

THE FOLLOWING SPEECH IS BEING MADE BY THE RT HON SIR KEITH JOSEPH, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SOCIAL SERVICES AT A CONFERENCE FOR LOCAL AUTHORITIES ORGANIZED BY THE PRE-SCHOOL PLAYGROUPS ASSOCIATION AT CHURCH HOUSE, WESTMINSTER AT 2.00 PM ON THURSDAY, 29 JUNE

INTRODUCTION

1. I welcome this chance to express my appreciation of the work of the playgroup movement, and to share with you some thoughts about some intractable problems in our society, which bear on the future of family life. This is I know a subject which gives rise to much anxious thought and discussion in the privacy of a great many homes. I should like you to understand that in what follows I am not only speaking of what troubles me personally. I would like to emphasise that I have the support of my colleagues in the Government who share my concern with these areas of social policy.

THE NEEDS OF THE UNDER-5s

5m < 5
2. In our country there are about five million children under five. The medical provision for their physical care is good - and is improving. But what about the social and emotional needs of young children, which are of such concern to you?

3. I know your interest because the 0-5 group under Professor Eric Stroud has taken on the creative job of harassing the Government on behalf of all the many organisations like yourselves concerned with provision for the under-fives. We are in the midst of a helpful dialogue. There is no difference between us and the 0-5 group on the unique importance of what society does to and for children in the first five years.

4. Today I cannot possibly touch on every aspect. Nursery education, obviously, is a prime issue, and this is Mrs Thatcher's concern. Day nurseries are another area where much development seems necessary, and here I have been able to make some progress.

5. In the last Urban Programme phase announced in May the

Government allocated over £1 million for day care provision for the under-fives. While not much in proportion to need, it does mean that for this year we have increased by a half the money available for building day nurseries, as well as providing additional money through the Urban Programme for playgroups.

6. Playgroups certainly arouse enthusiasm. Your movement - the PPA - has a marvellous spirit and a real understanding of how to involve parents and to give them and their children enjoyable experiences. I admire this voluntary effort by people helping themselves and their neighbours so effectively.

7. You understand well the stresses and strains on parents today at all levels of society. The sessional care offered by playgroups lessens those tensions for mothers and their young children and enables both to live a fuller and happier life. The strain is worst on those young children and their parents destined to live in bleak urban areas where play facilities are lacking. Of course many of these families are happy and well-adjusted with much love and family pride and warmth. Most parents, even in the most difficult and depressing conditions support and love their children. Most would welcome some form of sessional care. There is a large unmet need. This is being increasingly provided by PPA, the Save the Children Fund, the Women's Royal Voluntary Service, Priority Area Children and a host of other voluntary organisations.

8. Playgroups mean different things to different people. You began 10 years ago because some mothers decided to take the initiative rather than to sit back and bemoan the lack of pre-school facilities. But increasingly playgroups have become a necessary social service involving both parents and children, rather than a substitute educational service. So whatever may be done about nursery education in the future, there will continue to be a vital role for the playgroup movement for as far ahead

as we can see.

9. I want to see more playgroups, particularly in urban areas of need, and I want to see the standards constantly improving while at the same time preserving the essential qualities of family involvement and voluntary service.

10. The Government wishes to help without in any sense eroding the voluntary nature of the work. But central Government help must not cut across the contribution which local authorities expect to make for services provided locally. It is to local authorities that playgroups should look for support. Many authorities do help already. I hope that where there is need all will do so.

11. For our part - and I have told your Committee about this only very recently - the Government have decided to help your national headquarters so as to create the framework for a great expansion on the ground. PPA are to receive from us a capital grant of £9,500 and a recurring grant annually of £45,000. We hope and believe that the money will speed the provision of playgroups, particularly for children with special social needs, and that it will also enable standards generally to be improved. Your Committee have told me that PPA is confident that you will find the women to run your playgroups in urban areas of need through mobilising, training and supporting local mothers whom you will involve as much as you can in the groups. I hope the grant will help you to achieve this, and give you valuable support for your training and development work. My decision to make this grant was taken in the closest co-operation with Mrs Thatcher, and it is wholly additional to the grant her Department already makes.

12. I have also seen a number of other voluntary organisations, including Save the Children Fund, who make an important contribution in this field. I have asked them to consider

increasing the number of playgroups they run. I hope that we are on the threshold of getting playgroups to most of the places where the need is urgent.

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THE FAMILY

13. I bring you the good wishes and the support of the Government because you are helping to strengthen happy and successful family life. The family is the basis sanctified by the main sources of our western religious traditions for the healthy development of children.

from third party in villages

14. Yet the family is under attack. It has enormous potentialities for good: but, as is inherent in the human condition, if it does not function properly it can do harm. If the family is to do the good of which it is capable, the parents need to show a consistent combination of love and guidance, understanding and firmness. But an understanding of this by parents cannot be taken for granted. There are many forces at work to discourage and distort priorities and attitudes. Many parents had no chance when they were children to learn what a happy home can be. Surely then we need to consider how family life can be strengthened. There are some positive steps we may be able to take, and I shall say more about these in a minute. But first I suggest that there is a profound issue here to which we should perhaps give more sustained and ordered thought than we have done in the past.

