

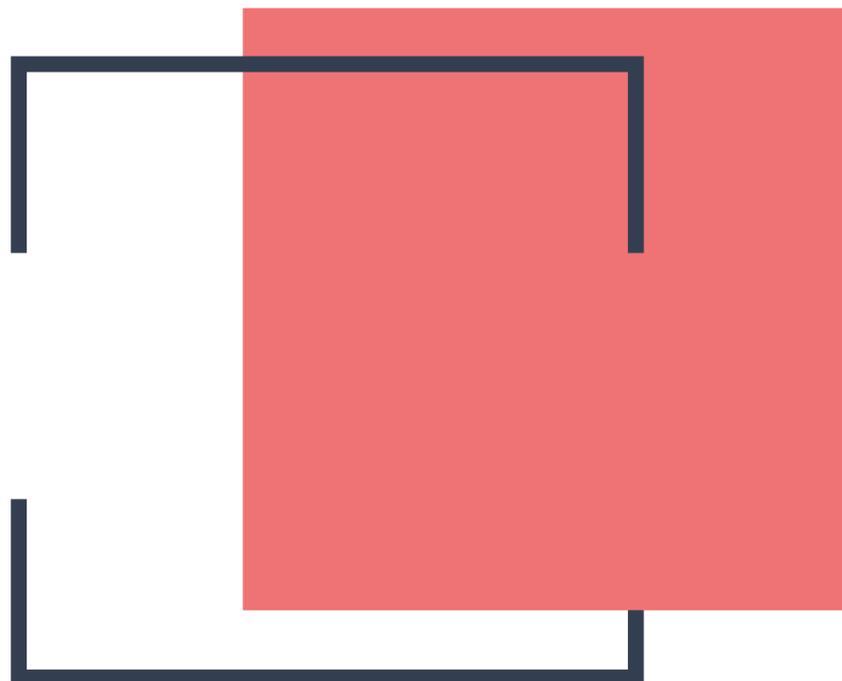
Annual expenditure on children's social care

Technical report

An independent research report by Alma Economics

Commissioned by the Independent Review of Children's Social Care

November 2021



The Independent Review of Children's Social Care was announced in January 2021 and will report in Spring 2022. Josh MacAlister is leading the review which has a wide ranging and ambitious scope. The review is a chance to look afresh at children's social care. It will look at issues through the perspective of children and families throughout their interactions with children's social care, from having a social worker knock on the door, through to children being in care and then leaving care.

In June 2021 the review published the Case for Change which set out early thinking about what needs to change in the children's social care system. So far, the chair and review team have heard directly from over 1,000 people with lived experience of care and a similar number of people who are part of the children's social care workforce.

This technical report constitutes independent research by Alma Economics. It was published in November 2021 alongside a summary report produced by the independent review as well as a second technical report focussing on the social cost of adverse outcomes of children who need a social worker.

Alma Economics was selected through a competitive process, in-line with government procurement rules, to carry out work for the review on the costs associated with the children's social care system and the cost effectiveness of the review's recommendations. The review's recommendations will be costed by Alma Economics and published alongside the final report in Spring 2022.



Alma Economics combines unparalleled analytical expertise with the ability to communicate complex ideas clearly.

www.almaeconomics.com

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Methodology	2
Defining children's social care	2
Categories of expenditure on children's social care	2
Local authorities' expenditure on children's social care	2
Legal costs of bringing a child into the care system	3
DfE expenditure on CSC	3
Additional expenditure on children who need a social worker	3
NHS expenditure	4
Expenditure on mental health services	4
Expenditure on physical health services	4
Expenditure on the criminal justice system	4
Expenditure on education	5
Pupil premium	5
High needs expenditure	5
Findings	6
Expenditure on children's social care	6
Additional expenditure on children who need a social worker	7
Limitations of the study	8
Appendix	9
Detailed estimates of annual expenditure by category	9
Section 251 expenditure lines included in the Children Social Care expenditure category	9
References	11

Introduction

In March 2020, there were more than 380,000 Children in Need in England, making up over 3% of children in the country (Department for Education, 2020a). Section 17 of the Children Act 1989 defines Children In Need as children: (i) who are unlikely to achieve or maintain, or to have the opportunity of achieving or maintaining, a reasonable standard of health or development without the provision of services by a local authority (LA), (ii) whose health or development is likely to be significantly impaired, or further impaired, without the provision of such services or (iii) who are disabled.

