

PREM 19/783

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2-6-82							
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26-7-82							
28-7-82							
12-8-82							
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14-7-81							
1-10-82							
11-10-82							
12-10-82							
25-10-82							
Part 1 Ends							

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ART 1 ends:-

PPRS to Home office 29/10

PART 2 begins:-

FM FP 82/1 1/11

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CABINET OFFICE
Central Policy Review Staff

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Home Office,
50 Queen Anne's Gate,
London, SW1

29 October 1982

Jean David,

Family Policy Group

In my letter to you of 14 October, I said that I would aim to let you have a draft of our paper for the next meeting of the Family Policy Group in time for you to let us have comments.

Since that date, we have had meetings with most of the Departments directly concerned and also with the No. 10 Policy Unit. We have agreed with Mr Mount that he should produce a paper explaining the background to the Group, its objectives and how it is intended it should operate (i.e. its relationship to the existing structure of Cabinet Office committees). We agreed to produce a draft programme of work.

Our contribution is enclosed. As you will see, we have organised all the items in the summary list of proposals circulated to members of the Group under cover of Gerry Spence's letter of 30 September into seven priority themes and propose that each should form the basis of at least one meeting of the Group. We have drawn up also a list of "reserve" themes which we suggest might be pursued outside the Group by the Ministers concerned and perhaps discussed by the Group in a second series of meetings to be held in Autumn 1983.

Our list of themes is at Annex 1. Appendices A-H outline the scope of each and suggest issues for further work and who might take the lead in doing it. The Appendices are based principally on the suggestions put forward by members of the Group at earlier meetings and in their papers circulated to those meetings and incorporate nearly all the proposals contained in our earlier summary list. (To help you to see how each item on the list has been handled, I enclose also a copy of the list "marked up" to show what has happened to each item. I think you may find this useful for briefing purposes).

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I have agreed with No. 10 that our paper should be circulated by them on Wednesday, and, to that end, I have undertaken to let them have copies by 5 p.m. on Tuesday. We must therefore have the comments of "link persons" by close of business on Monday at the latest.

In my letter to you of 14 October, I mentioned the possibility of a meeting of "link persons" to discuss our draft programme of work and other, more general issues. There is clearly too little time to organise such a meeting before next Tuesday. But, if "link persons" would find it useful, I am inclined to arrange one for the middle of November; i.e. once the Group has approved our programme of work and we are faced with the task of preparing the papers implied by it.

I am sending copies of this letter and the enclosed material to the other "link persons" as on the list attached.

*Yours ever,
G. J. Wasserman*

(G J WASSERMAN)

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Departmental "LINK PERSONS"

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HM Treasury 1 Parliament Street, London, SW1P 3AG	E P Kemp	233 3016
Department of the Environment, 2 Marsham Street, London, SW1P 3EB	Mrs M McDonald	212 8219
Department of Industry, Room 378, Ashdown House, 123 Victoria Street, London, SW1E 6RB	M J Michell	212 6896
Department of Transport, Room N9/17, 2 Marsham Street, London, SW1P 3EB	P Wood	212 4895
Department of Health and Social Security, Alexander Fleming House, Elephant & Castle, London, SE1 6BY	T E Nodder, CB (Health)	(2915 7337 (Fed. 2153
	M J A Partridge.. (Social Security)	(2915 6905 (Fed.2160
Department of Employment, Caxton House, Tothill Street, SW1H 9NF	G A Brand	213 4419
No. 10 Policy Unit 10 Downing Street, London, SW1	F Mount	233 2580
CPRS Cabinet Office, 70 Whitehall, London, SW1A 2AS	G J Wasserman	233 7217
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FPG(82) 2

November 1982

COPY NO

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

PROPOSALS FOR A PROGRAMME OF WORK

Note by the Central Policy Review Staff

1. The aims and objectives of the Family Policy Group are described in the paper circulated by Mr Mount (FPG(82) 1). This note makes proposals for a programme of work designed to enable the Group to achieve these objectives.
2. At the end of the meeting of the Group held on 10 September, the Prime Minister asked the CPRS to go through the list of papers which had been submitted for the meeting and to propose a comprehensive list of proposals for action. The list was circulated to members of the Group on 30 September under cover of a letter from the Private Secretary to the Head of the CPRS. The Prime Minister subsequently asked the CPRS to draw up a draft programme of work for the Group based on the list but focussing on a more limited number of issues.
3. After consulting the Departments concerned, the CPRS has consolidated the wide range of proposals and issues in the summary list circulated on 30 September into a number of themes. We suggest that seven of these merit priority treatment and recommend that they should be discussed at a series of meetings to be held between now and next summer. We have identified also a "reserve" list of themes which we believe should be followed up separately by the Ministers concerned and perhaps discussed in a second series of meetings to be held in the autumn. In selecting priorities we have taken account of the views of the Group as

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expressed at its earlier meetings and in subsequent correspondence and also of our discussions with Departments. The list of priority and "reserve" themes is at Annex 1. Each priority theme is described in terms of the main issues it raises at Appendices A-G; the other themes are described more briefly at Appendix H.

- (1) Does the Group agree that it should concentrate initially on the priority themes listed at Annex 1?

4. Appendices A-H outline the scope of each theme and suggests the particular aspects of each which might be the subject of papers for the Group. Suggestions are also made as to which member of the Group might be asked to take the lead in preparing these papers.

[Mention here any particular points from the Annexes which should be drawn to the attention of the Group.]

- (2) Does the Group agree that Appendices A-H offer an acceptable basis for commencing work on each theme (subject to discussion of the details between CPRS, No. 10 Policy Unit and the Departments concerned?)

Cabinet Office

November 1982.

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PROPOSED PROGRAMME OF WORK

A. Priority Themes for Discussion before August 1983

Theme

Personal Taxation and Benefits - discussion of taxation of husband and wife	(Appendix A)
The Elderly	(Appendix B)
Personal Taxation and Benefits - other aspects	(Appendix A)
Individualism and the Economic Sphere	(Appendix C)
Children and Schools	(Appendix D)
Meeting Social Needs through Voluntary Action	(Appendix E)
Face of Government	(Appendix F)
Professionals and the Individual	(Appendix G)

In addition, some meetings may consider specific items of current interest proposed by members of the Group as well as progress reports on action commissioned at earlier meetings.

B. "Reserve" themes

It is proposed that the following themes might be followed up by the Ministers directly concerned and perhaps discussed by the Group in a second series of meetings to be held in Autumn 1983. Each is described briefly in Appendix H.

Reducing Crime through Community Action

Housing

Racial Equality of Opportunity.

PERSONAL TAXATION AND BENEFITS

The aim of all the issues collected under this theme is to identify changes in the system of personal taxation and benefits which would (a) help families with children, and (b) encourage individuals and families to be more self reliant.

The Group may wish to begin its work on this theme with a discussion on the Treasury's proposals for the taxation of husband and wife. A separate discussion might cover family support for the elderly (see Appendix B). These meetings can be followed early in 1983 by a meeting devoted to the rest of the issues outlined below. On that occasion, it might also be possible, depending on timing, to look at the recommendation of the forthcoming report from the CST Committee on [] .

IssuesPapers from(a) Supporting families with children

- i. how to correct the tax bias which induces married women to go out to work
- ii. can we - consistently with i. - give those who do work an incentive to arrange adequate child care?
- iii. how to make the tax/benefit systems more orientated towards families. Possible options include improved child benefit or a new second tier means-tested benefit. The factors to be

GH

GH

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Issues

Papers from

considered include the effect on work incentives for both bread winners and spouses. Inter alia, these papers could consider the possibility of special help for widows with families to bring up

GH, NF, FM

(b) Self reliance

- i. how to encourage families - in the widest sense - to reassume responsibilities taken on by the state e.g. responsibility for the disabled (and elderly - see Appendix B). family members - the correspondence suggests a general preference for achieving this via tax inducements rather than reintroduction of a household means test. Another group is unemployed 16 year olds.

NF with GH

- ii. do present policies for supporting single parents strike the right balance between ensuring adequate child support and preventing poverty; and encouraging responsible and self-reliant behaviour by parents? (While not highlighted in the previous correspondence, single parents are one of the fastest growing groups of dependents on the state.)

NF

NF

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THE ELDERLY

1. How can the elderly be helped, particularly by their families, to live full and happy lives in the community with minimum dependence upon the state? Will the sharp increase in the over-75 population during the next 20 years lead to greater demands for state-provided institutional care? Or could community and family-based forms of help take the strain?

Issues

2. The Group might examine the scope for helping the elderly and their families in each of the following 4 areas and then consider the balance between them:

i. Fiscal help (paper from NF)

Should social security benefits or tax allowances be adjusted so as to reward families who look after elderly relatives? How many families not now looking after their elderly relatives might be motivated to do so by this means?

ii. Services (paper from NF)

The elderly are supported in the community by a wide range of services, supplied by local authority social service departments, by voluntary organisations and by the private sector. Is the balance of services right? In particular should more be done

assist families to care for elderly relatives (eg community nurses, home help) and to give families a break from their caring responsibilities (eg day care, temporary accommodation for an elderly relative while the family takes a holiday)?

iii. Housing (paper from MH)

The most desirable housing situation, from the point of view of enabling families to support their elderly relatives in the ways they would both wish, varies from family to family (eg living in same home, a 'granny flat' extension, living nearby but not together). What can be done to help families achieve their desired situation (eg by means of grants for home alterations, more flexible use of the public housing stock)? Also what can be done to support in the community the elderly who do not have families (eg by special forms of housing, including sheltered housing provided by the public sector, by housing associations and by private developers)? Much is already being done in these areas but some obstacles may remain (eg private developers and housing authorities may be reluctant to provide special forms of housing that will be difficult to let or sell in the future, private developers may encounter difficulties in gaining planning permission, elderly people may be anxious about moving from their existing home, however unsuitable it is, and may be confused about the full range of options open to them). Can such obstacles be removed?

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iv. Community (papers from NF, MH, KJ?)

What can be done to encourage the elderly to play an active part in the life of the community to the benefit of both (eg adopt-a-granny schemes)? What can be done to encourage individuals other than family to help elderly people (eg good neighbour campaigns)?

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INDIVIDUALISM IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

The earlier correspondence covered a wide range of proposals designed to encourage individuals to take more responsibility for securing their own jobs and incomes.

Several of the issues have been frequently discussed in other contexts e.g. MISC 14. An FPG session in early 1983 might cover most of the topics listed below under three main headings. Pensions ((c)ii below) could be discussed at a later meeting following completion of a recently commissioned CPRS study.

Issues

Papers from

(a) Responsible behaviour among employees

Union matters are being dealt with outside FPG, while work incentives are included for discussion with tax and benefits issues (Appendix A). This leaves

- i. incentives for profit-sharing and other means of encouraging involvement of individual employees

PJ

- ii. encourage public sector organisations to create shorter and clearer lines of command for management

FM

(b) Encouraging self employment and small business

Tax and other measures to help new, small and family businesses are kept under continuous review. FPG might like to focus on:

NT, GH

Issues

Papers from

- i. how to make it easier for the unemployed to start
businesses and co-operatives

NT, GH

- ii. how to encourage a culture more conducive to business,
risk taking and wealth creation. In relation to
young people's education, this could include teaching
business skills and providing work experience with
small traders

PJ, KJ

(c) Savings and pensions

The banks are already doing a lot to encourage the
"unbanked" to bank and to encourage young people to save.

FPG might concentrate on:

- i. whether incentives for personal saving can be improved
e.g. by removing tax bias against unearned income

GH

- ii. better disclosure of accounts of pension funds to
encourage member involvement in their management;
enable individuals to have more responsibility
for their own pensions

CPRS

CHILDREN AND SCHOOLS

This theme is concerned with examining ways of encouraging the development of children, the country's major resource of the future, into self-reliant, responsible, enterprising and fulfilled adults. An FPG meeting in the spring might be preceded by a preliminary discussion of the Secretary of State for Education's paper on preparation for parenthood and of early evidence on the influences on children. For these discussions work might be commissioned on the topics listed below:

Issues

Papers by

(a) Influences on children

A survey of the existing literature to serve as a backcloth to action-oriented work. Objectives of the study:

CPRS with contributions from Depts. with specialist knowledge.

- Identify characteristics of behaviour and attitude which Government might legitimately hope to see adults possess or conversely avoid. Examples could include ability to run one's own life, regard for property and people, tolerance of different social and racial groups, expectations of life, attitudes to work

- Identify major influences on children, e.g. parents, schools and teachers, peers, the media.

- Assess correlation between influences in childhood and characteristics in later life.

- (b) Schools: preparation for the modern world
- i. Increasing parental choice
 - education voucher systems make parental choice of maintained schools more effective and facilitate setting up of schools by parents KJ
 - more parental involvement in schools, e.g. parent governors. KJ

 - ii. Gearing curriculum to modern needs
 - preparing for work by securing higher standards in literacy, numeracy, reasoning ability and understanding of basic values of society. KJ
 - preparation at school (and elsewhere) of child for marriage and parenthood. KJ, NF

 - iii. Maintaining discipline and authority to secure (i) and (ii) above.
 - classroom management including staff college training of head teachers, education officers and others KJ
 - giving head teachers powers to enable them to strengthen their authority, e.g. power to dismiss teachers and to have teachers only on short term contracts. This subject is linked to delegation of power in the work place. KJ

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- truancy - examination of causes, correlation with delinquency and vandalism and cures. The subject straddles this and law and order theme. KJ, WW

In the light of the studies above the FPG might consider how schools can be adapted to strengthen the links between the school and the family and to foster self-reliance in the modern world at work and at home.

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MEETING SOCIAL NEEDS THROUGH VOLUNTARY ACTION

One of the clearest signs of a society in which individuals are prepared and able to take care of themselves and their families is the existence of a vigorous voluntary sector. The Group might therefore devote a meeting to considering how best to encourage voluntary effort to meet social needs, either as a complement to the services provided by the State, or as an alternative to them. Among the issues which would need to be examined are the following:

<u>Issues</u>	<u>Papers by</u>
What is the scope for, and implications of, a major extension of voluntary effort aimed at meeting social needs? Should this increase in voluntary activity and charitable contributions be aimed primarily at supplementing state-provided services or at offering an alternative to them? How much further can the voluntary sector grow on the basis of unpaid volunteers?	WW
Would voluntary financial contributions be significantly increased if new ways were introduced of dealing with them in the tax system e.g. by making charitable donations deductible for tax purposes, by repealing the provisions under which close company covenants are apportioned among the participants or if employers were encouraged to deduct charitable contributions at source? Has experience in other countries anything to teach us in this context? Does the existing legislation on charities constrain the growth of new forms of voluntary action, e.g. community enterprises?	GH

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Issues

Papers by

How can the close involvement of the private business sector in the well being of the local community be further encouraged? Is enough being done by shared cost schemes, local campaigns and initiatives to encourage enterprise, community service and environmental improvement? Who should take the lead on this?

Can we open schools and other recreation facilities (and other appropriate public facilities) outside school hours as a resource for sport, play etc?

KJ

Can more use be made of surrogate families, e.g. "homeline", "homestart" and other voluntary schemes?

NF

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THE FACE OF GOVERNMENT

The aim is to ensure that when government comes into direct contact with the citizen it does so in ways which encourage mutual respect and diminish people's sense of alienation.

No matter how much it may be possible to reduce the role of the state in people's lives, there will always be a number of functions performed by government which involve a direct contact with the citizen. There are two levels of concern. First, when developing and reviewing policies, governments should ensure that an individual's sense of personal responsibility is not stifled. This is the general theme of the group's work. Secondly, the arrangements for implementing policies should operate simply but sensitively, avoiding overbearing or complex bureaucracies which destroy self-respect. We propose that the CPRS, with substantial help from the MPO and Departments which directly serve the public, should undertake work in this second area.

The proposed study would have three elements.

a. There have been several recent initiatives to improve the face of government (eg improved practices, such as giving reasons for decisions, development of decentralised management, analysis of complaints, staff training to improve standards of service).

A trawl of recent initiatives would be conducted to:

- identify those which have been most successful in particular contexts, and those not worth pursuing;
- identify general lessons which can be learnt and ways in which information about them may be disseminated around departments quickly and with maximum impact. A particular aim would be to achieve a better appreciation of where administrative discretion is useful and where it should be replaced by rules.

b. Secondly, the study would identify areas where we need to know more, such as the comparative efficiency and effectiveness of different ways of redressing grievances and avoiding complaints.

c. Thirdly, the study would aim to propose methods of increasing awareness, both among policy makers and in those who deliver policies on the front line, of the impact that government can have on individuals' lives.

The work will concentrate on services provided to the public by central government although the lessons could be of wider relevance. The aim will be to draw upon and synthesize relevant experience from, in particular, the social security, unemployment benefit and income tax systems and the employment and training and immigration services.

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APPENDIX G

PROFESSIONALS AND THE INDIVIDUAL

[Description of the CPRS study of the implications for individual responsibility of the increasing role which professionals appear to be playing in society - to be circulated separately.]

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The following three themes identified from the earlier papers of the Group are proposed as possible subjects for discussion in a second series of meetings beginning in Autumn 1983:

(A) REDUCING CRIME TO STRENGTHEN THE SENSE OF COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

Insofar as strengthening self-respect and individual responsibility is likely to contribute towards a reduction in vandalism, juvenile delinquency and other forms of crime, the work of the Group described in the other Annexes may be said to be concerned also with law and order. If, however, the Group wishes to take a more direct interest in this issue, we suggest that it might most usefully do so by considering first the report of the inter-departmental group of officials established by the Home Secretary to consider how Departments outside the criminal justice field could help to reduce crime. This report is likely to be available early in the new year. The same meeting might consider the paper which this official group has commissioned on the relationships between crime and social factors such as unemployment, including the evidence produced recently by Professor Michael Rutter.

The discussion on children and schools (Appendix D) will provide an opportunity to consider whether, notwithstanding the provisions of the Criminal Justice Bill, there is more scope for making parents responsible for some of the anti-social behaviour of their children and how to extend community work for certain offenders and how to expand intermediate treatment.

(B) HOUSING

People's control over, and responsibility for their home and their housing environment, plays a central part in their lives. By enacting the right to buy and the Tenants' Charter for public sector tenants, and by encouraging low cost home ownership, the Government have already made major advances in this area.

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The Group might examine ways of increasing the proportion of council tenants who take up their right to buy. The No. 10 Policy Unit has put proposals about this to the Secretary of State for the Environment. The results of an examination of these could be reported to the Group.

In addition the Group could consider how to increase further the responsibility of the remaining council tenants for their own homes and estates.

(C) RACIAL EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

The Group may wish to consider at some stage whether a special effort should be made to strengthen the sense of self-respect, confidence and hence individual responsibility of members of the ethnic minority communities, by, for example, making the communities aware of the possibilities open to them, publicising the success of those among them who have made good. As background against which to consider the need for such an initiative, the Group may wish to commission a review of such matters as:

- how the ethnic minorities have fared over the past decade in education, employment, housing, etc.
- the success of the present legislation and institutional arrangements at tackling racial discrimination and at securing genuine equality of opportunity.
- how far the present institutional arrangements in this field, most of which were introduced primarily to settle immigrants are appropriate for dealing with the problems faced by a largely British-born ethnic minority community.

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FAMILY POLICY GROUP
SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

*Annotated to show how
Items are covered in revised CPRS proposed
work programme, FPG(82)2. See KEY at end.*

The following is a summary of the proposals for action put forward by members of the Family Policy Group in the papers submitted for consideration by the Group at its meeting on 10 September and/or at that meeting. Proposals labelled 'A' are those which stem directly from the work of the Group; proposals labelled 'B' are those which have been or will be pursued independently of it either interdepartmentally or within particular Departments.

NOTE: The initials after each proposal refer to its origin, as follows: GH = Chancellor of the Exchequer; KJ = Secretary of State for Education and Science; MH = Secretary of State for the Environment; PJ = Secretary of State for Industry; DH = Secretary of State for Transport; NF = Secretary of State for Social Services; NT = Secretary of State for Employment; TR = Minister of State, Home Office (Mr Raison); JS = Head of the CPRS (Mr Sparrow); FM = Mr Mount (No. 10 Policy Unit); CPRS = Memorandum by CPRS dated 9 September. '10/9' indicates proposals which emerged at the meeting of the Group on 10 September.

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
1. <u>CHILDREN, THEIR FAMILIES AND THEIR SCHOOLS</u>			
1.1 <u>Taxation/benefits and care of children</u>			
1.1.1. Encourage mothers to stay at home (DH, NT) by at least removing fiscal discrimination against them (GH, JS).	Tsy/Revenue	A 1	GH hopes to circulate to E in October a paper on the Government's response to the Green Paper on Husband and Wife. To the extent that this paper, and the discussion, does not cover all the particular suggestions noted in Section 1.1 they will be pursued separately.
1.1.2. Make tax/benefit system more oriented towards the family (DH, PJ), e.g. by more generous child benefit, more permanent help for widows responsible for households or in other ways (10/9).	Tsy/DHSS	A 1	
1.2.3. Notwithstanding 1.1.1., consider incentives for adequate child care for working parents through tax/benefit system (JS).	Tsy/Revenue/ DHSS	A 1	
1.2. <u>Parental rights and responsibilities</u>			
1.2.1. Encourage more parental involvement in schools (e.g. through parent governors and in other ways), pre-school playgroups, holiday activities (KJ, NF, FM).	DES/DHSS	B 4	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(S)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>Parental rights and responsibilities (Cont'd.)</u>			
1.2.2. Introduce education voucher system (KJ, GH, FM), thereby facilitating the setting up by parents of their own schools.	DES + DOE, Tsy	4	See also 2.6. Proposals to be produced shortly by KJ.
1.3. <u>Training Children</u>			
1.3.1. Bring together facts about influences on children - including parents, peer group, television, schools, etc. - to assess relative importance and implications for policy (CPRS).	CPRS	4	
1.3.2. Make curriculum more geared to industrial needs; in particular, give more encouragement to 3 Rs, logic and civics (KJ, FM, JS) and informational and other advanced technology (GH).	DES (CPRS)	4	
1.3.3. Provide preparation for marriage and parenthood (to parallel preparation for work) in schools, etc. (NF, JS).	DES/DHSS	4	KJ to consider the need for a meeting.
1.3.4. Consolidate and extend use of surrogate families, e.g. "homeline", "homestart", other voluntary schemes. (NF).	DHSS	5	
1.4. <u>Authority within schools</u>			
1.4.1. Enhance training of teachers to include classroom management, staff college training for heads, etc. (KJ, FM, JS).	DES	4	
1.4.2. Seek ways to tackle truancy early (GH)	DES +	4	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>Authority within schools (Cont'd.)</u>			
1.4.3. Encourage schools with "clear moral base", e.g. parochial schools (GH).	DES	X	(but could be outcome of 1.2.2)
1.4.4. Increase the authority of head teachers; e.g. give them the power to dismiss bad teachers. Consider hiring teachers on five year contracts only (KJ).	DES	X 4	Links with delegation of power in the workplace (6.1.3.)
1.5. <u>Schools in the community</u>			
1.5.1. Open up and make more use of schools and their recreation facilities outside school hours (e.g. to help deter vandalism and occupy "latch key" kids) (MH, TR, FM). // To this end, reduce restrictive powers of employees in schools, especially caretakers (KJ, 10/9).	DES	X 5 4	
2. <u>RESTORING RESPONSIBILITY AND CHOICE TO THE INDIVIDUAL</u>			
2.1. <u>The role of the professional</u>			
2.1.1. Examine the extent to which professionals, such as social workers, teachers, doctors, architects tend to undermine individual responsibility (CPRS). Need to return to the individual consumer the power to make his own choices (10/9).	CPRS	17	
2.2. <u>The face of Government</u>			
2.2.1. Examine ways to ensure that individual's contact with state bureaucracies does not erode responsibility and self respect, e.g. through training, regulations for staff and decentralisation (CPRS).	CPRS + DHSS	16	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
2.3. <u>Encourage private provision of social needs</u>			
2.3.1. Encourage voluntary contributions to both state and voluntarily provided services aimed at meeting social needs (GH, TR), e.g. by permitting PAYE deductions for charitable purposes.	HO/Tsy/ Revenue	/ 5	
2.3.2. Encourage close involvement of private business sector in local community e.g. by shared cost schemes, local campaigns and initiatives to encourage enterprise, community service and environmental improvement (GH).	DOI/DOE	/ 5	
2.3.3. Limit social security and social services to those in real need (JS).	DHSS/Tsy	/ X	(Some aspects covered in 1)
2.4. <u>Housing</u>			
2.4.1. Extend home ownership, including low cost measures, e.g. right to buy, homesteading (MH, et al).	DOE	/ Y	See also 6.2.2.
2.4.2. Make public sector management more locally based and consider tenant's rights to involvement (MH, CPRS, FM et al).	DOE	/ Y	
2.5. <u>Saving and financial responsibility</u>			
2.5.1. Pensions: better disclosure of accounts of pension funds to facilitate member involvement in their management (GH); enable individuals to have more responsibility for own pensions (JS).	CPRS/DHSS/ Tsy	/ 3	
2.5.2. Improve incentives for personal saving: [encourage "unbanked" to bank (GH); remove tax bias against unearned income (DH); encourage banks and schools to look for further ways to promote savings; DNS role; train people to manage their money better (GH, FM).]	Tsy/Revenue	/ 3	(square bracketed items: X)

4

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
2.6. <u>Other measures for increasing individual choice</u>			
2.6.1. There are a number of studies in hand aimed at increasing individual choice, e.g. the voucher system for education, student loans.	DES, Tsy, DHSS	✓X	Work already in hand on all the issues. (For vouchers See 1.2.2)
2.6.2. More contracting out and privatisation of parts of the public sector.	Tsy and other relevant Depts.	✓X	
2.6.3. Plainer rights for more private enterprise and competition in bus services; and for more flexible and varied forms of transport.	DTP	✓X	
3. <u>CARING FOR THE ELDERLY</u>			
3.1.1. Examine scope for reducing a range of disincentives facing people who might wish to look after elderly relatives - housing, fiscal, material (CPRS).	CPRS/DHSS/ DOE/Tsy/ Revenue	✓2	
3.1.2. Adjust tax and benefit allowances to see if families looking after their elderly might be better rewarded (NT, JS, 10/9).	DHSS/Revenue	✓2 (also 1)	Meeting (10/9) commissioned paper from DHSS to bring forward proposals for action.
3.1.3. Give more emphasis and encouragement to community based services; e.g. counselling, day, short-term and night care, "adopt-a-granny" scheme etc. (NF).	DHSS	✓2	
4. <u>LAW AND ORDER</u>			
4.1. <u>Preventing Crime</u>			
4.1.1. Make parents responsible for some of the anti-social behaviour of their children (GH, TR).	HO	✓Y	To be considered in the light of the enactment of the Criminal Justice Bill which makes provisions to this effect.

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>Preventing Crime (Cont'd.)</u>			
4.1.2. Consider whether benefit payment arrangements (fortnightly payment; inflexibility) encourage crime (TR).	DHSS/HO/ Tsy	✓ X	DHSS/HO are in touch about this matter.
4.1.3. Bring together evidence by Prof. Rutter and others on the relationship between crime and social factors, e.g. unemployment. (10/9).	HO	✓ Y	Already in hand in the inter-departmental group under Sir B Cubbon.
4.1.4. Consider the possibility of further voluntary action to combat vandalism. (JS).	HO	✓ X	As for 4.1.3.
4.2. <u>The Police</u>			
4.2.1. Strengthen respect for police, through better training, vigorous pursuit of alleged corruption. (JS).	HO	✓ X	
4.2.2. Consider case for "direct entry" recruitment to senior officer rank. (JS).	HO	✓ X	
4.3. <u>Dealing with Offenders</u>			
4.3.1. Extend community work for certain offenders (FM, GH); expand Intermediate Treatment (NF).	HO/DHSS	✓ Y	
4.4. <u>The 'moral' environment</u>			
4.4.1. Consider desirability of more active Government role in dealing with pornography, sex shops, violence on television and in the press. (JS).	HO	✓ X (but aspects will arise in 4)	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
5. <u>EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY</u>			
5.1.1. Publicise success stories of immigrants who have made good: Government encouragement of immigrant behaviour in accordance with philosophy of self-reliance, e.g. Asian corner shops (10/9).	HO	X Y	
5.1.2. Consider the case for a review of the effectiveness of the CRE and EOC in promoting equality of opportunity. (JS).	HO	X Y	Report back on case for review.
6. <u>WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT</u>			
6.1. <u>Responsibility at work</u>			
6.1.1. Encourage employee involvement through provision of information by management (DH, GH, CPRS).	DE	X 3	Waddington Group examining these subjects.
6.1.2. Encourage profit sharing (GH, JS, PJ).	Tsy/DE	X 3	
6.1.3. Entrepreneurship: "Buy-outs" (KJ); wide share ownership to reduce institutional advantages (money makers); encourage in tax field new and small businesses (GH, PJ); keep under review the impact of tax - CTT, CGT, CT and Stamp Duty - on family firms (PJ).	DOI/Tsy/ Revenue	X X (mentioned in 3, see 6.2.2)	MacGregor Group looking at small firms. Each of these items is kept under continuing review.
6.1.4. Delegation of management responsibility down the line e.g. more power to head teachers, heads of DHSS offices, local plants, etc. (FM, GH, CPRS).	Tsy/Relevant Depts.	X 3	See also 1.4.4. Pilot studies by DHSS are underway.
6.1.5. Union reform e.g. secret ballots, unrestricted right to participation in elections at all levels (GH).	DE/CPRS	X X (mentioned in 3)	DE will shortly be putting proposals to E.
6.1.6. Change the culture so that business, risk taking and wealth creation are more acceptable. (GH, PJ, NT).	DI	X 3	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
6.2. <u>Unemployment</u>			
6.2.1. [Remove hindrances to employment e.g.] provide better work incentives (NT), lower tax at lower end (10/9) [abolish wages councils, reduce regulatory burdens on small firms (NT)]	Tsy/Revenue DE, DI		<i>✓</i> <i>1 re incentives, otherwise X (see 3)</i> To be pursued in context of CPR unemployment report. Future of Wages Councils to go to E shortly.
6.2.2. Encourage self help [and self respect] among the unemployed e.g. help to start businesses, co-operatives (GH) [adult education, voluntary work, homesteading (CPRS)]	DE/Tsy		<i>✓ 3</i> To be pursued in context of CPRS unemployment report. <i>(square bracketed items X)</i>
6.2.3. Focus on problems of unemployed family men e.g. arrange intermittent work (CPRS).	DE/Tsy		<i>✓ X</i> To be pursued in context of CPRS unemployment report.

