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PART A

Part. A.

Begins : 4/2/88
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PO -CH /NL/0402



PART A

Chancellor's (Lawson) Papers:

THE FAMILY POLICY
STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

DD's: 25 Years

Philipson

15/12/95

NL/0402

PO -CH

PART A



CABINET OFFICE

Central Statistical Office

Great George Street, London SW1P 3AQ Telephone 01-270 6251

Our ref ROI

4 February 1988

Dear Ms Roll

FAMILY FORTUNES: PARENTS' INCOMES IN THE 1980s

I would like to make some comments about your recent occasional paper 'Family Fortunes: Parents' Incomes in the 1980s'. In particular, the result in Table 4 which shows that the group of 'one adult with children' households had a fall of 11 per cent in real income (after all taxes and benefits) between 1979 and 1985. This result looks a bit odd in comparison with those for the other household types shown in Table 4. As your report is largely based on CSO figures (published in Economic Trends), we decided to re-examine the series for 'one adult with children' households for possible discontinuities.

Table 1 (attached) gives the series for this group for original income and income after all taxes and benefits, for each year between 1979 and 1985. The original income series shows an erratic pattern, with a 35 per cent fall between 1981 and 1982. The number of such households included in the FES sample each year, at around 200, is small compared with the other household types. I think that this needs to be borne in mind when interpreting the figures.

The figures for 1979 to 1982 given in the top part of Table 1 are slightly different from those published in the Economic Trends articles - the figures overleaf exclude retired household heads, and this change was made from 1983 onwards. So the series shown in the table overleaf is consistent in this respect.

We have examined the original income of each of the 200 (or so) households each year, and found that there were some outliers eg one household in 1981 had an income of £93,000 a year. Virtually all these outliers were households with a married woman as head of household and a husband who was temporarily absent. So the married woman was the head of household but not the head of the income unit. In 1981 the FES rules for defining an absent household member were changed and this resulted in less households with temporarily absent spouses being included in the 'one adult with children' households. These unusual households have a disproportionate effect on the overall result for the 'one adult with children' category (because they have such high incomes). We have reworked the data for this group to exclude the cases where there is a spouse temporarily absent, and the results are given at the bottom of Table 1. The number of such households excluded is small, ranging from 23 in 1979 to 5 in 1985, but the effect is dramatic. The post tax/benefit income for the reworked series increased from £2,186 in 1979 to £3,683 in 1985, or a 1 per cent increase in real terms after deflating by the RPI. This is quite a change from the 11 per cent fall shown in Table 4 of your paper. Even after excluding these unusual households the series still looks erratic and this is perhaps not surprising, given the small numbers involved and the changing composition of the group.

Ms Jo Roll
Family Policy Studies Centre
231 Baker Street
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The composition of the 'one adult with children' group has changed a lot between 1979 and 1985 eg in 1979 some 34 per cent of household heads were working full-time or self-employed whereas by 1985 the percentage had fallen to 16; the proportion of household heads who were 'unoccupied' rose from 35 per cent in 1979 to 52 per cent in 1985. The former group (ie of self-employed or full-time working heads) showed a steadily increasing average original income from £3,603 in 1979 to £7,157 in 1985, an increase in real terms of 19 per cent.

It is noteworthy too, that there is a significant increase in never married women with children in the latter year as opposed to those separated or divorced - more of whom would be expected to receive maintenance payments from a spouse or ex-spouse.

Incidentally, using the RPI to deflate the post tax and benefit income has its drawbacks. There have been large rises in rates and VAT since 1979 and the post tax/benefit income already has these taxes removed. So deflating by the RPI, which also takes account of the large rises, introduces some double counting. I think the change in real income would have been higher but for this double counting.

Disposable income would have been a better choice from this point of view (since rates and VAT are included), but this suffers the discontinuity of the rates element of Housing Benefit from 1983 onwards - the earlier disposable income figures are inflated by this amount. However, we have not been able to make a correction for this and produce a consistent series for disposable income.

The result of all these deliberations is that in future ET articles we will need to include a detailed footnote for the 'one adult with children' group pointing out the pitfalls of making comparisons with earlier years. This brings me on to the wider point that the ET articles are not designed for use as a time series. Each year is self-contained, and definitions and concepts in the FES change frequently. When we do give time series they are mostly for measures like Gini coefficients which are not so affected by change in definitions. It is very difficult to produce a time series for an income variable that is wholly consistent, and as a result of this we rarely publish such series.