Among Children In Need, more than 80,000 children were children looked after in 2019-20. Children looked after are children who have been in the care of their local authority for more than 24 hours. They usually have the most acute needs amongst Children In Need (Children's Commissioner, 2019).

Following the government's commitment in the 2019 manifesto to review children's social care (CSC), the Independent Review of Children's Social Care (the Review) was established in 2021. The focus of the Review is to ensure that children grow up in loving, stable and safe families and, where that is not possible, that care provides the same foundations. Underpinning this, the objective of the Review is to understand how money should be best spent to deliver improved outcomes for children and families. As its first major milestone, the Review published the Case for Change, setting out key problems in the system and early thinking about what needs to change (The Independent Review of Children's Social Care, 2021).

For the purposes of this report, using the same terminology as the Children in Need Review, we have used the term 'children who need a social worker' (or 'children with a social worker') to refer to all 'Children in Need' using the broadest statutory definition under the Children Act 1989. This encompasses all children receiving statutory support from local authority social care including those on a Children in Need Plan, on a Child Protection Plan and Children Looked After. We are using the term 'children who need a social worker' (or 'children with a social worker') as 'Children in Need' is used to mean either some or all of these groups, and is not widely used beyond this context, contributing to misunderstanding and lack of recognition. This covers all groups who, beyond any assessment, are accessing social care support for safeguarding and/or welfare purposes, including disabled children.

Alma Economics has been working with the Review to undertake research on the outcomes of children who need a social worker and related costs and expenditures. This research project comprises two phases. Phase 1 aims to document the lifetime cost to individuals, the state, and society of adverse outcomes of children who need a social worker and explore how money is currently being spent in the system. Phase 2 will commence after the completion of Phase 1 and will evaluate the cost effectiveness of the Review's policy recommendations to reform CSC.

The present document constitutes one of the two reports produced during Phase 1. It includes estimates of the annual expenditure on CSC and related services while making two key contributions. Firstly, it combines both local and national government spending on children supported by the CSC. Secondly, it provides estimates non-CSC expenditure that is spent on children who need a social worker and on the smaller group of children looked after.

Methodology

Defining children's social care

CSC services support children with the greatest need. However, there is no formal definition of the public services that constitute CSC due to the variety of the services provided to these children and the range of their needs and those of their families.

For the purpose of this document, we define children's social care as the services to children who need a social worker as well as preventative and social care services offered to the wider population of children and families. Based on this definition, we estimate the expenditure on CSC, including (i) expenditure on services provided by local authorities to children who need a social worker and their families as well as preventative and social care services provided to the wider population, (ii) legal costs incurred by central and local government to bring a child into the care system, and (iii) Department for Education (DfE) expenditure on CSC.

The data collected and the resulting estimates of the annual expenditure on CSC use 2019/2020 as the benchmark year. This specific time period was selected to ensure that our estimates reflect recent trends but are not driven by temporary measures in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, arguably providing a better representation of long-term public expenditure on CSC.

Categories of expenditure on children's social care

Local authorities' expenditure on children's social care

We use Section 251 outturn data¹ summarising statements submitted by LAs on actual expenditure on children's services in 2019/20 and focus on expenditure on social care services. Following the definition of CSC outlined above, the following expenditure lines from Section 251 outturn data were considered as representing expenditure on CSC services:

- **Expenditure on children looked after**, comprising expenditure on residential care, fostering services, adoption services, special guardianship support, other services, short breaks for looked-after disabled children, children placed with family and friends, education of children looked after, leaving care support services, and services for asylum seeker children that are looked after.
- **Safeguarding children and young people's services.** The vast majority of this expenditure include direct social work costs such as the assessment of need and the determination of services to be provided to children, as well as child protection costs.
- **Family support services.** These include targeted support services that are provided to vulnerable families, including the expenditure for the Supporting Families programme.
- **Youth justice**, which includes the costs of services related to young offenders including youth offending teams.
- **Sure Start children's centres and other spend on children under 5**, capturing LA spending on Sure Start children's centres, which provide services to young children and their families including childcare and early education, information and advice to parents, as well as outreach and family support services (House of Commons, 2010).

