The politics of child protection

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Bearing witness to injustice

Friere described the role of the ‘critical witness’ as involved in an ongoing active process

Friere P (1972) Pedagogy of the Oppressed p144

Activist for children

Child protection warriors: person by person, build up trust. No organisation – no political party or group

Childism: Oppression of children/Discrimination against children

Un-children (Un-people: people who do not count)
Child protection is political

- Children silenced
- Adult survivors silenced
- Professionals, the voice for children and survivors are silenced

Effective child protection must include seeking justice through targeting perpetrators. When you enter this world it is one of cover —up and intrigue.

It’s a secret world and when we investigate we mirror the hidden world of the abusers. We are monitored by the abusers ready to pounce.
Senior social worker in a small Islington office
Realised children were being abused in the community and the care system
Raised many concerns internally, then went to police to report crimes against children
Evidence included murders and abductions of children, children being bought and sold, networks of perpetrators, the silencing and intimidation of those few who spoke out. Investigations were closed down suddenly. 14 Inquiries – cover ups. Files destroyed
Some of the perpetrators/ colluders still within the system, gained promotions and seniority
200 social workers: 4 blew the whistle.
Islington: extensive abuse of children in care homes

From 1992 - over 150 newsprint articles on the abuse of children within the Islington care system: Each of 13 inquiries only followed disclosure in the media.

Survivors were involved throughout alongside whistleblowing social workers. They still come forward. My work continues.
- A social worker identified 61 young people – victims of abuse but police said there was no evidence of a network
- No evidence of ritual abuse


Operation Pallial North Wales: 160 new victims but no evidence of a network
Margaret Hodge: local councillor at the time who did not support the investigations

When Hodge was appointed Minister for Children in 2003 by Blair I was able to speak out after being silenced for 11 years.

Campaign by survivors successful in that Blair removed her from the post
Demetrious Panton: in ‘care’ of Islington council from age 10 years.

Minister for Children, Margaret Hodge, described him as ‘disturbed’.
Tony murder linked to 16 child killings

The last days of tragic Vivian

Girl's body is found in party flats

CHILD BROTHELS: ‘MORE EVIDENCE’

A Conservative MP, who has alleged the existence of child brothels in Islington, says he has received further evidence indicating the problem is not confined to one London borough.

Geoffrey Dickens, MP for Littleborough and Saddleworth, says he is more convinced than ever about the scale of the problem, despite criticism from Labour MPs in the House.

Jeremy Corbyn, Labour, Islington North, has accused Mr. Dickens of irresponsible behaviour and demanded he withdraw the allegations.

Mr. Dickens says he has received information about child brothels being run on an estate in the Archway district of Islington, involving about 40 children down to the age of six.

He told Social Work Today that a major police investigation was now underway.

“I make no apologies to people living on the estate. The activities would have stopped overnight once the publicity gained momentum and the police inquiries started.”

He maintains that such “evil” activities would have been carried out so surreptitiously that even near neighbours would not have realised what was going on.

John Rees Price, Director of Islington Social Services, said his department had no evidence to suggest that child brothels are operating in the borough.

Jason Swift connection Conewood Street children’s home
Westminster’s Secret Service

Dirt Books were introduced by Ted Heath

One MP said;

the chief whip kept a little ‘dirt book’ which contained information about MPs, and this was: *It might be debt, it might be, a scandal involving small boys*, or any kind of scandal in which, er er a member seemed likely to be mixed up in, they’d come and ask if we could help and if we could, we did. And we would do everything we can because we would store up brownie points……., and if I mean, that sounds a pretty, pretty nasty reason, but it’s one of the reasons because if we could get a chap out of trouble then, he will do as we ask forever more. It was used as a method of political control
‘What I am going to do personally is to speak out on this extreme case of organised abuse in the highest places. At the core of all child abuse is the abuse of power. The fundamental power of the adult over the child. Wherever this occurs it is an abomination. But these extreme cases are abuse of power by some of the most powerful people. Abuse of trust by some of the most trusted. It is a sickening story, but one which – like the truth about Jimmy Savile – is now going to be told’
The evidence file – used to convict paedophile Peter Righton – if it still exists, contains clear intelligence of a widespread paedophile ring. One of its members boasts of his links to a senior aide of a former Prime minister, who says he could smuggle indecent images of children from abroad. The leads were not followed up, but if the files still exist, I want to ensure that the Metropolitan Police secure the evidence, re-examine it, and investigate clear intelligence suggesting a powerful paedophile network linked to Parliament and Number 10.

