

EDUCATION SECTOR

Integrated Children's Services in
Scotland

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1. Introduction

The Scotland Education Team is examining the policy initiative Integrated Children's Services (ICS) as Public Action 1. The launch of the Integrated Children's Services policy initiative signals a radical re-conceptualisation of education, because the integration of education with other social and public services, which this policy shift entails, means that education no longer has the status of a separate and distinctive policy field, with defined institutional structures and programmes related to the age and stage of the population of children and young people. Instead education forms part of *universal* services for children that combine education with Health, Social Work, and criminal justice or policing. The Integrated Children's Services Initiative Referred to from now on as ICS represents an example of the reconfiguration of education as part of a wide spectrum of 'delivery' of public 'services' to meet specific individual 'needs'. In making this argument we are focusing primarily on the discursive re-construction of the public services through key policy texts, but we also suggest that discourse has material consequences, and interacts in particular ways with structural adjustments to policy processes and relations (Fairclough, 1995). Interviews with key actors both at the central and the local authority level complement the document analysis, alongside with in-depth case studies of ICS in four local authorities in Scotland. In selecting this policy issue, we believe that we have a rich resource for the study of a knowledge-based post-bureaucratic form of regulation, and we are also signalling the importance of new, policy-based forms of knowledge, as knowledge is central to ICS, as it is only through the integration of knowledge that the integration of policy is feasible, while the integration of knowledge creates new requirements and possibilities for policy.

2. Section A

2.1 Background

In its initial stage (1998-2004) ICS in Scotland represented a unified approach to education/ health/ social work policy making, which was directed to the more disadvantaged children of Scottish communities; in its more recent development, since 2004, ICS is discursively constructed to include all children and young people. Indeed, the policy echoes lifelong learning discourses: integrated services cater for all citizens 'from cradle to grave'. As is discussed in the following sections, the joined-up approach to policy making represented by ICS marks a shift in policy thinking in education in Scotland. By this we mean that it is a major contributory element to the shift in the content and pedagogy of schooling that might be summarised as the dilution of the academic tradition in schooling that has characterised provision in the country in the past, and its replacement by a focus of attitudinal and dispositional characteristics notably in the development of the Curriculum for Excellence, Scotland's new curriculum programme, which is concerned to 'enable each child or young person to be a successful learner, a confident individual, a responsible citizen and an effective contributor'(CfE 2009). This shift is part of a global trend, but has particular significance in a context where education provision is best understood as a rooted in the principle of 'meritocratic egalitarianism' through which ability is recognised regardless of social origin (Arnott and Ozga 2008). The shift towards embedding education in a wider framework of services reflects policy-makers' concerns to extend the range of interventions that schooling can offer to include the promotion of attitudinal and dispositional characteristics (for example self regulation in health, greater self-confidence and well-being).

Knowledge is the main engine powering this radical shift, and there are two dimensions to our discussion of knowledge. The first concerns *integrated data*, and draws attention to the importance of data-based information to policy-making and, indeed, to governing. The second concerns integrated *professional knowledge* and explores the implications of the ICS policy for how professionals from different backgrounds (education and health, for example) are discursively constructed as co-producers of ICS.

Data are crucial to our approach to ICS, and we argue that they play a major role in the policy-without the capacity to collect, monitor and analyse data from different sources the concept of ICS is not imaginable. According to the policy texts, as people move through different stages in their lives, 'important information' travels with them. This information can be collated, monitored and interpreted by service providers, and even used as a basis for calculating future needs. It is through bringing together ('integrating') this information that new policy can be implemented. The ICS policy combines sector-specific, national, international and generic quality indicators into a consolidated system

– the emphasis appears to be placed on generic quality indicators, with the delivery of services and a focus on outcomes being at the forefront of policy talk since 1998. In this regard, ICS parallels the development of ‘intelligent government’, as since the late 1990s, there have been efforts to integrate the knowledge created in different government departments in order to achieve more comprehensive and evidence-based policy design. It is also important to note the influence of UK-wide developments in data use, which led to the Rowntree Trust describing Britain as the ‘data base state’ and drawing attention to the massive costs and implications for privacy and civil liberties that policy developments driven by investment in data were producing.

We also need to briefly acknowledge here the impact on our case studies of the changing political landscape in Scotland. The growth of integration at the level of the national government has accelerated since the election in May 2007, as the Nationalist-led Scottish Government (TSG) has created a new structure of governance that seeks to support cross-sectoral working in pursuit of the strategic objectives of the Scottish Government. For a variety of reasons, including its minority status, TSG operates through networks and through social partnership, with an emphasis on the freedom of its partners (especially local government) to determine its own priorities and design of delivery, within a broad orientation towards making Scotland ‘Wealthier and Fairer, Smarter, Healthier, Safer and Stronger and Greener’. TSG promotes its ‘concordat’ with local government as enhancing the role of local government, and ‘localism’ has become a powerful resource in shaping the governance narrative. The concordat introduced single outcome agreements (SOAs) with the stated intention of changing the relationship between local and national government, so that local government could ‘govern’ rather than administer, by responding flexibly to local priorities and needs. It is a move away from central target-setting. It will be apparent that our study is unfolding in a changing landscape, and that the relatively recent move away from central targets fits with our argument about post-bureaucratic governance forms in Scotland, and with the public action analysis.

The report on the ICS policy shift pursues the knowledge themes of integrated data data and professionals through two main forms of enquiry: first, the ‘bigger’ picture of the historical development of the public action, which, in this case roughly coincides with the establishment of the devolved Scottish Parliament in 1999. Through an extensive literature review of all the relevant documentation produced by the then Scottish Executive¹ and the Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education a chronology of the main policy developments in Scotland is being mapped out. Second, we are developing four case studies of the integration of children’s services in four local authorities in Scotland. These case studies will provide in-depth analysis of current developments within the

¹ Before May 2007 and the Scottish Nationalist Party victory in the elections to the Scottish Parliament, the devolved government of Scotland was known as the Scottish Executive. The name change was made to emphasise that TSG was a ‘government’.

authorities in order to examine the ways the national policy framework is being interpreted and implemented at the local government level.

Local government in Scotland was quite heavily regulated since the days of the Thatcherite Conservative UK governments of the 1980s and early 90s, when large scale authorities like Strathclyde (then the largest local authority in Europe) were broken up into smaller units with fewer powers. After devolution there was some discontent among local authorities about the extent to which the Labour government in Scotland continued to treat the local authorities as deliverers of central priorities, whose performance needed to be monitored against large numbers of performance targets. ICS is part of a shift in policy towards local government that apparently seeks to make it more autonomous and actively representative, and more responsive to and knowledgeable about local conditions.

The timeline of development takes into account two key factors in the policy-making context that saw the creation and development of the ICS. The first is the influence on policy in Scotland from 1998-2007 of the UK government, given shared political agendas (Labour in power in Westminster, and leading a coalition government in Holyrood). So we examine how the integrated children's services policy 'travelled' from Westminster to Edinburgh and then onwards to the different localities in Scotland, within the context of a quite strong central policy direction, accompanied by specific performance frameworks and targets. From 2007 we trace the influence on ICS of the new government's determination to distance itself from the UK government, and to change the central-local relationship within Scotland to one where local government had greater freedom to achieve the overarching policy aims contained in the National Performance Framework (see Annex).

Our case studies are located in two large urban and two semi-rural areas, which we call 'Easttown', 'Westtown' 'Midtown' and 'Northtown' because we carried out the studies on a non-attributable basis, in order to secure access. The case studies are based on document analysis, interviews with local authority staff (from data managers to education/ children's services directors) and observations.

2.2 Approach to knowledge and relevant knowledges

The approach to knowledge that we are taking in this study (and across the KNOWANDPOL research) is that it is best understood as a process, and that different forms of knowledge are mobilised in 'making' policy. Furthermore we link the knowledge forms and processes that we are exploring here to the growth of post-bureaucratic governing forms in the policy context of Scotland. Drawing on the work of orientation 1, we understand knowledge in this context to be:

'co-constructed: it is not disciplinary knowledge, but knowledge that emerges in the sharing of experience. New knowledge is activated and transferred in situations that are not fully regulated or defined through routine processes, where creative problem-solving is encouraged. It is optimised through co-production of new knowledge which can be implemented in action. Creative thinking, innovation and problem-solving are valued over and above the consolidation of static knowledge stocks. In other words, a new relation between governing and knowledge may be envisioned: expertise moves beyond the task of *policy informing*, and becomes *policy forming* in a more complex form of governing.' (Isaakyan and Ozga 2008; no page numbers)

Note the emphasis on the shift in relationship between knowledge and policy: there is an almost constant referencing of 'knowledge' that is in the process of construction in relation to problem-solving. Note also that this is an imagined state of co-construction: in reality there are significant problems in weaving together different forms of knowledge while dealing with the changing political landscape.

At the level of discourse, ICS can readily be interpreted within a framework that draws on the ideas of Mode 2 Knowledge production (Gibbons et al 1994; Nowotny et al 2001). Whereas Mode 1 Knowledge is characterised as traditional and discipline-based, the emergent Mode 2 Knowledge is derived from hybridised research that combines the academy, the state and the private sector (Gibbons et. al. 1994). Mode 2 Knowledge encompasses a shift from a linear process of knowledge production and dissemination to an interactive, iterative, problem-focused and trans-disciplinary model (Delanty 2001; Gibbons et. al 1994; Nowotny et al 2001). Policy for Integrated Children's Services may be interpreted as a form of post-bureaucratic governance, which again, like Mode 2 Knowledge, appears to be more diffuse and networked, in comparison with established bureaucracies and hierarchies. Its networked nature (in the sense that it is co-produced by different networks of policy makers, experts and practitioners) promotes its easy movement and exchange. The reformation of bureau-professionals and their displacement by new knowledge-based, integrated professions and the brokering of knowledge by knowledge managers are central in making post-bureaucracy 'happen'.

However, as will be discussed later, in relation to ICS, this brokering is not simply a clerical, administrative act. Rather, it comes with heavy moral and ethical considerations, as the integration of knowledge potentially increases the capacity of government to scrutinise and affect individual actions in many social settings, both private and public. Integrated knowledge raises questions in relation to using knowledge to create a better, 'flourishing' society (flourishing is a term that runs through policy texts, and encompasses ideas of better individual and collective outcomes). There are considerable disagreements about how 'flourishing' should best be defined and in relation to how this can be achieved without breaching the rights of privacy and data protection. This is the uncertainty that Mode 2 knowledge and post-bureaucracy present: though arguably socially constructed and contested, it is at the same time *risky* knowledge. This is why

the language about a flourishing society, or from a negative perspective, an unequal and unjust society, is, as Stehr has succinctly put it, a language about agency, malleability, flexibility, multi-purpose resources, volatility and heterogeneity (2004). Dominique Pestre makes a similar point in critiquing the discourse used to characterise Mode 2 knowledge (for example social relevance, responsibility, reflexivity, fluidity) in terms of the power relations that it both conceals and promotes through the elimination of alternative definitions of knowledge and knowledge production. As he puts it, the Mode 2 discourse conveys an 'overly optimistic' vision of the changes affecting science and society today. He goes on to comment that:

'...these transformations [in knowledge] have been the result of political and social *choices*. This would mean recognising that the developments they describe are not cases of *natural* evolution, which have simply to be identified and acknowledged, but are, rather, articulated with *alternative and conflicting* social, economic and political projects' (Pestre 2001: 246 emphasis in original).

As well as reminding us of the ways in which knowledge has always mattered to states and economic elites, Pestre underlines the importance of knowledge as a resource for changing social ideologies (ibid:250). Thus in the ICS discourse, individuals and groups (and as will be shown later, children, too) are seen as having the capacity to employ and transform their life structures on the basis of this new social contract. The governance of *education* is of little interest here. Instead, we are experiencing strategic efforts 'to move new scientific and technical knowledge, and thereby the future, into the centre of the cultural, economic and political matrix of society' (Stehr, 2004; ix). Mode 2 Knowledge, although presented as more democratic and socially constructed, has to be closely regulated and controlled. What appears on the surface as easily flowing, comparable and integrated knowledge, requires at its kernel heavy regulation and policing.

This is why knowledge about the education system does not only comprise information and data; it is the end-product in the process of data collection, inextricably linked with action – or 'measures'. In the UK in particular, there is strong movement towards knowledge-informed policy making in education (Lauder et al, 2004, Thomas and Pring, 2004). In both England and Scotland we observe increased consciousness of performance levels and positioning in relation to other schools and authorities, and more active use of data to monitor performance and to identify trends. In recent years national government agencies and departments, local education authorities and teachers have developed increased in-house capacity for the management of data and its translation into knowledge and practice (Furlong, 2004, Ozga 2009; Ozga, 2008). According to Ozga:

The process has been in train since the 1980s, though not always in a consistent form. However one constant feature is the rapid growth of information produced by the new agencies and actors involved in public service provision, and the related growth of demand for more information, and for more to be done with the information available. This, in turn, creates new

central demands for data about operations and resources. Data production and management were and are essential to the new governance turn; constant comparison is its symbolic feature, as well as a distinctive mode of operation (2009; 150)

Similarly, at the international level, the ranking and rating of educational achievement by international organisations like the OECD or the European Commission has become one of the prime tools for education systems to evaluate their competitive status against that of other countries in the global economy (Grek, 2009).

2.3 To know and to rule: data and the knowledge economy

In the UK in particular, the growth and sophistication of ICT over the last couple of decades has either led to or is led by the requirement to *know* more about the agencies and departments of the state. The speed of change to the economy, and to public services, means that data collection and analysis is behind what some private companies can do across their operations, in the commercial and production sectors. For example, through its Clubcard scheme, the accumulation of customer data about its 12 million customers, allows Tesco [the UK based supermarket group], to understand their lifestyle and food buying behaviour; this information continues to reshape the firm and its suppliers. In the last ten years, the UK government has used this capacity in the private sector as a model for its own operations. According to the Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust Report 'Database State', which was an evaluation of the UK 'Transformational Government' programme, the 'database state' 'was supposed to make public services better or cheaper, but it has been repeatedly challenged by controversies over effectiveness, privacy, legality and cost' (2009; 4). According to the same report, in the UK at the moment, 'of the 46 databases assessed only six are given the green light. That is, only six are found to have a proper legal basis for any privacy intrusions and are proportionate and necessary in a democratic society. Nearly twice as many are almost certainly illegal under human rights or data protection law and should be scrapped or substantially redesigned, while the remaining 29 databases have significant problems and should be subject to an independent review' (2009; 2).

Despite problems and criticisms, the UK government has been trying to find ways of collecting data about service industries, which now account for almost three-quarters of the economy. Measuring them provided a range of problems as it had always been easier to produce data about simple outputs (manufacturing, for example) than it was about local authority housing or schools. It was also easier to manage and analyse simple production data than, for example, patterns of service use. Data used for governing is intended to be used as a basis for action, on resource, use or policy implementation. The issue here is about the speed, scale and range of the data acquired today, and its use in

managing the system at all levels. Quality assurance is a justification not just for standardisation but also for target-setting, often closely tied with restructuring, budget cutting, steering for national outcomes, reshaping local services and encouraging self regulation.

Knowledge production was thus brought into close relationship with economic policy – what matters is what works for the economy and its efficient management. We experience the promotion of a new ethics and politics of governance in which ‘a particular style of formalised accountability’ has become a ruling principle (Power 1997: 4). The change of behaviours demanded of sectors, organizations and individuals is closely tied to the creation of new sources of data because “political judgments are implicit in the choice of what to measure, how to measure it, how often to measure it and how to present and interpret the results” (Power 1997: 3). In education, governing knowledge, produced and analysed by both international organisations (like the EU and the OECD) and government agencies, mobilised by actors taking that knowledge and ‘drilling down’ – as they themselves often put it- to the individual school, classroom and pupil provides a resource through which surveillance can be exercised. While experts promote ‘calculative rationality’ (Bauman 1992), political technologies disguise how power works:

‘Political technologies advance by taking what is essentially a political problem, removing it from the realm of the political, and recasting it in the neutral language of science’ (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982:196).

These ‘political technologies’ seek to bring persons, organisations and objectives into alignment. In a sense, this is the significance of the governance turn: in brief, first, a shift from centralised and vertical hierarchical forms of regulation to decentralised, horizontal and networked forms and, second, a centring on the subject and a disciplining of them. Governing has been associated with data [as well as judgement], however we are signalling a shift from a recording of the past to a shaping of the future, and especially into the development of self- governing subjects. The key to this system of governmentality lies in inculcating new norms and values by which external regulatory mechanisms transform the conduct of organisations and individuals in their capacity as ‘self-actualising’ agents, so as to achieve political objectives through ‘action at a distance’ (Miller and Rose 1990:1).

As part of that discussion we are also attentive to the need to bring professional norms and knowledges into alignment with policy directions, and these knowledge forms may have very different disciplinary and practice-based origins and consequences in terms of responses to ICS.

The following sub-section examines the rise and expansion of the integration of different sectors working with children in Scotland. It is based on a literature review of 12 key official texts in the period 1998-2007, and a discussion of key texts and academic

commentaries relating to inter-professional working. The texts are considered influential because they represent official governmental policy; they are texts covering consultation processes with a wide variety of actors (different professionals, knowledge managers, parents, pupils); they have been the focus of debate amongst professional groups and especially the Inspectorate; and they are closely interlinked through cross-referencing. Their sources are the Scottish Executive (the name of the Scottish Government from 1999 to 2007) and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe) –the key expert group of inspectors who have substantially contributed to the change. Seven of these texts are examined here. Of course we acknowledge that there is a gap between policy texts and practices, but, as indicated earlier, we are arguing for attention to the discursive work that such texts do in shifting what is understood as 'public services' and the people who deliver them into a new frame of reference. Before we move to their analysis however, some contextual, historical factors specific to Scotland have to be taken into account. The next part deals with this issue.

2.4 The particularities of the Scottish case

Scotland is a relatively small nation within the United Kingdom: it has a population of just 5 million people compared with 50 million in its neighbour England. Although Scotland has been part of the UK for the last 300 years, and is subject to strong policy influences from the UK government, and from UK political parties, the Scottish education system has developed separately, and has played a particularly strong role historically in the shaping and support of national identity (McCrone, 1992; Paterson, 1997), as one of the 'holy trinity' (Paterson 1994) of institutions-Law and the Church being the others- that encapsulated Scotland's 'stateless nationhood' from 1707-1999. Since 1999, there has been a new Scottish parliament, providing scope for further divergence of education policy as a result of different priorities and ideologies north and south of the border (Arnott, 2007, Raffe, 2005).

Scotland has a fairly homogenous school system in which 96% of Scottish children are educated in non-selective state schools (including many established to cater for those who choose a Roman Catholic education) all of which are administered by local education authorities. Primary schooling starts at age 5, and pupils transfer to secondary schools at age 12. Although compulsory education ends at age 16, the vast majority of pupils now remain at school to age 18. All schools provide a general education, and there is very little vocational education provision until the post-16 stages. There is a Scottish system of National Qualifications providing a unified system of qualifications for all students from age 15/16 onwards.

Since the beginning of the 20th century partnership and centralisation were the two competing forces in the Scottish education system, with some claiming that its defining feature (always in juxtaposition to the English system) is the role of the local authorities as providing 'an element of a common purpose' (McPherson and Raab, 1988; 3), or alternatively that the centre had in fact always been dominant in education policy making:

Scotland is a small country in which everybody values education, knows everybody else, and can easily be got together to thrash things out. Thus, it is claimed, the education system is one in which people naturally 'look to the centre' for a lead (McPherson and Raab 1988; 30).