¹ Section 251: 2019 to 2020. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/section-251-2019-to-2020>

- **Services for young people** including expenditure on activities defined in the statutory guidance for LAs on the provision of services and activities to improve young people's well-being and targeted support services for young people (Cabinet Office & Department for Education, 2010).
- **Other children and family services**, including LA spending on children and young people's services not captured under other headings in Section 251 data.

It should be noted that, as mentioned above, the expenditures reported under this section do not only include expenditure on children who need a social worker, but they also include services used by children in the wider population (e.g., Children's Centres).

Legal costs of bringing a child into the care system

We estimate the expenditure on care proceedings incurred by the central and local government in England. Care proceedings are court proceedings issued by the LA to ensure that a child is safe and receives an adequate level of protection.

Expenditure on care proceedings includes (i) expenditure of Cafcass (e.g. staff costs, and overheads costs), (ii) costs to the HM Courts & Tribunals Service (HMCTS), (iii) expenditure to Legal Service Commissions, and (iv) LA expenditure on care proceedings, which comprises legal costs such as the cost of legal staff and disbursements.²

Data on these costs comes from Norgrove (2011), which reports the total expenditure incurred by the above public institutions, while the total number of care proceedings in 2009-10 were taken from Cafcass (2010). This allows inferring the cost per care proceeding for each of these public institutions in 2009-10, which we convert to 2019 prices. Finally, to arrive at an estimated expenditure on care proceedings for each of these public institutions, we multiply the cost per care proceeding for each of these public institutions by the total number of care proceedings in 2019-20 taken from Cafcass statistics (Cafcass, n.d.).

DfE expenditure on CSC

We included in our calculation the expenditure of the DfE on the programme in CSC. In 2019/20 the Department for Education spent £262 million in programme funding, of which 49% was delivered through LAs while the remaining 51% (£132m) was delivered through other sources.³ In addition, in 2019/20 the DfE spent £19m in capital funding, of which 84% was delivered through LAs and the remaining 16% (£3m) was delivered through other sources.⁴ Funding delivered through LA's is already captured in the Section 251 data. Therefore, to avoid double-counting, we excluded it from the final calculation.

Additional expenditure on children who need a social worker

Children who need a social worker are disproportionately more likely to use other public services compared to the general population. The remainder of this section covers the additional expenditure that does not fall within our definition of children's social care, in particular on education, health, and criminal justice.

² LA expenditure on care proceedings does not include court fees.

³ Examples of funding for projects and initiatives not captured in LA expenditure returns include funding to the Office of the Children's Commissioner and Social Work England.

⁴ The figures were provided by colleagues from the Department for Education.

NHS expenditure

We estimate the costs to the NHS of mental and physical health services associated with the additional needs of children who need a social worker. Our approach is outlined below.

Expenditure on mental health services

We estimate the annual costs to the NHS due to the higher prevalence of anxiety, depression and conduct disorders amongst children who need a social worker compared to the general population. To do so, we multiply the differential prevalence of these adverse outcomes among children who need a social worker relative to the general population by the size of each cohort of children in 2019-20 and by the cost to the NHS of providing relevant services.

Estimates of the prevalence of anxiety, depression and conduct disorders among children looked after compared to the general population are taken from Ford et al. (2007). Given these estimates are not available for children with a social worker, we predict the prevalence of anxiety, depression and conduct disorders by comparing the magnitude of adverse outcomes for which data is available for both children with a social worker and children looked after (e.g. employment, alcohol abuse etc.). On average, the magnitude of adverse outcomes experienced by children who need a social worker is 65% that of children looked after. We assume that this same ratio holds for the unobserved outcomes of children who need a social worker compared to the observed outcomes of children looked after and predict them accordingly.

