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# Losing in the long run

## Trends in early intervention funding

## INTRODUCTION

There are substantial financial and social benefits if we provide the right support to children, young people and parents before problems escalate. There is growing evidence of programmes that make a difference to children and families and prevent more serious and costly problems arising. There is a strong case for public services to be based on the principle of intervening early to prevent problems from escalating.

The 2015 report *Cuts that Cost* showed that, despite cross-party support, since 2010 there has been a downward trend in the amount of funding from national government to spend locally on early intervention services. In turn, spending locally on these services has shown a worrying fall. This has all come at a time when other sources of funding which underpin preventative and early intervention, such as the public health grant, have been reduced.<sup>1</sup>

### What is early intervention?

This report uses a broad definition of early intervention services<sup>2</sup> reflecting the government's own approach. It has expected local authorities to use their early intervention funding allocation (previously called the Early Intervention Grant) to pay for a range of universal and targeted services, including information and advice for young people, Sure Start children's centres, teenage pregnancy services, short breaks for families of disabled children, and other support for families. Specific examples of these services are given later on.

This report provides updated analysis of spending on local early intervention services, specifically on children's centres, family support and youth services, as well as estimates of early intervention funding from national government up to 2019-20. At a time of significant reforms to local government finance, *Losing in the long run* asks whether further reductions are sustainable and desirable, providing evidence from local councillors, young people and parents about the value of early intervention services from their perspective.

### METHODOLOGY

Analysis was undertaken of section 251 data provided by local authorities to the Department for Education to give an indication of changes in early intervention spending from 2010-11 and 2015-16.<sup>3</sup> For 2015-16, we have used data on planned spend, as these are the most recent available figures. All analysis of local authority spending is on net expenditure. All figures have been inflated to 2016 in line with the Retail Prices Index (RPI). Our analysis of central government funding for local authority early intervention services uses figures published by the Department for Communities and Local Government in the Local Government Finance Settlement, which indicates the resources provided to local authorities to provide early intervention services. Between Tuesday 26 January 2016 and Monday 1 February 2016 Survation polled 505 local councillors across England to seek their views on early intervention services.

## SUMMARY

- Between 2010-11 and 2015-16 spending by local authorities on early intervention services for children, young people and families has fallen by 31 per cent in real terms.
- Some of the biggest falls in local spending have affected Sure Start children's centres which have seen budgets reduced by almost half (48 per cent) in real terms in the last five years.
- Just under half of local authorities (45 per cent) have made cuts of at least 30 per cent in real terms to services for young people.
- Spending on family support services has fallen the least with just under a quarter of local authorities (24 per cent) reducing spending by at least 30 per cent in real terms.
- Between 2010-11 and 2015-16 the central government early intervention allocation to local authorities has fallen by 55 per cent in real terms.<sup>4</sup>
- Between 2016-17 and 2019-20 the central government early intervention allocation will be reduced by a further 29 per cent in real terms.
- Between 2010-11 and 2019-20 the early intervention allocation from central government to local authorities would have fallen by an estimated 71 per cent in real terms.<sup>5</sup>
- A downward trend will have a knock on effect:
  - Nearly nine in ten councillors (87 per cent) say that early intervention services are a high priority for their local authority. But almost three in five councillors (59 per cent) say there will be a reduction in early intervention services in their local communities.
  - Councils will have new revenue raising powers from 2020, but nearly six in ten (59 per cent) believe that this won't be adequate to maintain current levels of spending on early intervention services.

## CONTEXT

**Across political divides, there has been recognition of the value to communities and the public purse of investing in services that help individuals and families early, before more serious and more costly problems arise.**

There is potential for reducing the costs of other services – such as in the NHS – that pick up the pieces when things go wrong. Nevertheless, successive governments have chosen not to allocate a greater proportion of public spending for early intervention services. The current government’s commitment to continuing the work of Troubled Families Programme is one of few examples of support for policies that aim to prevent costly future interventions.<sup>6</sup>

Before 2010, government provided local authorities with resources for early intervention services through a variety of grants, covering services like Sure Start and Connexions. In 2010, the Coalition Government made the decision to bring together these allocations into one reduced, non-ringfenced Early Intervention Grant (EIG).<sup>7</sup> A few years later the government decided to make the EIG part of the wider central government revenue support grant to local authorities. At the Comprehensive Spending Review 2015, the Chancellor announced that, from 2020, the central government revenue support grant will be phased out. Local councils will instead be able to keep money from business rates collected from shops and businesses, to spend on local services.<sup>8</sup> In future, levels of funding available for early intervention services will be heavily reliant upon the ability of local authorities to successfully grow their business tax base.

Despite reduced resources going to local authorities, the government continues to acknowledge the importance of intervening early. In a major speech on the Government’s forthcoming life chances strategy, the Prime Minister drew attention to importance of addressing problems such as substance misuse and promoting the early years to improve children and young people’s prospects.<sup>9</sup>

However, it remains unclear whether this ambition will translate into action to sustain the early intervention services that make a difference to the life chances of children.

### **BENEFITS OF EARLY INTERVENTION**

Investing early is cost-effective and increases the chances of improving people’s lives.

An estimated £17 billion is spent every year on a range of preventable health and social issues experienced by children, young people and parents.<sup>10</sup> Investing in early intervention services can bring about significant financial savings to both local and national government.<sup>11</sup>

Stepping in and providing additional support to promote children’s wellbeing and prevent any problems from emerging can happen at any point, from the earliest years of a child’s life to adolescence.

