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A Digest of Current Social Information

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ASSISTED DYING

During May the political earthquake wrought by UKIP has somewhat overshadowed social concerns, but there is much below on which to reflect. I will be taking a break for June to deal with other more homely things. But I make an exception to comment on the AGM of Dignity in Dying on 3 June. My views on this subject are well known, but the pressure for change is growing, and the presentation of Lord Falconer's Bill is imminent. I can understand the dilemma of medical professionals who may regard their inability to keep us alive as failure. But I simply cannot understand the virulent opposition of the churches and some disabled activists. It's as though they want to set up an Association for the Prolongation of Suffering. One classic comment came from the floor: that in calling the organisation Dignity in Dying we have got hold of the wrong end of the stick. What we are about is the eradication of indignity in dying.

SEXPECTATIONS

I was intrigued by a BBC3 programme *Tyger takes on porn* (15 May). Tyger Drew-Honey took a serious look at what pornography is doing to young people: specifically how hardcore porn is affecting relationships. He didn't say so, but pornography may be a significant factor in the latest, and sad, statistics of the proportion of UK marriages ending in divorce: estimated at 42 per cent (ONS, December 2012). Drew-Honey dwelt mainly on the effect of explicit pornography on young males, who are in danger of becoming addicted to extreme material, and of unrealistically expecting partners to match up to the physical attributes and exploits of porn performers, even coming to prefer porn (and masturbation) to consensual mating. [And (though again he didn't say so) of leaving love and intellectual companionship out of the equation.] All this is relatively familiar. What was more revelatory was a contribution from a somewhat older woman as to what women needed from men. I will not go into details, save to say that she focused on the size, vigour, and endurance typically demonstrated by porn studs. On that basis, I fear that a high proportion of men will be found wanting, and leave many women unfulfilled: hence, perhaps, adultery and the divorce rate!

QUEUEING

"An Englishman, even if he is alone, forms an orderly queue of one."

George Mikes 'How to be an alien' (1946)

Towards the end of 1989, Ann and I, on holiday, visited the Monastery of Montserrat, 40 km north-west of Barcelona. 'Caro mio ben'



was playing when we joined a queue, reckoning that it must lead to something of special interest. We progressed in single file for close on an hour, eventually discovering a statue of the virgin of Montserrat with the infant Christ, carrying an orange sphere in her right hand,; an object of veneration famous across the religious world, but until then unknown to us. It was at once our longest queue with the most surprising ending. Serendipity!

POLITICALLY INCORRECT

Sticks and stones,
I've heard it said,
May break my bones,
But words will never hurt me.

Yet now you must eschew
What you think is true,
And watch your Ps and Qs
Lest what you say offends me.

INFANT MORTALITY

The Institute of Health Metrics and Evaluation, based in Seattle, reports that 4.9 children in every thousand born in the UK die before the age of five. This rate is greater than any other western European country except Malta, and double that of the European country with the lowest rate, Iceland. It is suggested that poverty and deprivation in the UK, together with cuts in welfare, are directly linked to the deaths of the youngest children.

(The Guardian)

BRITISH LIBRARY NEWSROOM

This new facility, which opened in April, replaces the Colindale newspaper library. It allows members to access microfilm and digitised newspapers, as well as a wide range of broadcast news collections. I used it on 15 May, and having ordered microfilm in advance found it remarkably easy and unfussy. On top of having a disproportionate share of the nation's wealth, Londoners are privileged to have this superb resource, free of charge.

TOM DOWLING

In my last *Briefing* I told Tom's story. Happily the account from *All Together Now!* has been picked up by The Independent on Sunday's 'Happy List' of people who have made life better for others.

DISABILITY RIGHTS HANDBOOK

The 39th edition of this book is now available. Given the extent of changes to social security benefits it is a crucial guide to claimants' rights. It costs £17 if you are claiming benefits; £32.50 otherwise. For a further £5 Disability Rights UK will send you bi-monthly updates through 2014-15. (www.disabilityrightsuk.org).

PEOPLE ARE THE SOLUTION

Hilary Cottam

Public services work best when they tap into our collective humanity. These are the kinds of public services which leave room for relationships to grow between workers and end users; they understand and relate to the power of social networks in communities, and see people for what they can give rather than as needs to be met or tasks on a list. We call this approach relational welfare, as it's the embodiment of what we think the 21st century welfare state should be.