Regarding the costs to the NHS of anxiety and depression, we use estimates found in McCrone et al. (2008) which we convert to 2019 prices. This cost estimate includes costs of GP care, psychiatric and non-psychiatric inpatient care, as well as other NHS non-inpatient care. To estimate the cost of conduct disorders, we use estimates provided by Snell et al. (2013), which include primary care costs (GPs and health visitors) as well as paediatrics and child health service costs. We exclude educational costs due to conduct disorders included in the paper to avoid double counting (additional education expenditure on children who need a social worker is captured by the pupil premium and the high needs expenditure described later in the report).

Expenditure on physical health services

We estimate the costs of unplanned hospital admissions for maltreatment or violence-related injuries suffered by children. We use estimates of the number of maltreatment or violence-related injuries in children aged 18 years or younger in England in 2011, which are reported by Gonzalez-Izquierdo et al. (2014). To arrive at 2019 estimates, we apply the unplanned admission rate for maltreatment or violence-related injuries for England in 2011 by age group reported in the paper to mid-2019 England population estimates. Then, we multiply this estimate by the national average unit cost of non-elective long stay and non-elective short-stay admissions for paediatric injuries reported by the Department of Health (2015) converted to 2019 prices.

Expenditure on the criminal justice system

Firstly, we estimate the costs of public services due to the higher offending rate of children who need a social worker. To do so, we multiply the differential offending rates among children with a social worker relative to the general population by the size of each cohort of children in 2019-20 and by the cost to the criminal justice system (CJS) associated with young offenders. The increased likelihood of children looked after offending relative to the general population is taken from the Department for Education (2018). The increased proportion of offence is not explored in the literature for children who need a social worker. Therefore, we approximate the offending rate of children with a social worker by using estimates for children looked after and applying the same prediction methods described under the

subsection above. To estimate the expenditure associated with young offenders, we use estimates from the Ministry of Justice (2011) of the costs to the criminal justice system of young offenders (below the age of 18).

Secondly, we estimate the expenditure on investigating incidents of missing children in care. We use data on the number of missing incidents in 2020.⁵ For the cost of missing incidents, we use the cost of an investigation assessed as being of medium risk in 2015 documented by HM Inspectorate of Constabulary (2016), which we convert to 2019 prices.

Expenditure on education

Pupil premium

The pupil premium funding is provided by the Department for Education to schools in England to improve educational outcomes for disadvantaged pupils. Eligible pupils are (i) children looked after, (ii) pupils who have been adopted from care or have left care, and (iii) pupils who are eligible for free school meals (FSM) or have been eligible in the past six years (Department for Education, 2021).

Our calculations of the pupil premium spent on children looked after include the allocations to children who were looked after in 2019-20 and allocations to pupils who have been adopted from care or have left care in 2019-20. To estimate the pupil premium spent on children who need a social worker, we include the above calculations (the pupil premium spent on children looked after) and add to it pupil premium allocations spent on children with a social worker and were eligible for FSM or have been eligible in the past six years. We arrive at the latter figure by multiplying the per-pupil amount of funding by the number of children who need a social worker who received FSM or have been eligible in the past six years (Department for Education, 2019; Education and Skills Funding Agency, 2020).

High needs expenditure

The high needs expenditure is part of the Section 251 education expenditure and is spent on children and young people with special educational needs as well as those who require alternative provisions.⁶ The high needs budget includes top-up funding for pupils with high needs for maintained schools (including pupil referral units), academies, free schools, colleges, and non-maintained and independent providers. It also includes, among others, Special Educational Needs (SEN) support services, planned expenditure on alternative provisions (APs), and support for inclusion.

To estimate the share of the high needs expenditure spent on children who need a social worker, we multiply the average high needs spend per pupil by the number of children with a social worker who have special educational needs (approximately 10% of all SEN) (Department for Education, 2019, 2020b).