KEY TO REVISED STATUS OF FPG ITEMS

- 1 = Included in theme 1 - Personal Taxation and Benefits (Appendix A of FPG(82) 2)
- 2 = Included in theme 2 - The Elderly (Appendix B)
- 3 = Included in theme 3 - Individualism in the Economic Sphere (Appendix C)
- 4 = Included in theme 4 - Children and Schools (Appendix D)
- 5 = Included in theme 5 - Meeting Social Needs through Voluntary Action (Appendix E)
- 6 = Included in theme 6 - Face of Government (Appendix F)
- 7 = Included in theme 7 - Professionals and the Individual (Appendix G)
- Y = Included on "reserve" list (Appendix H)
- X = Not included in revised programme



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

cc HUTT
 DUE
 DHSS MS/HO
 DES CPRS Home Affairs
 DOTR CO
 D/ETUP
 DOI
 Chairman
 25 October 1982

tlc

The Family Policy Group

As the Prime Minister will be entertaining King Hassan of Morocco to talks and lunch on Monday 8 November the Family Policy Group meeting will now commence at 1500 and will last for approximately two hours.

I am copying this letter to Donna Young (H.M. Treasury), Suzanne Raper (Department of the Environment), Colin Phillips (Department of Health and Social Security), Kathy Roberts (Department of Education and Science), Chris Edwards (Department of Transport), Marie Fahey (Department of Employment), Andrew Coop (Department of Industry), Shirley Oxenbury (Chairman's Office), Sarah Kippax (Mr. Raison's Office), Eleanor Goodison (Mr. Sparrow's Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

CAROLINE STEPHENS

Miss Janice Fairbain,
Home Office.

52.

CONFIDENTIAL

D

cc 50 2

Pse copy
paper
to hard PS
H

PRIME MINISTER

Prime Minister:

Sir Keith is an important but sensitive ground: Mr Mount will wish to comment on the handling of his paper. You have, for example, already agreed that the next meeting of the Group should concentrate on a programme of action. H

MS 1

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

...

As mentioned in the summary of proposals for action circulated after the meeting on 10 September, I have prepared a paper on the subject of preparation for parenthood asking ourselves first whether something could be done and secondly, if so, whether the Government should try directly or indirectly to do it or to see that it is done.

22/10

2 You may wish to have this put on the agenda for one of the meetings of the Group.

3 I am sending copies of this to members of the Group.

19

22 October 1982

CONFIDENTIAL

PREPARATION FOR PARENTHOOD

1 Parents have a duty to provide a consistent framework of care and discipline for their children; but they sometimes fail to fulfil this duty. And the bad upbringing that results from such failure is, if not the only, at least a major cause of poor education and crime. For the broad question posed in this paper I am not distinguishing between having more children than can possibly be managed or unwanted children on the one hand and, on the other, learning how to be good parents to a small number of wanted children; nor am I meticulously involving fathers as well as mothers in the drafting as would be necessary in any policy proposals.

2 Of course there will always be irresponsible parents. But in recent years there seems to have been a sharply rising trend. Earlier generations assumed that education would solve the problems of upbringing. We have had no evidence that this is so. We have to ask ourselves whether potential parents could be helped towards "good-enough" parenting (to use the phrase of Mia Kellmer-Pringle).

3 In approaching this question there are two general points to be made:

- i Most people do provide "good-enough" parenting if not better: they equip themselves with the relevant knowledge from their own parents and from books, magazines and advice.
- ii Inasmuch as personal responsibility has been eroded by a shift of housing, health, education and welfare provision excessively to the state, we are trying to shift the balance - and this should be part of our answer.

4 It is probably true, however, that a proportion of young people do not equip themselves to be "good-enough" as parents: the young concerned tend to be the least mature from the least good homes. They embark upon parenthood casually. Many of the girls concerned do not have the awareness of the burdens and responsibilities of motherhood. In many cases they have had only a bad example at home. Indeed in some cases they see pregnancy as a means of escape - not realising the strains of bringing up children even in good conditions, let alone in poor. The research that mercifully

shows that "the cycle of deprivation" is not inescapable also shows that a bad upbringing all too often is part of "cycles of disadvantage". Many, in other words, escape from bad parenting and become themselves "good-enough" parents, but many do not.

5 Could anything be done? By hypothesis most of those who provide bad parenting tend to be the least self-disciplined and with short time-horizons. Those girls who are at most risk will tend neither to restrain themselves nor to insist on or use contraceptives nor to have sufficient grip even to consider abortion in sufficient time. Can their attitudes be changed? Can they be brought to realise the real implications of maternity - the burdens as well as the joys? Can they be brought to realise the needs of a child from the start for love and discipline?

- a Can schools do the job? The most vulnerable young people will tend to be the least attentive in class and it will be difficult to find teachers to handle effectively so difficult a subject in relation to so difficult pupils. Moreover, the ambience is far from ideal for the few pupils who are or are about to become parents and a bit distant and meaningless for most of the majority who are not.
- b Can a specialised health and welfare staff do the teaching? I remember from DHSS days that some local authorities/health authorities - Southampton was one - claimed success in lowering the birth rate in areas with large vulnerable populations by effective visiting. Perhaps we could enquire into the current position.
- c What of television? Antony Jay is eager with commercial or charitable money to make television films but he says that they will not be likely to reach or persuade the most vulnerable young people.

6 One possibility - delicate and fraught with risks - would be to try to use, in connection with pregnancy, the approach used in connection with cigarette smoking - that is fear. It was I who for better or worse at DHSS approved the making by the Health Education Committee of four short films to scare young people off smoking. They were widely noticed. Some of the

most vulnerable may have been influenced because the films used hedonistic and short time-horizon arguments. We could therefore explore whether short scare films, suggesting that maternity is marvellous when the parents concerned are ready for it, might be practicable.

7 It is also worth asking how existing parents can most effectively be helped to recognise their responsibilities as parents. Some local education authorities have performed pioneering work in setting up parent support or "outreach" programmes as a means of transforming hostile or negative parental attitudes. Coventry, for example, has appointed suitable teachers as "education visitors" to bring parents of young children into contact with their local schools and to encourage them to help their children, for example by emphasising the importance of their talking and reading to their children. Such "outreach" programmes can serve both to improve parents' relationships with their children and to influence their attitudes to the upbringing of any further children they may have. It would be possible, by speeches, pamphlets etc, to seek to spread examples of good practice.

8 But the overriding question remains. Even if something could be done, should Government try directly or indirectly to do it or to see that it is done? If colleagues decide in favour of trying I would be glad to put to colleagues particularly concerned - the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Social Services as well as the Secretaries of State for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland - a paper for consideration.

Robin Butler

Mr. Flesher

Pl. arrange

FERG

13.10

THE FAMILY -
(Ferdie Mount's paper)

1. Janet Young is Chairman of our Party Policy Group on The Family.
2. She would like to be a member of ~~the~~ separate Group, under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, which is considering Ferdie Mount's paper.
3. I had a word with the Prime Minister about this this morning. She has agreed that Janet should be on the Prime Minister's group as well.
4. Could Janet please, therefore, be invited to future meetings; and be supplied with all relevant papers?

12.10.82



IAN GOW

TIM

1. THANK YOU SO MUCH.
2. I HAVE SPOKE TO THE PRIME MINISTER
3. THE PRIME MINISTER AGREES THAT THE
LOAD PRINT SEAL SHOULD BE
ADDED. Tim. 13/10/1982.

MR GOW

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

You asked about the background to the Family Policy Group and its current membership. The Group was founded in July following a minute by Ferdy Mount to the Prime Minister on renewing the values of society. Ministers invited were those principally concerned with the proposals in Mr Mount's minute; subsequently, however, there has been a development in the direction of personal rather than departmental membership. The original group of members was:-

Chancellor of the Exchequer
Secretaries of State for:-
Education and Science
Environment
Transport
Social Services
Employment

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster is a member (for obvious reasons) and Timothy Raison who substituted for the Home Secretary at the first meeting has become a member in his own right. Following the first meeting the Secretary of State for Industry was added since many of the proposals which emerged from the meeting for encouraging personal responsibility were in his field.

There is no hard and fast rule about membership of the Group although it is now becoming rather large. The next meeting is scheduled for 8 November when the Group will consider a CPRS summary of the proposals made so far in order to identify the three or four most likely to bear fruit.

Tim Raison.

11 October, 1982

PRIME MINISTER

Family Policy Group

You will have seen the summary list of proposals produced by the Family Policy Group prepared by the CPRS. Obviously that list is far too extensive to constitute either an agenda for the next meeting of the Group or a programme of work for the Group. Ferdie Mount and the CPRS propose therefore to produce between them the draft of a realistic programme of work to serve as the agenda for the next meeting. This seems sensible to me. Do you agree?

Yes



*The answer is
not*

12 October 1982

MFJ

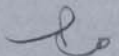
12 October 1982

Thank you for your letter of 11 October about the agenda for the Family Policy Group. The Prime Minister agrees with the Home Secretary that the Group should not discuss the question of direct entry to senior officer rank in the police. I understand that Mr. Sparrow is content to follow up his interest in police matters in the way suggested by the Home Secretary.

I am sending copies of this letter to Gerry Spence (CPRS) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

TIM FLESHER

Colin Walters Esq
Home Office



SV
FM 1



HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

11 October 1982

Dear Sir

Yes

Prime Minister:

You have seen X.

Do you agree that this item should be removed from the agenda; it is in any event peripheral?

JF 11/10

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

The Home Secretary has now seen our copy of Gerry Spence's letter to you of 30 September and the proposed programme of action which was enclosed with it.

The Home Secretary is concerned about the inclusion of item 4.2.2 on direct entry to senior officer rank in the police. He doubts very much whether a change of this kind would be feasible in the foreseeable future and he sees a danger of creating unnecessary alarm and controversy within the police service if it were thought that the Government had such a proposal under serious consideration. He would therefore be grateful if this item could be set aside from further consideration in the context of the Family Policy Group.

We have however suggested to Mr Sparrow that he might follow up his interest in police matters by visiting the Police College at Bramshill, or by having a talk with senior officials in the Home Office: this will enable him to cover several aspects of police training and the arrangements which are made to identify and equip police officers for senior posts.

I am sending copies of this letter to Gerry Spence (CPRS) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Love ever
CJW

C J WALTERS

T Flesher, Esq.

File Home Affairs RM

MR GOW

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

You asked about the background to the Family Policy Group and its current membership. The Group was founded in July following a minute by Ferdy Mount to the Prime Minister on renewing the values of society. Ministers invited were those principally concerned with the proposals in Mr Mount's minute; subsequently, however, there has been a development in the direction of personal rather than departmental membership. The original group of members was:-

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The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster is a member (for obvious reasons) and Timothy Raison who substituted for the Home Secretary at the first meeting has become a member in his own right. Following the first meeting the Secretary of State for Industry was added since many of the proposals which emerged from the meeting for encouraging personal responsibility were in his field.

There is no hard and fast rule about membership of the Group although it is now becoming rather large. The next meeting is scheduled for 8 November when the Group will consider a CPRS summary of the proposals made so far in order to identify the three or four most likely to bear fruit.

T. FLESHER

11 October, 1982

1 *very much*

2 *Two substantive proposals from Ministers
eg. mothers or something else.*

Tim

*I have agreed this Friday. Are
you content with para 1?*

*G/W
11.X*

MR D E R FAULKNER (HOME OFFICE), copied to "link persons" in other Departments.

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

1. I understand from Tim Flesher that the Prime Minister has now seen the summary list of proposals for action circulated to members of the Family Policy Group under cover of Gerry Spence's letter of 30 September. She has commented that, if the Group is to make real progress within a reasonable timescale, it must set itself a more limited programme of work and she has asked the CPRS - in collaboration with the No. 10 Policy Unit - to prepare a draft of such a work programme for the Group to consider at its meeting on 8 November.

2. The basis of this programme will clearly have to be the proposals set out in our summary list. This means that our next task must be to go through that list and decide which dozen or so proposals offer the best prospect of substantive progress being made within the next six/nine months and, which are most relevant to the objectives of the Group. (That does not, of course, mean that we should lose sight of those proposals which might take longer to come to fruition;) - we shall have to bring them forward as work on others is completed.)

3. But I think that it would be a pity if, in proposing an effective work programme, we have to limit ourselves to proposals already on that list. As we

know, the list was culled mainly from the papers submitted to the Group for its meeting on 10 September and these were meant to be personal contributions from Group members and not comprehensive reviews of all the work in hand in Whitehall which might be relevant to the objectives of the Group. For this reason, I should be very surprised if we could not identify work going on in your Department and elsewhere which is a better candidate for the Group's work programme than many of the items now in the list. I therefore think that in drawing up our list of the dozen or so most suitable candidates for the Group's work programme we should look beyond the proposals already on the table and try to identify new ideas and suggestions.

4. The main work in preparing this draft work programme will, of course, have to fall to the CPRS. But we should be unable to make much progress, particularly with the task described in paragraph 2 above, without the help of those in Departments who are responsible for the items on our summary list. I therefore propose that within the next week or so I or one of my colleagues here should call on those in Departments responsible for each item on the list to discuss that item with them. To that end, I should be very grateful if you and the other recipients of this letter would let me know as soon as possible the name of those at, say, Assistant Secretary level with whom we should get into touch.

5. As for new candidates for the work programme, I should be grateful if "link persons" could let me have these within the next two weeks; ie. in time for us to be able to compare them with existing proposals before we begin preparing our draft paper.

6. As soon as we have completed that paper, we shall circulate it to "link persons" for comments. At that stage, I thought that we might arrange a meeting at which we could discuss the paper as well as more general questions about the direction of the Group's work. If, however, you or any other of the recipients of this letter would prefer a general meeting at an earlier stage, we should be happy to consider arranging one.

7. I am sending copies of this letter to those on the list attached.

PRIME MINISTER

Family Policy Group

Attached is the summary of the proposals made during the two meetings of the Family Policy Group which you commissioned from the CPRS. The paper is a very useful summary of ideas which have been floated and could form the agenda for the next meeting which we plan for mid November. I understand that Ferdie Mount is preparing a paper suggesting the three or four areas on which the Group might concentrate.

One of the relatively minor points mentioned in the CPRS summary is that of the case for direct entry recruitment to senior officer ranks in the police (proposal 4.2.2.). I understand that the Home Secretary considers this to be a complete non-starter. Indeed he thinks that Chief Constables would be likely to be seriously concerned if we were seen to be considering it. I suspect in any event the Group is not really an appropriate forum for the consideration of a highly specific proposal of that kind.

Tf.

1 October 1982

FILE

de



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

1 October 1982

Dear Colin,

BF1
I am writing to confirm that the next meeting of the Family Policy Group will be at 1430 on 8 November at No.10 and to ask recipients of this letter to note that in addition to the members of the Group, papers should be copied to the Private Secretaries to the Secretaries of State for Scotland and Wales who have expressed a wish to be kept informed of the Group's deliberations.

Copies of this letter go to John Kerr (HM Treasury), Imogen Wilde (Education), David Edmonds (Environment), Muir Russell (Scottish Office), Adam Peat (Welsh Office), Jonathan Spencer (Industry), Richard Bird (Transport), David Clark (DHSS), Barnaby Shaw (Employment), Keith Long (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office), Michael Gillespie (Timothy Raison's Office, Home Office), Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

Yours ever,
Tim Flesher

Timothy Flesher

Colin Walters, Esq.,
Home Office.



✓ WO
SO
FM
JV

CABINET OFFICE
Central Policy Review Staff

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS Telephone 01-233 7765

From: John Sparrow

CONFIDENTIAL

Qa 06068

30 September 1982

Tim Flesher Esq
No 10 Downing Street
SW1

Dear Tim

Family Policy Group

In Michael Scholar's letter of 10 September to Peter Jenkins following the second meeting of the Family Policy Group, he reported that the Prime Minister had asked the CPRS to go through the papers which had been submitted to the meeting and to make a list of proposals for action. We have now completed this task; a copy of our list is enclosed.

We have tried to be as comprehensive as possible. Our list therefore includes not only those proposals which appear in the papers submitted for the 10 September meeting, but also those in Mr Mount's original paper on Renewing the Values of Society and others which emerged at the meeting.

As you will see, we have classified the proposals under six headings -

- (1) Children, their Families and their Schools
- (2) Restoring Responsibility and Choice of the Individual
- (3) Caring for the Elderly
- (4) Law and Order
- (5) Equality of Opportunity
- (6) Work and Unemployment

For each proposal, we have identified its origin and have indicated the Department(s) which appear(s) to us to be most directly concerned with it. We have also distinguished between new proposals which stem directly



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from the work of the Group (labelled 'A'), and those which have been or will be pursued independently of it, either interdepartmentally or within particular Departments. (labelled 'B').

I am sending copies of this letter and enclosure to John Halliday (Home Office), Margaret O'Mara (HM Treasury), Imogen Wilde (DES), David Edmonds (DOE), Jonathan Spencer (DoI), Richard Bird (D. Transport), David Clark (DHSS), Barnaby Shaw (D. Employment), Keith Long (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

G B Spence
Private Secretary

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FAMILY POLICY GROUP

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Note by the Central Policy Review Staff

At the first meeting of the Family Policy Group held on 20 July, the Prime Minister invited members to prepare papers describing what was already being done to meet the objectives of the Group and making suggestions, not necessarily limited to their Departmental responsibilities, for further action. These papers were discussed at the Group's second meeting on 20 July at the end of which the Prime Minister asked the CPRS to go through the papers and to prepare a complete list of proposals for action. (Attached).

2. The objective of the Family Policy Group is to identify, and to seek ways of counteracting, those factors which tend to undermine, or even prohibit, the exercise of personal responsibility and a sense of individual self-respect. As such, the Group's remit is far reaching and a large number of the Government's present policies and programmes are relevant to it.

3. It is, however, not the intention of the Group to duplicate work which is already in hand in Whitehall. For this reason, the list attached distinguishes between new proposals which stem directly from the work of the Group [labelled 'A'] and proposals which have been or will be pursued independently of it, either interdepartmentally or within particular Departments [labelled 'B'].

Monitoring Progress

4. The Prime Minister has said that the Group would meet again in, say, November to monitor progress. It may be assumed that that meeting will wish to review the proposals on the attached list with a view to considering the relevance of each to the objectives of the Group and to establishing priorities for further action.

Cabinet Office

30 September 1982

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FAMILY POLICY GROUP

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

The following is a summary of the proposals for action put forward by members of the Family Policy Group in the papers submitted for consideration by the Group at its meeting on 10 September and/or at that meeting. Proposals labelled 'A' are those which stem directly from the work of the Group; proposals labelled 'B' are those which have been or will be pursued independently of it either interdepartmentally or within particular Departments.

NOTE: The initials after each proposal refer to its origin, as follows: GH = Chancellor of the Exchequer; KJ = Secretary of State for Education and Science; MH = Secretary of State for the Environment; PJ = Secretary of State for Industry; DH = Secretary of State for Transport; NF = Secretary of State for Social Services; NT = Secretary of State for Employment; TR = Minister of State, Home Office (Mr Raison); JS = Head of the CPRS (Mr Sparrow); FM = Mr Mount (No. 10 Policy Unit); CPRS = Memorandum by CPRS dated 9 September. '10/9' indicates proposals which emerged at the meeting of the Group on 10 September.

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
1. <u>CHILDREN, THEIR FAMILIES AND THEIR SCHOOLS</u>			
1.1 <u>Taxation/benefits and care of children</u>			
1.1.1. Encourage mothers to stay at home (DH, NT) by at least removing fiscal discrimination against them (GH, JS).	Tsy/Revenue	A	GH hopes to circulate to E in October a paper on the Government's response to the Green Paper on Husband and Wife. To the extent that this paper, and the discussion, does not cover all the particular suggestions noted in Section 1.1 they will be pursued separately.
1.1.2. Make tax/benefit system more oriented towards the family (DH, PJ), e.g. by more generous child benefit, more permanent help for widows responsible for households or in other ways (10/9).	Tsy/DHSS	A	
1.2.3. Notwithstanding 1.1.1., consider incentives for adequate child care for working parents through tax/benefit system (JS).	Tsy/Revenue/ DHSS	A	
1.2. <u>Parental rights and responsibilities</u>			
1.2.1. Encourage more parental involvement in schools (e.g. through parent governors and in other ways), pre-school playgroups, holiday activities (KJ, NF, FM).	DES/DHSS	B	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>Parental rights and responsibilities (Cont'd.)</u>			
1.2.2. Introduce education voucher system (KJ, GH, FM), thereby facilitating the setting up by parents of their own schools.	DES + DOE, Tsy	B	See also 2.6. Proposals to be produced shortly by KJ.
1.3. <u>Training Children</u>			
1.3.1. Bring together facts about influences on children - including parents, peer group, television, schools, etc. - to assess relative importance and implications for policy (CPRS).	CPRS	A	
1.3.2. Make curriculum more geared to industrial needs; in particular, give more encouragement to 3 Rs, logic and civics (KJ, FM, JS) and informational and other advanced technology (GH).	DES (CPRS)	B	
1.3.3. Provide preparation for marriage and parenthood (to parallel preparation for work) in schools, etc. (NF, JS).	DES/DHSS	A	KJ to consider the need for a meeting.
1.3.4. Consolidate and extend use of surrogate families, e.g. "homeline", "homestart", other voluntary schemes. (NF).	DHSS	A	
1.4. <u>Authority within schools</u>			
1.4.1. Enhance training of teachers to include classroom management, staff college training for heads, etc. (KJ, FM, JS).	DES	B	
1.4.2. Seek ways to tackle truancy early (GH)	DES +	A	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>Authority within schools (Cont'd.)</u>			
1.4.3. Encourage schools with "clear moral base", e.g. parochial schools (GH).	DES	A	
1.4.4. Increase the authority of head teachers; e.g. give them the power to dismiss bad teachers. Consider hiring teachers on five year contracts only (KJ).	DES	A	Links with delegation of power in the workplace (6.1.3.)
1.5. <u>Schools in the community</u>			
1.5.1. Open up and make more use of schools and their recreation facilities outside school hours (e.g. to help deter vandalism and occupy "latch key" kids) (MH, TR, FM). To this end, reduce restrictive powers of employees in schools, especially caretakers (KJ, 10/9).	DES	A	
2. <u>RESTORING RESPONSIBILITY AND CHOICE TO THE INDIVIDUAL</u>			
2.1. <u>The role of the professional</u>			
2.1.1. Examine the extent to which professionals, such as social workers, teachers, doctors, architects tend to undermine individual responsibility (CPRS). Need to return to the individual consumer the power to make his own choices (10/9).	CPRS	A	
2.2. <u>The face of Government</u>			
2.2.1. Examine ways to ensure that individual's contact with state bureaucracies does not erode responsibility and self respect, e.g. through training, regulations for staff and decentralisation (CPRS).	CPRS + DHSS	A	

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<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
2.3. <u>Encourage private provision of social needs</u>			
2.3.1. Encourage voluntary contributions to both state and voluntarily provided services aimed at meeting social needs (GH, TR), e.g. by permitting PAYE deductions for charitable purposes.	HO/Tsy/ Revenue	A	
2.3.2. Encourage close involvement of private business sector in local community e.g. by shared cost schemes, local campaigns and initiatives to encourage enterprise, community service and environmental improvement (GH).	DOI/DOE	B	
2.3.3. Limit social security and social services to those in real need (JS).	DHSS/Tsy	A	
2.4. <u>Housing</u>			
2.4.1. Extend home ownership, including low cost measures, e.g. right to buy, homesteading (MH, et al).	DOE	B	See also 6.2.2.
2.4.2. Make public sector management more locally based and consider tenant's rights to involvement (MH, CPRS, FM et al).	DOE	B	
2.5. <u>Saving and financial responsibility</u>			
2.5.1. Pensions: better disclosure of accounts of pension funds to facilitate member involvement in their management (GH); enable individuals to have more responsibility for own pensions (JS).	CPRS/DHSS/ Tsy	B	
2.5.2. Improve incentives for personal saving: encourage "unbanked" to bank (GH); remove tax bias against unearned income (DH); encourage banks and schools to look for further ways to promote savings; DNS role; train people to manage their money better (GH, FM).	Tsy/Revenue	B	

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<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
2.6. <u>Other measures for increasing individual choice</u>			
2.6.1. There are a number of studies in hand aimed at increasing individual choice, e.g. the voucher system for education, student loans.	DES, Tsy, DHSS	B	Work already in hand on all these issues.
2.6.2. More contracting out and privatisation of parts of the public sector.	Tsy and other relevant Depts.	B	
2.6.3. Plainer rights for more private enterprise and competition in bus services; and for more flexible and varied forms of transport.	DTp	B	
3. <u>CARING FOR THE ELDERLY</u>			
3.1.1. Examine scope for reducing a range of disincentives facing people who might wish to look after elderly relatives - housing, fiscal, material (CPRS).	CPRS/DHSS/ DOE/Tsy/ Revenue	A	
3.1.2. Adjust tax and benefit allowances to see if families looking after their elderly might be better rewarded (NT, JS, 10/9).	DHSS/Revenue	A	Meeting (10/9) commissioned paper from DHSS to bring forward proposals for action.
3.1.3. Give more emphasis and encouragement to community based services; e.g. counselling, day, short-term and night care, "adopt-a-granny" scheme etc. (NF).	DHSS	B	
4. <u>LAW AND ORDER</u>			
4.1. <u>Preventing Crime</u>			
4.1.1. Make parents responsible for some of the anti-social behaviour of their children (GH, TR).	HO	B	To be considered in the light of the enactment of the Criminal Justice Bill which makes provisions to this effect.

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<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>Preventing Crime (Cont'd.)</u>			
4.1.2. Consider whether benefit payment arrangements (fortnightly payment; inflexibility) encourage crime (TR).	DHSS/HO/ Tsy	B	DHSS/HO are in touch about this matter.
4.1.3. Bring together evidence by Prof. Rutter and others on the relationship between crime and social factors, e.g. unemployment. (10/9).	HO	B	Already in hand in the inter-departmental group under Sir B Cubbon.
4.1.4. Consider the possibility of further voluntary action to combat vandalism. (JS).	HO	B	As for 4.1.3.
4.2. <u>The Police</u>			
4.2.1. Strengthen respect for police, through better training, vigorous pursuit of alleged corruption. (JS).	HO	B	
4.2.2. Consider case for "direct entry" recruitment to senior officer rank. (JS).	HO	A	
4.3. <u>Dealing with Offenders</u>			
4.3.1. Extend community work for certain offenders (FM, GH); expand Intermediate Treatment (NF).	HO/DHSS	B	
4.4. <u>The 'moral' environment</u>			
4.4.1. Consider desirability of more active Government role in dealing with pornography, sex shops, violence on television and in the press. (JS).	HO	A	

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<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
5. <u>EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY</u>			
5.1.1. Publicise success stories of immigrants who have made good: Government encouragement of immigrant behaviour in accordance with philosophy of self-reliance, e.g. Asian corner shops (10/9).	HO	A	
5.1.2. Consider the case for a review of the effectiveness of the CRE and EOC in promoting equality of opportunity. (JS).	HO	A	Report back on case for review.
6. <u>WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT</u>			
6.1. <u>Responsibility at work</u>			
6.1.1. Encourage employee involvement through provision of information by management (DH, GH, CPRS).	DE	B	Waddington Group examining these subjects.
6.1.2. Encourage profit sharing (GH, JS, PJ).	Tsy/DE	A	
6.1.3. Entrepreneurship: "Buy-outs" (KJ); wide share ownership to reduce institutional advantages (money makers); encourage in tax field new and small businesses (GH, PJ); keep under review the impact of tax - CTT, CGT, CT and Stamp Duty - on family firms (PJ).	DOI/Tsy/ Revenue	B	MacGregor Group looking at small firms. Each of these items is kept under continuing review.
6.1.4. Delegation of management responsibility down the line e.g. more power to head teachers, heads of DHSS offices, local plants, etc. (FM, GH, CPRS).	Tsy/Relevant Depts.	A	See also 1.4.4. Pilot studies by DHSS are underway.
6.1.5. Union reform e.g. secret ballots, unrestricted right to participation in elections at all levels (GH).	DE/CPRS	B	DE will shortly be putting proposals to E.
6.1.6. Change the culture so that business, risk taking and wealth creation are more acceptable. (GH, PJ, NT).	DI	A	

<u>PROPOSAL</u>	<u>DEPT(s)</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
6.2. <u>Unemployment</u>			
6.2.1. Remove hindrances to employment e.g. provide better work incentives (NT), lower tax at lower end (10/9), abolish wages councils, reduce regulatory burdens on small firms (NT).	Tsy/Revenue DE, DI	B	To be pursued in context of CPRS unemployment report. Future of Wages Councils to go to E shortly.
6.2.2. Encourage self help and self respect among the unemployed e.g. help to start businesses, co-operatives (GH), adult education, voluntary work, homesteading (CPRS).	DE/Tsy	B	To be pursued in context of CPRS unemployment report.
6.2.3. Focus on problems of unemployed family men e.g. arrange intermittent work (CPRS).	DE/Tsy	B	To be pursued in context of CPRS unemployment report.



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Home Agg. JV
 FM
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 50 (2)
 Prime Minister

ms 14/9

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE

14 September 1982

Michael Scholar Esq
 Private Secretary to the
 Prime Minister
 10 Downing Street
 London SW1

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Dear M. Scholar,

During the Prime Minister's meeting on restoring values last Friday, there was mention of the connection between youth and crime and also reference to the imminent publication of a research report by Michael Rutter on unemployment and crime.