At Participle we have spent time on the frontline of social care and see the scale of the challenge. Working directly with frontline workers and service users, we also acknowledge their humanity and potential. This is why we start all our work within the community, working alongside front line workers and community members.

Towards the end of his life, Sir William Beveridge, the architect of Britain's welfare state, decided he had made a mistake in the design of his 1950s institutions: he had missed and limited the power of the citizen: this is Participle's starting point and the place where our ideas start to grow. We look at some of the biggest challenges of our time from the perspective of the front room couch, the bar, the market stall and we use this perspective to consider how we might design 21st century solutions.

Crucially, we then bring those ideas to life, testing or prototyping our solutions so we can provide proof they work. Our working exemplars are not intended to be standalone or silver bullets for society's problems. But we do hold them to rigorous standards of social impact measurement, so when we see the chance for them to be adopted more widely, there's evidence they are fit for purpose.

Hilary is the Chief Executive and founder of Participle, an organisation working to create new types of public services and seeking a redefinition of the welfare state. You can connect with her online at relationalwelfare.com and [@HilaryCottam](https://twitter.com/HilaryCottam). (Article received from Department for Health).

A ROUND-UP OF MAGAZINES AND OTHER MEDIA

Able, May/June 2014: This issue themes on outdoor pursuits, but also reports something that I missed from April, when Jayson and Jacqueline Carmichael secured a victory at the High Court in a case they brought against the 'bedroom tax'. Because Mrs Carmichael's condition precluded her from sharing a bedroom, the judge ruled that the appellant was entitled to two bedrooms and that the 14 per cent under-occupancy reduction of housing benefit should not apply. [Whether this ruling will impact more widely on this unpopular measure remains to be seen.]

It also notices that Mike Penning, Minister for Disabled People, has described facilities for disabled fans at football grounds as "woefully inadequate". He has written to all professional clubs, pointing out their legal obligations.

Able goes on to report an interview with Maddy Kirkman, recently elected as the National Union of Students' new officer for disabled students. Ms Kirkman is outspoken in criticising the financial cuts that are being made in response to the financial crisis, arguing that "there's absolutely no logic to hitting disabled people so hard". She reiterates some of the points she had made in the hustings: that disabled people's rights aren't threatened, they're being openly attacked – in government, in media, in academic institutions - and called for a strong response.

Able also has a most welcome digest of news and gossip, and a profile of Disability Rights UK. Perhaps the revolution is alive and well.

The Bulletin (British Polio Fellowship, May/June 2014) carries an article about Rica. This research charity has been around for a long time, but it is good to be reminded that it specialises in consumer research and the provision of product information for older people and disabled people. Its own sophisticated research techniques are supplemented by consumer panels, and its information is accredited to the highest standards.

This issue also reports that the Money Advice Service has developed five website videos to help claimants understand Universal Credit (www.moneyadvice.service.org.uk).

Campaign (Dignity in Dying, issue 2, 2014): The cartoon on the cover carries a powerful message: that, as things stand, politicians, doctors and clerics are dictating *their* choice over our right to choose our own demise. As promised, the organisation's AGM, which was held on Tuesday, 11.30 pm, 3 June at the Queen Elizabeth Conference Centre, provided an opportunity to catch up on what steps are being taken in an attempt to change the law on assisted dying. Prue Leith explained why she supports the campaign; others spoke on the Assisted Dying Bill and the next steps; inter-faith leaders and healthcare professionals aired their views; and a panel of medical, legal and policy experts offered guidance on how to make choices now about treatment and care at the end of life. Attendance is not restricted to members. Current issues are thoroughly explored in this edition of the magazine.

A supplementary pamphlet gives "another four reasons to change the law": a quartet of personal stories.

CILIP Update, May 2014: This issue reports an open letter from author Michael Rosen to Sajid Javid, the new Culture Secretary. Rosen pulls no punches, questioning what qualifications Javid will bring to the job. He points to the importance of acknowledging and supporting small-scale cultural activities, and argues that

cultural services are bearing a disproportionate share of financial cuts. He bemoans the slashing of public services and the cutting of waged and unwaged people's standard of living, while further enriching the mega-rich.