The underlying assumption of our estimate is that the average expenditure per pupil does not vary between children who need a social worker and SEN who do not need a social worker. This assumption implies that the level of special educational needs of children with a social worker is not different from the average level of needs of the remaining SEN population. Given that children with a social worker have adverse experiences during childhood that can affect their educational outcomes, health, and wellbeing, it is expected that, on average, they have additional needs compared to other SEN (Berridge et al., 2020; Department for Education, 2019; Viner & Taylor, 2005). Consequently, the high needs expenditure reported can be interpreted as the lower bound of the actual money spent by LAs on children who need a social worker who also have SEN.

⁵ Department for Education, 2020 available at: <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/children-looked-after-in-england-including-adoptions/2020>

⁶ Section 251 outturn data for 2019/20 is available at: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/section-251-2019-to-2020>

Findings

We estimate central and local government expenditure on CSC, following the definition provided in the previous chapter. Separately, we estimate additional expenditure on children who need a social worker, including expenditure on education, health, and the criminal justice system (CJS).

Figure 1. Categories of expenditure on children's social care

1. Expenditure on children's social care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local authorities' expenditure on social care and wider preventative social care services Legal costs of bringing a child into the care system DfE expenditure on CSC
2. Expenditure on children who need a social worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expenditure on children's social care for children who need a social worker Additional expenditures on education, health, and the criminal justice system for children who need a social worker
3. Expenditure on children looked after	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expenditure on children's social care for children looked after Additional expenditures on education, health, and the criminal justice system for children looked after

Expenditure on children's social care

This expenditure category comprises:

- Local authorities' expenditure on CSC services
- Legal costs of bringing a child into the care system
- DfE expenditure on CSC

We estimate that the total expenditure on CSC in 2019/20 was £11.8 billion (Table 1). This is made up of £10.5 billion spent by LAs to provide children's social care services (including services provided to children who need a social worker as well as early help and preventative services) and £1.2 billion spent on care proceedings by central and local government.

Nearly 50% of the LA expenditure on children's social care was spent on children looked after and included expenditure on residential care, fostering services, special guardianship support, leaving care support services, among others. Overall, in 2019/20 LAs spent £2.7 billion on safeguarding children, with most of this expenditure going to direct social work costs and child protection costs.

Family support services made up approximately 15% of the expenditure of LAs in 2019/20. This included both services provided to children who need a social worker and their families as well as other children and vulnerable families, including support for disabled children, targeted family support, and universal family support services, among others.

Table 1. Expenditure on children's social care, 2019/20

Category of expenditure	Total expenditure
LA expenditure on children's social care:	£10.5bn
- Children looked after	£5.3bn
- Safeguarding children and young people's services	£2.7bn
- Youth justice	£300m
- Sure Start children's centres and other spend on children under 5	£560m
- Family support services	£1.4bn
- Services for young people	£400m
Legal cost of bringing a child into the care system:	£1.2bn
- Central government expenditure	£800m
- LAs expenditure	£370m
DfE expenditure on CSC	£135m
Total	£11.8bn

Additional expenditure on children who need a social worker

In addition to the CSC expenditure, we estimate the additional expenditure incurred by central and local government to support the 2019/20 cohort of children who need a social worker, including:

- NHS expenditure on healthcare services
- Expenditure on the CJS
- The pupil premium
- High needs expenditure

We estimate that the total expenditure on additional public services provided to children who needed a social worker in 2019-20 was approximately £1.3 billion (Table 2), of which £620 million was spent on children looked after. These include NHS expenditure on health care services required by children with a social worker and children looked after, CJS expenditure due to higher offending rate of children with a social worker and children looked after as well as expenditure on missing children in care in 2019/20. The figures also include estimates of the amount of pupil premium and high needs expenditure allocated to support the educational achievement of children who need a social worker.

Combining estimates presented in Tables 1 and 2 shows that a total of approximately £13.1 billion was spent to support children and families, of which £11.8 billion were spent on CSC services and £1.3 billion were spent on additional public services provided to children who need a social worker.