Child development in the early years is highly predictive of subsequent achievement, with a strong relationship to educational success and future income.<sup>12</sup> But those children who fall behind early on, face an uphill struggle to catch-up.<sup>13</sup> Programmes focused on children’s communication and behaviour help parents to set boundaries and create a positive environment for children.<sup>14</sup>

#### 4 Losing in the long run

The teenage years can bring big challenges for some. Engaging in risk-taking behaviour, substance misuse and involvement in anti-social or criminal activities can escalate until the young person requires a more costly and intensive intervention.<sup>15</sup> Programmes that provide non-judgmental advice and help to build young people's resilience can make a positive difference and minimise the chances of long lasting harm.<sup>16</sup>

### JAMIE'S STORY

Jamie had recently moved to a new area and didn't know anybody. She felt isolated and her two-year-old son, Steven, had nobody to play with. Being cut off from others can often lead to poor health and can lead to problems for children's language development.<sup>17</sup>

Hearing of the local children's centre, Jamie decided to go along to some Stay and Play sessions with Steven. It was a great experience: Steven benefited from the stimulating activities and interactions with other children, and Jamie herself met lots of new people and made some good friends.

Jamie is a lot happier and really sees the positive changes in her son. 'Before I brought Steven he was really shy and didn't speak to anyone and wouldn't leave my side. Now, it's a different story. As soon as we get to the centre he's off and running up to see his friends, I don't see him!'

## CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EARLY INTERVENTION ALLOCATION 2010-11 TO 2019-20

As outlined above the Government's approach to allocating funding to local authorities for early intervention services has changed. In 2010, the new Coalition Government replaced a number of separate funding streams with a single, reduced, Early Intervention Grant (EIG).

From 2013-14 the EIG was no longer paid as a separate grant allocation. Instead it formed part of the wider central government revenue allocation made to local authorities. However, since then, a line in the Local Government Finance Settlement, produced by the Department for Communities and Local Government, has continued to indicate that the resource is provided to local authorities on account of their need to provide early intervention services.

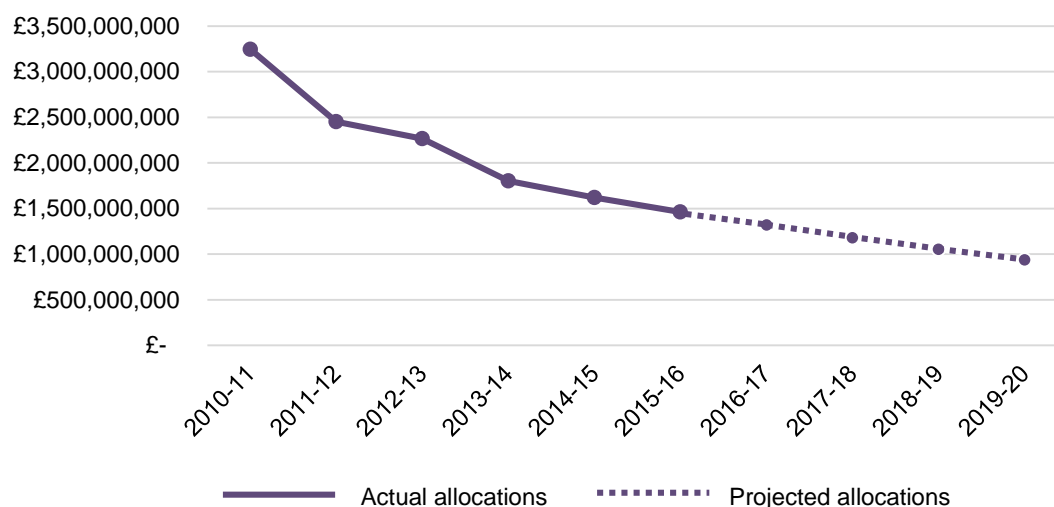
This analysis uses this indicative allocation to assess continued central government financing of early intervention services (for simplicity we refer to this as the 'early intervention allocation'). For consistency, our analysis of central government early intervention funding for local authorities excludes funding for free childcare for disadvantaged two-year-olds which was moved from the early intervention allocation to the Dedicated Schools Grant in 2013-14.

The value of the early intervention allocation has fallen in real terms from around £3.2 billion per year in 2010-11, to just £1.4 billion in 2015-16 – a cut of £1.8 billion – significantly more than half the overall value in 2010 (55 per cent). By the end of 2015-16, the allocation provided to local authorities through the revenue support grant will have been cumulatively reduced by £6.9 billion compared to funding for comparator services prior to the emergency budget in 2010.

The Comprehensive Spending Review 2015 provided details of how much early intervention funding would be provided from central government up to 2019-20. **Analysis of this data shows that between 2016-17 and 2019-20 there will be a 29 per cent real terms reduction in funding by the end of the decade.** A cut of over £520 million in 2019-20 compared to 2015-16.

This allows for a broad analysis of the trends in early intervention funding from 2010 to 2020. In 2010, before the emergency budget, £3.2 billion was allocated by central government for local authority early intervention services. By comparison, the early intervention allocation for 2019-20 will be £939 million, a cut of £2.3 billion. **This is a real terms reduction of 71 per cent for early intervention services between 2010-11 and 2019-20.**<sup>18</sup>

### Central government early intervention allocation 2010-2020



### REGIONAL CHANGES IN LOCAL AUTHORITY FUNDING 2010-11 TO 2019-20

At this stage it isn't possible to see the degree of funding change at a local level – this will only be apparent when council budget decisions are taken in the coming months and years. However, we can see how levels of central government funding for early intervention services have changed this decade at a regional level.