A further distinguishing feature of Scottish education has been its emphasis on a national, public system with little private provision (again in comparison to England). According to McPherson and Raab (1988), universities in Scotland were always publicly controlled and the principle of public, universal elementary education has been in existence since the 16th century and supported by extensive provision since the 1870s. However, it is also interesting for the Scottish case to note that two views were traditionally in competition in the country in the first half of the 20th century and until 1965, when comprehensive schooling was introduced for the first time. These two ideas still influence notions of what public education is or should be about:

a. the idea that education should be made available in ways that reduced social distinction and that enabled the identification of bright children (lads o'pairts -or young men-and later women- with talents and capacities), often for public service in the professions; and

b. the idea promoted mainly by the 'secondary education party' that there should be an elite secondary school preparing the higher achievers for university selection, and another type of (junior) secondary school for those less ambitious and lower achieving pupils (McPherson and Raab, 1988).

The 'social efficiency' model or a 'sponsored mobility' system represents the defining myth of the Scottish education system: the principle of meritocracy, or in other words, locating and 'harvesting talent' without reference to social class or family background. Indeed Paterson argues that such Scottish attitudes are fundamental and that they underpin a strong commitment not simply to comprehensive provision but to community:

'..in the sense that education is not just another area of social policy: in important respects it underpins democracy. ...The persistence of public support for a public system to the end of the century shows that these traditions are not just rhetoric, or romanticism: they are real, politically-relevant instances of Scottish attachment to ideas of community' (Paterson 2002,118-119)

McPherson and Raab (1988) suggest that the principle of social efficiency favoured wealthier families and localities and although it was overtly presented as universalistic, it was covertly particularistic and based on pupil differentiation and selection. However, their most relevant argument for this analysis is the following:

[This was] a stratified system of schooling mapped onto communities that were believed by the state to have different potentials for secondary education...Schools and community interacted thereafter to reproduce and probably to reinforce local variations in community and social class orientations towards the value of schooling...[therefore] two separate ladders were created from primary school: a narrow one leading to higher education and a broader one terminating on entry to the labour market (1988; 44).

A degree of tension then lies at the heart of Scottish education in its historically-embedded construction: individualism sits at the heart of the Scottish faith in meritocracy (Paterson, 2003) and, despite the Scottish attachment to the 'democratic intellect' (Davie, 1961) and the enduring power of the loyalty for education as a public good, 'educational provision ...expresses a combination of individualistic and collective principles' (Ozga, 2005).

This embedded tension is significant in understanding education policy making in Scotland after devolution in 1999. At first there were strong pressures for convergence with the UK, which followed from the fact that from 1999 until May 2007 the Labour Party was in power in Scotland and at the UK level. As a consequence there were common themes in education policy in both Scotland and England—themes such as choice, privatisation and standards (Arnott, 2007; Croxford and Raffe, 2007). These were sometimes inflected rather differently and as a result policy texts sometimes conveyed an uneasy blending of rather divergent approaches: for example the 'Ambitious Excellent Schools' programme (Scottish Executive, 2004) echoed English-based reforms in its support for diversity in school provision but within a framework that stressed the centrality of the principle of comprehensive provision. Underneath this political tension there were more fundamental issues about the difficulties of creating and promoting education policy that maintained academic excellence while 'modernising' curriculum and pedagogy to take account of the broader needs of the knowledge economy/knowledge society.

Continuities with previous policy directions continue beyond 2007, and the discourse continues to work to promote the rationalisation of public policy as part of creating a new 'imaginary' of Scotland (Arnott and Ozga, 2008). Thus the adoption by the SNP government of 'Curriculum for Excellence' and the prioritising of early years policies, illustrates continuity rather than disruption, however there is, in fact, an important shift in policy for education in 2007. Although we cannot discuss this in detail here, we draw

attention to a shift in referencing of distinctive traditions of meritocracy and academic excellence, and their rather muted deployment alongside attitudinal and dispositional characteristics expressed as 'learner entitlements' (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2009). Thus we suggest that policy for Integrated Children's Services (ICS), although only one element is part of a re-invention of the public role of Scottish education, which may, indeed, be accelerated and extended by the Scottish Government, in pursuit of its overarching economic aims (Hyslop 2007). The origin of ICS lies well before the changing policy context of the SNP government's election in May 2007, but we suggest that it works with the grain of their project. In the next section we trace the origins and development of ICS under the previous administration.

I think there was a ... it was a huge commitment to resource ... and in terms of personnel and I think, not just that, but the key point that we were coming from ... not we, I mean, we're talking about Scotland ... that it's in terms of schools that it's quite a burden on schools. I mean, schools are already doing a number of things and they're already involved in the assessment achievement programme (policy analyst)

2.5 Integrated Children's Services (ICS) in Scotland

The integration of services, such as education, health, social work and the police, initially for more vulnerable children but increasingly for all of them, began in Scotland in 1995, when the Children (Scotland) Act required local councils to consult and cooperate with other statutory and voluntary agencies in drawing up Children's Services Plans to identify and support children's needs. In the late 1990s a Social Inclusion Strategy provided the policy framework for the further integration of children services.

Nevertheless, the pilot programme that set the tone of ICS in Scotland, echoing strongly the discourse of New Labour which had just taken power in Westminster, was the 'New Community Schools' (NCS) initiative, established in 1998, a year prior to devolution. NCS became the new strategy of the Scottish Office 'to promote social inclusion and raise education standards' (Scottish Office, 1998). According to the programme, pilot schools would act as catalysts for change and innovation, particularly through drawing together support from education, social work and health, to meet the needs of every child, and particularly the more vulnerable ones, who might face problems with learning and attainment. During the same year, the government's Green Paper ('Meeting the Childcare challenge - A Childcare Strategy for Scotland, 1998) also set a policy requirement for local authorities' Early Education and ChildCare Plans, in order to demonstrate the ways that local agencies would collaborate in addressing the priorities set by the Scottish Office. The text analysed here, 'New Community Schools -Prospectus', launches the

government initiative to develop NCS throughout Scotland. It gives an outline of how local authorities were advised to apply for this pilot programme.

NCS, as with similar initiatives in England, was at the heart of the New Labour project for education, summed up as the double aim to raise inclusion and attainment by establishing new standards and objectives. NCS are described as 'a radical attack on this vicious cycle of underachievement'. Human capital language is used; children will now be able to 'raise their full potential', will be 'well-motivated' and have 'high esteem':

New Community Schools will embody the fundamental principle that the potential of all children can be realised only by addressing their needs in the round –and that this requires an integrated approach by all involved (Scottish Office, 1998)

There is a double emphasis here working as almost a reversal of the established role of the teacher in Scotland. Instead of the traditional image of the individual, authoritative figure of the teacher working with a class of pupils, in this new context, teachers need to work collaboratively with a number of other professionals to meet the needs of individual pupils through the application of personal learning plans: 'It will require teachers, social workers, family workers and health personnel to work *together* to develop common objectives and goals centred on the needs of *individual* children at school and on families' (Scottish Office, 1998, our emphasis). Targeted, specific action is required at the micro-scale of the pupil and their families, who now appear with enhanced agency and the potential to speak up and actively seek for solutions. Parental involvement and responsibility is central, as central is the effective knowledge management for the integrated delivery of these services. 'A single reporting and accountability framework' is what integrated management requires, together with 'multi-disciplinary training and staff development'. Despite the focus on selected individuals (professionals, pupils and their parents), the argument is that schools will now become even more valued than before, as they will be seen to offer more: 'The school itself will be seen to play a wider role in the community and be valued even more highly by all members of that community'. Education here is described as a public good, however only if organised in an integrated fashion; that is, when offered as part of a broader service for developing the 'whole child'. In other words, it is not of intrinsic value but has to 'relate' to other services and to pupils' lives. Above all, outcomes and targets appear as absolutely essential for a successful bid of a local authority to establish NCS:

Proposals should specify and measure *outcomes* which should be linked specifically to elements of the bid. Proposals should set *targets* in all aspects. These targets should be higher than would be expected without New Community School status. Proposals should set out the *baseline measures* on which such targets are based.

One year later, in 1999, another programme was established by the Scottish Office, in line with Westminster policy frameworks; the Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP) Programme. Multi-agency working in order to address social exclusion, is again at the heart of this programme, which, in conjunction with the newly launched Surestart Scotland, aimed at bringing together early education, childcare, health and family support to strengthen the wellbeing, development, and learning of vulnerable children. In the same spirit, 'Making a difference: Effective Implementation of Cross-Cutting policy' (Hogg, 2000) was conducted by the Scottish Executive Policy Review Unit with the aim to address the problem of a very high number of 'cross-cutting' policies. It refers to an 'initiative overload', a 'proliferation of partnerships' and a number of 'mixed messages' that the public sector receives. The Review emphasised that 'single agency' issues remain, but also that cross-cutting solutions are 'increasingly being used to tackle key social and economic issues'.

The review's main suggestion is to *renew* the policy development process through involving agencies at the policy development from an early stage and routinely engaging them in a sustainable relationship. The Review suggests that, although the Executive has to be less prescriptive about processes, effective cross-cutting policy can be achieved through deep accountability structures, both at the financial level, through pooling budgets, and, crucially, at the level of partnerships, through the establishment of joint inspection regimes (Hogg 2000).

Further, the policy text 'For Scotland's Children—Better Integrated Children's Services' (Scottish Executive, 2001), published a year later, became a landmark and the bible for the integration of education with other services in Scotland. The new policy offered an Action Plan containing a range of ways in which local authorities, the NHS and the voluntary sector could work together to create a single children's service system to ensure that all children have the necessary support when they need it. In addition to this new policy framework, the Scottish Executive issued the Changing Children's Services Fund, what was then envisaged as the vehicle for achieving the targets set out in 'For Scotland's Children' (2001).

The text, after outlining extensive facts and figures of deprivation and exclusion in the country (with the case of Glasgow particularly highlighted), re-conceptualises the 'good' school as not the one which offers education only, but that which provides more of an 'all-round' service. The document emphasises that NCS have begun to win 'hearts and minds', even of those staff who 'take a narrower view' (Scottish Executive, 2001; 14). Not surprisingly, the key question to how this new vision is achieved is a question of *knowledge* and hence *action*: 'But how do WE know and what do we DO about it? (Scottish Executive, 2001; 15—emphasis in the original). The answer exemplifies the

ways 'old' professional knowledge is being sidelined in favour of a new kind of knowledge that has accountability at its heart:

We should perhaps expect one of the two guides: health or education (the universal services) to identify such children and co-ordinate the further help they need. This does not always happen! Instead, the child waits – sometimes escalating the problematic behaviour if that is their manifestation of “something wrong” – until there is some attention. If it gets picked up at school there is a range of options: guidance, educational psychologist, social work, Reporter. If in the community, another range, perhaps involving the police. If in the family, yet another, perhaps including the GP and specialist medical services such as child and adolescent psychiatry. The point is that the service the child ends up in is largely due to the accident of the point of entry to specialist services, rather than to any *comprehensive appraisal of the optimum response to the assessed needs* of the child (Scottish Executive 2001; 15 – our emphasis).

A significant element of this new 'way of knowing' is not just creating new facts and understandings of how one governs education—the most significant aspect of this is that knowledge *and* action are intertwined in a very tight, almost indistinguishable relation. This, however, does not only suggest action on behalf of the state – individuals are agents in their own right. Even more to the point, they have to know and act:

In the best of recent research and in the good professional practice identified in this report there is a developing view of the child as an *active agent* in their world and a commitment to *empowerment* as a key in any change or recovery process. A view is emerging across policy and practice that *every child is an individual*, that their best interests demand that we view their lives holistically and that in doing so we articulate and accord them a set of intrinsic human rights as well as rights as service users. (Scottish Executive, 2001;– our emphasis).

This is not simply an organisational change that stems from the capacity of the system to produce new 'ways of knowing' itself. It is a change in principles and values: a re-invented morality for public education. According to the text, 'some authorities have re-examined their structures from an *ideological* and service improvement perspective (rather than simply for reasons of financial expediency)' (Scottish Executive, 2001; 18). However the financial gain looks also substantial. According to the text, 'a head teacher's unwillingness to invest £40 per week in classroom assistance leads the social work department in the same council to spend £400 per week on an excluded child' (ibid). Therefore, the stakes are high – and they appear at all levels, financial and ideological.

The 'Personal Learning Plans' (PLPs), first established with the New Community Schools, are a substantial part of this shift of the emphasis to the individual child: 'The objective of PLPs is to encourage self-evaluation by pupils *of their own needs* and participation in negotiating personal learning targets to empower the learner and help encourage independent learning habits' (Scottish Executive, 2001; 15 –our emphasis). These plans

require pupils to assess their own progress and discuss this assessment with teachers on a regular basis. Their discussions are with subject teachers and teachers of 'guidance' who, in Scottish schools, carry a range of responsibilities for monitoring behaviour, promoting an acceptable school ethos and advising on study and career choices, and these discussions are recorded in summary form and progress towards agreed outcomes regularly reviewed.

The document moves on to examine the planning framework for delivering the new service: this is to be achieved through a rationalisation of the planning requirements in order to consider children's services as a *single* service system. Through a series of Action Points, the policy document describes what a Joint Children Services Plan might look like, the establishment of universal services through Single Entry Points and the coordination of 'needs assessment' and intervention. The focus is on audit and the 'improved utilisation of existing data'.

The year 2004 appears to be one of change for the integrated children services provision in Scotland: there is a discursive shift that moves the lens from social justice claims to protect vulnerable children to the creation of a *single* service for *all* children, irrespective of background or class. Further, the realisation appears that the management of data across services might be more important than it initially looked. One of the most significant motors of this re-orientation was the work of the Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe). 'The Sum of its parts? The development of integrated community schools in Scotland' (2004) is the HMIe evaluation report of the development of the NCS in Scotland.

More specifically, in 2002 the Minister for Education and Young People asked from HMIe to lead a multi-disciplinary team that included the Social Work Services Inspectorate (SWSI) and the Health Improvement Strategy Division (SEHD) to evaluate the progress of eight cluster projects in different local authority areas in Scotland. The team gave a positive review of the clusters gradually adopting integrated approaches towards the development of a common service. However, this progress was seemingly not good enough. The eight projects appeared to interpret the framework according to their local needs and in very diverse manners; very often there was no ownership of the project, which seemed to be the sole responsibility of the integration manager; 'most reports of either pilot initiatives or individual projects contained evidence of impact derived mainly from user responses and participant uptake' (HMIE, 2004). According to the Review, 'overall there was a need for more rigorous evaluation of the impact of initiatives at both strategic and operational levels' (HMIE, 2004). The difficulty of establishing such evaluation processes was mainly due to the 'lack of systematic baseline information against which progress might be measured'. According to the Review, 'consideration

should be given to improving the national availability of, and access to, clear baseline data on health and social needs’.

In ‘Making Services Better for Scotland’s Children’ (HMIE, 2004b), a Joint Inspection Framework was launched by HMIE together with the HMI of Constabulary (police), the Scottish Commission for the Regulation of Care, the Social Work Services Inspectorate and the NHS Quality Improvement Scotland. Again, like before, knowledge is central to the new proposals by the Inspectorate, which aims to ‘move towards establishing an integrated system of inspection by 2008’. Together with on-going self-evaluation, inspection now ‘needs to take account of *what is known*’: this is the new ‘intelligence-led’, ‘proportionate’ approach to inspection for ‘targeted’ activity, based on the following principles: first, that the needs and rights of children are at the core of the inspection; second, the primary focus is on outcomes; and third, that the focus is on the promotion of children’s safety, well-being and development. What underlies all these principles of course is the prerequisite of what was indicated above: ‘what is known’, or what our knowledge is about needs and the outcomes we have to pursue. This is the emergence of a new field of public governance that brings the state and its citizens (or ‘users’) in a direct exchange of goods and services. What is also significant is that this knowledge production is not a planned activity due to take place in the short- or long-term. Instead, like with all other indicator and benchmarking exercises, it is initiated using the data *available*. It is not about finding problems lying ‘out there’; rather, it aims at managing the knowledge available in order to be directed towards casting light on specific, chosen issues. Of course, the construction of specific indicators and benchmarks represents more of a political exercise rather than evidence-based practice (Grek, 2008). Knowledge and, more precisely, knowledge politics precedes the problem, its governance, and the solution.

Finally, it is evident that there is no point in creating new knowledge unless it can be shared:

Joint working across services and between services and inspectorates requires clear and common understandings about standards and quality. A coherent suite of quality and performance indicators used across all services for self-evaluation and accessible to all inspectorates would be helpful in achieving a common language across services for children.

Indeed, creating a common language is a prerequisite for the effective collaboration and communication of such a wide range of professionals. This common language is created through the introduction of quality and performance indicators; these will enhance the possibilities for more consistent and ‘robust’ self-evaluation, which will then be also externally assessed through inspection: ‘On-going self-evaluation is the key to service improvement and is complemented by external evaluation in the improvement cycle’. The key objective here is to use knowledge in order to do away with sector-specific indicators

and move the professional focus on to generic quality indicators. This will guarantee smoother data exchange and share as well as joint inspection regimes. Therefore, one could describe the new indicator nexus like this:

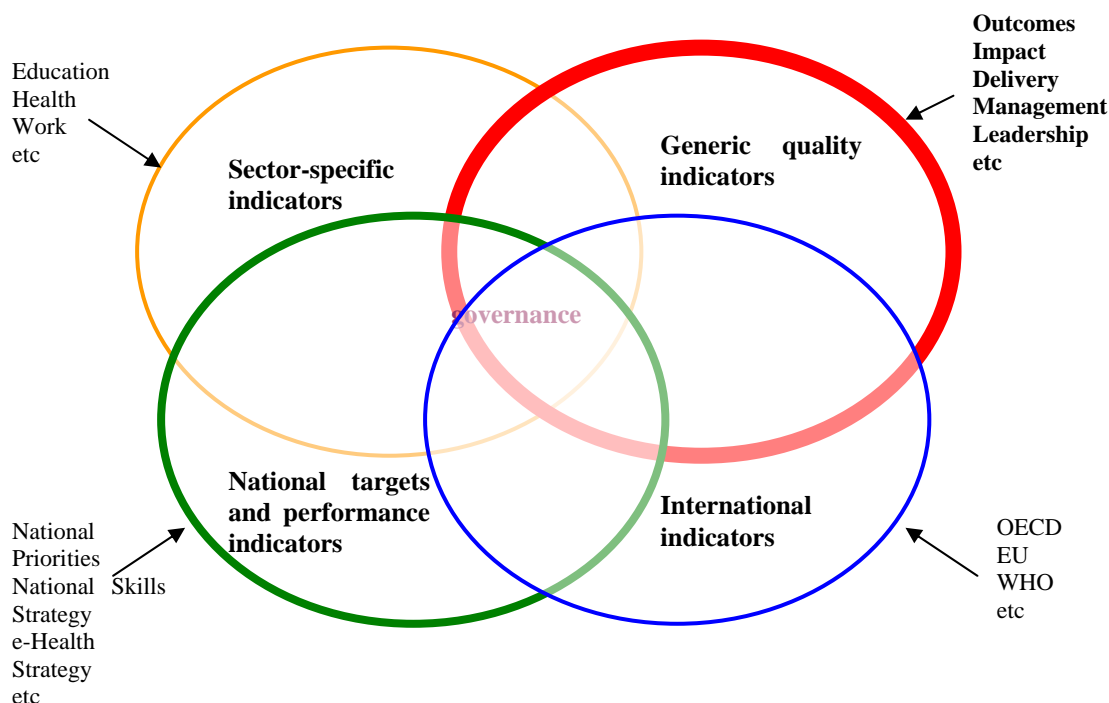


Fig 1: The indicator nexus

This table shows the interconnectedness of the different indicator groupings in integrated children services. Sector-specific indicators have to be streamlined to include and incorporate national targets and performance indicators, international comparisons and indicators and, most important, generic quality indicators. These are key here: they create this common language of communication across the sectors where the emphasis is on knowledge management, delivery, outcomes and impact.