Table 2. Breakdown of the estimated expenditure on additional services for children who need a social worker and children looked after, 2019/20

Category of expenditure	Children who need a social worker (including children looked after)	Children looked after
NHS expenditure on healthcare services	£40m	£8m
Expenditure on the CJS:	£295m	£250m
- Expenditure due to young offenders	£60m	£15m
- Expenditure due to missing incidents	£235m	£235m
Expenditure on education:	£1bn	£360m
- Pupil premium	£490m	£260m
- High needs expenditure	£510m	£100m
Total	£1.3bn	£620m

Limitations of the study

Section 251 outturn data represents the main source of information on LA expenditure in CSC and includes a long list of expenditure lines. However, there are some limitations that should be taken into consideration when using these data. Firstly, expenditure could be categorised inconsistently between LAs, both because of different interpretations of lower-level expenditure lines and because of potential differences in internal processes. This is expected to affect categories that are less closely defined to a larger extent (e.g. expenditure line 3.1.5 Other Children and Family Services), while well-defined and broader expenditure lines should be less affected (e.g. expenditure on children looked after). Secondly, spending lines are not consistent across time (in particular, there are inconsistencies between the categories utilised in 2011/12 compared to 2012/13 onwards). However, since our analysis mainly focused on broad expenditure categories and 2019/20 figures only, we do not expect our results to be substantially affected.

The figures presented in the tables above are likely to represent an underestimate of the current expenditure on CSC. Due to data limitations, it was not possible to include (i) operational costs, including Ofsted inspection and staff costs, the National Panel costs, DfE staff costs, etc and (ii) expenditure due to additional needs beyond the ones considered. In particular, the figures presented in Table 2 are likely underestimating the overall expenditure on children who need a social worker and children looked after because of some additional needs that these groups of children have, which cannot be entirely captured (e.g. additional health and education needs beyond the ones considered).

Finally, it is worth highlighting that there is not a specific line to draw in terms of the range of public services provided due to the additional needs of children with a social worker (and children looked after). Therefore, we decided to exclude from our calculations basic services (e.g. vaccination) and additional wider support that may be provided to the families of some children who need a social worker (e.g. unemployment benefits, housing benefits etc.).

Appendix

Detailed estimates of annual expenditure by category

Section 251 expenditure lines included in the Children Social Care expenditure category

Expenditure lines from Section 251	Amount in 2019/2020 (£)
3.1. CLA	
3.1.1 Residential care	1.61bn
3.1.2a Fostering services (excluding fees and allowances for LA foster carers)	1.06bn
3.1.2b Fostering services (fees and allowances for LA foster carers)	0.74bn
3.1.3 Adoption services	0.33bn
3.1.4 Special guardianship support	0.32bn
3.1.5 Other children looked after services	0.34bn
3.1.6 Short breaks (respite) for looked after disabled children	0.05bn
3.1.7 Children placed with family and friends	0.12bn
3.1.8 Education of looked after children	0.05bn
3.1.9 Leaving care support services	0.47bn
3.1.10 Asylum seeker services - children	0.19bn
3.3. Safeguarding children and young people's services	
3.3.1 Social work (including LA functions in relation to child protection)	2.32bn
3.3.2 Commissioning and Children's Services Strategy	0.31bn
3.3.3 Local Safeguarding Children Board	0.04bn
3.6. Youth justice	
3.6.1 Youth justice	0.29bn
3.0. Sure Start children's centres and other spend on children under 5	
3.0.1 Spend on individual Sure Start Children's Centres	0.37bn

3.0.2 Spend for local authority provided or commissioned area wide services delivered through Sure Start Children's Centres	0.06bn
3.0.3 Spend on local authority management costs relating to Sure Start Children's Centres	0.03bn
3.0.4 Other spend on children under 5	0.09bn
3.2. Other children and family services	
3.2.1 Other children and families services	0.14bn
3.4. Family support services	
3.4.1 Direct payments	0.13bn
3.4.2 Short breaks (respite) for disabled children	0.22bn
3.4.3 Other support for disabled children	0.05bn
3.4.4 Targeted family support	0.74bn
3.4.5 Universal family support	0.07bn
3.5. Services for young people	
3.5.1 Universal services for young people	0.16bn
3.5.2 Targeted services for young people	0.22bn

