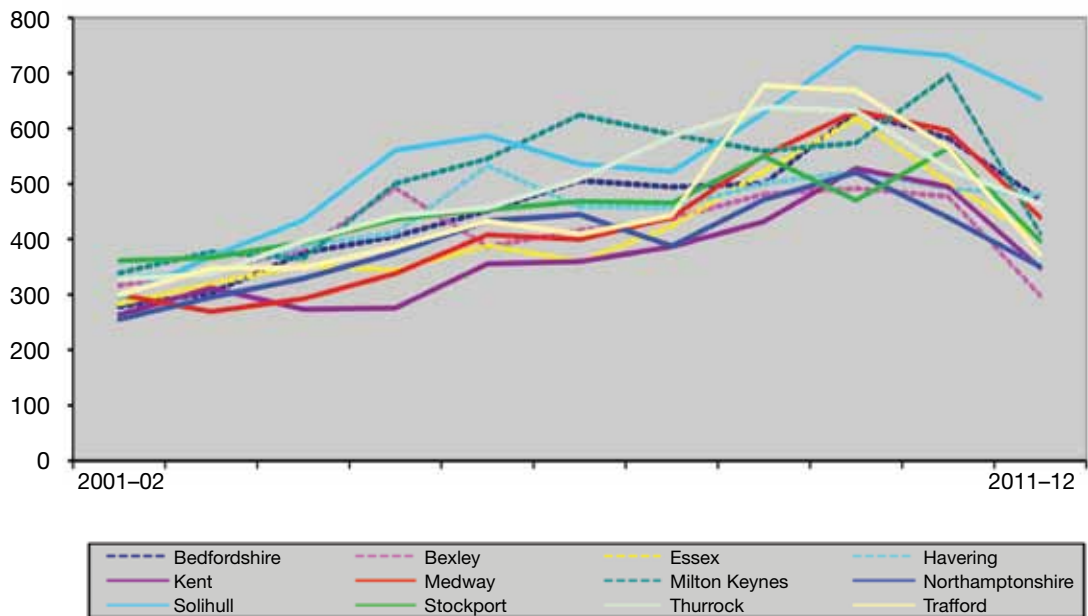
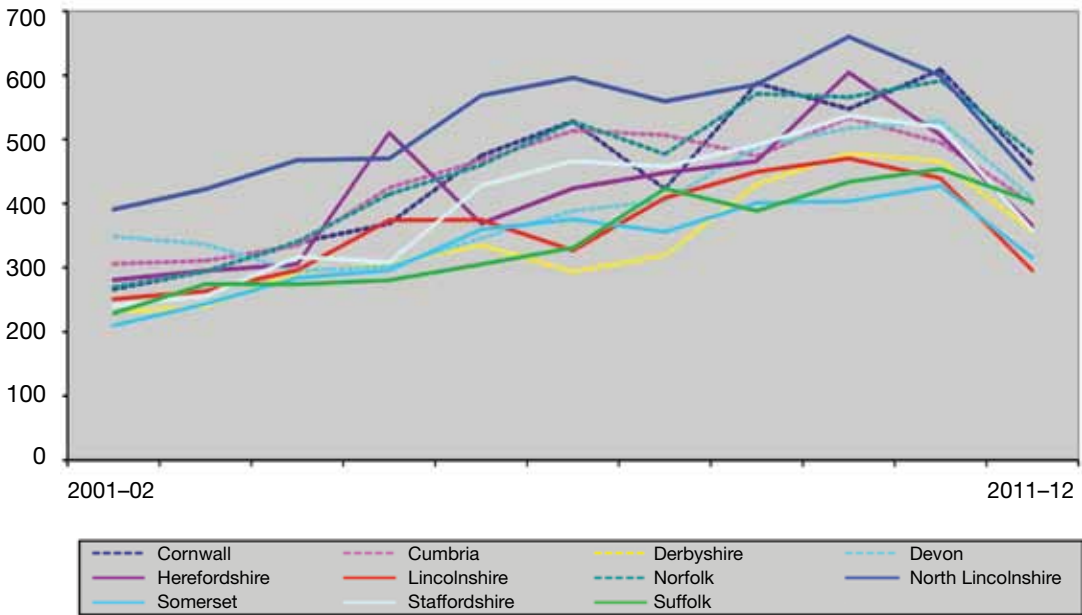


Chart 20: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Herefordshire group)



In the Poole group, Bournemouth is a clear outlier in terms of spending per head throughout the period of analysis (see chart 21 overleaf). Nevertheless, although it has spent much more than the comparator authorities, it experienced the now familiar rise and fall in expenditure over the last decade. This suggests that Bournemouth council may have taken a political decision to spend more per head in this area. Hampshire and South Gloucestershire are the two lowest spenders during the period of analysis, and they also follow this overall pattern.

The East Riding group contains the lowest-spending authorities, and therefore the y-axis in chart 25 accentuates the differences between councils much more than some of the other graphs. It shows there has been some fluctuation (with Buckinghamshire and Warrington both experiencing spikes in spending in 2009–10), but a number of councils have also kept spending relatively constant. For example, West Berkshire’s spending per 0–19 year-old only ranges from £325–£453 during the whole period.

The final set of authorities, the Sutton group, also spent comparatively little per young person over the last 10 years (see chart 23). This is in spite of the fact that it includes five London Boroughs (Merton, Bromley, Richmond and Kingston, in addition to Sutton), and the cost of employing staff and delivering services is much higher in the capital. Most of the authorities within the group follow the overall trend, although one notable outlier is Wokingham. Social care spending fell in this council in 2007–08, before increasingly sharply the following year, probably as a result of a critical Ofsted report into its child protection services.

Chart 21: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Poole group)

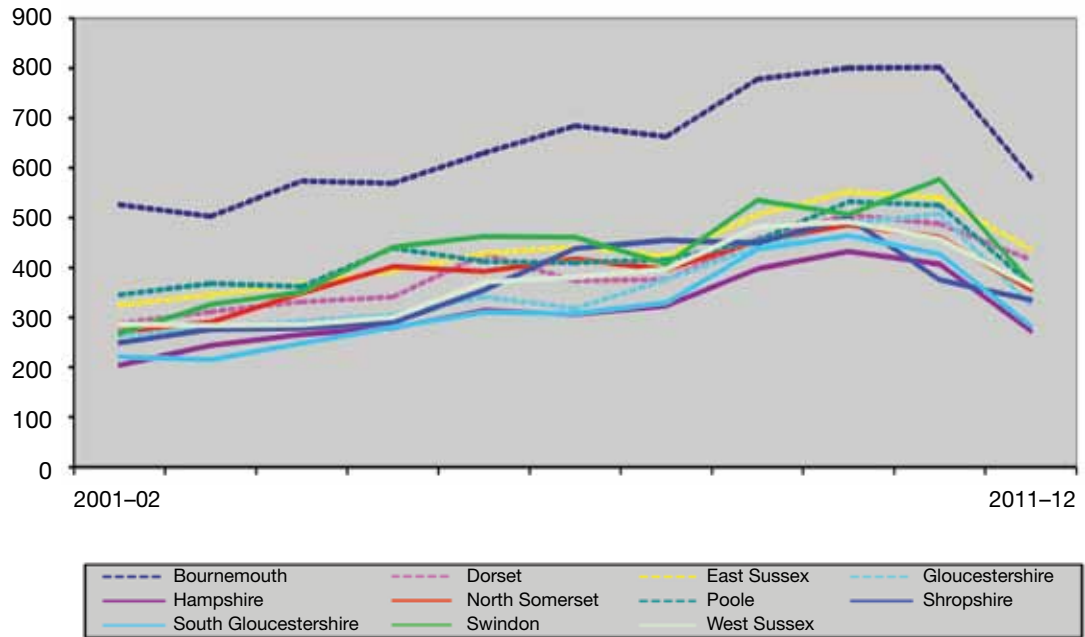


Chart 22: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, East Riding group)