HOW MANY?

THE PARADOX

15. Why is it that, in spite of long periods of full employment and relative prosperity and the improvement in community services since the Second World War, deprivation and problems of maladjustment so conspicuously persist? Indeed, some would say that they have actually increased. This is a paradox to those who hoped that they would dwindle as standards of consumption and health and education rose.

THE PARADOX

16. Deprivation is, I know, an imprecise term. What I am talking about are those circumstances which prevent people developing to nearer their potential - physically, emotionally and intellectually - than many do now. Deprivation takes many forms, and they

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interact. It shows itself, for example in poverty, in emotional impoverishment, in personality disorder, in poor educational attainment, in depression and despair. It can be found at all levels of society - not only among the poor - but the most vulnerable are those already at the bottom end of the economic and social ladder. The causes are many and complex. There are economic factors - persistent unemployment and low income: living conditions play a part - bad housing and over-crowding and few opportunities for recreation. There are personal factors arising from illness or accident or genetic endowment. And there are many factors which affect patterns of child rearing. When a child is deprived of consistent love and guidance he is deprived of that background most likely to lead to stability and maturity. All these factors are interactive, and a combination of them produces the greatest hazards. In short, deprivation embraces many disadvantages, which can occur singly or in different combinations throughout society, and which we see persisting despite all our advances.

"THE CYCLE OF DEPRIVATION"

17. Perhaps there is at work here a process, apparent in many situations but imperfectly understood, by which problems reproduce themselves from generation to generation. If I refer to this as a "cycle of deprivation" I do not want to be misunderstood. On the one hand the use of such a term may suggest rather more certainty about the phenomenon I am trying to describe than the state of our understanding warrants; on the other, I may be accused of talking about the blindingly obvious. But I am not suggesting that there is some single process by which social problems reproduce themselves - it is far more complex than this. I am saying that, in a proportion of cases, occurring at all levels of society, the problems of one generation appear to reproduce themselves in the next. Social workers, teachers and others know only too well the sort of situation I am referring to, where

1. for action
2. plan groups
3. family planning (P11)
4. support for parenthood (P12)

they can be reasonably sure that a child, because of his background, is operating under disadvantage and prone to run into the same difficulties in his turn as his parents have experienced.

18. Do we not know only too certainly that among the children of this generation there are some doomed to an uphill struggle against the disadvantages of a deprived family background? Do we not know that many of them will not be able to overcome the disadvantages, and will become in their turn the parents of deprived families?

19. Of course there are services struggling to prevent this. They work with the most difficult casualties of society - the problem families, the vagrants, the alcoholics, the drug addicts, the disturbed, the delinquent, and the criminal. Behind many of these conditions lies a deprived childhood.

20. In my view we need to study the phenomenon of transmitted deprivation - what I have called the "cycle of deprivation". It is not something new: it has become more apparent for the very reason that developments over the past 20-30 years have had the effect of raising standards and have revealed more clearly situations where standards have failed to rise. The cycle is not a process that we fully understand, but a number of objective studies do tend to bear out the subjective belief of many practitioners that cyclical processes are at work.

EXAMPLES OF THE CYCLE

21. There is, for example, the report of a study in Sheffield by Dr Wright and Dr Lunn which followed the progress from 1954 to 1967 of what the authors' call a group of 120 problem families - that is, families who had required considerable support from local children's and family welfare services. This suggests that second generation problem families can be produced at an alarmingly rapid and multiplying rate. Within the space of 13 years more than 50 per cent of the sons and 75 per cent of the daughters of the families concerned were married, and 59 per cent of the daughters had given birth to their first child at, or under,

the age of 19 years. The good side of the story was that about one third of the children who had married seemed to be well settled and normal. But another one third had become problem families already in every sense of the term, or had started on a course of involvement with helping agencies which was unlikely to be reversed. Between these groups was a middle one third which, although well housed and to superficial appearances so far normal, gave the impression of functioning precariously in terms of marital harmony and work. You will see where the rub comes when I tell you that the original 120 problem families had between them 835 children. The authors of the study believe that the legacy from these original 120 families can be not less than twice as many families, say 250, requiring help.

2 22. For another example, let us look at the research being carried out by Donald West of the Cambridge Institute of Criminology. This indicates that a whole range of adverse factors is strongly linked with future delinquency. He says about a group of boys who were very socially handicapped, and I quote, "Cause and effect is another matter. This study has also shown the remarkable concentration of parental pathology, in the shape of unsuitable discipline, unfortunate attitudes to children, personality deviation etc among the socially handicapped group. Personal inadequacies and external handicaps reinforce each other in these unfortunate families. Rather than trying to answer the conundrum "Which comes first?" It may be more useful to ask at what point to try to break the vicious circle."

23. As a further example, there is evidence mounting from the National Child Development Study of a clear sequence of social disability from parent to child. This is a continuing follow up study of nearly all children born in Britain in a single week in 1958, known as the 1958 cohort. I am sure you will have seen only a few weeks ago accounts of a new report on this study entitled "From birth to seven". This shows the many ways and extent to which children in working class families, particularly those with semi-skilled and unskilled fathers, are disadvantaged from birth.