I said that I thought that Michael Rutter had already published some relevant material on youth. I now find that the papers I had in mind were published by the Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust in 1979, being Michael Rutter's Rock Carling Fellowship lectures on "Changing Youth in a Changing Society". My colleagues concerned may wish to look at this book.

I am copying this letter to all those who attended the meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Kenneth Joseph

MASTER CONFIDENTIAL Home Affairs

Me: 15

SUBJECT



Ferdinand Mount
John Vereker

10 DOWNING STREET

cc Mr Parkinson

From the Private Secretary

10 September 1982

cc WG
SO

Dear Peter,

Family Policy Group

The Prime Minister took a meeting this morning to discuss the papers prepared for the family policy group. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for Education and Science, the Environment, Industry, Transport, Health and Social Security, Employment, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Sir Robert Armstrong, Mr. John Sparrow and Mr. Ferdinand Mount were present.

The Prime Minister thanked all those who had submitted papers for the meeting. These were most useful contributions towards the development of the Government's family policy. In fact, the Government would not have a family policy as such, but rather a number of policies which, taken together, made up a coherent policy towards the family. The Prime Minister said that the main thread which she discerned running through these papers was the need to return to consumers the power to make their own choices, to return them more of their own money to spend as they saw fit, and to pass to them control in many areas which at the moment were controlled by bureaucracies. This was as true in education as it was in health and housing and other areas.

In a discussion of taxation and social security policy and the family, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Treasury would be bringing forward a paper following the Green Paper on taxation of Husband and Wife. This was a thorny subject, given that any change generated losers as well as gainers. There was a movement towards a proposal for the married man's allowance and wife's earned income allowance to be replaced by a similar allowance for both husband and wife whether working or not, transferable from one to the other. Arguably, this was a move away from a family-based allowance, although it was not in intention or practice an anti-family move.

In discussion it was suggested that there was a case for granting extra tax relief for women who remained at home, either caring for children or for elderly relatives. There was, however, a large deadweight in such an arrangement, and there was objection to assisting households where the women remain at home at the expense of working couples with children. There was widespread admiration for those who devoted themselves to caring for elderly relatives at home. The tax allowances available to them were very small, and even taking account of supplementary benefit which might be available

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to them, their total income was in many cases very small indeed. The notion that such people should be paid by the state for what they did was repugnant, yet it would be worthwhile to examine how they might be rewarded at a more appropriate level, with the hope of achieving also substantial public expenditure savings in the longer term. The dramatic growth in prospect in the numbers of the elderly over the next 20 years, and the high cost of maintaining old people in institutional care pointed strongly in this direction.

This was a complex area and it would be helpful if the Secretary of State for Health and Social Security would bring forward a paper with some proposals for action.

There was also some discussion about the possibility of varying the size of the married man's tax relief according to the number of children in the family. This would be a move back towards child tax allowances which were, arguably, more supportive of the family than the existing system of child benefits. It was for consideration whether more should be done in the taxation area to help widows, who very often had the responsibility of running a household. The widow's bereavement allowance had been a step in the right direction, although it was unfortunate that it lasted for only one year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would be coming forward with proposals in the area of family taxation within, say, six weeks.

There followed some discussion of indexation. The Government was pledged on the indexation of retirement pensions and not on social service benefits generally. In practice, however, it was very difficult to differentiate between these. With falling inflation our present system of index linkage was greatly exacerbating the poverty trap. Cuts in direct taxation at the lower end of the scale were a top priority, and more important than other, very pressing priorities, for example the removal of the National Insurance Surcharge. Indexation was bound to lead to a drift towards public provision, since private savings could not compete with any index-linked public sector benefits. Arguably the best way of dealing with indexation was to bring down inflation, as the Government was doing. But this implied a rate of inflation nearer to 1% than 8 or 9% per annum. There was a case for an international initiative against indexation. Indeed, a number of other countries were already beginning to dismantle their indexation. But we could not wait for international action, and what was necessary was the political will to choose the right moment to dismantle our own indexation, and then to act when the time came.

In education, the way forward for restoring choice to the consumer lay in the introduction of a voucher scheme. But this would mean an immediate bulge in education expenditure, given the numbers of those who already pay for private education. The same expenditure problem arose if a voucher scheme was introduced for health, although in both cases the effect could be mitigated - with, however, undesirable consequences in other directions - by introducing a tax clawback for those on higher incomes. A voucher scheme in education would need to be introduced step by step beginning in, say, a chosen inner city district. There was a danger, however, of demoralising the State school sector, which would continue to educate the bulk of the school populace for many years to come, by prolonged

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talk without action about the introduction of the voucher system. The Secretary of State for Education and Science said that he would soon be bringing forward his ideas on this subject to colleagues.

On law and order, it was noted that the Criminal Justice Bill was designed to be supportive of the family - in, for example, its measures to make parents responsible for the actions of their children. The new emphasis on community policing all pointed in the same direction. So too the action which had been taken on sex shops and, in the courts, on pornographic video tapes. There was concern that the introduction of cable TV would import pornographic film material on a large scale into the home. There would need to be carefully drafted advance regulation, and monitoring wherever possible; and tough penalties including the summary withdrawal of licences for offenders. There would, however, be problems of definition, and it would be important in designing regulation, to have regard for the concerns of the high-principled libertarian. It would be necessary to strike a balance between the desired commercial freedom and the need to maintain standards.

On race relations the development of the Government's policies must take account of the close family ties in the Asian community, and the opposite situation in many cases in the West Indian community. There were many strands in immigrant communities at large which had much in common with the Government's fundamental philosophy: the Asian corner shop open in the evenings and at the weekends was a case in point. The Government should look for ways of providing positive encouragement here, and also to make better known the upward social and economic movement already taking place for many immigrants.

There was some discussion of the link between different family patterns and crime. Work done by Mr. Michael Rutter usefully brought together research on the connection between family background and crime, and would point to the evidence which was available in support of the proposition that the two-parent family was more successful than the one-parent family in implanting desirable social values in children. In their follow-up work to the meeting, the CPRS might usefully consider whether this work needed to be brought together and summarised for Ministers. The Secretary of State for Education and Science said that there might be a case for convening a smaller meeting to discuss whether there was any role for the Government in improving preparation for parenthood. His own feeling was that a Government role here would be too intrusive, and that the Government in any case did not know how to achieve the desired result.

There followed a discussion about the sale of council houses. The extension of home ownership was, it was argued, transforming the inner cities. Much had been achieved in this area, but there was still much to be done.

The Prime Minister, concluding the discussion, asked the CPRS to go through the papers which had been submitted for the meeting, and make a list of proposals for action. All new proposals which

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involved additional expenditure should not be ruled out on that account, although the aim should be to minimise any addition to public expenditure or any reduction in revenue. The group would meet again in, say, November, to monitor progress. The aim was to ensure that the Government's policies took full account of its objectives for the family.

I am copying this letter to Imogen Wilde (DES), David Edmonds (DOE), Jonathan Spencer (Department of Industry), Richard Bird (Department of Transport), David Clark (DHSS), Barnaby Shaw (Department of Employment), Sarah Kippax (Home Office), Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

Yours sincerely,

Michael Scholar

Peter Jenkins, Esq.,
H.M. Treasury.

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Home Affairs

cc M Pakison

cc WO 80

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Memorandum by the Central Policy Review Staff

1. The objective of the Family Policy Group is to identify, and to seek ways of counteracting, those factors which tend to undermine, or even prohibit, the exercise of personal responsibility and the sense of individual self-respect.

2. Taken together, the papers circulated to the Group give a fairly comprehensive picture of what has been achieved. They also outline a number of specific further developments which are already in hand. For the next stage, each Minister will wish to pursue these initiatives which have been identified within his own area of responsibility.

Interdepartmental Issues

3. In addition, the papers identify a number of issues which appear to offer scope for further thought and possibly further Government action. Of these, some have no obvious departmental home, either because they fall between Departments or because they touch on matters which are of equal concern to several Departments. We believe that four such issues are most important:

- how to encourage more effective care in families and the community, for the elderly;
- influences on children's behaviour and attitudes;
- the extent to which the excessive influence of professionals results in producer-led services and saps individual initiative;
- the dependence of individuals on State bureaucracies and the effect this has on their responsibility and self-respect.

These subjects, which are discussed in more detail at Annex A, are broad and wide-ranging and it is not clear at this stage what scope there is for Government action. We suggest, therefore, that as a first step the CPRS be invited to review what is known about each and to present the Group with further proposals.

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Departmental Issues

4. The papers highlight also a number of specific matters which might usefully be pursued by individual Departments or by Ministerial or Official Groups already in existence. At Annex B we review briefly the six issues which we believe deserve priority treatment:

- the role of housing (Department of the Environment)
- responsibility at work (Department of Employment)
- unemployment and the family (Department of Employment/Department of Health and Social Security)
- preparation for parenthood (Department of Education and Science/
Department of Health and Social Security)
- the tax system and the care of children (HM Treasury)
- crime and policing (Home Office)

Summary

5. The Group is invited to decide that:

(a) the CPRS should prepare reviews of the four subjects listed in paragraph 3 and discussed at Annex A; and

(b) the subjects listed in paragraph 4 and discussed at Annex B should be examined by the Departments directly concerned.

Cabinet Office

9 September 1982

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INTERDEPARTMENTAL ISSUES PROPOSED FOR REVIEW BY THE CPRS

1. Care of the Elderly

There are few incentives, and many disincentives facing people who might wish to look after their elderly relatives. The main areas are: housing - scope for encouraging conversion/extension/adaptation of private housing, and more flexible allocation policies and use of stock in the public sector; fiscal position - scope for changes in tax allowances and/or benefit systems to encourage family care; material help - ways in which social services (voluntary, private or public) might help families to cope. Many elderly do not have younger relatives to whom they can turn; ways might be sought of encouraging 'artificial' families (e.g. making it easier for the elderly to become resident landlords, encourage schools to develop 'adopt-a-granny' schemes, young employees to help ex-employees of the same company now elderly). This is a wide field embracing a number of departmental interests.

2. Influences on children's behaviour and attitudes

There is a very large volume of research literature on the influences on children. It has not been brought together in the context of what it might imply for policy. We think it would be useful to examine the literature with a view to establishing the facts about the various influences. These are likely to include parent(s), peer groups, school, television, pop groups and football. Once the influences, and their relative importance, are known, the Group could consider which, if any, might be amenable to Government action.

3. The power of the professional

The role of the professional has been growing, and not only within the welfare state. In many areas, people's lives are dominated by decisions taken for them by 'professionals' whose job it is to do so. This has two effects: the individual makes little input and does not feel any responsibility for the outcome, and the service provision is driven by the producers' views of what ought to be provided rather than consumers' views of what they want. This drift needs to be reversed. Within the

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personal welfare services, the main professionals involved are teachers, the medical professions and social workers. But the issue extends beyond the personal services: professional engineers and architects set standards which are often unnecessarily high (and expensive) and not what people want. There has been a good deal of work outside Government on the changing role of the professional, although it has often not been focussed on examining how the professionals' involvement detracts from the individual's own responsibility.

4. The impact of Government

There is a wider issue about the extent to which individuals are dependent on services provided by State bureaucracies and the effect which this has on the individual's sense of personal responsibility and self-respect. Central and local government provide a wide range of services so that the scope for potential topics for enquiry is correspondingly wide. One specific issue is that the contact point between the State and the individual often belies the term 'civil servant' (for either of the words!). Individuals are not encouraged to behave responsibly if their treatment by bureaucracy appears to them to be arbitrary, rigid and insensitive. The relevant issues are the amount of discretion allowed to Government employees in dealing with the public, the training of staff, and the degree of centralisation under which they operate.

ISSUES PROPOSED FOR FURTHER WORK BY DEPARTMENTS1. Housing [Department of the Environment]

The paper by the Secretary of State for the Environment identifies a number of ways of extending the right-to-buy. But over 6 million households are likely to continue as Council tenants. In what ways can they be given more responsibility for their own housing even if they do not want, or can not afford, ownership? Delegation of power and responsibility to tenants committees or co-operatives works well in some areas, and the Secretary of State's paper outlines some further experiments. What more could be done? In particular, in what ways might Government encourage or even force Local Authorities to devolve power? The 'tenant's charter' embodied in the 1980 Housing Act was a start; how might tenants' rights be extended further into the management of housing? We suggest that the Secretary of State ask his officials to examine further options in this area, and report back to the Group.

2. Responsibility at work [Department of Employment]

There have been various moves to seek to involve employees more in the affairs of their employer (though usually via the unions). What more might be done with a view to obtaining more responsible behaviour by employees? Should there be more pressure - even legislation - on managers to provide more information to their workforce? Might more profit sharing (or perhaps equity stakes) help, so that employees' fortunes were more tied in with those of their firms? Employee involvement is already being examined by an interdepartmental ('Waddington') group, we suggest that it should include in their work this and other possibilities like it.

In addition to action on small and family firms, how might the lines of responsibility be clarified within large organisations to enable individuals to know where they stand, and to prevent various levels of management from ducking responsibility? How might more management responsibility be delegated down the line? Might the public sector set an example (eg more power to head teachers or heads of DHSS offices)? We suggest that the Department of Employment and other interested departments should be asked to examine such options and report back.

3. Unemployment and the Family [Department of Employment]

Unemployment has a damaging effect on family values particularly in the case of unemployed fathers, of whom there are about 600,000. There may be scope for flexible and hence comparatively inexpensive ways of helping them. These could include providing intermittent spells of work, or the financial incentive to take part-time work, and encouraging them to use their time constructively (eg voluntary work and adult education). Many unemployed people in their twenties increasingly face the problem of how to set up a family home without secure paid work. Could a 'homesteading' scheme be set up within the framework of special employment measures, which would enable some of them to improve properties for their own occupation? We suggest that these ideas be examined by the Ministers concerned.

4. Preparation for Parenthood [Department of Education and Science/
Department of Health and Social Security]

There has been much emphasis on the need for the education system to prepare children for the world of work; little attention has been given to the need to prepare school leavers for the world of parenthood. What more could be done both within schools (the facts about early marriage, the tasks and responsibilities of a family, more contact between older and younger children etc) and post-school (eg might more nursery classes for children be paralleled by classes for the parents)? We suggest that this aspect should be examined firstly by the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Social Services.

5. The tax system and the care of children [HM Treasury]

This has two aspects. The first is the well recognised problem of the fiscal bias in the tax system which encourages both parents to work, sometimes against the best interests of the children. But secondly, even with a neutral tax position, there will still be some families in which both parents might be encouraged, through the tax system, to pay for adequate child care. We suggest the Treasury be asked to report on progress and options in this general area.

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Annex B cont'd

6. Crime and policing [Home Office]

The criminal justice system influences personal responsibility and the family in a number of ways. There are improvements which might be made consistent with the concept of personal liberty. Areas worth particular examination would be the extent to which the system of punishment for crimes promotes personal and parental responsibility, and respect for the welfare of others. Those responsible for maintaining law and order should earn the respect which they should be given; both police training and methods of operation should be examined with a view to achieving the highest standards of recruitment, qualities of leadership, and total integrity in their operations.

A Home Office-led interdepartmental committee is already examining the contribution that other departments may make to law and order problems, and we suggest that the Home Office should be invited to examine the scope for further work on the topics indicated above.

PRIME MINISTERFAMILY POLICY GROUP MEETING: 10 SEPTEMBER 1982

We think it easier to group the papers under the general subjects discussed most prominently in them, although Ministers will obviously want to put the more general arguments contained in their papers. But it will be an advantage if this meeting can proceed a stage further to the preparation of measures as well as the commissioning of research and analysis of more difficult matters.

(a) Taxation and Social Security

David Howell points out the dramatic increase in Britain's workforce since the War - and the consequent relative increase in our unemployment figures beyond those in other Western European countries. Inflation and income tax drive out to work many women who would rather stay at home.

Can we alter the tax structure to make it easier for married women with young children to stay at home - without being unfair to those who really want to go out to work? Is there a case, say, for differential child benefit for non-working mothers in the case of younger children? John Sparrow suggests that we might also use the tax benefit system to help mothers who prefer to work, by a crèche allowance.

At the other end of life, there are increasing complaints about the lack of fiscal encouragement given to those who support elderly, sick or handicapped relatives at a considerable saving to the state. Mr Fowler points out that, despite all the talk about the lack of consideration for the elderly these days, 95% of the over-65s live outside institutions; according to a recent study, this is surprisingly true even of the half million or so who are estimated to suffer from senile dementia. But there is a case whether the tax system is as helpful as it might be.

Above all, we should keep at the front of our minds the fact that, before the Second World War, the working classes did not pay income tax. Cuts on direct taxation at the lower end of the scale must remain our highest priority.

Norman Fowler emphasises the need to encourage voluntary service in all its forms. Should we not de-professionalise the social services wherever possible? Are there low-cost fiscal incentives for voluntary service which could get worthwhile tasks done by people who would otherwise be unemployed?

Is it possible to frame a tax package for the next Budget which really could be described without exaggeration as a "Budget for the family?"

(b) Law and Order and Race Relations

What comes strongly out of the Home Office paper is the growing concern that public standards should be protected. The Government's duty is to bolster private morality by improving public behaviour. The control of sex shops and the overwhelming demand that policemen should be visible human beings walking along the High Street are all part of the same response to concern.

It is vital to make the distinction between (a) the British belief in privacy and dislike of official interference; and (b) the concern that all British citizens should be treated equally and that the Queen's peace should be maintained.

"Intermediate treatment" for young offenders - as outlined in Mr Fowler's paper - is surely to be encouraged both for its own sake and as a relief for the terrible overcrowding in the prisons - now one of the worst of all our problems. Our main aim here should be to strengthen parental responsibility for young offenders. We probably still have a lot to learn from other countries in methods of dealing with young offenders outside penal institutions.

(c) Housing and the Inner Cities

We must try to offer to all households the prospect of some degree of control over their homes.

Should we adopt a home ownership target of two in every three families by 1990?

The right to buy a council house is one of the most effective and memorable actions we have taken.

We must reach further down the income scale. And the "shared-ownership" scheme is obviously the next step. "Low-start" mortgages

might have even more appeal. The Department of the Environment is right to reject unrealistically low initial payments, but it is surely possible to come up with sound schemes where the repayment would be fairly near the present rent level (the extra responsibility for repairs and maintenance would be gladly shouldered by most new homeowners). "Turn your rent book into a mortgage" is surely an appealing slogan.

It might be worth seeing whether some of the admirable local experiments mentioned by Mr Heseltine could be translated into a national system, possibly involving statutory rights. Could council tenants on an estate, for example, be given a right to set up a tenants' management co-operative if two-thirds of the tenants on the estate voted for one?

Homesteading - the sale by local authorities of run-down dwellings for improvement - seems to be working well in the 60 local authorities which practise it. But these are producing less than 2,000 sales a year. Again, could the Department of the Environment set a modest target for each authority of, say, 100 homesteads a year for the next 5 years? There can be few authorities with less than 500 decrepit but saveable dwellings on their books.

Mr Heseltine also has a number of good schemes for cleaning up shabby parts of Merseyside. These employ local residents and are funded through the Manpower Services Commission and the Inner Cities. Could these, too, be taken nationwide?

Family life in the inner cities must surely greatly depend on re-occupation by owner-occupiers, who will not only be permanent but house-proud residents, and hence are most likely to develop territorial pride too.

(d) Education and Leisure

Keith Joseph lists a series of actions in hand which are designed to improve both parents' control over their children's schooling and the authority of the teacher in the classroom. I believe it is vital to take these forward.

These proposals must constitute the real core of what Government can hope to do to help the young.

I think it is important to emphasise that what we are examining are not extreme "way-out" ideas, but the kind of alliance between public and private efforts in education which is commonplace in many other countries.

We should talk less of a "voucher experiment" than of "helping parents to set up their own schools".

I think it will be helpful if Keith's papers come first to the Family Policy Group where they can be sympathetically and seriously discussed.

We want, I think, to give early authority for the improvement of teacher training and the extension of parent and teacher governors, and perhaps an education allowance to parents who want to set up their own primary day schools.

Any change in the fundamental structure of the financing of education would be for the next Parliament. But we must have plans fully worked out before the Election. This would also apply to student loans.

Proposals for an improved basic curriculum - including the encouragement of "Civics" papers, along with basic skills - would make an attractive Manifesto proposal.

John Sparrow makes the point that schools ought to offer some kind of training for parenthood, since the trend to early marriage in recent years has so much to do with the increase in broken marriages. The age of first marriage is in fact rising again of its own accord; but there is much to be said for helping it to go on rising and to emphasise that if sex education is to be offered, it ought to be only one part of a general preparation for growing up.

Of course, this is primarily the parents' task. But if schools are to venture outside strictly academic instruction, they ought to offer a rounded course of advice for life (as good schools already try to do).

On the use of school premises outside school hours, Mr Heseltine reports a series of initiatives, eg by Mr Macfarlane on the use of sports facilities. But I wonder whether we should not go much further. In most towns, the schools offer the best, sometimes the only, public halls, gyms and playing-fields. They were paid for

by the taxpayer and we have a right to use them to the maximum. I see no reason why we should not lay a duty on local authorities to offer all reasonable access to suitable facilities, by bona fide clubs and groups who are prepared to pay a modest fee.

(e) Training, Industry and Employment

Both Norman Fowler and Patrick Jenkin make the point that unemployment is a terrible threat to the family and strikes directly at the position of the breadwinner and, insofar as it causes wives to go out to work, it may injure a stable childhood. Are we correct in concentrating so much on alleviating youth unemployment, when parental unemployment is surely a much more devastating blow?

But it is worth pointing out that almost all the things we are worried about began to develop alarmingly during the years of full employment - crime, divorce, the rate of illegitimacy. Indeed, most of them have risen, if not continuously, since the 1940s.

Certain positive pro-family strands in existing Government policy ought to be emphasised, notably the encouragement of small, and hence often of family, business: the basis of all successful economies and a sector much discouraged by post-War British governments which have worshipped bigness much more uncritically than our neighbours. The success of British agriculture is due not solely to government encouragement, but also to it being largely a multiplicity of small family businesses.

But the most immediate employment challenge of all is to be able to offer worthwhile work to the registered unemployed of all ages, even if that work cannot offer either a 5-day week or a full wage. It is an affront to commonsense (and the complaint is now constantly voiced in all quarters) that there should be so many jobs that need doing and so many idle but not necessarily unwilling hands.

- (f) There are other aspects of family policy which cut across departmental boundaries and which are still unexplored territory for Government. They are controversial, but not politically controversial. The CPRS identifies four general headings where, despite varying quantities of research, we are still in the dark: the elderly and the community; influences on children's behaviour and attitudes; professionalisation and the lack of customer power; and the impact of bureaucracy. The CPRS could be invited to report on these questions.

On topics where the Group would like to see specific proposals, it may be best to ask for detailed ideas to be brought back to the Group in, say, 2 months' time.

FM

FERDINAND MOUNT



10 DOWNING STREET

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From the Principal Private Secretary

8 September 1982

Dear John,

Family Policy Group

I am attaching a suggested agenda for the meeting of the Family Policy Group this Friday 10 September, in the hope that this will be useful to you in arranging the papers and briefing for the Ministers attending the meeting.

I am copying this letter and the enclosure to all attending the meeting.

Yours ever,

Robin Butler

John Halliday Esq
Home Office

cc Mr Munt
DOI
CO
CPRS
EDL
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Agenda

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

cc Mr Pakison

In discussing the papers submitted by Ministers for the meeting on 10 September, it may be helpful to take the various topics raised in the following order:

- (a) Taxation policy and social security and the family - the papers from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretaries of State for Transport and for Health and Social Security, and from Head of the CPRS.
- (b) Law and order and race relations - the paper from the ~~Home Secretary~~ Minister of State (Timothy Raison M.P.), Home Office.
- (c) Housing and the inner cities - the paper from the Secretary of State for the Environment.
- (d) Education and leisure - the paper from the Secretary of State for Education.
- (e) Training, industry and employment - the papers from the Secretaries of State for Employment and for Industry.

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Friday

5/4

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

In discussing the papers submitted by Ministers for the meeting on ¹⁰ 2 September, it may be helpful ^{to take} ~~if we discuss~~ the various topics raised in the following order:

- (a) Taxation policy and social security and the family ~~and especially~~ ^{the} papers from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretaries of State for Transport and for Health and Social Security, and from the CPRS.
- (b) Law and order and race relations; ~~and especially~~ the paper from the Home Secretary.
- (c) Housing and the inner cities; ~~and especially~~ the paper from the Secretary of State for the Environment.
- (d) Education and leisure; ~~and especially~~ the paper from the Secretary of State for Education.
- (e) Training, industry and employment; ~~and especially~~ the papers from the Secretaries of State for Employment and for Industry.
- ~~(f) Conclusions and recommendations.~~



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & SOCIAL SECURITY

Alexander Fleming House, Elephant & Castle, London SE1 6BY

Telephone 01-407 5522

From the Secretary of State for Social Services

Tim Flesher Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

7 September 1982

Dear Tim

I attach a paper for the Family Policy Group prepared by the Secretary of State for Social Services.

Copies go to Imogen Wilde (Department of Education and Science), David Edmonds (Department of Environment), Anthony Mayer (Department of Transport), Jill Rutter (Treasury), Barnaby Shaw (Department of Employment), John Haliday (Home Office) and also to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

Yours we,

David

D J CLARK
Private Secretary

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE FAMILY POLICY GROUP

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

You invited Ministers to set out what their Departments were doing towards encouraging the development of personal responsibility, and what more might be done.

Child Care

2. Children's experiences in their early years are crucial in forming attitudes. The care provided by parents themselves must be the foundation on which we build. Indeed some would say that we should do more to help parents to be at home eg by increasing child benefit and other forms of support for families with children and particularly to single parents.

However in this paper I concentrate on the availability of services. Some are of value to all children (ie whether they have a parent at home or not) and often operate through developing the responsibility of parents themselves eg:-

(a) "Homeline" provides families at risk with a family friend, a volunteer to help and advise. "Homestart" uses volunteers to visit families with young children, particularly with isolated and lonely mothers. We provide some central grants for these.

(b) Pre-school playgroups, usually started by voluntary bodies, are well supported by parents contributing time as well as money. Parental involvement in constructive pre-school activities can help to reduce subsequent delinquency. Again, we provide central grants.

In addition, we encourage the efforts of the National Childminding Association to improve the standing and status of childminders, and we have urged local authorities to help more in developing services for the under fives by looking at alternative uses of existing resources. The Urban Programme has assisted. The present trend in the Western world towards less stable family relationships gives these activities even more significance.

I now propose to:

- discuss with the voluntary organisations concerned what more can be done within existing resources
- update my guidance to local authorities on the availability of day care services
- build up information about other countries to see what lessons we might learn.

If more resources were available I would, for example:

- support more Homeline and Homestart schemes
- ask voluntary organisations to expand their development of multi-purpose family centres in deprived areas.

Though the bulk of the cost of such extra provision would have to come from the users or from voluntary sources, some central pump-priming would be an important stimulus.

3. The problem of usefully occupying children after school and in the holidays is also growing. One effective way of tackling this is the organisation of activities by groups of parents within their own communities using local facilities, such as church and community halls, and schools. Schemes are being supported through the Urban Programme. But the schemes ought to be largely community based not State supported and a small new Departmental grant is being made to the National Out of School Alliance for the co-ordinating work with voluntary groups across the country. I should like to see:

- continued support via the Urban Programme
- more opening of schools during holidays and after school hours.

Juvenile Offenders

4. We have invested considerable resources in the development of "intermediate treatment", providing financial support to voluntary bodies and staff time to encourage individual schemes and local authorities. This form of community care aims to build a sense of responsibility in a juvenile offender, without creating the alienation caused by committal to an institution. Already schemes are being used by magistrates as an alternative to detention centre or Borstal, and involve substantial discussion with the youngster about his offence and the way he relates to society, a project of community work, and follow-up contact until he is re-established and confident in his new role. Provisions in the Criminal Justice Bill also encourage non-custodial care - extension of the Community Service Order to 16 year olds, and give courts powers to specify details of the intermediate treatment programmes to be undertaken. I now propose to:

- continue to encourage the expansion of Intermediate Treatment as existing resources permit.

5. But the scale of intermediate treatment is still small, and there is a need to build up an effective national network. If more resources were available I would:

- launch a new initiative to bring together statutory (including social services, education, policy, magistrates etc) and voluntary bodies to develop the service, with some central pump-priming money.

Elderly

6. It is sometimes said that one sign of loss of traditional values is that families are less willing to care for their old people; and that the availability of improved statutory services has led to their being handed over, with no real feeling of guilt, to the 'welfare' to look after. It is difficult to produce direct evidence to prove or disprove this. But we do know that some 95 per cent of all those over 65 are still living in the community. A recent study estimated that of about half a million people with moderate or severe senile dementia, 90 per cent still lived in the community: about 40 per cent of their supporters were their spouses and a slightly higher percentage were their children.

7. We have no other firm information on the extent of family support, nor have we evidence of any significant change in it. There have, however, been changes in patterns of family life which might be expected to affect the family's caring capacity. These include:

- a. an increase in the proportion of women who work outside the home;
- b. a reduction in the number of unmarried women;
- c. a reduction in the ratio between the number of "typical carers" (women aged 45-59) and the number of elderly people;
- d. an increase in the number of elderly people who move when they retire;
- e. greater mobility, particularly the tendency for younger people to move from inner city areas leaving the older generation behind;
- f. the later onset of dependency.

8. Spouses form a very significant proportion of supporters. For this reason, and others, many supporters are themselves elderly: for example 37 per cent of the supporters of the confused elderly are over 70. The support required by elderly and younger carers will differ. Elderly supporters may have a particular need for supportive services in the home while the priority for younger carers may be for short breaks from caring. Organisations such as the Association of Carers and the National Council for the Single Woman and her Dependants do good work in facilitating mutual support and representing the interests of carers: we provide both bodies with financial help.

9. I intend to try to persuade authorities to put more emphasis, within the limited resources available, on

- home support services (district nurses, home helps, incontinence services);
- assessment, advice and counselling services;
- facilities for day and short term care;
- the provision of day and night sitting services.

