Contents

	Figures and Tables	vi
	General Editor's Preface	vii
	Acknowledgements	X
1	The Welfare State: Origins and Myths	1
2	Beveridge: Founding Father?	19
3	The Right to Health, Knowledge, Food and Shelter,	
-	1945–51	43
4	The New Conservatism and Social Policy, 1951-64	(70)
5	Completing the Post-war Agenda 1964-76, Part One:	0
	the Poor and the Poorest	95
6	Completing the Post-war Agenda 1964-76, Part Two:	
	from Equal Access to Equality?	122
7	Morality, Family and the State: the Legacy of the Sixties	(152)
8	The Party Over, 1976-88	167
9	New Directions, 1988–95	191
0	Where Now?	221
	Appendices	
1	Main Social Policy Legislation	238
2	Social Policy Ministries and Ministers 1940–94	240
	Bibliography	243
	Index	260

Index

Abel-Smith, Brian, 12, 87, 103, 104, see also contributions, Social 105, 113, 116, 130, 228 Security abortion, viii, 96, 97, 152, 157–9, 161 Benn, Caroline, 134 age of consent, 152, 157 Benn, Tony, 134 AIDS, 154, 156 Bevan, Aneurin (Nye), 6, 8, 45-54, anti-colonialism, 96 66, 73, 76, 88, 139 approved societies, 7, 35, 36, 38, 45, Beveridge, William, citizenship and, 16 Committee, 10-11, 14, 23-6, 40 Attlee, Clement, vii, 62, 75, 95, 98, 100 Conservatives and, 72, 88 authoritarianism, 97 critique of, 40-2 family allowances and, 39-40 full employment and, 5 Bacon, Alice, 62 Barnett, Corelli, vii, 13, 15 implementation of, 38-9 benefits influence of, 3, 110, 182 cash benefits, 152 Labour Party and, 38, 89, 103-6 effects of, 221-3, 225 loses his seat, 49 flat rate, 89, 121, 221 National Assistance and, 6 increase in, 109 Official Committee on the in kind, 222, 223 Beveridge Report, 33 in return for work, 222 personal history, 20-1 level of, 232 Report, 13, 19-20, 21, 22, 27-38, lone parents and, 162 47, 48, 72 married couple, 90 voluntary sector and, 7 means-tested, 28, 33, 39, 94, women and, 34-5 117–18, 183, 186, 187 Bevin, Ernest, 24, 25 tapering of, 163, 183 Black Papers, 194 uprating of, 181-2 British Medical Association, 43-54, versus taxation, 212 123, 130, 157, 205-6 wage-related, 38, 89, 106, 121 Brooke, Henry, 73

Booth, William, 21 Children's Departments, 129 Butler, R. A., 58-9, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 86, 168, 175, 179, 210 Callaghan, James, 111, 119, 147, 169, 173, 194, 198, 210 Campaign for Justice on Divorce, 214 capitalism, 99, 169, 233 capital punishment, 96-7 carers, 112, 114, 152, 225 cash planning, 176, 190 Castle, Barbara, 113, 119-20, 132, 92 149 Catlin, Professor Sir George, 138 censorship, 97 centralization, vii, viii, 2, 6, 234-5, as legacy of Second World War, central planning, 4, 8-9, 22-3, 26, 69 of control, 82, 94 class of financing services, 14, 51, 234 of spending control, 14 'rational' planning, 4, 132 Chester, Norman, 25 child benefit, 38, 42, 95, 119-20, 121, 163, 215 Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG), 97, 117-20, 134 Child Support Act, 1990, 215-19 Child Support Agency, 218 protection, 153 child care, 150-1, 152, 230 pre-school provision, 93, 135, 136, 151 workplace provision, 216, 230 children Act, 1948, 64

Act, 1989, 218, 219-20

at risk, 63

children's social workers, 64 Curtis Report, 64 in care, 63 in poverty, 40, 63, 108, 115-119 Monckton Enquiry, see separate entry choice in social services, 139, 175, 195-7, 199, 204-5, 208, 277 Church of England, 54-5, 57-9, Churchill, Winston, 52, 58, 75, 91, citizenship, 6, 8, 68-9, 71 citizens' charters, 213 contributory principle and, 27 - 30, 41Welfare State and, 15-16 women and, 16 Clarke, Kenneth 205, 206, 211 Clarke, Richard (Otto), 77 education and, 99, 133, 137, 139, 141, 231 Welfare State and, 10, 11-12, 14, 19, 189, 221, 226 'clawback', 118, 119-20, 121 Coalition Government, 5, 21, 43 Cole, G. D. H., 98 collectivism, viii, 22, 96, 154 community care, viii, 123, 126, 130, 131, 195, 206–10 competition, 4, 200, 205, 213, 224, 233, 234 see also purchaserprovider split Comprehensive Schools Committee, 134 Confederation of British Industry (CBI), 110, 149, 184 consensus, viii, 9-10, 52, 63, 70, 75, 80, 85 Conservative Central Office, 73, 74

