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Social Policy

السيّاسة الاجتماعيّة (س3 علم اجتماع)

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(Key words and terms in sociology)

القطاع Social Sector الاجتماعي	مشرّدHomeless
الرّعاية Institutional Welfare الاجتماعية المؤسّسيّة	الرعاية Health Care الصحيّة
التّفاوت الاجتماعيSocial distance	الفئة A social category الاجتماعيّة
الطّبقة الاجتماعيّةSocial class	الضّبط Social control الاجتماعي
الدّارونيّة Social Darwinism الاجتماعيّة	
مسح اجتماعيSocial Survey	التغيّر الاجتماعيSocial change
Bureaucracy البيروقراطيّة	الإغلاق Social closure الاجتماعي
المواطنةCitizenship	الحقيقة Social fact الاجتماعيّة
الأمن Social Security الاجتماعي	الحركة A social movement الاجتماعيّة
الطّبقة الاجتماعيّةSocial Class	الاضطهاد الاجتماعي Social oppression
السّياسة التربويّةEducation Policy	الضبط الاجتماعي Social Control
سوق العملLabor Market	البنية Social structure الاجتماعيّة
الخدمات Social Services الاجتماعيّة	
مجتمع محلّيLocal Community	

Social Administration الإدارة الاجتماعيّة	Socioeconomic status (SES) الحالة الاقتصاديّة الاجتماعيّة
Planning التخطيط	Stratification طبقي
Social Equality المساواة الاجتماعيّة	Society مجتمع
Social Policy السياسة الاجتماعية	Justice العدالة
Disability الإعاقة	Social اجتماعي
Public Sector القطاع العام	Functionalism الوظيفية
Democracy الديمقراطية	Welfare الرّعاية الاجتماعيّة
Private Sector القطّاع الخاص	Social Needs الحاجات الاجتماعية
Developing Countries البلدان المتطوّرة	Health Policy السياسة الصحية
Social Solidarity التّماسك الاجتماعي	Poverty الفقر
Social Security الأمن الاجتماعي	Crime جريمة
Models of Education نماذج التّعليم	Criminal مجرم
Social Structure البنية الاجتماعيّة	Social Planning التخطيط الاجتماعي
Immigration الهجرة	Inflation تضخم
Social Worker الباحث الاجتماعي	Social Organizing التنظيم الاجتماعي
Globalization العولمة	Capitalism الرأسمالية

متطوع Volunteer	الحالة الاجتماعيةSocial Case
مشاكل الإسكان Housing Problems	الاشتراكيةSocialism
الحكومةGovernment	الطبقة الاجتماعيةSocial Class
النظريات الاجتماعية Social Theories	الإقطاعيةFeudalism
التحليل الوظيفي functionalist analyses	الصراع الاجتماعي Social Conflict
مؤسسة اجتماعية Social Institution	المجموعات الاجتماعية Social Groups
Symbolic interactionism التفاعلية الرمزية	علم اجتماع إعلامي Media Sociology
Social Management إدارة اجتماعية	تحرير الاقتصاد economic liberalization
النظرية الوظيفية Functionalist theory	تقليديTraditional
علم اجتماع المستقبل Sociology of Future	الأدوار الاجتماعيةSocial Roles
الدعم الاجتماعيsocial support	المجتمع الكلاسيكي Classical Sociology
الاستقرار الاجتماعي Social Stability	سلطةAuthority
الزواج والطلاق Marriage and Divorce	علم اجتماع العمل Labor Sociology
	التغير الاجتماعي Social Change

Social Integration الدمج الاجتماعي	Childhood Sociology علم اجتماع الطفولة
Comparative Economies الاقتصاديات التعاونية	Social Cooperation التعاون الاجتماعي
Social Bonds القيود الاجتماعية	Social Security الأمن الاجتماعي
Economic System النظام الاجتماعي	Societies Cultures ثقافات المجتمعات
Contemporary معاصر	Social Needs الحاجات الاجتماعية
Business Organization منظمات العمل	Monopoly احتكار
	Production and Distribution الإنتاج والتوزيع
Dr. Sami Al- Shaikh Mohammad	Social Participation المشاركة الاجتماعيّة
	Social Coordination and Cooperation الاجتماعي التنسيق والتعاون

An introduction to Social Policy

Paul Spicker

Social Policy :

An introduction to social policy

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Social Policy is the study of social services and the welfare state. In general terms, it looks at the idea of social welfare, and its relationship to politics and society. More specifically, it also considers detailed issues in

- **policy and administration of social services, including policies for health, housing, income maintenance, education and social work;**
- **needs and issues affecting the users of services, including poverty, old age, health, disability, and family policy; and**
- **the delivery of welfare.**

These pages outline the main issues.