24. There is evidence also of cyclical processes at work in the ill-treatment of children - for the view that parents who were ill-treated when they were young go on to ill-treat their own children. I have read a study by J E Oliver and Mrs Taylor which describes five generations of ill-treated children in one family pedigree. The authors found that women who lacked mothering when young themselves became very inadequate mothers. A 3½ month old battered baby admitted to hospital was found to have connections with five generations of ill-treated children. Some 40 children who could be traced back on the mother's and father's side had received some identifiable degree of ill-treatment.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT WITH CHILDREN

25. At this point I want to refer to a book published here last year by Dr Urie Bronfenbrenner, Professor of Psychology and of Child Development and Family Studies at Cornell University. It is called "Two Worlds of Children - USA and USSR", and in it he makes some comparisons between the upbringing of children in these two countries. I want to quote one passage to you:

"Of all the countries in which my colleagues and I are working, now numbering half a dozen in both West and East, the only one which exceeds the United States in the willingness of children to engage in antisocial behaviour is the nation closest to us in our Anglo-Saxon traditions of individualism. That country is England . . . our principal competitor in tabloid sensationalism, juvenile delinquency and violence."

He goes on to say that in a sample survey which he made - and I quote again -

"England is the only country in our sample which shows a level of parental involvement lower than our own, with both parents, especially fathers, showing less

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What makes more involvement

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as paid her half by scholarships, I mean her half by working through college
a bit her half by loans.*

affection, offering less companionship, and intervening less frequently in the lives of their children."

*Which picture? -
was in answer?*

26. The book has been much criticised. Certainly the picture of Russia is naive. And the evidence for the assertion I have just quoted is not presented. But it is a sobering thought and may come as a shock to many that a serious researcher could reach such a conclusion. He believes that lack of parental involvement lies at the heart of the present malaise in American society, and by implication in our own, and he believes that what above all is called for is greater involvement of parents and other adults in the lives of children.

RESEARCH ON THE "CYCLE"

27. The studies I have mentioned are just a few examples of material which is relevant to the point I am making. There is a need here for a wider research approach to supplement and systematize the many separate studies that are gradually clarifying the causes and characteristics of particular social disorders. Even if the cycle seems obvious, we shall not be able to tackle its processes and break the cycle in at least some cases unless we understand more clearly what is at work.

28. But if we do succeed in increasing our understanding, if we come to learn that what I have termed the "cycle" is real, and if we can find ways in some cases - we shall never reach all to break the "cycle", then we shall be doing preventive work in the most fundamental sense. Surely here be treasure if we can together discover it.

29.

My Department is already in touch with the Social Science Research Council about the possibility of mounting a programme of research designed to throw more light on the "cycle", and a joint working party will shortly start

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A father never has as much opportunity to children's education as a mother who reads 5 children. "I was poor, but my education bills are paid but kept by scholarship, a man has been by working through college, a lot he kept by loans."

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exploring this. As so many different factors play a part in deprivation, Departments other than my own will also be concerned with this.

RESEARCH INTO POVERTY

30. But the "cycle", and any breach we can make in it, is certainly not the answer to all our problems. We need to consider what part other factors play in the persistence of deprivation. Deprivation is wider than poverty and, as I say, can occur at all levels in society; and even if we were successful in eradicating poverty deprivation in some forms would remain. But there can be no doubt that low income plays a large part, and efforts to combat poverty must continue.

31. The Government are using all available means to do so - by regularly increasing benefits, by introducing new ones and by making unprecedented efforts to ensure that everyone knows of the benefits they are entitled to and can claim them with a minimum of difficulty and fuss. With the Family Income Supplement scheme we are making a frontal attack on family poverty and the national rent rebate scheme will complement it. We have found ourselves inhibited from raising family allowances by technical limitations, because of the taxation position, that it would take too long to explain on this occasion. But we are determined to burst out of them. As the Chancellor announced in his Budget speech this year we shall soon be publishing details of the tax credit scheme which includes proposals for an improvement in income support.

32. My Department in collaboration with others is also considering how best to devise a programme of research which will provide information about the dynamics of family poverty - about such matters as not only the mechanisms and circumstances which lead families into poverty, but also its duration and effects, and the mechanisms and circumstances which enable some to leave whilst others remain in poverty. Much of this will be relevant and complementary to research on the "cycle": we need

to understand not only more about the dynamics of poverty but also their relationships with the cyclical processes I have mentioned.

THE PURPOSE OF ALL THIS RESEARCH

33. On all these questions of research I am hopeful that it will be possible to mount studies that will give us a better understanding of the nature of the "cycle of deprivation" and of the dynamics of poverty and help us to decide the directions in which further research can most usefully be undertaken. But much more than this I hope it will point the way to possible means of developing preventive strategies and of influencing change for the better.

WHAT CAN WE DO BEFORE THE RESULTS OF RESEARCH ARE KNOWN

34. What can be done in the meantime? We must, I believe, do all we can to reinforce those activities which already help parents while they are bringing up their children. There are a number of ways of doing this. I have already talked about one: ① the further development of playgroups and other services for children under five. And I want to talk about three others. The first of these is family planning.