I will also

- continue to support voluntary agencies providing services in this field, or providing support for the carers themselves

and encourage the authorities to do the same.

Other Special Groups

10. A similar approach is relevant also in helping disabled people to maintain themselves in the community, and supporting the efforts of families, relatives and neighbours to care both for the physically disabled and the mentally handicapped. We are proposing important changes in the 'joint finance' arrangements to further collaboration between health authorities, local authorities and voluntary bodies to extend services to help in this - with particular emphasis on schemes enabling people to leave long-stay hospitals.

There is an important link here with social security provision. Other improvements in the mobility allowance are a concrete example, and we are seeking other ways in which benefit policy can back up these 'care in the community' objectives.

IF

Social Services and Voluntary Effort

11. The personal social services have a crucial role in limiting and preventing dependence by buttressing family responsibility, mutual support and individual self-reliance. They can forestall the need to receive children into care and help handicapped or elderly people to maintain their independence. I continue to emphasise the importance of the work of the social services in building up individual and family strength. I propose to:

- focus on this aspect in the follow up of the recent Barclay Committee report on social work, and encourage the social services departments to develop their role in mobilising community resources, both voluntary organisations and less formally organised effort.

12. Our support for the voluntary sector has been maintained in real terms and is now running at £9m a year. Local authority support for the voluntary sector's local activities has been increasing in real terms (by 20 per cent in 1981/82 to £23m). We are also getting a good response to the £3.3m scheme launched earlier this year to create opportunities for volunteering in the health and personal social services by unemployed people, a particularly valuable way of encouraging individual self-confidence and commitment. If and as resources become available, I intend to:

- encourage the continued expansion of the voluntary sector in support of our objectives.

Private provision for health care

13. The NHS has dominated thinking on health care for more than a generation, but the revival of interest in private medical care has shown that many people are willing to take direct responsibility for themselves. The growth in private medical insurance from around 2½ million insured people when we took office to four million now is evidence of this. Especially encouraging is the growth of individual as well as corporate cover. This change has brought new income for health care which is helping the NHS as well as stimulating new private investment. We have already relaxed controls which might have hampered this. I now propose to:

- continue to encourage private sector growth;

- encourage public and private sectors to work together closely in constructive partnership so that more efficient and effective use can be made of their combined resources.

14. The same awareness of individual responsibility for health can also be harnessed to bring help to NHS hospitals. Before 1948, hospitals were generously supported by voluntary organisations and we are doing what we can to revive this spirit. Not only do voluntary contributions bring in extra resources, they also foster a strong sense of commitment in the community towards local hospitals. We have untied the hands of health authorities (via the Health Services Act, 1980) so that they can become actively involved in local fund-raising, and are encouraging them to explore in co-operation with the voluntary organisations, what can be achieved by this means. I now propose to:

- continue to encourage these developments.

Health - the Individual's Responsibility

15. The prevention of ill-health is an area in which the individual has clear responsibilities. No one can wholly escape illness or injury, but there are plenty of risks to health which are within the individual's power to reduce or avoid. Too many endanger their health through ignorance or powerful social pressures. A general aim should be to help people appreciate that much illness is avoidable and that avoidable illness pre-empts resources needed for the treatment of those who are unavoidably sick.

16. We can give more emphasis to this important aspect of health promotion activities. There are already significant changes in public attitude towards smoking and signs of a change in attitude towards exercise, diet, and sensible drinking (especially in the road safety context). I now propose to:

- discuss with the Health Education Council under its new leadership how their information programme can further emphasise this theme, which has already featured in their successful "Look After Yourself" campaign;
- encourage the Health Education Council to develop their Education for Parenthood programme;
- use the opportunities of Ministerial speeches to medical, nursing and other professional groups to encourage them to adopt the same approach in their relationships with patients;

- consider further with interested groups such as the drinks and tobacco industries how the funds and support they are prepared to give to research and educational projects can best help promote sensible behaviour and foster individual responsibility at home, and in the workplace;

- arrange with DES how best to continue to encourage schools to include teaching on personal responsibilities for health in the curriculum.



Covering CONFIDENTIAL

cc JV
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cc WG
JO

Qa 06057

To: PRIME MINISTER

7 September 1982

From: JOHN SPARROW

Family Policy Group

1. I attach my paper for your Group meeting on Friday.
2. I am sending copies to the other members of the Group and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

B.

Att

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FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Note by the Head of the Central Policy Review Staff

1. The prosperity of a nation and the welfare of the individuals who compose it depend ultimately on the spirit of its people - their readiness to assume responsibility for their own actions, their willingness to play an active role in shaping their own lives and in determining the quality of their physical and moral environment, and their confidence in their ability to deal successfully with the inevitable exigencies of human life. For a variety of reasons, this spirit of individual responsibility, confidence and self-discipline has been eroded in Britain over recent decades. The aim of the Family Policy Group must be to reverse this process.
2. The symptoms of this loss of confidence and sense of responsibility are clear. They may be seen in the tendency to blame others - the Government, the Council, the boss, the unions, the media - for one's own predicament and to expect others, including the growing army of 'professionals' who now appear to take many of the key decisions affecting people's lives, to get one out of it. They may be seen in the tendency to denigrate or even deny the role which individuals may have played in achieving conspicuous success in their particular fields of endeavour and hence, for example, to believe that such individuals should be subjected to penal taxation aimed at preventing them from enjoying the fruits of that success or from passing these on to their families. They may be seen also in the tendency to excuse acts of teenage delinquency and vandalism as either the inevitable product of deprivation or as part of the normal process of growing up. Finally, they may be seen in such commonly held beliefs as that teachers should not exert pressure on pupils to achieve their full potential lest they discourage them, that parents should not discipline their children lest they alienate them and that employers should not resist the demands of their unions lest they provoke them. In other

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words, they may be seen in the tendency to deny to those in authority their raison d'être and, with it, their right to insist on the highest standards.

3. It will not be easy for the Government to reverse a process which has been going on for many years and to modify collectivist beliefs and attitudes which are now ingrained in large numbers of the population. All that the Government can do is to try to encourage - by example, by exhortation and, where necessary and appropriate, by legislation - the establishment of those conditions in which a spirit of individual responsibility and self-reliance can flourish. To be successful, it must do this constructively and without appearing to threaten those aspects of the present welfare state arrangements which guarantee that no one in Britain today need suffer the extremes of poverty and deprivation to which earlier generations were vulnerable. In short, the aim of the Family Policy Group should be to produce a society in which the State reinforces and underpins individual initiative rather than discouraging and replacing it.

4. To this end, the Group will have to examine a great many aspects of society and, in respect of each of these, decide -

(i) What action the Government can take to encourage the objectives of personal responsibility and initiative. This will involve examining the results of recent research and looking to other countries for suggestions as well as reviewing existing Departmental plans and programmes.

(ii) How such action would affect other aspects of the activity being studied: e.g. is there a risk that measures directed at increasing the scope for personal responsibility in a particular field might lead to losses on other measures of welfare or well-being?

THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

5. The family lies at the heart of our society and any programme aimed at strengthening the spirit of individual responsibility and initiative in

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society must begin here. We must aim to strengthen the family as the primary unit of support for the individual and, to this end, we must seek to strengthen also the ties which bind the generations together.

6. For a variety of reasons including greater social and geographical mobility, these ties are much weaker today than they once were. Divorce is no longer regarded as something to be avoided at all costs. But divorce itself imposes a cost, particularly on the children. Of the children born today, one-fifth will see their parents divorce before they reach their sixteenth birthday. Many of these children will grow up with only a single parent. There is no simple explanation for the present high rate of divorce nor is it clear what the Government can do about it. But there may be some steps which can be taken to counter this phenomenon. For example, it is clear that early marriages are more likely to end in divorce than later ones. (It has been established that marriages in which the bride is in her teens are twice as likely to end in divorce as those in which the bride is between 20 and 24 years of age and four times as likely to end in divorce as those in which she is between 25 and 29.) Given this, it would seem worth considering what the Government could do to encourage later marriage, perhaps by teaching young people more about the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood and the risks of early marriage.

7. Even in 'successful' marriages, however, there are pressures which tend to weaken the family as a supportive unit. In the period between 1971 and 1979, the proportion of women with dependent children who were working rose from 41 per cent to 52 per cent. It is not known how many of these mothers would have preferred to stay at home to look after their children but we must use the tax/benefit system to help those who wish to do so. On the other hand, where both mother and father choose to go out to work, we must consider how best to provide substitutes for parental care in order to ease the problem of 'latch-key' children. Such substitutes might include nursery classes and crèches and perhaps also some encouragement through the tax/benefit system to enable working parents to employ someone else to care for their children for at least part of the day.

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8. Children are not the only members of a family who need support and companionship. There are problems also at the other end of the age spectrum. During the last twenty years, the number of elderly has increased by one-third so that in 1981 there were 8.1 million people aged 65 or over in the United Kingdom. The increasing trend in numbers of retired people has levelled off in recent years, but there is a continuing steady increase in the number of the 'very aged'. Between 1981 and 2001, it is estimated that the number of people over 85 will increase by about 50 per cent. Clearly the State will not be able to assume full responsibility for caring for the majority of these people. Whatever scarce public resources are available should go to those most in need such as those without families to look after them, the handicapped, the seriously ill. For the rest, we must encourage families to take care of their own elderly, not simply by exhortation, but also by the provision of material help through the tax/benefit systems.

9. A confident and self-reliant family needs a home in which it can take pride. House ownership is the most effective way of providing this, but tenants too, should be able to take pride in their homes. To this end, they must have some say in the way their homes and the physical environment surrounding them are managed. We have all seen housing estates, not only in the inner cities, where vandalism seems almost to be invited. Too often these estates, although built (often recently) to high architectural and engineering standards, are totally lacking in human terms. They have deteriorated to their present condition partly because of this and partly because of the insensitive housing management policies of the local authority. The Government has already made a start in tackling this problem; the Family Policy Group should ensure that this work is given greater priority.

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EDUCATION

10. It would be unrealistic to expect parents to be able to instil in their children the values of self-reliance, excellence and individual initiative unless these values are found also in the schools. To this end, teachers must be persuaded of the benefits of these values and of the importance of passing them on to their pupils. They must be persuaded also of the importance of maintaining discipline in the classroom, of teaching pupils how to work on their own and of insisting on the highest standards in relation to the basic skills such as reading, writing and simple mathematics. This is likely to require a radical rethinking of our present system of teacher training and more involvement by the Government in curriculum matters than has hitherto been considered appropriate.

11. At the higher levels of education, we must take steps to get students to appreciate the true cost of their education and thus to make the most of their opportunities. Raising tuition fees to cover a higher proportion of the costs of their courses might be a way of doing this, as would be the introduction of student loans in place of grants.

12. Consideration should be given also to how far the present education system reduces social mobility and reinforces the rigidities of the class structure as compared with the old grammar-school system. The aim of the education system must be to enable all young people to realise their full potential to the benefit of themselves and the nation as a whole and to encourage them to make every effort to do so.

THE WORK PLACE

13. The values of self-reliance and individual initiative must be encouraged in the work place, too. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer points out in his paper, action is already in hand to encourage new and small businesses, management enterprise and wider ownership. These developments must be pursued with vigour as should others directed at

- enabling individuals to take more responsibility for their own pension arrangements, thus increasing mobility among those with scarce managerial and entrepreneurial skills;

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- encouraging union members to play a more active role in their unions, e.g. by requiring secret ballots for union elections, etc;
- giving individual employees more of a stake in the prosperity of their enterprises through wider shareholdings;
- raising the level of skill and professionalism among managers by encouraging management training both at the start of a career and at intermediate stages until retirement;
- introducing direct communications between management and workforce, not via the unions.

PUBLIC ORDER AND THE ENVIRONMENT

14. The problems of law and order are to some extent being considered by a separate group under Home Office leadership. But we can not neglect this key area of society. The police are, of course, in the front line in the fight to maintain law and order and we must not undermine their confidence in carrying out this task. On the contrary, we must use every opportunity to strengthen the respect with which the police are held by all members of society. To this end, we must continue to ensure that the police are as well trained as possible, that all charges of corruption are investigated quickly and thoroughly and that the arrangements for dealing with complaints are accepted by the public as fair and impartial. It may also be worth reviewing the present arrangements for filling the top posts in the police service with a view not only to expanding the Graduate Entry Scheme but also to opening these important posts to direct recruitment from outside the service. This would enable the police to draw on the pool of experienced and able people who would be prepared to serve the community in this way.

15. But we cannot leave it to the police alone to ensure that the Queen's Peace is maintained. Efforts should be made to increase respect for the law not only among those who may be inclined to break it but also among the far greater number who appear to be indifferent to the lawbreaking that goes on around them every day. Attitudes to the "black economy" are relevant here; so also are public attitudes to vandalism and violence, child abuse, graffiti and litter. There may be scope for dealing with at least some forms of such anti-social behaviour through voluntary action; the

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Government may however have to play a more active role in dealing with the growth of pornography and sex shops and the amount of violence on television and in the press.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

16. A reliant and confident society is based on equality of opportunity and that theme should run through all our work. The present level of unemployment, particularly among the young, is a major obstacle to opportunity and the Government must continue, within its overall economic strategy, to develop cost-effective schemes for tackling it. For those without jobs, efforts must be made to prevent them from losing confidence in their own ability and sense of value. To this end, efforts should be made to help the unemployed to start businesses of their own, and to provide them with facilities and opportunities for leisure, recreation and the acquisition of new skills.

17. We must ensure also that our racial minority communities enjoy the same opportunities as those enjoyed by the rest of society so that they feel that they, too, are a part of this society and accept their full share of responsibility for ensuring its tranquility and well-being. Many of those who have recently arrived in this country are imbued with precisely the sorts of values which the Group is trying to encourage. We must ensure that they are not prevented by discrimination from enjoying the fruits of their skill, enterprise and initiative. In this context, it might be useful to review the effectiveness of the institutions set up in the 1970s to promote equality of opportunity; ie the Commission for Racial Equality and the Equal Opportunities Commission.

18. Even as we move towards a society in which people have a strong sense of personal responsibility and in which they can control their own destiny within broader limits than is possible today, there will still be a need for the state to provide help for those individuals who cannot help themselves and who cannot get adequate help from family, friends or the local community. We must make it clear that we intend to continue to provide a 'safety-net' where required. Our objective must not be to dismantle the post-Beveridge welfare state, but to identify more clearly the purposes for which it was developed and to direct it to achieving these purposes more effectively.

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It should then be possible to provide those in real need with a more effective and generous support system than can be afforded now. We must also identify, and attempt to diminish, the factors which serve to discourage individuals from taking more responsibility for themselves and their families.

Cabinet Office

7 September 1982

→ FERB

GL JV

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PRIME MINISTER

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

You asked for comments on Mr Mount's paper. I have taken this to cover values as they directly affect the family unit. Wider values, although of very considerable interest in the employment field, appear to go beyond the parameters as set out by FM. I note that other colleagues have chosen to paint with a rather broader brush, but I believe the restrictive approach has much to be said for it. If we are to launch a campaign in defence of family values, we must be able to show that our actions are directly and explicitly relevant to the family if they are to have maximum impact.

Two principal threats exist to the family unit on the employment front;

i unemployment

ii the transition from school to work.

On the broader front the growth of collectivism through unions has been checked but corporatism remains strong - and MSC representing both has grown in power and influence.

UNEMPLOYMENT

- This is probably the single most substantial threat to the family unit and the values which pin it together. Unemployment affects various members of the family in different ways.

Head of the Family

- Undoubtedly this is the area of greatest concern. He is the traditional breadwinner who provides for his dependents, and



his status and authority are undermined if he is dependent on welfare payments or subsidy from junior members of the household. He passes onto the next generation respect for the economic system which has sustained him. Deprived of his ability to fulfil his role, the links which bind the family unit are weakened and in many individual cases we can trace to this a decline in respect for property, for law and order, and for authority as well as a decline in support for the free enterprise system. Unemployment means the breadwinner having to rely on the welfare system. The collectivist, paternalist state then takes over the function of breadwinner. The role of head of family is left to be filled by anti-social groups, ranging from left-wing social workers, sometimes operating through Government funded centres for the unemployed, to the criminal elements with whom the political extremists collaborate in areas such as Toxteth. This is most noticeable amongst black American and immigrant Caribbean families in the UK. We should not forget that the special employment schemes which have been devised to assist the long-term unemployed are least attractive to those with family responsibilities, since they enjoy the highest level of benefit.

Women

- Partly because this is a low productivity low wage economy and partly as a result of increased unemployment amongst breadwinners, many women have been forced to work who would otherwise not have chosen to do so. This clearly detracts from their roles as mothers and home-makers, particularly where the need to look for paid employment has been forced on them by the inability of the head of family to provide.

Possible initiatives

- Much of the solution to these problems can only be found with the return to prosperity and the established success of the free enterprise system. This requires the creation of well paid, "real", jobs which arise from well based economic growth. It cannot be supplied by traditional means of Government reflation designed to create public sector jobs, which will only increase the undermining



influence of collectivism. On the way to recovery, a variety of measures could help.

These could include further measures to ensure that there always exists a greater financial incentive to work rather than not to work; the dismemberment of artificial barriers, such as wages councils and closed shops, which prevent those who wish to work from taking employment on conditions which both they and prospective employers find acceptable; the easing of equal opportunity constraints on small firms, which both reduces the number of jobs available and ensures that less heads of families than would otherwise be the case fill those which are available. In all of these areas we have made progress in the last few years, but there is room for still further improvement. However, we should recognise that these are only indirectly aimed at the family unit, and are much more centrally concerned with the health of our economic system as a whole. At best, they are tangential to family policy.

A special employment programme aimed specifically at heads of families would hardly be practicable on grounds of cost and administrative difficulty.

THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

- The rapidly changing nature of our jobs market in an era of new technology and the skills and talents needed to satisfy the demand of this market have highlighted the inadequacies of the present system. Coupled with high unemployment, it has left a large number of young people badly educated and ill equipped for employment, who have been led to believe that the world - or the state - owes them a living. They leave the more or less disciplined framework of school, only to find that they cannot replace it with



a new framework of employment and they became used to receiving cash without obligation. Once again, this can only encourage the breakdown of respect for authority.

Moreover, we heighten the problem by undermining the other disciplined framework of a young person's life - the family. Our benefit system which provides a level of financial support which makes young teenagers relatively independent of the family. Indeed, it leaves them with more personal spending power than is enjoyed by their unemployed fathers.

We undoubtedly suffered a set back in this area when we had to concede a £25 a week allowance for YTS trainees and the continuing payment of supplementary benefit to non-participants. Regrettably we failed to establish in the public's mind the continuing financial responsibility of parents for children after the age of 16, and we must continue to argue this case.

The excessively high level of young people's wages also encourages the calls for a full living wage for teenagers and indeed entitlement to a separate home. In so far as they are met the family unit is undermined. Our continuing reform of trades unions and other corporatist and collectivist institutions such as wages councils are also relevant although they are not directly designed to bolster family values.

I would finish with two comments to FM's papers. If a programme aimed at family values is to be successful, it must be specific and easily comprehensible. I would argue that many of his suggestions, particularly in the section "At Work", go well beyond what could fit comfortably into a "family values" package. Secondly, I wonder whether his prospective audience is the correct one, namely, "the poor and those who are at present largely or wholly dependent upon services provided by the state". I would have thought it better to aim rather



higher, at those who have the will and the dedication to restore values in their family lives, but who require our support and encouragement in order to do so effectively. As in so many areas of values, leadership by example is the best educator of all, and we should encourage those who are best able to offer such a positive example.

Outside my Departmental responsibilities I do have concern at the way in which the responsibility of the family towards elderly or handicapped members has been undermined. A more generous tax allowance for those supporting such members of the family could result in less expenditure on supplementary benefit and the conversion of some of those who clamour for higher benefits to the ranks of those who clamour for lower personal taxation.

I am copying this minute to recipients of the earlier papers.

N T

7 September 1982

FILE

DSG



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

6 September, 1982

Dear Diana,

Thank you for your letter and card of 31 August. The article on family policy will be very useful to the Group that I have set up to look at this subject, and I must say that I agree with a lot of what you say.

I was touched by your message about my operation. It really was a very minor operation, and I am now quite well and back at work.

With best wishes.

Yours ever

Raymond

The Rt. Hon. Baroness Elles.

SW

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JU703



PRIME MINISTER

cc JV
Prime Minister
cc Mr Parkinson WH
MS
cc WS 3/9
SO

I attach a contribution for the next meeting on "Renewing the Values of Society".

Though I have written this primarily from the standpoint of the Department, I hope colleagues will forgive me if I also attach a copy of the speech I made at the 1977 Party Conference in reply to a debate on the family. Some of the points I made may well be relevant in the Group's discussion.

2 I am sending copies of this to Willie Whitelaw, Geoffrey Howe, Keith Joseph, Michael Heseltine, David Howell, Norman Fowler, Norman Tebbit, Cecil Parkinson and to Sir Robert Armstrong and John Sparrow.

David Saunders

for PATRICK JENKIN

(approved by the Secretary of State and signed in his absence)

Department of Industry
Ashdown House
123 Victoria Street

3 September 1982



Paper from the Secretary of State for Industry to the Family Policy Group

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

1 This paper is intended as a contribution to the discussion primarily from a Department of Industry standpoint.

2 One preliminary maxim: to quote Burke - "The laws reach but a little way". We must not exaggerate what governments can do by legislation, institutional change or exhortation.

3 A second point is that a high level of long-term unemployed is profoundly anti-family. Prolonged unemployment erodes respect for the breadwinner, creates strains within the family and increases dependence on the State. Many would argue that the best thing we can do for the family is to pursue our policies to bring the numbers of long-term unemployed down.

Help for the small firm is help for the family

4 The need to encourage the establishment, continuity and growth of small and family businesses, and to help the self-employed, is at the heart of the Department of Industry's interest in the values of the family. We have made much progress here but the momentum must be maintained. The following issues arise:



- (a) There is a general need to keep under review the impact of tax - CTT, CGT, Corporation Tax and stamp duty - on small firms and wherever possible make changes which ease the burdens. We are not a "one generation society" and continuity of family businesses is essential.
- (b) Further moves to lift the burdens for small firms and the self-employed. Studies have been done in the past. But over-elaborate bureaucratic rules are widely felt to deter small firms. To offer the prospect of alleviation of the administrative hassle of the employment of people by small firms would be a considerable boost. If it is thought that we ought to look at this again, as I would recommend, perhaps the task could be given to the present Working Group on small firms under John MacGregor.
- (c) The black economy. Taxation and administrative hassle encourage the black economy and therefore undermine respect for the law and institutions. This underlines the constant need to avoid imposing excessive taxes or regulations on small firms.
- (d) The Enterprise Allowance Scheme. There is growing evidence that this scheme, so far only a pilot experiment, is encouraging unemployed people to become self-employed. We need to decide soon whether to extend the scheme.



(e) Enterprise Agencies. These are valuable institutions for generating new start-ups. We need to look at further ways of helping here.

Business and the community

5 I am sure that it helps family life if people have a feeling of belonging to the community in which they live. For industry, it must be our objective to encourage firms to play a greater role in the local community. This should be a matter of self-interest. If firms show little concern for the community in which their employees and their families live, then they cannot be surprised if in turn employees show little concern for the well-being of the firm for which they work. Involving the private sector in community development could be encouraged, as has been suggested already, by shared cost schemes.

Strengthening the sense of identity between a company and its employees

6 The size, remoteness and apparent insensitivity of many organisations - those for which people work and those which serve them in their local community - weaken people's personal commitment and involvement. Many people will spend their entire lives working in a large company; companies must be encouraged to follow the example set by those firms with the best record on employee involvement. Work is already in hand but this subject



is of direct relevance here.

7 Profit participation also has a role to play in securing commitment and a sense of belonging.

Education and industry

8 Another aspect of closer cohesion in the community is encouraging continuity of experience as a person moves from one world to another. This, together with the need to correct the cultural bias against industry, is why links between industry and education must be improved. More direct contacts between schools and firms will increase pupils' understanding of the world of industry and commerce. Schemes such as "micros in schools" help prepare children for the new technology they will face at work. Broadening the training and experience of teachers could help children relate more easily their education to the world outside their school. Again, this will foster the sense of community, rather than life consisting of a number of disparate and unrelated stages.

Privatisation

9 We need to press ahead with privatisation as it is one of the main instruments by which the Government can counteract the growth of centralisation and reduce the number of State monoliths which tower above the individual.

P J

3 September 1982

reorganisation has taken the very best of our sisters away from the bedside? Must we accept the flaccid, remote, lay administration that somehow seems to need a dynamite suppository to get it going? Must we accept the contraction of our specialist services when our research and our efforts have led Western medicine to its present eminence? In the National Health Service we find that management has become a substitute for discipline and the dilution of skills has become the penalty of excellence.

The devotion and the skills of the members of the medical and nursing Royal Colleges are second to none. Before it is too late I ask the next Conservative Cabinet to give back to the doctors the responsibility for the finance and the administration of the hospital service. I tell you this: without this it will rapidly become impossible for us to continue to treat and to serve our fellow human beings. Our society, this Party, will be judged on the standard of care we provide for the lonely, the sick and the little children.

MR JENKIN'S SPEECH

THE RT HON PATRICK JENKIN, MP (Wanstead and Woodford): I was delighted when the National Union decided to give time for this discussion on the Family and Conservative Policy. I think we have had a very thoughtful and a very constructive discussion. A great many valuable proposals and ideas have been put forward. I know that many more would have been put forward if the more than 50 speakers who sought to take part in this discussion had had a chance to come to the rostrum.

I can give you this pledge, that I and my Front Bench colleagues, Janet Young in the House of Lords, Gerry Vaughan and Lynda Chalker in the House of Commons—and may I say how enormously grateful I am to them for their energetic and imaginative work on the social services—that we will go through this debate, comb through the record, and take forward in the proper context the various proposals that have been made in the main stream of our policy work.

The family is an enduring institution. It has been the foundation for virtually every free society known to history. It possesses strength and resilience, not least in adversity. Loyalty to the family ranks highest of all, higher even than loyalty to the State. It is no accident, as Tom Benyon reminded us, that dictatorships whether of the Left or of the Right seek first to devalue and then to destroy the family. To those who regard unconditional obedience to the State as the paramount duty, the family is a prime obstacle to be crushed. But tyranny is not the only threat to family life. It can be undermined by the scorn of fools, by the bias of the collectivists, or even by benign neglect.

This afternoon we have heard in many of the moving speeches from the rostrum how the family is under pressure. Mrs Case told us of the problems of a family with a mentally handicapped child. Mrs Hadley described to us the problems of the elderly in a deprived area of East London. Mr Falkner told us of

the problems of nursing in the psychogeriatric wards of some of our oldest and most out-dated hospitals. Dudley Fishburn described to us the problems of the elderly in a retirement area of our country.

Many of the symptoms of the pressure under which families exist are among our greatest social anxieties. The rising tide of juvenile crime, the growth of truancy, the break up of marriages, family violence, the loneliness of the aged, the growing dependence on the social services, the steadily mounting numbers of children in care—these are the toll exacted by the strains on family life. In a discussion as full as this one there have been many strands and, much as I should like to, I cannot reply to them all.

One strand which was raised by Janet Young in her opening speech and picked up by one or two speakers from the floor is the profound change that has taken place not only in this country but in other advanced societies, occasioned by the number of married women who now take a job outside the home. I am told that there is now a word for 'latchkey kid' in every European language. Although for mothers with very young children only a small minority work full-time, in more and more families mothers are combining earning with home-making. In many cases her pay contributes a sizeable part of the family income, her career may rank equal in importance to that of her husband, her contribution towards the joint retirement income is significant.

This represents a massive change in family life and I think we should pause and ask—how far have our institutions in government adapted to this change? Yes, we have adapted the tax system to the married woman earner. We have partially adapted the social security system. There is now an elaborate machinery to ensure her equal opportunity, equal pay and equal rights; but I think we ought to stop and ask—where does this leave the family? And where does it leave the mother who chooses not to go out to work but to stay at home and look after her family?

There seem to me to be two aspects of this and one is certainly financial. Freedom of choice is an admirable principle but one must ask what sort of freedom is it when young mothers who would rather stay at home and look after their young children feel forced to go out to work, simply to make ends meet? Our tax system gives great advantages to families where both spouses work, but a family where the father works and the mother stays at home and which has exactly the same total income pays very much more tax. Is not this a tax penalty on staying at home to look after the children? Should we not perhaps be looking for a greater neutrality in our tax system?

Widows face a comparable discrimination. I believe that we must do better for single parents of whom young widows and widowers form a significant part.

One way to redress this imbalance in our tax system is to recognise the costs of bringing up children. Here we face an immediate difficulty. There just are no proper figures to guide us as to what are the costs of bringing up a family. Margaret Winn in her notable

book, *Family Policy*, has shown just how hit-and-miss are our methods.

If I may reminisce for a moment, I remember when I was Financial Secretary to the Treasury and we increased the child tax allowances, I was asked what was the basis upon which we chose the figure that we put in the Budget. I had no answer, except simply to say that like Topsy they had just 'grewed' that way.

The result of this hit-and-miss has been, as Janet Young showed us in her admirable opening speech, that inflation has eroded the child tax allowances far more than the other personal allowances. I would like to repeat those staggering figures. While the tax threshold for a single person has risen 87 per cent between 1945 and this year, for a family with two children it has risen only 14 per cent and for a family with four children the increase has been only 9 per cent. Interestingly enough, if you look at the intermediate years you see that families fared far better under Conservative governments than they did under Labour governments.

Stephen Perry in his powerful defence of the tax credit scheme was absolutely right when he said this is the way in which we can start to redress the balance. Had we remained in office the tax credit scheme would now be on the statute book. Child tax credit was to be the first stage. But you remember how last year the Labour Cabinet tried to bury the child benefit scheme. When we challenged them in the House of Commons they funked the vote and ran away. The great child benefit robbery was the day that Labour finally abandoned the family. I agree with Peter Bottomley—a classic example of what goes wrong if you listen to the union bosses rather than to the voice of the family.