Conservative ideology, 70-3 Danckwert, Judge, 86 on education, 72, 74-5 death benefits, 24 on inequality, 175 death penalty, 96-7 on health, 75 decentralization, 234-5 on housing, 71, 73-4 democracy, 14, 15, 94, 98, 125-6, on social policy, 17, 71-3 130 on social services, 74 demography, 126-7 on Social Security, 74 ageing population, 132, 173, 203, on targeting, 71, 72, 74, 88 233, 234 on taxation, 74, 80, 111, 179, 233 birth-rate decline, 39 on the family, 214-18 birth-rate rise, 65, 78, 80 on the state, 152, 178, 214-16 dependent population, 102 on the Welfare State, 73, 179, 192 home ownership and, 173 see also Thatcher Department of Education and Conservative Party Research Science, 134, 138, 194, 198, Department, 72, 88 200 consumer participation, 192, 226 Department of the Environment, contraception, 153 contributions Department of Health and Social additional, 89-90 Security, 182 employers', 112 Department of Social Security, 188 flat-rate, 89, 112, 121, 221 'dependency culture', 215 National Insurance, 178, 211 deprivation, 136 wage-related, 38, 89, 112 Determination of Needs Act 1941, contributory principle, see Insurance council tax, 202-3 devaluation, 110, 111, 122, 123 Coventry Council, 63 devolution, see decentralization credit squeeze, 78 disability, 41, 44, 112, 123, 125, crime, 127, 193, 197, 215 126, 131, 132, 158 Criminal Justice Bill: 157, 215 Disabled Worker's Allowance, 218 Cripps, Stafford, 168 Disablement Income Group, 117 Crookshank, H. F. C., 85-6 discrimination Crosland, Anthony, 100-1, 133, racial, 146-9 135, 137, 167 sex, 150 Crossman, Richard, 98, 104-5, 108, Sex Discrimination Act 1975, 150 110, 113, 121, 125-6, 128, 130, disincentives, 215, 226 132, 141-4, 208 see also incentives Crowther Report, 93 divorce, viii, 96, 97, 152, 159-61, Curtis Report, 64 163, 165 cut-backs, viii, 54, 76-80, 86-8, 91, Divorce Reform Act 1969, 117, 122, 123, 131-2, 143-4, 159 - 60175, 177-9 figures for, 163 see also public expenditure Law Commission on, 159, 213

legislation, 213-14 Matrimonial and Family Proceedings Act 1984, 161, 214 Matrimonial Causes Act 1973, 160 Matrimonial Proceedings and Property Act 1970, 160 see also lone parents, maintenance domestic violence, viii, 153, 163-6 Donnison, David, 142 Donoughue, Bernard, 173 Durbin, Evan, 9, 193 earnings, see wage Eccles, Sir David, 80, 92, 198 Economy and Social Policy, viii, 4, 75, 77, 80, 81, 88, 96, 103, 107, 109, 110, 121, 123, 135, 136, 153, 163, 167, 168-71, 175, 198, 224, 229 Ede, Chuter, 59 education, 133-41, 154 abolition of fees, 55, 60 Education Act 1944, 59, 71, 72, 90, 92, 93 Education Act 1976, 140 assessment targets, 198 Assisted Places Scheme, 189 Board of Education, 46, 56, 58, 71, 100 class sizes, 90, 92, 135, 231-2 cuts in spending, 76, 91, 177, 179 decentralization of finance,

direct grants, 140, 189, 200 effects of 'baby boom' on, 78, 80, 90-1 eleven-plus, 57, 60, 61, 74, 94, 133-5

equality of access, vii, 6, 8, 44, 55, 68–9, 91, 95, 99, 136 equality of outcome, 68–9, 136,

