



Globalization and child protection – towards an analytical framework

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Abstract

This paper reflects upon the impact of globalization on child protection and child welfare issues. It suggests a framework to begin to consider such issues by looking at the inter relationships between the global and the local. The potential development of the framework is highlighted by looking at issues arising from a high profile child protection case in Britain, and the global issue of sex tourism.

Key Words: children, globalization, protection, abuse, welfare

The existence and importance of “globalization” is now commonly referenced – it is referred to daily in the media, and leading European politicians have stressed the importance of the subject (Blair, 2005, Brown, 2005, Cameron, 2006, Chirac, 2003, Merkel, 2006, Verhofstadt, 2001). Whilst there is an increasingly significant literature on social work and international issues, with an increasing focus on globalization (Ahmadi, 2003; Bisman, Hardcastle, Cree, 2000; Drucker, Gray, 2005; Powell & Geoghan, 2004; Webb, 2003, Lyons, 2006) globalization’s interconnections with social work and child protection seem to be relatively less well explored and understood (Casella, 2002, Kiang, 2003) This article seeks to continue to address this latter gap by looking at a framework for understanding child protection in a globalised context. After a brief discussion of globalization, the article suggests an approach towards its interconnections with child protection that incorporates a consideration of local (in this case British) and global issues, using the specific example of the Victoria Climbié case (Laming, 2003) and the general example of sex tourism to highlight the framework.

Globalization

It would seem then that globalization is increasingly impacting on lives, but what is meant by globalization? Over 40 years ago, Marshall McLuhan (McLuhan, 1964) talked about the ‘global village’ that had emerged as a result of the spread of technology. Giddens and others (Giddens, 1998, Giddens, 2000, Giddens et al., 2005) have argued that since then developments have moved apace to our current state of “globalization”, which they define in its simplest terms, as

“the development of social and economic relationships stretching world wide. In current times we are all influenced by organisations and social networks located thousands of miles away... for some purposes we need to regard the world as forming a single social order.” (Giddens et al., 2005)

The international rise of cyber linkages can be seen to be one indicator, another is the – rise of the major multi – national corporations impacting on the relative power and influence of nation states – if they were countries, based on their economic size, the top 30 ‘countries’ in the world would include Walmart, General Motors, ExxonMobil, Shell and BP. Related to this latter, the worldwide influence of market force economics regarding production and consumption is continuing – companies take decisions worldwide that affect local economies which have no control over those decisions. (The Guardian, p. 25, 28.9.2005).

Globalization has also influenced and been shaped by increasing access to a 24 hour, 7 days a week worldwide media, where people across the world are linked into and experience concurrently the same news and media events world.

Whilst there are thus clear indicators of globalization, Giddens’ definition in its simplicity perhaps underestimates its complexities. Pinkerton (2006), drawing on Midgley (2004) has also noted that the different value positions in relation to globalization range from enthusiastic exhortations of its benefits to condemnation of its’ perceived overwhelming disadvantages.

He goes on to argue

“to understand all aspects of contemporary social welfare requires an understanding of the characteristics and processes of change captured in the term globalization... (however) it is best to adopt a cautious and nuanced view of how the concept can help understand welfare in general and care leavers in particular” (Pinkerton, p. 192, 2006).

Pinkerton’s approach regarding globalization and care leavers is equally applicable to globalization and child protection – on the one hand recognising that globalization has major impacts, on the other hand recognising the necessity for a cautious, nuanced approach to analysis and suggestions for action.

The case of the UK – local services for local people?

What then of the possible relationships between globalization and child protection? The UK can be used as an indicative example. The history of “modern” child protection services in the UK can be traced back to the 1601 Poor Law Act, which organised services for ‘deprived’ children based on the unit of the local parish. (Packman, 1980) The legacy of this geographical unit of organisation still remains in the 21st century, where the majority of services to children and their families are based within, and funded through, the local authority or local area. As Hayden et al. have commented

“being geared towards the needs of a predominantly rural society at a time when transport and communication links were poor, there was a certain logic to the implementation of the Act being left to local parishes. It became rather less logical however as society became more industrialised and the inevitable inconsistencies produced by local discretion became more apparent and problematic.” (p. 17, Hayden et al., 1999)