Finally, the Scottish Executive's 'Getting it Right for Every Child – Proposals for Action' (2005) (GirFEC) again signals the need to have a 'unified approach' where 'children and parents should know what to expect from public agencies and what is expected of them' (Scottish Executive 2005). It introduces for the first time the Integrated Assessment Planning and Recording Framework (IAF) which would apply to *all* children and will require compliance with the Social Care Data Standards Project. IAF

- requires every worker and every agency to be accountable and acknowledge their responsibilities for the development and wellbeing of children and young people;

- applies to everyone working with children and young people, whether they are part of a universal service such as education, primary health care or the police, or whether they are in a more specialist, targeted service, such as social work, school care accommodation service or secure accommodation services, acute/tertiary health services or the psychological services;
- will be used by all those working in both the voluntary and statutory agencies;
- requires agencies to share information in order to promote the best interests and welfare of all children. Trust, shared ownership and commitment are essential;
- will support the integration of a range of information and assessment from different professionals and agencies into a coherent view of a child's experiences, strengths and needs; and
- will improve the consistency and quality of assessments for all children.

Assessment is at the core of this framework since 'when children and young people move at key transition stages in their lives *important information can travel with them*' (Scottish Executive, 2005). The following triangle is not simply representing the whole child -it offers a template 'to structure thinking and information gathering' for all children and young people. Therefore this information should include 'a core set of biographical details', 'a chronological account of significant achievements, event and changes' and finally, 'appropriate information about the child's life and experience':

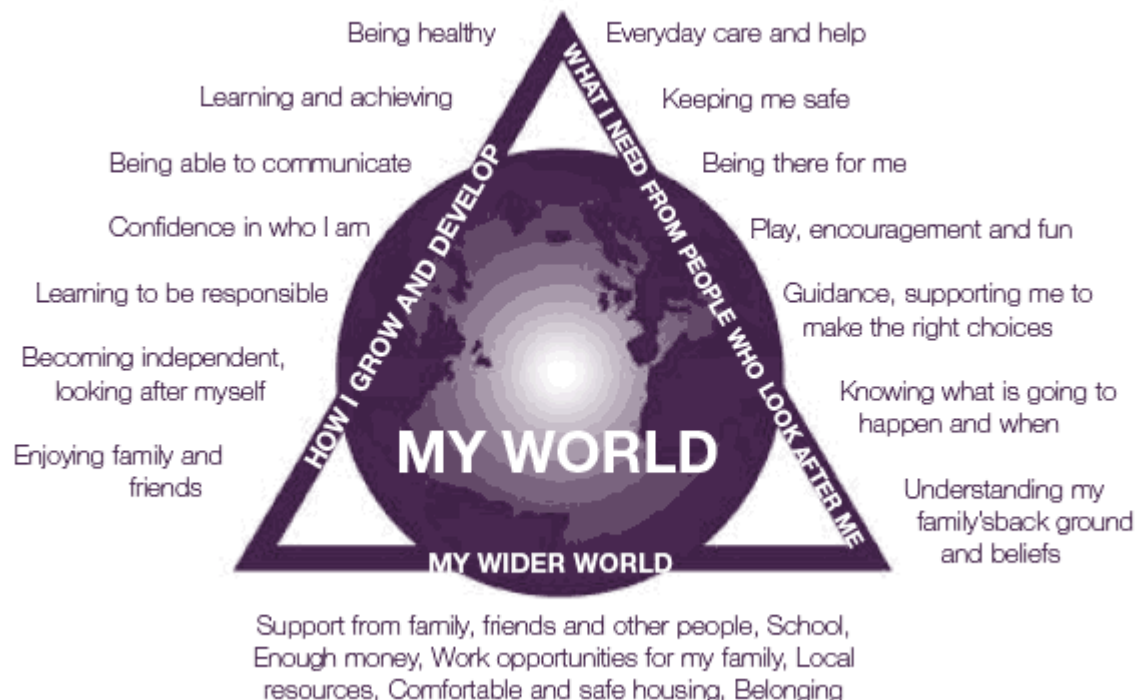


Fig. 2: The Whole Child: Physical, social, educational, emotional, spiritual and psychological development (Scottish Executive 2005)

The question which arises then is: if education as a public good is not sufficient to improve people's lives holistically and if one needs the integration of a range of knowledges and policies to achieve that, in what way is this different from other life stages? Thinking about the basis of lifelong learning discourses, which see learning during the lifecourse as always necessary, constant and developing, are integrated children's services the first step towards integrated *human* services? And if this is the case, does it signal a move from catering for the 'whole child' to (managing knowledge about and) catering for the 'whole society'? What is the contribution of these new policies in re-inventing the public role of education?

2.6 The central government view of ICS

A number of central government officials were interviewed for the purpose of this study, in relation to their views on the integration of data in general and in children's services in particular. Most of them put emphasis on the strategic use of data that the current nationalist government is pursuing, which was often contrasted with the policies and practices of the previous New Labour government. Through the policy makers' interviews one witnesses a preoccupation with outcomes and a more straightforward, 'streamlined' bureaucracy. Their narratives tell the story of attempting to build a simpler, more focused and clearer government strategy for public services in Scotland, often in distinction to the previous regime but also in contrast to policies and practices south of the border. According to one interviewee, the new policies have 'liberated' public servants:

... we find is that we actually have succeeded in liberating public servants, because they now feel ... people feel motivated to break down barriers. So when I keep on hearing these examples cited to me you know, of so and so in different public services that have collaborated to deliver some improvement in some form of public service.... And we've now sort of given them the green light to get out there. (senior policy maker).

Integration is not only about joining up government; interviewees suggested that partnerships ensure safer transitions for children and young people, where the focus of the service is not only on the service itself at the time of its delivery but crucially on the progression of young people through to the next stages in their lives as well:

We are shifting that emphasis and we have now got better partnership working with people. Also the idea that you are responsible for the progression of that young person as much as you are when the young person is with you. And that looks to be improving policy delivery for young people and that I think is a good example. And we know from the feedback we are getting from our partners in local government, colleges and young people as well (policy officer)

Policy makers suggested that the steer towards outcomes rather than inputs is central in education:

That is particularly apparent in education because one of the big things we are trying to do is to shift the terms of the debate from inputs to outcomes. ...We still see the bulk of education policy be discussed in terms of inputs budgets, teacher numbers, nursery places, teachers etc but the measure of success we have set for ourselves are predominantly output driven. Destination of school leavers, are they actually going to get a worthwhile position in life... (policy officer)

Another government official explained the way that the integration of data management services within the government was based on this same approach of integrating evidence towards closer collaboration:

....about two and half years ago there was a structural move made to create the Information and Analytical Services Division as an integrated body and to mix up, so effectually, the three professional groups are now in mixed teams, which they never used to be. But that was if you like the structural move to try and reflect that general move in thinking, that there should be a more integrated approach... to evidence (policy officer)

Previous policies on data that created separate funding and data streams are criticised: the new tendency is to integrate education data into a core set, a 'one stop shop':

We have been through a period of, I think since 1999, where there was a lot of quite specific funding streams and policies developed.....[now] trying to clump that together more, to make it more manageable and more coherent. And which became the National Priorities Action Fund, still had a number of separate streams to it. That in itself generated a monitoring framework, which required the annual returns of local authorities into the centre. Which I think over time people also have come to the view, well as a little, uhhh, yes, could be cut back on (laughs). Hence, we are now, well I think the ideal we are aiming towards is that there is a data, a core set of data agreed that we used to monitor the performance of the education system in general, and that might from time to time get new elements in it to reflect particular priorities that are important. Like the performance of the lowest twenty percent for example. And would be adjusted accordingly, but all of that should be collected in a relatively automatic and seamless, electronic fashion from the system, rather than sending out specific returns all the time, which used to happen much more..... So we are focussing very much on that being the one stop shop for collecting data and any policy need we ideally build into the routine system for collecting data electronically through ScotXed. And also feeding back as much of that as people find useful as benchmarking support for local authorities. ...so, I think we have been through a period where there was a kind of ... a cruel expansion of data, and we are now into a phase of trying to cohere it, and simplify it. Yes, and indeed we are just going through a process under the banner of 'streamlining bureaucracy', which is ... (laughs), well everyone will vote for that! (policy analyst).

In a system where data constantly expand and accumulate, one needs some 'tightening' up to increase coherence and compatibility:

One thing I am quite keen to do, in my time here is get a more clearer and more explicit framework in place effectively. I mean, we have if you like a performance management framework for school education, which is defined by the nature of the data we collect and publish to a large extent. It has tended to evolve and accrue rather than ever be designed as a single coherent entity; I think is fair to say. And just tightening up the way we govern and develop that I think will be helpful (policy analyst).

Interviewees suggested that there had been a lack of communication between the central government and the local authorities; rather than exclusively focusing on a set of data, they suggested that a range of information has to inform decisions. Above all, the Inspectorate is seen as the key agency to be working with data on the ground:

And we want to have a coherent set of output data if you like, outcome data on the performance of this system, that we shouldn't spend a lot of time trying to collect lots of data about processes going on in schools. That is rather the Inspectorate's job; we pay the inspectorate to go and have a professional dialogue with schools if you like and come to a view on the quality of what's being offered in schools, individual schools. And that itself generates a picture for us (policy analyst)

But I think it is a continued problem both in terms of, as I mentioned, the ability to interrogate local management information systems at a local authority but particularly also at a school level. I don't feel, as with many management information systems, that that's been utilised to it's full advantage. I think there is a lot to do on that. I think the other feeling that I personally have is that there is maybe not as clear communication channels between analysts in the local authorities and the policy direction from the Executive (policy analyst)

I think, to me, the only way ... the best way round that is to try not to focus too strongly on any one particular measure and saying that's the only thing you're going to get judged on. But to bring in a whole raft of information which is actually the route that we're trying to take. So definitely I think a strong focus on using HMI to monitor schools. Local authority performance can be more clever- the more we can help them with the use of data the better it will be (policy analyst).

According to a view from the Inspectorate, ICS is a new way of thinking for the profession, who have so far been placing emphasis on school aggregate data. Nevertheless, there has been work done towards creating a joint inspection model across services:

HMIe don't work directly with individuals except in children's services- otherwise we see schools as units of aggregate data. We work with aggregate data....HMIe's main involvement is around the lead role in development of a model of inspection services for children: working with the Care Commission, social work services constabulary, children's reporter; developing an

inspection framework – this is a case focused approach –it’s a case -focused approach for individual children.

In conclusion, the central government view on the integration of children’s services appears as one which focuses on outcomes but also on a clear framework of action where specific priorities are being drawn. Data are very important in this new strategy, however as long as they are part of a core set of indicators that apply to a range of institutions, rather than characterised by separateness and fragmentation. Nevertheless, data integration is not the only route to increased improvement and quality; it is only one element of a whole set of evaluations that inform education policy. The role of the Inspectorate in using data and judgement in school evaluation is seen as central in creating a picture of school performance. Local government is seen to benefit from the integration of services and the partnerships between different agencies; insularity is a thing of the past –getting ‘out there’ is the way forward. In this respect, the integration of knowledge is also important.

2.7 Integrated Knowledge? The implications of ICS for professionals

As part of the study, we reviewed key readings in inter-professional practice, looking in particular at how they addressed such issues as: what are the norms that teachers and other practitioners in schools are seen to respond to as individuals, professionals and as practitioners who work for different agencies with different professional cultures? How do these interact and respond to overarching policy imperatives, and how are these connected to previous and new professional knowledge bases, skills and practices in a changing social and educational context in relation to integrated schools and children’s services?

It is readily apparent that teachers’ working lives are being conducted in a period of changing priorities [national priorities, raising attainment, social inclusion, leadership, quality improvement], a changing curriculum [A Curriculum for Excellence], changing schools [new community schools, integrated children’s services, and a more explicit community education role], and changing workforce [aging or retiring staff, new and less experienced staff, other professions and agencies working in schools and more closely with education]. In this context, questions arise about how policy makers persuade teachers and other school and community-based children’s services practitioners to negotiate the development of new professional identities and about the kinds of knowledge that are discursively promoted and mobilised for ICS.

In relation to teachers' professional knowledge, the review found that different knowledge bases were invoked, including knowledge of professional norms of 'expertise' and disciplinary knowledge inculcated in separate training in pre-service and probationer years. The texts also emphasised practical knowledge and being able to communicate this to others and make it available as a resource-this is a key form of knowledge for ICS. In addition there is an emphasis on knowledge about professional learning or 'knowing what practitioners need to know in order to function in schools and children's services at this moment'. This knowledge is also closely connected in the texts to Children's services restructuring which seeks to address, in particular, the needs of the 'failing 20%', and requires practitioners' acceptance of engagement in new learning about processes and practices. Policy makers appear to believe that the sea change in professional practice (McCartney, 1999) in education that is being promoted through ICS, has already been delivered within the health and social care settings. The focus of care delivery has shifted into the community; of necessity there has been an increasing emphasis on intersectoral co-operation, interprofessional collaboration, community action and development (Overtveit 1997).

Academic evaluators of ICS state that evidence indicates that ICS, rather than bringing about new services, provided additionality by enhancing or extending services and ensuring that they reached those most in need. Integration, according to the policy discourse, should involve working throughout the school (Gardner, 1993 cited in Whitty and Campbell, 2004, 21), including classrooms, rather than being an extra, added to conventional school practices. However there are barriers to the effective translation of the policy goal and evaluators found that the overall effect of ICS on curricular reform was minimal – for example teachers remain unconvinced of the benefits of Personal Learning Plans (PLP). According to Whitty and Campbell (2004) integrated services require the rise of a new professionalism emphasising capacity to fuse 'knowledge and practice' (Allen, 2003, 299, cited in Whitty and Campbell, 2004, 21) across individuals and 'boundary spanning' (Newman, 2001, 166, cited in Whitty and Campbell, 2004, 21) across organisations (21). These ideas are part of the policy discourse but remain quite distant from professional practice and formation.

The academic literature acknowledges that inter-professional working is difficult and that there are powerful barriers to its development. Allan (2004) suggests that the continued dominance of knowledge and practice by a rigid special education paradigm is a major obstacle to ICS and interprofessionalism, but these issues are not developed in the policy texts. The process of professionalisation as currently structured and developed tends to create individuals who [act] on the basis of knowledge that they assume to be objective. The policy texts deal with the issue of competing professional paradigms through an assumption that integrated *data* will drive the production of integrated *knowledge* and that processes of negotiation across professional practices, framed by an emphasis on

agreed outcomes (in terms of attitudes and dispositions) will drive towards agreed professional practice. In this scenario the role of Inspection, and especially of joint inspection across the full range of ICS, is significant.

2.8 Discussion

This study attempts to illustrate the ways in which the launch of the Integrated Children's Services policy initiative may be interpreted as a radical re-conceptualisation of education as a public good. Education is no longer to be regarded as a distinctive policy field, with defined institutional structures and programmes related to the age and stage of the population of children and young people. It now forms part of *universal* services for children that combine education with Health, Social Work, and the Police. At an initial stage, this unified approach to policy making was directed to more disadvantaged children in Scottish communities; as it unfolds, it comes to include all children *and* young people. Indeed, the policy echoes lifelong learning discourses: integrated services are to cater for all citizens 'from cradle to grave'. This suggests a tendency to move from using old, professional, expert knowledge about public education towards more individual, personalised and integrated knowledge about society. Education as a distinctive policy field is severely weakened in this new state of affairs; we suggest that in consequence, arguments about its public role are also weakened. According to one of our informants — and a firm believer in the power of data to push positive change forward — when asked about what caused this shift in policy and practice, he said:

The system was much more centralised. I don't think it is any coincidence that as devolved management of schools and services has increased then the requirement for data capture, data collection, data generation has increased at the same kind of rate. Because you are managing the system in a different way. Up until I would have thought certainly into the 80s, you could manage the system by direction and things were much more centralised in terms of how things were delivered. And I think there was a certainty around. I think the politics of education were less complex....There was I suppose a fundamental belief in the system, things really didn't become an issue in that sense ... One has a sense that for a long time schools were one institution functioning within the community but there were other institutions that were probably more of a sense of a stability in terms of family, social order etc etc. I think by the time you start to move in the 1980s, particularly 1990s, then you are looking at much more significant demands being placed on schools in terms of dealing with a whole range of issues and you are seeing a push for higher and broader attainment as an increasing demand from the labour market. ... I think people had the sense that they knew what to teach and what people should learn. I don't think there was necessarily the same sense of the speed of change and the unpredictability of learning requirements. I think there was still the sense that education was the passing on of knowledge information and skills from one generation to another and that that package

would serve the new generation as it had served the old one, whereas I think that's gone now.

The unified approach to policy making represented by ICS marks another shift in policy thinking in education in Scotland: it signals the further waning of the academic tradition in schooling, which, as described above, was best understood as a form of meritocracy through which ability was arguably recognised regardless of social background, and for the public good. In the first wave of ICS policy development, the rhetoric adopted by the Labour administration in Scotland echoed that of the UK Labour government. Thus Integrated Children's Services represented a shift from schooling towards a new, market-based morality, where opportunities are distributed according to needs: part of this new consumer ethics is the co-option and the responsabilisation of the individual (Gewirtz, 2005). This discursive thread remains but has been reworked by the SNP government since 2007. In their discursive framing of the development the overarching reference is to the 'wealthier and fairer' policy agenda for Scotland, so that economic growth is prioritized, but attention to need (especially of need associated with poverty) is more explicit. Finally, we witness a move from a heavily centralised system to one where local government and local decision making are meant to become more autonomous and active, a trend accelerated by the Scottish Government's Concordat with the local authorities (TSG 2007); nevertheless, the extent to which data management requirements will allow for any local adaptation and innovation is disputable and hence a problem for those pushing these changes.

Knowledge is the main engine powering these shifts: and as we noted earlier, there are two key elements—the integration of data and the integration of professionals. Data integration may well drive the integration of professional knowledge, since, as documented above, as people move through different stages in their lives, 'important information' travels with them. This information can be collated, monitored and interpreted by service providers, and even used as a basis for forecasting future needs. It is through bringing together ('integrating') this information that this new policy can be implemented. The inspectorate acts to create forms of judgement of interprofessional knowledge that give recognition to particular kinds of flexible professionalism, and that may displace discipline-based expertise. All of this contributes to an enhanced role for reconfigured knowledge in the project of governing. As Isakyaan et al. suggest:

'A new relation between governing and knowledge may be envisioned: expertise moves beyond the task of *policy informing*, and becomes *policy forming* in a more complex form of governing.' (Isaakyan and Ozga, 2008, no page numbers)

Knowledge is key here: education policy is heavily dependent on knowledge policy and politics. To a considerable –and constantly increasing– extent, the management of knowledge appears to determine the orientation of education policy. This is not a neutral,

a-political process; rather, it is heavily political and directed. This paper argues that the analysis of *knowledge policy* is crucial in order to explain changes in education governance in the knowledge society. The integrated services initiative is one aspect of this emerging reality. Above all, it signals a re-invention of public education as having a much broader, and therefore more vague and malleable, role in creating a new society of known and governable individuals.