An introduction to Social Policy

Paul Spicker

Social Policy

- **Social Policy and Administration**
- **Welfare**
- Arguments for welfare
- Arguments against welfare
- **Who is welfare for?**
- Universality and selectivity
- Models of welfare

The name 'social policy' is used to apply

1. **to the policies which governments use for welfare and social protection**
2. **to the ways in which welfare is developed in a society, and**
3. **to the academic study of the subject.**

In the first sense, social policy is particularly concerned with social services and the welfare state. In the second, broader sense, it stands for a range of issues extending far beyond the actions of government - the means by which welfare is promoted, and the social and economic conditions which shape the development of welfare.

-Social Policy and Administration:

Social Policy and Administration is an academic subject concerned with the study of social services and the welfare state. It developed in the early part of the 20th century as a complement to social work studies, aimed at people who would be professionally involved in the administration of welfare. In the course of the last forty years, the range and breadth of the subject has developed. The principal areas relate to

- **policy and administrative practice in social services, including health administration, social security, education, employment services, community care and housing management;**
- **social problems, including crime, disability, unemployment, mental health, learning disability, and old age;**
- **issues relating to social disadvantage, including race, gender and poverty; and**
- **the range of collective social responses to these conditions.**

Social Policy is a subject area, not a discipline; it borrows from other social science disciplines in order to develop study in the area. The contributory disciplines include sociology, social work, psychology, economics, political science, management, history, philosophy and law.

-Welfare:

Welfare is an ambiguous term, used in three main senses:

- **Welfare commonly refers to 'well-being'. In welfare economics, welfare is understood in terms of 'utility'; people's well-being or interests consist of the things they choose to have.**
- **Welfare also refers to the range of services which are provided to protect people in a number of conditions, including childhood, sickness and old age. The idea of the 'welfare state' is an example. This is equivalent to the term 'social protection' in the European Union.**
- **In the United States, welfare refers specifically to financial assistance to poor people (e.g. Temporary Aid to Needy Families). This usage is not generally reflected elsewhere.**

Welfare is often associated with needs, but it goes beyond what people need; to achieve wellbeing, people must have choices, and the scope to choose personal goals and ambitions.

The idea of the "welfare state" is explained, along with models of welfare provision in several countries, in another page of this website.

-Arguments for welfare:

The basic arguments for collective provision are

- ***humanitarian.*** **Concerns about poverty and need have been central to many developments.**
- ***religious.*** **Several of the world's major religions make charity a religious duty. Beyond charity, Catholicism recognizes a duty of social solidarity (or mutual social responsibility); Judaism, Islam**

and Lutheran Christianity require collective responsibility for one's community.

- ***mutual self-interest.*** **Many welfare systems have developed, not from state activity, but from a combination of mutualist activities, gradually reinforced by government.**
- ***democratic.*** **Social protection has developed in tandem with democratic rights.**
- ***practical*****. Welfare provision has economic and social benefits. Countries with more extensive systems of social protection tend to be richer and have less poverty. (The main difficulty of evaluating this is knowing which comes first, wealth or welfare.)**

There is scarcely a government in the world that does not recognize the force of these arguments and make some form of collective social provision. The real disputes are not about whether welfare should exist, but about how much provision there should be, and how it should be done.

-Arguments against welfare :

The main objections to the provision of welfare come from the 'radical right'. They are against welfare in principle, on the basis that it violates people's freedom. Redistribution is theft; taxation is forced labour. (1) These arguments rest on some questionable assumptions:

- ***People have absolute rights to use property as they wish*****. People in a society are interdependent, and the production of property depends on social**

arrangements. Rights to property are conventional. Liability to taxation is part of the conventions.

- ***People do not consent to welfare provision; redistributive arrangements are based in compulsion*. This is not necessarily true. Several countries have developed welfare systems, in whole or in part, on a voluntary, mutualist basis - Denmark, Finland and Sweden have moved to compulsion only recently.**
- ***The rights of the individual are paramount.* Property rights are certainly important, but few people would argue that property rights are more important than every other moral value. If one person owns all the food in a region while everybody else is starving, do the others have no moral claim on it?**

The radical right also claim that the welfare state has undesirable effects in practice. *Economically*, it can be argued that economic development is more important for welfare than social provision. Dollar and Kraay, for the World Bank, have argued that property rights and a market economy are essential for growth and so for the protection of the poor. The other main argument is that the welfare state undermines economic performance. However, this position is not supported by the evidence. In *social* terms, the welfare state is accused of fostering dependency and trapping people in poverty. (2) Evidence on the dynamics of poverty shows that poverty and dependency are not long-term, but affect people at different stages in the life cycle; the population of welfare claimants is constantly changing. (3) Where poor people are separated and excluded by welfare, this is mainly the product of the kinds of restricted, residual system the radical right has been arguing for.