141

expansion of, 90-1, 94, 136-40 fees, 55, 60, 76 free access to, vii, 6, 8, 44, 68 further, 137, 139 higher, 80, 91, 93, 134, 136-9, 153, 233 local education authorities, 76, 134, 137-40, 199-200 National Commission on, 195 National Curriculum, 72, 194, 198, 201, 235 polytechnics, 137, 139 post-school, 44, 93 pre-school, 93, 135, 136, 151 qualifications, 231-2 reform, 54-9, 60-3, 194-5, 198-202 Reform Act 1988, 200-1 religious, 59-60 standards in, 198-201 technical, 92-3, 134 vouchers, viii, 179, 189, 199-200 see also schools, university

elderly

long-stay services and, see under hospitals social security and, 187 care of, 44, 123, 131 poverty, see under poverty Elmhursts, 23 Ely Hospital, 125, 194 empire, 193 Employers contributions, 112

pensions and, 184
provision of occupational
pensions, 112
ctatutory sick pay and 18

statutory sick pay and, 181 employment

equal access to, 150, 151 in construction industry, 66 levels, 145, 148, 153, 170 Protection Act 1975, 151

women and, 4, 145, 149, 150, family 152, 153, 161, 162, 163, 172, as private sphere, 151, 153, 164, 216, 230 166, 214 see also discrimination, equal pay, New Right and, 214-16 poverty, see under poverty full employment, labour market, unemployment responsibility, 74, 219 equality, viii, 11, 96, 229 state and, 214-16, 219 before the law, 16 'traditional', 153, 214 education and, 133, 135, 139, values, 17, 72, 161, 213 141, 231 welfare, 127, 129, 214 of health, 231 Welfare State and, 215 of housing, 231, 232 women and, 152, 154 of life expectancy, 232 Family Allowances, 115-20 of living standards, 171 Beveridge and, 26, 27, 30, 39-40, of pay, see equal pay 162 regional, 232 increase in, 117, 118, 121 equal opportunity introduction of, 39-40 Equal Opportunities Commission, levels of, 108 212 poverty alleviation and, 115 education and, 55 resistance to, 24, 25, 119 European Economic Community Family Credit, 186, 218 and, 149 Family Expenditure Survey, 116 race and, 147 Family Income Supplement, 118, equal outcome, 68-9, 136, 141, 183 231 - 2Field, Frank, 119 equal pay, 149-51, 171, 212 Finer Report, 163 Equal Pay Act 1970, 150 Floud, Jean, 99 International Labour Fowler reviews, 182-6, 205 Organization on, 149 freedom Royal Commission on, 149 of choice, 139, 155, 175 Social Security Act 1975, 151 negative, 15 equal rights, 114 personal, viii, 17, 96-7, 152, 153, equal treatment, 150, 151 155, 159, 164 equity, 133, 145 positive, 16 European Union, 213 free market, 22, 108, 143, 152 European welfare states, 6, 7, 14, Friedman, Milton, 170, 171, 199 197, 234 full employment exit, power of, 125, 193, 200, 205 collapse of, 222, 224 inflation and, 80-1, 170 Fabian 'moral individualism' and, 154 New Fabian Research Bureau, 9 Welfare State and, vii, 5, 20-1, socialism, 2 38, 42, 224, 227

Gaitskell, Hugh, 9, 100, 101, 102, 137, 146, 168 Galbraith, John Kenneth, 101-2 Geddes Axe, 78 general practitioners abortion law reform and, 157, 158 Charter, 123 fundholders, 205, 207 pay award, 86 post-war health reforms and, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54 see also British Medical Association Germany, 1-3, 21, 37, 89, 231 Goodman, Arnold, 142 Gordon-Walker, Patrick, 146 Greenwood, Arthur, 24, 27 Griffiths, Roy, 131, 209 Griffiths, James, 8, 73 Guillebaud Committee, 79, 86-8,

89, 226

Haddow Committee, 55 Hall, Robert, 80 Halsey, A. H. (Chelley), 99 Hamilton, Mary, 25 handicap, see disability Hayek, Friedrich, 4, 72 Healey, Dennis, 210 health, viii, 2, 122-6 centres, 123 charges, 75, 76, 77, 79, 86, 87, 122, 177 chemists, 53, 54 dentistry, 53, 54, 79 finance, 86-8, 203-8 Guillebaud Committee, see separate entry healthcare pre-1939, 45-6 Health Commissions, 208 local authorities and, 45, 77, 126, 128, 130, 131