3. Section B

3.1 Comparison Zones

3.1.1 Comparison Zone 1: A heuristic time scheme of the public action

A timeline of core policy initiatives in the development of the Integrated Children's Services in Scotland could look like this (work in progress):

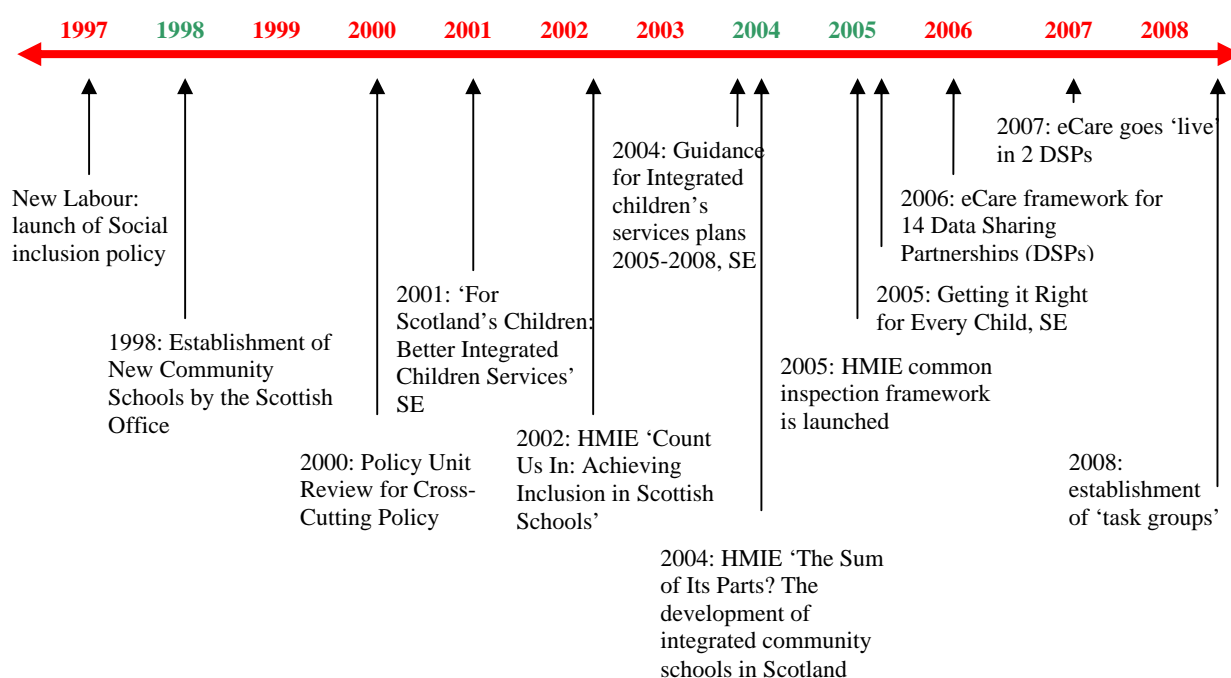


Fig. 1: Timeline of major events

The integration of services, such as education, health, social work and the police, initially for more vulnerable children and then increasingly for all, may be traced in Scotland to 1998, one year before the establishment of the devolved parliament. The first initiative echoes strongly the language of New Labour, as this was the newly-established governing party in the UK government. However there were some differences of emphasis, especially after 1999. The policy development 'New Community Schools' (NCS) was the new strategy of the then Scottish Office 'to promote social inclusion and raise education standards' (Scottish Office 1998), and is typical in its amalgamation of raising attainment and social agendas. The timeline above presents a series of key texts that promoted this radical shift, the most important of which are:

- 'Making a difference: Effective Implementation of Cross-Cutting policy' (Scottish Executive 2000) was conducted by the Scottish Executive Policy Review Unit in order to address the problem of the very high number of

'cross-cutting' policies. The Review emphasises that 'single agency' issues remain, but also that cross-cutting solutions are 'increasingly being used to tackle key social and economic issues'.

- 'For Scotland's Children—Better Integrated Children's Services' (Scottish Executive 2001), published a year later, became a landmark and the bible for the integration of education with other services in Scotland. The text re-conceptualises the 'good' school as the one which provides more of an 'all-round' service.
- 2004 appears to be a year of change for ICS provision in Scotland: there is a discursive shift that moves the lens from social justice claims to protect vulnerable children to the creation of a *single* service for *all* children. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe). 'The Sum of its parts? The development of integrated community schools in Scotland' (2004) is the HMIe evaluation report of the development of NCS in Scotland.
- 'Making Services Better for Scotland's Children' (HMIE 2004) was a discussion and consultation paper distributed by the HMIe at the Services for Children Conference in Edinburgh in 2004. The paper highlights the changing face of children's services and points out the need to focus on outcomes and on the new, changing inspection, regulation, review and quality assurance agenda. This change is reflected in the Joint Inspection Framework launched by HMIE together with the HMI of Constabulary (police), the Scottish Commission for the Regulation of Care, the Social Work Services Inspectorate and the NHS Quality Improvement Scotland.
- the Scottish Executive's 'Getting it Right for Every Child –Proposals for Action' (2005) (GirFEC) again signals the need to have a 'unified approach' where 'children and parents should know what to expect from public agencies and what is expected of them' (Scottish Executive 2005). GirFEC was launched at the same time with the eCare Data Policy Revision for the eCare Programme, which is a means of sharing citizen data across different public agencies.
- The Scottish Government's four task groups (Parenting, community, services, workforce) for ICS provision set up in September 2008 to develop policy for early years provision involving parents, community groups, health and education workers and local and central government representatives, along with members of voluntary organisations.

3.1.2 Comparison Zone 2: Paradigm shift

The Integrated Children Services represent a radical break with previous policy and a new policy paradigm because this is the first time that education data and policy are being integrated with other sectors such as health and social work. Although initially developed to address problems of social exclusion for vulnerable children, since 2004, as shown above, a Joint Inspection Framework and an Integrated Assessment Planning and Recording Framework have been put in place to ensure not only a more holistic overview of children's needs but also of a large part of the public sector itself.

3.1.3 Comparison Zone 3: Knowledges and knowledge holders in conflict

In terms of conflicting knowledges and constellations of actors, the shift appears as almost uncontested; it enters the field with a heavy moralistic baggage leaving little space for debate and competition. The shift is to address the on-going problems of

poverty and social exclusion, which especially in cities like Glasgow seem to be endemic for decades. The new policy paradigm is presented as placing more emphasis on children's needs which are now central at the policy implementation process – constant self-evaluation and assessment are vital in this process, with the promise that duplication of effort and accountability to a multiplicity of different agencies and agendas will now be eliminated. Indeed, rationalisation, modernisation and simplicity are the promised qualities of the new tool—the examination of the case studies gives a different picture, however, with constant restructuring and confusion verging towards turning this 'data dream' into a data nightmare:

'I think initially for me, at the beginning it was quite difficult to get my head round the fact I used to deal with a pupil's school and now we are looking at a different client base. The authority is responsible for looking after the welfare of children and those who receive social services, children that might not be in the schools, that might not be in Westown, [who might] live somewhere else. *It is understanding that now we are responsible for some people who are not even born yet, who are known to the social work services*'.

The task groups of very different kinds of participants may produce contrasting or conflicting knowledges that do not sit comfortably with the idea of ICS as integrated data.

3.1.4 Comparison Zone 4: Knowledge policies

Little evidence is given in policy texts in relation to the benefits of the proposed changes. The generic 'research has shown' is the most common expression used in order to justify the reasons for pushing for the shift, whereas the example of similar policies in the United States is often made and statistics of improved outcomes are given. Apart from these few and very sporadic references to some unidentified 'research', there has also been a single case of a literature review of integrated children's services in order to explore the 'evidence base' (Brown, K. and White, K. (2006) 'Exploring the evidence base for Integrated Children's Services'). It was developed by the New Educational Developments Division of the Scottish Executive Education Department and deals with the themes of the definition of the term integration, gives evidence to support integrated working and ends with a 'what works' discussion. Finally, a range of other texts are used in order to promote the new policy and they often come in the form of consultation documents, 'proposals for action', 'action plans' etc.

3.1.5 Comparison Zone 5: Knowledge and policy constellations

In the case of integrated services knowledge and policy unite at almost every stage of the policy process. The 'critical nexus' of self-evaluation and external inspection is central for the effective delivery of the policy, since self-evaluation is not only required by the professionals working at the local level but by children and young people themselves. Subsequently, external inspection is there to act 'intelligently' and to be 'proportionate':

that is, check the numbers from a distance and, where problems seem to appear, to intervene. Joint Inspection Frameworks are being designed and what we observe is the 'rationalisation' and simplification of indicator and performance targets which now collapse into single frameworks for assessment. This suggests a weakening of the sector-specific indicator design (and hence a weakening of sector-specific language) towards emphasis on more vague and generic quality indicators. The indicator nexus now could look like this:

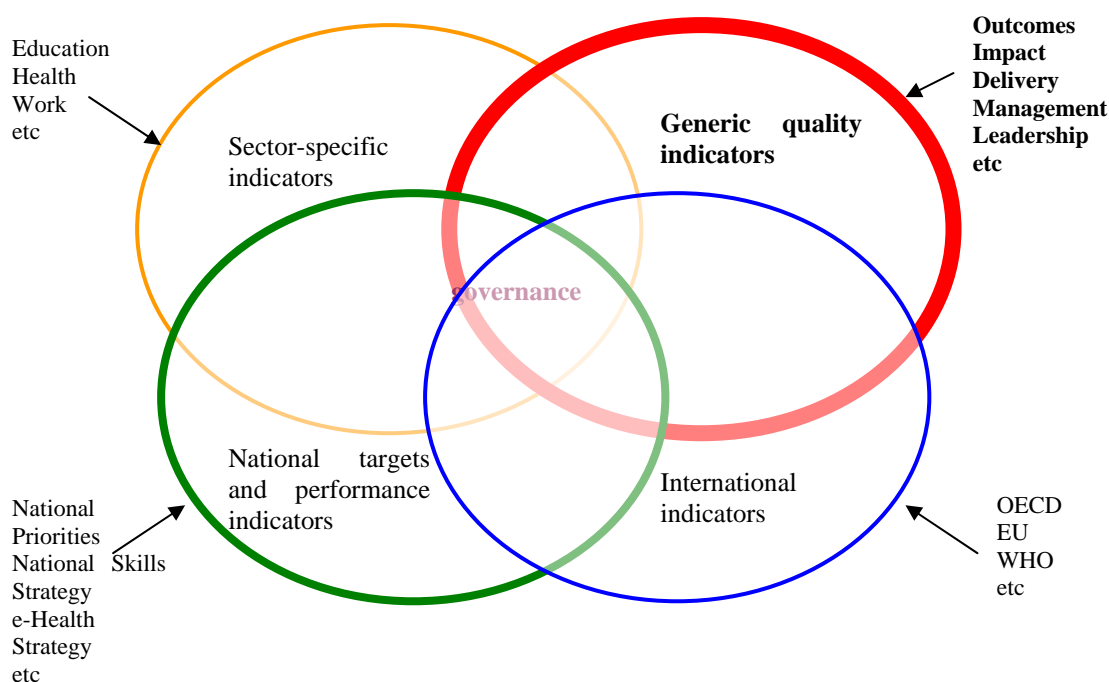


Fig 2: The indicator nexus

ICS can only be facilitated as part of a wider e-governance scheme, part of which is the eCare framework. The eCare programme has its origins in earlier Modernising Government Funded (MGF) Programmes where public sector agencies involved in both community care and children's services were encouraged to form partnerships around the theme of electronic information sharing. In early 2006 a Ministerial initiative to deliver a Scotland-wide electronic information sharing framework commenced with the formation of 14 Data Sharing Partnerships (DSPs) based upon NHS Board areas. These local partnerships comprise NHS Boards, Local Authority Education, Housing & Social Work Services and Police Constabularies who are primarily engaged in providing care and protection services to Scottish citizens on a cradle to grave basis. In December 2007 the eCare Framework went live for the first time in 2 DSPs, providing Health and Social Care Practitioners with messages based upon Child Protection.

However the terrain of inspection and indicators may not offer many opportunities for innovations 'from below': indeed, as indicated earlier, there is a strong consensus among

the policy managers that integrated knowledge will increase their capacity to intervene intelligently. When we consider the processes of knowledge exchange and negotiation within the task groups representing different interests, we anticipate seeing more interplay between street level actors, local and central actors.

3.1.6 Comparison Zone 6: Knowledge in the wider public sphere

There does not seem to be a lot of public debate in the media over the issue of ICS. It is either too specialised a matter, or it is still too early for it to be widely known and debated. In the early stages of the development, the emphasis has been on statistical and technical knowledge, and on performance data that demonstrate the long-standing nature of problems of poverty, ill health and underperformance. These issues are picked up in public debate about low achievement among specific groups who fail at school and who continue to be at risk, and whose needs predominate in public debate around ICS, such as it is. Despite this being an initiative for all children, the public debate is about vulnerable and at risk children and young people. However, there has been no comprehensive research of media material or other platforms of public debate so far; perhaps such an investigation will shed new light on this issue.

There is material in the proceedings of the Parliamentary Committees (Justice and Education) and these are in the public domain.

3.1.7 Comparison Zone 7: Local actors in the central decision making process

The early engagement of local actors in consultation processes and their ownership of the policy initiative is crucial in promoting the integrated children's agenda. This is characterised as a renewal of the policy development process. According to related documents, 'the earlier delivery agencies are brought into the policy development process, the better the opportunity to incorporate implementation realities into policy proposals, foster local ownership, and capitalise on local enthusiasm for change in areas where central and local thinking coincides' (Scottish Executive Policy Unit Review 2000). Further, 'we recommend that delivery agencies are routinely involved in the process of policy development' and also that they should be told at what stage of the process they participate and if and when they are going to have another opportunity to speak up' (ibid 9). This is due to problems of implementation in the policy cycle, when central government actors are unaware of implementation issues on the ground.

The complexity of planning requirements back in 2000 looked in many Scottish local authorities like this:

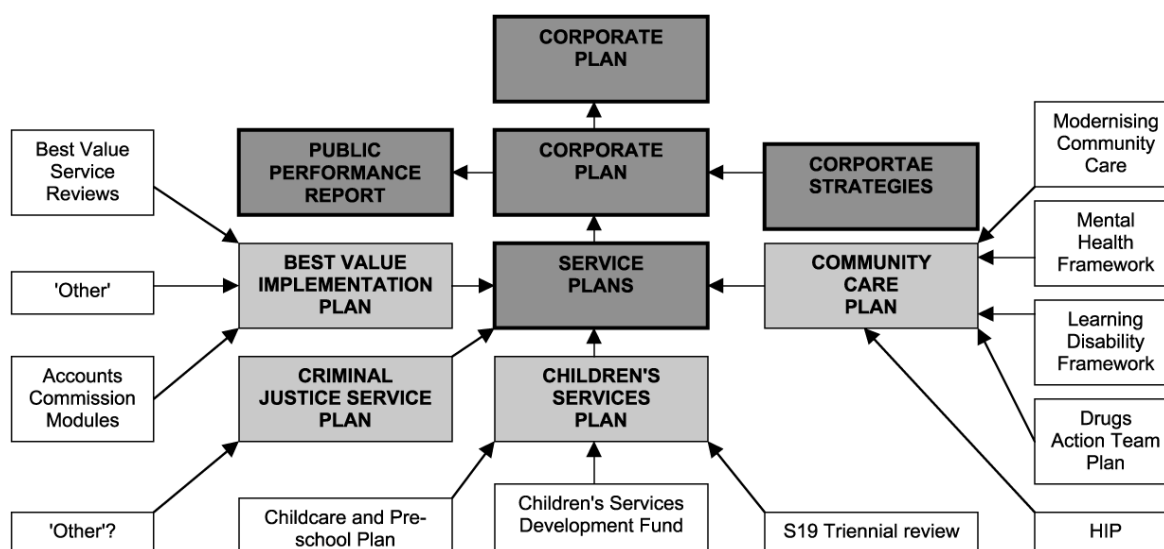


Fig 3: Accountability requirements in 2000 (SE Policy)

In order to deal with this complex policy picture, where all initiatives appear to be a priority, 'we should make the most of other levers to reinforce the cross-cutting messages. Best Value currently provides one of the strongest levers available to encourage joint working (ibid; 11). Joint working and financial and partnership accountability replaces the separate audit to different authorities but the Executive appears prescriptive about the processes and local contextual factors are not taken into account.

Simplifying some of the complexity of this situation is attempted by the new, more focused structure of the Scottish Government, which is intended to:

'reduce duplication, bureaucracy and overlap across the public sector in pursuit of greater efficiency, effectiveness and speed of delivery. We will invest in infrastructure which can transform the delivery of public services and support multi-agency working and services designed around the needs of citizens.....an outcomes-based approach for all of the public sector and their delivery partners will mean that the focus and efforts of all contributors can be aligned with the Government's core Purpose, Strategic Objectives and National Outcomes.

The Government's approach to public services will be advanced greatly through a new relationship with local government, based on mutual respect and partnership. This is being supported by the implementation of Single Outcome Agreements and a performance framework for local authorities, to be delivered in association with Community Planning Partners' (Scotland Performs, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/scotPerforms>).

3.1.8 Comparison Zone 8: Circulating patterns beyond the borders of the sector and the country

New Community Schools, the first initiative towards the integration of children's services in Scotland, was inspired by policy processes across the Atlantic, where Full Service Schools (FSS), a similar idea to NCS, had been developing since the 1980s. The project is described as very successful: 'improved attendance and attainment, improved employment prospects, reduced drug abuse, fewer teenage pregnancies, the reduction of crime and improved health within families'. In one of the policy texts examined ('Scottish Office (1998) New Community Schools –A Prospectus), there is an extended annex where detailed description and evidence from the Full School Service in America is offered (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library/documents-w3/ncsp-05.htm>).

There has been no reference to similar initiatives in any other country, including – interestingly- England where integration of services has also been very high on the agenda since 1997. TSG references the state of Virginia in establishing its single outcome performance monitoring framework, but there are no references to European policy developments in relation to ICS, although the Nordic countries are heavily referenced in relation to other policy developments.

4. Section C

4.1 Case studies

The data collection for all case studies was conducted through interviews with key policy makers and statisticians in the respective local authorities, documentary analysis and participant observation of meetings of the education services staff with teachers and headteachers. The analysis follows developments over the 2000-2008 time period.

4.1.1 Case Study 1 (*Eastown*)

Background: the city in context

This case study is set in a major city on the East coast of Scotland -referred to here as Eastown. The city is not typical of Scottish cities: it is increasingly cosmopolitan, with growing numbers of migrants especially from the EU Accession countries. Its centre offers a picture of prosperity, with a wealth of historical and cultural resources and enterprises along with a major financial centre that together create a rich and stimulating environment for visitors (and there are many) and residents alike. However the visual and material wealth of the centre may often obscure areas of severe deprivation in the peripheral estates, where there are concentrations of unemployment, poor health and low or no attainment that replicate the pattern in Case Study 2 (*Westown*) - but in smaller numbers. In addition, the recent crisis in the global economy may well have a major impact on the city: at the time of writing that has not yet become fully apparent, but Eastown is certainly vulnerable to significant increases in unemployment and a slump in property values, given its heavy reliance on the financial sector.