October 2012

Investigations in Islington and Hereford and Worcester closed. Contributed to Perspectives on Paedophilia (Taylor 1981) and member of PIE. Charles Napier, friend, co author and PIE member, convictions - found in Devon. Righton’s partner recently arrested.
NB: Paedophile names: Orphan, Toy, friend, Child etc. a means of recognition
Righton’s strategy: the power of ideology

He groomed the professionals and academics
*The Secret Life of Paedophiles. Documentary 1994 (Inside Story)*

Ann Goldie, a former Islington social worker said she had been at Islington dinner parties where he had boasted about his boys but as she was lesbian he knew he could rely on her silence – this was the power of the confusion created between homosexuality and paedophilia. Roger Moody, paedophile activist of the 80s wrote of wagon-hitching to mainstream gay organisations.

On police interview Righton said every Islington social work manager knew he loved 12 yr old boys.
Letter to David Cameron, Nick Clegg and Ed Miliband

There are no more vulnerable members of our society than children who have been taken into care and then re-abused by the very people charged with the responsibility of caring for them and protecting them, and even worse then passing them on to be further abused by the very people who make the laws in this country and are expected to lead the way on the moral compass of that society.

Cameron said this must ‘never happen again’
‘collusion must never happen again’

Need cross party discussion to decide how to investigate politicians in all parties.

Signed: Source of Tom Watson’s Prime Ministers Question
Elm Guest House, *Rocks Lane. South London:*
ExaroNews
Muran Buchstansangur (Twitter)
Misinformation risked hindering police investigation
The BACKLASH: ‘Paedophilia bringing dark desires to light’ Jon Henley; Guardian 03.01.2013. The Editor wrote, ‘an intelligent, calm and informative piece about this disturbing area of life’

Tom O’Carroll, founder of PIE and author of Radical Case for Paedophilia (1989), convicted for distributing indecent images of children, launches his website in confidence.
(It took 3 days for Guardian to remove his blogs)
Graham Ovenden: artist, 70 yrs; convicted 2013 after 20 years: 6 charges of indecency and one of indecent assault. Children young as 6 yrs old

Rachael Cooke Guardian, ‘images of children now revealed to be porn not art.. But some images not even naked.. But even if they were naked I wouldn’t feel any differently’

AA Gill, ‘How dare the Tate hide the works of Graham Ovenden after his conviction for indecency?’ We have regressed to being 17thC witchfinders. The fear of and fury against paedophilia know no proportion’. Sunday Times 14.04.2013
PIE exposé or smear?

How three of the parties most senior figures campaigned for a vile paedophile group now being probed by police for abusing children on an industrial scale (Mail 21.02.2014)

The right to sleep with children was just one of the ‘rights’ NCCL supported. (Telegraph 21.02.2014)

Apologists for paedophilia. As the Mail exposes more links between senior Labour figures and a vile paedophile group one man who was abused as a child asked them: Why won’t you admit you were wrong?
PIE and the Home Office

£70,000 of Home Office funding to PIE as a voluntary organisation in early 80s.

Operation Fernbridge now investigating PIE and Home Office connection is under inquiry.

Geoffrey Dickens MP (died in 1995) submitted two dossiers to the Home Office in the 80s. Both lost. Theresa May has set up an investigation.
The National Group on Sexual Violence against Children and Vulnerable People: April 2013

Home Office response;

Chair Damian Green MP.
Has published a Progress Report and a review of the MASH teams
No membership information available
No minutes available
The media as an ally

The media is an effective way of protecting children. It works. Often it is all we have.