The Guardian

1 May: The Office for National Statistics reveals that the number of workers on zero-hours contracts has almost tripled, to 1.4 million, since last year's estimate. There has been a steady rise since 2008. Such contracts provide no guaranteed minimum hours or pay. Alongside these figures a report by the National Institute of Economic & Social Research shows that wages overall have fallen by about 8 per cent since 2008, with the highest losses suffered by young workers.

2 May: James Meikle reports that Macmillan Cancer Support has condemned UK governments for "lagging behind western European countries and others on cancer survival rates". It also contrasts the divergence of where people with cancer want to die (with the right support) and where they actually die. Only one per cent would wish to die in hospital, but in practice 38 per cent do die there.

Polly Toynbee, on great form, notices that David Cameron is "steaming ahead" with a promise to raise the inheritance tax threshold to £1m. This panders to a popular view that the tax is anyway unfair, prompting a great many avoidance strategies. She finds it odd that while the government's "overpowering ethic" is for hard work, the gifting of unearned lump sums to children who may be lazy drones, thus stoking inequality, is seen as a virtue. Her alternative is simple: to abolish inheritance tax altogether; instead to treat whatever gifts and bequests people receive as part of their ordinary taxed income.

3 May: Sarah Boseley expands on the Seattle statistics on infant mortality noticed above, by picking up on a further report by the Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health and the National Children's Bureau. This argues that the avoidable deaths of thousands of children under the age of five is a scandal, and puts the blame squarely on "the inequalities in our society which leave many families in poverty and deprivation".

Boseley's piece is reinforced by Larry Elliott's review of Thomas Piketty's 577-page *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, which is currently flying off the shelves. This hammers home the view that "the wealthy are getting wealthier while everybody else is struggling", widening inequality "to the point where it becomes unsustainable – both politically and economically". Piketty advocates a graduated wealth tax and an 80 per cent tax rate on the highest salaries. The Guardian adds a contribution by enumerating wealth distribution; and it is surely no accident that an advertisement for diamond bridal sets reduced from £2,250 to £1,250 appears on the same page. In the same issue Piketty himself contends that EU institutions no longer work and that a radical new financial and democratic settlement is needed.

You are unlikely to have missed the fact that a fraud trial was abandoned because defence barristers could not be found willing to accept fees cut by 30 per cent by the Ministry of Justice. Sean Larkin QC is reported as telling the court that there are other cases, similar if not identical, which will be stayed if circumstances do not change, a situation which would have consequences on public confidence in the criminal justice system.

6 May: Rowena Mason analyses the reality of employment statistics, with evidence that it is planned for jobseekers to face losing benefits for three months or more if they refuse jobs on zero hour contracts. As noticed on 1 May, recent ONS figures reveal that already the number of such contracts has reached 1.4 million, and Tom Clark shows that in many parts of Britain a surge in self-employment (seen by one economist as "the last refuge of the desperate") is masking a fall in the number of traditional employee jobs.

7 May: Zoe Williams adds fuel to the criticism of the increasing use of sanctions against jobseekers, not least for refusing a zero hours contract, a form of employment in which all too often the employer's convenience comes at the price of their employees' dignity. A system "in which poverty can be actively enforced by brutal employers on the powerless staff".

8 May: The letters page focuses on public antagonism to the government's policy of privatising public services. Suzanne Keene comments on a perception of "general disillusionment with politics and politicians, when we have this travesty of democracy".

9 May: A survey on behalf of Tablets for Schools finds that almost half of all 14-15 year-olds admit to feeling addicted to the internet, with more than 75 per cent taking a web-enabled laptop, phone or tablet to bed at night.

12 May: The charity Combat Stress reports a surge of mental illness among troops who served in Iraq and Afghanistan. [Presumably all wars have caused depression and post traumatic stress. Thankfully we now show greater concern, and troops are prepared to seek help, but armed combat on behalf of governments is surely best avoided. I had my say in *Briefing*, no.19, March 2010)].

Rowena Mason reports that the Local Government Association has warned that the closure of public services is likely to intensify over the next two years, with a further £20bn worth of savings to be found as local authorities struggle to balance their books. [I say again, wouldn't it be preferable to increase taxation on those who can afford it].

The conciliation service Acas points out that those workers on zero-hours contracts are often afraid to look for other jobs, and lack the sense of security enjoyed by full-time employees.