Region	2010-11 predecessor grant allocations for early intervention services (millions)**	2016-17 early intervention allocation within the RSG (millions)*	2019-20 early intervention allocation within the RSG (millions)*	Percentage change 2010-11 to 2019-20
London	£596	£248	£177	-70%
Yorkshire and the Humber	£350	£136	£97	-72%
South West	£265	£112	£80	-70%
East	£289	£126	£89	-69%
West Midlands	£363	£145	£103	-72%
North West	£509	£195	£138	-73%
South East	£416	£178	£126	-70%
North East	£204	£77	£55	-73%
East Midlands	£253	£104	£74	-71%
<b>Total</b>	<b>£3,245</b>	<b>£1,320</b>	<b>£939</b>	<b>-71%</b>

\*All allocations have been rounded \*\*Figures are from before the emergency budget 2010.

## CHALLENGE FOR LOCAL LEADERS

The consistent fall in funding nationally and across regions, reflects the stark reality facing local authorities and the scale of challenge they now face in preserving early intervention services in the future. In a poll of local councillors, we found that:

**59% of councillors believe that the reduction in central government funding will mean a reduction in early intervention services in their local authority.<sup>19</sup>**

Despite the challenge there is a desire to remain committed to early intervention at a local level. Our poll of councillors found:

**87% of councillors believe that services which intervene early are a high priority for their local authority.<sup>20</sup>**

Some local authorities have employed a range of different approaches to retaining early intervention across local communities. Key themes include using programmes with a clear evidence base, taking a multi-disciplinary approach and attempts to retain a degree of universal services.<sup>21</sup>

However, the proposed change to the way government allocates funding for early intervention services will continue to have a significant impact on the available resources in each local authority. The Chancellor has announced that by 2020, councils will be able to keep all of the proceeds from business rates growth as a result of new developments.<sup>22</sup> This will come alongside the phasing out of the Revenue Support Grant (RSG) from central government – where early intervention funding currently sits. It will then be up to local councils to decide how much funding to allocate to early intervention services from the money that has been raised.

For some local authorities this will bring the potential of increased income as they pursue ambitious local business strategies. It could open the door to increased flexibility and allocation of resources strengthening their approach to early intervention.

However, it is not yet clear how far local authorities will benefit. There will be variations in the amounts of money local authorities are able to raise. Some areas will have more money if they already have higher levels of business rate revenues, and are seeing a growth in business rate receipts relative to their budgets. This will be strongly linked to the success of local economies. Councils will also have responsibilities for any extra money which could impact upon how resources are prioritised, according to different populations and needs. For example, they may be required to invest in public health services. Exactly what local authorities will have to invest in is to be consulted on.

The Government has said that no local authority will be worse off and it will prevent any 'overnight' losers emerging.<sup>23</sup> There will be £150 million a year in transitional funding for 2016-17 and 2017-18 for councils with the sharpest grant reductions. This is to ease the pace of funding reductions.<sup>24</sup> There will also be a review of the needs assessment formula to reflect local government spending being funded by local resources and not a central grant.<sup>25</sup>



## 8 Losing in the long run

Despite these measures, there remains a risk that in the long-term there will be a more uneven picture of funding for early intervention services across England.<sup>26</sup>

Our poll found:

**59% of councillors are concerned that it won't be possible to maintain the current level of funding for early intervention services, despite the potential to raise further revenue from business rates.<sup>27</sup>**

The eventual scrapping of the RSG will remove the remaining degree of direction from central government about where money should be allocated locally and specifically on early intervention services. As budgets tighten, local authorities have inevitably prioritized spending on interventions that tend to deal with acute need, such as children's social care.<sup>28</sup> This places the long-term future of early intervention services at considerable risk.

## SPENDING ON EARLY INTERVENTION SERVICES 2010-11 TO 2015-16

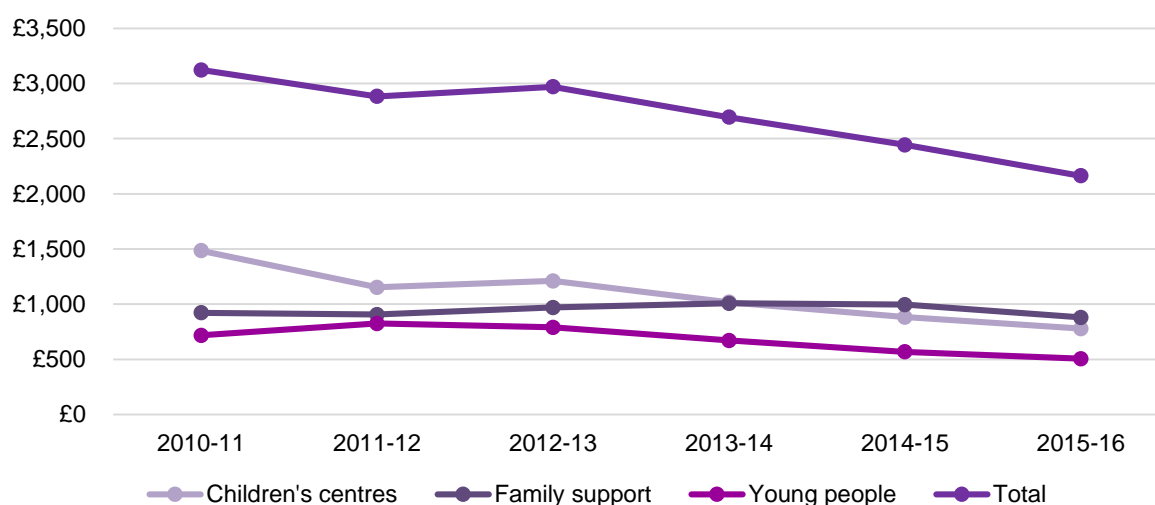
The difference in how central government funding is used locally, and the fact that a range of services can be termed 'early intervention', makes it challenging to identify which services to include in an analysis of local authority spending. We have selected three; children's centres and other early years services, family support services and young people's services. These are categories used by local authorities when reporting back to the Department for Education on their spending.