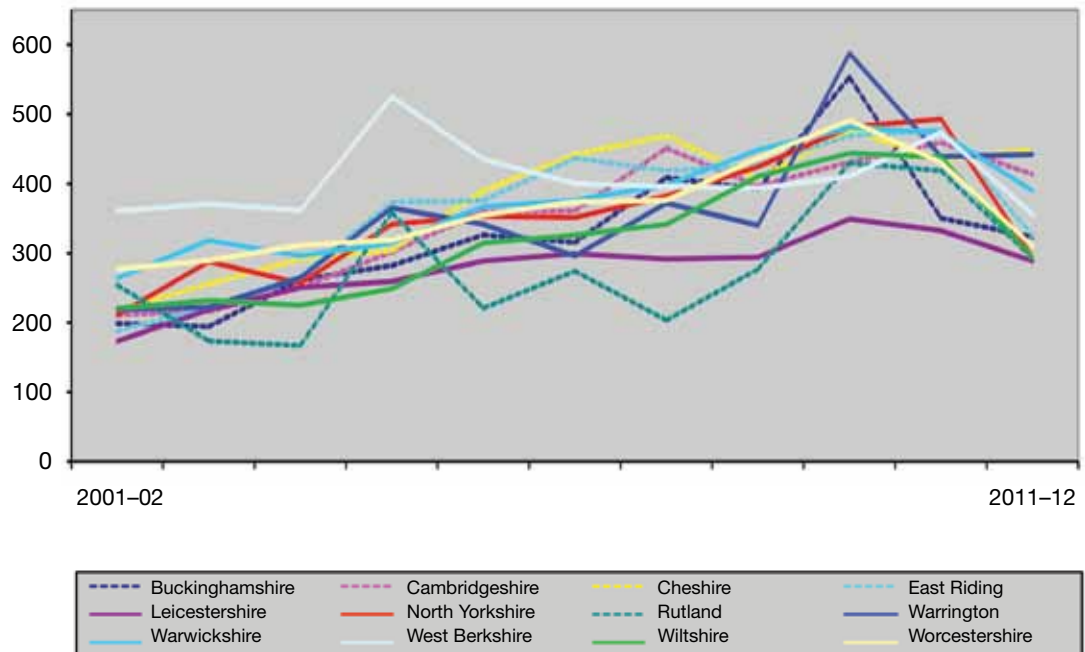
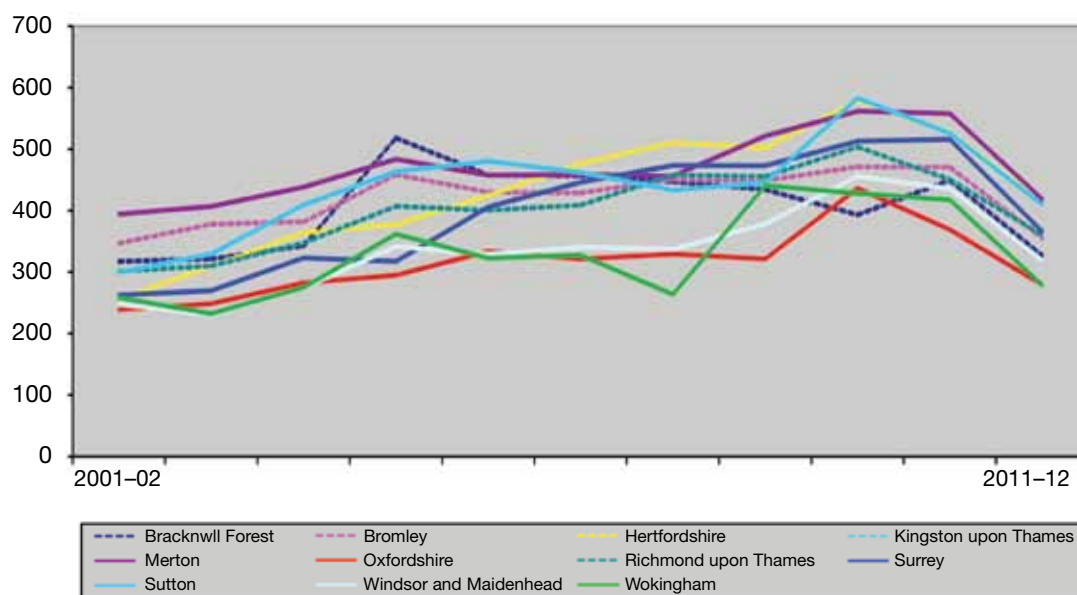


Chart 23: Trend in overall annual spending per young person by authority (£, Sutton group)



As these charts have demonstrated, the trend in total spending does vary to a certain extent across the comparator groups – particularly between English and Welsh councils. They also highlight how spending per head has changed for each individual authority over the last decade – identifying some organisations as clear outliers when compared to similar councils, even though the vast majority followed the same general pattern.

TREND BY BUDGET HEADING

Chart 24 on page 34 shows the breakdown of total spending across England and Wales between 2001–02 and 2011–12 by budget heading.²¹ Unfortunately, the BVACOP budget headings changed significantly towards the end of the decade, which means that we do not have sufficient data to identify trends in spending for the various types of children's social care expenditure. Nevertheless, the budget headings listed below applied throughout the analysis period and are therefore relatively straightforward to compare. The definitions for these headings were set out in chapter 2 on pages 10 and 11, and remained largely unchanged:²²

- Family support services
- Young people's services
- Looked after children
- Fostering

²¹ English councils have produced estimates for their 2010–11 spending broken down by these categories, but we do not yet have the comparable Welsh data figures, so have not included the breakdown for 2010–11 in this chart.

²² Until 2008–09, the 'other' budget heading included spend on central strategic functions, but definitions for each other line of spending did not change very much.

- Adoption and guardianship
- Commissioning and social work
- Youth justice
- Other

The remaining BVACOP headings first appeared later in the analysis period. When deciding whether to allocate spending under these budgets, local authorities were either presented with new definitions that did not appear anywhere beforehand, or were asked to take out some items of spending from one broad heading and put it into a new one. For the purpose of this report we have identified these 'new' lines of spending and incorporated all but one of them²³ into the 'older' budget headings that fit them best (or, in the case of strategy spending, where they used to belong). These 'new' lines, together with their 'old' budget heading, are detailed in Table 9 below.

Table 9: 'New' BVACOP headings and their 'old' counterparts

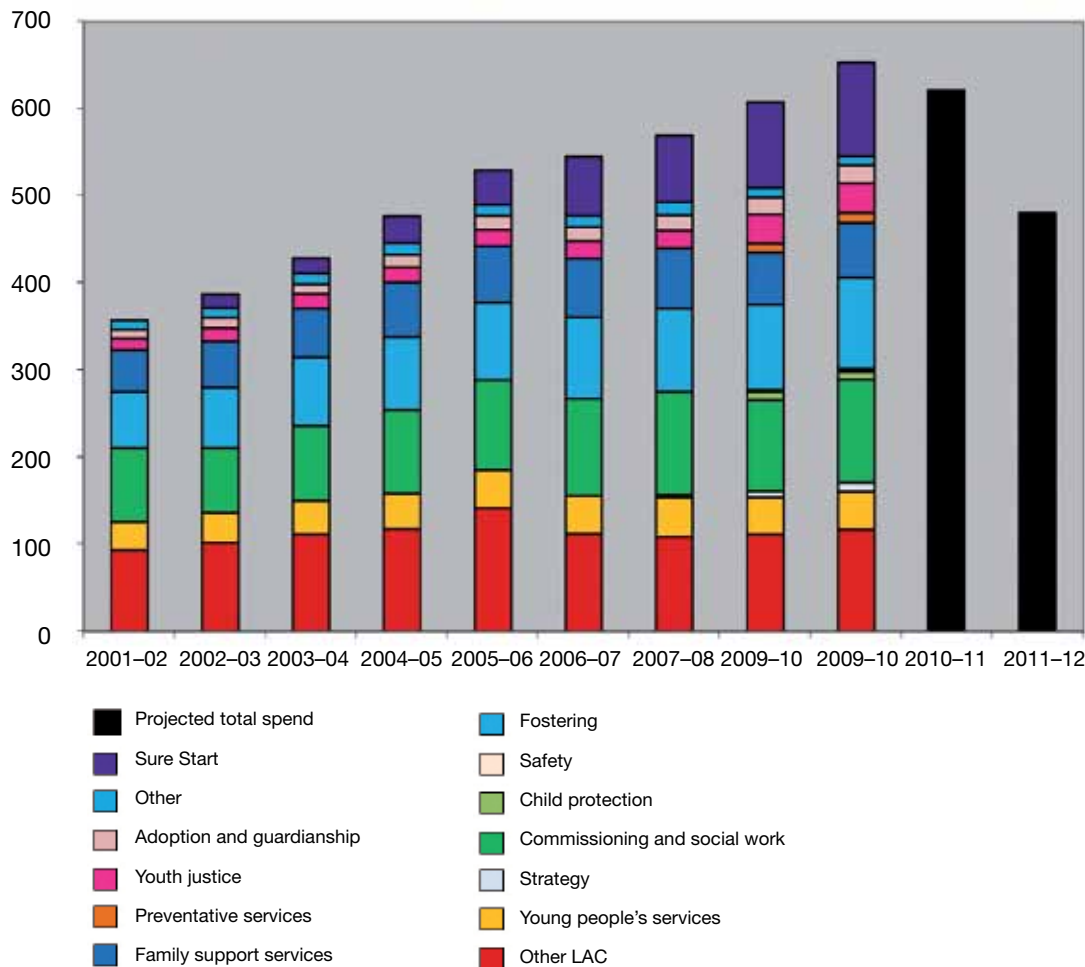
New BVACOP heading	Old BVACOP heading
Strategy	Other
Safety	Commissioning and social work
Child protection	Commissioning and social work