A leading article outlines the dangers of the 'debt trap', with families being driven to rely on high interest lenders.

Letters focus on 'fake' self-employment allegedly being used to bolster the number of people in work.

15 May: A report from the Royal College of Physicians indicates significant failings in end of life care in many hospitals, with a lack of emotional support for relatives.

Claims that, in 18 to 20 per cent of cases, prescribed statins have resulted in adverse side effects have been retracted. These cholesterol-reducing drugs are commonly prescribed to people at low risk of heart attacks and strokes. [On 31 May, it was reported that The Medicines and Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency has declared that the benefits of taking statins outweigh the risks.]

16 May: Figures released by the Office for National Statistics show entrenched regional inequality, with 10 per cent of UK households owning 44 per cent of total wealth. A graphic shows the divide between rich and poor.

20 May: Polly Toynbee notices that the government's privatisation programme revolution is accelerating at breakneck speed, driven by ideology, and despite failures. She worries that the prime minister is handing public services to firms that could become beyond control. Most citizens scarcely notice. Only the Public Accounts Committee seems to notice.

Harriet Swain is concerned that from September 2015 it is planned to restrict grants to disabled students to help with extra costs of study to those with specific learning difficulties, if their needs are deemed 'complex': cuts that could exclude many disabled students from a university education.

21 May: My 'We Hate' on social networking was to some extent tongue in cheek, but increasingly voices are warning that the impact of social media can be pernicious. Madeleine Bunting carefully picks her way through the possibility that technology may be a factor explaining a crisis in our children's mental health evidenced by a steep rise in self-harming. She argues that the web has "made our homes into market-places where we are expected to trade ourselves. What social media grooms in us is a desire, and an ability, to sell ourselves: our wonderful lives and friends, our fascinating thoughts. The currency is not monetary but status."

Erin Mee points out that the 'bedroom-tax' legislation is unspecific and open to interpretation, and can be successfully challenged. [The rejection of a legal challenge by Paul and Susan Rutherford (31 May) suggests that the regulations are imperfect. But isn't there a sense that arguments over specifics diminish the case that the whole direction of the measure is harsh and unrealistic?]

24 May: Patrick Wintour and Patrick Butler report that Universal Credit has been "reset" by the Major Projects Authority, and contend that this means that it has had to be so reorganised as to be judged an entirely new project. Rachel Reeves, shadow Work and Pensions Secretary, argues that "the chaotic introduction of Universal Credit has led to millions of taxpayer money being wasted", and that fewer than

6,000 people have so far been covered by the delayed programme. The DWP still takes a contrary view, saying that resetting is no more than a shift in the delivery plan and change in management. “Universal Credit is already making work pay as we roll it out in a careful, controlled way.” [Could they possibly mean slowly, behind schedule, and an abject failure?]

26 May: A programme set up in the wake of the Winterbourne View scandal looked to provide people with learning disabilities with “personalised care and support in appropriate community settings” no later than 1 June 2014. But as at the end of March only 182 out of a projected 2,615 had moved. Norman Lamb, Minister for Care and Support, accepted that the programme had proved an abject failure.

Tom Clark (not the MP) challenges the mantra that work pays, demonstrating that too much work in modern Britain provides neither security nor prosperity.

28 May: Mark Tran reports that the number of adult care complaints received by the local government ombudsman has increased by 130 per cent since 2009.

An edited extract from Mary O’Hara’s new book, *Austerity Bites: a Journey to the Sharp End of Cuts in the UK*, makes the case against the government’s austerity agenda and its selective targeting against the poor.

29 May: G2 features an article by Suzanne Moore on how to fix politics. It is illustrated with a collage of Clegg, Miliband and Cameron with the comment “What a bunch”. She advances 12 suggestions as to how they might do better. [On the Clegg debate I agree with Matthew, but this should not obscure the fact that the Conservatives have been largely responsible for the Coalition’s direction of travel.]

30 May: Remarkably, it is reported that, for the first time, in computing the value of the UK economy the ONS is taking account of the huge contribution made by sex workers and drug dealers.