The Poor Law principles of deterrence and less eligibility in relation to services still cast a shadow over many of UK state child protection services, notwithstanding the central government attempt to establish more uniformity over defining the needs of children via policies re-

lated to such measures as the introduction of the Children Acts of 1989 and 2004, the National Service Framework for Children, (DoH, 2004) the Every Child Matters agenda (DfES, 2003). Thus, in relation to many services, in determining the ways in which the needs of the child are defined and may be met, it may seem that, far from being globalization that is the major determinant; there are still strong echoes of past eras. In practice, it may be whether the child lives on one side of a local authority boundary or another that may be crucial in determining the nature of services delivered and received. Indeed, there has recently been a strengthening movement across all the mainstream political parties in the UK to seek to strengthen the power of the local as a means of more effectively achieving the social and economic objectives (Filkin et al., 2002).

However, it is of significance to note that within the United Kingdom, as with elsewhere in Europe, there has been 'regionalisation' leading to difference, in the case of the UK partly through the development of different forms of quasi government, in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Thus, for example, England is organisationally dividing social services departments into children services and adult services, linking the former with educational services within a new structure, whereas Wales is retaining the organisational format of social services departments containing adult and children's services. Throughout all four countries however there is increasing convergence in relation to the underlying pressures to deliver services which are seen to be more 'efficient' if they embrace the iconic principles of 'market forces', 'performance indicators', and 'customer choice.' (Barker, 1995, Nichols et al., 2004).

How does this sit with globalization?

There are three main sets of factors which need to be considered in looking at the relationship between the local and the global and child protection. Firstly, there are regulatory factors that transcend local issues in respect of the area. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child seeks to speak for the needs of children wherever they are in the globe. It thus underlines global principles that should be available for all children, whatever the accident of their place of birth, gender, social class or other structural factor. The European Convention on Human Rights crosses member state's national boundaries, affects counties and children, and also, has an impact on countries who aspire to join the European Union – e.g. Romania's 2007 entry into the EU has been in part conditional on them improving the position of, and services to, the most disadvantaged children in Romania. (Micklewright and Stewart, 2000.) In a different way, the World Bank may also at times apply pressure to intervene in relation to children's rights, although it may also promote a market forces free economic strategy that can have less desirable consequences at times for children in countries being exhorted to improve their 'economic rigour.'

The second set of factors relate to the world wide nature of communications. Thus, the way that children in certain groups may be perceived and acted towards can be influenced by the globalised nature of the news and the media. The perception of Muslim children and young people worldwide has been affected by 9/11 and the subsequent bombings in Madrid and London, and racism towards ethnic minority children generally, (Mirza, 2006) has been affected by the world wide reporting and visibility of such events in a way that would have been different in pre – globalised times.

The third set of factors relate to the movements of people across regional and national boundaries, including children in need, whether they be economic migrants, refugees, accompanied or unaccompanied asylum seekers, or other categories such as illegally trafficked

children. There have always been such movements of people across boundaries, the nature and significance is shaped differently in a globalised world.

Movement of people across national boundaries – the case of the UK

Recent figures (Kyambi, 2005) show that currently approximately 7.5% of British residents were born outside the United Kingdom. There have recently been increases in immigrants from certain countries, often related to war or similar unrest (but also sometimes related to economic aspirations.). Thus, between 1991 and 2001, into the UK, there was a 1000% plus increase in immigrants from Somalia and Afghanistan, and a 100% plus increase in immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone, China, Greece, South America, Turkey and Finland. The key groups of immigrants were:

1. students – up to 300,000 at any one time
2. Asylum seekers – up to 82,000 in the year of greatest number
3. New 'EU' workers from Eastern Europe – approximately 600,000 by 2006 since the enlargement of the European Union on 1st May 2004.
4. Illegal immigrants – number unknown but official estimates suggest may be between 310,000 and 570,000.

The figures also indicated that there was a trend across every area of the UK to have increased proportions of the population from outside the UK, in some areas representing a smaller proportion than in others, with the largest proportion and numbers to be found in the South east of England and the smallest in the North East.