By constant pressure we forced three debates on the floor of the House, and something has been salvaged from the wreckage. Labour claims to be the party that cares, but the great child benefit robbery finally proves this to be a hollow sham. What did they offer to families at last week's conference at Brighton? Absolutely nothing! Mr Healey was asked about his forthcoming cuts. I quote *The Guardian*: 'He ruled out the possibility of giving extra money in the form of child benefits. These would work against people without children.'

When one considers the figures I quoted a moment ago, this shows a staggering ignorance. Mr Healey is pleading for pay restraint, but I tell him—go and ask the police! Go and ask the firemen! For the greatest pressure for the big pay increases comes from the young family men with children to support. These are the ones he should be listening to—family basher Healey!

Our tax system must be more family orientated. We must concentrate relief where there are dependent children. I give you this pledge: the next Conservative Government will retrieve the child benefit scheme from Mr Healey's waste-paper basket and give it top priority.

But finance is not the only argument. The pressures on young wives to go out to work devalue motherhood itself. I am always

saddened when a mother tells me, 'I do not work. I am only a mother.' When I see what my own wife did I wonder what they mean.

Parenthood is a very skilled task indeed, and it must be our aim to restore it to the place of honour it deserves. We hear today a great deal about social work. A team from the British Association of Social Workers has been seeking to define the social work task. This is a job which has taken them many months. During that time no fewer than four of the team left to have babies. Somewhat wryly, one of those remaining was moved to suggest that perhaps the most important social work of all is motherhood.

This brings me to my next point. The family is not just mum, dad, and kids—a sort of snap, crackle and pop. It is very much more besides. What sort of encouragement do we give to families to look after their elderly relations? Yet the family must be the front-line defence when Gran needs help. Rightly we argue that the best of social work is helping people to help themselves. Do we do enough to make this a reality? How many council houses are built with a 'granny' annexe? How many housing authorities deliberately set out to house a young family near older relatives? Take another case. Why does not the invalid care allowance go to married women? How odd it is that it goes to a married man whose wife is crippled but not to a wife whose husband is crippled!

Some people have seen this as discrimination against women, but it is not; it is discrimination against the family.

Over the years we in this country—both Governments must share the blame for this—have made the mistake of looking at our social problems in terms of categories—the elderly, the under-fives, kids in trouble, the mentally handicapped. All experience shows that trying to help people outside the family context can bring poor results with heavy costs. Involve the family and there is a very much greater chance of success. We had one example given to us this afternoon by Dr Anthony White when he talked about the real importance of preventative medicine throughout family life. The Court Report on child health shows how much needs to be done that can have an effect upon health in old age. Let me give you other examples.

The National Playing Fields Association is doing a marvellous job in setting up adventure playgrounds for children in deprived city areas. This can be a thankless task if vandals destroy equipment almost as soon as it is built. But what they have found is—involve the fathers right from the outset and the venture almost always turns out to be a success.

Another example is the pre-school play groups movement which now has thousands of groups all over the country; its success comes because it involves the mothers as well as the under-fives.

The National Children's Bureau's recent study of young people in care shows in poignant detail how much is lost when a child has to spend its childhood in institutions. John Grugeon was right to remind us of the other, happier side of the picture. The recent

report of Kent County Council, of which he is such a distinguished leader, shows how much can be gained, and the chances of success enormously improved, if even difficult youngsters can be fostered and so share in a family life. I passionately believe that every child deserves a proper family life. A loving family is worth more than all the psychiatrists in Britain put together. Gerry Vaughan will forgive my saying so.

A family policy is not just about tax and about the social services; it is about the family shop at the street corner; it is about the family farm. The family stands as the living denial of that Socialist heresy which Margaret Thatcher is an inspired phrase christened their 'one generation society.' We are not a one generation society, and families exist to prove it.

What about hooliganism and crime? Is there not a case for the law encouraging parental responsibility more than it does and fining parents directly when their children commit certain offences?

What about education? What is parental choice if it is not an assertion of the voice of the family over that of the bureaucrat and the expert?

By contrast, what is the process of forcing every child into the same mould of mediocrity if it is not an attempt to deny the right to benefit from a good family background?

In the wise words of Lord Robbins, 'The advantages of being born into a happy and civilised family can only be removed by the elimination of the family itself.'

Family policy, like peace, is indivisible. Weaken one part and you weaken it all.

So what is to be done? Let us always remember that family life involves the most personal and private relationships between people; governments must tread with extreme caution. Let us remember, too, that our aim is to build a society that lets people make more of their own decisions, and exercise greater responsibility for their own lives. The last thing we want, therefore, is a vast new bureaucracy intruding into the privacy of our homes. I hold no brief for a Ministry for Children—before you could wink it would

have hundreds of civil servants occupying a tower office block in Wigan—with a computer that doesn't work!

But from the things we read in the newspapers and elsewhere of the anxieties of today it suggests that benign neglect is not enough. The time has come for more positive action. In an ideal world, it should suffice for the word to go out from the next Prime Minister—and who better to launch a new policy for families—and henceforth all Departments would jump smartly into line, and all Departments would look after the family. I know, and you know, that Whitehall does not work like that. We will need something more.

We will need to enlist the concern of the very many voluntary bodies active in the family field—and many of them have already shown great interest in our ideas. I warmly endorse what Mrs Springman said about supporting voluntary bodies, including those which support community life. I support what Andrew Boff said. Many of these bodies, as I have said, are interested in this debate; and we will not want for allies in this fight for the family.

Secondly, we need a forum—a Family Council, perhaps—where these voluntary bodies can bring their influence to bear directly on all ministers whose policies affect family life. Ministers would then be asked to accompany any new policy proposals with an assessment of their impact on the family, a Family Impact Statement if you like, drawn up after consultation with the interested groups. In this way Parliament, Cabinet, and people can be vigilant to safeguard and enhance the quality of family life.

This task—nothing less than the creation of a powerful and effective lobby for the families of Britain—is one in which all can join. Millions share our conviction that a sound family life lies at the heart of a free and healthy society. Millions see in today's strains on family life the seeds of greater social ills tomorrow. Among all the clamours and distractions that command attention today, let us resolve to restore the family to its rightful place in the life of our nation.

VM



CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister 2

cc JM
Fm

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

cc WGB
Jo

- 3 SEP 82

Dear Tim

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

As requested in your letter of 20 July to John Halliday, I enclose a copy of a paper by my Secretary of State for the next meeting of the Group.

Copies go to the recipients of your letter.

*Yours sincerely
Rose Bright*

R BRIGHT
Private Secretary

Tim Flesher Esq

FAMILY POLICY GROUP - PAPER BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

1. Following the meeting chaired by the Prime Minister on 20 July 1982 we were invited to assess those initiatives, aimed at developing a sense of individual self-sufficiency, already in hand in our various policy fields; and to make immediate and practical proposals further to encourage the growth of personal responsibility. My suggestions for action are described below. A summary of steps relevant to the Group's interests already taken by my Department are contained in Annex A.

Housing: Property Ownership and Management

2. There is no doubt about people's aspirations to own their own homes which, in turn, engenders a sense of both individual and community pride. I believe we can build on the dramatic progress made since 1979 to spread home ownership, without a major charge to public expenditure.

3. We expect that our present policies will have led to the sale of around half a million council houses in the life-time of this Parliament. My hope is that at the time of the election we shall fairly be able to claim that over 1 million people are living in homes they have only been able to buy as a result of our legislation. We plan to boost this performance by the measures we are introducing in the next session which include extending the Right to Buy to leasehold council dwellings, preventing unreasonable service charges being levied by local authorities on properties they sell, and - most important - by giving council tenants who cannot afford to buy outright a right to purchase on a shared ownership basis (see paragraph 6 below). We will couple these initiatives with a further aggressive publicity campaign next Spring. But there is still scope for doing more. I propose to come forward later this year with specific proposals for extending the Right to Buy in ways that are designed to stimulate an effective demand to purchase their council homes from a further half million potential purchasers. This will probably require some adjustment of the scale of discount of the value of council dwellings in relation to the length of time the purchaser has been a council tenant. Further work is needed before I can bring forward firm proposals. I should however make it clear at this point that I do not see any place for rent based mortgages with repayments starting at half average rent levels, as have been

suggested. Such a scheme would have serious disadvantages. Lenders run the risk of their loans becoming unsecured if the rate at which capital debt increases exceeds the rate of increase in the value of the mortgaged properties, even allowing for the RTB discounts. Borrowers could find that their income, over time, might be unpredictably outstripped by the sharply escalating outstanding debt. This is illustrated by the example set out in more detail in Annex B. With payments starting at £26.09 a month, the debt on a £9,000 loan taken out at an interest rate of 13% and an assumed 13% pa rise in the tax and price index would reach a peak of £17,412 and would be paid off in year 24. But if instead the tax and price index increased by only 10% pa the mortgage would have to run for 37 years and the outstanding debt would reach a peak of £36,000. Rent based mortgages would have a major financial trap for many families and the financial press is likely to advise extreme caution. A better route to home ownership is the right to shared ownership which effectively enables every tenant to buy whatever equity share of his house or flat he feels he can afford.

4. We would also encourage a more rapid transfer of council dwellings into private ownership by -

- tightening the rules for withdrawal of subsidy entitlement in the case of properties left vacant for more than a defined period. This would bite only on the diminishing number of authorities still entitled to housing subsidy but it could put pressure on more councils to release dwellings for homesteading (see below);
- extending the definition of assured tenancies to include stock built originally for council housing purposes but sold after a defined date to a private body approved for the purposes of the assured tenancy scheme under the Housing Act 1980. This could enable reputable builders to buy empty local authority houses and blocks of flats, let them at market rents whilst obtaining capital allowances on the acquisition and improvement costs. This could be done in this Parliament.

5. We propose to continue promoting other forms of low cost home ownership as vigorously as possible. Co-operation between local authorities and the private sector is being strongly encouraged. We have already intimated to local authorities that, subject to there being an adequate amount of housing capital provision in our public expenditure plans for 1983/84, we will bias HIP allocations in favour of those authorities active in this field, particularly those who are doing their utmost to attract private sector capital into home ownership ventures. I also propose to exhort authorities to use their council house waiting lists more constructively, for example by putting those on the list in touch with developers or estate agents who have starter homes available, or circulating them directly with details of low cost houses provided under partnership schemes between the authority and a builder.
6. Shared ownership is a promising and effective route into owner-occupation for lower-income families, but this concept is currently being held back because it has relied on the involvement of a public sector landlord for the purchase of the rented element of the dwelling. This situation need not continue. The Volume Builders are now persuaded of the merits of shared ownership. I propose a major stimulus to this approach by clarifying, in next year's Finance Bill, that shared ownership can be a form of investment rather than a trading activity, thereby attracting the benefits of the new capital allowance scheme to builders producing houses partly for private-renting as assured tenancies and partly for sale.
7. I also propose to stimulate more homesteading, ie the sale of a substandard property at the lowest possible cost for improvement by the purchaser. John Stanley is issuing A Guide for Homesteading targetted at local authority councillors that will be distributed to every council and will be available to the public.
8. The transaction costs of house purchasers can be reduced. A typical first-time buyer has to spend up to £400 on such costs, about two-thirds of which represents solicitor's fees. For a moving owner-occupier, the legal costs are much greater. The solicitor's conveying "monopoly" was considered by the English and Scottish Commissions on Legal Services which reached opposing conclusions.

The Government has not yet responded to these two reports. I recommend that we should investigate vigorously ways of reducing these legal costs, particularly for the great majority of straightforward cases dealing with registered land. One possibility would be to allow effective price competition for this legal work.

9. I intend to take further steps to improve the quality of local authority management of council estates, building on recent work by my Financial Institutions Group (FIG) and on our earlier Priority Estates Project (see Annex A). My major aim will be to break up the local authority monopoly on ownership and management using private sector tenants managements co-operatives and housing associations. I intend shortly to announce a major experiment along these lines in a particularly rundown and blighted estate on Merseyside where I hope to have secured the active co-operation of the local authority, the Housing Corporation, private developers and financial institutions.

Community facilities - recreation

10. Participation in sport and active recreation helps in the formation of positive attitudes, self-discipline, pride, self-reliance and team spirit - especially amongst young people. Neil Macfarlane is currently undertaking a campaign to bring underused sport and recreation facilities in the private and public sectors into more intensive use by all sectors of the community. Mr Macfarlane is also supporting work getting underway in the voluntary sector aimed at extending greater community use of sports facilities in schools and other educational establishments. He is similarly lending support to a Sports Council programme in London and the West Midlands to train leaders and motivators whose task will be to encourage greater involvement in sport and recreation activity, particularly by the young in inner-city areas.

CONFIDENTIAL

FAMILY POLICY GROUP - ANNEX A

ACHIEVEMENTS OF EXISTING POLICIES IN DOE
COUNCIL HOUSE SALES

Since the Government was elected local authorities and new towns in Great Britain had completed the sale of around 300,000 dwellings up to 31 March 1982. In addition at 31 March 1982 over $\frac{1}{2}$ million tenants in Great Britain had applied to buy their homes under the right to buy (inclusive of completed sales).

On the basis of the present statutory provisions we can expect total sales (RTB and voluntary) to be close on $\frac{1}{2}$ million by the next election. Provisions in next session's Bill - notably RTB leasehold, restrictions on service charges, and the right to shared ownership - will give a further boost to sales.

LOW COST HOME OWNERSHIP

Action taken

The concept of low cost home ownership (LCHO) was launched by John Stanley in 1980 in his speech to the Institute of Housing. It seeks active partnership between local authorities and the private house-builder. The idea has been promoted through a film and brochure, which has been widely shown to local authorities, builders and others; through examples of best practice identified and circulated by DOE Regional Offices; and through promotional work undertaken by the House Builders Federation in co-operation with the Department. The HBF have shown local authorities what their members can do, and are now following up these general presentations by detailed discussions with individual authorities on particular sites.

The 1980 Act helped the promotion of LCHO by removing legal obstacles and facilitating its development. In particular, grants may be made to help meet the gap between the cost of buying and improving houses and their eventual sale price; authorities may waive mortgage interest for homesteaders, obstacles to shared ownership were removed and authorities may guarantee building society mortgage loans. The new system of capital expenditure control gives authorities an incentive to co-operate - most LCHO initiatives give local authorities capital receipts which can be used to augment their capital spending programme.

About two-thirds of housing authorities in England currently intend to pursue at least one of the six main LCHO initiatives.

HOMESTEADING

One of the elements of the LCHO drive is homesteading; ie sale by public authorities of dwellings for improvement by the purchaser. Homesteading makes homes available to people who could not otherwise afford them (often these are people who have previously been living with parents or in rented accommodation). Homesteaders generally feel a particular sense of pride in their homes since they have been instrumental in improving them, either through their own skills or with the help of a contractor, to exactly the standard they want. Where a block of adjacent houses is being homesteaded a very good community spirit may develop as the work is carried out. About 60 local authorities intend to pursue homesteading in the current financial year. These range from authorities such as Manchester with a programme running into the hundreds to a number of authorities who are undertaking homesteading at around half a dozen dwellings a year. 3260 houses have been sold through homesteading schemes in the financial years 80/81 and 81/82.

The Department first publicised homesteading through Circular 20/80. The Department's films on low cost home ownership and home improvement which have been very widely shown have given further publicity to the scheme. We are now producing a booklet on homesteading aimed particularly at drawing the scheme to the attention of local authority councillors.

The use of mortgage interest waivers, mortgage guarantees, more flexible and generous improvement grants and discounts on the purchase price (to certain categories of purchaser) - all provided under the Housing Act 1980 and subsequent administrative action - have made the scheme attractive to homesteaders. Local authorities for their part appear to find homesteading a useful means of dealing with scattered municipalised dwellings which they cannot afford to maintain themselves and helpful in reducing the size of waiting lists for their own stock. Because the scheme is very flexible in concept local authorities are able to work out what best meets the needs of their area.

HOUSING MANAGEMENT

Difficult-to-let Estates

In the mid-1970s the Department researched the emerging problem of difficult-to-let public sector estates. Findings indicated that the main ingredients which made up for a difficult-to-let estate were poor design and layout, lack of security and vandalism, poor landscaping and brutalised common areas, inadequate community facilities, dumping of families with severe social problems, and housing management and estate services which had failed or were poorly delivered. In many areas tenants had abandoned hope and their lack of pride and concern for the environment contributed to the overall decline. A wide gulf had developed between the public landlord and the tenants. In many areas both sides had given up the fight to maintain and improve standards.

Subsequently some 40 local authorities have developed a wide range of initiatives with advice and support from DOE and in certain instances, aided by Urban Programme funding. The aim has been to establish local and improved housing management services allied to the involvement and participation of tenants in the decisions affecting their environment. Most of the initiatives include anti-vandal and security measures. Many of them have tenant-based and tenant-managed community activities.

At the same time we approved the setting up of Department funded Priority Estate Projects (PEP). Three consultants were engaged with special skills in the development of tenant consultation. Two are working on specific projects in Bolton and Hackney. The third was given a special role in Lambeth and a peripatetic task to aid the development of a number of separate local authority initiatives. Two reports highlighting the lessons from PEP have been produced and distributed to all local authorities, and a film is now underway. Showing will start later this year. We have taken opportunities to drive home the message of improved housing management in speeches at major housing conferences. The Department's Housing Services Advisory Unit and the consultants continue to disseminate good practice through seminars organised by various bodies.

COMMUNITY REFURBISHMENT SCHEMES

Community Refurbishment Schemes have been set up in Merseyside covering

6 estates and around 3,500 dwellings. The key elements of the schemes are:

1. Locally-based housing management and repairs services
2. Carrying out of all repairs and repainting
3. Anti-vandal, security and environmental clean up measures
4. Employment from within the estates of both skilled and unskilled unemployed residents
5. Development of tenant groups and community activities
6. The consultation and involvement of tenants in the changes taking place and the management of certain estate functions.

Funding over two years through the Manpower Services Commission, Urban Programme and local authorities of around £2,500 per dwelling is envisaged.

Two additional schemes at Ellesmere Port and Halton are planned and I have recently instructed the Merseyside Task Force to proceed with a further 5 schemes. By employing local residents and involving the tenants in the work and management of their estates, the aim and hope is that not only will they be better places in which to live, but that pride will be restored and the gulf between town hall and tenants be closed.

TENANTS GRANT SCHEME

Bolton is experimenting with a Tenants Grants Scheme. The local authority will carry out compulsory envelope improvements under a single contract, but tenants will follow on with voluntary improvements to the interior of their homes, within certain structural and layout constraints. Grants will be made available to tenants for each "unit" of improvement (eg to kitchen, bathroom etc) which they are free to top up. Some virement is allowed. The tenants will thus be able to plan their own improvements, select a contractor, invest their own resources if they wish, and supervise the work. Bolton expect the total cost to them to be less per unit than under the normal system. PEF will monitor the outcome.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE CARE AND RESETTLEMENT OF OFFENDERS (NACRO)

The Department has close links with NACRO who have developed techniques in tenant consultation, estate improvement and anti-vandal measures. They are now working with several local authorities and they are

currently seeking to spread their work through 70 local authorities via Urban Programme applications.

HOUSING ACT 1980

The Housing Act 1980 gave to tenants of public sector housing a range of rights which are embodied in the Tenants Charter. The rights are aimed at giving tenants a better deal and to allow them to have a greater say in how their estates are managed. The Department through a City University research project are monitoring local authorities response to the Charter provisions. Some best practice will emerge and this will be disseminated.

TENANT MANAGEMENT CO-OPERATIVES

By 1981 there were some 45 local authority tenant management co-operatives in England and 15 of them are now operating under agreements approved by the Secretary of State; other agreements are in preparation.

The Department has circulated a set of guidelines and a model agreement to local authorities. We also published a report in 1980 entitled "Management Co-operatives: the Early Stages". A second report by the Department on management co-ops, nearly complete, shows that the development of co-ops has been slow, despite the apparent benefits to tenants and authorities; we hope to publish this report later this year. There are not many examples of existing tenants trying to transform their own estate into a co-op; it may be that more sensitive management by the local authority is what the majority prefer. Many authorities also seem unconvinced of the value of co-ops and there is a general lack of information among tenants and authorities about what has been and can be achieved. Any significant increase in the number of management co-operatives would probably require active promotion by the Department (with dissemination of the research findings); on the job training for prospective co-operators; and the possible use of financial incentives. However, estate based tenant participation in management and increased involvement of tenants under the Tenants Charter could prove a stepping stone to the establishment of co-ops on existing estates.

TRAINING FOR HOUSING MANAGEMENT

The Department has strong links with a number of outside bodies involved in housing. There is a shortage of well-trained housing management personnel and this has no doubt contributed to the quality of the housing management service. Two of the bodies in particular, the Institute of Housing and the Local Government Training Board provide funds and facilities for the training of housing staff. The Department has encouraged in various ways improvement in the provision of housing management and training, but has stopped short of direct funding believing that it is the job of employers to train their staff.

INNER CITIES

A central plank of DOE's inner cities policy is the involvement of private industry more closely in the work of the local authority and the community generally. The organisation Business in the Community, a group of industrialists chaired by Sir Alistair Pilkington, aims to increase the sense of responsibility which private industry feels towards the community in which it is placed.

Urban Development Grant is available to support commercial provision of sports and other community facilities; and for capital development by voluntary organisations who are able to obtain substantial backing from the private sector, be they corporate or individual donors.

Through the Urban Programme we are continuing to support a large number of community organisations in urban areas. Many of these, especially the black groups, have the effect of increasing self-reliance and self-respect among the group's members.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES

The Merseyside Task Force, in consultation with the local schools inspectorate, are proposing an initiative to increase the wider use of school facilities in that area. They have approached Liverpool City Council.

Where dual use of schools is held up by a lack of funds, Urban Programme funding is in principle available.

£0.5m has been made available within Urban Programme resources for 1982/83 for additional summer holiday projects; many of these involve the use of schools and other local authority premises. A letter to inner city partnership and programme authorities, sent on 13 August, urges them to consider the need for holiday projects, and measures aimed more directly at reducing crime and vandalism, within their inner area programmes.

The rent based mortgage

Rent based mortgages have been suggested as a way of helping council tenants with low incomes to afford to buy their own homes, without Government subsidy other than the normal tax relief on mortgage interest. Initial mortgage payments would be set below the level of rents, to allow the purchaser a margin to meet his new responsibilities, notably the costs of repair and maintenance. His mortgage payments would subsequently rise in line with a price index.

In the early part of the mortgage term, the outstanding debt would grow, because the payments made would not be enough to meet the interest due. The balance would therefore be capitalised. But the rise in mortgage payments is intended eventually to pay off the entire debt.

Low start mortgages could have an important role in extending home ownership among council tenants, since the security is generally protected by ^{the} large discounts on market value available. If councils wished to offer any such schemes, they may do so now. But the concept can be taken too far. If borrowers initial payments are set well below rent levels, then the debt is likely to grow considerably and the time needed to pay off the loan will lengthen. This can be illustrated by the following example: a £9,000 loan is taken out at an interest rate of 13% and with an assumed 13% pa rise in the tax and price index. Payments start at £26.09 a month. The outstanding debt mounts to £17,412 in year 14 and reduces to nil in year 24. But if the tax and price index increases by only 10% pa (interest remaining at 13%) the mortgage would have to run for 37 years, and the outstanding debt would reach a peak of £36,000.

In an extreme case, payments due might never catch up with the growing debt. This is particularly true when, as at present, interest rates are positive in real terms. The same characteristics make the loan more risky for the lender than conventional mortgage terms.

A better way of helping tenants to buy is to give a right to shared ownership as proposed in the Bill for next session. The tenant can buy

a share in his house without having to over-extend himself financially or run the risk of escalating debt. His initial outgoings would not be very much greater than the full rent he would otherwise have been paying.

There is however nothing to stop sympathetic local authorities from running such schemes now. Indeed, the objective of reducing the "front end loading" of mortgage repayments can be achieved by using "low start" (deferred payment) mortgage schemes of various sorts, including a scheme recently launched by the Halifax Building Society.

European Parliament

The Vice-President

R2

31. iii. 82.

Dear August,

I do hope you are having a good
rest after your operation. Doctors seldom
tell me how tiring anaesthetics are, even when
the operation is successful.

All best wishes - Diana.

From The Rt. Hon. Baroness Elles



House of Lords

31st August, 1982

Dear Prime Minister

The attached article was written for the Portuguese C.D.S. (Christian Democrat), hence a rather strong emphasis on the Christian approach. However, there may be one or two ideas which could contribute to the discussion you have initiated on the family.

h m
Baroness

The Rt.Hon.
Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10, Downing Street,
London S.W.1.



House of Lords · Westminster

FAMILY POLICY

Political developments in the years following the second world war have been marked by two, among many other, significant phenomena: first, at international level, by a number of Declarations and Conventions signed and ratified by many governments across the globe and more especially by western European governments, setting out their belief in the family as the basic unit of society; and secondly at national or governmental level, by a succession of policies and legislative measures which either deliberately or inadvertently, have contributed to weakening the economic and social importance of the family as the recognised base on which to build social structures.

Without any attempt to understand why these developments have occurred, no political party can formulate policies for the future, nor is it possible to propose policies for one country absolutely identical with those of another, having regard to the differences in the existing economic and social situation and also the composition of the political parties themselves. The British Conservative Party, for instance, having a membership which, while the majority would probably agree with the tenets of Christianity, is a secular party. It is idle to pretend, for instance, that a global family policy can be put forward without at least some indication as to views on divorce, abortion, drugs, etc., modern symptoms of disruption. In the Conservative Party, supported as it is by people of many faiths, these issues are left to the conscience of each individual, so any views on these matters expressed here are the personal view of the writer.

There have been perhaps three movements or major policies in the last thirty years which have contributed to the undermining of the family: the concept of the welfare state, deliberate attempts through the so-called liberalisation on moral issues such as those mentioned above and an exploitation of human rights instruments, designed to protect the individual from state

interference

interference but used by emphasis on equality and what might be termed non-discriminatory discrimination, to isolate the individual and make him, through a false appeal to freedom, become the victim of society and of the state.

In the formulation of a policy to strengthen and enhance the family structure within society, it is therefore necessary to see whether these attempts have succeeded, how far the mass of the people have accepted and take for granted the present effects and whether, and by what means, these trends can and should be reversed. It then must be considered what specific measures can be recommended in the light of the current economic and social situation and the political realities.

Indeed, it must be asked whether it is possible to have a family policy as such? Would it entail a government department? Is there a need for some formal governmental or para-state authority to propose and implement measures designed to protect the family?

The concept of the family is of course not new. Quite the reverse. Aristotle, in his 'Politics' defined the family as being the association established by nature for the supply of man's daily needs. No definition could be more opposed to or more contrary to the concept of the welfare state with its claim to look after its citizens from the cradle to the grave. The responsibility, the autosufficiency, the mutual support within and by the members of the family is thus removed and destroyed and replaced by an ever-caring but totally interfering state and its agents and administrative authorities.

The welfare state has also provided the means whereby families have been disrupted and divided and physically separated. Babies, small children, and the elderly, formerly the sole responsibility of the family are more and more becoming institutionalised. Immediate physical needs may be met, according to the efficiency and personal abilities of the municipal or regional authorities and their employees, but with no concern for the important spiritual and affective needs of every human being.

In the name of welfare and the 'caring state', government has spread its tentacles into the daily lives of everyone in areas of life which previously were considered to be private, health, education, housing, employment, certain aspects of the economy. A basis of equality, providing the excuse to intervene in hitherto private and individual matters of personal choice, instead of maximum standards being attained for a minimum number of people who for one reason or another may be socially or physically disadvantaged, the state generally achieves the minimum

standard

standard for the maximum number, so that the disadvantaged remain so, and those who were able to exert their own freedom of choice have that choice more and more restricted until it gradually disappears.

The provision of a national health service to the exclusion of any other service, the politicisation of the administrative side of the service in fact means control over the natural feelings and ethics of our citizens, which dictate standards of relationships between people. To take three very simple examples, the administration of a hospital may operate in such a way that men and women are forceably put in the same ward; or that girls having abortions have been placed in maternity wards; or the provision of free family planning services and equipment, for all, regardless of age. These examples show the de-humanising, de-personalising effects of such policies, as well as the practical effects of a health service run by a people determined to destroy the basis of family life.

The basic concept of the overall welfare state seeks to destroy the mutual responsibility and affection on which relationships within a family are based. The setting up of institutions in which to put the elderly no longer wanted in their own home or with no one willing to care for them - and, furthermore, without the essential element of public opinion pressurising them so to do, removes from successive generations the task and obligation to serve others and to learn from others. Western society perhaps alone among the world's peoples has failed to retain the respect for their elders which is an inherent part of cultures and traditions of other civilisations.

The second factor, the systematic erosion of moral standards previously supported by protective legislation has been the hall-mark of socialist or 'coalition with socialist' governments in the last twenty years. This evolution has been achieved by politically-motivated social engineering, by the chloroform of the mass media, by the deceptive use of well worn political terminology - democracy, freedom - to take two obvious terms - or the attainment of social justice - but which are used to achieve totally diametrically opposed and divergent objectives.

The difference in our objectives is fundamental to our political concepts. In our democratic parties - Christian Democrat, Conservative, we all share a profound belief in the Christian values of the dignity of the human being, the respect due to him as an individual and only by ensuring observance by states of this respect, can we guarantee the freedom of the individual. The permissive legislation in relation to easier divorce, free

abortions,

abortions, homosexuality, distribution of pornographic literature, availability of drugs, sex education encouraging promiscuity among the young - all these have been introduced in western states, regrettably often with the tacit, if not vocal, approval of members of our parties. What has been termed the acquiring of freedom has in fact been erosion of standards by license with all the disruptive consequences to family life.