FAMILY PLANNING

② 35. There is no doubt that, if effective family planning were more widely practised and if those most in need of advice could be reached, the size of the problem - that is, the numbers caught up in the "cycle of deprivation" - could over the years be kept below what it would otherwise be.

36. Studies have also found a positive association throughout the social classes between, on the one hand, large family size and, on the other, delinquency, low intelligence and poor reading skills - factors likely to propel people into the "cycle". These are not necessarily signs of low innate ability: they tend rather to reflect family circumstances. It may be that there is less time for conversation between parents and children, for reasoned explanation and for individual support for each child.

37. Of course, I am not suggesting for one moment that large families as such are undesirable: on the contrary, large families can have great strengths and value, and some parents no doubt can cope with more children than other parents. But where parents with large families are immature and in danger themselves of marital breakdown, the more so when they are also poor and badly housed, the children are virtually sure to be deprived.

38. Clearly, then, an understanding use of family planning could reduce the numbers afflicted by deprivation. I am currently reviewing family planning policies with this and many other factors in mind, and I hope to announce later in the year the results of this review.

①
SUPPORT FOR PARENTHOOD

39. Another area for study and perhaps action is, I suggest, the promotion in our society of greater awareness and understanding of the processes of child development and the importance of the parental role.

40. Is there not a profound contrast between on the one hand the scrupulous attention which our society, through the health services, gives to women in pregnancy and childbirth and, on the other hand, the limited extent to which our society seeks to help

*Oppressive
penetration
into work*

the mother and the father, where this is necessary, to understand the child's emotional and intellectual needs? Yet where these needs are left unmet - and this can be in homes that are not poor and in housing that is not bad - the children will find school unrewarding - because they are ill-prepared for it; will carry into adolescence and adult life an inability to form trusting and stable relationships - because they have never experienced them; and will become in their turn the parents of the next generation of children who are deprived emotionally and intellectually.

41. It is easy to say that this is obvious: that inadequate people tend to be inadequate parents and that inadequate parents tend to rear inadequate children. But surely we have to carry this argument through and recognise that the process will continue into the future - unless we can do something to help. This is the reason why I am looking for means of helping parents who either out of ignorance or for some other reason do not give their children the consistent context of love and guidance, understanding and firmness. I am thinking here of what some have called preparation for parenthood.

THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN

42. Over the past 20 or 30 years there has been a great advance in knowledge about child development and the effects of childhood deprivation on later behaviour - knowledge about the manner in which a child's personality and character develop in the first years of life when he is dependent on adult care.

43. These first years are crucial: the roots of much deprivation go back to infancy. A child's growth is rapid, and the capacity to develop intellectually and to form and to maintain emotional and social relationships is established so early that it soon becomes increasingly difficult to put things right. The basis of future behaviour patterns is laid when an infant experiences a

rewarding relationship with his mother and, through consistent guidance and love, gains control over impulse. The process, it seems clear, is extended through a relationship with the father and with others who form the intimate family circle. And during pre-school years - as you in this audience have led the way in understanding so long and so passionately - intellectual curiosity needs stimulation, and verbal and manual facility need exercise and encouragement. Child rearing practices that do not take account of these known factors about early development are storing up trouble for the future; and stressful, inadequate or deprived family situations, which hinder good parental practice, damage the development of the child.

MORE NOW DEPENDS ON PARENTS ALONE

44. And, of course, the rearing of children is a stressful task. It has been rendered more difficult by certain features of modern society. True, life not so long ago was more precarious: women often died in childbirth: children died in such numbers that the coffin was as familiar as the cradle. But child-rearing was less stressful when there was rarely change; when families lived for generations in the same place; when there was a generally accepted religious framework to life. How different it all is now. The old certitudes have gone. The beliefs and the sanctions which accompanied the beliefs have dwindled. The support of a stable community has mostly gone. The parents and children are on their own in a small family unit. The unit has to bear a burden of child rearing which used to be shared by relatives and neighbours. Early marriage, accompanied by higher breakdown rates; inadequate housing; the severe social restriction and loneliness often suffered by isolated young mothers - all these produce strain upon the family system.

45. Some will say that much harm springs from current trends but such trends cannot be reversed, even if we wish to reverse them, by fiat. What we can do is to help individual children, and adolescents and parents - and that is what this speech is about.

ALL PARENTS REQUIRE AN UNDERSTANDING OF CHILDREN'S NEEDS

46. We need to understand about child development and how to enjoy parenthood. To enjoy being a parent - and surely this is much the same thing as being a good parent - involves understanding the child's physical, emotional and intellectual needs and respecting the child's need for a consistent combination of love and guidance. To many this knowledge and understanding comes instinctively from their own family experience - and this is the best way. Others acquire it more consciously, through reading, or through taking advantage of community services which are available to help them. The many fortunate families with wide family support and sound family relationships have least need of such services. But others badly need help especially those who are themselves deprived whether physically, mentally or emotionally, and those whose own parents set them no example. These distinctions cut across income lines and family size. There are good parents in poor homes; and bad parents in prosperous homes. There are good parents of large families and bad parents of small families.

THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF EMOTIONALLY DEPRIVED PARENTS

47. For some parents it is not simply a matter of help to better understanding of their children's needs. They have great emotional needs on their own account, and until these are met they are unable to meet the needs of their children. It is in such families that the children are most at risk. Social workers and health visitors have long been aware of this. That is why, in preventive social work with families, much effort has been put into casework with parents, to help to meet their personal and emotional needs. Only as this is done can they begin to value themselves and form healthy relationships. Only then is there hope that they will be able to be effective parents, to tolerate their child's dependency, and accept his primitive urges as being an expression of normal needs rather than an attack on them as parents. For these families, the imparting of knowledge about child development is inextricably woven into the social help and support the parents themselves need.

FURTHER ACTION ON PREPARATION FOR PARENTHOOD

48. So there is this need for knowledge and understanding which is in part unmet. What should be done about it? To what extent should social agencies become consciously involved in filling the gap? And to what extent should central Government concern itself with encouraging social agencies to do this more effectively and more widely? If, as I believe, we should all be concerning ourselves with these matters, what are the most effective ways by which the social agencies directly in touch with children, young people and adults can set about their task?

49. In some places much is being done already - by health visitors and social workers, by teachers, by general practitioners and psychiatrists. And this is a field in which the Churches and voluntary social service agencies such as the Marriage Guidance Council are deeply interested. Their efforts are many and diverse, and it would be useful to collect information about them to see what lessons of wider application we can learn.

PREPARATION FOR PARENTHOOD WITH CHILDREN

50. The schools can, and do, play a large part. Children of school age are intensely interested in themselves, in their relationships with other people and with the outside world.

51. Much work relevant to all this has long been going on in schools, and there is already, I understand, a trend towards extending this to education about marriage and about parental roles and children's needs. On wider social as well as educational grounds I should welcome any further developments in these directions which the schools and the local education authorities, the teaching profession and bodies such as the Schools Council and the Health Education Council, can bring about.

PREPARATION FOR PARENTHOOD WITH ADULTS

52. For those who have left school something different is wanted. There is need to build on and extend what has been

learned at school. There is surely an extended role here, or a new role, for many parts of the medical, social, educational and other services, statutory and voluntary, and the Churches.

53. The greatest difficulty will be to influence those who are already deprived. We know we shall not succeed in reaching all those who most need help. But we can, if we try, reach some of those who need help. Certainly it is worth trying. Is there scope for developing the role which the health visitor and the social worker already have in this field?

THE NEXT STEPS

54. These are matters on which I hope there will be widespread discussion. If there is to be in the years ahead more emphasis on preparation for parenthood, this will depend largely on social attitudes among the population as a whole and on the local authorities and other public bodies and voluntary organisations who are in touch with individuals and groups (in the community.) - ?
What the Government itself at central level can or should do is limited, but I believe there is a role for us to play. My Department is in fact beginning to collect information about what is already being done in the field, and hopes to commission shortly from the National Children's Bureau the preparation of a comprehensive study of the developmental needs of children and the consequences of those needs not being met, so that we might have in a single document an account of the knowledge which is available.

55. With the agreement of my Ministerial colleagues, I am today sending copies of this speech to a wide range of organisations mostly representative of the professions working in this field; and I am inviting each of them in turn to spend an hour or two with me in September or October so that I can learn their reactions to what I am saying. In addition, Mrs Thatcher is having copies sent to organisations in the educational sector, and is telling them that she would

"preparation for parenthood"

welcome their comments. Later on, I hope to follow this up - perhaps by a conference or seminar on preparation for parenthood and by mounting some pilot schemes. I should welcome it if all organisations and individuals with ideas or with experience to share, would inform my Department so that this may be added to our pool of information. And of course I should welcome the views of the Pre-school Playgroups Association and others in the playgroup movement.

56. I want to add a word of warning on this matter of preparation for parenthood. In all that we do now in this field, or come to do in future, we certainly do not intend to derogate from parental rights and duties. As I see it, the aim of all such activity must be to enable parents, and parents-to-be, the more readily to understand and to meet their responsibilities to their children. The aim is to promote confidence and understanding so that parents can make their own choices in a well-informed manner and so that they can enjoy and find fulfilment in bringing up their children.

*invention
how to
from
experiment*

USE OF PUBLICLY-OWNED FACILITIES FOR SOCIAL PURPOSES
WHEN NOT IN NORMAL USE

57. I want finally to touch briefly on one further way in which the lives of many families could be enriched. This is in the provision of more opportunities for taking part in community activities, recreation and sports, both indoors and outdoor, especially perhaps during the long summer evenings, at weekends and during holidays. I am not thinking so much of the provision of new facilities specifically for the purpose. This, I know, is steadily going on but, like many desirable things, is of course subject to resource constraints. Rather I should like to see further exploration of the possibilities of making public premises and equipment, provided for other purposes, being made more widely available for purposes of social benefit, outside the normal hours in which they are used. May there not be scope for mounting experimental projects to see if new ways can be

was personal?

found of overcoming the practical difficulties which are involved? For my part, I would like to help where I can. *droopy*

TO SUMMARISE

58. I know that in this speech I have been posing questions rather than giving answers. Let me now summarise what I have been trying to say.