Child protection and globalization

What then are the main areas in which it might be thought globalization would have its greatest impacts on child protection? The range includes

- Internet child pornography, which can only exist as a result of the world wide web – pornography downloaded anywhere in the world can be potentially accessed anywhere else in the world.
- Sex tourism and children would also seem to be a global phenomenon – people (usually men) can travel the globe as individuals or in groups accessing children in those countries in which children are least protected, most available, or most vulnerable, or some or all of the three.
- Child trafficking and child abduction – young children are potentially in a particularly vulnerable position to be trafficked or abducted across boundaries, not least because they are still invariably seen to be the property of the adult they accompany.
- Cross country adoption – this ranges from the known, regulated and legitimate to the unknown, unregulated, quasi abduction which is a form of child abduction and child abuse.
- Health pandemics – most significantly currently being HIV/Aids.
- International child poverty and neglect – which may include direct – as a result of economic disadvantage, or indirect – for example the children orphaned by Aids in Africa and the relationship of this to western drug companies pricing policies on HIV/Aids treatment.
- Child labour, which may be related to international poverty or neglect, but also may be related to market force economics and the desire for market advantage at an enterprise, regional or national level.
- Children displaced through famine or war, the latter of whom may include child soldiers.

- Children who are refugees or asylum seekers – which is also likely to be related to one of more of the above categories.

Think globally, act locally?

One dominant emerging response to the perceived effects of globalization has been to consider, and respond to, the impact of global issues as they impact locally – to think globally and act locally. (Charlton, 2005) In relation to welfare issues, in the UK consideration has been given to the fact that in some countries and cultures female circumcision has been seen to be legal, and/or desirable, and/or necessary. The local response to this global issue in the UK has been to make female circumcision illegal. Inter- country adoption has also been tightly regulated, the fact is that there is a potential demand for children to be adopted in the UK, not a sufficient supply of children in the UK, but a potential supply of children globally. However, local consideration of this global position has led to an increasing regulation of such potential adoptions, rather than leaving the issue to a free market solution.

In adopting approaches like these there is a danger of being either 'naïve multiculturalists' or 'western imperialists'. Naïve multiculturalism can be seen to be when there is a too ready or even eager acceptance that all cultures different practices or performances in relation to children are equally valuable or acceptable and not to be controlled or curtailed because of their 'differences'. Western imperialism is essentially the adoption and implementation of practices in relation to adult child relations loosely based on and legitimised by values centred on white, European/North American, neo Christian free market individualistically orientated values.

Towards a framework of the global and the local

Given that the local and the global do have an impact in relation to children and their welfare, is it possible to begin to develop a framework, for analytical and action purposes, to bring the two together. Obviously, 'Think Globally, Act Locally' moves in the direction of such a framework, but seems too limited and lacking as it seeks to look only unidirectionally in relation to the problem. What then might a framework look like that attempts to encompass more of the two – way interactions of the global and the local in relation to child protection?

Figure 1

Towards a framework for analysing local and global issues and child protection

| | <i>Local</i> | <i>Global</i> |
|---------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Local</i> | Think Locally, Act Locally | Think Locally, Act Globally |
| <i>Global</i> | Think Globally, Act Locally | Think Globally, Act Globally |

Figure 1 shows such a framework, in that it provides four elements of analysis

- Think Locally, Act Locally – what are the local issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the local context?
- Think Locally, Act Globally – what are the local issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the global context?

- Think Globally, Act Locally – what are the global issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the local context?
 - Think Globally, Act Globally – what are the global issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the global context?
- What might such a framework offer in relation to analysis and possible action? To explore this further an individual case and then an area of macro concern will be considered.

The framework and an individual case – Victoria Climbié

A brief look at elements of the Victoria Climbié case begins to illustrate some of the possibilities. Victoria Adjo Climbié was born in the Ivory Coast in 1991. She was the fifth of seven children. She died in London, England in 2000 as a result of horrific abuse caused by her great aunt and her great aunt’s boyfriend.

Victoria had come to the attention of her father’s aunt, Marie- Therese Kouao in 1998. Kouao had lived in France for some years but was at that time in the Ivory Coast for a funeral. She told the Climbié’s that she wished to take a child back to France with her and arrange for their education.