The third element has been the growth of what might be termed the 'human rights industry', a devaluation of the high principles expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the binding articles of the United Nations Charter. The demand for equality, regardless of justice, and the removal of discrimination, even where the competing factors are totally different have served once again to reduce people to the lowest common factor. As, again, Aristotle put it, equality among the unequal is as unjust as inequality among the equal. So many of us have been foolishly led into accepting that discrimination is a fundamental evil, whereas it is evil only in the context of certain aspects of civic, cultural economic and social measures. To take an obvious example, no one considers it discrimination if minors or lunatics do not have the right to vote in elections. The writer should add that the same discrimination applies to members of the British House of Lords, but there has been no vocal protest.

The fundamental issue depends on our concept of the role of the state which in our view is to protect and guarantee the rights of the individual and we can only ensure that the state does not impinge on our freedoms by taking measures which protect the family. From this belief flow all the political consequences which we have to consider in relation to the family.

In the last decades, there has been increasing interference by the state in the economic, social and cultural activities of individuals and increasing encroachment by the public authorities in the day-to-day lives of the people, to the extent that local and municipal authorities, set up originally to serve the local needs of the people, become mere agencies of the central authority. The effects of this encroachment are to deny to the people the opportunity to develop their full potential under the law.

The spearhead of attack has been to the heart of the family. This is not surprising for the greatest enemy of state collectivism is the family. The family, being recognised for centuries as the most close knit and most enduring of social groups, based on private relations between man and wife, parents and children, is the negation of state control. The family thus becomes the greatest obstacle to socialism.

It is for this

It is for this reason that the writer does not see the elaboration of a family policy as such to be implemented by one ministerial authority, but there is an urgent need for a multifaceted approach to all the areas of governmental responsibility which impinge on the decisions of individuals in the economic, social, cultural, civil, political sectors, so ruthlessly affecting family life.

Our belief in the dignity and respect for the worth of the human being provides the basis for our policies, which must give opportunities to all for the development to the maximum of their full potential and their ability, in contrast to the egalitarian society reduced to minimum terms.

In the field of education, parents must be able to have the maximum choice in the kind of school suitable for their child, according to his ability and aptitude. The concept of large schools with large, impersonal classes should be replaced, wherever possible, with the smaller, local school, where personal contact between parents and teachers can be more easily maintained. Parents should have more say in the education of their children than they have in recent years, in regard to choice of curriculum.

To have a home of one's own is a prerequisite for all families. Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical Rerum Novarum has said that 'every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation..' What was true in 1890 is still true in 1980. The desirable objective of home ownership needs practical measures to support its attainment, not only in the provision of houses and encouragement to the building industry, but also mortgage schemes to enable, particularly young newly married couples to set up their home. Urban planning must also take into account the need to provide homes for families, not just units of accommodation, such as many of the high-rise blocks with their monolithical and uniform structures. Too little notice has been paid to the soul-destroying effects of unimaginative and depressing architectural form of recent years, frequently the indirect cause of poverty and ill-health, which contribute to the destruction of the family in modern society. We must therefore take special care to see that living conditions and accommodation are designed to contribute to sustaining healthy family life.

Health and welfare

Health and welfare can be considerably improved by information, by co-operation between families and the health authorities. For example, there are a great number of accidents in the home which disable and cause suffering to children, a recent survey showing that 25% of all accidents at home are suffered by children aged 0-4 years old, and 19% to children of 5-14 years old. These statistics would imply that investigation is needed into the particular causes and measures proposed to reduce these accidents.

In fiscal policies, there should be schemes enabling automatic support to families within lower income groups, with a minimum of bureaucratic control. Sophisticated tax provisions make it extremely difficult to make sensible recommendations without dismantling the whole tax system. Raising the threshold at which payment of tax begins to a level where no state social benefits would be necessary is unlikely to be implemented as long as public expenditure and inflation make incessant demands on the taxpayer. The objective must be to ensure economic security for the family.

Attention must be paid to the financial protection of the wife who stays at home to look after her children. Pressures which forced many married women to go out to work should be resisted. A woman must be able to be free to stay at home to look after her children. This task needs to be enhanced in the eyes of society. It never has had great consideration, politically, maybe because it could not be estimated in financial terms. The question of employment for married women is a major subject on its own, but it is worth suggesting here that when a woman returns to work or enters employment for the first time after staying at home to look after a young family, employers should be made aware that those five or six years are not 'wasted' years in the life of the individual concerned. On the contrary, years of psychological and practical development may well outweigh the experience acquired by a man sitting at the same desk doing the same work over the same period of years. What a woman learns in patience, tolerance and understanding as well as practical matters such as health, home economics etc., can be of great use and value in any organisation. Similarly the time a woman spends at home to look after her child or children should be taken into account when calculating her pension rights.

If the role of

If the role of the family is to be strengthened the position of women needs correspondingly to be enhanced. The maintenance and support of family life depends on the real progress made by women in society. Much has been done in recent years to improve the position of women in relation to matrimonial property, but in tax law, the wife's income (except in certain circumstances in the case of earned income) is still taxed with that of her husband and he is in law responsible for payment of the tax. This should be changed. Further, if there is a real desire to keep the members of the family together it should be made easier for families to keep their dependents with them at home by tax remissions more in line with the cost of living. In many countries, it would be inconceivable to send elderly relations to homes or institutions, but unfortunately this happens only too frequently where high taxation and the development of what might be termed 'convenience' politics are evident.

These are only indications of areas which directly affect the family as a whole and which also impinge upon the individual.

The vast majority of young people in Britain still want to marry and have a family, despite the strident voices of a vociferous minority. It is for politicians to create and ensure conditions which make it possible for the realisation of policies which strengthen family life and which contribute to the happiness and security of family life.

Government should interfere as little as possible in the lives of the citizen, but where they do have to intervene by legislation or administrative act, there must be a means to assess the effects of such measures on family life. No satisfactory way of handling this assessment has been found. A Ministry for family affairs acting on its own cannot have the necessary authority to intervene in the decisions of other government departments. It may be that a high-ranking minister is given the authority to supervise and consider any draft measures as they may affect family life. Removal or repeal of some existing legislation would be a hopeful initial step. In supporting the role of the family, we are strengthening the whole fabric of our western society. If we fail to do this, society as a whole will suffer.

1st October, 1979

Diana Elles

2/14



cc WO
SO
Pine Muster
31/8

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-233 3000

30 August 1982

Tim Flesher Esq.
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

Dear Tim,

... I attach a paper the Chancellor of the Exchequer has prepared for the Family Policy Group.

Copies of this letter go to Imogen Wilde (Department of Education and Science), David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Anthony Mayer (Department of Transport), David Clark (DHSS), Barnaby Shaw (Department of Employment), John Haliday (Home Office) and also to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

Yours sincerely,
Jill Rutter
JILL RUTTER
Private Secretary

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Note by the Chancellor of the Exchequer

1. This exercise has to be seen as a set of manageable and practical initiatives. But it will help if the fundamental philosophy which unites them is made clear.

Key Principles

2. The key principles we start from are as follows:-

a. State paternalism is the enemy. To the extent you are responsible for your children's education, your pension provision, your insurances, you take trouble to see they are right. To the extent the authorities take them over, they take away responsibility. Our task is to promote personal and family responsibility and so a wider sense of responsibility to the community, local as much as national.

b. Our opponents have a paternalistic, centralist view of these things. We are suffering from its past appeal. For it has increasingly induced people to abandon self-help and to place excessive demands on the State.

c. Some of these demands are intrinsically impossible for the State to meet. But even where they are not, they exceed what any Government is likely to be able to provide for a very long time to come.

d. At the same time the modern State, by monopolising or failing, in any real sense, to decentralise the provision of so much, has deterred or prevented private initiatives to meet many of the legitimate demands which cannot be satisfied by State provision. This is a recipe for personal as well as social and political frustration.

e. Reversing these processes is essential both for a more prosperous economy and a more satisfied society. We have to devolve effective power to the lowest level if that is to be achieved. That means ensuring that local communities which value and are prepared, for example, to support local schools and hospitals have the ability, and the right, to do so. Often for what seem to be the best of reasons, in order to "husband resources" and

"rationalise" provision, decisions are taken centrally - after prolonged, and in practise pointless - "consultation" which simply do not make sense to the local communities affected.

f. Already, through permissive legislation (the Health Services Act 1980), we have given individuals the opportunity to contribute to the cost of retaining facilities which would otherwise have been terminated. In my own constituency the operating theatre at one cottage hospital is likely to be kept open in this way. We should extend that approach wherever possible - particularly in education. In order to over-ride the bureaucracies at local or national level, we should very carefully consider giving people the right to establish such arrangements.

g. Similarly, local leadership needs to be stimulated by establishing clear rights of self-management in schools and hospitals. The quality and commitment of the head-teacher and the hospital matron will always be crucial in determining standards: we must recognise that by ensuring that they have real and effective opportunities to change and improve the environment within which their staff and pupils or patients work or live and by increasing powers to remove those who do not measure up to their tasks.

h. The only way to reverse the unacceptable momentum of public spending growth - with its implications for levels of taxation or borrowing - is by "thinking the unthinkable" in many areas. Past policy commitments have to be re-considered and new policy prescriptions adopted if the prospect of ever higher public expenditure is to be averted. It is imperative to create safety valves for growing demand and rising expectations, by ensuring that these can be met, at least at the margin, by increasing private provision.

The problem of local autonomy

3. The independence of local government, and the balance of power between local and central government are recurrent themes. Many of the changes we would like to see are the responsibility of local government. One obvious general answer is to take appropriate power to control from the centre. But this runs sharply contrary to our general philosophy. We are not at present well placed even to exercise informal influence over the local authorities since the dialogue with them (and even with our own supporters in local government) centres mainly on the arithmetic and machinery of spending control. If we do not wish to diminish the formal independence of local government, this unbalanced relationship could be made

more effective in two ways. First we need to agree clearer objectives with Conservatives in local government and to ensure that these objectives, are in practice pursued. Secondly we need to examine whether any of the policy initiatives we propose could be the subject of specific agreement with the local authority associations.

Action already in hand in the Treasury

4. The Treasury already has specific measures relevant to this exercise under study or in hand:-

- a. In the tax field, to encourage new and small businesses, management enterprise and wider ownership.
- b. In the management of the Civil Service, to devolve chains of command, to secure scope for local pay bargaining, and for merit pay after Megaw. We are also examining the scope for more local management and financial control so as to enhance the authority and responsibility of managers and work groups at all levels and their capacity to influence their own working conditions.

Proposals for further action

5. These proposals are not limited to topics on which the Treasury has the primary responsibility. Some will already be in hand elsewhere.

- a. Money management. Further moves towards monthly payment of wages, and for encouraging "the unbanked" to open bank accounts should be examined. The banks and other financial institutions are already making important progress in this area. And awareness of the need for sensible budgeting and saving cannot start too young. We should encourage the banks and building societies to look at further ways of promoting saving among school children. DNS should play its part too.
- b. At work. We must secure wider involvement of individual employees in the affairs of the business for which they work both through the improved provision of information and through profit-sharing and similar schemes.
- c. Union reform. We should consider the enactment of a Union members' Bill of Rights, to ensure, for example, their unrestricted right to participate in elections at all levels.

d. Pensions. Consider provisions for more/better disclosure of pension fund accounts and other ways of ensuring that members have a better basis for involvement in the management of the funds. We must follow through the work already in hand for ensuring that the funds give better treatment to early leavers.

e. The unemployed. Further extend incentives to the unemployed to launch out on their own. Encourage the formation of co-operatives, and other forms of self-help by the unemployed.

f. The local community. We should ensure greater access, "out of hours", to underused local authority amenities and property, whether for education or recreation; we should consider giving local people and organisations a legal right of access, providing certain conditions are met (cf the "right to buy" legislation for council houses).

g. Contracting out functions to the private sector. Greater efficiency and flexibility, and fewer opportunities for union obstruction, are benefits likely to flow from contracting out within the NHS, government departments, nationalised industries and local authorities. A review of the scope for further contracting out of services is already under way. This will be discussed at E in mid-autumn.

h. Local initiatives. Do more to encourage local communities (whether through local authorities, Chambers of Commerce, the CBI's regional organisation or whatever) to launch their own campaigns and initiatives to encourage enterprise, community service and environmental improvement, building on existing arrangements such as enterprise agencies, community work schemes, and perhaps also the enterprise allowance scheme.

i. Housing. A further drive on sales of council houses, flats and estates, is required. Progress has been encouraging, but we need to go much further, much faster. Council flats require particular attention. Management problems of the blocks concerned, though real, are soluble, perhaps by involving the institutions more closely. We need to raise the standards of public sector housing management, perhaps on a co-operative basis, or by contracting out.

j. Education. We should press ahead for vouchers and student loans. Can we do more to influence syllabuses, with particular emphasis on (i) the need for greater acceptability of business and wealth creation, (ii) training and education more closely geared to the needs of industry, (iii) doing more to prepare school children in information and other advanced technology fields? It is certainly worth considering how we can encourage schools with a strong moral base, such as church schools. We might also offer corresponding opportunities for other minority groups, eg. for Asians, who have strong religious or other traditions, though clearly we must avoid encouraging sectarian divisions (cf Northern Ireland). We should establish schemes whereby school facilities - both buildings and teachers - could be used out of hours (eg in extra tuition), on payment as appropriate, by those who wish it.

k. Law and order. We should extend existing schemes of community work for certain offenders and consider whether more can be done to tackle truancy at an early stage and consider whether, when the latest Criminal Justice Bill is enacted, parental responsibilities for young offenders are adequate.

l. Health. We have already decided to examine the possibility of raising more income from charges; privatising some parts of the NHS; charging patients the full cost of certain services received and subsequently reimbursing them where appropriate and giving further encouragement to the private health sector.

m. Transport. Establish plainer rights for more private enterprise and competition in bus services; and for more flexible and varied forms of transport eg shared taxis (jitneys) and mini-buses, which operate successfully outside the UK.



Have Office

NEW ST. ANDREWS HOUSE
ST. JAMES CENTRE
EDINBURGH EH1 3SX

Tim Flesher Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

TR
31/8

30 August 1982

Dear Tim,

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

Thank you for your letter of 12 August. I have shown these to the Secretary of State, who has no comments to make at this stage but would be glad to receive further papers. He continues to be concerned that he should have sufficient time to comment on the end-product of this exercise for the reasons I gave in my letter of 11 August.

Yours sincerely

A Muir Russell

Dr A MUIR RUSSELL
Private Secretary



Tim Flesher Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

cc W Parkison
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB

01-212 3434

Prime Minister

2

I believe you may still have
Mr Howe's earlier paper.

WmJ/8

27 August 1982

ms.

Dear Tim,

My Secretary of State sent over a preliminary note for the Family Policy Group on 3 August. — TPA:d

The attached addendum expands on some of the general points made in that note and should be read in conjunction with it.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Kerr (HM Treasury), Imogen Wilde (DES), David Edmonds (DOE), David Clark (DHSS), Barnaby Shaw (Department of Employment), Keith Long (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office). Copies also go to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

Yours Sincerely

Toby Johns

T. JOHNS
Private Secretary

ADDENDUM NOTE BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR TRANSPORT FOR THE
FAMILY POLICY GROUP

1. In my note for the Prime Minister's Family Policy Group some general points were made about the effect of inflation and high taxation on family unity.

2. This addendum to that note specifies some of the ways in which inflation and tax levels blight family life, accelerates family dissolution and penalise in particular the family depending on the single earner who devotes maximum effort to his or her career.

3. The process of family disruption and breakdown under conditions of high inflation and high marginal taxes works as follows:

Inflation lifts income into higher tax brackets without raising purchasing power. The pressure sharply intensifies for married couples to become two-income families.

4. One familiar result is to expand dramatically the workforce and the registered unemployment figures, as has happened in the UK in the last twenty years. Gross family income will temporarily rise, for those who can secure the two jobs.

5. But within the family there are very severe penalties:

- a) Families forego leisure and domestic life in favour of work. Even before children arrive this causes tension, fatigue and stress. American data shows sharply rising divorce and separation rates after wives assume full time work responsibilities.

- b) With home-making and child bearing the need for purchasing power rises sharply, while the capacity to earn two incomes drops. Thus the demands of small children cut real income for the previously two-income based family, at the very moment real income needs rise fastest.
- c) The forces impelling women out to work thus either:
- (i) lead to vastly increased financial pressures on families, as the husband struggles to raise earnings after tax very fast (it has been estimated that a two-child family needs approximately 50% real income increase to maintain the same family living standards), or
 - (ii) drive mothers back to work early at the cost of domestic life.
- d) Wives at work involve more expenses, previously untaxed or unrecorded, emerging in everything from child-care to food preparation. It also seems to lead to more properly taxable activity going underground, with income and payments concealed or evaded. This in turn generates feelings of unfairness ("they don't seem to pay the taxes we do") or violates people's own sense of what they know to be right. Either way bitterness and demoralisation result.
- c) High social security payments combined with high income tax has a doubly devastating effect on family life. They weaken the capacity of the male bread-winner to 'deliver' sufficient earnings : and they weaken his motivation to do so since the mother and children can clearly manage in income terms, without him. The growing plague of fatherless families in Britain is the predictable result.

6. These points demonstrate why large tax cuts, and lower inflation, are desperately needed to help strengthen families, reduce illegal and concealed activity and restore incentives to enable bread-winners to work hard in high-productivity employment.

7. The other side of the coin is that employers' have found available a growing source of low-motivated, part time workers, while the numbers ready to go for entrepreneurial risk and capital build-up have shrunk.

8. Thus inflation and tax policies have worked hard to wipe out the homely family with the resourceful and motivated bread-winners, with devastating effects on family cohesion (reflected of course in rising street crime and 'problem' and single-parent families heavily dependent on social security). The combined 'taxflation' effect has been to weaken productivity growth and economic dynamism, while expanding the workforce and strengthening the voice of government critics who call for still higher taxes to finance more job-creation and more welfare and rehabilitation programmes in face of rising crime. At the centre of this scene is the problem of dissolving family life, divorce and demoralisation which rightly concerns us and which can I believe be reversed.

9. We should be discouraging pressures forcing women out to work. We should be discouraging the part time economy. We should be moving heaven and earth to cut taxes which not only compound the inflationary corrosion of good family life, they may actually cause it. Perhaps in the present economic situation, where high tax cuts appear to remain frustratingly in conflict with monetary rectitude, we should now seriously consider shifting the priority in favour of tax cuts so as to leave more income in family pockets.

It could even be argued that bold action on the personal tax front will help make the monetary aggregates more manageable as part of sound financial management. There is certainly no more direct way than this by which Government policy could lift some of the strains on family life from which so many of our social, and economic, problems flow in consequence.



Mr Howells
paper is
still with
the PM

10 DOWNING STREET

FF
M.

PRIME MINISTER

Attached are two more papers for the Family Policy Group, from Timothy Raison (Flag A) and from Sir Keith Joseph (Flag B). Other contributions will be submitted during the course of next week, though Mr. Fowler's, for understandable reasons, might be somewhat delayed.

J.

27 August 1982

PRIME MINISTER

5/2
CFM
cc Mr Parkinson

... You asked for comments on Ferdinand Mount's paper
"Renewing the Values of Society". I attach a note.

2 I am sending copies of this to Willie Whitelaw,
Geoffrey Howe, Michael Heseltine, Patrick Jenkin,
David Howell, Norman Fowler, Norman Tebbit,
Cecil Parkinson and to Sir Robert Armstrong and
John Sparrow.

KJ

26 August 1982

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

Building on Mr Mount's paper, I list some areas where I suggest that we need to go on vigorously as we have started - and some where we need to make a start.

- A Much of the work already in hand has close links with the values of society by encouraging responsibility and by restoring more direct links than monopoly and nationalisation permit between economic effort and economic reward. Hence work already in hand should be carried further:

Denationalisation

Competition when we cannot denationalise

Ownership - derelict town land not otherwise bought to be used for allotments?

Share ownership - reduce institutional advantages

Council housing sales

Trade union law reform

Buy-outs - to encourage entrepreneurship

Deregulation where regulation excessive

Tax reductions

- B Work that needs to be begun:

Extend the scope for a resumption of family responsibility - particularly in connection with education and health.

Education:

- i Prepare the ground for a possible gradual shift to vouchers - as a leap in parental choice. Paper to colleagues later this year.
- ii Encourage a voucher experiment - which may need legislative facilitation.
- iii Consider enabling parents - with an allowance - to have day schools of their own, subject to fulfilling minimum conditions for standards and curriculum - as in Holland and Denmark. Paper coming forward.

iv Try to improve existing schools by every way we can:

Training Heads (as FM suggests);
Improving initial and in-service training;
Plugging away at pruning bad Heads and bad teachers;
Publishing and following up HMI reports.

Action in hand on all these.

v Extend parent and teacher governors - as FM suggests.
Action in hand.

vi Increase community use of school facilities - as FM suggests. Action in hand.

vii Introduce the encouragement of reasoning into teacher techniques. Action in hand.

viii Try to create a curriculum more suitable for the non-academic 40% - just initiated on a pilot scale.

ix Seek to encourage responsibility among students by shifting new students from grants to half-grant, half-loan - in the direction FM suggests. Paper coming forward.

x Seek to reduce extent to which universities have become tax-dependent and nationalised - by encouraging endowment and other methods. Paper coming forward.

xi I sympathise with FM's suggestion that schools should teach "the grammar of society". I am discovering how many "civics" papers are set and how many take them in CSE, O and A Levels. I am sending FM copies of some such papers. There are good arguments for wanting to increase the numbers who take them.

On the other hand it is probably best to limit the coverage of the subject to:

- a an understanding of the main institutions of our society; and
- b a general familiarity with the law, and with the rights and duties it confers.

To go further - as FM suggests and as I at one stage wanted - and seek to enable people to understand, for instance, the conditions under which a society can remain free or how an economy works, would be dangerous: are most teachers competent to be able to teach such subjects: would they be able to answer the questions that might be put to them: could they be expected to avoid injecting, innocently or otherwise, political bias into their lessons?

c.c. W.M. mnt.

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GWLADOL CYMRU

FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR WALES

20 August 1982

Dear Tim

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Thank you for your letter of 12 August 1982 enclosing the papers relating to the Family Policy Group.

As you suggest, my Secretary of State will wish to be kept in touch with the work of the Group and will contribute where appropriate.

*Yours ever
Carys*

MISS G C EVANS

Timothy Flesher Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1



ce no monit

HOME OFFICE
QUEEN ANNE'S GATE
LONDON SW1H 9AT

17 AUG 1982

Dear Tim,

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Thank you for your letter of 20th July
addressed to John Halliday.

...

I attach a copy of a paper our Minister
has prepared for the next meeting of the Group.

I am copying this letter to the recipients
of yours.

Yours,

Michael

M. GALLAGHER
Assistant Private Secretary

Tim Flesher Esq.

Renewing the Values of Society

No department is more heavily involved in, and directly concerned about, the values of society than the Home Office, or more aware of the diversity of attitudes that may exist. A high proportion of private members' Bills in this field (though not Abortion!) end up in our court, and we are only too well aware that on many of them there is simply not sufficient consensus to permit new legislation. Liquor licensing, Sunday trading, gambling are examples of areas where the laws are unsatisfactory but agreement on what should replace them are hard to come by.

And, of course, the whole area of 'law and order' not only imposes heavy responsibilities but also raises vast questions.

Yet that certainly does not mean that inertia is the answer: nor has it been. And interestingly enough it is very clear that in Parliament - and I believe in the country - the permissive climate of a decade or two ago is in certain respects in retreat. Our experience in the recent Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill was instructive. What started life as a virtually technical non-controversial measure designed to tidy up existing legislation ended with brand new provisions for controlling sex shops and pop festivals. These clearly reflected Parliament's desires and met with virtually no opposition: indeed the pressure was for tougher ingredients all the time.

This says something about society's values, and I believe that we have in fact been able to do a certain amount to reinforce them. Our pioneering in community service; the thrust of the Criminal Justice Bill; the creation of the Alcohol Research and Education Council out of the old Licensing Compensation Funds; and other pieces of Home Office

backed private Members' legislation in the fields of licensing laws and cinematograph licensing - all show that something is happening. And we can claim to have played a leading part (though very much with colleagues) in the good record of this Government in supporting the voluntary sector (described in detail in the paper recently circulated by the Lord President). Above all, of course, there is the major revitalisation now taking place of our traditional concept of policing by consent.

However, the group's concern is not about what has been done but about what should be done.

I am sure we are right to feel that we are working with the grain of society in emphasising family and personal responsibility, coupled with clear cut authority among those entitled to it. We know now from research that the family that lays down values and lives up to them is the family whose children are less likely to run into trouble. We know the difficulties that face one-parent families. We also know - from the Falklands but in many other ways - just how much latent guts and ability lie in our people, given a chance to express them. Anything that gives scope and opportunity for doing worthwhile things must be welcome - and the scope for doing worthwhile work must be shared by all. (It is wrong, for example, that some of the most famous hospitals in the country should apparently have the most bloody-minded unskilled staff).

Let me pick out one or two areas for development:

(1) Policing today - already referred to. A mass of work is going on in this field, often against odds. What has to be remembered is that the objective of effective consultation, collaboration with schools, beat policing, training, finding the right complaints system and so on is to tackle crime effectively

on the base of a solid partnership between police and community. What I think we sometimes overlook is the extent to which a lot of crime is, in its own terms, quite rational. It is still too rewarding and some of our social service arrangements make it too probable, (e.g. fortnightly Supplementary Benefit payments or the loss of flexibility in discretionary Supplementary Benefit grants).

(2) Race relations. What the great bulk of our minorities really want are good schools, law and order, good jobs - the things that all of us want. They do not expect preferential treatment, but they are entitled to fair treatment. Government should aim actively to bring this about. Of course, the Minorities want to preserve their cultural and religious freedoms - and we believe in freedom. But there is no need for us to accept that a society embodying different cultures has to become more and more fragmented in essentials, such as its common law, common language, common services, common loyalty (expressed among other things through the new British citizenship).

(3) The voluntary sector. I have referred to our achievements; but if the Chancellor can give still further tax assistance, payroll schemes can be developed and new classes of donors brought in that would be all to the good. And it is important in developing new programmes for the unemployed etc. to take the voluntary organisations along with us where we can.

(4) Education. I think this is crucial. As I argued at our last meeting, I believe that restoring the authority and confidence of teachers, especially heads, is vital - more so even than greater parental involvement, important though that is. (They need not conflict.) The indiscipline which plagues our schools owes a good deal to the lack of self-confidence among teachers. We should remember that though some teachers are

left-wing loonies, and that others are worn-out (and - for heads at least - in need of a scheme for graceful replacement where necessary), most are perfectly sensible and responsible and simply want a good lead. They want clear standards and not too much innovation. The job is an on-the-ground one but the lead - under the 1944 Act - comes from the centre. Above all again, schools must give every child the experience of doing something well.

School sport is an example. I never cease to be amazed at how inept this can be. For many London secondary school boys, sports periods consist of travelling for two periods to admittedly excellent playing fields, to have less than one period of sport, possible supervised by an inexperienced teacher ("qualification" rates above skill in these matters).

We have already discussed the importance of dual use of facilities, but we really must make sure that our teenagers unleash their physical energies through games rather than bricks and petrol bombs.

But sport is only one thing. The great need in education is to give it a sense of hope and purpose, rather than a feeling of decline.

(5) Employment. The same applies here. Frankly in some areas (Merseyside, for example) I would spend the available money on private or public works (such as housing improvement) which quickly provide jobs (some skilled, some unskilled), even at the expense of MSC schemes. And we should not forget the plight of the long-term unemployed head of household in our concern to help the young.

The job-sharing scheme is right; but I believe there is a real case for setting up or backing some long-term studies and analysis of the future of employment - perhaps even an Institute of Employment Studies. The nature and ethic of work has a crucial bearing on the values of society - as of course our whole economic strategy since 1979 has sought to make clear.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

12 August 1982

Thank you for your letter of 11 August to Michael Scholar about the paper prepared by Ferdinand Mount on Renewing the Values of Society. The first meeting of the ad hoc group of Ministers known as the Family Policy Group took place on 20 July, and I attach a note of the meeting. As you will see, Ministers were asked to provide further papers by the end of August with a view to a meeting which is scheduled for 0930 on 10 September.

The Prime Minister would welcome any contribution by Mr. Younger to the Group's deliberations; should you wish it I can arrange for you to receive the papers.

Timothy Flesher

Muir Russell, Esq.,
Scottish Office.



da

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

12 August 1982

As you may know, the Prime Minister has constituted an informal group of Ministers known as the Family Policy Group to take further the ideas set out in a paper prepared by Ferdinand Mount of the Policy Unit here. I attach both a copy of Mr. Mount's paper and the note of the first meeting of the Group.

The Secretary of State for Scotland has asked to be kept in touch with the work of the Group in case there are any points of particular application to Scotland arising from it; your Secretary of State may wish similarly to be kept informed and of course to contribute should he so wish.

Timothy Flesher

Adam Peat, Esq.,
Welsh Office.

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SCOTTISH OFFICE
WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AU

Michael Scholar Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON
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11 August 1982

Dear Michael,

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

My Secretary of State has now had the opportunity to see the paper on this subject prepared by Ferdinand Mount, which was circulated with Clive Whitmore's letter of 22 June. Mr Younger notes that an ad hoc Ministerial group under the Prime Minister's Chairmanship has been considering the matter.

He has asked me to register with you his concern that he should have the opportunity to see the end-product of this exercise in good time before any statement or announcement is made, so that he may comment on any detailed aspects on which a special Scottish slant may be called for in order to avoid weakening the impact in Scotland.

A. Muir Russell

A MUIR RUSSELL
Private Secretary



cc W Paterson
F-10
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT
2 MARSHAM STREET LONDON SW1P 3EB

01-212 3434

Tim Flesher Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

3 August 1982

Dear Tim,

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Thank you for a copy of your letter of 20 July to
John Halliday.

I attach a copy of a paper my Secretary of State has
prepared for the next meeting of the Group, on "Family Ties and
Personal Ownership".

I am copying this letter to the recipients of yours
as well as to Jonathan Spencer (Department of Industry).