The city's financial, social and cultural capitals are historically-embedded but have grown and now reflect quite recent transformations in city life. Indeed the social and cultural environments of Eastown have been transformed in the past 20 years. Always a banking centre, the growth of the financial sector worldwide before the recent crash fuelled local growth and the concentration of finance-related business within the city – with consequences for house prices and disposable income, and generating considerable expansion in leisure and recreation provision, and in various forms of consumer-related services. Many parts of the City are relatively affluent; a third of data zones are defined by the Scottish Index of Deprivation 2004 (SIMD 2004) as lying within the least deprived 10% of areas in Scotland. This equates to nearly 143,000 people, of which over 24,500 are children (over 33% of the city's children). However there are also concentrations of deprivation; Eastown has the second highest numbers of people after Glasgow living in the most deprived 10% of areas. This equates to 36,473 people of which over 9,000 are

children (over 12% of city children). There are widespread variations across the city in relation to a range of educational, socio-economic and health related statistics. Ethnic diversity in the city is low in comparison with many UK cities; 4.1% of people defined their ethnicity as other than white (2001 Census).

Until 2007, Eastown's government was housed in what was recognisably a municipal building of the pre-modernisation era, both in terms of its location and its architectural style. The location was the High Street, opposite the cathedral and near the Law courts, thus placed on an axis with religion and the law, in the old administrative heart of the city. The building that housed the city council was itself representative of a type of government building of that time: a large soot-blackened stone tenement block, with a courtyard to the front that contained a memorial to the city's war dead. The interior of the building told a story of past municipal grandeur now inadequately altered to accommodate new technologies and more people, so that once large, well proportioned rooms were intersected by plywood partitions, and endless corridors were lined with portraits of dignitaries in their formal robes, looking increasingly out of place alongside all the detritus of new forms of working-noticeboards covered in papers- health and safety notices, publicity materials in many languages, and so on.

In 2007, the city moved out of its old home (now being converted into yet another luxury hotel) and into its new, purpose built headquarters next to the main railway station. This building in its way is as representative of the new governance as the old building was of 'city hall'. It is a sandstone, steel and glass structure, with no strong focal point or very apparent identifier (though there is a sign reading 'city of xxx council across the front entrance). It could be a hotel, or a gallery, or a shopping mall. In this it captures the shift in representations of government/governance-especially its signalling of openness to the consumer/citizen. The entry hall or 'atrium' has a large space devoted to dealing with public enquiries.

The building signals the Council's shift to new forms of working. It provides a location that brings together modern communications systems and allows for integration of services. It is a physical manifestation of the commitment to 'joined up government' that is alluded to in the policy statements of the ruling parties. We should note that in May 2007 there were local government as well as national government elections, and that these produced a similar reversal of traditions of labour control. Thus the political complexion of the council changed and while the Scottish National Party have the largest number of seats the margins are small between parties, making a degree of cross-party coalition government inevitable. The political context, then, is one in which national and local politics have shifted substantially.

In relation to education provision in Eastown, a key distinguishing feature is the substantial proportion of the school age population that attends schools in the

independent sector (around 24% in secondary education) [However most of the private schools recruit internationally so in a sense they are not reflecting the local population, even if its 24% of the school population]. The large and relatively prosperous middle class also makes more use of its ability to 'chase' schools through placing orders than do parents in other Scottish cities and overall, school provision is more segregated between schools than elsewhere in Scotland, where between school segregation is low (Croxford and Paterson 2007). For these and other reasons, this city is unique.

To return to the new council building, the physical structure of the interior - with its open, free flowing spaces and visibility of workers to one another and - through the large plate glass windows to the outside world - presents the new ethos of the council to itself and to the community. These new locations and designs of work produce a very new context for our informants. Thus the data workers that we talked to were in the throes of a major upheaval -the physical move in addition to the shift to a new policy of integrated children's services; integration made possible by the new flowing work spaces. This featured very largely in the accounts of our interviewees. The changes in the city's operation are understood by those experiencing them as significantly resource driven and there is also a sense of having lived through constant restructuring aimed at saving money. This financial imperative is at least as important as the integration principle in our informants' accounts, who experience a sense of constant change and not enough time 'to bed in to see it working all the way through (LGOE)'.

The Children and Families Department

The Integrated Services Plan (ISP)

The Children and Families Department was set up in 2005, delivers a range of services including schools and community education, youth justice and social work services for children and their families. For our purposes, the creation of the new department has significance because of the bringing together of home and school -the Council seeks to ensure healthy, safe and successful pupils through its integration of policies for children and families. This raises questions about how to ensure that data about schools and families are successfully integrated and understood. At the same time, it is interesting to explore the way in which data on performance feature within this new situation. It seems to still have a central role, as security and a good environment are seen by the council as factors that contribute to the 'steady improvement in pupils' attainment in recent years'.

The City School Handbook that is offered to parents claims that achievement and not just attainment is recognised, and that achievement can refer: 'to any educational achievements that can be evidenced: either by school tests, professional judgements, certificates, other internal assessments, or through external examination results. Parents are usually provided with information about the targets set for their children'. The document celebrates the city's performance in Highers and Advanced Highers as above

the national average, and also stresses the city's good record in relation to transition to higher, further education, or training, while over a third of school leavers moved directly to employment. Attention is also drawn to the fact that the majority of city schools received extremely positive reports from HMIE in the preceding year. Less is said about underperforming schools. However the problem of underachievement and its link to deprivation forms a strong element of the first Integrated Services plan (2005-08). This Plan is the first agenda-setting statement by the city for the new Children's services and it illustrates the range of agencies involved in this new policy turn. The main statutory agencies are the City Council, the National Health Service, the police and fire services and the Children's Reporter. In addition the plan notes that a wide range of services is also provided by the non-statutory sector and Network Interim Committee organised an extensive consultation exercise to ensure that the plan embodied the contribution of this sector. This policy push is national (and UK national). Scottish Ministers (then Labour party) had identified that providing integrated high quality services to support children, young people and families

'is essential for achieving a wide range of social, educational and health related objectives. Early intervention is far more effective than trying to deal with problems once they have arisen.' (ISP 3)

As the Plan states, a key principle is that services for children and young people are to be planned and delivered on the basis of 'a holistic view'. The text of the Plan elaborates:

'It is not enough to simply concentrate on one aspect of a young person's needs at a particular point in time. In future, particularly where a child or young person is being assessed for additional services, those carrying out the assessment must consider all aspects of that person's life and circumstances. This makes it more likely that a package of services can be assembled that reinforce each other and therefore are more effective and sustainable.'

In relation to the theme of 'achievement' the Plan states that children and young people should have access to 'positive learning environments and opportunities to develop their skills, confidence and self esteem to the fullest potential' and attention is drawn to the continuing difference in attainment levels between those from disadvantaged communities and the rest of the City. It is said that good progress is being made in addressing this in the primary sector, but the position remains static in the secondary sector, and so there is a continued and strengthened commitment to 'monitor and report on progress'.

The emphasis on attainment is strong, and associated with target-setting. The council has introduced 'personal learning plans for each school age child' and publishes targets in relation to the percentages of P3, P4, P6 and P7 pupils who will reach 'appropriate levels, in reading, writing and mathematics, for their age'. Secondary pupils' targets are also published. For example the Plan states that by December 2006 '59 % of S2 pupils will have reached reading level E, 53% of S2 pupils will have reached writing level E, and

55% of S2 pupils will have achieved mathematics level E. More work is planned to improve this position further over the 2005–2008 period. The long-term objective would be to ensure that all pupils for whom this is an appropriate personal learning goal would achieve the national standard of reaching level E by the end of S2'. The targets for those in S4 (the end of compulsory schooling) are related to the national awards, so that, for example, by December 2006:

- 93% of the S4 cohort will have reached at least level 3 in English and mathematics
- 91% of the S4 cohort will have attained 5+ awards at level 3 or better (by the end of their S6)
- 74% of the S4 cohort will have attained 5+ awards at level 4 or better
- 42% of the S4 cohort will have attained 5+ awards at level 5 or better
- 45% of the S4 cohort will have attained 1+ awards at level 6 or better
- 33% of the S4 cohort will have attained 3+ awards at level 6 or better
- 21% of the S4 cohort will have attained 5+ awards at level 6 or better

(ISP: p22)

This agenda reinforces the challenge of improvement and strengthens the significance of QAE processes within the council and the new CF department. Quality Improvement Officers cover a group of schools and work with them to develop improvement action plans for each school. There are also Curriculum Working Groups in all 5–14 areas. Particular support for lower attaining pupils is provided through adopting a more flexible approach to the curriculum. A programme has been developed to deal with improving pupil behaviour because better behaviour is the basis for better learning. As in all these developments, the council is committed to 'monitoring and reporting' on the impact of these developments.

In 2004 HMIE carried out an inspection of the education function of the Council. The report was very positive, but a number of areas for improvement were identified, including the need to improve management information systems (MIS). A recent follow-up inspection by HMIE underlined the need for improvement to be consolidated and in response to the report a number of policies commitments have been made. These include: ensuring a consistent level of support to all secondary schools and their associated primary schools, an expanded range of services to tackle truancy, increase support for those children who find it difficult to cope within school settings and help parents give better support for their children's education; developing a city-wide network of service provision across sectors in order to reduce the numbers of children excluded from schools and developing effective strategies to support transition stages in a child's life.

In addition, and in relation to the attainment gap in the city, Local Regeneration Strategies are said to be supporting better educational attainment in disadvantaged communities. The Community Learning and Development Partnership, supported by funding from the Eastown City Partnership will be undertaking further work aimed at

closing the gap in educational attainment between pupils in disadvantaged communities and City averages. The ISP goes on to state that 'the focus will be on the transition from primary to secondary education and will include piloting innovative services, improving data collection and analysis, and supporting best practice in schools'

Responsibility for integrating the actions of all the bodies and agencies that may be responsible for delivering the ISP is located in different places-with the Council, but also across the community. The primary body in the city with responsibility for taking forward the community planning agenda for children's services is the Children's Services Strategy Group (CSSG). CSSG meets monthly and 'provides a forum that brings together representatives of agencies and sectors that are involved in providing services for children, young people and their families. CSSG will provide a means of linking together the structures within each of the two new Community Health Partnerships responsible for children's services' (ISP p34). CSSG also has a major monitoring role and monitors progress at 6 monthly intervals. Performance information has been designed in relation to all commitments. The results of this monitoring, together with output from a revised joint planning process, inform the annual updates of the Plan.

In response to the requirements to report service performance under Best Value, a programme of work co-ordinated by CSSG has developed relevant performance information for use by agencies, users, and CSSG itself. This draws on Scottish Executive lists of possible indicators and information currently collected. The Committee is also concerned to promote continuous learning and review of performance, and this is where we turn to the QAE agenda.

In general, there was a strong sense that the need to integrate services raised new issues about the design of quality frameworks across education and social work, with attention needing to be paid to national requirements in both services. Pre-integration, Eastown had established a six-year cycle of reviews of all its schools, based on a process of supported self-evaluation and the schools' published Standards and Quality reports. Reviews were led by teams of officers from the Quality Services Group, supported by officers from the Education Support Services and Pupil Support Services Groups of the Department and using published quality indicators. In addition planning was carried out through the Education Service Improvement Plan, 'Inspiring Achievement through Learning', which sets out the aspirations and agreed priorities for the service. Related objectives and targets were identified against which performance was measured and reviewed annually. The City described this as an overarching strategic framework within which all other planning takes place to ensure that consistent and coherent action leads to continuous improvement.

In developing the new quality assurance and evaluation provision, the council drew on available national quality indicators, but where these were lacking then officers of the

new Children and Families Department had to devise new ones. Integration meant that services previously located in a separate social work department, came in to the new Children and Families Department. These included:

- 11 Practice Teams;
- 1 Hospital-based Team;
- 12 Child and Family Centres;
- 7 Young People Centres;
- 2 Resource Teams;
- 2 Secure Units;
- 1 Residential School ;
- 3 Close Support Units;
- Youth Justice Services;
- Through and After Care; and
- Children affected by Disability.

It is apparent that these new services bring their own ways of working, and that establishing a shared culture of integration is a demanding task. These systems depend heavily on co-ordinated and coherent approaches across the various parts of the system- from inspection teams, to schools, from council officers to neighbourhood centres. All of these policy texts talk the language of development and partnership, and all use the apparatus of performance monitoring and continuous review. Now they are confronted with the demands of integration. What does 'integration' look like in practice, and how does it work? What data demands and opportunities are created, and what impacts might they have on children and young people?

The 'Dirty Work' of Integration

The movement to a new council building meant the arrival there of new people, and their co-location in new groupings, as social work services staff joined education staff in the new Children and Families department. In practical terms this means very large work spaces, where different 'teams' are located. The integrated service occupies a whole level or floor of the new building, and groups of tables and computers are spread out in front of the large glass windows as far as one can see. There are no obvious identifiers or demarcation lines. One of our interviewees described the workspace and its elements as follows:

This whole floor is education. This whole level...from the lifts is some education and some social work staff, so they are health and social care. My team actually extends from my desk, two desks behind up to two desks here. That's the information and research team. Quality Development is over here at the right. This is the group that deals with quality improvement in schools and then social work centres and CPD training side of things. Up this side is facilities management, transport, monitoring of the PPP schools, health and

safety...even working here, you don't really get a sense of the diversity of the services being delivered really'(LGOE)²

On whether this works in terms of knowing who does what she says:

I would probably know that entire section and there beyond the second or third desk I wouldn't know everyone, I would know a couple of people. Because we are in a new building we are working in a configuration that's different from the one we left so I suppose you function a lot with the people that sit next to you, you know who they are and now I don't always know because there are people that are coming in and out all the time, it is a gradual thing I think to get to know where people are. (LGOE)

This physical change brought important shifts in the orientation and content of the work. While our informants remain connected to their main areas of responsibility, they realise that 'Yes, the client base for us has changed, it is not simply school pupils, it is children actually within the care of the local authority. They may not be in our schools, and it is kind of learning what this means'. In addition to extending their knowledge about and understanding of the service, there are practical difficulties in relation to data management systems. As one informant explains:

At the moment we are kind of using two systems that link. We are using SWIFT for social work information and we are now using SEEMIS for school children.

Integration of these management information systems is difficult. Efforts to centralise highlight differences between systems (SEEMIS and SWIFT) that produce different data- for example on exclusions from school. These differences originate in yet another management information system (Phoenix) that was originally developed in another local authority in Scotland. There has also been involvement in database and software provision from different providers, including Capita, who have now withdrawn from the Scottish market for school based systems. Capita is said to have withdrawn from Scotland because their products were too expensive for the local market and their systems were not adapted to local needs. As one of our informants commented:

'the problem with Capita ... a large problem with Capita and a smaller problem with Phoenix is that they are primarily English. And they don't suit the market here. They don't suit what we do'. (LGOE)

In addition to technical problems of incomparability in data systems there are human problems too-where different professional practices are in play. Information managers understand these difficulties as to do with the need for 'integrated' workers: people who adapt to the new context and have primary loyalty to the data. Current staff are described as 'coming over' from social work and remaining in a 'social work culture'. Examples of 'old' work practices getting in the way of effective data functioning were given. For example when the SWIFT system was introduced social work practitioners

² See Annex B for codification of informants

were required to deal with a highly complex system that reflected the complexity of their client base. But rather than use the designated 'fields' in an electronic reporting system, social workers used the case note section to write their notes as they had always done - but electronically. They treated the electronic form as though it were a traditional paper case book record. But this did not enable the recording of specific information that could then be searched and analysed for the purposes of monitoring and audit. These professional workers were not focused on the information retrieval elements of the system, which could lead to inaccurate or misleading accounts of the Council's performance:

We have a statutory return to Audit Scotland which is that when the children's reporter asks us to provide a report on a child it has to be ... from the time that they ask for it to the time they receive it should be within 20 days.... Our percentage for that is somewhere around 30% according to them. Now previously we always gave our figures which we said were always higher than the children's reporter. But because the information in SWIFT is so difficult I can't stand behind that information and say - no, that's not right, this is our figure because it's actually lower than what they say now. And the reason for that are the very ... there's a lot of reasons but one of the basic reasons is that when they're finished with a case and when they're finished their report they tick a box, one screen, report gone. Then they're supposed to go back, go into another screen, and put the date in. And they don't. So as far as they're concerned it's done and it's gone and that's fine but they didn't put the date in and if they don't put the date in when we do a query which says - give me everything that was requested, you know, till this date, it's not there. Which means it's still open. Which means they haven't received it yet. (LGOE)

This informant went on to say that until people understood the purposes of recording information in particular ways for audit and performance management purposes, these sorts of difficulties would persist and data would not be reliable. Her knowledge of what the percentage should have been enabled her to identify the problem -but the software design is not something she can fix- her only strategy is to emphasise the importance of audit. This doesn't necessarily win hearts and minds.

Indeed, the work of integration is a long and hard process, that requires new ways of working and thinking about data. As another informant said, in reflecting on the change:

I think initially for me, at the beginning it was quite difficult to get my head round the fact I used to deal with a pupil's school and now we are looking at a different client base. The authority is responsible for looking after the welfare of children and those who receive social services, children that might not be in the schools, that might not be in Edinburgh, [who might] live somewhere else. *It is understanding that now we are responsible for some people who are not even born yet, who are known to the social work services' [emphasis added]* (LGOE)

This quotation, with its sense of the now limitless responsibilities of the Council conveys well the scale of the task that the idea of integration produces and at the same time the

practical difficulty of getting data systems, with very different in-built original design principles, to speak to one another effectively. The integrated data dream imagines data as fluid and flowing, as almost self-propelled. But integration here requires manual linking of the data, and the painstaking checking off of individual pupil names from paper records.

This data integration is not a task that can be taken on by 'a piece of technology and that's the job done' (informant). It is experienced, by those who are doing it, as a long slow process that needs continuity if it is to be achieved intelligently. The information system in place was planned for the education service, and carries within it the traditional, conventional needs and structures of that service. Adapting to the needs of an integrated service needs a very fundamental review, our informant suggests, that would enable all concerned to better understand the different kinds of work required of them in the new context and find:

a way of coming together, getting some energy there and creating our processes, reviewing our processes, looking at technology, looking at the structure of the data how do we do that to best meet the needs and try to do any potential changes. Get a model that is capable of dealing with the integration or some new configuration of the council. *I don't know if this is kind of one of those data dreams* (Emphasis added).

At the same time, demands to produce data that are accurate, and that provide quick and accessible information are growing and seem to grow almost of their own volition. Because it can be done, it is done, and so the appetite for data and their integration increases as it is fed:

'There's always information going, always. And the more that you're helpful and the more that you provide information to people the more they're aware you can do it and come back and ask for more. And nine times out of ten when someone comes and asks for something it sounds dead simple and you give them something and they go – oh, that's really interesting however can you give it me broken down by gender. Or you never ... they'll never come with exactly what they want right from day one. But that's always been ... always an issue.' (LGOE)

4.1.2 Case study 2 (Westown)

Overview

The education authority of this large Scottish urban centre is located at the heart of the city centre; the building is fairly old and the décor is far from modern – the main reception area is an open space, with a large flat TV screen broadcasting the news of the day, whereas the offices on the floors above are relatively dark and separated in several sections, with the managers having their own office space. Some might attribute this relatively old-fashioned arrangement as a consequence of the tight financing of public

authorities over the last decades – others, thinking about the city’s context, might see it as a deliberate choice.