59. Without a healthy family life there can be no healthy society. Families that don't function well produce social casualties - especially, they harm children. *representing mental dependence and regard*

60. We have many services which help the casualties and those on the brink of disaster. But increasingly we must turn our attention towards prevention, getting back to root causes where we can.

*THE PARADOX
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III
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misery*

61. I have drawn attention to the paradox that as conditions in general have improved misery continues unabated. It seems perhaps that much deprivation and maladjustment persist from generation to generation through what I have called a "cycle of deprivation". Parents who were themselves deprived in one or more ways in childhood become in turn the parents of another generation of deprived children.

62. If, as I believe, this is one crucial factor in our problems, then many of today's deprived children are doomed not only to stunted lives themselves, but also to become, unless they can be helped - and they can both help themselves and be helped - the parents of a further generation of doomed children.

63. We need to extend our understanding of the working of the "cycle", and I have asked the Social Science Research Council to help me in this.

64. In the meantime we must of course continue as fast as we

can to improve housing and abate poverty. But in addition, I have suggested, we also need to tackle the emotional and intellectual deprivation of young children. Surely there is a marked contrast between the medical care given to a mother on the one hand and the lack of effort on the other hand to prepare her and the father for the role they will want to play to give their child a good chance to mature fully? Yet if they do not provide a consistent combination of love and guidance, interest and stimulus, his needs will not be met.

65. To this we should direct our thinking: and I propose to consult closely with many bodies who may have ideas on what further can be done through preparation for parenthood to promote the emotional and intellectual development of young children.

66. I hope that there will be widespread discussion about all the matters I have raised today, especially about the "cycle" and about preparation for parenthood and the different roles in this for individuals and organisations in our society. I for my part am most anxious to see a development of fresh thinking and fresh initiative in this whole area, and if, by disclosing to this informed audience today my thoughts on the subject, I have succeeded in awakening or encouraging interests that may lead to further initiatives; my first purpose will have been achieved.

reflects in prison your termed "sociologist"
- perhaps - I was - especially wealthy, at times - far especially
impelled to show their bleeding heart.
danglers and deplorably phantoms
low-humour atmosphere of "concern"

family an oasis of privilege

- conflict with equality - not only in condition but also of opportunity
- found fault with his education to "control" family especially

his "education" in public schools - in Russia, China, Israel -

has been to know drawn from their parents and view

to be commonality

- has not always worked - rather again "patronage"

he was when it was a Pyrolytic Wilson because
it destroyed his family

the family had never been (affinity, rather indirect lines)

The Rt.Hon.Sir Keith Joseph,
Bt., M.P.,

23 Mulberry Walk,
London, S.W.3.

19 February 1975

Congratulations and good wishes in your new job. I hope it means you are really in charge of economic policy as well as thinking.

We shall be putting out a number of Papers in the next few months which you will find thought-provoking.

I hope now that events go well for you, and that we can wipe out the memory of that dreadful dinner at the Carlton when you said that Joe Rogaly was right to remark you had done, after your first year, what he thought you ought to have done.

Perhaps, as a Whig, I shall be able to vote Tory in 1976(?) for the second time in my life. (The first was for Seldon man in 1970.)

Arthur Seldon

P.S. A suggestion I said I would pass on: Joy McWatters, wife of George McWatters (a recent Conservative candidate), formerly the journalist Joy Matthews of the Daily Express and the Daily Mail,

contd/...

is hoping to do a quick but serious biography of Margaret Thatcher - not a PR job. If you think the enterprise deserves encouragement, you will know what to do.

17 February 1975

17 February 1975

Enclosed are two copies of the book. I hope it means you are really in charge of editorial policy as well as thinking.

I shall be writing you a number of letters in the next few weeks. I think you will find them interesting.

I hope you had a very good time at the conference and that you are now back in the country. I am sure you will find the book very interesting and that you will be able to recommend it to your friends. I shall be writing you a number of letters in the next few weeks. I think you will find them interesting.

I shall be writing you a number of letters in the next few weeks. I think you will find them interesting.

Article 101

Article 101. A regulation I said I would pass on to you. It is a regulation of the Council of Ministers (a regulation of the Council of Ministers) concerning the procedure for the election of the President of the Council of Ministers.

KEITH JOSEPH

AS
Should be interested
in this only - which
I suspect will
urge a meeting.

no reply 19 weeks
- file MS 9 weeks

10 may 1975
or 1984

AS
28 June

The Rt. Hon. Sir Keith Joseph, M.P.,
23 Mulberry Walk,
LONDON, S.W.3.

17 April 1975

I understand ^{here} that you suggested a talk on the National Health Service in your office or over lunch in June - or was it July? It is always a pleasure to talk to you, but I wonder whether there is anything I could add that you do not already know. Events confirm my long-held belief that the NHS will suffer from the increasing strains of under-financing. Nothing short of radical reconstructions of its finances - and not merely of its administration, as you attempted - will suffice. All the rest is idle chatter: a reshuffling of the old pack of cards in the hope that new tricks will fall out.