Although this re-aggregation of data should be treated with caution, it nevertheless allows us to track lines of spending to identify which services have increased most – and therefore might be most vulnerable to cuts. Chart 24 shows how the average level of spend for each BVACOP heading across England and Wales changed over the decade. It highlights a number of interesting developments, such as:

- Funding for Sure Start (England) increased rapidly during the period. The grants did not even exist in 2001–02, but by 2009–10 they accounted for the third-highest category of spending. Since the funding is no longer ring-fenced and many of these services and facilities are not necessarily embedded deeply in the minds of local residents, authorities are likely to see it as an easy area to make savings
- Spending on commissioning, social work, safety and child protection rose sharply in 2009–10 (from £116 to £131 per young person), probably in response to the Peter Connelly case
- Spending on fostering, adoption, young people's services and other services (including strategy) rose steadily during the period
- Spending on other services for looked after children dropped steeply in 2006–07 and has not returned even close to its peak of 2005–06. The reasons for this are unclear.

²³ Since funding for preventative services was previously channelled directly to Children's Services partnerships and does not fit neatly into any of the 'old' BVACOP headings, we have not aggregated this data. Neither have we tried to estimate previous levels of spend, as the totals reported for this line is extremely unpredictable and volatile in 2008–09 and 2009–10. Therefore all spending on preventative services prior to 2008–09 is not included in this report.

Chart 24: Trend in breakdown of total spend per young person (£), 2001–02 to 2011–12



Charts 25 and 26 show the average levels of spending in the Islington and East Riding groups broken down into these headings.²⁴ As the comparator groups of authorities that spent the most and least respectively over the course of the decade, they help to identify which services are more of a priority in high-spending areas.

These charts also highlight the fact that much of the increase in spending can be attributed to the introduction of Sure Start grants. However, the rise in demand for social work, youth justice and services for looked after children has led to some other budget lines (particularly family support services) becoming squeezed. Interestingly, although the average spend per young person in the Islington group is over three times as much as the East Riding cluster over these eleven years (£1,039 rather than £334), each budget line takes up a similar share of expenditure throughout the period. Therefore the pattern of expenditure is very similar, even though the overall amount spent is very different. The only major difference between the two groups is that the Islington authorities spent more on family support services than young people's services; for the East Riding cluster this situation was reversed. This finding echoes charts 5 and 6 in chapter 2, which looked at the spending breakdown in the Islington and Sutton groups for 2009–10.

²⁴ Since these groups consist solely of English councils, we have been able to break down the 2010–11 spending by budget heading.

Chart 25: Trend in breakdown of total spend per young person, 2001-02 to 2011-12 (£, Islington group)

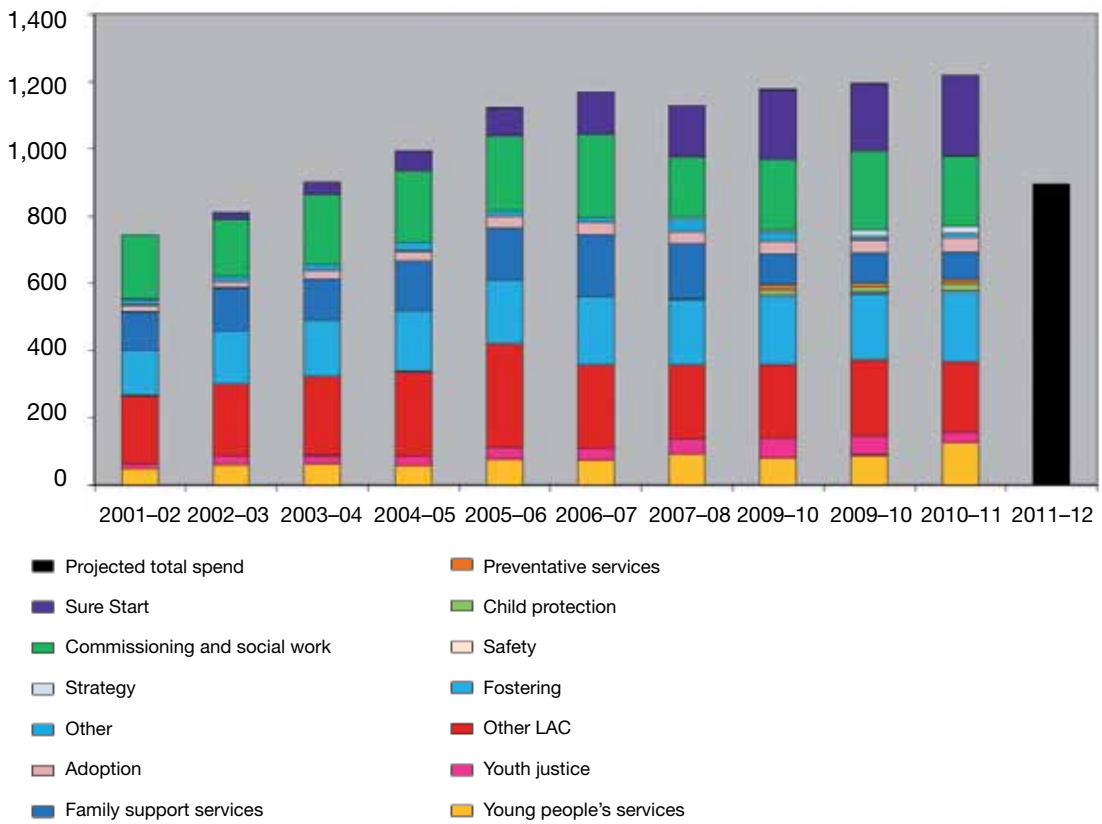
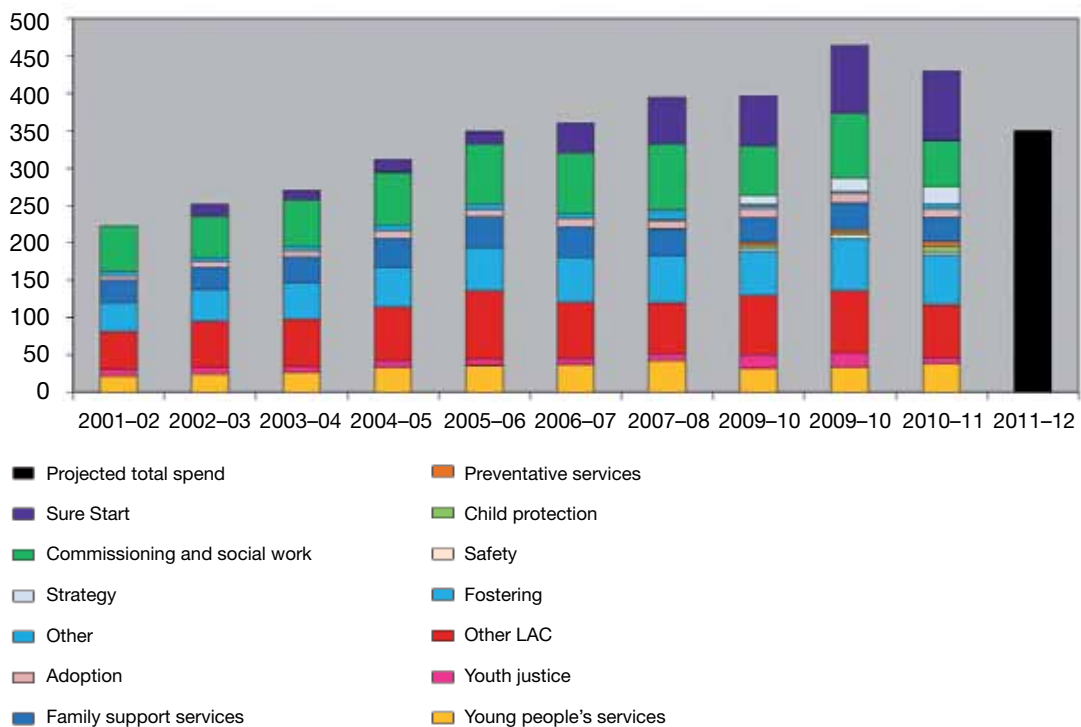