Somewhat outside my usual range of comment is a report that the Chilcot inquiry will not publish the full text of letters between Tony Blair and George Bush in the run up to the attack on Iraq, but will restrict itself to their “gist”. [Now gist is what I do. It is supposed to convey the substance of an argument, but, of course, may fail to do so. Understandably, there are claims of a “whitewash”, and that only the full text will do. But what if, for example, (I hypothesise) the full text contains insulting remarks about Islam that are not really relevant to the decision to go to war and would be offensive by those of the Muslim faith?]

A Labour Party spokesperson will say that Labour cannot afford to undo the coalition’s cuts [if elected] and must expect to be unpopular. [But this is defeatist talk. Some of the most savage cuts must surely be redressed: better to court unpopularity by increasing taxation.]

31 May: Commenting on Thomas Piketty’s *Capital in the 21st Century*, David Graeber argues that capitalism does not contain an inherent tendency to civilise itself. “Left to its own devices, it can be expected to create rates of return on investment so much higher than overall rates of economic growth that the only possible result will be to transfer more and more wealth into the hands of a hereditary elite of investors, to the comparative impoverishment of everybody else.” And that, as things stand, they have a free hand to do so.

Inspire (Arthritis Care, anticipating Summer 2014) tackles the management of pain, with contact details of relevant organisations. Last year the magazine won the award for best stakeholder publication at the Institute of Internal Communication Central Awards.

Liberty 80, Spring 2014, carries an article reminding us of the work of the Holocaust Commission, set up by the Prime Minister to investigate whether more needs to be done to maintain the relevance of its historical impact for future generations. I had just started work when the allied forces entered the Nazi death camps, and do not need reminding of the scale and horror of what they found. But Liberty wants to ensure that the lessons from the Holocaust remain at the forefront of education and social consciousness, and to stress that some of those lessons are already enshrined in our Human Rights Act. To that end, the magazine includes a postage-paid postcard to the Commission urging the Prime Minister to reflect on his party’s promise to repeal the Act. When you receive this Briefing the Commission will have closed, but you can

nevertheless be firm in your resolve to support the preservation of this seminal legislation as part of a fitting memorial to the continuing struggle against discrimination and persecution.

NB (RNIB, May/June 2014) reports that, under a new law, the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act, irresponsible owners whose dogs attack guide dogs face up to three years in prison.

Neil Coyle, RNIB's parliamentary manager, reports that blind and partially sighted people are increasingly being failed by assessment processes and therefore are no longer qualifying for care or support services. Combined with an analysis that suggests a £2bn shortfall in care service funding, things could be about to get worse. RNIB research suggests that unless eligibility rules and assessment process are reformed, no blind or partially sighted people will qualify for help within a decade. Coyle reckons that proposals to fund integrated health and social care from other NHS services could be a case of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul'.

RoadPeace newsletter, Spring 2014, begins with an example to challenge the perception that causing death by careless driving can be seen as a mistake or even an accident. The wife of the victim certainly doesn't think so. RoadPeace asks everyone who cares to improve the judicial response to road death and injury to write to their MP urging him/ her to join the new All Party Parliamentary Group for Justice on our Roads. For a sample letter go to www.roadpeace.org/campaigns/take_action/. The APPG, to be launched on 4 June, will be chaired by the Green Party's Jenny Jones (now Baroness Jones of Moulsecoomb), a longstanding friend and supporter of RoadPeace.

Congratulations are extended to RoadPeace's chair, Cynthia Barlow, who has been awarded an OBE for services to road safety. Cynthia dedicated her life to campaigning to reduce road danger after her only daughter was killed suddenly and violently in a road crash fourteen years ago.

WE HATE NO.76: PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL CARE

"Care is no cure, but rather corrosive, for things that are not to be remedied."

William Shakespeare: Henry VI, part 1, Act III, sc.3

This is largely personal. I do not imply that all professional care is uncaring, abusive or badly managed, though any or all of these misfortunes is possible. Some people may find care congenial or at least tolerable as a means to perpetuate life. Many will think that anyway there may be no alternative when people can no longer care for themselves or cannot live safely alone.

Nevertheless, on a purely objective basis, there are palpable grounds for concern as BBC Panorama's latest exposure of alleged scandalous maltreatment at two more care homes is broadcast. HC-One, which runs 227 homes across the UK, is planning to offer CCTV cameras in residents' rooms as a guard against abuse, neglect and theft. It is an area fraught with jeopardy, for 'care' is frequently and necessarily highly personal, intrusive and intimate, whether in a care home or a person's own dwelling. In particular, dealing with incontinence, or the stress of moving an immobile patient, are things that few would want captured on camera.