opthalmology, 54, 79 patients' charter, 123 Resource Allocation Working Party, 132-3 Royal Colleges, 52, 126, 157 visiting, 45, 123 women and, 46-7 see also National Health Service, community care, general practitioners, hospitals Heath, Edward, viii, 96, 106, 113, 171, 174 Herbison, Margaret (Peggy), 62, 109, 117, 119 Hetherington, Sir Hector, 25 Hill, Charles, 48 Home Office, 127, 128 home ownership, 71, 85, 145, 173, 175, 192, 227 see also owner occupation, property ownership homosexual law reform, viii, 96, 97, 154-7, 161 Horsborough, Florence, 91 hospital, hospitals Advisory Service, 125 Boards of Governors, 50, 54 building programme, 77, 86, 87, 88, 122-3, 125, 133 Ely, 125, 194 long-stay services, 123, 125 management committees, 50, 54 nationalization of, 49 Poor Law, 45 Regional Hospital Boards, 50-1, 54, 75, 130 trusts, 204, 206-7 voluntary, 46, 48, 75, 77, 204 Wartime Emergency Hospital Service, 47, 51 Houghton, Douglas, 109

housing, 6, 44-5, 65-8, 91, 141-5, to work, 180, 190, 224 195 - 7see also, disincentives Action Trusts, 196, 197 income effects of taxation and social associations, 84, 187, 188, 195, security on, 223, 225 building programme, 65-7, 73-4, equalization, 171 76-7, 82, 142, 143, 144, 177, inequality, 172 see also minimum income 188, 193 incomes policy, 81, 170, 175, 178 choice, 195-7, 227 estate action, 197 Income Support, estates, 123, 193 see also National Assistance, Supplementary Benefit, 186, home ownership, see separate 215, 216, 218 entry Housing Act 1988, 196-7 individualism, 17, 153 Landlord and Tenant industry (Temporary Provisions) Act changes in, 172, 175 decline of, 15, 172, 178 1958, 84 local authority, 7, 66-7, 82, 95, manufacturing, 168, 172, 178 144, 187, 193, 196, 217 inequality, 10, 68-9, 120, 222, Local Government and Housing 228 - 31Act 1989, 196 female labour participation and, mass-produced, 143-4 230 - 1owner occupation, see separate entry income, 172, 227-8 post-war, 65-7 pensions and, 105 Priority Estates Project, 197 taxation policy and, 231 inflation, 5, 171, 175, 191 private landlords, 82-4, 133, 142, full employment and, 80-1, 170 143, 195 Ingleby Committee, 127 race relations and, 146, 147 inner city, 97, 136, 148, 149 Rachmanism, 84, 142 reform, 82-4, 187-8, 195-7 insurance security of tenure, 84-5, 142 health, 23, 24, 204, 227 subsidies, 79, 83, 188, 196 hospital, 47 housing benefit, 39, 186, 188 National Insurance, see separate Howe, Geoffrey, 125, 178, 179, 210 Human Fertilization and private, 179, 233 Embryology Act 1990, 159 sickness, 35 unemployment, 1911, 7, 21, 35 immigration, viii, 97, 145-8 interest groups, 2, 3, 9, 97, 134 International Labour Organization incentives, 174, 178, 183 to lone parenthood, 217 (ILO), 29, 149 International Monetary Fund to marriage, 214, 215 (IMF), 167, 175 to state maintenance, 233

Jobseekers' Allowance, 215 Joseph, Sir Keith, 126, 129, 174, 188 Keynes, John Maynard, 5, 21, 28, 31, 41, 170 Korean war, 75 Labour ideology, 89, 96, 98-9 on education, 60-3 on full employment, 96, 100 on housing, 67-8, 84-5 on inequality, 98 on insurance, 19 on minimum income, 231 on wage-related benefits, 106 Labour movement, 12 Labour Party Research Department,

107, 134 labour exchanges, 20-1 labour force, see labour market labour market, 41, 91, 133, 135, 139, 152, 172, 175, 216, 224, 228, 233

see also labour shortage labour mobility, 106, 112, 180 labour shortage, 145, 153, 223 Lafitte, François, 23 Lamont, Norman, 211 Lane Committee, 158

case, 152, 160 civil, 164 Law Commission, 159, 165, 213 criminal, 155, 164 criminal justice system, 166 private, 163, 218 public, 152, 160, 163, 218 Lawson, Nigel, 210

Layfield Committee, 203 Lee, Jennie, 138

Lilley, Peter, 218

law

living standards, 171, 231, 232 local authority accountability, 202-3 capital programmes, 78, 179 Children's Departments, 129 council house sale, see 'right to buy' council tax, see separate entry finance, 16, 167, 202-3, 235 finance reform, 79, 149 housing, see under housing Layfield Committee, see separate poll tax, see separate entry rate-capping, 202 refuge provision, 164, 166 social services departments, 129, 130, 131

local authorities

central government and, 6, 234-5 central government grants to, 202 child protection and, 63 community care and, 208-9, 225 'enabling authorities', 209 Thatcher and, 234-5