-Who is welfare for?:

Residual welfare

Welfare provision is often seen as being for the poor. This was the dominant model in English-speaking countries; the English Poor Law (1598-1948) was exported to many other countries. This has been taken as the model of a residual system of welfare, in which welfare is a safety net, confined to those who are unable to manage otherwise.

Solidarity

Welfare in much of Europe is based on the principle of solidarity, or mutual responsibility. The responsibilities which people have to each other depend on their relationships; people in society are part of solidaristic social networks. Many of the rights which people have are particular, rather than general - they depend on a person's circumstances, work record or family relationships, not on general rights protected by the state. Those who are not part of such networks are said to be 'excluded'.

Institutional welfare

An institutional system is one in which need is accepted as a normal part of social life. Welfare is provided for the population as a whole, in the same way as public services like roads or schools might

be. In an institutional system, welfare is not just for the poor: it is for everyone.

Industrial achievement/performance

Welfare has often been seen as a 'handmaiden' to the economy. It helps employers, by preparing and servicing the capacity of the workforce, and it acts as an economic regulator, stimulating demand when production is low.

-Universality and selectivity:

Universal benefits and services are benefits available to everyone as a right, or at least to whole categories of people (like 'old people' or 'children'). Selective benefits and services are reserved for people in need. The arguments refer to the same issues as 'institutional' and 'residual' welfare, but there is an important difference. Institutional and residual welfare are principles: universality and selectivity are methods. A residual system might use a universal service where appropriate (e.g. a residual system of health care might be associated with universal public health); an institutional system needs some selective benefits to ensure that needs are met.

Universal services can reach everyone on the same terms. This is the argument for public services, like roads and sewers: it was extended in the 1940s to education and health services. The main objection to universal services is their cost. Selectivity is often presented as being more efficient: less money is spent to better effect. There are problems with selective services, however: because recipients have to be identified, the services can be administratively complex

and expensive to run, and there are often boundary problems caused by trying to include some people while excluding others. Selective services sometimes fail to reach people in need.

-The social structure:

Societies are 'structured' in the sense that people's relationships follow consistent patterns. Fiona Williams has argued that social policy is dominated in practice by the dominant values of society - the issues of family, work and nation.

Family **A range of policies are built around the idea of the 'family' as a man, woman and children. Examples are child benefits, education and child care. Some countries have policies built on the idea of the man as 'breadwinner', with support based on the idea that the marriage is permanent and the woman will not work. Families which deviate from the norm - for example, poor single mothers - are likely to be penalized, though there may also be anomalies in the organization of benefits (e.g, when promiscuity is accepted and stable cohabitation is not).**

Work **Many systems of social protection depend on a stable work record for basic cover in unemployment, ill health and old age. Workers who misbehave - for example, by striking or being dismissed - may be penalized.**

Nation **Most systems discriminate against non-citizens, and many have residence rules for particular**

benefits or services. Immigrants are likely to have different, and often second-class, services.

These issues are discussed further in the sections which follow.

-Family policy:

The normal family

"Normal" does not mean "average"; it means "conforming to social norms". The 'normal' family consists of two parents with one or more children, but it is increasingly untypical in developed countries. Several factors have contributed to this trend:

- **ageing populations, which mean that increasing numbers of households consist of elderly people without children;**
- **the delay in undertaking childbirth, which means that more households consist of single women or couples without children;**
- **the growth of single parenthood; and**
- **household fission - the tendency for households to split, because of divorce and earlier independence for children.**

Social policies sometimes seek to reinforce the normal family, by rewarding normal conduct or penalizing "deviant" (non-normal) circumstances. Rewards include subsidies for married dependants and children; penalties include requirements to support one's family, and legal and financial deterrents to divorce. At the

same time, the assumption that couples live more cheaply than single people may lead to two single people getting greater support: cohabitation rules, treating people living together as if they were married, are used to ensure equity with married couples.