On a slightly different note, I think it is worth emphasising that the group of 'one adult with children' households is not synonymous with 'lone parent families'. This is obvious, perhaps, when you consider that some of these households have temporarily-absent spouses, but also about one third of lone parent families are contained within other household groups in the FES. I notice that you made this latter point on page 22 of your report (first sentence), but many of the newspaper articles that reported your occasional paper did equate these two different classes of household.

I am copying this letter to Nick Kew, a Statistician in DHSS who works with FES data on taxes and benefits.

You might be interested to know that his analysis of the FES shows that for all lone parent families there was a 10 per cent increase in real disposable income between 1979 and 1985. (His telephone number is 01-407 5522 ext 6158)

Yours sincerely

Ian R. Wilkinson

I R WILKINSON
Branch 8

Details from the FES for 'one adult with children' households

Table 1

Average values in £ a year; number

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
No. of households in FES sample	181	205	213	206	227	197	203
ORIGINAL INCOME:-	2,306	2,696	3,403	2,207	2,289	2,601	2,350
Earnings	1,320	1,885	2,018	1,554	1,542	1,772	1,510
occupational pensions, annuities	18	15	66	15	9	12	39
investment income	22	44	46	92	56	46	98
other income	945	750	1,273	545	682	771	702
TOTAL CASH BENEFITS:-	1,118	1,230	1,688	2,171	2,353	2,341	2,657
child benefit	354	448	524	560	604	701	693
SB	561	550	790	1,227	1,037	963	1,094
other	203	232	374	384	712	677	870
INCOME TAX & NIC	- 220	- 325	- 432	- 312	- 277	- 281	- 211
DOMESTIC RATES	- 162	- 214	- 244	- 264	- 163	- 164	- 169
TAXES ON FINAL GOODS & SERVICES	- 354	- 419	- 504	- 504	- 559	- 665	- 665
INTERMEDIATE TAXES	- 194	- 239	- 289	- 259	- 269	- 286	- 247
INCOME ^{AFTER} CASH BENEFITS AND ALL TAXES	2,493	2,731	3,622	3,039	3,372	3,546	3,716
Average number per household:							
children	1.71	1.88	1.83	1.75	1.69	1.78	1.65
economically active:							
part-time	0.35	0.35	0.25	0.21	0.20	0.28	0.25
all	0.64	0.62	0.62	0.46	0.42	0.48	0.44

Source: CSO, derived from Family Expenditure Survey

NOTE

The figures for 1979 to 1982 (inclusive) are slightly different from those published in Economic Trends - the figures here exclude retired adults & this change of definition was made from 1983 onwards. Hence the series here is on a fully-consistent basis

EXCLUDING HOUSEHOLDS WITH TEMPORARILY-ABSENT SPOUSES:

No. of households included (no. removed)	158 (23)	189 (16)	197 (16)	202 (4)	219 (8)	190 (7)	198 (5)
Original income	1,842	2,540	2,784	2,128	2,074	2,705	2,284
Disposable income	2,809	3,486	4,103	4,002	4,198	4,528	4,750
Income after all taxes/benefits	2,186	2,622	3,074	2,978	3,246	3,450	3,683

treatments and operations. We have asked regional health authorities to make available to GPs information, especially about waiting lists and waiting times, to enable them to make the most appropriate referrals for their patients. Some already make use of computerised systems.

Parents' Incomes (Report) (2)

42. **Ms. Primarolo:** To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services if he has considered the recent report of the family policy study centre, "Family Fortunes; Parents' Incomes in the 1980s," a copy of which has been sent to him; and if he will make a statement.

90. **Mr. Allen Adams:** To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what is his policy towards home support in the light of the recent report of the family policy study centre "Family Fortunes; Parents' Incomes in the 1980s," a copy of which has been sent to him; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Scott: I understand that the Central Statistical Office has written to the Family Policy Studies Centre expressing doubts about some of the methods and results used in this study. Particular reservations have been expressed about the treatment of family expenditure survey data on one-parent households where the results differ dramatically from those suggested by other findings. I await the outcome of this correspondence.

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Social Policy and Development

Stewart MacPherson

Editor's note: This is the first of a new series of regular articles in *Social Policy and Administration*. Professor MacPherson will contribute in future from the vantage point of working in Papua New Guinea where he has just been appointed to a University chair.