London County Council school reform and, 63 Technical Education Board, 60

London School of Economics, 3, 4, 39, 71, 72, 99, 100, 104, 105, 110, 116, 127, 142

lone parent or parents, viii, 161-4, 216 - 19

allowance, 163, 212 benefit and, 162 Child Support Act 1990, see

under child Finer Report, 163

local authority housing and, 213, 217

New Right and, 216-17 numbers of, 163, 216

see also divorce, maintenance low pay, 32, 117 Lowe, Rodney, vii, 8, 38, 78 Lynes, Tony, 117 Mackay, Lord, 213 Macleod, Iain, 73, 74, 86, 118, 178 Macmillan, Harold, 76, 80, 82, 84, 102, 115, 144 macro-economics, 5, 99, 100, 224 maintenance, 214, 216-19 Child Support Act 1990, see separate entry 'clean break' settlements, 160-1, 'diversion', 217 'guaranteed maintenance allowance', 163 Matrimonial and Family Proceedings Act 1984, 124, 161 state and, 233 see also divorce, lone parents Major, John, viii, 186, 210, 213, 215 Mannheim, Karl, 71 Marples, Ernest, 82 marriage, 96, 152, 159, 160, 161, 214, 215 Marshall, Tom, 3, 15, 16, 43 Marxist critique, 10-11, 14, 16, 100 mass observation, 11 maternity provision, 151, 216, 230 Mathew, Theobald, 154 Maudling, Reginald, 73 Maxwell-Fyfe, Sir David, 154 May Report, 78 Meade, James, 28, 30-1, 41 means test benefits and, 221 extent of, 183 Family Income Supplement and,

183

social security and, 213, 215-19

Family Income Supplement Act 1970, 118 pensions and, see under pensions social services and, 74 see also targeting Miliband, Ralph, vii, 10 Milner Holland Enquiry, 84 MIND, 117 miners strike, 113 Thatcher and, 190, 191 minimum income, vii, 5-6, 223, 228, 232 Beveridge and, 22, 26, 31-3, 37, 41, 42, 221-2 Labour ideology on, 231 see also benefits, Social Security minimum wage, 5, 149 Ministry of Education, 62, 63, 76, 80, 92, 198 Ministry of Health, 38, 46, 47, 77, 87, 122 social work and, 126, 127, 128 Ministry of Housing, 142, 144 Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, 110 Ministry of Social Security, 36, 37, 39, 110 Monckton Enquiry, 64 monetarism, 81, 170, 174, 178 monopoly, 4, 8-9, 69, 226 Moore, John, 205 morality, 153, 154, 155, 161 Moran, Lord, 50 Morrell, Dereck, 148 Morris, Professor Jerry, 127 Morrison, Herbert, 50 Moser, Sir Claus, 195 Murray, Charles, 217

National Assistance, 29, 37, 90, 107 National Assistance Act 1948, 8

National Assistance Board, 6, 29, 39, 41, 110, 162 levels as poverty line, 116 officers, 223 see also Income Support, Supplementary Benefit National Council for Technological Awards, 92 National Executive Committee (NEC), 100 National Federation of Old Age Pensions Associations, 27 National Health Service, 6, 7, 9, 43, 77, 125, 158 access to, vii, 6, 8, 42, 43, 44, 53, 54, 68-9, 122 National Health Service Act 1946, 53-4 National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990, 52, 206 - 7Bevan and, 49-53 care of the elderly and, 225 citizenship and, 16, 43-5 creation of, 45-53 equal outcome and, 68-9, 136 public support for, 172, 175, 226 reform, 85-8, 130-3, 175, 189-90, 203-8, 225-6 resources, 14 roots of, 45-7 Royal Commission on, 86 women and, 12 see also British Medical Association, general practitioners, health, hospitals, National Insurance, National Institute for Economic and Social Research, 87 National Insurance, 8, 38 citizenship and, 16, 27-30