Victoria, the child eventually chosen, was a late substitute for a girl called Anna. This might explain why the ‘daughter’ named on the French passport used by Kouao and Victoria to gain entry into the UK was called ‘Anna’ – also the name by which Victoria was known throughout her life in the UK. During the time she lived in the UK Victoria was seen, for health and welfare reasons, by a wide variety of representatives from different social services departments, health services and hospitals, and the police, but they all failed to intervene appropriately to protect her.

In the inquiry into her death, the Laming report states

“Victoria’s parents’ reasons for allowing her to travel to Europe with Kouao fall outside the Terms of Reference of this Inquiry. It is not a matter I will be dealing with, except to observe that I have seen evidence which shows that entrusting children to relatives living in Europe who can offer financial and educational opportunities unavailable in the Ivory Coast is not uncommon.” (Laming, 2003)

What the framework for child protection being developed in this article suggests is that it is crucial to consider such issues as well as the local issues that the inquiry did investigate.

Figure 2
The Global and the Local Framework and Victoria Climbié

| | Local | Global |
|--------|--|--|
| Local | Think Locally, Act Locally Training for workers re ‘fear of being seen to be racist’ | Think Locally, Act Globally Provide feedback to birth parents abroad re children’s education in UK; demand checks on adults taking children out of host country |
| Global | Think Globally, Act Locally Training for workers re Ivory Coast attitudes to children | Think Globally, Act Globally Lobby for minimum educational provision for all worlds’ children; data base of world’s children? |

- Think Locally, Act Locally – what are the local issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the local context? What service needs are there for local children that can be responded to at a local level? In relation to the Climbie case, these were areas that were to a large extent considered, as local/local issues were central to the inquiry terms of reference.

“But what cannot be ignored is that we live in a culturally diverse society and that safeguards must be in place to ensure that skin colour does not influence either the assessment of need or the quality of services delivered. That is the challenge to us all” (16.3, Laming, 2003)

Whilst the Laming Report recommended improvements in training and interagency working generally, issues to do with the local/local and a globalised world were not addressed directly. Such an analysis would include the need for the focussed training of workers with children so their practice might be appropriately related to the child’s needs having account, not only of their skin colour, but of their different cultural backgrounds and for professionals not to be paralysed into inaction by a ‘fear of being seen to be racist’.

- Think Locally, Act Globally – what are the local issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the global context? Victoria Climbié, rightly or wrongly, was sent by her parents to Europe with a relative to (amongst other things) improve her education chances. They were her birth parents, and as such had an intrinsic right to receive feedback regarding her educational progress within the UK. In fact such feedback, had it happened, would have shown there was no significant educational progress because of the failure of her great aunt to allow Victoria to attend school. Complex and difficult as it might be to organise, there should nevertheless be a responsibility to seek to provide, probably at least annually, feedback on educational progress for those with parental responsibility for a child, even – or perhaps particularly – if they are located outside the country in which their parents are living.
- Think Globally, Act Locally – what are the global issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the local context? In Victoria’s case, what are the specific issues in relation to the Ivory Coast and children living in the UK from the Ivory Coast? What dietary and other day – to – day living habits and preferences might Victoria have had when she left her birth country? How might specialist and general UK child protection services provide culturally appropriate experiences for her?
- Think Globally, Act Globally – what are the global issues in relation to child protection and how can policy and practice respond to and shape them in the global context. Areas and questions that might be considered in relation to this quadrant include how are children who move around a globalised world tracked? Are children seen to be the property of the adults they are with, are their identities de facto ‘owned’ by those adults? The English government’s “Every Child Matters” agenda plans to have in place a national database for children in England (an ‘Information Sharing Index’) by the end of 2008, but in a globalised world do not national databases need to be developed in relation to all children, so a child coming from the Ivory Coast – as Victoria did – is tracked? How are children identified – Victoria was admitted to France and the UK using another child’s passport – and apparently did not resemble the child in the passport. What steps need to be taken to balance children’s rights to be safeguarded with civil liberties?

Moving from the specifics of the Victoria Climbié case, how might this framework be used in analysing more general child protection issues in relation to the current globalised world?