Overall, local authorities in England reduced spending on children's centres, young people's and family support services by over **£958 million** in real terms in 2015-16, compared to 2010-11, which represents a **31 per cent reduction**. This amounts to a cumulative spending cut of **over £2.4 billion over the six years**.

### Local authority spending on three early intervention services (millions, 2016 prices)

Year	Sure Start and early years	Family support	Young people	Total
2010-11	£1,484	£921	£717	<b>£3,122</b>
2011-12	£1,152	£906	£824	<b>£2,970</b>
2012-13	£1,210	£970	£790	<b>£2,883</b>
2013-14	£1,018	£1,007	£670	<b>£2,695</b>
2014-15	£883	£995	£567	<b>£2,444</b>
2015-16	£778	£880	£506	<b>£2,163</b>

### Local authority expenditure on early intervention services (millions, 2016 prices)



It is difficult to get a clear and accurate picture of how each local authority has changed their spending on children centres, young people's services and family support because of changes in the way spending has been categorised in their returns to the Department for Education. Nevertheless, our analysis of the available data indicates that **just under half (49 per cent) local authorities have cut their overall spending across the three service areas analysed here by a third or more, between 2010-11 and 2015-16.**

## 1. CHILDREN'S CENTRES AND EARLY YEARS SERVICES

### What are children's centres and early years services?

Children's centres provide a range of support for local families, with specific classes and programmes varying from one local community to another. They will commonly provide open access services for all families to use, such as Stay and Play sessions, and targeted support for specific groups, like parenting programmes.

Our analysis includes spending on the management of children's centres and delivery of their services, area-wide services for young children and their families delivered through children's centres (such as outreach services), local authority support for children's centres (such as management, data collection and improvement support), and development of the local early years workforce.

### Who are they for and what do they do?

Families who use children's centres benefit from a wide range of support including ante-natal classes, access to health visitors who help with children's healthy development, opportunities to play and socialize with other children and access to employment support.

These services make a big difference to children.<sup>29</sup> It gives them a space to be creative, play and interact with other children, and help to ensure they grow and develop healthily. Centres offer valuable outreach services for children and families with additional needs and are able to engage them effectively and in a non-stigmatising way through services available to all.

Parents told us that they have seen their children's language, social skills and behaviour all improve since using children's centres.<sup>30</sup>

"The children learn social skills – they just walk into crèche and they love it"  
Parent, children's centre

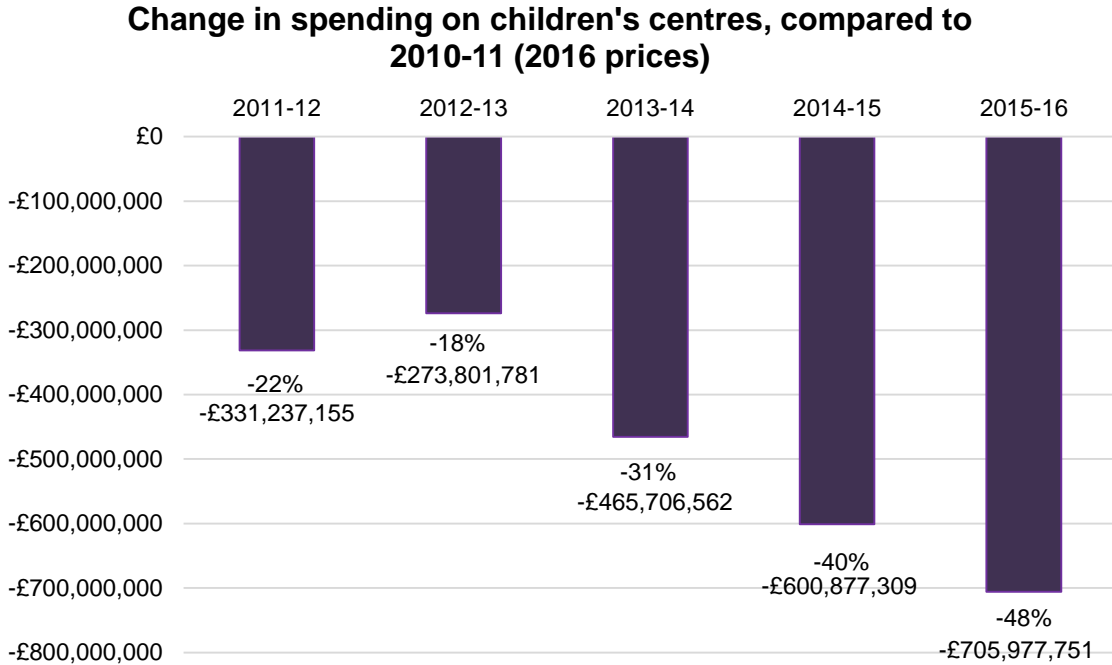
These services also directly support parents, to better care for their children and improve their own confidence and skills. This helps parents to create a more positive home environment for children to learn and develop, which can bring benefits throughout childhood.<sup>31</sup>

"I now have a level 2 qualification in English and I am doing Level 2 maths. I have done every class on offer"  
Parent, children's centre

"My child never slept so coming to the centre gave me a focus. It got me out of the house and gave me hope"  
Parent, children's centre