- Single parents:

The rise in single parenthood is mainly based on three factors:

- ***Divorce*, which has been increasing as women have gained independence in finance and career;**
- ***Unemployment*. Unemployment is correlated with divorce, partly because it strains the marriage, and partly, perhaps, because it has undermined the role of the traditional male breadwinner.**
- ***Cohabitation*. This effect is a statistical artefact, rather than a real change in parental status.**

There is no reason to attribute the rise to teenage motherhood (which, like other forms of motherhood, has tended to fall).

The position of single parents who receive social benefits has been controversial. The liberal individualist position is that if people choose to have children it's then up to them to look after their family. The collectivist position, and to a large extent the dominant position in continental Europe, is that children are other people's business as well. There is also a strong body of opinion which considers that the interests of the children override any moral concerns about the status of the parents.

-Teenage pregnancy:

Teenage pregnancy was the norm in previous generations, but it has become more common for women to delay childbearing. The reasons for the delay, and for falling birthrates, include

- **the effect of urban society on the cost of having children;**
- **the changing role of women;**
- **the economic effect of female employment, which leads to a loss of income if women leave the labour market to have children;**
- **increasing education and later marriage; and**
- **the availability of contraception.**

Teenage pregnancy is highest when these factors do not apply to the same degree. This accounts for the apparent association of some social problems with teenage pregnancy.

- Government: Power and Authority:

The section on government and the state reviews patterns of power and authority in society, as well as analyzing the structure of the following institutions: government, the courts and law, the military. Different theoretical models of the state are reviewed, as well as patterns of political participation and political process. Questions asked include: How do different societies organize their political systems? How are interests

aggregated and expressed in different types of political systems? What are political parties and how do they operate? How do we study power in a given society or community? How do we understand patterns of disenfranchisement and enfranchisement? Who participates in politics and how do they do so? How do voting patterns differ by race/ethnicity, social class, and gender?

- Media and Culture:

The growth of media conglomerates, the study of media effects, the influence of popular culture, and the distinction between "high" culture and other culture are all aspects of the institutions of media and culture. Sociological analysis of these important institutions in society are included.

- Health Care:

In the section on health care, the structure of health care institutions is covered, with a focus on patterns of access and inequality. Sociological analysis of current issues facing health care institutions are also included, as well as discussion of the sociology of death and dying

-Social stratification:

Class:

Class is an ambiguous term, used in three main senses.

Economic position. **Max Weber defined class in terms of relative economic position. There are obviously economic differences between people depending on how much money they have, but there are also many other economic groups - it is possible to distinguish people, for example, according to employment status, or the kind of income they have (such as fees, salaries, and social benefits). One classic analysis uses housing tenure as the basis for different classes.**

Productive relations. **Marxists understand class in terms of the economy. The main distinction in Marxism falls between those who own the means of production and those who sell their labour, but if the basic criterion is accepted there must be other classes: the petit bourgeoisie, who own small shops and firms, or the underclass (Marx's 'lumpenproletariat') who are marginal to the labour market.**

Occupational status. **Classifying people by occupational status has proved very useful in sociological analyses of other issues, including educational disadvantage and health inequalities.**

-Status:

Weber describes status as a form of 'social honour' or esteem. People's social rank is associated with their class, but the terms are not equivalent; some social

roles may have high esteem but low resources (like clerics).

The receipt of welfare has often been associated with social dishonour: the classic example of this is the "stigma of pauperism", the deliberate use of shame to stop people claiming from the Poor Law. The recipients of welfare are socially rejected; they are liable to be portrayed, like the pariahs of a caste system, as immoral, dishonest and dirty. [4]

Social policies tend to be concerned disproportionately with people of low status. In part, this happens because the client groups of the social services tend to be people who already have low social esteem - the poor, disabled people, mentally ill people, single parents and so on. In part, too, the receipt of social services may carry a stigma. The principle of institutional welfare was intended to remove degrading differences in status between recipients.

- Power :

Power is complex; it can be used to refer to direct force, influence, or authority. Any of these is distributed unequally in society.

- ***Pluralist*** **models see power as diffused, in the hands of many; no one group has the power consistently to sway decisions (although this does not mean that power is equally distributed in society).**
- ***Elitist*** **models of power represent power as concentrated in the hands of a few people: they include - a ruling élite, a small number of people**

able to make all the important decisions; - power élites. Wright Mills suggests that economic, political and military elites are distinct. [5] Other writers have pointed to bureaucratic, aristocratic, social , religious and local élites. The more there are, the more pluralistic the model becomes.