This is because, in terms of this specific authority and the education service it provides, it is very important to maintain the links with the city’s past *and* present; for this urban authority, unlike others in Scotland, Westown’s history and current social context is of major significance. Unlike other Scottish urban centres where their economic profile has triggered relatively new population trends (East European migration and/or the global financial elites’ mobility) and therefore new challenges, Westown has a long tradition of hosting and integrating migrants, asylum seekers and ethnic communities into its social fabric. Apart from dealing with those groups, issues such as poverty and deprivation have for a long time been the backdrop in most of the authority’s efforts for improving education and other services. Even though the City through cultural and redevelopment projects has been projecting for some time now the image of a modern, commercial, leisure and tourist destination, education has apparently had a more difficult task: it is not simply a matter of renovating river walkways, but, above all, creating a shared vision for an education service which corresponds to the challenges of the 21st century global markets. According to the Best Value review ‘Raising Standards for the Learning Age- Creating Tomorrow’s Westown’,

Education Services have a significant role to play in the physical, social and economic regeneration of the city. The traditional view is that schools represent a long term investment in regeneration. *This should be challenged.*

Schools have a multi-dimensional role to play in regeneration. This includes ensuring that pupils maximise their potential and therefore are well placed to benefit from the learning age. However, public perception of the school system in Westown is vital in attracting and retaining families in the city. The world-wide view is also vital in terms of attracting investment to the city. ...The reputation of Westown’s schools is important in contributing towards all aspects of regeneration (2001; 46).

This is a new vision, which, without doing away with the older argument of the challenges of a former industrial city facing high unemployment, crime, bad health and poor housing, is not merely built on ideas but – increasingly – on technical possibilities. According to the same report,

In attempting to raise standards, it is vital that an Education Authority is in a position to be able to assist schools to be as effective as possible and this requires a school setting realistic targets for all its pupils...The new generation of integrated learning systems (ILS) offer highly attractive and educationally sound learning programmes which allow tailor made individual programmes to be delivered to pupils. *..ICT can play a very important part in supporting the learning process as well as monitoring progression of pupils.* This can be done without any early labelling of a pupil’s potential but does offer the possibility of collective assessments being made about the targets being set by individual schools. The introduction of ILS systems could provide an educationally sound and socially progressive method of allowing schools to benchmark their own

performance against comparable schools thus ensuring realistic targets are set and standards are raised (2001; 46).

A determining factor for the development of integrated learning systems is the capacity of the authority to share data across its different departments. As we will show further on, integration has been seen over the last seven years in the authority as the key governing tool which would improve efficiency, tackle the city's serious social problems and hence very low attainment figures and contribute towards regeneration and the attraction of investment. One of the most recent developments in line with this vision is the amalgamation of Education and Social Work Services into a single department. Although it is supported that it is value-based, values are now formed and determined by what governing technologies can sustain - these are the new quality assurance and evaluation models introduced.

This education authority aims at modernisation through more intelligent and integrated use of data, however, perhaps more than in any other urban authority, the context of deprivation plays a significant role in the ways it pursues change. Although for some the particularity of this background might have signalled more problems rather than solutions, recent developments in the ways people in the authority *think* about data (rather than act upon - at least not yet), which will be outlined below, have turned the weakness into a strength: now, rather than in the past, the authority is in a position to deal with these social issues *because* of the new ways of working with data. The argument is dominant in all the education authority's official talk - from text, to presentations, to meetings with headteachers, to interviews. What is interesting is that the case is not made in relation to the particularities of this specific urban centre and its social fabric in the ways that it might have been put forward in the past. For this specific authority, in the face of global competition, city borders are meaningless - what matters is the *system*: developing a flexible, effective and efficient system that teaching staff, parents and pupils understand and share.

The education authority is going through significant changes in terms of staffing and strategic vision - although committed to build on the work of the past, the new team has - at least for the moment- built a very persuasive and impressive quality assurance model. This model is, however, mostly discursive and aspirational: unlike other Scottish authorities which deal with the everyday nitty-gritty of data collection and use in schools in their respective contexts, this authority is detached from this kind of reality. What it delivers is a vision - the new integrated data dream, a dream of attainment, achievement, social work and health care data closely monitored, to be brought together and shared by the teaching and other staff and students in all the city's schools. As we will show below, the integrated services model has been at work through the establishment of the 'New Learning Communities' project, as part of the New Community School Prospectus (Scottish Office 1998). The new, current vision for the City is the

'whole child, whole family, whole community' agenda – this, above all, is a lifelong learning agenda. According to a policy maker at the top level of the authority, the motto of their work is summarised into 'the core business of learning as a way out of poverty'. This case study focuses on an examination of the ways the quality discourse and management practice has been closely knit with this learning agenda – and what this signals as the way forward. The case is even more interesting in the sense that radical problems, like the ones the authority faces, need radical solutions. The argument made here is that very often the radical solutions of the present, unless they fail (although often despite their failure), become the everyday solutions of tomorrow.

Quality assurance and evaluation processes in Westown

Local context and educational aims

Education is a priority for Westown City Council: it is at the heart of the city's quest to renew the spirit and aspirations of its people. The commitment of the Council is demonstrated by progress made in the modernisation of school provision across the city (Westown City Council, online, 2007).

Westown, founded in 1996 with the establishment of unitary authorities, is the largest local authority in Scotland, although the population has been in steady decrease due to outward migration. The school population includes substantial numbers (the highest in Scotland) of children of Pakistani, Indian, Chinese, African and Caribbean origin. Unemployment in the city is above the Scottish average (6.4% as against 4.2% in Scotland), despite the more recent growth in jobs in the service sector, particularly finance, utilities and telephone call centres. Nonetheless, Westown is the most deprived local authority in Scotland. According to the HMI inspectorate's review for Westown,

Some 60% of its population live in the ten per cent most deprived postal code sectors nationally. Fifty-two of the 90 worst areas of deprivation in Scotland lie within the city's boundaries. The city has the highest proportion of children in local authority care in Scotland, 17% compared to the national average of 9.4%. Thirty-one percent of households which children are headed by a lone parent. The uptake of free meal entitlement (FME) in October 2001 was 41%, the highest in Scotland, compared to the national average of 16%. In some areas of the city FME is more than three times the national average. A Public Health Institute (PHI) survey of all Scottish parliamentary constituencies reported in March 2001 that the five poorest constituencies were in Westown, that the five unhealthiest were in Westown, and that the lowest percentage of Scottish Qualification Authority (SQA) awards at Higher Grade were in Westown. The links between deprivation, social exclusion and educational achievement present challenges for Westown Education Services, which are collectively by far the most demanding in Scotland (HMI, 2002; 3).

The Inspectorate, as part of the performance review of Westown, highlighted the fact that no data were provided in relation to similar councils in Scotland, since none were sufficiently close to those of Westown to allow comparisons.

Although performance in Westown schools is below the national average by far, the vision of the education services has been communicated strongly to schools and other providers; this is one which places a strong emphasis on developing and regenerating the city through raising standards of educational achievement and promoting social inclusion. In 2002, when the inspection of the education authority was conducted, quality assurance and school improvement in the authority placed considerable emphasis on self-evaluation and outlined arrangements for school procedures for quality assurance, including the production of development plans and reports on Standards and Quality. It set out arrangements for monitoring by Education Services, including the programme of school reviews and the provision and use of statistical information on attainment. Nevertheless, according to the HMI,

Policy in some key areas, including quality assurance, should be clarified through provision of clearer, more succinct statements (2002; 17).

The HMI report judged the 'measuring, monitoring and evaluating performance' in Westown as *fair*, the second lowest grade in the scale (very good, good, fair, unsatisfactory). The authority had no unsatisfactory quality indicators, whereas performance review was the only one judged as fair.

Service planning and management structure

Westown produces three yearly service plans which are updated on an annual basis. The 2001-2004 Service Plan clearly reflected for the first time the Council's focus on education as a means of regeneration in the city. It also included a strong focus on national priorities, particularly in relation to improving educational standards and raising achievement. In general, Service Plans incorporate the Best Value Reviews and the Performance Management and Planning Audits, such as the Best Value Review of the Education Support Service (ESS) which was restructured in 2002 into the Educational Development and Improvement Service (EdIS).

The data management team as it stood when this case study was conducted was comprised by a team of four members of staff, all new to their post, including the Head of the team, whose full title is 'Head of Admin, ICT and Schools'. His performance monitoring and analysis remit includes, apart from school attainment and achievement data, the school ICT and infrastructure monitoring of the whole Westown.

The whole team has changed entirely in the last 6 months –all the people that are dealing with the data, including myself are new to the authority (LP8S).

However, what was the reason behind this complete turn-around of the department?

Probably because of my background in the quality improvement in the job that I was doing previously, it had a huge element of this aspect to it and because of the new executive director I think, ..., who is very strong performance

management as well, and possibly because we have new people in post. All of these things just all happened at one time (LP8S).

The new Executive Director has been working closely over the last few months with the Social Work Services, in order to amalgamate the two into one department, a development which is slowly unfolding. Of course, integrating the data from the two parts of the services is a prerequisite for the two departments working together:

As it stands now it is education and social work services in Westown so we are looking just now at the integration of these two services. So all the people here at present were and are still in education –but now we have this bigger picture of education and social work services.

...

It is about working together to produce reports that are encapsulating all that is happening to the child, the young person, rather than just exams.

...

All is very new, because it is still at the initial stages. We were purely education before and the other department was purely social work so we are trying to have the geographical co-location of workers... It is a huge task (LGOW).

In terms of the staff, apart from their physical co-location in the same premises, flexibility has become a key element of their job:

We are trying to use the resources that we have so that people don't think 'I work in this section' or 'I work in this section'. So I am trying to create a culture where I move from here to there to here as required. And some people are quite happy and enjoy that –it is a new challenge and it gives them a chance to develop further skills and they get involved with things that they haven't been involved before. So that's another thing that we are doing for a few months now – involve people with the different sections out there (LGOW).

Above all, the authority must constantly be in a position to report on its performance. This requires close monitoring and tracking of data, their analysis, interpretation and future projection:

There are a number of issues that we want to have in place so that if we have an area inspection and they say to me what do you do with performance management, what do you do with the data, what is the impact, I can say 'We' ve done this and that. We have a policy, it is discussed here, this is it. Here's the plans, here's the charts'. That's the big focus right now (LGOW).

Current changes and future developments

According to the Standards and Quality Report 2005-2006, areas for improvement in 'attainment and achievement' and 'learning for life' for the future include:

- To implement the Authority's Quality Assurance and Improvement Policy in all educational establishments to ensure that self-evaluation is embedded in all that we do (Exec. Summary 2006; 4).
- All establishments and New Learning Communities to have a raising attainment and achievement strategy leading to year on year improvements in attainment and achievement for every child and young person in partnership with stakeholders, other services, agencies and the voluntary sector (Exec. Summary 2006; 4).
- Develop further a 5 year Integrated Education and Childcare strategy to ensure that high quality childcare is available, within pram pushing distance of homes, by 2012 and makes maximum use of Family Learning Centres, Nurseries, Schools and a variety of local venues to provide coherent full day services in localities linked to the Council's Economic and Employability Strategies (Exec. Summary 2006; 15)

Indeed, in the last annual performance report (2006-2007), submitted for the first time to the 'Education and Social Work Policy Development and Scrutiny Committee' (in previous years it had been submitted to the Education Services Committee), under the new executive director, who took her post in June 2007, there has been a number of changes and developments within the quality assurance and evaluation framework. The report bases the new directions of the services on the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004, which came into force in November 2005 and 'places additional duties on Education Services (and Social Work services and health boards) to assess and meet a wide range of additional support needs. The definition of additional support needs is much wider than that encompassed by the previous legislation governing special education needs' (Report, 2007, online). First, a Quality Management in Education Group was established, as well as an Education Improvement Group 'to ensure a strategic, systematic and coordinated approach across all sectors of Education Services to standards and quality improvement'. Further, a new Quality Assurance and Improvement Policy was put together, on the basis of the report produced by the Education Commission, which met throughout 2006 with the remit to consider the educational arrangements and outcomes in the city. Finally, the most significant new development is the consideration from the experience of the New Learning Communities, the Community Health and Care Partnerships and the Local Community Planning Partnerships of a wider amalgamation of services in the city: 'work will be ongoing in relation to the whole area of service reform and there will be changes to some of our organisational arrangements to ensure an integrated approach'. Before moving to an examination of the concept of integrated services in Westtown, we will discuss some of the background of this new development.

New Learning Communities: the first steps towards integration

The key objectives at local level must be to produce tangible results for the children and young people in most need of our joint action. To this end it is critical we share knowledge and resources and focus them productively

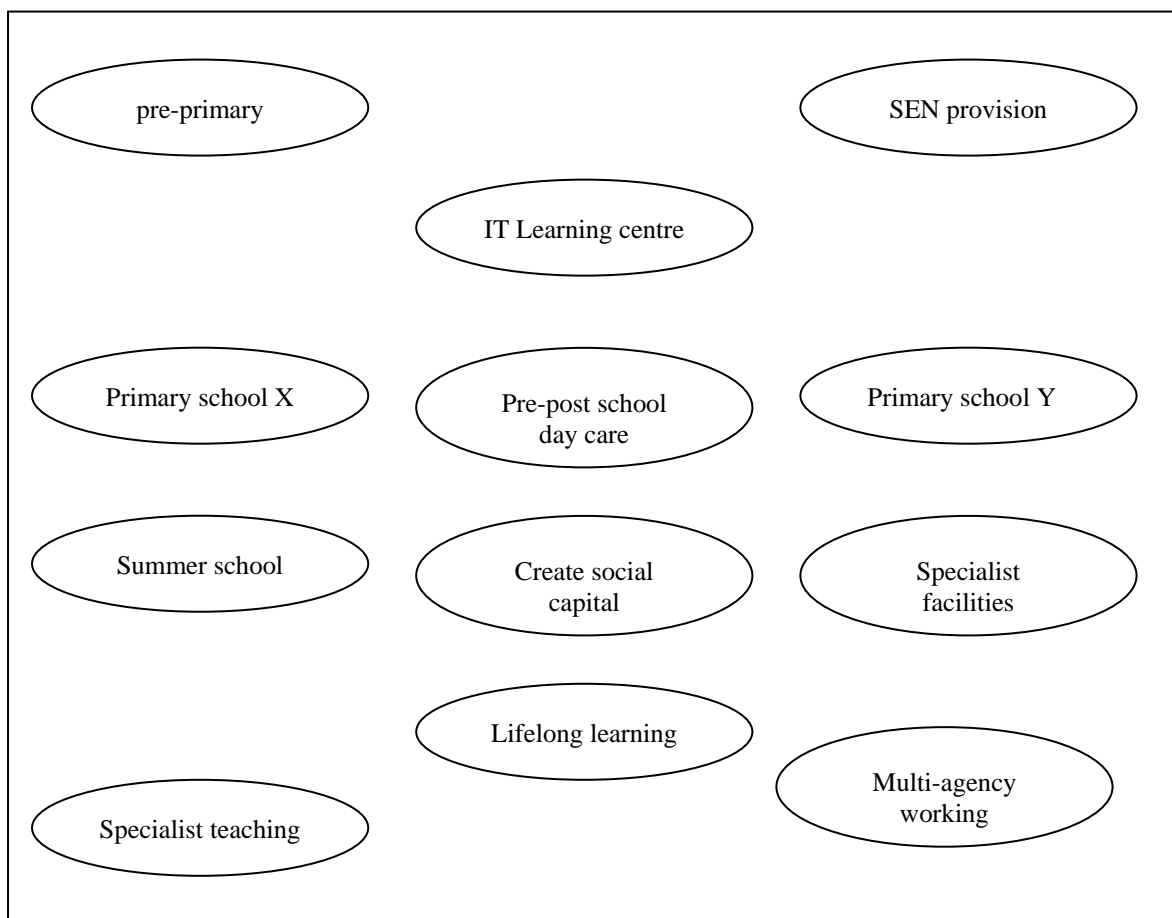
against common priorities and agreed outcomes which can be robustly evaluated (Guidance; 1)

Raising Standards for the Learning Age –Creating Tomorrow's Westown (2001) was one of the first policy texts produced by the Council that was to become the basis of integrated services in Westown. It is interesting to note that, instead of the dominant -in more recent policy talk- argument of the coordination of services for better outcomes for vulnerable children (the 'whole child' notion), it is more of an economic argument that is constructed, based on demographic changes and new lifestyles:

Westown is increasingly a city with families and citizens who have many varied lifestyles and belief systems...Diversity can flourish without any requirement for unnecessary separation...the provision of high quality facilities is always more easily affordable where use is maximised and shared. The same can also be true of schools facilities... In Westown, indeed in Scotland, the development of pre-5, primary and SEN has been in separate establishments with limited cooperation or coordination. *This is an understandable process of development given the pressures in previous decades to service the requirements of a pupil population which was much greater than at present.* There is now the opportunity to consider alternative structures of service provision which respect diversity, provide high quality facilities as efficiently as possible but still provide a more coordinated service provision for Westown's families and citizens. Many families in Westown would welcome *a one stop shop for education service provision* (Best value Review, 2001, online).

The report proposes the creation of the model of the Community Learning Centre – soon to become the 'New Learning Community' organisation - which, according to it, 'might be a starting point rather than an aspirational dream':

COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTRE (Best value Review, 2001, online)



Interestingly, the report moves on to make a strong case against small primary schools as ineffective, since, according to it, other activities apart from the core are more challenging for the small number of staff – targets are not met and attendance is lower. ‘The school size and class size should relate to functions rather than historical legacy’ (Best value Review, 2001, online).

Indeed, a more pragmatic approach was soon to be put into practice. In April 2002 the Council adopted a policy to bring together the New Community Schools pilot programme with the Learning Communities pilot initiative, under the heading of New Learning Communities. The programme was fully implemented by April 2004, when 29 New Learning Communities (NLC) began to operate across Westtown. Every NLC comprises of a secondary school, associated primary schools and local pre-5 establishments.

According to the Guidance paper provided by the City Council and the NHS, NLCs were to become the city’s ‘vehicle for the roll-out of the integrated community school model’. The interagency approach applied in NLCs meant the need to establish from the start a comprehensive pupil monitoring support system. Each NLC has a Joint Planning Forum

whose primary responsibility is to identify, prioritise and monitor areas of need, as well as specify resources and develop action plans. The Fora are represented at a minimum level by Education, Social Work, Cultural and Leisure Services and Child Health Services. The Integrated Support Teams (ISTs) are the operational arms of the Joint Planning Fora and are comprised by a Senior Educational Psychologist (education), an Area Services Practice Team Leader (Social Work Services), a School Nurse (Health), a Depute Head Social Inclusion (Education), a Primary Representative (Education) and a Rotational Pre-5 Representative (Education). Where appropriate, the Groups are also staffed by an allocated key worker (eg. Social Worker, Health Visitor, Practice Team leader), Head of Year of Class Teacher or Nursery Worker, Parent or Carer, Education Liaison Officer, Pastoral carer from school, the Police or other. The remit of the IST is to develop a team approach to addressing the needs of vulnerable children and young people and monitor and evaluate the support systems available to them.

NLCs were soon to become a success. According to the HMI follow-up inspection of the education authority in 2004, 'overall, the system represented a significant extension of partnerships among schools, joint work with external agencies and a radical re-organisation of aspects of the management of schools in the city' (HMI, 2004; 7). These were the first steps towards a collaboration between the Education Services and the Social Work Department, which were working closely also with the health services towards joint planning, monitoring and implementation of their programmes. More recently, in 2007, apart from the Principal of each NLC, two new posts have been created: these are the School Business Manager, who deals with administrative duties, and the Employability and Enterprise Officer, who has a remit to assist in taking forward work in the *Determined to Succeed* (date?) initiative.

According to the council's website, 'there is a strong focus on attainment and achievement ... [NLCs] promote continuity between the stages of each child's education encompassing learning, health, safety and general well being ... [through] integrated working'.

From cradle to grave: integration of data and services as a strategic vision for Westown

The new Education and Social Work remit for Westown is improvement of the service for children and adults. With an emphasis on the 'whole child, whole family, whole community' agenda and according to the Council decisions of February 2007, the Executive Committee aims at,

- Integrating services to share understanding and have a 10% saving on management costs;
- Improve service delivery through greater integration of services and provide a platform for further service reform.