Yours,

Anthony Mayer

R A J MAYER
Private Secretary

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

NOTE BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR TRANSPORT ON FAMILY TIES AND PERSONAL OWNERSHIP

The Government should clearly avoid preaching at people and families about how to run their lives. But there are certainly examples which Government and leaders can set, actions it can take and policies it can pursue which will undoubtedly help make family life more worthwhile and significant, and give both parents and children a clearer and more confident understanding of their duties to each other - as well as their duties to their elderly relatives, their friends and all those whom a close knit and happy family, by its very inner strength, can help and encourage in facing life and its problems.

1. Looking for someone else to blame

First, there is the example which Government can set in conducting matters of national policy. The task here is to set about the work of Government, and explain what is being done and why, in a manner which brings home vividly and repeatedly that responsibility cannot be shirked or passed on, that the British Government is not simply a device for reallocating the blame for all national inadequacies to nebulous outside agencies and forces, alleged somehow to be doing us down.

Government has to be - as I believe it is nowadays increasingly seen to be - a determined and confident force, not an excuse factory. It must show that it is wholly unwilling to put up with obvious affronts to the rule of law and obvious abuses of power, whether here at home or in the wider world. It must be a Government determined within the limits of the very considerable power entrusted to it to see justice and commonsense and genuine fairness prevail, over apology and waffle and twisted democracy.

A Government which conducts itself in this way - but only such a Government - is then entitled to expect the rest of the country to face its responsibilities in the same way. Indeed it becomes an inspiration to do so - as it were a reference point and support for all those at all levels who really want to help themselves by their own efforts and face their responsibilities, whether we are talking about the manager of a factory, the local business leaders of an old industrial area, the head-teacher or the mother of a family.

One and all, if people know and read about a Government which thinks and acts this way, they get that much more courage to face up to their own responsibilities, to insist that others do likewise and to shake off the habit which has spread to the heart of family life, of always looking for others to blame - the authorities, the telly, "them", the people at school, always somebody else.

A sense of allegiance grows up - allegiance not to any party line, let alone to any doctrine, but to the idea of seeking to do ones duty, beginning with your own family but extending to your country and its institutions.

Not much has been going for family life in Britain since the 'swinging' sixties. And nothing has placed greater stresses on family cohesion than government policies which actively discourage individual responsibility and promote the idea of Government as the author and source of all things making life good and easy and simple - and therefore inevitably, as the obvious scapegoat for everything that goes wrong at home, at work, or at school.

"Blame someone else" is a hopeless basis on which to bring up children or imbue them with a sense of responsibility to their parents and friends and the immediate community in which they live, and indeed to their country. It is a breeder of surly defeatism in the face of every difficulty. Fanned and fed by the Left, and the far Right (as in inter-war Germany) this alibi for every weakness can quickly be turned into resentful collectivist brutality.

All this lies at the very opposite pole to the attitudes we seek to foster. The opposite of the defeatist view that the world owes us a living and has somehow cheated us, is that we can help ourselves as a nation and that we can and will look after our interests. It is that the firm or factory can and will compete rather than succumb amidst pleas of unfair oriental competition. It is that our cities can and will be revived and pulled together by the efforts of those who live within them, rather than falling back on a ceaseless liturgy of blame on central Government interlaced with demands for more money. It is that a school can and must excel by the efforts of those who attend it and who work in it, that a trade union does have it within its members power to get political extremists off its back. It is that the members of a family do have a duty to each other and together can be strong. It can be done. It is not 'someone else's' responsibility

2. Stable money and stable values

The second way in which the Government can properly use its power and policies to help family life flourish is by stopping inflation. If "they" are debasing the currency, constantly making family income go less far, forcing parents to think how to cope and struggle to stay where they are, gnawing away at family stability and diverting energies from the accumulation of material and spiritual strength, here indeed are the scapegoat forces, the nameless and malign outside influences to blame whenever things go wrong.

The other day Geoffrey Howe aired the thought of life without the annual pay hassle. It is worth reflecting just how much of every day^{life} has come to be dominated whether at home or work, by arguments about pay increases, about who gets what, who should get what, who gets more, whether its fair, who is being done down this year, how the family is suppose to cope and why the money never seems to go as far this week as it did last.

Life in many homes would be very different if we could be shot of all that.

A world of stable money would be a world of stable values. The energies that go into trying to 'catch up', or run to stay in the same place, would be more likely to go into building up family savings, buying and improving the home, into things that last.

Not that we must start sounding like the party of low pay. That is a trap into which the CBI seem to have once again fallen. We should not. We want to see families get ahead, improve standards, secure high wages coming into the household, investing them and making them grow. The point is that annual pay increase battles about the 'going rate' and 'catching up' push all this further away and demoralise families who really want to better their lot.

3. Personal Ownership and Family Unity

The third area where Government can really do something to strengthen family life follows directly from this. It is to pursue every possible means of encouraging ownership and proud family possession, to tailor all our policies - fiscal, social, educational, industrial - with this goal firmly in mind.

Here, because we saw the central place of this 'ownership' theme long before the start of the present Government we have in fact done much to lay the groundwork in home ownership, employee

share ownership, encouragement to small business growth (small business being the living expression of wider ownership), in privatisation of concentrated State concerns and in de-collectivisation wherever we can. But there is still a lot to do. We should now go over the whole policy area again with a renewed determination to make ownership in all forms possible and attractive to the widest conceivable number of families. For example, while we have got rid of the terrible phrase 'unearned' income, it is still worrying that we have a tax bias against income from personal savings at all, when we should have one in favour, as we do for pensions and life insurance.

Enabling lots more people to be capitalists in a modest way is not only desirable to help family life. The more that people become familiar with capital and profits and how the social market economy works the weaker the political support for attacks on capital and the more widely it is understood that growing capital and good wages go together. The whole political climate shifts in a thoroughly healthy direction.

When 'the workers' and 'the investors' are plainly the same the Marxist analysis and language of class struggle, already discredited, becomes finally ridiculous. The opportunities for good family life grows steadily. The whole purpose for a mother, father, children and the close community around them to work together and to achieve better things is made infinitely clearer and more worthwhile.

There is one further point about personal ownership and the family. All the evidence from societies with a stronger mass capitalist base than ours suggests that the more dispersed and widely shared the ownership pattern in society the greater the sense of common cause and the desire to pitch in together. The more diffuse the power and responsibility the greater the national unity.

This is a paradox which baffles the collectivist mind. We should remember it when our critics talk of 'two nations', 'the divided society' etc.

To sum up: Government can best help family life and ties first by setting still more vividly the example already given by our actions such as the unwavering response to the Argentine and the firmness in face of railway strikes; second by restoring stable currency and destroying the corrosive attitudes inflation generates and, third, by promoting personal ownership of all kinds.

If the Government pursues these ends, then we will do more than anything else to check the demoralisation of countless parents struggling to keep families together and finding their efforts constantly undermined by the shallow values and shifting sands of the collectivist state. We will give each family in the land the maximum possible opportunity, in the most direct sense, to be a strong link in a strong chain.



JF1286
Secretary of State for Industry

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
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28 July 1982

T Flesher Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

Dear Tim,

REVIEWING THE VALUE OF SOCIETY

Thank you for your letter of 23 July. I confirm that my Secretary of State would be pleased to attend the meeting for the Family Policy Group on 10 September and will contribute a paper beforehand.

Yours ever

Caroline Varley

CAROLINE VARLEY
Private Secretary



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10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

Family Policy Group

Following the meeting last week at which you will remember the role of private industry was particularly stressed, Ferdie Mount suggested that we should ask Patrick Jenkin to join the Group and to produce a paper. You may like to know that he has agreed to do so.

mf

JF.

28 July 1982



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

Home Ass
Lte K L
blind copy
Mr Mount
Mr Sparrow

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

THE FAMILY POLICY GROUP

You, Mr. Sparrow and I had a brief word about your minute, A09009 of 12 July 1982, after your meeting of Deputy Secretaries last Thursday. Since then I have spoken to Mr. Mount.

I think that, in the light of the conclusions of the Prime Minister's meeting on 20 July, we are now all agreed that rather than set up a team in the CPRS to deal with the follow-up to the Prime Minister's meeting, the best way of proceeding would be for the CPRS and the Policy Unit to pursue the issues which each is particularly well qualified to study further. I understand that Mr. Sparrow and Mr. Mount have already been in touch about the division of labour between them.

We also agreed on Thursday that Mr. Sparrow should talk to Sir Brian Cubbon about the need for the CPRS to work closely with the Home Office Group and would suggest to him that the best way of accomplishing this would be for Mr. Wasserman to become a member of the Group.

We decided that we should review whether this was the best way of following up the work now in hand after the next meeting of the Family Policy Group.

/We also discussed

Llo

We also discussed on Thursday whether the Prime Minister should be advised to convert the Family Policy Group into a formal Ministerial Committee. We felt, however, that while it was not yet absolutely clear how the work of the Group would develop, it was better to leave our organisational and procedural arrangements on their present informal and flexible basis. This, too, was something that could be looked at again after the next meeting of the Family Policy Group. Mr. Mount is content to leave matters in this way.

I am sending copies of this minute to Mr. Sparrow and Mr. Mount.

CA

26 July 1982

CONFIDENTIAL



Home Affairs HU

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 July 1982

- BF

2/1
2/1
Earlier this week the Prime Minister met a group of Ministers to discuss a paper prepared by Ferdinand Mount of the Policy Unit here on "Reviewing the Values of Society". The meeting was essentially exploratory but invited participants to produce papers by the end of August as a basis for further work. As you will see from the note of the meeting which is attached, together with a copy of Mr. Mount's paper, the role of the private sector of industry was stressed especially in engendering the values of individual reliance. The Prime Minister has asked therefore if your Secretary of State would care to join the group of Ministers (which is being known for the moment as the Family Policy Group) for its next meeting on 10 September at 0930 and to prepare a paper for that meeting in the same way as the other participants.

S

Tim Flesher

Jonathan Spencer, Esq.,
Department of Industry.

MR MOUNT

*I am content with
the arrangements
fm 23/7*

THE FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Mr Flesher has shown me your minute of 21 July about the follow-up to the meeting which the Prime Minister held on 20 July.

I see no problem about Patrick Jenkin joining the Group and we will let him have copies of the paper and Mr Flesher's record of the meeting.

As regards your second and third points, I took the opportunity to raise these this afternoon with Sir Robert Armstrong and Mr Sparrow when I was seeing them on another matter. We all agreed that rather than establish a CPRS team on the lines suggested in Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 13 July to me, we should proceed in the way you proposed in your minute. Mr Sparrow will talk to Sir Brian Cubbon about the need for the CPRS to work closely with the Home Office Group and will suggest that the best way of accomplishing this would be for Mr Wasserman to become a member of the Group.

We thought that we should take stock once more of the best way of dealing with the work now in hand following the next meeting of the Prime Minister's Group.

We did not think, however, that the time was yet right to convert the Family Policy Group into a formal Ministerial Committee, whether a Cabinet Committee or a MISC Group. It seemed to us that while it was not yet totally clear how the work of the Group would develop, it was better to leave our organisational and procedural arrangements on an informal and flexible basis. A further consideration is that the existence of a formal Ministerial Group tends to come to the notice of the media rather more rapidly than does an ad hoc group, and we thought that we were not yet at a point where we wanted publicity - especially accidental publicity - for what is being done. Again, the thrust of the Family Policy Group's work should be a good deal clearer after the next meeting, and we thought that that would be the moment to decide whether to convert the Group into a more formal body or to leave it on its present basis.

If you are content with all this, I will reply accordingly to Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 13 July.

22 July 1982

KWW.

Mr Whitmore:

You will wish to see.
To turn what is a loosely
constituted and loosely defined group
into a formal cabinet committee
seems to me to risk institutionalisation.

21 July 1982

MR FLESHER

THE FAMILY POLICY GROUP

Better at this stage to leave it informal.
I suggest sending Mr Mounts draft
minute minus the last para. JB

I believe John Vereker had a word with you about the follow-up to 21/7
yesterday's meeting, and in particular about the handling of further
work. I would now like to make one or two proposals.

I see no
reason
why not.

First, I confirm that, in the light of yesterday's discussion, we
think that Patrick Jenkin should be invited to join the group, and
should be sent a copy of both the paper and your record of the
discussion.

I am
against a
separate
CPRS unit,
especially
as crime
and disorder
it would
be better
for the
CPRS to
be represented
via G. Wasserman
or Sir
B. Cubbins
group

Second, we need to decide how to respond to Robert Armstrong's note
of 13 July to Clive Whitmore, proposing the establishment of a CPRS
team to "take on the work involved in following up decisions taken
at the Prime Minister's meeting". In the event, the main outcome of
the Prime Minister's meeting was to impose upon the departments
concerned the responsibility for following up the ideas discussed.
I have had a preliminary discussion with John Sparrow, and he and
I share the view that the role of the CPRS in all this should be
much the same as its role in other areas - ie to study in some
depth particular issues, in close consultation with the departments
concerned, but not to take responsibility for seeing through to its
end the initiative as a whole. And the CPRS themselves recognise,
I believe, the need for them to work very closely with Brian Cubbon's
group in the Home Office if they are to tackle questions of crime
and public disorder. We ourselves will be quite well-equipped to
carry a lot of the issues forward, when two new members of staff
arrive after the holidays. I shall be having further discussion
with John Sparrow and Gordon Wasserman at 9am tomorrow, with a
view to sorting out which of us does what; and I think it would be
helpful if, before then, Clive were to reply to Robert Armstrong's
note along the lines of the attached draft.

Third, it seems to us that there is much to be said for putting
this initiative and all subsequent work on as regular a basis as
possible, so that it is seen in Whitehall generally as having the
same nature as other Ministerial business. From that point of

I see
no great
advantage
in this,
especially
at such
an early
stage as
the Group's
activities.

view, the Prime Minister's decision to refer to the group of Ministers as the "Family Policy Group" is helpful; and I think it would also be helpful if this Group were to become a properly constituted Cabinet Committee - the Ministerial Committee on Family Policy - with all that implies for the Cabinet Office having to accept responsibility for chasing up the papers which have been commissioned, and ensuring that the future business is properly conducted.

FM

FERDINAND MOUNT

21 July 1982

DRAFT MINUTE FROM MR WHITMORE TO SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

FAMILY POLICY GROUP

In your note to me of 13 July, you proposed the establishment of a CPRS team, led by Mr Wasserman, to take on the work involved in following up the decisions taken at the Prime Minister's meeting which was held yesterday.

At that meeting, I understand that the Prime Minister concluded that the further work should be undertaken by the Ministers concerned, and that the Policy Unit and the CPRS would contribute. You should also know that the two vacant staff positions in the Policy Unit here will probably shortly be filled, with the task of taking this work forward very much in mind. And I understand that Mr Mount and Mr Sparrow have held a preliminary discussion, in the course of which Mr Sparrow indicated his wish that the CPRS be associated with this work on the same basis as that on which it normally operates.

I think, therefore, that we should leave it up to Mr Mount and Mr Sparrow to agree between them for which areas of further work each will be responsible. In any further work that the CPRS undertakes on crime and public disorder, it does seem to me that very close liaison with Sir Brian Cubbon's group on crime will be needed.

You will also have seen from our record that the Prime Minister has asked that the group of Ministers concerned with this work should be known as the "Family Policy Group". I have consulted the Prime Minister on this, and we think there would be advantage in having this Ministerial group constituted as a Cabinet Committee, so that the usual arrangements can be made by the Cabinet Office for ensuring that the further work, which will involve the preparation of quite a large number of disparate papers, is organised in the most efficient way.

BK ALE Home Affairs RM

CONFIDENTIAL



cc: Mr. Mount

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 July, 1982

I attach a note of this morning's meeting to discuss Mr Mount's paper. There was some discussion at that meeting of how the programme of work it proposed should best be taken forward and the Prime Minister was then inclined to think that a meeting next week would be helpful. On subsequent reflection, however, ~~she feels that~~ to allow rather more time for Ministers to prepare the papers mentioned in the note she has decided to revert to a meeting in early September. She very much hopes that this will in no way reduce momentum of the work and has asked that papers should be with her at the latest by Friday, 28 August. Mrs Thatcher has also asked that the group of Ministers which met this morning should be known as the 'Family Policy Group'.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Kerr (HM Treasury), Imogen Wilde (Department of Education and Science), David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Anthony Mayer (Department of Transport), David Clark (Department of Health and Social Security), Barnaby Shaw (Department of Employment), Keith Long (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office). Copies also go to David Wright (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

(Timothy Flesher)

John Halliday, Esq.,
Home Office

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SUBJECT

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

RM

cc master



cc: Mr. Mount

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 July, 1982

The Prime Minister discussed Mr Mount's paper on Renewing the Values of Society at 0915 hrs today with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for Education, Environment, Transport, Social Services and Employment as well as the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Mr Raison. Sir Robert Armstrong, Mr Sparrow and Mr Mount were also present.

The Prime Minister said that many of the problems the Government had faced were the product of a general decline in discipline and authority in society as a whole; only in the armed forces were such values now the norm rather than the exception. The Government had done much to engender a return to traditional values but Mr Mount's paper pointed to a need for a much more co-ordinated approach to be taken. The purpose of the meeting was to identify ways in which such an approach might be fostered.

It was agreed that an approach of the kind envisaged in Mr Mount's paper should not be presented as a spiritual revival; what was needed was a set of practical and specific measures aimed at encouraging the development of personal responsibility and wherever possible its substitution for a collectivist attitude. In some respects the tide of popular opinion was already flowing in this direction as had been recognised in the growing weight of research evidence that a stable home life was the key to a stable society. The meeting then examined a number of areas in which there was scope for encouraging individual responsibility.

Property ownership

The encouragement of home ownership was one of the Government's success stories. A million additional people were now living in homes of their own as a result of the Government's policies, although it was worth considering whether a more aggressive sales technique might encourage an even high proportion of tenants to buy their own homes.

/More

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- 2 -

More generally, however, the quality of housing management tended to be very low; what was needed was a more imaginative approach to enabling tenants to have greater control over their communities, and in this context the experiments being encouraged by the Department of the Environment pointed the way. Other possibilities for extending personal responsibility in housing such as home-steading and rent-based mortgages also needed to be examined. It was only by achieving a higher degree of home ownership or tenant involvement that a greater degree of pride in the community could be engendered.

Education

A crucial element in improving the education system was to engage parents more directly in their childrens education and in this context the Department of Education and Science would shortly be producing a paper on choices in Education including the whole question of vouchers. Parental involvement, however, should not be at the expense of the self-confidence of teachers. Indeed the re-establishment of the authority of headmasters for their schools and of teachers in general was vital to the whole concept set out in Mr Mount's paper. The same applied to polytechnics and universities; their heads needed to be given sufficient authority so as clearly to be seen by their students as effectively in charge. Students themselves needed a much stronger sense of personal responsibility which a move in the direction of student loans rather than grants ought to encourage. The syllabus also needed to be examined; although some doubts expressed as to the feasibility of Mr Mount's proposal of a "Grammar of Society Course. There was scope for improving the teaching of logic and reasoning in schools.

Community Facilities

It was readily apparent that insufficient use was being made of community facilities such as schools. Partly because artificial restrictions had been placed on their availability by local agreements with trade unions. A comprehensive programme of opening up schools in the summer holidays was needed linked if at all possible with systems sponsored by the Department of Employment.

Industry

The private sector had a vital role to play in engendering values of individual reliance and one of the reasons for the decline of such levels in the inner city was the absence of the private industry. Policy should be aimed at involving the private sector more closely in the financing of community development, for example, by shared cost schemes. Similarly links between schools and industry ought to be encouraged; the Secretary of State for Environment reported that until recently there had been no formal links between local head teachers and industry in Toxteth.

The meeting recognised that an initiative aimed at restoring personal responsibility could not take on too prescriptive a tone. It could, however, create the right climate and to foster the right assumptions, for example, that authority should reside at the point at which it is most needed. The greatest need was for a re-establishment

/of

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

at the authority of the family and above all the initiative was aimed at restoring in children those values which seemed to have been lost in their parents generation.

Summing up, the Prime Minister said that the group was agreed on objectives; what was now necessary was to propose means by which the will to bring about improvements could be translated into action at local level even against the opposition of entrenched local and central bureaucracies. The Government had to project its vision of society more clearly. For the immediate future Ministers were asked to set out as quickly as possible an assessment of what was already being done together with proposals not necessarily limited to their departmental interests for what might be done. The proposals should be specific, immediate and practical. The Policy Unit and the CPRS would also wish to contribute. The group would meet again with a view to taking forward its work early in September.

I am sending copies of this letter to John Kerr (HM Treasury), Imogen Wilde (Department of Education and Science), David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Anthony Mayer (Department of Transport), David Clark (Department of Health and Social Security), Barnaby Shaw (Department of Employment), Keith Long (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster's Office). Copies also go to David Wright (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

TF

John Halliday, Esq.,
Home Office

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19 July 1982

Policy Unit

PRIME MINISTER

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY: YOUR 20 JULY MEETING

Our paper is intended to inspire discussion and general endorsement, rather than specific policy decisions at this stage; it may be helpful if I suggest the conclusions which we hope you can reach.

The case for a major effort by the Government to renew the values of society is set out in the introduction to the paper. From my own discussions with colleagues, I think the case is already accepted: the difficulty lies in putting it into effect.

It would be much better if each responsible Secretary of State were asked to endorse the principle, and then proposed his own initiatives, instead of us and the CPRS having to try to impose particular ideas on them. We must not allow this effort to founder on the rocks of departmental resistance to outside interference, nor to be lost forever in a fog of descriptions of what departments are already doing.

It is important to get the organisational aspects right. There are two problems. First, the Home Secretary is likely to argue that Sir Brian Cubbon's group already ranges widely over the crime field, so that there is no need for the special CPRS unit proposed in Sir Robert Armstrong's note of 13 July. Second, that note reflects (in paragraph 3) John Sparrow's wish to have the CPRS involved in the follow-up to our paper, not just to the crime and public disorder issue raised in Gordon Wasserman's earlier paper.

We think there should be a special unit, but only for the crime and public disorder issues, which are themselves substantial. The wider - and at present less concrete - issues should be developed by us here (we are filling the two empty posts in the Policy Unit, partly with this in mind). We hope the Home Secretary will agree that it will be useful to him to have some support centrally for his departmental effort.*

Prime Minister: surely a more economical and just as effective a way of assuring a CPRS input would be to invite the Home Secretary to associate the CPRS with Sir Brian Cubbon's group. Otherwise, there will be a danger that the good work done by the group will simply be duplicated.

CONFIDENTIAL

TS 19/17

CONFIDENTIAL

Suggested conclusions

So I suggest you may want to reach conclusions as follows:

1. Agreement in principle that the Government should take a series of initiatives designed to promote parental responsibility and achieve a renewed understanding of the values of society, as suggested in the introduction to the Policy Unit's paper; and that this should be publicly launched by you in the Party Conference speech.
2. An invitation to each of those present to propose such initiatives within their areas of responsibility, drawing on but not confined to the proposals in the paper.
3. An invitation to the Policy Unit to work closely with the responsible Secretaries of State and their departments in pursuit of this remit.
4. The establishment of a CPRS team to co-ordinate the work on the crime and public disorder aspects of this programme (but not on the wider aspects, as proposed by Sir Robert Armstrong) in close consultation with the Policy Unit.
5. Agreement that the same group of Ministers should meet again before the end of October to review the specific policy initiatives proposed, and to take decisions on them. I suggest we might call it the Family Policy Group to give a down-to-earth name to what we want to be a down-to-earth initiative.

FM

FERDINAND MOUNT

CONFIDENTIAL

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Ref. A09009

MR. WHITMORE

cc Mr. Sparrow
Mr. Wasserman
Mr. Mount

at Napton
'Review of the Law on Public Order'

In paragraph 9 of my minute of 19th March 1982 (Ref. A07852) I suggested the establishment of a new unit in the Cabinet Office to co-ordinate the work involved in following up Mr. Wasserman's proposal for a new initiative aimed at tackling crime and public disorder. I learnt only recently that the Prime Minister had endorsed the proposal and agreed the suggestion for a Cabinet Office unit.

2. After discussion with Mr. Sparrow, I propose that this work should be entrusted to a team in the CPRS led by Mr. Wasserman, who would report directly to Mr. Sparrow and would be assisted by two members of the CPRS.

3. I would envisage that the same team could take on the work involved in following up decisions taken at the Prime Minister's meeting on 20th July about Mr. Mount's note on "Renewing the Values of Society".

4. On both these matters, but particularly on the second, there would be need for an input from the No. 10 Policy Unit, to comment on and contribute to the work being done, and to help maintain a political impetus.

REA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

13th July, 1982

CONFIDENTIAL

28 June 1982

MR WHITMORE

Cecil Parkinson would like to attend the
Renewal of Values meeting on 20 July. As
there is clearly a Party political and
Manifesto aspect, this would, I think, be a
good idea. Can we send him the paper?

FM

FERDINAND MOUNT

1. Mini Studies ^{done} ch. 29/6.

Can you please write a

letter to him.

2. CF ^{done by 2/6/82}

He sent him - copy of
my letter of 22 June - and 1 min
attached paper.

R
29/6



10 DOWNING STREET

CAROLINE

For a meeting "as soon as
may be" - CAW 22.6.82

Thank you.
Mr Whitmore RW
24/6

with great
difficulty
Tuesday 20: July
at 9.15.

cf.

24/6.

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

22 June 1982

File AH
 ces Tsy Transport
 DES DHSS
 DOE Emp
 CO
 CPRS
 + Mr Mount

See John,

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

I attach a paper which Ferdinand Mount, the Head of the No 10 Policy Unit, has prepared.

The Prime Minister has seen the paper and would like to discuss it with the Home Secretary and the other Ministers to whose Private Secretaries I am copying this letter. We will be in touch with you and them to arrange an early meeting.

I am sending copies of this letter and of the paper to John Kerr (HM Treasury), Imogen Wilde (Department of Education and Science), David Edmonds (Department of the Environment), Anthony Mayer (Department of Transport), David Clark (Department of Health and Social Security) and Barnaby Shaw (Department of Employment). Copies also go to David Wright (Cabinet Office) and Gerry Spence (CPRS).

Yours sincerely,

John Halliday

John Halliday Esq.,
Home Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

AH

21 June 1982

MR WHITMORE

Thank you for sending me a copy of Robert Armstrong's note to you.

I think there is some confusion (for which my drafting is probably to blame) about the purpose of the initial note "Renewing the Values of Society" and of the ad hoc meeting of Ministers which the Prime Minister suggested.

The aim is not to set out a detailed programme of work. Such a programme would indeed need to be carefully researched before submission to Departments after agreement at Ministerial level - and would even then, as Sir Robert points out, be fatally vulnerable to buckets of departmental cold water. It would in any case be far beyond the scope of any single Ministerial meeting to examine in detail such a wide-ranging list.

The aim is to describe a general approach to social policy which is analogous to our general approach to economic policy. The Ministerial meeting is intended not to agree proposals, but to give the signal to the relevant Ministers to direct their attention to what can be done in their own fields.

If we accept this general approach, then there are certain policy areas which demand attention: parental control of schools, for instance. The paper suggests ways in which parental control might be made a reality, such as an increase in the number of parent governors. But the question to be asked of the Department of Education in the follow-up stage is not necessarily: "What are you doing about parent governors?" It is: "How do you propose to make genuine parental control a reality? If parent governors are not the answer, how do you propose to tackle this problem?"

The follow-up stage could be handled, in part, by a Cabinet Office unit, as Robert Armstrong suggested to the Prime Minister in his minute of 19 March (and as she then agreed) in relation to Mr Wasserman's original proposal. But it will, to be realistic, also need prodding from the Policy Unit, especially on the more radical and politically charged issues. Gordon Wasserman and I have collaborated on the attached outline of how this twofold follow-up might be arranged.

But what seems to me to be the most important priority is:

- (a) to let Ministers have the original paper, only slightly redrafted to make its purpose clearer, accompanied by a covering note which emphasises that the individual schemes are only suggestions for implementing a general policy approach, and that the ad hoc meeting of Ministers - which the Prime Minister thinks is the right way - is intended to discuss that approach and how to implement it; and
- (b) to hold the meeting as soon as possible.

FM
—

FERDINAND MOUNT

Hy0843

To: MR MOUNT
From: G J WASSERMAN

18 June 1982

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY, ETC:
ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT

We had another talk yesterday morning about the administrative arrangements which might be established to support the programme of work which is likely to flow from the ad hoc meeting of Ministers to be held next week to discuss your paper on Renewing the Values of Society.

We agreed that in considering this matter, a clear distinction should be drawn between the ideas in your paper and the more limited programme of work set out in Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 19 March to the Prime Minister about tackling crime and public disorder and that separate - but mutually reinforcing - administrative arrangements should be established for each. We agreed also that while the latter was probably best handled by a new Cabinet Office Unit of the kind proposed by Sir Robert, work on your paper - which is more speculative in nature and more overtly political in tone - should remain the responsibility of the No.10 Policy Unit.

Both initiatives would, however, come together at Ministerial level where they would both be "steered" by the Prime Minister and a small group of colleagues chosen not simply for their departmental responsibilities but also for their willingness and ability to think radically about issues of social policy. This group might meet three/four times a year to oversee the "Renewal Enterprise" as a whole, leaving it to the Cabinet Office Unit, the No.10 Policy Unit, and Departments to get on with particular parts of it with the help and advice of the conventional machinery of Ministerial and Official Committees.

The new Cabinet Office Unit and the No.10 Policy Unit would, of course, have to work very closely together. But, at least in the early days, the former would be concerned principally with the proposals in Sir Robert Armstrong's minute. It might, however, be given further responsibility in due course as some of the ideas canvassed in your paper come to the implementation stage.

The No.10 Unit, while contributing to (and keeping an ideological eye on) the work of the Cabinet Office Unit, would be responsible mainly for developing, in collaboration with other departments, the other proposals in your paper as well as other ideas which are likely to emerge in time. Your unit might also call upon the Cabinet Office Unit for professional or expert support and advice and, as pointed out above, might in due course hive off particular projects to it.