Chart 26: Trend in breakdown of total spend per young person, 2001-02 to 2011-12 (£, East Riding group)



Another notable feature of these charts is that spending on young people's services was not projected to fall in 2010–11, even though there have been reports that spending on these services have recently been the focus of cuts.²⁵ Although we do not have the detailed figures for 2011–12, the average spend on these services per 0–19 year-old rose in both groups in the previous financial year – from £89 to £126 for the Islington authorities and £33 to £37 in the East Riding cluster. This trend was mirrored across England, where the average spend per young person on these services increased from £44 to £51.

Charts 27 and 28 show how the Islington and East Riding groups allocated their spending according to our definitions of protection and prevention. Chart 27 highlights that protection and prevention spending appeared to be converging in the Islington group between 2005–06 and 2007–08, before diverging suddenly. This pattern – which is not particularly apparent in the East Riding authorities – suggests that some early intervention budget was re-directed towards protection services, probably in light of the Peter Connelly case. Councils in the Islington group have many more looked after children than those in the East Riding cluster, which suggests that they would have experienced a much greater increase in demand on their protection services following this trial and subsequent media brouhaha. The councils had to respond to this by re-allocating spending away from prevention services, regardless of the potential long-term impact this might have.

This finding is particularly interesting considering that the BVACOP budget heading for preventative services is only included from 2008–09 onwards. Prior to this year, money for these services was given directly to local partnerships (rather than local authorities) and we have therefore not been able to include it in the analysis. The Islington authorities spent around £14 and £12 per young person on these services in 2008–09 and 2009–10 respectively. If we were to take this out of the analysis (and therefore have a truer comparison of like-for-like expenditure before and after 2008–09), the drop in spending on prevention would be even more noticeable. Interestingly however, the figures for 2010–11 suggest that these two broad categories are beginning to converge once again, suggesting that authorities began to re-prioritise their spending once the furore around child protection services died down.

Another interesting finding from the 2010–11 data is that spending on protection services appears to be bearing the brunt of the reductions that began to take effect last year. This may be because many authorities have increased protection spending sharply in the last three years (particularly since the Peter Connelly case), and therefore managers feel that these budgets contain a certain degree of slack and will be able to cope with some initial reductions now that much of the “Baby P” furore has subsided. However, given that many protection services are statutory, it is highly unlikely that they will continue to shoulder most of the burden of cuts during the spending review period. This is particularly the case considering that the numbers of children subject to care applications is currently at record levels,²⁶ and therefore demand for protection services is unlikely to fall.

²⁵ Youth Services and Children's centres worst hit as cuts average 13 per cent in one year, *Children and Young People Now*, 25 January 2011.

²⁶ See www.cafcass.gov.uk/news/2011/cafcass_october_care_statistic.aspx

Chart 27: Trends in average spending per young person on prevention and protection services (£, Islington group)

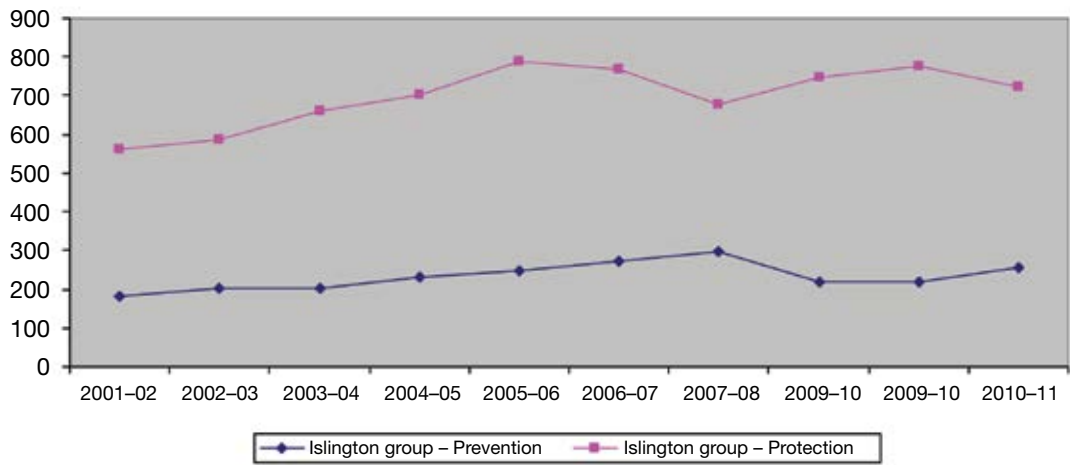
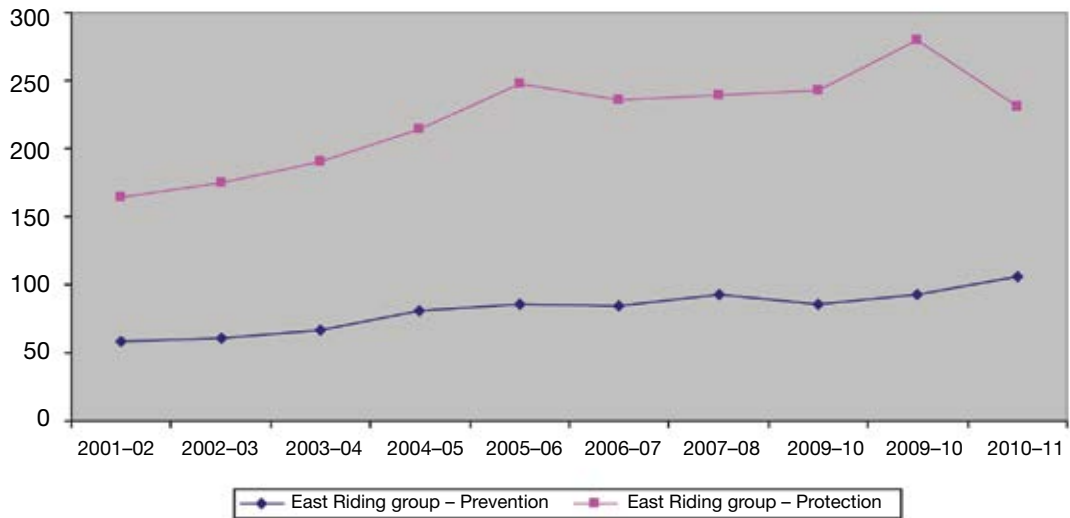


Chart 28: Trends in average spending per young person on prevention and protection services (£, East Riding group)



CHAPTER 4: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

This chapter tries to predict future levels of funding for children's social care in the light of the 2010 Spending Review settlement. In particular, it highlights how lower levels of spending on early intervention and preventative services could mean that local authorities are less effective at providing early help to vulnerable children before they come to the attention of child protection services. It is possible that cuts in funding to preventative services could result in greater demand for child protection services, which are already under considerable pressure.