My anxiety is that you will have a devil of a job to persuade some of your colleagues to say ^{nothing less than} that the NHS was a tragic error. I doubt whether reform will come from the Conservatives alone. It will come only from pressure from the dissatisfied customers as incomes rise, and/or from the Social Democrats seeing at long last that the choice ^{is better} of state medicine ^{is} and a market which allows people to pay for medicine in the ways they prefer. Tactics, with the courtesy of Esther Brookstone, are taking care of themselves. The strategy should be to aid and ease the process of NHS collapse.

I enclose a chapter to appear in a forthcoming book.

Arthur Seldon

P.S. I am a bit concerned about the trend in the CPS. It seems different from the prospect you indicated at Locketts a year ago.

20-MAY

File

The Rt.Hon.Sir Keith Joseph, Bt.,M.P.
23 Mulberry Walk,
London, S.W.3.

12 June 1975

I hope my letter helped to decide you in favour of publishing your Paper yesterday. I heard you on sound radio and thought you handled William Harcourt adroitly. I imagine The Times must be in sympathy with you to have given the Paper space on the front page as well as on page 2.

I was interested to see the two sets of initials. We think very highly of Martin here, and of course we know Nigel well.

I was glad to read you thought your Paper should find support among Social Democrats, and intrigued that you referred to "Social Democrats in all parties": it seems to me a pregnant thought which perhaps might be taken further.

This is the second nice letter I have sent you in a few days: perhaps you will sub-divide your file into 'Nice' and 'Niggling'. At any rate, I hope it encourages you to accept our invitation.

I was amused, as I know you may have been, to read Patrick Hutber last Sunday (on local government pricing and Layfield) say he thought Joe Rogaly would soon be advising you. I had the impression that Joe had appointed himself your unofficial adviser in 1971 or thereabouts. But he certainly seems to be talking a little more sense: perhaps he is reading Sam's articles!

Arthur Seldon.



K Joseph.

With Compliments

Mr. Seldon

R. G. Juis is a wise
of Gibraltar and prudent
municipal - memory!
I don't even know
of ever being there!
KJ
12/10

Centre for Policy Studies

8 Wilfred Street London SW1E 6PL

Telephone 01 828 1176

Note of dinner with IEA on Tuesday, 19th October 1976

Publications

The meeting discussed the "Radical Alternative Policy" series - and the "Intervention Studies" series. John Wood made the point most forcefully that he felt that RAP was potentially our most valuable contribution and that we should concentrate our energies and resources on it. Sir Keith agreed that the Centre would take every effort in this direction.

John Wood and Ralph Harris both felt that our publications list needed a theme. At present it was far too random.

Respective Initiatives re the BBC Galbraith series

Sir Keith reported that the MacFadzean paper would shortly be ready for publication. Martin Bendelow suggested that George Stigler and Henry Manne, both of the U.S., specialised in these areas and should be considered as allies.

Ralph Harris reported that they were shortly to have John Dekker for lunch to further explore the situation.

MB reported that Bauer had expressed a willingness to wield his hatchet if 'The Times' could be persuaded to commission him.

It was decided that we would continue to be in touch with each other and monitor the situation. Ralph Harris would report on the John Dekker contact.

Bibliography of Freedom

John Wood pointed out one or two errors but generally the feeling was that this was the sort of contribution the Centre should be making. John Wood promised a note on the errors.

One problem highlighted by the 'Bibliography' was the difficulty of obtaining any of these books in the U. K.

John Wood reported that a small group including Christopher Tame and Terry Arthur wanted to set up a LIBERTARIAN BOOK SHOP. It was decided that we would act as seed-corn and MB was delegated to help.

IEA and the Centre would give stock, we would look into possible capital and MB would arrange gifts of stock from the U. S.

F. E. E.

KJ reported and IEA proved to be enthusiastic.

It was generally agreed that we desperately needed a replacement for Fred Pennance. MB reported that through Richard Ware, via. FEE we could probably finance a graduate reasonably well.

We decided to write to Mrs. Pennance and ask if her husband had left behind any such student.

Ralph Harris suggested that an essay competition might well "flush out" such a student and we agreed to pursue the idea.

Common Ground

AS reported that the Fabians were meeting to discuss his proposal of joint publications and action on issues of Common Ground - e. g. Town Planning, Nationalisation, Worker Participation.

It was decided that if they refused the organisational approach we should stalk them individually.

Monetary Colloquium

KJ reported - It was to be a private, in-house venture to explore means of measuring money to equip Margaret Thatcher to withstand the Treasury mandarins. IEA agreed that the approach was sound.

C. B. I. - What can be done.

AS suggested that they were impossible and we should concentrate on B. I. M., Chambers of Commerce, E. E. F. etc.

Ralph Harris suggested we should work on individuals, particularly ^uAlan Davies, Ralph Bateman and Barry Bracewell-Milne.

Both groups had no complains on questions of finance. No conflict of interest.

Criticisms and suggestions for future CPS directions

It was agreed by all that KJ should spend more time now on the Constituencies and a little less on students to provide time.