The framework and an area of macro child protection concern – the example sex tourism and children

Responding to ‘sex tourists’ who seek to travel internationally to have sex with children is a major concern for child protection and criminal justice services; a problem that has increased with the increased availability of cheap international travel. Some steps have been taken recently to seek to address this problem – eg in the UK changes in legislation mean that The Sex Offenders (Notice Requirements) (Foreign Travel) Regulations 2001 has led to some welcome regulation of foreign travel by registered sex offenders. What might the framework proposed in this article in relation to the analysis of the area of sex tourism and children offer?

Figure 3
The framework and sex tourism involving children

| | Local | Global |
|--------|--|---|
| Local | Think Locally, Act Locally Publicity campaign in local travel agents against sex tourism, particularly highlighting children | Think Locally, Act Globally UK register of sex offenders to be available to customs and criminal justice agencies internationally |
| Global | Think Globally, Act Locally Require registered sex offenders to notify criminal justice services of all foreign travel | Think Globally, Act Globally Active support of UNESCO and other NGOs seeking to deal with issue |

Think Locally, Act Locally – Publicity campaign in local travel agents against sex tourism, particularly highlighting children.

Obviously, it is likely that only a minority of sex tourists will arrange their “holidays” through travel agents, and it is likely that such a campaign would not dissuade them from traveling. However, it would sensitize non – sex tourists travelling to the same locations eg in Eastern Europe, Asia, to be more aware of what might be happening there. This could be allied to clear advice about who to contact in the country, or in the UK, if they saw suspected ‘sex tourism involving children’ to give the chance for the information to be acted upon. It seems likely that sufficient resources are not currently in place at this time to act in all, or probably most, cases currently, but, making the ‘invisible’ more ‘visible’ is a key step in the process of organizing resources for action.

Think Locally/Act Globally – UK register of sex offenders to be available to customs and criminal justice agencies internationally.

In the UK, as in many European countries, motoring offences such as speeding lead to driving licenses being endorsed so that the nature of the offence and the punishment is recorded on the relevant documents. Thinking locally, acting globally leads to the suggestion that those convicted of being sex offenders should have their passports similarly endorsed. It is probable that only a minority of sex tourists are registered sex offenders. However, some are likely to be, and are likely to take opportunities to offend abroad where surveillance is likely to be less developed. Endorsing their passports might therefore increase their visibility to national and international child protection and criminal justice agencies, thus reducing their opportunities to abuse children under the cover of tourism and ‘legitimate’ (sic) sex tourism.

Think Globally, Act Locally – Require registered sex offenders to notify criminal justice services of all foreign travel

Although their passports are not currently endorsed, the current legislative requirements regarding registered sex offenders in England and Wales demand that they notify the police of their intention to travel abroad if the stay is longer than three days. However, this still means that a traveller, for example, fly from Western to Eastern Europe, abuse children, and return within three days unmonitored. In the case of the UK, the increased availability of cheap flights to Eastern Europe from a host of regional airports has increased this possibility. Thinking globally and acting locally would lead to the need to urgently consider whether or not this 3 day tariff should be replaced so that all foreign travel by registered sex offenders could be notified to, and therefore monitored by, the police and other criminal justice and child protection agencies.

Think Globally, Act Globally – Active support of UNESCO and other NGOs seeking to deal with issue

Active support of UNESCO and other NGOs seeking to deal with issues is clearly one form of global action. To an extent this is already happening, for example in 1996 UNESCO was a driving force behind First World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children held in Stockholm, Sweden. There have also been recent moves to begin to respond to the growing problem of 'sex tourism and children.' (e.g. UNESCO, 2003).

A global/global approach might suggest increasing transnational monitoring and evaluation leading to economic sanctions against countries ignoring these problems, and economic rewards for countries tackling these problems. It is clearly the case that there are substantial economic drivers behind sex tourism (both involving and not involving the abuse of children), and countries seeking to positively prevent it are thus likely to lose out financially and should be rewarded accordingly. A "liberal" approach to this might suggest, for example, that World Bank grants be made available for those countries but not for countries not addressing the problem. However, a more radical argument has been made that the obligations of debt repayment by Asian and other states have led international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank to encourage the development of tourism (including sex tourism) in these countries. (Poulin, 2003).

Thus the extent to which agencies such as the World Bank are part of the problem as well as part of the solution needs to be actively considered and responded to. This is clearly a complex and contentious area, and more work needs to be done on the details and viability of such a process so that if it was to be implemented it would be done in a fair and targeted manner. It remains clear however that a global/global approach to child protection issues and problems is essential.