Westtown is currently promoting greater devolution of management by creating, in addition to the New Learning Communities, five Planning Areas. According to a presentation of the new scheme to headteachers in a meeting at the Council premises (August 2007), they will be formally called 'Learning Areas' and for the purposes of greater collaboration and consultation with stakeholders, each management team will comprise of an Area Education Manager, a Quality Improvement Officer, an Integration and Inclusion Manager and an Area Principal Psychologist. Every Learning Area will host a Learning Centre, a hybrid organisation, which will offer multi-agency support to NEET children – those at the cusp of being excluded or increasingly disengaged from learning.

Although in terms of quality assurance and improvement the main focus is still on key outcomes and the need to prioritise learning, according to the executive director, there is a need for planning for lifelong learning and not just 3-18 – what she called 'intergenerational holistic approaches'.

Further, integrated data are promoted as more robust than 'raw' attainment data:

If we put together all the information and the data that the social work has and various other partners then it becomes far more accurate (LGOW).

In terms of the reasons for such a major push in the strategic direction of the Council, the head of admin, ICT and schools explained:

We are locally driven to do that, there are external pressures from the national level but there's also the fact that the quality of it and the robustness of it are better. Just an acceptance that putting together all the information gives you a better picture than looking at one component in isolation (LGOW).

Nevertheless, this is not purely a matter of improved technical possibilities. Data is seen as the major drive for mobilising teachers and other 'stakeholders' in working towards constant improvement. Data shock and move –they create feelings of compassion:

It is value base isn't it?... you know, values of compassion...it has always been like that for myself and understanding the whole child, the whole family, the whole community. I was given a post where you think you are able to pull together the whole education and social work team workers who have got a range of skills ranging *from children and families to adults* in mental health, criminal justice, addictions, homelessness, the elderly and then *asking them for the statistics*...how do we organise our resources and staffing to better meet their needs, how do we drive our values, how do you get to the whole child. Your resource are not just teachers -your resources have to come from social work, from health services, from mental health services in order to sit with them and the way you lead them is to show them the statistics as well and say isn't there a correlation between poverty and so and so? And *it is the dialogue round about the data which shocks people* (LGOWb).

However,

We are only at the beginning... therefore you have to go gently. It is a bit like the physics teacher who is interviewed 'who are the looked after children in your class?' 'looked after by whom?' he says, he didn't know what a looked after child was (LGOWb).

Although the vision of integrated data is there, the lack of sufficient data and their interoperability can also cause significant problems:

So as long as we keep thinking that we are collecting the statistics and trying to improve the addiction statistics, the mental health statistics or whatever, you know, we are never going to move on unless we start thinking whole child, round about the child, whole family and working closer to communities. When you've got that dataset you can work with communities but *it is getting this information together and it is not collected systematically, we are not sharing it systematically, haven't got the management and information systems to do it* (LGOWb).

This is not merely a Westown's problem:

I've been to conferences in England where there is a lot of talk about it but no happening. The issue in England is that there are so many private companies running databases – you can't get a model. We are ideally placed in Scotland to get one system to get this information with health being the main driver as unique identifier and sharing that across.

According to the executive director, *the quality assurance process?* required for joint initiatives is an options appraisal model, like the following:

	1: concern	2: need consultation	3: need for resources	4: integrated work
Education	x			
Health		x		
Social work			x	

Your challenge now is that, to give you an example, some of the things I did in a multi-agency group in Stirling, you've got 1,2,3,and 4 and that's education services and let's say you've got (draws a diagram- see above) a 14 year old , that's health, that's care, looked after child and let's say she has some behaviour problems, you need an additional pupil support assistant, she is in care, £120,000 a year, and she is sexually active and needs additional resources, if the profile of that girl is this and you put the assessment together, the dominant need is social work but what could you do with that to support that child to stay in the local school in the local community? It is an options appraisal model that says there is a need for a couple of social workers to keep that child in a foster home or whatever, an additional community and mental health professional for half a week or half a day, couple of days a week paid for, you have to cost in all these resources. So what do we need to get in Westown in the 5 strategic areas is the profile of who the locals are, how many are in the child protection register and once you capture that data in there you can then allocate the resources accordingly.

Above all, integrated data are envisaged as the only means to create the *peoples' services* for the 21st century Westown: for some a dream, perhaps, for others potentially a nightmare – but surely not yet a reality:

...[there was a need for] working with a different model and looking around for somebody who is more into capacity building, not education in a silo or social work in a silo. Basically on you go see what you can do. But it is a chance in a lifetime... and I will give all I've got. It is an opportunity to bring together the peoples' services in Westown.

4.1.3 Case Study 3 (Midtown)

Introduction

Midtown is a relatively affluent mix of an urban-rural area in Scotland with a main city centre and a surrounding rural district, and a total population of around 190000 residents. Its accessible location at the heartland of Scotland, in combination with the high quality of life it provides has turned it into a commuting area for workers both in Glasgow and Edinburgh. This has resulted in what is often described as a polarisation of employment from out-commuting managers and professionals through to much lower paid workers in hospitality and retail. Its population grows in double the rate of that in the rest of the country and around 40% of its population holds degree level qualifications, a proportion significantly higher than the rest of Scotland. Midtown is a tourist destination and hosts some major business names, as well as a university, retail and entertainment centres and cultural hotspots. In term of education, Midtown is recognised as a high performing authority with good schools, having been rated as Excellent in terms of vision, aims and values and Very Good for its improvement on performance, and its impact on learners, families, staff and wider community by the last HMIE inspection in 2007. On the other hand, Midtown is also home for some areas with high unemployment and low life expectancy rates, much lower than in the rest of Scotland. In fact, 6% (5000) of Midtown population live in areas rated as the most deprived 15% of Scotland. Two of these areas lie within the most deprived 5% of Scotland. Further, life expectancy in Midtown generally higher than the Scottish average, but with significant variations evident across the area. Some areas have life expectancy rates significantly below the national average (council website, 2009).

Midtown was of special interest as a case study, first because it combines a relatively prosperous area with some severe pockets of deprivation, and most importantly because the establishment of the Integrated Children Services there is not new development (as, as we have seen already, is the case with Eastown and Westown). In fact, the Children Services department was one of the first to be established in Scotland in 1997. The Council's partnership approach was given increased impetus through Community Planning with Midtown being selected to be a 'pathfinder' authority for community

planning. Its first Community Plan, 'Working together', was produced in 1999. Today it draws its members from key agencies and organisations from the public, community, voluntary and private sector which are active in the area, such as the local council, the National Health Service, Scottish Enterprise, the Police, the Fire and Rescue Service as well as local Transport Partnership. The Partnership is coordinated by an Executive Delivery Group which supports and directs the work of six Critical Partnerships, one of which is the Children and Young People's Critical Partnership.

'For Midtown's children'- The Integrated Plan (2005-2008)

This integrated plan for services for children in the Midtown was developed by the Children's Community Planning Partnership, which brings together representatives from partner agencies of the National Health Service, the Police, the Children's Panel, the Reporter's Office, Barnardo's Scotland, as well as elected members and officers from the Council's Children's Services, Community Services and Housing Services. It forms one of the five subgroups of the Midtown Community Planning Partnership Group (the others being Lifelong Learning; Development and Community Safety; Health and Well-being; and Regeneration) and is underpinned by 'a shared vision' for the MIDTOWN area,

'as an area where all children and young people will be safe, enjoy good health, with access to a wide range of positive experiences and opportunities to enable them to achieve their potential'.

The document offers a range of sources that have informed the formulation of this shared vision; most are local plans, charters and manifestos in relation to multi-agency work for children in the area, as well as the Scottish Executive's vision for children and the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child. Finally, the 'vision' draws on the Scottish Executive and Hunter Foundation [a private charitable foundation] 2020 Vision which aims for 'a system transformation of children's services around the themes of personalisation, integration, engagement and leadership'.

According to the policy, the four key principles of integrated working for all partners were first developed in 2000 and centre on putting Children First, Inclusion, Quality and Partnership. It is envisaged that aims and objectives built around the integration of children's services will be supported and achieved through performance management, quality assurance and public performance reporting arrangements; human resource strategies, including workforce and succession planning; resource management through devolved decision making and devolved budgeting; an information and communications technology strategy; an inter-agency development strategy; and finally a consultation, communication and participation strategy.

The document continues with an 'Action Plan', listing key objectives and activities alongside the implementation strategy to achieve them, outcomes, the required

timescale and the responsible agency for delivering the result. Here is an indicative example:

Key objective	A2.2 Promoting and Improving standards of diet and fitness
Implementation Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Continue to implement 'Hungry for Success' and other programmes to promote healthy eating, eg free fruit in nurseries, breakfast clubs, healthy tuckshops and School Nutrition Action Groups ▪ Continue to support Oral Health strategies through the nursery and school tooth-brushing programme ▪ Continue to promote SHAW (Scotland's Health at Work) awards and Health Promoting schools and nurseries ▪ Deliver a comprehensive range of physical activity programmes during and after the school day ▪ Continue to implement the Active Schools sports development programme to promote physical activity and sport
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reduction in oral and dental decay ▪ Increased consumption of fruit and vegetables through healthy school menus ▪ Year on year increase in the number of establishments and teams who achieve SHAW ▪ All schools achieve Health Promoting Schools' awards ▪ Increase in number of active children and young people ▪ Improved levels of fitness in children and young people ▪ Reduction in levels of obesity in children and young people
Timescale	2005-08
Responsibility	Children's Services and Community Services with Midtown Children's Partnership NHS Forth Valley Midtown CHP

'For Midtown's children'- The Integrated Plan (2008-2011)

The New Integrated Plan for the Midtown area is in many ways similar to the structure and aims of the document discussed above. Some of the new elements introduced, which manifest the changing, devolved nature of the Scottish government and the emphasis on reflexivity and shared responsibility, are the following:

- The shared vision is now first and foremost underpinned by 'the views and opinions of children and young people' in the Midtown; further, it is informed by the Scottish Government's new National Performance Framework, which has a 'vision for a Scotland which is wealthier and fairer, smarter, healthier, safer and stronger, and greener'.
- The Integrated Plan is now based on the Concordat between the Scottish Government and local government on producing a Single Outcome Agreement – according to the document 'For 2008-09, the Single Outcome Agreement is in agreement between the local authority and the Scottish Government, but from 2009-2010, the Single Outcome Agreement will broaden to encompass the

commitments and shared accountability of the local Community Planning Partnership in delivering improved outcomes for the Midtown'. As a consequence, the integrated plan is expected to contribute to 'the targets and outcomes contained within these documents as well as to the Scottish Government's national performance framework'.

- The language around 'aims and objectives' that was prevalent in the previous plan has been abandoned here and replaced with 6 'Strategic Planning Priorities': delivering positive outcomes for very young children; delivering positive outcomes for children and young people; supporting and protecting vulnerable children and young people; encouraging well-being and healthier lifestyles; maintaining and improving the safety of communities; supporting successful transitions.

Children's Services in Midtown

As already suggested, the Children Services department was established in 1997; this development, which predated the establishment of the New Community Schools Initiative, signalled it as the pathfinder in the integration of children services in Scotland. According to the Head of the Service, discussing what initiated such an early move to the integration of the service,

I think there's an element of being a combination of ideology and circumstance. I think there was a genuine sense in Midtown of trying to shape services around people rather than expecting people to accommodate services. So I think there was recognition that the needs of children and young people could be met better if they were to be met in a holistic way. I think there was a strong sense of trying to address the needs of families. I think there was a lot of commitment to customer focus, client-friendly services. The chief executive has always been very committed to that and continues to be. So I think there was an element around that. I think there were also a range of things that were significant like a very very difficult case in social work here which caused a great deal of reflection on how services were managed.

The Head of the Service went on to give more details about a specific child abuse case which triggered the initiative. Nevertheless, he emphasised that although this case might have given the final push towards the new agenda, it was rather 'a genuine sense that we meet the needs of sectors of the population, design our services around them rather than start with the traditional model and expect them to fit around the service'. Interestingly, 12 years later, rather than the data and their potential, the emphasis is on this shared vision as the main driving force:

A lot of it has been about a vision and one of the areas that we were praised for both under the previous director and when we were inspected was vision, aims and values and we do spend a fair bit of time making sure that there is a sense of vision, aims and values and that these are demonstrated in the way that we conduct ourselves. I think that that's very much a unifying aspect.

Today the Department is divided into three main management teams. These are; Learning and Development; Planning, Performance and Resources; and Support and Development. According to the Head of the Service,

We've tried over the last period to make the integration of the services more real and as an example of that, I moved from having four heads of service to three... I think that that's a pretty significant step in that sense and a step that not many other people are making.

Therefore, the 'Learning and Development' Department has strategic responsibility for the management, leadership, policy and review for children and family learning and also takes lead responsibility for leadership development across the service. 'Planning, Performance and Resources' has strategic responsibility for resource management across Children's Services. This includes providing financial, Human Resources, ICT and facilities management support. It takes a lead role in supporting policy development, planning and performance management across the service and will assume strategic responsibility for workforce development. Finally, 'Support and Development' has strategic responsibility for children and families social work, including child protection, looked after and accommodated children and child and family welfare. In addition, it takes a lead in developing local models, wider involvement and will co-ordinate the child health agenda. In terms of how the three sub-groups collaborate and coordinate their work, the Head of Service gave a long description of the kinds of working practices that characterise ICS in Midtown:

We do all the obvious things; we have joined management teams, we have regular joined discussions, the Heads of Service have discussions amongst themselves in team meetings. We place great emphasis on trying to establish local partnerships built around the secondary school catchments which involve all partners as well as our own services. We've got quite a strong children and young people critical partnership and the community planning aspect of that. So I think we've seen more of that kind of development. We have obviously done other straightforward things like we got in the new secondary schools, we co-located social work services within them. We've done a lot of that. In terms of indicators and what we were looking for, it is a lot to do with ensuring better outcomes for young people. Particularly vulnerable young people. And we do very carefully at the outcomes of some of the more challenged and vulnerable young people that we've got. We've spent a huge amount of time reviewing our work in these areas, additional support needs, discipline and behaviour, all of these areas, trying to keep young people out of the prison system, out of the criminal justice system, try to finish up and as the concordat would say, sustain successful destinations.

In terms of data and indicators that the Service draws upon, the pool of data resources involves national data as well as research data for further contextualisation, using the data to frame and initiate discussions with headteachers and schools:

A lot of the national indicators are perfectly decent and usable, like leaver destinations. We use the indicator about looked after children, attainment. We

don't think that the raw attainment data provides us with all the answers but we think it empowers us to ask questions. We would look at attendance rates. We would look at a lot of the data that is available nationally. We would set that against our own contextual knowledge of schools. To some extent a lot of what we do has been influenced by a lot of the work that your own organisations undertaking, in terms of looking at deprivation, how deprivation matters, that type of thing. ...It is always done on the basis of this is what it looks like on the basis of the data, how does this look to you? And in fact this year, what we did when we had that round of meetings we asked the school to tell us what it looked to them so in a sense they started and controlled that discussion. And we use the data as a basis for framing questions and challenges rather than us leading the discussion which would have been more the traditional method of doing these things.

Nevertheless, problems with the interoperability of the data systems, despite the 12 years experience of collaborative working, seem to persist:

We moved in the last year from Phoenix – we were in Phoenix Gold was a system that we had - I don't think it was desperately well-used here particularly but we used that for schools, that was the system we had in schools. And we have SWIFT it is our social work system. We moved over from Phoenix and we moved to SEAMIS and we are hoping that there will be better compatibility. We've been doing some work with KPMG, the consultants have been doing work with us and I think we are getting much better. But clearly there has been a problem and it is a national problem and it is very much part of the getting it right agenda to ensure that we've got comprehensive data capture and communication systems.

Despite the centrality of the data in integrating policy across the different sectors, problems do not only exist in relation to the data systems themselves, but crucially in the scarcity of people analysing and managing the data across departments:

When I arrived we had one data analyst post within the service and it was quite an isolated post. He did a lot with the ScotXed stuff but it was very much kind of an education post. When we restructured the service, when we went to the three heads of service we tried to strengthen the whole area of information research. So we tried to build a team round that. And we concentrated the person who previously dealt with things like role prediction, lot of the staffing stuff, the data analyst function, gathering data and making returns and so on and so forth. That main person had responsibility for planning for us and we tried to bring a group together under one manager as a team. I think that's improved the situation. We're not where I would like to be, I think. We've spent a bit of time, we got people to go out and visit places like East Renfrewshire where we felt that there was a big emphasis on data ... When our data analyst left we had trouble recruiting to the post but we've got somebody in part time. It is an area that needs further work.

Data dreams and nightmares haunt the integration of the services for more than a decade; specific individuals are proven key to facilitate the flow of the data from node to node in the system, whereas improvement in reporting and agreeing about data has increased negative figures adding to the overall disillusionment about a data-driven system that does not seem to work:

I think we are not very good at integrating a lot of the data that we've got and that's key to it...we've tried and we continue to try to get a system set up based around files, school files so that you can actually integrate the information so that you can very quickly look at headline information and say right, there appear to be issues in the school, we better look at the development plan or the improvement plan for the school, right, actually there doesn't seem to be anything in here addressing that. Is there a recent HMIE report on the school, can I check if that was an issue that was raised with them. So I think the idea of getting data in an integrated way where it is easy to interrelate it and make comparisons, I think that's a bit of a holy grail. If people could do that more easily and more readily they would do better on it. I also think that there are a number of people who are very good –we've got colleagues here and I've got colleagues elsewhere who have become very good handling their school and their set of schools. They know the data, they know the context, they know where the issues are, you can phone them, get a brief from them. They are good in that. So, I think there's an element of a caricature about the picture that is being set out. ...then there's a discussion about why the figures are like that, because we are much better at reporting – that kind of stuff I think it's really frustrating for people and it is not just this case, that's generally the case.

4.1.4 Case study 4 (Northtown)

Background

Northtown is predominantly a rural Scottish area, characterised by exceptional fragility, since it has been identified as being in danger of long term decline, due to remoteness, an ageing population, lack of economic opportunity and access to essential services. The local council delivers services across an area with the lowest population density of all UK local authorities. Overall, the area has only 8 people per square kilometre, compared with 66 in the rest of Scotland. As a result, frontline services are decentralised for effective delivery. Many remote communities are characterised as in danger of decline as the population ages and young people move to major cities in search of education or more secure and better paid employment.

According to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (2004), 12.2 per cent of the population are designated as income deprived and 11.1 per cent of the working age population are employment deprived. Pockets of social deprivation and economic disadvantage exist in both the remote rural areas and in some larger towns. However the area is also characterised by patches of fast growing economies. In general, rurality, pockets of deprivation, demographic trends and local diversity have presented significant challenges for the Northtown local authority in terms of planning and delivering ICS (Stradling and MacNeil 2007).