A free press is essential to a democratic society: it is currently under attack. Supportive, brave journalists are frightened to investigate child abuse.

Have to look beyond usual media sources.
Single issue campaigns

Individual cases
Government policy and reviews
Institutional and organised crime/abuse
The global industry: business interests requiring children
Children increasingly unprotected

- Substantial reduction in children protected by statutory protocols since mid 90s, accelerated since 2003
- This does not reflect known prevalence rates (NSPCC 2011) or the vast extent of global industry of child abuse
- The most vulnerable children remain unprotected
- The most powerful and well organised criminals avoid detection, prosecution and conviction
A global crime requires a global protective response

- sexual exploitation
- trafficking
- international adoption trade
- organised, institutional and ritual abuse networks
- online abuse
- trade in abusive images of children
- forced marriage
- sex tourism
- bonded labour/child sex slavery
- illegal organ trade
### England statistics

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical abuse</td>
<td>12300</td>
<td>4400</td>
<td>4700</td>
<td>4690</td>
<td>4670</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>7200</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>2030</td>
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One in four young adults (25.3%) had been severely maltreated during childhood.

One in seven young adults (14.5%) had been severely maltreated by a parent or guardian during childhood.

One in nine young adults (11.5%) had experienced severe physical violence during childhood at the hands of an adult.

One in nine young adults (11.3%) had experienced contact sexual abuse during childhood.

Almost one in 10 young adults (9%) had been severely neglected by parents or guardians during childhood.

Political agendas: From the welfare state to the security state

- Privatisation: Undermining professionalism and deskilling the workforce makes it ripe for privatisation. Narrow down statutory work to a minimum. Deregulation – reduction in protocols.
- Government funding services £448 million to 150,000 multi-disadvantaged/hard to reach families because of the ‘corrosive element’ and preventing social unrest. Families defined as - poor housing, unemployed, poor education, can’t afford food & clothing.
- Population surveillance and control. Extensive insecure databases of information about children and families.
CRAE (2012) *The State of Children’s Rights in Britain*

‘Most children who died from abuse had not had child protection procedures to keep them safe’.
Tim Loughton MP

I am going to rip up the guidance

(Working Together 2010 and Framework of Assessment 2000)

(Community Care Live presentation May 2012)
Again and again conclusions stated non-implementation of child protection procedures

*The procedures were not the problem*
Daniel Pelka, Keanu Williams, Hamzah Khan
Section 47 Children Act 1989

Local Authority duty to investigate when there is reasonable cause to suspect actual or likely significant harm
We know how to protect children - the knowledge base exists.

The language of child protection has been stolen from us.

The systems of child protection have been stolen from us.
Demise of child protection systems since mid 90s: False positives and false negatives. Over and under intervention

- Abolition of child protection register 2008
- Undermining of police and social work joint investigation. Conflation of assessment with child abuse investigation
- A separation of: Social workers assessing child and family need / police investigating crime and also probation working with perpetrators
- Lack of protocols for risk analysis
- Specialist police/social work child protection teams abolished
90s; Source of Tom Watson’s PMQ stated over 8 years in a joint team he took 4000 referrals and achieved 37 convictions of child sex offenders. The team closed down 9 Boarding Schools associated with these investigations.

My team and this team closed down. Files destroyed. He was relocated to work with adults.
Debunking the myths
Victoria - 128 injuries

Where was the analysis of the injuries?
Not in the Inquiry: no forensic approach
Victoria Climbié – child in need NOT defined as child in need of protection
Peter Connolly: family support/strengths approach: no S47
Family support model / child in need but not in need of protection: Climbié and Peter Connolly – assessment not child abuse investigation

- It was my managers and not I who instructed that this was not a child protection case which required a section 47 enquiry but instead a family support case which is more routine general support of a family. I thought I was doing it – no-one told me otherwise. Its what I was taught on my course (Lisa Arthurworrey 2005)