- ***Corporatist*** **models interpret the exercise of power as the domination of established corporate interests. Power is exercised in complex hierarchies.**

Power can be exercised overtly, but it may also be exercised in ways which are difficult to detect. Bachrach and Baratz argue that there may be *non-decisions*, which maintain the status quo through

"a decision that results in the suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision makers."

Examples are delays, lack of interest in such subjects, and failure to respond to problems.

Social divisions Gender and social policy:



A poster for women to have the vote, 1912. The disapproving references to disability and mental illness, and to 'white' slavers, do not sit wellwith the standards of today.

Social roles, or expectations, determine the range of opportunities for women and men. Understanding gender divisions is important for social policy, partly because issues affecting women are part of the agenda which social policy must tackle, but also because many of the concerns of social welfare - like poverty, health and old age - are related to gender.

Feminist critiques of welfare have argued that social policy is strongly 'gendered'. Jane Lewis [5] has suggested that, although the dominant models of welfare all assume that women are dependent on a male breadwinner, there are important variations:

- **a *strong* 'male breadwinner' model supposes that women's incomes are secondary to men's. This is the model in the UK and Ireland.**
- **a *modified* model gives women a special status in relation to motherhood. This is the model in France.**
- **a *weak* male breadwinner model allows for women to act as breadwinners in the same way as men. This is the pattern in Sweden, where there have been attempts to introduce a 'dual breadwinner' pattern.**

Where assumptions are made about the position of women, this tends to reinforce women's inferior status and dependency. Where special provisions are not made, however, this tends to undermine the levels of protection which women receive if they have not earned income on the same basis as men. Widespread inequality in wages and conditions of work mean that 'gender-blindness' in social protection can only perpetuate inequalities.

Feminist perspectives on social policy:

There are three main classes of feminist theory: liberal, marxist and radical. They share a common concern with gender as a focal issue in social policy.

***Liberal feminism* emphasises the rights of women as individuals. It argues against discrimination and**

stereotyping, and for equality of respect and opportunity. Arguments against limits to opportunity, like complaints against a "glass ceiling" to women's careers, are classically liberal: they suggest that women should benefit from the same inequalities as men.

Marxist feminism **views the oppression of women as the result of the economic structure of society. Domestic relationships are seen in class and the relationship of the household to the means of production. Heidi Hartmann comments: "The 'marriage' of Marxism and feminism has been like the marriage of husband and wife depicted in English common law: Marxism and feminism are one, and that one is Marxism." [6]**

Radical feminism **argues that society is dominated by patriarchy, a structure of power in which men dominate women. Patriarchy is "sexual politics whereby men establish their power and maintain control".[7] This analysis is combined with the moral position that women should be able to live and act autonomously.**

Gender and development:

The issues of gender have become increasingly central to the work of international organisations, reflecting the combined influence of gender relationships with the experience of poverty: prominent issues in development include not just the issues of violence, abuse and discrimination reflected in developed countries, but property rights, education and the central role of maternity in health.

Hopper identifies a long series of distinct approaches which have been taken towards gender in development work [8]:

- ***welfare*** **(1950s-70s), focusing on needs, maternity and domestic roles**
- ***equity*** **(1970s), focusing on discrimination and the removal of barriers**
- ***anti-poverty strategies*** **(1970s and 2000s), focusing mainly on income**
- ***efficiency approaches*** **(1980s), focusing on women's role in economic development**
- ***gender mainstreaming*** **(1995-), intended to ensure that policy makers pay attention to gender issues**
- ***empowerment*** **(1990s-) focusing on participation and rights.**

'Race' and social policy:

'Race' has no fixed meaning. Although some commentators identify race closely with skin colour, the experience of racism is not confined to colour: the groups in Europe which experience the strongest rejection are probably gypsies and Muslims. Racial discrimination refers to a process of deliberate selection as a means of putting people from particular racial or ethnic groups in an inferior position, but deliberate discrimination is not necessary to explain much racial disadvantage; the effect of denying access to the resources, opportunities and conditions of life available to others is to make the experience of disadvantage worse.

Although issues of 'race' and racism feature largely in many discussions of the sociology of welfare, it is more

difficult to point directly to policies which are directly concerned with race in intention and effects. Exceptions are the racialised ideas behind German Nazism, or the apartheid régime in South Africa, which offered different types and standards of social services to 'whites', 'blacks', 'Asians' and 'coloureds'.