Therefore, ICS are presented with major challenges in the area; first, the ability to set up governance and management structures which can be responsive to diverse needs and different local contexts, priorities and concerns; second, the dissemination of policies and

plans across the large geographical area; third and most important, 'finding an appropriate balance between the need to ensure equity of access to such services as locally-based health care, child care and early years education whilst also ensuring that scarce resources are targeted where they can have most impact on the provision of support for the most vulnerable children and families, the most socially disadvantaged and those with complex and multiple needs' (Stradling and MacNeil 2007; 10). Indeed, despite the discursive arguments about universality of services for all children and young people, which parallels similar arguments in policy documents both at the central government level and the local one, in practice the emphasis on vulnerable children and young people is accentuated in Northtown:

It's an academic question, an academic discussion-if you have needs, you get a response, and that's the important thing-the machine needs to click into gear. The vast majority will go through without needs from Children Services -so we start from a universal baseline in health. All children born in Northtown are assessed in their first five years -then they access assessment and services if there are needs; for children with identified needs, then we provide the services-that's ICS. It's all about targeted services- [they] only get additional support for additional needs. (LGON)

In a report publicised by two national thinktanks (Young Foundation and the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts) in 2008, integrated children's services in the local authority were characterised as a prime national example of innovation in the public services. The report notes that the Council has made significant improvements in a short period of time and that in 2006, the success of the ICS was recognised by the Scottish Executive which selected the area as a pathfinder for the rest of Scotland. The report concludes:

The [Northtown] Council pioneered an approach to integrating Children's Services in Scotland that was ahead of national strategy and practice in this field but was in tune with the direction of national policy priorities. The [Northtown] Council's development of an integrated, multi-agency Children's Service can be described as a radical innovation in the context of local and national approaches to service delivery.

What is therefore the structure of the governance and management of ICS in Northtown that has resulted in such a positive reception not only at a discursive but crucially at a practical level? The next section will give an introduction to the policy initiative and attempt to sketch the picture of ICS in the area.

ICS in Northtown

Similar to the rest of the case studies we have explored so far, ICS in Northtown encompasses universal services as well as more targeted services for children, young people and their families. The Council, following the national strategy 'For Scotland's Children' and Action plan, is described in the relevant documentation (mainly web

material) as committed to consider children's service as a single service system; ensure inclusive access to universal services; coordinate needs assessment and intervention, and target services; and establish a joint children's service plan. In fact, according to one of our informants, ICS in Northtown preceded national developments:

Five years before For Scotland's Children Northtown created a post of director of Children Services across NHS and the council. And at that time the initiative was local.

These developments according to the same policy officer had their origins in the 1980s and 1990s:

[There was a] period of disinvestment in 1980s and 90s in children's services-then crisis. Political leaders became aware of demographic changes in highland communities and needed to have an approach to community planning and high priority in children's services. The disinvestment came from pressures on adult services in '80s and '90s -[which was] very significant in xx [Northtown]. But there was a need to support and sustain families-young families-and address the challenge of young families leaving the [area] as there was a real risk that 'not much life left in [there].

Due to the rurality of the area and the distance from the central government, Northtown was seen as a good political model to work with. Post the 'Getting it Right' (2005) agenda, Northtown worked in parallel with the central government, although as our informant emphatically and repeatedly suggested, the emphasis has been on operational delivery, not structural change. According to him,

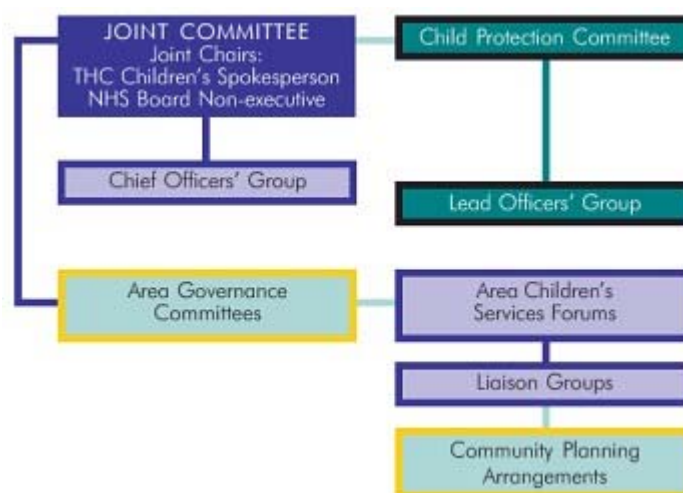
ICS in Northtown is about operational delivery and not about structural change-it's about joined up services delivery- it is outcome-oriented. [It is] not big bang solutions here but incremental steps -so there has been no restructuring departments.

According to 'For Northtown Children (2001-2004)' and its successor plan 'For Northtown Children 2' (2005-2008), the key planning documents for ICS, the multi-agency structure that was formed in order to achieve better integration involved the creation of a Joint Committee for Children and Young People (JCCYP) which includes all community planning partners, such as elected members and officials from the Council, members of the NHS, the police, representatives from the voluntary sector and others. Developed since the late 1990s, it has a remit to develop, implement and review the Children's service plan and focus particularly on vulnerable children. The key drivers for establishing the policy in 2001 were the following: the 'For Scotland's Children' Action Plan which provided a template for planning ICS; gaps and overlaps in the offer locally as these were identified by audits and reviews; the roll-out of the Integrated School Approach across Northtown; the introduction of the Children Services fund by the Scottish Executive which provided with additional funding; and finally, the decision by Northtown (with two other Scottish local authorities) to participate in the Scottish Executive's pilot exercise in agreeing local outcome targets for children's services. The activity between 2001-2004 focused on

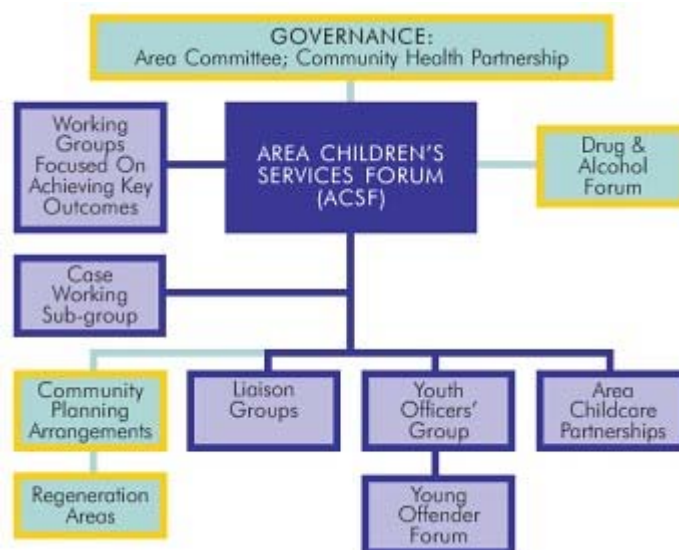
setting the infrastructure up, namely employing integration managers, funding new integrated posts, co-location of staff, providing multi-agency awareness and developing operational multi-agency mechanisms such as liaison groups.

'For Northtown's Children 2' (2005-2008) is a more integrated document than its predecessor, in the sense that, although it focuses on outcome targets, there is more emphasis on building good practice, disseminating effective approaches and supporting local planning to meet local needs.

The definition of 'vulnerable children' was adopted in both policy documents to focus on the particular needs of the area; it includes children who are at risk of significant harm, illness, or children who are in families dependent on income support, with lone parents, have more than 1 sibling and who live in rural or deprived communities. Second, the Chief Officers' Group comprises of Directors of all Lead Services and aims to develop and coordinate strategy and ensure the implementation of policy and best practice models:

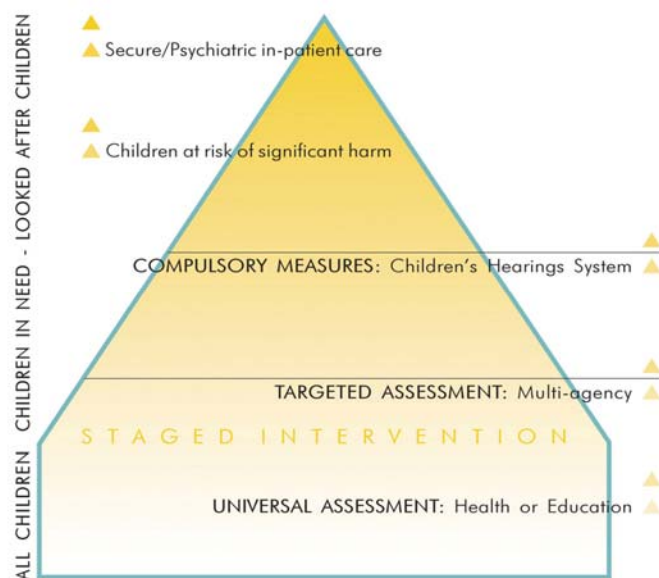


Due to the specific characteristics of the area (scarcity of population and large geographical area) and as can be seen above, Area Children's Service Forums were created in order to bring together key managers in each area to implement integrated strategy, taking forward policy and practice at local level. Finally, Liaison Groups and Youth Offender Groups were also formed around school boundaries, comprising of operational professionals for those children who require multi-agency involvement. These structures operate at a devolved manner, at the local level and look like this:



A key strength of the governance structure adopted in the area has been the willingness to devolve more responsibilities onto the structures established in different locations. Despite a great deal of concern about the gravitational pull of the main town in the area and fears that a 'one size fits all' solution would be given from the centre, the Area Children's Services Forums have been operating as test beds for trying out different ways for the improvement of the responsiveness to local issues. Further, the role of the Children Champions has been proven valuable, especially in their function as information gatekeepers between the different agencies. Finally, the Integration Managers have a critical role in addressing issues of rurality and social exclusion, as they act as a sounding board for voicing local concerns, rather than imposing a centrally devised policy plan.

According to this plan, the philosophy behind ICS is a holistic approach towards the child; nevertheless, although the service development is for the benefit of all children, it is only some children that will require a multi-agency approach, on the basis of greater needs that cannot be met with universal provision:



A Quality Improvement Framework sits alongside this strategy which is aimed to develop a shared culture of quality improvement and a shared language on quality among professionals. Above all, according to the Framework there is a necessity for a shared vision for Northtown Children and young people 'to have the best possible start in life'. Fifty key targets sit across the seven themes of the plan (children to be safe; nurtured; healthy; achieving; active; respected and responsible; included). The strategic priorities for the period 2005-2008 were:

- A further integration in front line delivery;
- Targeting vulnerable groups and individuals, tackling deprivation and providing opportunities for improved achievement and equality of opportunity;
- An integrated assessment framework and information sharing across agencies, associated with seamless and collaborative referral process;
- Continuing to improve the quality of services to looked after children;
- Better transition planning at all stages, including young adulthood;
- Co-location of services and 'one-stop shops';
- Coherence across agency procedures, protocols and business processes;
- Joined up workforce planning;
- Further pooling of budgets;
- Ensuring that Highland becomes more child, family and youth friendly by working with all Wellbeing Alliance partners to address the new
- Community Plans key challenges of:
 - Developing a Strong, Sustainable and Competitive Economy;
 - Encouraging Lifelong Learning and Developing Community Capacity;
 - Improving Health and Wellbeing;
 - Investing in Housing and its Infrastructure;
 - Improving Transport;
 - Enhancing Cultures, Heritage, the Gaelic Language and the Natural Environment; and
 - Developing Safe, Strong and Attractive Communities.

No sooner had 'For Northtown's Children 2' (2005-2008) been published than the Scottish Executive launched the 'Getting It Right for Every Child' (2005) policy framework. In 2006, Northtown was designated as a 'pathfinder' area for 'Getting it right for Every Child' (2005). This would build on and further develop the existing structures and processes which had been evolving over the previous five years.

Nevertheless, the challenges in terms of operationalising policy and developing ICS practice are still mounting, in particular in terms of developing a new professional culture of integrated working within children's services without undermining each collaborating practitioner's identity as a professional employed within a particular service or agency with its own culture, ethos, values and operational standards. As with the other case studies, a key challenge remains in relation to how to persuade busy staff that keeping records up to date, sharing information with colleagues in other agencies and attending multi-agency meetings are central to their work. Further, the requirement to use the same agreed criteria and assessment procedures remains a constant challenge, especially when there is no agreement or consensus in relation to the relevant thresholds that should trigger assessment and intervention. In terms of information sharing, as with the other case studies, problems arise when different agencies use different information recording systems, when they have different protocols regarding confidentiality and when access to information technology varies according to location and agency.

In comparison to the other case studies, Northtown reveals a case of a longer and deeper integration of children's services, which although building on data sharing, has as its main focus local responsiveness combined with intra-professional work and collaboration, ensuring at the same time professional autonomy and respect. According to our interviewee,

ICS is not about a geography teacher being a psychiatrist or a social worker- its about having a geography teacher and a psychiatrist and a social worker and ensuring that they are joined and knowing where the joins are between them....[It is] not about dissolving boundaries-one service doesn't mean reducing boundaries between services. Attempts to integrate through structures don't work-structures and services are not the same things: you can have one director but there's still divisions.

The focus discursively is on the universal provision of services; in practice however, our evidence shows that the real emphasis is on children in need, looked-after children and those at risk of harm. Where does education fit in this model of ICS? The role of the school 'as a vehicle for enhancing service integration' (Stradling and MacNeil 2007; 26) is important in ICS in Northtown. The school was seen as a service hub, 'facilitating or acting as the main channel through which children and young people with diverse needs could receive appropriate kinds of multi-agency targeted and specialist support' (Stradling and MacNeil 2007; 26). There are several examples of how this new school role is being played out. According to Stradling and MacNeil,

- Ninety-one per cent of primaries and all of the secondary schools had set up multi-agency liaison groups;
- Around three-fifths of schools had made provision for joint working between teachers and professionals who were not education specialists for classroom delivery and support for individual pupils;
- Three-fifths of secondary schools had at least one professional who was not an education specialist based on site etc. (2007; 27)

Here we witness how the vision first established in Scotland through the launch of the New Community Schools initiative in 1998, is becoming reality. The school serves as the basis for a universalistic provision of 'services' where intra-professional work and the integration of data and diverse professional knowledges come together. Although this is still considered coordinated rather than genuine integration, in Northtown the number of teachers and other professionals feeling that ICS has had a positive effect on their work and that support for vulnerable children is more systematic, has grown significantly since 2001 (Stradling and MacNeil 2007). Notes of caution and challenges relate mainly to maintaining professional autonomy and status: a number of teachers and other staff suggested that ICS inhibits them from delivering their core work; representatives from the voluntary sector suggested that colleagues from the mainstream services often 'keep them out of the loop'. It is suggested that this is due to collaboration based on service agreements rather than shared understanding. On the other hand, new professions are being created in relation to ICS: one example is the Children's Services Workers (CSWs) who are employed by social work, supervised by senior family liaison officers and usually based in schools where they are managed on a day-to-day basis by the head teacher or depute, usually working closely with the pupil support team. Nevertheless intra-professionalism does not mean the creation of a single ICS profession –on the contrary, according to a senior officer:

Professions remain quite distinctive –absolutely. How do they create a shared project? It's called the child and the family—that's the shared project! (LGON)

The Inspectorate is also seen as potentially a hindrance to the development of integrated planning and delivery:

There are seven inspectorates across ICS—all with different practices –all doing inspections, so we get three times as many people coming in....Inspections are a damn good thing but have all kinds of downsides -methodology, processes, quality indicators- so, they are never going to be setting the pace, they will always be catching up.

Inspectors don't quite know how to make sense of what they find. The management rightly resists being told what inspectors want to do. There is no point having managers unless they can run the service –we might as well use inspectors. But ICS is a change agenda and inspection can be a drag on change. There is a massive gravitational pull towards making inspectors happy, giving them what they want—always last years business. Inspectors struggle with change, they want to see settled business. We have had ten years of continual change with ICS and its difficult for inspectors to edge towards ICS. It's a good thing but a drag on change and people become

obsessed with assessing what the inspectors want rather than inspecting where they are for their own purposes.

Finally, training and capacity building as well as succession planning, are also important aspects of ICS in Northtown; on-the-job training and the incorporation of initial training of a multi-agency dimension in initial training across disciplines are seen as central to the future success and sustainability of the exercise.

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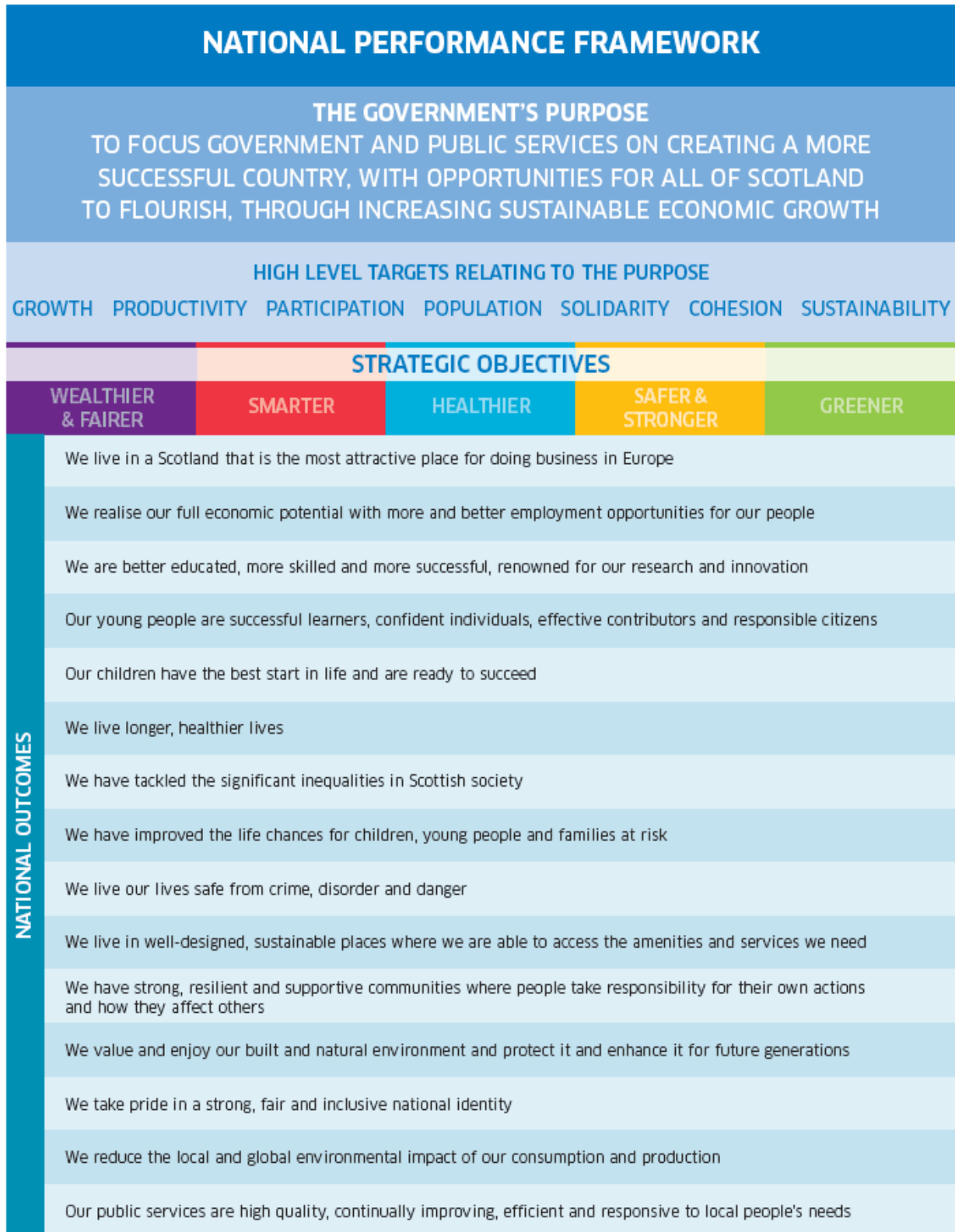
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Annex A



Annex B: Key Informants

CP: Central policy maker

CPA: Central policy analyst

LGOE: Local Government Easttown

LGOW: Local Government Westtown

LGOWb: Local Government Westtown b

LGOM: Local Government Midtown

LGON: Local Government Northtown