Peter Connolly case: social worker’s response during the criminal trial

- Q: what was your role in the case
- A: I was there to support the family

Haringey response included document, ‘Support offered to family of Child A’ (Peter C). ...parenting classes, provision of appliances, housing support, placement with friend, Signs of Safety approach
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Prevention/Protection: Not an Either/or?</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Family support /prevention defined as an alternative to child protection (Climbié and Connolly cases) (need smoke alarms AND fire-fighters)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• statutory work to be minimised enabled privatisation of prevention services</td>
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<td>• restructuring of service away from protection</td>
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Real prevention would:

- increase child protection referrals – given known incidence of child abuse and how this is not reflected in the numbers of investigations made or convictions obtained
- focus on systems to remove abusers from lives of children
- increase resources to investigate serious crimes against children
Sedgemoor

Venture Capital company ECI bought Sedgemoor in 2005. Sedgemoor was one of the largest providers of residential care for children.

In 2007; 45 children’s homes (caring for 75 children) went into liquidation.

Within 48 hours 15 homes were sold on. Children in the remaining homes had to be found new placements.
Privatising statutory child protection

Suffolk tried to privatise all children’s services. Public outcry.

*Kingston and Richmond from April 2014 have privatised Children’s Services ‘Achieving for Children’*
Reviews: focus of abuse within the family and not the global industry.
Laming ‘The Protection of children in England’ 2009:
Munro ‘Review of child protection – a child centred system’ 2011 (HELPING CHILDREN’ ‘THE CHILD’S JOURNEY’ )
Neither mention key aspects of child protection systems: S47, strategy meetings, child protection conferences, CAITs
Munro Review of child protection 2011

- Focus only on abuse within family – early intervention/help
- Omitted focus on perpetrators and organised crime: CAIT/Probation not mentioned
- Focus on bureaucracy - used to promote downsizing of guidance *Working Together*: practice guidance to be locally written (DfE 2010):
  - Decided against the need for a National Signposting system
  - Omitted child protection procedures, S47, strategy meetings, child protection conferences
  - No mention of children known to be at high risk of harm (eg. disabled children, children in custody, unaccompanied minors)
Revision of Working Together: 700 to 97 pages

- Investigation of organised abuse – gone
- BME issues of child protection - gone
- Targeting abusers/criminals – gone (no mention of CAITs)
- Training - gone
- Protecting children in specific circumstances – gone
- Investigation (S47) merged into Assessment
- Localism: local protocols
- Protect replaced by help / support / concern
Organised abuse

- The definition of organised abuse has been removed.
- The means of investigating organised abuse has been removed.

Other Chapters that have gone

- Chapter 4: Training and development
- Chapters 9 and 10: Lessons from Research
- Chapter 11: Particularly vulnerable children
- **Chapter 12: Managing individuals who pose a risk of harm to children**
WT 2013: Lack of Caveats:

*If to do so is in the child’s best interests*
*If to do so will not place the child at risk of harm*

‘It is the responsibility of the social worker to make clear to children and families how the assessment will be carried out and when they can expect a decision on next steps’ (p24)

‘Response to a referral: the child and family must be informed of the action to be taken’ (p26)

‘Social worker to see the child’ (p36)
There are currently over 30 police operations regarding child sexual abuse across England and Wales. These include historic (non-recent) abuse cases and cases such as Elm Guest House in Barnes.

Yewtree: Numbers of enquiries: hospitals, BBC, police Savile, Savile and others and others.

No national coordination or National Multi-agency team. The people who join the jots are journalists!
Connections

'I have known about Jersey paedophiles for 15 years,' says award-winning journalist Eileen Fairweather 02.03.2008


Baby P’s close relative linked to a big paedophile network. 15.11.2008 Daily Mail
JERSEY  14 x 8 km
Population only 91,000
Haut de la Garenne - Jersey children’s home until 1986. 1000 children lived there between the 50s and 80s. Police investigation found remains of 5 children, over 100 children’s bones and 4 punishment rooms. 169 adult survivors informed homicide (but not child protection) investigation. Political suppression, imprisonment of key supportive politician. Redress Board.
Gorey Bay and castle
Jersey care leavers: 160 stories untold: media provided a voice