Arthur Seldon suggested four points :

- 1) Need for us to have a more "popular" voice and to point this out to Mrs. Thatcher. ✓
- 2) Confronting Jack Jones, etc. on subjects of immediate topicality. KJ should try and confront him on the T.V. screen. To this end it was decided to wait for the opportunity for an "open letter" along the lines of the letter to the P.M. We all agreed to try and make some sacrifice and watch T.V. for an opportunity. ✓
- 3) More approaches to newspaper editors, etc. Concentrate on Trelford, Harold Evans, Francis Cairncross, Joe Rogaly, etc.
- 12 4) Concentrate on a patriotic approach. ✓
Ralph wanted us to step up our assault on M.P.'s.

MB reported that we had Hayek's books and IEA suggested they would look into ways of distributing them. MB reported that we would offer them through F. C. S. branches at much reduced price.

Ralph Harris suggested publication of an "Entrepreneur Studies" series - a sort of present day Samuel Smiles?

cc Mr. Harris	KJ
Mr. Seldon	NV
Mr. Wood	AS
	MW
	GF
	MB
	SW

K. J.

KEEP

Centre for Policy Studies

8 Wilfred Street London SW1E 6PL Telephone 01-828 1176

KJ/IM

11 April 1979

Arthur Seldon Esq
The Thatched Cottage
Godden Green
Sevenoaks, Kent

Jan Adams

Thank you for your vigorous note of April 3rd.

I doubt whether an Election time is the occasion to go further than the ground we have already won - that is, support for the voucher experiment: selling Council houses: restore private beds in the NHS: and open up the gap between net benefits and net earnings.

Jan Adams
Kevin

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To secure fuller understanding of the methods available to improve the standard of living, the quality of life and the freedom of choice of the British people, with particular attention to social market policies.

Management Committee: The Rt Hon Sir Keith Joseph Bt MP (Director) The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP (President)
Nigel Vinson (Director and Treasurer) Adam Ridley.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Keith Joseph, Bt, M.P.
The Centre for Policy Studies,
8 Wilfred Street,
London, S.W.1.

3 April 1979

Margaret will, I judge, be in difficulty unless you advise her to take the Callaghan bull by the horns. He is clearly going to try to spike the gun of the "lower taxes" argument by obfuscation. He has recently talked of "soup kitchen social services". And he is going to confuse the issue by declaiming "Do you really want to destroy the people's education, health and welfare?"

I think the only politically convincing reply is "Yes, we want to give the people some of their taxes back so that they can ~~secure~~ ^{choose} their health, education and welfare."

Intolerable state schools have made it rapidly easier to retort in this way. And the waiting and the queuing for medical attention (and the scandals) will make it easier in health.

But the argument must also be pushed forward by political leadership that points to the intensifying deterioration in the future if something is not done to replace lower tax revenue by new forms of income.

All this is a very short bald statement of the argument but I think it contains the truth.

Arthur Seldon

CONFIDENTIAL

A. Sir Keith Joseph, M.P.
for Policy Studies,
ed Street,
on, S.W.1.

15 May 1979

Now that your friends are safely
enscused may I refer to ~~an attempt last~~ *the*
year to gain all-party support for an
honour for Hayek.

To remind you of those involved I
enclose the all-party and no-party list,
and a copy of a letter from the unlamented ^①

Arthur Seldon

File



DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY
ASHDOWN HOUSE
123 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1E 6RB

TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-212 3301
SWITCHBOARD 01-212 7676

Secretary of State for Industry

27 July 1980

Arthur Seldon Esq

Dear Arthur -

I am writing to congratulate you on Occasional Paper 57. It is a formidable polemic.

I am also writing because of one habit which you and Ralph share - that of praying in aid a reverse or negative income tax as the way to put purchasing power in the hands of the poor. I do not quarrel with the objective. But I think that it behoves Ralph and you to study the implications revealed in the Colin Clark analysis of how a reverse income tax would have to work. You may remember that the production of his booklet which I think was called "Politics Before Poverty" was, in effect, a joint effort. I asked him to study the subject and you agreed to publish the result. I had expected the publication to be the start of an intellectual debate, but it fell completely flat. You and Ralph continue to quote the method without, as far as I know, ever having examined the political repercussions and, at the least, the transitional costs and time that would be involved.

May I suggest that the time is ripe for a study of the politics of the Colin Clark analysis? - that is, if you wish to go on leaning on the method.

Yours,

Kevin

12A?

12A?

The Rt. Hon. Sir Keith Joseph, Bt., MP,
Secretary of State for Industry,
Department of Industry,
Ashdown House,
123 Victoria Street,
London, SW1E 6RB.

30 July 1980

Thank you for your kind words about Occasional Paper 57.
They are encouraging and much appreciated.

For some time I have been thinking about a previous letter
in which you rightly raised the question of the implementation of a
reverse income tax following Colin Clark's Paper. And I am glad of
your timely reminder. I have long regarded it as the necessary
underpinning of much of our thinking on the welfare policy, and I
intend to respond to your suggestion.

Alan Peacock
Jack Wiseman

Arthur Seldon

Wagner - Jack-Burles
project for which
we'd offer
up to £5,000?

RH
Kearney see HT
on these issues these
and on the (the way to miss)
of the date of showing it as
practical and our suggestions at
in it what we can show it is. (debatable?)
I would like to hear
what would this be. (debatable?)
for his
HT
21 Dec