contributory principle, 15-18,

27 - 30

contributions, 178, 211 flat rate, 37-8, 103 Fund, 178 national health insurance, 25, 43, 45, 48, 75 (Old Person's and Widow's Pensions and Attendance Allowance) Act 1970, 112 social insurance, 24, 25, 37, 38, Social Insurance Fund, 30, 37 universal system, 95 versus taxation, 17, 19, 21, 30-1, 39, 74, 89 women and, 29, 37, 41 see also contributions, insurance nationalization, 49, 50, 51, 69 see also public ownership national minimum, see minimum income National Superannuation Scheme, 110, 121 National Union of Students (NUS), 202 National Union of Teachers (NUT), 195, 198 New Britain Campaign, 22 new Poor Law, see Poor Law New Right, see Conservative ideology Newsom Report, 93, 136 Number 10 Policy Unit, 191, 205

oil crisis, 119, 170
old Poor Law, 5, 37
'one nation', 86, 174
'opting out'
grant maintained schools, see
under schools
trusts, see under hospitals
fundholders, see under general
practitioners

owner occupation, 85, 94, 145, 175, 193, 197 see also home ownership, property ownership

parental leave, 151, 216, 230 Parker, Roy, 127 paternalism, 97 penal system, 152 pensions, 37, 39, 78 decline of, 41, 224 earnings-related, 95, 104, 112 European models, 103, 104, 105 finance, 77, 233 flat rate universal, 106, 112 increase in, 23, 33, 90, 106, 107, 109, 110 means-testing for, 33, 74, 89 National Superannuation Scheme, see separate entry occupational schemes, 90, 104, 112-14, 175, 184, 227 price-linked, 182 private, 111, 184 reform, 101, 103-8, 121, 183-4 Reserve Scheme, 113 Social Security Pensions Act 1975, 113-14 State Earnings Related Pension Scheme (SERPS), 113, 183-4 transferability of, 113, 185 wage-related additions, 105 widows', 162 women and, 111, 114, 184 Phillips Committee, 89 Pizzev, Erin, 164 Plowden Report, 93, 135, 136 police, 152, 153, 154, 164, 165, 166 political and economic planning (PEP), 23 poll tax, 186, 202-3 Poor Law, 16-17, 39, 44, 161-2, 180

Commission, 20, 45 hospitals, 45 Portillo, Michael, 1, 210, 216, 224 post-war settlement, 11-12, 222 poverty alleviation and the Welfare State, 115, 187 child, 40, 63, 108, 115-20, 122 definition of, 32-3 education and, 136 elderly, 2, 32, 41, 80, 90, 100, 115 family, 32, 115-19, 182, 224, 230 geographical concentration of, 149 line, 39, 40, 41 lobby, 117, 184, 185 low pay and, 117 measurement of, 100 persistence of, 8 Poor Relief Committees, 2 relative disadvantage, 115 Rowntree's poverty studies, 31-3, 41, 115 state responsibility for relief of, 2, 5 The Poor and the Poorest, 117 trap, 119, 183, 188, 231 unemployment and, 32 Powell, Enoch, 73, 74, 88, 148, 178 privatization, 190, 205, 206 professionals, 125, 127, 129, 192, 193, 198, 226 property ownership property owners, 70 property-owning democracy, 94 see also home ownership, owner occupation prostitution, 154-5 public expenditure, 1, 97, 124, 177,

178

containment, 75-80, 131, 177-9

control, 78-9, 80, 132, 168, 176 cut-backs in, see under cut-backs on education, 92, 94, 97, 124, 141, 177, 189, 221, 228 on economic growth, 169 on food subsidies, 15 on social policy, 76, 96, 178 on social services, viii, 15, 77, 101, 167, 172-3, 210, 221, 222 on social security, 97, 120-1, 124, 176, 177, 178, 188, 208-9, 221 on health, 79, 86-8, 97, 122, 123, 124, 176, 177, 206, 210 on housing, 124, 143-4, 177, 222 on means-tested benefits, 187 on personal social services, 222, 234 on pensions, 107, 222 planning, 168, 176 Plowden Committee, 80 Survey, 80, 179 public ownership, 96, 98, 100 see also nationalization public sector, 175, 176 Clegg awards, 178 'crowding out', 168, 178, 233 strikes, 170, 174, 177 purchaser-provider split, viii in community care, 209-10 in education, 199-201 in health care, 204-5 in housing, 195-7