The study of social policy and social welfare can be very parochial. Especially in the industrialized countries of Western Europe and North America this is a marked feature of work on social welfare. Britain is probably among the worst offenders in its neglect of the rest of the world. There are very many reasons for this state of affairs but two seem to stand out. First there was for many years an approach to the subject which was essentially descriptive, and firmly tied to specific practice. Clearly, this focussed virtually all attention on the experience of the academic's own society and social policy. But a second reason seems to me to be important. For British scholars in particular, but later for those in the United States, the dominance of western social policy research and writing in the international arena was so extensive as to amount to virtual hegemony. The traffic in publications, the patterns of relationship between universities, the nature of international journals and so on both formed and maintained a world system in which, outside the non-market economies, with their own network, the ideas and products of the west were dominant. This has been so true for academic work on social policy and social welfare as it has for pharmaceuticals, engineering products or processed food.

None of this is surprising, shocking or reprehensible, given the historical realities in which work on social policy has taken place. But more recently the growing theoretical sophistication of social welfare studies has been accompanied by a call for more comparative research. Broad generalizations and fundamental concepts are seen to transcend the specific experience of particular national systems. Thus, comparative analysis has grown, but remains limited. It is limited first in quantity, but this is true for all research on social policy and welfare, but second it remains limited to Britain and the United States, Scandinavia, some of the countries of Europe and occasionally Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Israel.

Until very recently reference to non-market economies other than the Soviet Union was very rare. There now seems to be much more activity in relation to

Eastern Europe, with major conferences on social policy and welfare in Eastern and Western Europe in Poland (1987) and Britain (1988). Developments such as these are welcome; the possibilities go far beyond "the shock of the new"; there are real opportunities for substantial theoretical advances from consideration of fundamentally common welfare issues across widely differing political economic and social systems. The little work of this kind which has already been done has demonstrated this.

But while there appears to be some further progress in comparative work between industrial countries a major gap remains. There continues to be an almost total neglect of those countries crudely categorised by western observers as the Third World. The great majority of nation states are in this category and two-thirds of the world's population live in Third World countries. But social policy analysis in the west ignores the social policies and programmes of the developing countries. Some reasons for this were suggested earlier. The ignorance of virtually all western scholars of social policy in developing countries is, I am convinced, the result of a state of mind which hampers perception of available material on social policy issues. Convinced that the experiences of developing countries are irrelevant, sure that there is little serious work available in any case, and preoccupied with concerns closer to home, those engaged in social policy analysis remain unaware of what is happening in most of the world.

I do not wish to underestimate the difficulties. In arguing for a global perspective I am aware that there is a very long way to go before the presently distinct worlds of social policy work in the west and in the developing countries can be brought together at the theoretical level. In terms of human welfare, the search for concepts and theoretical tools which transcend national boundaries must be attempted. As a beginning to the encouragement of a wider and more internationally aware view of social policy issues there needs to be greater knowledge of social policy in developing countries.

More awareness and understanding of social policies and programmes in poor countries would broaden the horizons of scholars in industrial countries, but would also widen the understanding of those engaged in social policy and administration in developing countries. It is often the case that, despite the activities of international agencies and the flow of journals and books around the world, researchers in developing countries are knowledgeable about their own societies but may know relatively little about what is going on in other developing countries with similar problems. Indeed they may often know more about social policy work in the industrial countries. A glance at the major journals will soon show why this is so. We generally fail to recognize the market in knowledge, which operates very much in a way that all other markets operate. Of course there are journals concerned specifically with development issues, with health, with community development and other specific topics which consciously and consistently carry material relevant to social welfare. But it remains the case that for social welfare and social policy, the dissemination of knowledge from developing countries is very poor indeed.

In future issues of the journal I will try to demonstrate that contemporary work in particular developing countries is of considerable theoretical and normative relevance to the study of social policy in the west, as well as in other

developing countries. I shall do this by reference to publications, organizations, sources of information, research findings, examples of practice and quite simply to ideas from developing countries. I hope to be able to produce material which will interest, inform and illuminate; to stimulate a global perspective. I would be extremely grateful for comments and suggestions.

Stewart MacPherson
University of Nottingham

Yugoslav Social Policy

Milosav Milosavljević

Abstract

Yugoslavia provides an interesting example of a decentralized system of policy-making which implies the abolition of the state's main role in economic and social affairs. Self-management is the basic principle of the socio-political system in Yugoslavia. It involves all levels, processes and fields of social relationships from working organizations (enterprises) and local communities to the communes, republics and Federation. The implications of this system of socio-political organization for social policy and provision are examined.