References

- Berridge, D., Luke, N., Sebba, J., Strand, S., Cartwright, M., Staples, E., McGrath-Lone, L., Ward, J., & O'Higgins, A. (2020). Children in need and children in care: educational attainment and progress. <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/policybristol/briefings-and-reports-pdfs/Final%20Report%20Nuffield.pdf>
- Cabinet Office & Department for Education. (2010). Positive for Youth: A new approach to cross-government policy for young people aged 13 to 19. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/positive-for-youth-a-new-approach-to-cross-government-policy-for-young-people-aged-13-to-19>
- Children's Commissioner. (2019). Keeping kids safe – Children's Commissioner for England. <https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/report/keeping-kids-safe/>
- Coram-i. (2019). Missing looked after children. Coram-i. <http://https://coram-i.org.uk>
- Department for Education. (2018). Children looked after in England (including adoption), year ending 31 March 2018. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/757922/Children_looked_after_in_England_2018_Text_revised.pdf
- Department for Education. (2019). Children in need of help and protection CIN review: Final data and analysis. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/809108/CIN_review_final_analysis_publication.pdf
- Department for Education. (2020a). Characteristics of children in need: 2019 to 2020. <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/characteristics-of-children-in-need-2019-to-2020>
- Department for Education. (2020b). Special educational needs in England: January 2020. GOV.UK. <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/special-educational-needs-in-england-january-2020>
- Department for Education. (2021). Pupil premium. GOV.UK. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/pupil-premium/pupil-premium>
- Department of Health. (2015). National Schedule of Reference Costs 2014 to 2015. D. o. Health.
- Education and Skills Funding Agency. (2020). Pupil premium: Allocations and conditions of grant 2019 to 2020. GOV.UK. <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/pupil-premium-allocations-and-conditions-of-grant-2019-to-2020>
- Ford, T., Vostanis, P., Meltzer, H., & Goodman, R. (2007). Psychiatric disorder among British children looked after by local authorities: Comparison with children living in private households. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 190(4), 319–325. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.bp.106.025023>
- Gonzalez-Izquierdo, A., Cortina-Borja, M., Woodman, J., Mok, J., McGhee, J., Taylor, J., Parkin, C., & Gilbert, R. (2014). Maltreatment or violence-related injury in children and adolescents admitted to the NHS: Comparison of trends in England and Scotland between 2005 and 2011. *BMJ Open*, 4(4), e004474. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2013-004474>
- HM Inspectorate of Constabulary. (2016). Missing children: Who cares? The police response to missing and absent children. <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/missing-children-who-cares.pdf>

House of Commons. (2010). Sure Start Children's Centres—Children, Schools and Families Committee. <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmselect/cmchilsch/130/13002.htm>

McCrone, P., Dhanasiri, S., Patel, A., Knapp, M., & Lawton-Smith, S. (2008). Paying the Price: The cost of mental health care in England to 2026. <https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/publications/paying-price>

Ministry of Justice. (2011). The cost of a cohort of young offenders to the criminal justice system. https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/1011663_technical_paper.pdf

Norgrove, D. (2011). Family Justice Review: Final report. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/217343/family-justice-review-final-report.pdf

Snell, T., Knapp, M., Healey, A., Guglani, S., Evans-Lacko, S., Fernandez, J.-L., Meltzer, H., & Ford, T. (2013). Economic impact of childhood psychiatric disorder on public sector services in Britain: Estimates from national survey data. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 54(9), 977–985. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12055>

The Independent Review of Children's Social Care. (2021). The Case for Change. <https://childrensocialcare.independent-review.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/case-for-change.pdf>

Viner, R. M., & Taylor, B. (2005). Adult Health and Social Outcomes of Children Who Have Been in Public Care: Population-Based Study. *Pediatrics*, 115(4), 894–899. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2004-1311>



+44 20 8133 3192 24 Stoke Newington Road, N16 7XJ London, UK

Copyright © 2021 All rights reserved
Company Number 09391354, VAT Number GB208923405, Registered in England and Wales

 [company/alma-economics](https://www.linkedin.com/company/alma-economics)

 [almaeconomics](https://twitter.com/almaeconomics)