Quakers, 116 quangos, 235 quasi-markets, 226 see also purchaser-provider split

see also quasi-markets

race relations, viii, 97, 145–9 Rachman, Peter, 84 Rathbone, Eleanor, 40, 119

rationalization, 50 rationing, 75 food, 64-5, 94 house-building, 66-7 reconstruction, 22, 24 Conservative policy on, 71 educational, 57 Secretariat, 23, 25 redistribution, 224-34 Rees Williams, Lady, 16 rent Rent Act 1957, 83-4, 142, 196 benefits and, 39, 41 control, 67, 94, 142, 143, 196 decontrol, 82-5, 196 officer, 142 Repairs and Rents Act 1954, 83 universal minimum and, 33 Resource Allocation Working Party, 132 - 3rights, 16, 43-5, 151 right to buy, 82, 175, 187-8, 193, Robb, Barbara, 125 Robbins Report, 93-4, 136, 137, Robinson, Kenneth, 125, 130, 157 Rowntree, Joseph housing benefit and, 39 Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 149 minimum wage and, 40, 149 poverty studies, 31-3, 41, 115

Scandinavia, 53
schools
boarding, 140
building, 76, 91–2, 177, 198
comprehensive, 57, 62–3, 74, 94,
134–5, 140, 141
elementary, 44, 55
entry age, 79

grammar, 44, 74, 99, 133-5, 140 Marxist critique of, 10-11 grant maintained, 200-1, 235 moves centre-stage, 96-103 leaving age, 55, 56, 60, 71, 76, remit of, 152 79, 93, 135 Thatcher and, 174-5, 177, 190, meals, 76, 117, 186, 215 191 - 220milk, 117 the economy and, 168-70, 224 multilateral, 61, 62 Social Security, vii, 43, 88-90, 95, primary, 59, 90, 91, 93, 135 101, 176 private, 100, 139, 141, 189, 227 Social Security Act 1973, 112 Public Schools Commission, 140 Social Security Act 1986, 186 secondary, 59, 90-1, 153 Social Security and Housing secondary modern, 7, 93, 133 Benefit Act 1982, 181 senior elementary, 7 Social Security Benefits Act, tax advantages, 140 1975, 151 testing, 199 Beveridge design, 221 transport, 76 Fowler reviews, 182-6, 205 tripartite system, 62 funding, 88-90 see also education in the 1990s, 221-34 science and technology, 80, 92, 102, legislation, 108-10, 151 106 means test, see separate entry National Council for Social Security Pensions Act Technological Awards, see 1975, 113 separate entry public support for, 43 Seebohm and social services redistribution and, 224-34 departments, 126-31 reform, 180-7 Select Committee on Estimates, 80, Social Services 91 Committee, 78, 79, 111 Shelter, 117 means test for, see under means Shore, Peter, 104 test Short, Renée, 157 social wage, 170 sickness benefit, 90 social work, 126-9, 152 earnings-related additions, 109, 180 Central Council for the wage-related, 106, 107, 180 Education and Training in sick pay Social Work, 128 Social Security and Housing Act profession, 64, 126, 128, 129 1982, 181 Soviet Union, 2, 9, 80, 92, 128, single parent benefit, 119 138, 154 Silkin, Lord, 157, 158 Spens Committee, 61 Social Fund, 185-6 state Socialist Medical Association, 51 agencies, 17 expenditure, see public social policy lifetime redistribution and, 227 expenditure

family and, 214-16, 219, 233 finance, 6 legitimate function of, 152, 154, 155, 161 personal behaviour and, 152, 153, 159 powers, 152 provision, vii, 6, 154, 226 regulation, 226 responsibility, 163, 232, 233 rolled back, viii, 17-18, 153, 178, 235 Steele, David, 158 sterling crisis see also devaluation, 54, 68, 111, 117, 120, 123, 144, 170 stigma, 5, 12, 29, 107, 118 stop-go, 78, 102 student loans, 201-2, 215 subsidies bread and milk, 79 housing, 79, 83, 188, 196 Summerskill, Lady, 160 Supplementary Benefit discretionary payments, 185 increase in, 121 Supplementary Benefits Commission, 110 taxable, 180 see also National Assistance, Income Support Sweden, 50, 89 see also Scandinavia take-home pay, 172 Tawney, R. H., 56, 95, 139 Targeting, 94, 118 extent of, 182-3 housing benefit and, 188 Labour government and, 121 Social Security and, 221, 226