Basic Assumptions

Social policy in Yugoslav society is a very important part of global policy and a factor of social development. It involves organised and planned activities aimed at increasingly favourable working and living conditions, the comprehensive development of human personality, and social security for all citizens.

Ideologically, these activities and measures are organised on the basis of solidarity and reciprocity as well as socialist humanism.

The essential aim of social policy is to be the concrete expression of the interests of working people and the accomplishment of human well-being and happiness.

Starting from the above mentioned principles the more immediate goals of social policy are as follows:

1. To create opportunities for development and fulfilment of all personal and common social needs.
2. To promote better living and working conditions including the preservation of the human environment.
3. To overcome on the basis of solidarity and reciprocity the social difference resulting from economic underdevelopment and other unequal conditions (cultural and social), including regional and other social differences.
4. To make equal possibilities for the personal development of everyone in society in such matters as health, education and work.
5. To eliminate all forms of exploitation and to prevent any social differentiation not grounded on the principle of payment according to the results of work performed.

6. To prevent and eliminate the causes and the consequences of bad social and economic conditions.
7. To preserve the basic social security of individuals, families and the groups living in below average conditions.

During its development social policy increasingly adopted the features of the self-managing system. Already in the 1950s the problem arose of how to adjust economic development to the improved living conditions of the population in proportion to the growth of labour productivity. A link between economic and social policy was formulated. Thus resulted the tendency to integrate economic and social policy as interdependent components of all-round development policy in Yugoslavia. Practice proved that efficiency in economic development and the realization of social targets depended on successful integration of economic and social development.

The Essential Role of Social Policy in a Self-managing Society

Integrally established social policy in a self-managing society outgrows its protective role for economically and politically weak categories of people. It also goes beyond a merely distributive and corrective function.

Social policy by its very character should become more and more a guide to the resolution of contradictions in society where social progress is based on socialist values. Moreover this should lead to the emancipation of labour in all its aspects, to build human personality, offering equal opportunities to all members of the society, the affirmation of the solidarity principle in the interests of all working people. Without this, their lasting collective goals and needs cannot be satisfied. Further characteristics of social policy connected with the main features and developments of our self-managing system are the following:

- a. Measures of social policy are increasingly outlined and exercised by organized working people and citizens allied in various self-managed bodies. These include: work organizations (enterprises), local communities, self-managing communities of interest (in education, health, social and child care, culture, etc.) and also geographic units – communes, provinces, republics and the federation. They are the determinants of social policy.
- b. Those who determine policy and decision-making in the sphere of economic and social policy are the same; there should be no separation of the two spheres. The result is that mechanisms of economic policy are used in the realization of social goals, and that the specific mechanisms and methods of social policy are applied in the domain of social welfare and protection.
- c. There are tendencies of increased self-management and a reduction in the role of the state, debureaucratization of social policy, with a stress on the endeavours of working people and local groups to solve social problems by themselves wherever possible. The state enables, supports and in some domains gives legal forms to activities of the institutions working in the field

of social care and social security. It should not have to intervene financially.

d. In view of this, citizens are less the object and more the creators and performers of social policy and social welfare.

The Role of the State in Social Policy

When dealing with the role of the state in the field of social policy and development one should keep in mind the fact that self-management is the general principle of organizations, decision-making and relationships in all domains in Yugoslavia. Many issues formerly dealt with by central state institutions are now managed at more local levels. Instead of strengthening the role of the state there is a tendency to strengthen the self-management role of working people in productive enterprises, local communities and associations on the basis of direct self-management, as well as through the delegate system. Therefore the main activating force in development is no longer the state system and its agencies, but self-managing structures in the society.

The state's role should be transformed into specialized public services, which are left to follow the situation in particular fields of life and work, to propose regulations and measures to be passed and to provide for their implementation in a consistent way. In this sense the normative action of the state is expressed in the social field, particularly in social security. In the sphere of social jurisdiction some questions are decided by self-managing bodies, for instance by laws and other normative acts of working organizations, and especially of self-managing communities of interest in social care, child care, health, pension and invalidity insurance. Viewed as a whole, in the statutes passed by the state, the principles of social security, social and child care are spelt out, but implementation of them in practice is regulated by self-managing enactments passed by working organizations and self-managing communities.

The federal state should initiate and inspire common goals and principles of economic and social development, but it has a very limited role in the field of social policy. It only has a legislative role in basic social care for war veterans and war invalids and in social security for the armed forces, as well as in regulating the basic principles of social security for working people. It also provides the financial resources for basic war veterans' social care and for social security of the armed forces.