UK children sent to Jersey

But

No UK based child protection investigation
The stone bath: police dug into the cellar and found this as survivors had described. (Similar in Whitby re Savile. Similar in other places in London)
The bunker
Jersey Opera House
Police investigator : Lenny Harper:

I can quite clearly say that the investigation is being held up. There are people on the island who just don't want us going down the route of this inquiry"
Stuart Syvret: imprisoned

- voiceforchildren.blogspot.com
- Stuartsyvret.blogspot.com (GOOGLE REMOVED in Feb 2014)
Savile at Haut de la Garenne
NEVRES KEMAL:  *Because we're good people, and we do a very good job, and someone has to do it*

Social worker prevented from investigating case of sexual abuse of 7 young children
She gained a voice in the media but has no work

If they had listened to my concerns and taken measures to rectify them Baby Peter might never have died. I’ve had four years of hell and disbelief, words cannot express what I have been through but it’s all irrelevant – a boy has died.
‘A passion to help improve the lives of children and learners’
Trustee : Paul Blackburn : Glaxo Smith Kline vice president

Phil Frampton - research

Liz Davies: Comment piece:
‘Real experience should have been reflected in Ofsted appointments’
Guardian:12.06.08

Eileen Fairweather in Mail

Link with vaccine contracts to schools

Resignation in 2 weeks.
Financial Times comment re corporate appointments.
MASH: Multi agency safeguarding hubs: Working Together at point of intake. Probation omitted and criminal justice system represented by YOT only. Child Abuse Investigation Teams also omitted whose focus is child victims.
SCANDANAVIA: BARNAHUS: Children’s House
A children’s rights model under one roof: proactive child protection

Iceland 1998, 22 in Sweden, 1 in Denmark, 7 in Norway.
Development in Finland and Greenland
Multi agency child protection system involving police, social workers, health and education professionals, prosecutors and therapists. Focus on justice as well as the protection of children
Children do not have to present in court
The system applies also to children under age 15 who have offended
Barnahus
Västmanland
Survivor accounts


Margaret Humphreys (2011) *Oranges and Sunshine. Empty Cradles*. London. Corgi (now a movie)


http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKsD-VzIZk
Recent links

http://www.rte.ie/player/#!v=1115764
Use of babies in ireland for drugs trials

Child protection , family support‘ policy in the US and consequences


spotlightonabuse.wordpress.com/
Many dvds on this website including ,‘The Secret Life of Paedophiles‘ The Peter Righton story

www.exaronews.com
News website covering current organised abuse issues
Communication with Children and their Families

Responding to need and protection

Liz Davies and Evelyn Kerrigan Lebloch
You took away my freedom
When I was just a child
Then wonder why I’m like I am
From innocence to wild

You took away my sanity
And left me fend alone
You took away my childhood
And left me without a home

Is this what you wanted
Clap your hands you have achieved
Destruction of a young man’s mind
Who never was believed

It’s hard for those who suffered
At the hands of those who hide
Who denounce responsibility
To the police they all have lied

Now we are the ones
Who control your destiny
We’re stronger, older, smarter
You were wrong to damage me
### NAPAC: National Association for People Abused in Childhood

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<tr>
<th>National helpline</th>
<th>Public awareness campaigns</th>
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<td>0800 085 3330 (landlines, 3, EE, Vodafone and Virgin mobile FREE call)</td>
<td>Information and consultation</td>
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<tr>
<td>0808 801 0331 (O2, EE and Vodafone mobile phones FREE call)</td>
<td>Email: <a href="mailto:support@napac.org.uk">support@napac.org.uk</a></td>
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<td><a href="http://www.napac.org.uk">www.napac.org.uk</a></td>
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- 10 am to 9 pm Monday to Thursday
- 10 am to 6 pm Friday
- 10 am-4 pm Saturdays (from 5th April 2014)

Email: support@napac.org.uk
www.napac.org.uk