Advantages of this framework

Given this brief analysis using this framework of a particular case and a more general issue of concern, what are the advantages and disadvantages of this approach?

There are a number of advantages in using this framework to think about children's' welfare issues in the 21st century context.

The framework takes on board the issue of local experiences and services within a globalised context. As such, it can be used to consider and responds to our own personal and professional experiences of living local lives in a globalised world, and of living globalised lives in a local world. It allows for the analysis and consideration of local and global issues, and of their interplay. The framework moves towards allowing the incorporation and consideration of a wide range of complex factors. This incorporation and analysis may point the way towards ways of thinking about, and responding to child protection problems that are more creative, more effective, or 'fit' better with current circumstances. It may be that thinking about the relationships between the local and the global will also allow for the development of more proactive policies to deal with child protection issues.

Disadvantages of the framework

There are a number of disadvantages to, and criticisms of, the current framework. Fundamentally, there is the question of whether this framework, or any similar framework, is necessary? There are those who suggest that globalization is not occurring as much as it might seem. They argue that the world is less interdependent than e.g. the 1890s, when the European empires dominated world trade. Thus it may be that industrialisation is more important than globalization. Related to this are the arguments that regionalisation is more significant than globalization – that trade tends to be within Europe, within Asia, or within the Americas – although these arguments predate the rise of the Indian and Chinese economies on the world stage.

Some critics of globalization theories argue that it underestimates the extent to which national governments can, and do, defend their national interests. Others suggest that the Global South is being increasingly marginalised and excluded from the 'single social order'. In general then some critics of globalization argue that there is regionalisation and internationalisation but not globalization. Within the concept of globalization, the potential of 'global convergence' is implied, which would have implications for child protection in that global convergence implies a reduction in diversity. There is little evidence that this is occurring at a fundamental level, nevertheless this does not invalidate the impact of globalization within a diverse and divided world.

If further analysis and development leads to a position in which internationalisation and regionalisation are seen to be more significant than globalization in respect of child protection, then modification of the framework would be appropriate.

Another criticism of this framework might be that it is Eurocentric. It is specifically written from a western European standpoint, and to counter this it is important to seek to develop other analyses of the local and the global where the local is not western European. The "Western" perspective, which to an extent is enshrined in the UNCRC is of children as individual, autonomous beings bearing 'rights' – which is not necessarily a universal vision of children. Developing a framework for understanding the local and the global where the 'local' is not a post industrial capitalist country is necessary, but is a future task that rightly should be undertaken by or with writers on child protection from other areas of the world than western Europe or the USA.

The framework is however a framework, not the 'real world', the four cells it develops will not be of equal size in relation to each issue or problem analysed, even though for the purposes of the framework the four 'cells' appear the same size – some issues will be more significant at a purely local or global level than other.

The consequences of action based on this analysis may seem harder to tackle for some issues than for others – it is likely that ‘global issues’ may be harder to tackle than ‘local issues’, but, this may be an issue partly to do with size and power, not simply to do with ‘localness’ or ‘globalness.’

The framework as currently developed to an extent casts children (and issues) as being relatively homogenous categories – further development is necessary to take account of, and understand, issues to do with for example race, gender, social class, sexuality, disability and other structural factors as they intervene with local/global children’s problems at the four levels outlined.

Conclusion

In relation to social work and welfare and child protection, it is important to find a way that moves beyond naive multiculturalism and old fashioned western imperialism. A ‘one size fits all’ analysis of child protection problems is redundant in the post modern globalised world context. However, such a context feels overwhelmingly complex, and there is a danger of feeling overwhelmed and helpless by some of the global issues that confront child protection. It may be that many issues can be dealt with on a ‘think locally, act locally’ level, but many that cannot and should not be, because to do so masks and denies the global dimension and the impacts of globalization.

It is possible that using a framework analysis such as this will point towards the need for developing different, or changing current, mechanisms and processes to respond to child protection needs. This framework thus provides a beginning mechanism for moving towards thinking about, understanding, and responding to some of the complexities that we need to respond to in providing protective services with for children in the 21st century context.

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