Real-terms cuts to children's social care budgets in 2011–12 averaged 23.95% in England and 1.96% in Wales, compared to an average reduction in local authority spending of 10.11% and 4.33% respectively. For England, this equates to a cut of 2.37% in children's social care spending for every 1% reduction in overall expenditure. In contrast, children's social care budgets were only reduced by an average of 0.45% for every 1% drop in Welsh local government spending.

Since the Spending Review 'front-loaded' many of the cuts and required English councils to make drastic reductions in 2011–12, budgets in subsequent years are unlikely to be reduced quite as much. Although the Welsh local government settlement covers three rather than four years (spending is set to fall by 7.1% in real terms by 2013–14), the picture here is similar – more than half of the proposed cuts are scheduled to take place over the first twelve months. Table 10 highlights the funding settlements for English and Welsh councils, in 2010 prices.²⁷ It is based on ministerial announcements and the Spending Review documentation, and highlights how the cuts will not be applied evenly over the period. For example, grants to English councils are being cut by £3.5 billion in 2011–12, whereas they will only be reduced by £808m in 2013–14.²⁸

Of course cuts in grant funding will not automatically lead to cuts in funding for services. The Spending Review and Welsh Assembly Government announcement only set out how deep the cuts to local authority grant *funding* are set to be: however, overall local government *expenditure* will fall at a slower rate because other sources of authority income (such as Council Tax and money from fees and charges) will not be affected by decisions to reduce central grants. Although the Spending Review predicted that English council spending would fall by 14% over the four-year period, the 2011–12 figures suggest that it will be cut by more than this. As the tables show, total spending by English councils was forecast to drop by 10.11% this year, whilst funding was reduced by 12.45% – in Wales the corresponding figures are 4.33% and 5.68%. Therefore, Table 10 also sets out the possible percentage cuts in spending for the next three years, based on the funding settlements and using the same ratios of funding reductions to spending cuts that applied in 2011–12.²⁹

²⁷ See Welsh Local Government Minister Carl Sergeant's announcement at http://wales.gov.uk/newsroom/localgovernment/2010/101123settlement/?lang=en&utm_source=http%3a%2f%2femail.cipfa.org.uk%2fcipfalz%2f&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=480&utm_term=PIN+News+-+25+November+2010&utm_content=1 for more details on how Welsh councils will be affected, and the Spending Review report at www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/spend_index.htm for more information on funding projections for English councils.

²⁸ It should be noted that the Spending Review relied on the Office of Budget Responsibility's RPI estimates for the next five years. They were 4.4% for 2010, 2.95% for 2011, 2.575% for 2012, 2.75% for 2013 and 2.8% for 2014 and 2015. The OBR's figure for 2011–12 is significantly lower than the 5% that we have used to re-calculate 2011–12 spending at 2010 prices and that also looks like a more accurate rate at the time of writing (September 2011).

²⁹ These ratios of spending reductions to funding cuts are $10.11/12.45 = 0.812048$ in England and $4.33/5.68 = 0.762324$ in Wales.

Table 10: Projected percentage cuts in funding settlements and local authority budgets, 2011–12 to 2014–15

	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14	2014–15
Total funding for English local authorities (2010 prices)	£28.5bn	£24.95bn	£22.61bn	£21.8bn	£20bn
Cut in English local authority funding from previous year		12.45%	9.4%	3.58%	8.26%
Projected cuts in total English local authority spending		10.11%	7.63%	2.91%	6.71%
Total funding for Welsh local authorities (2010 prices)	£4.22bn	£3.98bn	£3.86bn	£3.8bn	
Cut in Welsh local authority funding from previous year		5.68%	2.89%	1.52%	
Projected cuts in total Welsh local authority spending		4.33%	2.20%	1.16%	

Using the figures for projected total spending cuts set out in Table 10, along with the figures for children's social care expenditure in 2011–12, we can hypothecate how much could be reduced from budgets in future years if children's social care budgets continue to bear the same proportion of spending cuts. In 2011–12, children's services budgets were reduced by 23.95% in England, compared to just 1.96% in Wales. Therefore, for every 10.11% reduction in overall spending by English councils, children's social care budgets were cut by 23.95% – a ratio of 2.368:1. The corresponding ratio in Wales is 0.453:1.

Table 11: Projected cuts to total and children's social care spending if current patterns continue, 2011–12 to 2014–15 (2010 prices)

	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14	2014–15
Projected cuts in total English local government spending		10.11%	7.63%	2.91%	6.71%
Projected cuts in English children's social care spending		23.95%	18.07%	6.89%	15.89%
Projected English children's social care spending	£7.35bn	£5.88bn	£4.82bn	£4.49bn	£3.78bn
Projected English children's social care spending per young person	£623	£474	£388	£361	£305
Projected cuts in total Welsh local government spending		4.33%	2.20%	1.16%	
Projected cuts in Welsh children's social care spending		1.96%	1%	0.53%	
Projected Welsh children's social care spending	£403m	£395m	£391m	£390m	
Projected Welsh children's social care spending per young person	£567	£556	£551	£549	

Table 11 adopts these ratios to predict hypothetical future levels of children's services spending, keeping the relevant rows from Table 8 for ease of reference. It suggests that, if this pattern continues, spending would fall back to just £305 per young person in England (lower than the level for 2001–02), compared to £549 in Wales.³⁰ Although we can only base our assumptions on a single year of post-Spending Review projected budgets (and we only have headline figures, rather than a detailed breakdown of spend), it is very unlikely that cuts of this scale will occur.

Table 12 shows why this is the case, by identifying which of the budget lines³¹ we have analysed in this report are most vulnerable to cuts in 2011–12 and subsequent years. It takes the base year as 2009–10, as this was the high-point of overall expenditure, and the last year for which we have a detailed breakdown of spending in both England and Wales. It assumes that the numbers of children in need (CIN) and looked after children (LAC) will not fall in the next few years,³² and that authorities will prefer to cut spending on 'back-office' activities rather than 'front-line' services.

As the table shows, most of the vulnerable services are preventative; youth justice is the only protection service that is highly likely to be subjected to budget cuts – although these reductions will prove difficult to deliver in those areas affected by the recent riots. The table also highlights the fact that councils are almost certain to make significant cuts in Sure Start expenditure, as all of the other vulnerable services combined only account for around half of this budget. However, even if local authorities ceased providing all of these vulnerable services, they would only save a total of £1.58bn of the 2009–10 baseline spend – less than the £1.85bn reduction that has already been projected for 2011–12. The figure is also dwarfed by the projected savings in Table 11, which suggests that children's social care budgets in 2014–15 would end up being less than half of the figure for 2011–12 if they continued to bear the same share of the cuts.

As a result, councils will need to look elsewhere for savings in the future, and cuts to children's social care budgets in each of the next three years will probably not be as large in percentage terms as those planned for 2011–12. Budgets will no doubt be reduced between now and 2014–15 (and obviously from a much lower base than the 2009–10 peak), but most authorities are unlikely to continue making reductions of a similar scale to those we have seen this year. It may be the case that many authorities took advantage of the un-ringfencing of various children's services grants for discretionary services to make relatively 'easy' spending reductions for the current financial year. Future decisions are unlikely to be quite so straightforward, as finance managers will have their work cut out identifying which other budgets can be reduced – but children's services are unlikely to share similar share of the burden.