**What is happening nationally?**

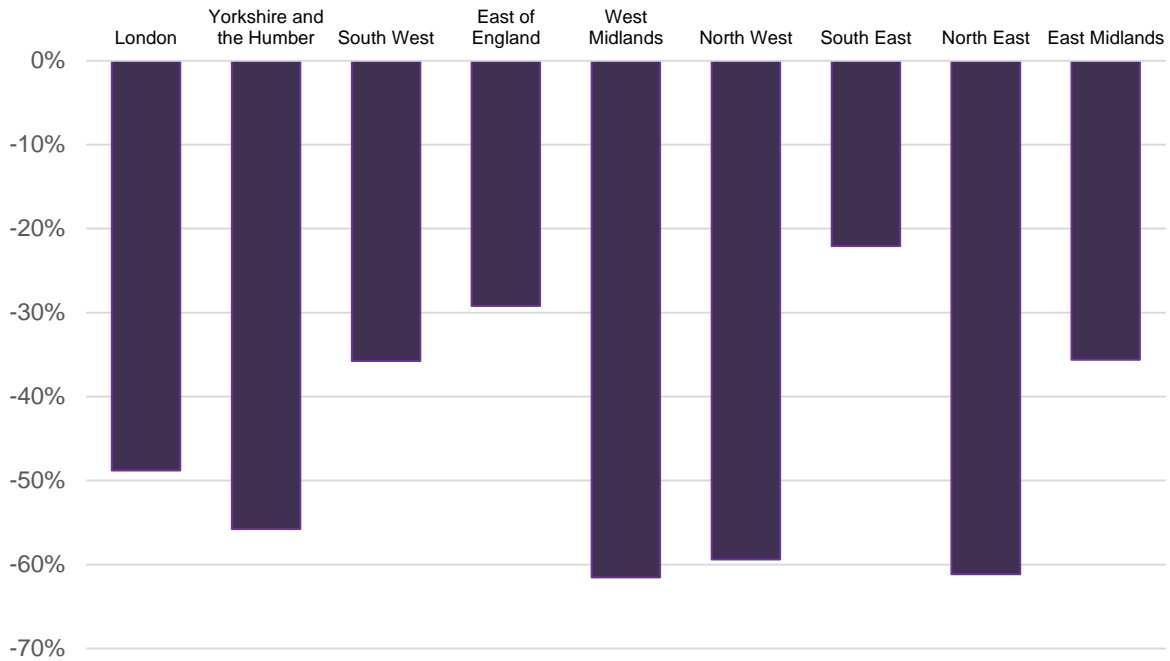
Over the last five years, local authority spending on children’s centres has been cut by almost a half (48 per cent), with a reduction in spending of £705 million in 2015-16 compared to 2010-11.



**What is happening regionally?**

Across different regions there has been a significant reduction in children’s centre budgets. The South East has seen the lowest cut of almost a third (22 per cent), while other regions, particularly in the North of England, have fared worse. The North East (61 per cent), Yorkshire and Humber (56 per cent) and North West (59 per cent) have all seen budget reductions of more than 50 per cent since 2010-11.

### Changes in local authority spending on children's centres, 2010-11 to 2015-16, by region (2016 prices)



#### What is happening locally?

Children's centres and early years services have seen some of the most severe reductions in spending in the last few years. More than two-thirds (71 per cent) of local authorities have reduced their budgets by 30 per cent or more between 2010-11 and 2015-16. Worryingly, just under half (49 per cent) of local authorities (28 per cent) have reduced their budgets by 50 per cent or more.

## 2. Family support services

#### What are family support services?

Family support services can include a wide range of different local provision, including intensive interventions that can work with parents where children are close to being taken into care. It also includes short breaks for families with disabled children, providing them with a chance to interact with other children in accessible and suitable surroundings, and support for parents.

Our analysis includes spending on targeted family support (such as intensive family interventions, home care and contributions to healthcare for children) and universal family support (for example, home-school liaison, peer to peer support services and relationship support). In addition, it includes spending on short (respite) breaks for disabled children and other support for disabled children, such as equipment or home adaptations. Targeted family support would include services provided through the Troubled Families programme.

#### Who are they for and what do they do?

Short break services enable disabled children and young people to access activities which may be readily available to non-disabled children improving their confidence, emotional wellbeing and behaviour.<sup>32</sup> From talking to parents, it is evident that short break services have a positive impact on family life, giving them quality time with their other children.<sup>33</sup> These services offer parents a chance to develop ways of managing

and responding to their child's behaviour, to help their children benefit from a routine, to rest and to take care of their wider family.

"It provides a chance for quality family time together"  
Parent, short break service