It is an area notoriously difficult to regulate, for abuse of vulnerable people, or simply second-rate care, largely takes place behind closed doors. The cases so far brought to light have relied on secret filming, whistleblowers and, in one instance, an undercover reporter gaining employment as a care worker. In the infamous revelations of misconduct at Winterbourne View, in Hambrook, South Gloucestershire, screened by BBC Panorama in May 2011, the Care Quality Commission (CQC) was heavily criticised for ignoring attempts by whistleblowers to reveal the abuse that was happening, accepting that its own internal review "demonstrated very clearly where our systems needed to be stronger", another way of admitting that they had been weak. Similarly, Orchid View, a care home located in Copthorne, West Sussex, which closed down in 2012, was said in a 2013 inquest to have been riddled with "institutionalised abuse". The home was said to have been "mismanaged and understaffed". Neglect, the coroner found, had contributed to five of 19 deaths at the home. Nevertheless, the CQC had given the home a "good" rating a year earlier. It looked good, but evidently the reality was something else. Most recently, Panorama has screened an exposé of two further homes. At Oban House, South Croydon, secret filming by a resident's family in 2012 showed disturbing scenes of serious neglect and rough treatment. 321 desperate calls by an old lady wanting to go to the toilet were ignored. When a care worker eventually turned up, the unfortunate woman, by now in distress, was told "just do it in the pad". But on 1 August 2012 inspectors had been "able to observe that people's experience of the service was a positive one". Only on 21 May 2013 did the inspectors encounter "constant

feedback” of a feeling that “there were not enough staff to meet people’s needs in a timely manner”. Several people then “complained that they had to wait a long time for help when they rang their call bells”. But the latest CQC report, following an inspection on 2 November 2013, shows “all standards being met” for “respecting and involving people who use services” and “care and welfare of people who use services”. *The Radio Times* commented that the Panorama programme revealed that unacceptably low levels of care can far too easily remain undetected by official inspectors.

More dramatic and pervasive was Panorama’s report on The Old Deanery Care Village, Braintree, Essex. This home, set in beautiful gardens and looking splendid (costing £700 a week), appears not to have been all it was cracked up to be. Alex Lee, an undercover reporter, was able to see what the inspectors did not see: shocking examples of abuse, poor care, mocking, goading and lack of respect, often hard to watch. Yet CQC inspectors had visited the home in November 2013 and given it a clean bill of health.

I do not say any of this to attack the regulator; rather to highlight how difficult official inspection can be, even when unannounced. And this specific exposure is almost certainly only part of a greater malaise, probably extending into care in people’s own homes. After Winterbourne, CQC carried out an extra 150 inspection of similar services and found that almost half didn’t meet national standards and needed to improve the care they provide”. The regulator’s latest figures show that 1,260 homes have been given warning notices and that nearly a third do not meet standards.

How does this come about? Well, I do not discount the ‘bad apple’ excuse. Compassionate care requires compassionate carers and not everyone is compassionate. Many people in care would rather not be there and some, particularly those whose problems are aggravated by dementia (no longer rare), can be aggressive and demanding. Carers not eligible for sainthood can be provoked and become hostile, especially if overstretched. The need for care is growing, imposing more and more pressure on care workers. But there is another fundamental flaw in the present system and that is economic. Panorama pointed out that the care sector represents an expanding business opportunity, attracting private investment companies. It was said that handsome profits can accrue, bringing the temptation to cut costs, pay as little as possible, and impose penalties for ‘speaking out’. High skills are needed, but the rewards are not commensurate. High standards add to the debit side of the budget, unwelcome alike to the owners, those who pay for their care, not least local authorities.

But my own hatred of the way things have sometimes become is rooted in a deeper concern: a personal perception as seeing ‘care’, even care to a high standard, as a fate worse than death, not acceptable beyond the point at which life loses its vital quality or purpose. I would like an opt-out escape route. Ann felt the same way. Her advance directive said “I wish it to be understood that I fear degeneration and indignity far more than I fear death.” Perhaps it is time to accept the implications of this voluntary sentiment.

Derek Kinrade