Nonetheless, reductions of the magnitude proposed for 2011–12 in a single financial year would have a huge impact on any service. They can only be achieved by major headcount reductions or significant changes to the scope and/or quality of services. Moreover, the speed at which these reforms are implemented could cause problems further down the line. Although the spending cuts may have left authorities with little choice but to make staff redundant, some managers come to may regret decisions that may have been made in haste and caused talented or experienced professionals to leave and staff morale to plummet.

³⁰ This also assumes that the number of young people will remain constant, even though it has increased every year since 2005–06.

³¹ See page 10 of this report for an explanation of how these budget lines are defined.

³² This means that the cost of providing statutory services to CIN and LAC can only reduce if the services become more efficient or effective. Although these improvements may be achievable, they are unlikely to be sufficient. In addition, the number of children looked after has been rising for several years, which makes this an optimistic scenario.

Table 12: Vulnerability of budget lines to spending cuts

Budget line	Type of service	Vulnerability to cuts	Reason for vulnerability	Total spending in England and Wales, 2009–10	% of overall spend
Sure Start	Prevention and protection	High	Non-statutory and no longer ring-fenced. Accounts for a high share of overall spending in England, where cuts are deeper	£1.41bn	16.51
Preventative services	Prevention	High	Non-statutory. Less 'urgent' and high-profile than protection services	£144m	1.68
Strategy	Prevention	High	Funds mostly 'back-office' activities rather than front-line social work	£135m	1.58
Youth Justice	Protection	High	English council estimates for 2010–11 suggest cuts are already being made in this area	£438m	5.14
Young people's services	Prevention	Medium	Non-statutory. However, English council estimates for 2010–11 suggest cuts are not yet being made in this area (see page 32)	£568m	6.6
Family support services	Prevention	Medium	Some services are statutory for CIN, but some are discretionary	£822m	9.63
Other services	Prevention	Medium	Grants to voluntary organisations are likely to be cut Statutory services that come under this heading are less vulnerable	£135m	1.58
Commissioning and social work	Protection	Medium	Front-line service, but in many cases delivered in excess of statutory requirements	£1.55bn	18.19
Looked after children	Protection	Low	The number of LAC is unlikely to fall	£1.53bn	17.97
Fostering	Protection	Low	The number of LAC is unlikely to fall	£1.37bn	16.06
Safety	Protection	Low	Funds statutory duties Low share of overall spending	£43m	0.5
Child protection	Protection	Low	Funds statutory duties	£113m	1.32
Adoption and guardianship	Protection	Low	Councils want to increase the number of children adopted, as this is a cost-effective solution for LAC	£272m	3.19

THE POTENTIAL KNOCK-ON EFFECTS OF CUTS TO PREVENTATIVE SERVICES

Another factor to consider when trying to predict how spending patterns might develop is the potential medium-term effect of a reduction in early intervention and other preventative spending. A number of independent and public bodies have identified how early intervention programmes that are targeted at children who may be on the threshold of being either officially 'in need' (CIN) or 'looked after' (LAC) by the local authority can prevent them from dropping into these categories – most notably the review undertaken by Graham Allen MP for the coalition government.³³ If these interventions are successful, many young people benefit from improved welfare and quality of life, and also the overall cost to the public purse is reduced – because it is more expensive to deliver protection services than prevention initiatives.

The coalition Government has recognised the importance of early intervention, and has allocated English councils a total of £2.22 billion in 2011–12 and £2.31 billion in 2012–13 to fund these programmes.³⁴ Although local authorities are not mandated to spend the money on specific initiatives, the Department for Education suggests that it should help to support Sure Start programmes and intensive interventions in families with multiple problems.

With this in mind, it is worth investigating how a reduction in prevention spending (as highlighted in Table 12) could increase the demand for protection services and the corresponding pressure for additional spending. There is no existing evidence that can answer this question with certainty. But we have used the best available evidence to estimate what the knock-on effects might be. Below we detail our calculations. Note that all the figures relate to December 2009 and to England only.

Step 1: the number of children on the threshold of the child protection system

There is no authoritative information about the number of children that receive early intervention before their difficulties reach the stage where statutory services are required by law to intervene. The number of children who are likely to be around the threshold of the child protection system was estimated to be 225,000 based on the midpoint between two calculations:

- The number of children who are referred to social services each year minus the number who are classified as being 'in need' (300,000)³⁵
- The number of children in families identified as 'at risk' (150,000)³⁶

³³ See <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/sites/default/files/resources/earlyintervention-smartinvestment.pdf>

³⁴ <http://www.education.gov.uk/childrenandyoungpeople/earlylearningandchildcare/delivery/funding/a0070357/eig-faq#faq2>

³⁵ The number of children who are referred to social services each year is estimated to be 423,000 (there were 547,000 referrals to children's social care services in 2009, minus 124,000 repeat referrals within 12 months of a previous referral); the number of children becoming 'in need' annually is estimated to be 123,000.

³⁶ The DfE calculated there to be 50,000 families at risk through its Think Family research. The average number of children per family is 3. The coalition has since talked about 120,000 problem families so this may be an underestimate.

Step 2: the likely increase in looked after children if there are more children in need

The historical ratio of children ‘in need’ to ‘looked after’ children is around 5:1. Therefore if an additional five children are classed as being in need, we estimate one child will drop out of this category to become looked after.³⁷

Step 3: the cost of providing services to looked after children

The cost of providing services to each looked after child varies from £2,578 to £530,515 per annum. The mean cost in England is £57,385. We have adopted this as the ‘unit cost’ for the additional amount that authorities will need to spend for every additional child who is taken into care.

Table 13 uses these assumptions to show the extra demands that would be placed on protection services if there were hypothetical increases in the number of children on the threshold of being in need. It highlights the potential additional costs of (statutory) protection services if (discretionary) prevention services are reduced too much. In addition, these scenarios would almost certainly result in a multiplier effect. This is because councils would be forced to cut discretionary prevention initiatives even further in order to find resources for extra statutory protection services, and therefore an ever-increasing number of children would end up in need and in care. The number of looked after children has been increasing for several years now, and cuts to preventative services could result in them rising even further – placing an extra burden on local authority budgets.

Table 13: Potential knock-on costs of more children being ‘in need’

Increase in children on the threshold of being in need	Number of additional children in need	Number of additional looked after children	Additional cost of protection services
10%	22,500	4,500	£258m
20%	45,000	9,000	£516m
30%	67,500	13,500	£775m

³⁷ The latest figures actually suggest a ratio of around 5.8:1, so it may be that fewer children would drop through this threshold.

CONCLUSIONS

This report has traced the rise in spending on children's social care that occurred during the 2000s, and highlighted how this is now set to fall significantly over the next four years – alongside cuts in overall public expenditure. It has shown how the pattern of spending has varied by different types of authority, and between English and Welsh councils in particular.

It has also discussed how the spending reductions are likely to be applied within children's social care. Prevention services appear to be especially vulnerable, but cuts will also need to be delivered in other areas in order to keep within 2011–12 budgets. Further cuts in children's social care spending will no doubt take place over the rest of the Spending Review period, but they are unlikely to be as deep as those already planned for the current year.

Although spending reductions do not automatically translate into cuts in services or worsening outcomes for children, the scale of the challenge ahead suggests that some impact on children will be unavoidable. As such, the impact of these reductions on young people, their families and the wider community should not be underestimated. The sheer pace of change in spending on children's social care in some local authorities is of concern. It is hard to imagine that mistakes will not be made in the face of cuts of 40% to some children's social care budgets.

In particular, this report has shown that cutting preventative services may prove costly if it is not done very carefully. If cuts to preventative services result in more children becoming in need, child protection costs could spiral.

It is also worth remembering that this report has only considered the levels of spending on those children's social services that are provided by local government. Reductions in other areas, such as the police, voluntary sector and education maintenance allowance, will also have a major impact on the welfare of many young people. As a result, there are likely to be additional demands placed on local authority services over the coming years that have not been covered in our analysis.

What is certain is that local authorities can not continue as they are, facing rising demand for children's social care services with significantly reduced resources. This report puts into sharp relief the need for a relentless focus on finding more effective interventions to prevent abuse from occurring in the first place, and swiftly addressing abuse once it occurs. In an age of relative austerity, local authorities will only be better able to protect children if they find ways to allocate resources in a smarter way.