see also means test

tax, 152, 211-13 attitudes to, 172-3 child tax allowance, 119-20 clawback and, 118, 119-20, 121 cuts, 75, 118, 178, 179, 192, 211 effects of, 211-12, 221-22, 223, 225, 231 family policy and, 212–13 'from wallet to purse', 119-20 indirect, 211 international economy and, 233 levels, 176, 211 lone parent allowance, 212 net, 173 on benefits, 180 owner-occupation and, 85 relief on mortgages, 85, 145 relief on private insurance, 204 relief on private pensions, 184 rises, 78, 210, 211 Thatcher and, 174 Value Added Tax, 178, 211 versus benefits, 212 versus National Insurance, see under National Insurance women and, 212-13 Temple, Archbishop, 1, 7 thalidomide, 157 Thatcher, Margaret, viii, ix, 3, 4, 6, 9, 70, 72, 75, 87, 114 Argentina and, 190 centralization and, 234 downfall of, 202, 210 economic liberalism and, 214 family and, 215 government personnel, 107, 125, 131 housing and, 143 leader of Opposition, 96 local authorities and, 234-5 monetarism and, 171 new agenda and, 192

trade union

Number 10 Policy Unit and, 191 privatization and, 190 Secretary of State for Education, 135, 136, 174 Social Security reform and, 190 social policy and, 174-5, 177, 190, 191-220 taxation policy and, 174 trade union reform and, 190 Thorneycroft, Peter, 80, 210 Titmuss, Richard, 3, 87, 100, 104, 112, 120, 142 Tomlinson, George, 62, 63 Tory Reform Group, 72 Townsend, Peter, 103, 104, 105, 115, 116, 228 Toynbee Hall, 20, 116

Trade Union Congress, 105, 110 equal pay and, 149, 150 family allowance and, 118, 119 legislation, 111, 190 minimum wage and, 149 pensions and, 111, 113 pressure, 5, 10, 22, 23, 24, 28 'social wage' and, 170 teachers' unions, 136
Transport Ministry, 82

unemployment, 66, 174, 223–4
Unemployment Act 1934, 28
Unemployment Assistance Board, 40
Beveridge and, 20–1, 41
in the 1930s, 2
in the 1980s, 221
levels, 102, 121, 171, 176, 178
poverty and, 32
unemployment benefit, 90, 215
earnings-related additions, 109, 180
taxable, 180
wage-related, 106, 107, 180

United States, 4, 13, 19, 37, 41, 44, 50, 80, 100, 117–18, 144, 147, 158, 171–2, 173, 215
universalist model, vii, 10, 39, 48, 70, 88–9, 100, 129, 225–6
universities, 234
university
grants, 139, 189
University Grants Committee, 93
Open University, 138
scholarships, 60
student loans, see separate entry

voluntary sector, 233
agencies, 7
refuges and, 164, 166
voluntary hospitals, see under
hospitals
see also approved societies

wage pressure, 81, 176, 223 -related additions, 95, 104, 112 -related benefits, 38, 89, 106, 121 -related contributions, 38, 89, 112 restraint, 81, 170 see also low pay, take-home pay wages councils, 149, 216 Webbs, Sydney and Beatrice, 1, 5 education reforms and, 60 labour colonies and, 5 minimum wage, 149 Minority Report, 45 national minimum, 41 universality and, 16 Welfare State altruism and, 226 basic principles of, 4-7 breakdown of, 192, 215 citizenship and, 15-16

class and, 10-12

economic decline and, 13-15 economy and, 168-9 electorate and, 197, 227 equality and, 227-32 family and, 215 institutions of, 192, 193 in the 1990s, 221 Labour ideology on, 99 myths on, 7-17 origins of, 1-4 paying for the, 232-4 poverty alleviation and, 115 re-evaluation of, 18 rolled back, 17 survival of, 234 structural changes in, 168 widow's benefit, 5, 109-10 Wilkinson, Ellen, 62 William Tyndale Junior School, 193 - 4Willink, Henry, 50 Wilson, Harold as Prime Minister, 95, 107 calls election, 111 government of, viii, 18, 133, 141, government personnel, 108-9, 110 on the economy, 102 on education, 134, 137, 138, 139

on housing, 143

on the technological revolution, 106, 137 resignation of, 54, 76, 119 winter of discontent, 170, 174, 177 Wolfenden Report, 155 women

as mothers, 162, 165, 166 as workers, 216, 230 Beveridge on, see under Beveridge citizenship and, see under citizenship employment and, see under employment family and, see under family health care and, see under health National Health Service and, see under National Health Service National Insurance and, see under National Insurance pensions and, see under pensions protection of, 160, 165 retirement age of, 185 social work profession and, 64, 129

women's movement, 10 Workmen's Compensation, 24, 36 Royal Commission on, 24 world trade prices, 75

Young, Michael, 23, 138 youth services, 76, 101