Finally, we spoke on the telephone this morning about how best to relate the work of the new Cabinet Office Unit to the Home Secretary's proposal that the Home Office should take the lead in carrying forward the work described in the report prepared by an Interdepartmental Group of Officials on what Departments outside the ordinary ambit of the Criminal Justice System are doing and could do to help reduce crime in England and Wales.

We agreed that despite the fact that the Home Secretary's letter to Sir Keith Joseph is entitled "Crime" - a term which we agreed should not appear in the name of the new Cabinet Office Unit - the work described in that document is such that it would be appropriate for the new unit to be responsible for overseeing it, possibly with the help of a new Ministerial Committee under the Home Secretary. This would ensure that all the new initiatives in this general field were presented as forming part of a coherent strategy and would, as you point out, bring these matters closer to the centre of Government concern and activity.

Summary

We agreed that the following administrative arrangements might be made to carry forward the programme of work described in your paper on Renewing the Values of Society, Sir Robert Armstrong's minute to the Prime Minister about crime and

the Home Secretary's letter to Sir Keith Joseph;

- (i) All these activities should be steered by an ad hoc Ministerial Committee chaired by the Prime Minister.
- (ii) The programme of work described in Sir Robert Armstrong's paper should be the responsibility of a new unit established in the Cabinet Office.
- (iii) The other proposals contained in your paper should be developed by the No.10 Unit in collaboration with the new Cabinet Office Unit, other Whitehall Departments and others.
- (iv) The work described in the report attached to the Home Secretary's letter should be overseen by the new Cabinet Office Unit, perhaps with the help of a new Ministerial Committee under the Home Secretary.

G/W

G J WASSERMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL

Ref. A08752

MR. WHITMORE

Mr Mount.
What do you think?
Let us have a word.
RM
18/6

Mr. Wasserman has shown me a copy of Mr. Mount's note "Renewing the Values of Society". I think that it is very interesting, and has a lot of good ideas. The question is how to get them launched with best hope of success.

2. My fear is that, if the note goes straight to Ministers, they will all come to a meeting equipped with Departmental briefs full of cold water and faint praise. There are two things we might do to reduce that danger.

3. First, it might be worth spending a bit more time on the outline of the proposals, to make them as proof as possible against Departmental cold water and faint praise. We might do that by taking a couple of weeks in which the proposals could be more fully discussed than I gather they have been with Mr. Wasserman, and perhaps at a meeting which the Prime Minister might have with Mr. Sparrow, Mr. Mount, Mr. Wasserman and me.

4. Secondly, we might then circulate them to Ministers under cover of a note by the Prime Minister which gave them whatever degree of political backing and impetus she wanted to give them, and which made proposals for carrying forward the work on them. We could discuss how that could best be done. Mr. Mount may want to do it himself, but if he does he will not have too much time for other work. An alternative would be to get one or two people in the CPRS (or separate from the CPRS in the Cabinet Office) who would be responsible, in co-operation and consultation with Mr. Mount, and with the many Departments affected, for working the proposals up.

5. We should have to decide how that should be related to the unit to work up Mr. Wasserman's ideas (about which I minuted the Prime Minister on 19th March), if the Prime Minister decided to proceed with that.

6. Perhaps you and I could discuss this with Mr. Mount and Mr. Wasserman.


ROBERT ARMSTRONG

18th June, 1982

CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL

FILE.

da



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG
CABINET OFFICE

I promised to let you have a copy of Mr. Mount's paper on the "Values of Society" when he had tidied it up. It is attached.

Mr. Mount says that he has given Mr. Wasserman a copy.

He now expects me to circulate his paper straightaway to the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretaries of State for Education and Science, the Environment, Health and Social Services and Employment and to invite them to an early meeting to discuss it.

When we discussed Mr. Mount's paper last week, we agreed that I should let you see it before I circulated it to Ministers. Perhaps we could have a further word when you have read it.

AWJ.

16 June 1982

16 June 1982

MR WHITMORE

Herewith the tidied-up version of the "Values" paper to be circulated to the ad hoc Ministers' meeting, if approved.

In addition to the Ministers the PM suggested, should we include Geoffrey Howe who takes a keen interest in this area of policy?

Copies should also be sent to John Sparrow and Robert Armstrong. I have discussed the text with Gordon Wasserman and sent him a copy.

Should we discuss what ought to happen after the ad hoc meeting?

I have already discussed one or two of the ideas with the Home Secretary and Keith Joseph.

FM

FERDINAND MOUNT

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

AN AGENDA FOR THE MID-80s

"Our country's relative decline is not inevitable. We in the Conservative Party think we can reverse it, not because we think we have all the answers but because we think we have the one answer that matters most. We want to work with the grain of human nature, helping people to help themselves - and others. This is the way to restore that self-reliance and self-confidence which are the basis of personal responsibility and national success."

Conservative Manifesto, 1979

This Government came to power asserting that it is the exercise of responsibility which teaches self-discipline. But in the early stages of life, it is the experience of authority, when exerted fairly and consistently by adults, which teaches young people how to exercise responsibility themselves. We have to learn to take orders before we learn how to give them.

This two-way relationship between obedience and responsibility is what makes a free, self-governing society. And in the breakdown of that relationship we can trace the origins of so much that has gone wrong with Britain.

If we can rebuild this relationship, we might begin to restore also:

respect for law and order
respect for property
respect for teachers and parents.

But the rebuilding itself has to be a two-way business.

On the one hand, we need to restore effective authority to teachers and parents.

On the other hand, we need to offer young people a taste of responsibility and a useful role in society.

This selection of ideas - some new, some old - is designed to stimulate both action and argument. Several schemes are already

successful as local experiments; these might be carried forward on a national basis. Others are more provocative and speculative. The presentation is not intended to be systematic.

The aim is to direct attention to those places where a Government might usefully intervene and assist to renew the values of society.

Considering these ideas all together, and inviting each relevant Department to see what it can do to help, may be the best way to convince both political and public opinion that we are neither callous nor defeatist about the practical prospects for the next generation.

Timing

- (i) The programme could be publicly launched in the autumn, perhaps at Brighton.
- (ii) Specific subjects could then be discussed at a seminar, or series of seminars before Christmas.
- (iii) Some proposals could then be implemented, one by one, over the remainder of this Parliament. But with other proposals, we can start straight away.
- (iv) The rest of the programme could be embodied in the Manifesto for the next 5 years.

Children first

We start with children and the schools they go to, because that is where most of our anxieties begin. But if we are to succeed in re-implanting the values we believe in, we shall be drawn into far-reaching reforms of adult society as well.

AT SCHOOL

1. Teacher-training should be reformed in order to include a compulsory course on "management of the classroom" and to insist on "staff college" training for all head teachers and Chief Education Officers. It is inexcusable that teachers, instead of reinforcing parental authority, should undermine that authority, not merely by anti-authority teaching, but by simply not knowing how to keep order.

2. Parents cannot be respected as holders of authority and dispensers of wisdom unless they are seen by their children to be in control. And as far as children are concerned, the place to be in control of is the place where they spend 5 days a week, 9 months in the year, namely school. Parents made to wait outside school gates, patronised by teachers and education officials and denied the freedom of choice of schools, are more like beggars pleading for alms than customers exerting consumer sovereignty.

This relationship must and can be transformed. The first step is to increase the minimum number of directly-elected parent governors provided for under the Education Act, 1980.

The second step is to permit other forms of state-aided education to spring up in competition with the maintained schools; such competition already exists in most European countries and in Northern Ireland where the schools are generally agreed to have higher standards than in the rest of the UK.

The third step is vouchers, or education allowances, to restore genuine power of choice to those parents who have not the money to opt out of the state system, nor the articulateness and self-confidence to make their voices heard within it.

In higher education, a sense of responsibility for one's own education and an awareness of its costs can be directly inspired by a system of student loans.

3. The grammar of society. Does "civics" as taught today include all those things which it ought to include to give children a general understanding of the country they live in? How many children in comprehensive schools, for example, are taught (a) the history of the English common law; and (b) how the law works today? Lack of knowledge about our country, its traditions of civility, and its historical evolution can be as crippling a

handicap in coping with life as poor grasp of the English language. Many young people - even those with several O levels and A levels - lack any real knowledge of the grammar of society.

Could the examining boards devise a course which would include a very brief outline of the history and present-day working of (a) Parliament and Government; (b) English/Scottish law; and (c) the British economy?

This "British General" paper could provide a basic equivalent in social studies to English Language as a qualification for employment or for admission to higher and further education. Such a course should also provide at least a partial antidote to the half-baked Marxism which dupes so many 18 year olds largely because they lack other social and political knowledge to match it against.

OUT OF SCHOOL

4. School holidays. The increase in working mothers is one of the great post-War changes. In the holidays we have the all-day latch-key kid. The DHSS and the Home Office have already put forward some proposals for extra day care facilities. We must also press on with the release of school playing fields during the holidays. Should we also consider "summer schools" offering courses in various attractive skills - motor mechanics, photography, carpentry, guitar, etc? Should these various small measures be put together in a "Brighter Summer" package? Could the principle of Information Technology Centres be carried far wider - to embrace, say, language labs. and engineering skills?
5. Money management. The sensible management of pocket money, leading on to sensible management of the wage packet, is an essential part of growing up. In middle-class homes, it is taken for granted. Where parents do not have bank accounts, the habit may come less readily. I wonder whether the Post Office savings system fills the gap adequately. Is there some facility which the banks or the building societies could set up in conjunction with secondary schools - a schools equivalent of the Christmas club?

6. Vandals and delinquents. Over the past 100 years, the state has taken over many of the responsibilities for the care, education and discipline of children which used to be reserved for parents. Yet the state has never fully developed the flexibility of response which is a routine trait of a good parent. A parent's response to a child's wrongdoing ranges from "say you're sorry", to the imposition of extra household chores, sharp moral lectures and a brisk slap. Until recently, the state had a far cruder range of responses: the choice was between letting the delinquent off with a warning and imprisoning him in a variety of institutions.

We have been timid about developing in-between responses to law-breaking, particularly about those forms of punishment which involve the offender making practical restitution, either to the victim or to society. "Community service" has been introduced rather nervously in Britain for fear that it might seem soft or "Scandinavian". Yet provided that we retain imprisonment and stiff fines as conspicuous deterrents for the really vicious crimes, community service in all its forms does offer undeniable advantages:

- (a) Scrubbing down a vandalised wall or weeding a pensioner's garden is unlikely to criminalise a young offender in a way that imprisonment so often does, however hard we try to make reformatories actually reform people.
- (b) The obvious way to "integrate" a delinquent teenager into ordinary society is to keep him physically within ordinary society. Alienation, after all, means in its strictest and ultimate sense no more than "being a stranger".
- (c) The savings on public expenditure from sending fewer young people to Borstals and prisons leave money free to run those institutions as genuine places of reform.

Should we then consider urgently how far we can make community service the routine first response to minor acts of law-breaking by juveniles?

AT HOME

7. Television. The argument here starts and too often stops with the question of sex and violence. TV treatment of both is indeed often dehumanising. But another and no less important problem is the trivialising, mind-numbing effect of so much television, particularly children's television which takes up 2 hours of every afternoon.

Even those programmes which are often rightly complained of - violent crime serials and westerns - usually do at least illustrate the distinction between right and wrong and make it clear that this distinction matters. Programmes for children, by contrast, are often lifeless, moral-less, mindless and themeless. They reduce life to a meaningless buzz of chatter. No stories, no drama, no food for thought, no suspense - and not much laughter either.

We should not be frightened to suggest that unless the broadcasting authorities offer our children more nourishing stuff in the future - and that would mean spending a much higher proportion of their revenue on children's programmes - we should consider setting up a separate, adequately funded Children's Broadcasting Corporation which would do the job for them on all channels, much as ITN does now for the news for all the independent companies. Such a CBC would not be a Government stooge, nor would it be unremittingly "educational", although it might naturally include schools broadcasting. It would concentrate on the area of broadcasting which now has very low priority for funds and attention. We should emphasise throughout that we wish to make children's broadcasting more enjoyable, not less. Our aim should be to shake the BBC and the independent companies into re-ordering their priorities.

8. Home pride. All our schemes for broadening the social basis of home ownership and for self-management of council estates are highly relevant here. I mention particularly those schemes which would do most to enable the young and the poor to own a home early on in life, with all the pride and sense of responsibility that ownership generates:

- (a) Homesteading, which has worked so well in places as far apart as Glasgow and Baltimore. Should we have a national programme which would confer homesteading rights on any family occupying a dwelling which the landlord, whether private or public, refuses or cannot afford to bring up to national minimum standards?
- (b) Rent-based mortgages. A highly attractive and apparently well-costed scheme devised by Christopher Monckton of the Daily Telegraph. Under this scheme, the council tenant would have the right to convert his rent into an equivalent mortgage repayment on his home. The rent-based mortgage provides for a steady increase, index-linked, in the money level (but not the real level) of repayment, so that the repayment period is usually much the same as with a conventional mortgage. The fact that the mortgage repayment starts at the same level as the council house rent removes the daunting aspect of "getting a mortgage" and simplifies the calculations of the family budget. The payments increase over the years, but so long as family income keeps approximate pace with inflation, the family can be sure that the repayment will continue to take no larger share of its income.
- (c) Tenant Management Co-operatives. These are the only council tenants' organisations which can be given genuine management responsibility. They can actually employ staff not only to deal with repairs and maintenance, but also to manage letting and arrears.

AT WORK

9. Authority at work. The vast expansion of the nationalised sector and the welfare state has produced a correspondingly vast "low-authority" sector.

The great characteristic of many non-nationalised bodies - small businesses, shops, private schools - is direct experience of certain authority. You know the boss and you know that he or she is the boss. Nationalised bureaucracies of all types are different. Chains of command tend to be unclear or actually broken.

Hospital porters and school caretakers come to be laws unto themselves. Witness the ludicrous difficulty which the "authorities" have in persuading the caretakers to open their halls and playing fields out of hours. Indeed, any official body which includes "Authority" in its title is likely to lack precisely the characteristics of true authority: identifiability, direct responsibility and the undisputed right to act.

This uncertainty speedily demoralises the work group affected. People become aware of their rudderless state. In material terms, pilfering and petty protection rackets may spring up. In emotional terms, the consequences are loss of self-respect, disenchantment and sloth - the mediaeval sin of 'accidie'. This unhappy state echoes back into the home, and so cannot help corroding human relationships, just as it corrodes the purposes and behaviour of British trade unions in the public sector. The lack of authority at work rebounds to the discredit of authority generally, and makes the giving and receiving of the mildest orders a source of continuing friction. People will always remain suspicious of authority until they have experienced in their own lives some system of authority which works smoothly and without harshness to the general benefit.

Many people are now dimly aware of this. I believe that the most helpful reaction, therefore, is not to call for the "restoration of authority" in some far-reaching spiritual sense, but rather to try to restore effective authority in the public services - particularly in those which are not, for the moment, anyway, being reinvigorated by competition or by return to the private sector.

In general, the right principle would seem to be a simple one: the head person in the building ought also to be the effective employer and to have the undisputed power of hiring and firing. The headmaster, not the local authority, should employ the caretaker. The head doctor should employ all the hospital staff, medical and non-medical alike. In private schools and hospitals, this is already taken for granted. In Patients First, we took a substantial step back towards concentrating authority in a hospital on a single identifiable individual and a single clear chain of command. Can we go further in the NHS and elsewhere?

To ask all public bodies to review their chains of command is not to call for an intolerable reimposition of "Victorian" discipline. It is no more than to ask public bodies to behave in the manner which most private bodies have taken for granted since time began.

These preliminary ideas can be added to or subtracted from as we go along. I have endeavoured throughout to keep three basic criteria in mind:

- (a) the scheme should be practical and clear;
- (b) it should involve no significant extra cost to the taxpayer; and
- (c) it should be directed primarily to those who at present find it most difficult to exert effective control over their own lives and the lives of their families, namely the poor and those who are at present largely or wholly dependent upon services provided by the state.

cc Mr Parkinson

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE MID-80s

"Our country's relative decline is not inevitable. We in the Conservative Party think we can reverse it, not because we think we have all the answers but because we think we have the one answer that matters most. We want to work with the grain of human nature, helping people to help themselves - and others. This is the way to restore that self-reliance and self-confidence which are the basis of personal responsibility and national success."

Conservative Manifesto, 1979

This Government came to power asserting that it is the exercise of responsibility which teaches self-discipline. But in the early stages of life, it is the experience of authority, when exerted fairly and consistently by adults, which teaches young people how to exercise responsibility themselves. We have to learn to take orders before we learn how to give them.

This two-way relationship between obedience and responsibility is what makes a free, self-governing society. And in the breakdown of that relationship we can trace the origins of so much that has gone wrong with Britain.

If we can rebuild this relationship, we might begin to restore also:

- respect for law and order
- respect for property
- respect for teachers and parents.

But the rebuilding itself has to be a two-way business.

On the one hand, we need to restore effective authority to teachers and parents.

On the other hand, we need to offer young people a taste of responsibility and a useful role in society.

This selection of ideas - some new, some old - is designed to stimulate both action and argument. Several schemes are already successful as local experiments; these might be carried forward on a national basis. Others are more provocative and speculative. The presentation is not intended to be systematic, nor are the suggestions meant to add up to a detailed programme of action.

The aim is to direct attention to those places where a Government might usefully intervene and assist to renew the values of society.

Considering these ideas all together, and inviting each relevant Department to see what it can do to help, may be the best way to convince both political and public opinion that we are neither callous nor defeatist about the practical prospects for the next generation.

Timing

- (i) The programme could be publicly launched in the autumn, perhaps at Brighton.
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AT SCHOOL

1. Teacher-training might be reformed in order to include a compulsory course on "management of the classroom" and to insist on "staff college" training for all head teachers and Chief Education Officers. It is inexcusable that teachers, instead of reinforcing parental authority, should undermine that authority, not merely by anti-authority teaching, but by simply not knowing how to keep order.

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This relationship must and can be transformed. The first step might be to increase the minimum number of directly-elected parent governors provided for under the Education Act, 1980.

The second step could be to permit other forms of state-aided education to spring up in competition with the maintained schools; such competition already exists in most European countries and in Northern Ireland where the schools are generally agreed to have higher standards than in the rest of the UK.

The third step might be vouchers, or education allowances, to restore genuine power of choice to those parents who have not the money to opt out of the state system, nor the articulateness and self-confidence to make their voices heard within it.

In higher education, a sense of responsibility for one's own education and an awareness of its costs can be directly inspired by a system of student loans.

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The great characteristic of many non-nationalised bodies - small businesses, shops, private schools - is direct experience of certain authority. You know the boss and you know that he or she is the boss. Nationalised bureaucracies of all types are different. Chains of command tend to be unclear or actually broken.

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Many people are now dimly aware of this. I believe that the most helpful reaction, therefore, is not to call for the "restoration of authority" in some far-reaching spiritual sense, but rather to try to restore effective authority in the public services - particularly in those which are not, for the moment anyway, being reinvigorated by competition or by return to the private sector.

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FERDINAND MOUNT

FM

Policy Unit,
10 Downing Street

22 June 1982

14 June 1982

MR VEREKER

MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER: FRIDAY, 11 JUNE

We discussed Renewing the Values of Society. It was agreed that an ad hoc meeting of Ministers should be set up, probably for the week after next, to include Sir Keith Joseph, Messrs Whitelaw, Tebbit, Heseltine, Fowler and Macfarlane. I promised to circulate a tidied-up version of the paper. I suggested that she might launch the values theme in her Conference Speech - which seemed to appeal to her.

We discussed in detail:

- How to occupy young people during the summer holidays.
- Children's broadcasting.
- The school curriculum.

The Prime Minister suggested that we contact: Lord Selston, Butlins Holiday Camps; Michael Rutter; Anthony ~~St~~een, the Royal Institute (maths classes at weekends); Leonard Williams of the building societies (re pocket money).

Policy Unit

I said that we needed 2 more people: an official, probably of Principal rank and from one of the home departments, to perform JV's role on domestic/social topics; and a more political animal to assist in the preparation of the Manifesto. The Prime Minister agreed.

I also said that the research department and the special advisers etc were ready and anxious to start on the preparation of the Manifesto. The Prime Minister agreed about the urgency, and expressed the view that they should not feel inhibited about getting on with it.

I said that, pending agreement on the general Renewing Values campaign, the Policy Unit intended to prod individual departments on individual schemes. The Prime Minister said that we must keep on prodding on all fronts.

fm

Kevin Agnew



10 DOWNING STREET

Linda Rust cc Mr Whitmore
Mr Vercher

+

N.

As you will see from the attached,
the Prime Minister would like
to discuss with Mr Mount
his paper on "Renewing the
Values of Society". I suggest
1500 ~~at~~ on Friday 11 June, and
will assume that is confirmed
unless I hear from you.

WM

2/6

4.

26 May 1982

PRIME MINISTER

RENEWING THE VALUES OF SOCIETY

ms

Since our talk on Monday, I have been considering how to translate this large enterprise into a practical programme for action.

Gordon Wasserman and I have a number of ideas which, if you agree, we would like to explore together further by working informally in partnership for the next couple of months. We would then hope to submit a range of possible outline proposals for your views before the Recess.

The programme could be publicly launched at a seminar in the autumn.

Some proposals might then be implemented, one by one, over the following year, where possible. Other proposals could be embodied in a manifesto for the following 5 years.

I attach a selection of preliminary ideas which seem relevant, and I would be glad to have your views on them - and on other ideas which ought to be included - before we attempt to go deeper. I am sorry to be long-winded, but at the outset I think we ought to cast our net as wide as we can.

We start with children and the schools they go to, because that is where our anxieties begin. But we must be in no doubt that if we are to succeed in reimplanting the values we believe in, we shall be drawn into far-reaching reforms of adult society as well, in order to restore responsibility and control to "ordinary working people".

FM

FERDINAND MOUNT

I am very pleased with these ideas. Could we have a preliminary talk next week.
ms.

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2. Parents cannot be respected as holders of authority and dispensers of wisdom unless they are seen by their children to be in control. And as far as children are concerned, the place to be in control of is the place where they spend 5 days a week, 9 months in the year, namely school. Parents huddling outside school gates, being patronised by teachers and education departments and being denied the freedom of choice of schools, are more like beggars pleading for alms than customers exerting consumer sovereignty.

This relationship must and can be transformed. The first step is to increase the number of directly-elected parent governors.

The second step is to permit other forms of state-aided education to spring up in competition with the wholly maintained schools; such competition already exists in most European countries and in Northern Ireland where the schools are generally agreed to have higher standards than in the rest of the UK.

The third step is vouchers.

3. The grammar of society. Does "civics" as taught today include all those things which it ought to include to give children a general understanding of the country they live in? How many children in comprehensive schools, for example, are taught (a) the history of the English common law; and (b) how the law works today? Lack of knowledge about our country, its traditions of civility, and its historical evolution can be as crippling a handicap in coping with life as poor grasp of the English language. Many young people - even those with several O levels and A levels - lack any real knowledge of the grammar of society.

Yes
Could the examining boards devise a course which would include a very brief outline of the history and present-day working of (a) Parliament and Government; (b) English/Scottish law; (c) the British economy?

This "British General" paper could provide a basic equivalent in social studies to English Language as a qualification for employment or for admission to higher and further education. Such a course should also provide at least a partial antidote to the half-baked Marxism which dupes so many 18 year olds largely because they lack other social and political knowledge to match it against.

4. School holidays. The increase in working mothers is one of the great post-War changes. In the holidays we have the all-day latch-key kid. The DHSS and Home Office have already put forward some proposals for extra day care facilities. We must also press on with the release of school playing fields during the holidays. Should we also consider "summer schools" offering courses in various attractive skills - motor mechanics, photography, carpentry, guitar etc.? Should these various small measures be put together in a "Brighter Summer" package?
5. Money management. The sensible management of pocket money, leading on to sensible management of the wage packet, is an essential part of growing up. In middle-class homes, it is taken for granted. Where parents do not have bank accounts, the habit may come less readily. I wonder whether the Post Office savings system fills the gap adequately? Is there some facility which the banks could set up in conjunction with secondary schools - a schools equivalent of the Christmas club?
6. Vandals and delinquents. Over the past 100 years, the state has taken over many of the responsibilities for the care, education and discipline of children which used to be reserved for parents. Yet the state has never fully developed the flexibility of response which is a routine

trait of a good parent. A parent's response to a child's wrongdoing ranges from "say you're sorry", through "you'll have to pay for it out of your own money", to the imposition of extra household chores, sharp moral lectures and a brisk slap. Until recently, the state had a far cruder range of responses: the choice was between letting the delinquent off with a warning and imprisoning him in a variety of institutions.

We have been timid about developing in-between responses to law-breaking, particularly about those forms of punishment which involve the offender making practical restitution, either to the victim or to society. "Community service" has been introduced rather nervously in Britain for fear that it might seem soft or "Scandinavian". Yet provided that we retain imprisonment and a stiff fine as conspicuous deterrents for the really vicious crimes, community service in all its forms does offer undeniable advantages:

- (a) Scrubbing down a vandalised wall or weeding a pensioner's garden is unlikely to criminalise a young offender in a way that imprisonment so often does, however hard we try to make reformatories actually reform people.
- (b) The obvious way to "integrate" a delinquent teenager into ordinary society is to keep him physically within ordinary society. Alienation, after all, means in its strictest and ultimate sense no more than "being a stranger".
- (c) The savings on public expenditure from sending fewer young people to Borstals and prisons leaves money free to run those institutions as genuine places of reform.

Should we then consider urgently how far we can make community service the routine first response to minor acts of law-breaking by juveniles?

7

Television. The argument here starts and too often stops with the question of sex and violence. TV treatment of both is indeed often dehumanising. But another and no less important problem is the trivialising, mind-numbing effect of so much television, particularly children's television.

Even those programmes which are often rightly complained of - violent crime serials and westerns - usually do at least ultimately illustrate the distinction between right and wrong and make it clear that this distinction matters.

Programmes for children, by contrast, are often lifeless, moral-less, mindless and themeless. They reduce life to a meaningless buzz of chatter. No stories, no drama, no food for thought, no suspense - and not much laughter either.

We should not be frightened to suggest that unless the broadcasting authorities offer our children more nourishing stuff in the future - and that would mean spending a much higher proportion of their revenue on children's programmes - we should consider setting up a separate, adequately funded Children's Broadcasting Corporation which would do the job for them on all channels, much as ITN does now for the news for all the independent companies. Such a CBC would not be a Government stooge, nor would it be grimly and unremittingly "educational", although it might naturally include schools broadcasting. It would concentrate on the area of broadcasting which now has very low priority for funds and attention. We should emphasise throughout that we wish to make children's broadcasting more enjoyable, not less. Our aim should be to shake the BBC and the ITA into re-ordering their priorities.

8. Home ownership. All our schemes for broadening the social basis of home ownership and for self-management of council estates are highly relevant here. I mention particularly those schemes which would do most to enable the young and the poor to own a home early on in life, with all the pride and sense of responsibility that ownership generates:

- (a) Homesteading, which has worked so well in places as far apart as Glasgow and Baltimore, but which does not seem to have caught on systematically throughout the more run-down areas of the great conurbations.
- (b) Rent-based mortgages. A highly attractive and apparently well-costed scheme devised by Christopher Monckton of the Daily Telegraph. Under this scheme, the council tenant would have the right to convert his rent into an equivalent mortgage repayment on his home. The rent-based mortgage provides for a steady increase, index-linked, in the money level (but not the real level) of repayment, so that the repayment period is usually much the same as with a conventional mortgage. The fact that the mortgage repayment starts at the same level as the council house rent removes the daunting aspect of "getting a mortgage" and simplifies the calculations of the family budget. While the payments increase over the years, so long as family income keeps approximate pace with inflation, the family can be sure that the repayment will continue to take the same proportion of its income.

9. Authority at work. The vast expansion of the nationalised sector and the welfare state has produced a correspondingly vast "low-authority" sector.

The great characteristic of many non-nationalised bodies - small businesses, shops, private schools - is direct experience of certain authority. You know the boss and you know that he or she is the boss. Nationalised bureaucracies of all types are different. Chains of command tend to be unclear or actually broken.

Hospital porters and school caretakers come to be laws unto themselves. Witness the ludicrous difficulty the "authorities" have in persuading the caretakers to open their halls and playing fields out of hours. Indeed, any

official body which includes "Authority" in its title is likely to lack precisely the characteristics of true authority: identifiability, direct responsibility and the undisputed right to act.

This uncertainty speedily demoralises the work group affected. People become aware of their rudderless state. In material terms, pilfering and petty protection rackets may spring up. In emotional terms, the consequences are loss of self-respect, disenchantment and sloth - the mediaeval sin of accidie. This unhappy state echoes back into the home, which cannot help corroding human relationships just as it corrodes the purposes and behaviour of British trade unions in the public sector. The lack of authority at work rebounds to the discredit of authority generally, and makes the giving and receiving of the mildest orders a source of continuing friction. People will always remain suspicious of authority until they have experienced in their own lives some system of authority which works smoothly and without harshness to the general benefit.

Most people are now dimly aware of this. I believe that the most helpful reaction, therefore, is not to call for the "restoration of authority" in some far-reaching spiritual sense; but rather to try to restore effective authority in those public services which are not, for the moment anyway, being reinvigorated by competition or by return to the private sector.

In general, the right principle would seem to be a simple one: the head person in the building ought also to be the effective employer and to have the undisputed power of hire and fire. The headmaster, not the local authority, should employ the caretaker. The head doctor should employ all the hospital staff, medical and non-medical alike. In private schools and hospitals, this is already taken for granted.

In fact, to ask all public bodies to review their chains of command is not to call for an intolerable reimposition of "Victorian" discipline. It is no more than to ask

public bodies to behave in the manner which most private bodies have taken for granted since time began.

These preliminary ideas can be added to or subtracted from as we go along. I have endeavoured throughout to keep three basic criteria in mind:

- (a) the scheme should be practical and clear;
- (b) it should involve no significant extra cost to the taxpayer; and
- (c) it should be directed primarily to those who at present find it most difficult to exert effective control over their own lives and the lives of their families, namely the poor and those who are at present largely or wholly dependent upon services provided by the state.