APPENDIX 1: LOCAL AUTHORITY SPENDING ON CHILDREN'S SOCIAL CARE, 2010–11 AND 2011–12³⁸

Authority name	2010–11			2011–12			Spending cut per young person, 2010/11–2011/12 (£)	% drop in spending 2010/11–2011/12
	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0–19 year-olds	Spend per 0–19 year-old (£)	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0–19 year-olds	Spend per 0–19 year-old (£)		
Barking & Dagenham	45,270	54,300	834	28,448	54,300	524	310	37.16
Barnet	50,588	86,100	588	37,444	86,100	435	153	25.98
Barnsley	35,257	54,200	650	21,690	54,200	400	250	38.48
Bath & North East Somerset	20,193	41,000	493	13,725	41,000	335	158	32.03
Bedfordshire	59,410	102,000	582	48,180	102,000	472	110	18.90
Bexley	27,629	57,900	477	17,276	57,900	298	179	37.47
Birmingham	219,685	288,800	761	156,334	288,800	541	219	28.84
Blackburn with Darwen	32,230	42,500	758	24,733	42,500	582	176	23.26
Blackpool	31,026	33,000	940	26,427	33,000	801	139	14.82
Bolton	30,458	69,600	438	30,570	69,600	439	-2	-0.37
Bournemouth	28,140	35,100	802	20,389	35,100	581	221	27.54
Bracknell Forest	13,440	29,900	450	9,778	29,900	327	122	27.24
Bradford	88,332	143,400	616	79,395	143,400	554	62	10.12

³⁸ All figures are in 2010 prices, calculated on the basis of a 5% RPI rate for 2011. Population figures have been rounded up to the nearest 100, and spend per young person has been rounded up to the nearest pound. Population estimates for 2011–12 were not available at the time of writing; therefore we have used the 2010–11 data for both years.

Authority name	2010-11				2011-12				Spending cut per young person, 2010/11-2011/12 (£)	% drop in spending 2010/11-2011/12
	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0-19 year-olds	Spend per 0-19 year-old (£)	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0-19 year-olds	Spend per 0-19 year-old (£)				
Brent	51,843	63,800	813	37,466	63,800	587	225	27.73		
Brighton & Hove	51,226	55,100	930	46,243	55,100	839	90	9.73		
Bristol	68,495	94,200	727	51,016	94,200	542	186	25.52		
Bromley	35,302	75,000	471	26,630	75,000	355	116	24.56		
Buckinghamshire	44,401	126,700	350	40,958	126,700	323	27	7.75		
Bury	25,295	46,700	542	19,280	46,700	413	129	23.78		
Calderdale	23,092	50,500	457	18,889	50,500	374	83	18.20		
Cambridgeshire	66,228	144,300	459	59,658	144,300	413	46	9.92		
Camden	54,938	46,100	1,192	44,326	46,100	962	230	19.32		
Cheshire	68,984	158,900	434	71,427	158,900	450	-15	-3.54		
Cornwall (inc Isles of Scilly)	71,426	117,300	609	53,780	117,300	458	150	24.71		
Corporation of London	2,439	1,200	2,032	1,145	1,200	954	1,078	53.05		
Coventry	59,312	80,000	741	48,821	80,000	610	131	17.69		
Croydon	75,793	89,200	850	67,542	89,200	757	92	10.89		
Cumbria	53,724	108,500	495	43,402	108,500	400	95	19.21		
Darlington	13,918	24,300	573	11,031	24,300	454	119	20.74		
Derby	44,486	60,400	737	34,593	60,400	573	164	22.24		
Derbyshire	81,226	174,400	466	62,233	174,400	357	109	23.38		
Devon	85,886	162,400	529	66,275	162,400	408	121	22.83		
Doncaster	48,451	70,300	689	44,024	70,300	626	63	9.14		

Authority name	2010-11			2011-12			% drop in spending 2010/11-2011/12
	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0-19 year-olds	Spend per 0-19 year-old (£)	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0-19 year-olds	Spend per 0-19 year-old (£)	
Dorset	43,628	89,400	488	37,173	89,400	416	14.80
Dudley	47,792	73,100	654	36,480	73,100	499	23.67
Durham	76,924	116,100	663	51,261	116,100	442	33.36
Ealing	52,669	74,800	704	47,572	74,800	636	9.68
East Riding of Yorkshire	35,114	73,500	478	23,925	73,500	326	31.86
East Sussex	62,644	116,000	540	50,602	116,000	436	19.22
Enfield	48,085	78,800	610	32,238	78,800	409	32.96
Essex	166,929	332,600	502	133,337	332,600	401	20.12
Gateshead	28,087	43,400	647	21,661	43,400	499	22.88
Gloucestershire	70,610	139,100	508	45,114	139,100	324	36.11
Greenwich	67,341	59,700	1,128	47,724	59,700	799	29.13
Hackney	74,726	56,800	1,316	52,021	56,800	916	30.38
Halton	23,557	30,600	770	11,375	30,600	372	51.71
Hammersmith & Fulham	43,754	34,800	1,257	41,924	34,800	1,205	4.18
Hampshire	124,924	307,000	407	83,816	307,000	273	32.91
Haringey	61,593	53,800	1,145	55,311	53,800	1,028	10.20
Harrow	25,553	55,600	460	24,536	55,600	441	3.98
Hartlepool	19,807	22,900	865	16,162	22,900	706	18.40
Havering	27,836	56,700	491	27,254	56,700	481	2.09
Herefordshire	19,911	39,300	507	14,357	39,300	365	27.89

Authority name	2010-11				2011-12				Spending cut per young person, 2010/11-2011/12 (£)	% drop in spending 2010/11-2011/12
	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0-19 year-olds	Spend per 0-19 year-old (£)	Total spend (£000, 2010 prices)	Number of 0-19 year-olds	Spend per 0-19 year-old (£)				
Hertfordshire	145,363	275,500	528	114,376	275,500	415	112	21.32		
Hillingdon	43,283	68,800	629	27,190	68,800	395	234	37.18		
Hounslow	42,455	56,800	747	31,055	56,800	547	201	26.85		
Isle of Wight	19,151	29,500	649	11,437	29,500	388	261	40.28		
Islington	65,976	38,600	1,709	44,166	38,600	1,144	565	33.06		
Kensington & Chelsea	37,920	33,500	1,132	30,326	33,500	905	227	20.03		
Kent	173,368	350,500	495	121,978	350,500	348	147	29.64		
Kingston upon Hull	64,312	61,400	1,047	42,289	61,400	689	359	34.24		
Kingston upon Thames	23,653	38,300	618	16,982	38,300	443	174	28.20		
Kirklees	67,913	105,600	643	48,451	105,600	459	184	28.66		
Knowsley	30,775	38,000	810	17,688	38,000	465	344	42.52		
Lambeth	71,075	59,400	1,197	58,644	59,400	987	209	17.49		
Lancashire	150,199	278,600	539	106,661	278,600	383	156	28.99		
Leeds	120,630	179,800	671	106,025	179,800	590	81	12.11		
Leicester	63,882	80,700	792	45,417	80,700	563	229	28.91		
Leicestershire	50,349	151,500	332	43,729	151,500	289	44	13.15		
Lewisham	73,808	65,200	1,132	47,244	65,200	725	407	35.99		
Lincolnshire	69,291	157,700	439	46,622	157,700	296	144	32.72		
Liverpool	81,923	100,800	813	59,499	100,800	590	222	27.37		
Luton	36,823	54,800	672	24,177	54,800	441	231	34.34		