"I was becoming so emotional, so tired"  
Parent, short break service

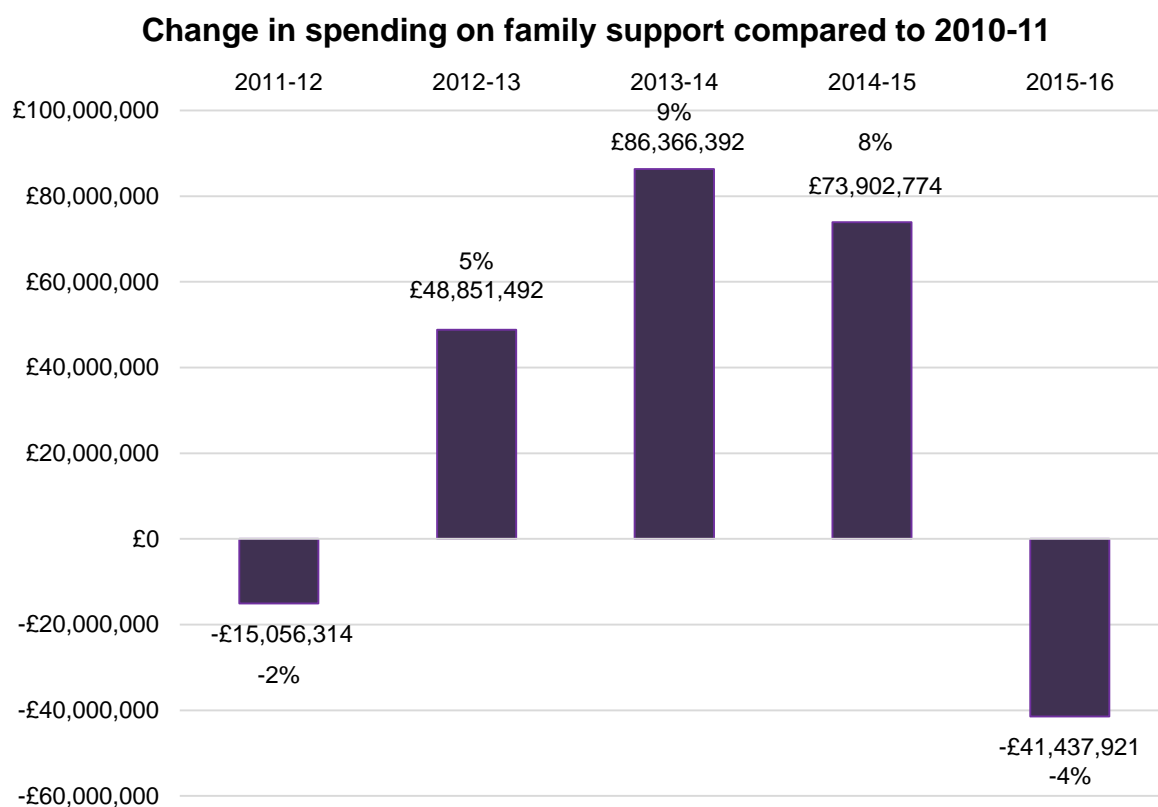
Intensive family support commonly works with families with some of the highest levels of need, where there may be safeguarding concerns, mental health problems or anti-social behaviour issues. These families may be isolated from their local community or there may be a high likelihood of children needing to be taken into care.

Intensive support, through one-to-one session and classes have been found to help parents feel more confident, less anxious and better able to develop their parenting skills.<sup>34</sup>

"I have had periods of thinking what the alternatives are – [the service] stops you from falling apart"  
Parent, family support service

### **What is happening nationally?**

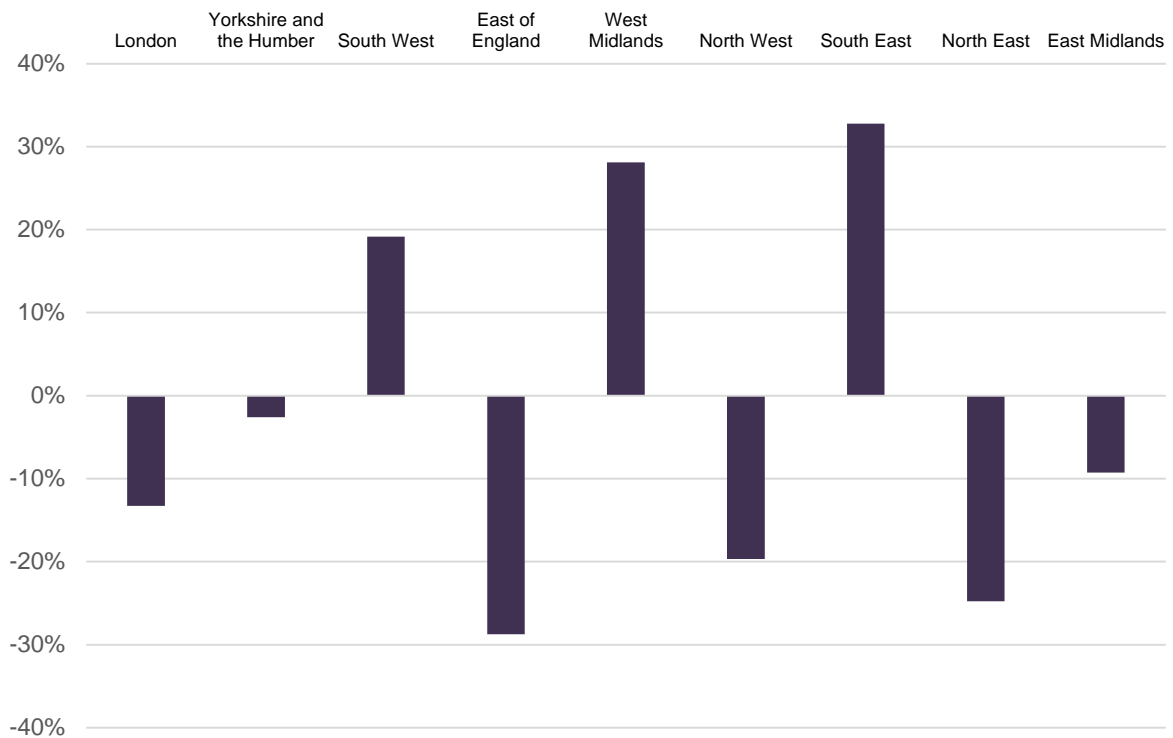
Despite significant cuts to central government's overall funding for early intervention services, local authorities appear to have been able to continue to protect funding for family support, when compared to changes to children's centres and young people's services spending. This is likely to reflect additional investment for family support provided through the government's Troubled Families programme. In 2015-16, local authority spending on family support services was 4.5 per cent lower than in 2010-11 (in real terms). Nevertheless, this still represents a real terms reduction of £41 million.