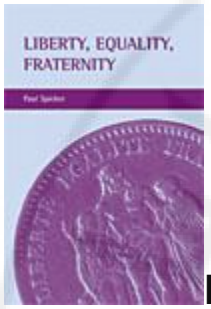
More typically, policies concerned with 'race' are developed more obliquely. The American 'War on Poverty' in the 1960s, or the UK Urban Programme, addressed perceived racial problems through other means. The War on Poverty, which was instituted at the same time as civil rights legislation, has been represented as principally concerned to co-opt African Americans into the political process. Discussions of 'poverty' in the US are often still covertly racial in intent. The 'Urban Programme' in the UK was a desultory response to a notoriously inflammatory speech by Enoch Powell. The policy of the time coded such terms as 'inner cities' as a euphemism for race. The effect of working in code, of course, was that the problems of racial minorities were hardly addressed by the programme.

Policies for equality:

The inequalities which people are concerned with, Rae suggests, can concern

- **individuals - the comparison is made, for example, between rich and poor people**
- **blocs in society - like women, racial minorities, old people or regions**
- **segments - for example, a distinction confined to children or to women.[9]**

A policy which corrects one inequality (e.g. between women and men) can aggravate another (e.g. between rich and poor, if the beneficiaries are richer women). For example, there is a current argument in India that attempts to avoid gender discrimination will discriminate between castes.



Policies for equality can aim at

- ***equality of treatment*. This is treatment without bias, prejudice or special conditions applying to people. (It is not treating everyone the same - equality of treatment in health services does not mean that everyone gets a tracheotomy!)**
- ***equal opportunity*. This can be the opportunity to compete (in which case it is the same as equal treatment), or the chance to compete on the same footing as others (which may require some redress before the competition starts).**
- ***equality of outcome.* Policies which are concerned with inequalities of income or health status are generally concerned with removing disadvantage in outcome.**

Redistribution:

A measure is redistributive if the people who receive goods or services from a measure are not the same as the people who pay. All welfare provision is, by definition, redistributive in some way.

Redistribution does not have to be from rich to poor. Redistribution is conventionally classified as vertical or horizontal. Vertical redistribution may be progressive (from rich to poor) or regressive (from poor to rich). Horizontal redistribution goes from one kind of group to another - from men to women, households without children to families with children, tenants to owner-occupiers.

Egalitarian redistribution is progressive, but there are many ways to achieve equality, with different effects. Rae outlines four strategies:

- **maximin, or raising the minimum;**
- **minimax, or levelling down the best off;**
- **least difference, reducing the range of inequality at each end; and**
- **ratio, compressing the range so that everyone is pushed nearer to others. [10]**

The social division of welfare:

Titmuss identified several different kinds of redistributive process, arguing that it was not possible to understand the redistributive impact of social policy without taking them fully into account. He referred to a 'social division of welfare', including three main types of welfare:

1. social welfare (the social services);
2. fiscal welfare (welfare distributed through the tax system); and
3. occupational welfare (welfare distributed by industry as part of employment). [11]

The classification is fairly crude. The category of fiscal welfare bundles together subsidies, incentives and transfer payments, including income maintenance. Occupational welfare includes perks, salary-related benefits, measures intended to improve the efficiency of the workforce and some philanthropic measures,. The classification excludes legal welfare (redistribution through the courts), the voluntary sector and the informal sector. The importance of the idea was, however,

- **to draw attention to different patterns of redistribution**
- **to explain that different kinds of redistribution (for example by tax or by benefits) can have similar effects, and**
- **to broaden the scope of social policy as a subject.**

The 'strategy of equality' :

Tawney argued that public spending is the most effective way of redistributing resources. The aim, he writes,

> **'is not the division of the nation's income into eleven million fragments, to be distributed, without further ado, like cake at a school treat, among its eleven million families. It is, on the contrary, the pooling of its surplus resources by means of taxation, and the use of the funds thus obtained to make accessible to all, irrespective of their income, occupation or social position, the conditions of civilisation**

which, in the absence of such measures, can only be enjoyed by the rich.' [12]

The provision of universal benefits helps to create equality in its widest sense - the reassurance provided by social protection.

Julian Legrand argues against this that the universal social services are not available equally to all. The universal National Health Service in the UK gives health care disproportionately to middle class people. The state provision of education tends to be regressive, partly because people are poorest when the children are young, but mainly because it is the middle classes who gain most from education after the age of 16. Transport subsidies are worth most to people who travel the greatest distances, who tend to be middle class. And housing subsidies tend to favour home owners, who are more likely to be wealthy. In his view, the 'strategy of equality' proposed by Tawney has failed. [13]

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