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Manchester	127,216	117,200	1,085	122,765	117,200	1,047	38	3.50
Medway	39,338	66,000	596	29,009	66,000	440	157	26.26
Merton	26,061	46,700	558	19,552	46,700	419	139	24.98
Middlesbrough	32,102	36,000	892	21,803	36,000	606	286	32.08
Milton Keynes	44,660	64,200	696	26,320	64,200	410	286	41.07
Newcastle upon Tyne	53,858	64,600	834	54,397	64,600	842	-8	-1.00
Newham	80,493	72,800	1,106	50,050	72,800	687	418	37.82
Norfolk	108,603	183,600	592	87,940	183,600	479	113	19.03
North East Lincolnshire	30,948	38,600	802	21,104	38,600	547	255	31.81
North Lincolnshire	22,775	38,000	599	16,635	38,000	438	162	26.96
North Somerset	22,020	47,800	461	17,011	47,800	356	105	22.75
North Tyneside	27,861	44,400	627	21,362	44,400	481	146	23.33
North Yorkshire	66,509	134,900	493	39,653	134,900	294	199	40.38
Northamptonshire	75,258	171,400	439	60,058	171,400	350	89	20.20
Northumberland	46,486	67,200	692	25,971	67,200	386	305	44.13
Nottingham	67,854	71,300	952	47,786	71,300	670	281	29.58
Nottinghamshire	91,692	177,900	515	95,695	177,900	538	-23	-4.37
Oldham	39,944	60,700	658	25,736	60,700	424	234	35.57
Oxfordshire	58,352	158,100	369	44,168	158,100	279	90	24.31
Peterborough	29,007	44,800	647	33,615	44,800	750	-103	-15.89

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Plymouth	44,644	58,800	759	34,623	58,800	589	170	22.45		
Poole	16,861	32,100	525	11,743	32,100	366	159	30.35		
Portsmouth	29,493	46,700	632	24,827	46,700	532	100	15.82		
Reading	22,628	35,300	641	20,856	35,300	591	50	7.83		
Redbridge	34,196	72,200	474	24,228	72,200	336	138	29.15		
Redcar & Cleveland	16,226	32,000	507	15,153	32,000	474	34	6.61		
Richmond upon Thames	20,408	45,300	451	16,328	45,300	360	90	19.99		
Rochdale	37,892	54,900	690	26,772	54,900	488	203	29.35		
Rotherham	39,229	62,100	632	26,902	62,100	433	198	31.42		
Rutland	4,437	10,600	419	3,103	10,600	293	126	30.07		
Salford	52,894	53,700	985	38,095	53,700	709	276	27.98		
Sandwell	46,352	77,400	599	49,817	77,400	644	-45	-7.48		
Sefton	46,507	62,100	749	32,354	62,100	521	228	30.43		
Sheffield	83,647	126,500	661	68,123	126,500	539	123	18.56		
Shropshire	25,250	67,300	375	22,573	67,300	335	40	10.60		
Slough	22,094	34,600	639	17,224	34,600	498	141	22.04		
Solihull	36,715	50,200	731	32,861	50,200	655	77	10.50		
Somerset	52,557	122,900	428	38,732	122,900	315	112	26.31		
South Gloucestershire	27,038	63,300	427	17,922	63,300	283	144	33.72		
South Tyneside	29,634	34,300	864	21,240	34,300	619	245	28.32		

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Southampton	38,834	53,200	730	30,585	53,200	575	155	21.24
Southend-on-Sea	26,854	39,300	683	21,731	39,300	553	130	19.08
Southwark	88,196	61,700	1,429	64,524	61,700	1,046	384	26.84
St Helens	31,815	42,500	749	21,801	42,500	513	236	31.48
Staffordshire	98,328	189,400	519	67,822	189,400	358	161	31.02
Stockport	37,629	66,700	564	26,462	66,700	397	167	29.68
Stockton-on-Tees	32,837	47,600	690	22,715	47,600	477	213	30.82
Stoke-on-Trent	49,539	58,500	847	31,366	58,500	536	311	36.68
Suffolk	75,412	166,200	454	66,989	166,200	403	51	11.17
Sunderland	46,163	64,300	718	30,895	64,300	480	237	33.07
Surrey	140,809	272,900	516	99,925	272,900	366	150	29.04
Sutton	25,294	48,100	526	19,722	48,100	410	116	22.03
Swindon	28,293	49,000	577	18,075	49,000	369	209	36.12
Tameside	34,010	53,900	631	20,866	53,900	387	244	38.65
Telford & Wrekin	27,649	42,200	655	23,493	42,200	557	99	15.03
Thurrock	21,786	41,300	528	19,118	41,300	463	65	12.25
Torbay	22,415	28,700	781	17,223	28,700	600	181	23.17
Tower Hamlets	81,489	57,500	1,417	44,887	57,500	781	637	44.92
Trafford	30,206	53,500	565	19,926	53,500	372	192	34.03
Wakefield	56,784	76,400	743	31,524	76,400	413	331	44.48

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Walsall	48,974	67,300	728	35,103	67,300	522	206	28.32
Waltham Forest	57,203	60,700	942	40,082	60,700	660	282	29.93
Wandsworth	48,172	56,600	851	40,610	56,600	717	134	15.70
Warrington	20,978	47,800	439	21,129	47,800	442	-3	-0.72
Warwickshire	58,458	123,600	473	48,166	123,600	390	83	17.61
West Berkshire	19,231	40,600	474	14,451	40,600	356	118	24.85
West Sussex	83,791	183,400	457	66,669	183,400	364	93	20.43
Westminster	52,049	42,100	1,236	35,365	42,100	840	396	32.06
Wigan	50,364	73,700	683	35,574	73,700	483	201	29.37
Wiltshire	49,541	113,100	438	33,221	113,100	294	144	32.94
Windsor & Maidenhead	16,256	37,300	436	11,902	37,300	319	117	26.79
Wirral	53,120	74,600	712	39,018	74,600	523	189	26.55
Wokingham	17,077	40,900	418	11,410	40,900	279	139	33.19
Wolverhampton	47,540	59,100	804	31,837	59,100	539	266	33.03
Worcestershire	55,206	128,300	430	39,803	128,300	310	120	27.90
York	20,920	42,700	490	13,486	42,700	316	174	35.53
Blaenau Gwent	11,317	16,300	694	9,688	16,300	594	100	14.40
Bridgend	20,523	31,700	647	19,391	31,700	612	36	5.51
Caerphilly	24,195	43,000	563	21,784	43,000	507	56	9.96
Cardiff	43,320	81,700	530	43,381	81,700	531	-1	-0.14

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Carmarthenshire	18,544	41,400	448	18,880	41,400	456	-8	-1.81
Ceredigion	8,093	16,900	479	8,184	16,900	484	-5	-1.13
Conwy	13,582	24,400	557	13,119	24,400	538	19	3.41
Denbighshire	12,077	22,300	542	11,641	22,300	522	20	3.61
Flintshire	15,506	35,400	438	14,347	35,400	405	33	7.48
Gwynedd	15,850	28,100	564	15,566	28,100	554	10	1.79
Isle of Anglesey	7,558	15,700	481	5,920	15,700	377	104	21.68
Merthyr Tydfil	9,420	13,600	693	10,091	13,600	742	-49	-7.12
Monmouthshire	7,630	20,600	370	6,289	20,600	305	65	17.58
Neath Port Talbot	21,954	31,700	693	22,418	31,700	707	-15	-2.11
Newport	21,019	36,700	573	20,653	36,700	563	10	1.74
Pembrokeshire	14,251	27,700	514	13,587	27,700	491	24	4.66
Powys	18,703	29,100	643	17,367	29,100	597	46	7.14
Rhondda Cynon Taff	39,211	56,600	693	41,096	56,600	726	-33	-4.81
Swansea	36,152	53,100	681	37,508	53,100	706	-26	-3.75
Torfaen	13,695	22,000	623	13,803	22,000	627	-5	-0.79
Vale of Glamorgan	14,958	30,800	486	14,533	30,800	472	14	2.84
Wrexham	14,959	31,300	478	15,373	31,300	491	-13	-2.77

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Total England	7,734,709	12,419,300	623	5,882,503	12,419,300	474	149.14	23.95		
Total Wales	402,516	710,100	567	394,619	710,100	556	11.12	1.96		
Totals (England and Wales)	8,137,226	13,129,400	620	6,277,121	13,129,400	478	141.67	22.86		