#### What is happening regionally?

The decision to protect spending on family services in some areas has created wide variations across different regions. The South East and West Midlands can be seen to have increased spending on family services. Yet, the East of England and North East have both reduced spending by 29 and 25 per cent respectively.

### Changes in local authority spending on family support services 2010-11 to 2015-16, by region (2016 prices)



#### What is happening locally?

The differences in regional spend is reflected locally, with some local authorities limiting reductions better than others. Just under half of local authorities (47 per cent) have reduced their budgets by 10 per cent or more since 2010-11. However, there are still some which have sought greater savings. A quarter of local authorities (25 per cent) have implemented budget cuts of 30 per cent or more. Only seven per cent of local authorities have reduced their budgets by more than a half in the same time period.

### 3. Young people's services

#### What are young people's services?

Young people's services provide this age group with information, advice, support and engaging activities. This helps them make a positive contribution in their communities, make friends and socialise, avoid risky behaviours, develop new skills and succeed in their learning and entry to employment.<sup>35</sup>

For consistency, our analysis includes only spending reported under the categories 'universal services for young people' and 'targeted services for young people'. This includes: youth work, activities for young people, services to support young people's participation in education or training, student support, and preventative substance misuse and teenage pregnancy services.

#### Who are they for and what do they do?

Some early intervention services for young people are focused on improving employability and skills. In other cases interventions act to address problems, such as substance misuse, that can escalate and have severe negative consequences in adulthood.



### **What is happening nationally?**

Local authority spending on services for young people have followed a similar pattern over the last five years, with spending cuts of 29 per cent, a real terms reduction of over £210 million in 2015-16 compared to 2010-11.

## **Jake's Story**

I was living at home with my parents but I never got on with them. I had a breakdown at an early age. For about 6 years when I was in primary school I got bullied, as I used to have fits. When I started secondary school, I got jumped by three lads which led me to not leaving the house. I lost all my confidence.

Around the same time my parents were splitting up, and I felt like they would take their anger out on me. I moved in with my grandma for a bit, it was better than being at home. When I thought things calmed down a bit I went back home, but the problems were still ongoing and my dad became violent towards me, and I had to report it.

I felt like I had no one to talk to whilst everything was going on at home and at school. I used to bottle everything up. I never felt like I could tell anybody what was going on. I was always behind in school work due to my dyslexia and my home situation didn't help.

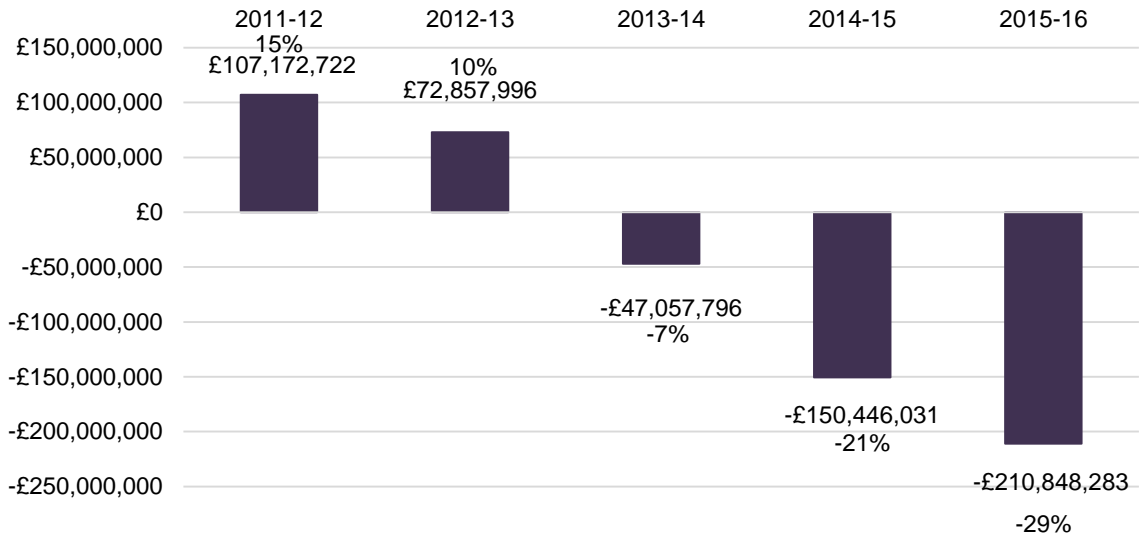
I was referred to a local youth service. They really helped me. They supported me through my most difficult time. They were so welcoming and they made me feel so comfortable. I was a real low point in my life and they listened to me and understood what I was going through.

They worked with me on my anger management too and involved me in sports. I thought this was a great outlet for me to express my feelings and channel my energy into something positive. I feel like I have matured over time and look at things in a different way.

Thanks to the support I received I feel more confident in myself. I am still living at home with my mum and dad. Things are a lot better at home. My dad still has anger issues, but I am dealing with it much better, due to the help I received.

I feel so much more positive. I have just started an apprenticeship working with children who have disabilities. I feel like it will be such a rewarding job and I wish to give something back to them.

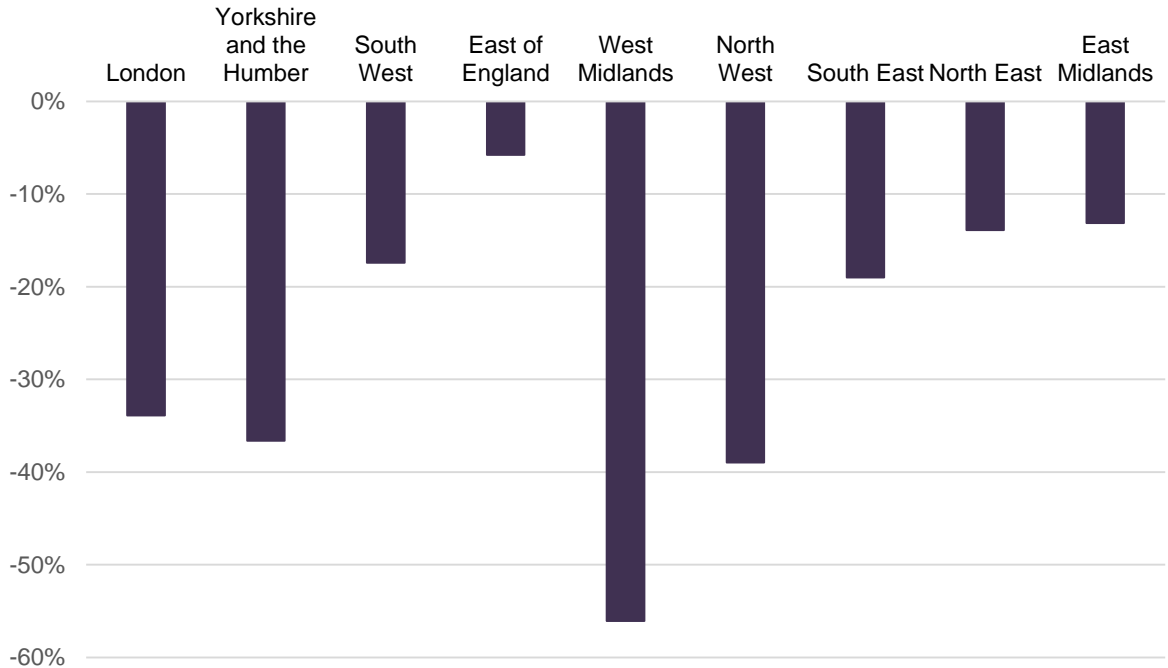
### Change in spending on young peoples services compared to 2010-11 (2016 prices)



#### What is happening regionally?

There have been significant reductions across England when looking at young people's services. The biggest reduction has been in the West Midlands (56 per cent) with the North West (39 per cent), Yorkshire and Humber (37 per cent) and London (34 per cent) seeing reductions of more than a third between 2010-11 and 2015-16.

### Changes in local authority spending on young peoples services 2010-11 to 2015-16, by region (2016 prices)



**What is happening locally?**

Unlike family support services, young people services have seen severe reductions at the local authority level. Just under half (45 per cent) of local authorities have implemented budget cuts of at 30 per cent or more. Just over a quarter of local authorities (26 per cent) have brought in cuts of more than 50 per cent.



## CONCLUSION

Research shows the significant difference early intervention services make to children's and young people's wellbeing. Parents tell us about the positive role these services play for them and their children. Early intervention services haven't just helped them avoid crisis or get much needed support at difficult times, it has helped to set them on a path towards a better life.

Yet, there is a clear challenge for local areas if they are to continue to provide services to deliver the support children, young people and parents' value, and that help reduce the costs of care and support down the line.

The downward trend in spending at a local level is a worrying reflection of how challenging it is for local authorities to allocate funding, even for services they consider a priority.

Due to top up funding, family support services have fared better. But despite the recognition that early intervention services, such as those in the Troubled Families Programme are vital, children's centres and young people's services have seen significant cuts both year-on-year and accumulatively since 2010-11. This comes on top of cuts to other sources of funding which underpin prevention and early intervention, such as the public health grant.<sup>36</sup>

Councillors still see the value in taking an early intervention approach even if they are concerned about what the future may hold. The reforms to local government finance could see significant differences open up between local authorities' ability to resource and deliver early intervention services.

Prioritising one service over another, is never easy. But the current situation does raise important questions. For central government about the value of allocating funding specifically for early intervention and sustaining investment in specific programmes of work, such as the Trouble Families Programme. And for local government in finding ways to prioritise and allocate spending on services that make a difference and stop and reduce the need for crisis intervention.

These questions must be addressed. We are concerned that without a national strategy for moving the focus of our public services towards early intervention, Government will continue to be left with the costs of responding to more acute problems – from children having to be separated from their families to those suffering the long-term effects of childhood obesity.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

We call on central government to:

- Commit to annual 'early intervention' top ups for local authorities after the Revenue Support Grant has been phased out. This should be determined by local need.
- As part of a review of the needs assessment formula, the Government should identify how to ensure that local authorities are spending resources on services for children, young people and families to prevent problems from escalating.
- Review current reporting mechanisms so there is a better understanding of how much is being spent on early intervention services.

We call on local authorities to:

- Prioritise resources raised through business rate growth for early intervention services, using local needs assessments and open consultation with local residents.

## ENDNOTES

1. The Kings Fund (2015) Cuts to public health spending: the falsest of false economies. [Online] Available from: <http://www.kingsfund.org.uk/blog/2015/08/cuts-public-health-spending-falsest-false-economies> [Accessed: 29 December 2015]
2. As opposed to the definition of 'early intervention' provided by the Early Intervention Foundation - "targeted, preventive activity which supports people who are at risk of experiencing adverse and costly life outcomes, in order to prevent those outcomes from arising" – which excludes universal services.
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## 22 Losing in the long run

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