The republics as constitutional parts of the federal organization of Yugoslav society are socialist self-managing communities and at the same time states based on the sovereignty of the people. The republics independently adopt their constitutions and make their own laws except for some specific areas in the jurisdiction of the Federation. Each republic independently disposes of its G.D.P. and is really in a position to plan and to implement its own economic, cultural and social development. Even so, the role of each of the republics in social welfare is still very restricted: to monitor the situation in the political, economic, cultural and social fields, to propose and to prepare regulations and measures to be passed, to plan long-term development in all fields of work and life. This is the normative action of the republics (and the two autonomous provinces) with reference to social security, child and social care, housing,

unemployment and so forth. Autonomous provinces, republics and Federation, as public and social services, play a co-ordinating role vis-à-vis the self-managing organizations and communities and in this way exert their influence upon the realization and development of social policy. Their role in social policy is mostly indirect.

Specific Self-managing Associations within Social Policy

From what has so far been said, it will be clear that the decisive influence on establishment of goals, content, form and character of social policy and welfare is exerted by working people and citizens organized on the basis of self-management. According to their competence they make plans, assure a follow up and study of social needs and problems, undertake preventive measures, assess appropriate forms of protective measures covering persons and families in need, develop a framework of institutions and services involved therein, including the monitoring and evaluation of activities. *Working organizations* (enterprises) in Yugoslav society represent not only an economic but also a political (sub-) system, although sui generis. This political feature is so essential that failure to comprehend it leads to confusion about the institutional foundation of self-managed enterprises. In fact, the most basic organization of associated labour (enterprises) is the basis of self-managing democracy in Yugoslav society. This system of organizations is the real "nucleus" of the Yugoslav economic, political and social system.

The prime motive of associated labour on the basis of social ownership of the means of production is the increase of all-round income. When workers are interested in the enlargement of economic resources they create the economic basis for higher personal income and satisfying common needs and the improvement of conditions at work. Efficiency in earning and distributing income contains in its very essence the means of achieving social policy objectives. Therefore plans and programmes of working organizations include in the addition to the production tasks such social action as professional training and permanent education (both professional and general), labour protection, communal feeding, solution of housing problems, health protection, child and social welfare of the workers and their families, maternity care, sports and recreational activities, etc. The workers' rights and obligations are to make decisions about that part of common income set aside for collective needs. Integrated economic and social policy and provisions contribute to the social well-being and security of working people and their families.

Working organizations have an important role in social care and protection of workers as well as their families. The role involves solidarity among the workers in providing against certain risks involved in their work. Provision is made for preventive or curative measure in conformity with social goals and according to the available economic and professional resources. This is translated into practice through the working organizations' self-managing enactments (bye-laws) which regulate the basic living and working conditions covering also particular needs in case of disability, accidents, illness, old age, family troubles which affect the workers, their families and the enterprise. The needs are met by particular specialized services within work organizations

themselves such as health, protection at work, child care instruction (especially day-care) counselling services and so on. Their range depends on the size, organizing opportunities, finances and so on of the enterprise concerned. Needs are also met by linking with specialized social welfare bodies which can provide services. Workers' enterprises co-operate with other organizations, associations and communities having common interests and goals in both the economic and social domains.

The fundamental function of the work organization is providing personal security for workers and their families. In addition to the principle of payment according to work results, the mechanism of the guaranteed personal income is of great importance, the amount of which should satisfy the basic needs of a worker and his family. Allowance is made for compensation when a worker is temporarily sick. Similarly, compensation can be made to an enterprise which is in financial difficulties over paying the guaranteed minimum income. Work organizations plan and implement different measures aimed at prevention of the causes and elimination of consequences of workers' social problems. In this social work services of the enterprises play a very important role.

Political "communities" in Yugoslav society are a specific form of citizens' associations according to their place of residence. They are a part of the political system which associates citizens territorially (villages, neighbourhoods, settlements, small towns) for the purpose of joint needs. This applies to such questions as: housing, communal services, child and social care, education, cultural and environmental questions. According to the 1974 Constitution local communities are an obligatory form of territorial organization. Here citizens make decisions directly about the means of meeting their common needs through a citizens' assembly, local community council, various committees and commissions, or delegations. In case of an outstanding problem a referendum can be undertaken to decide the matter.

Typical forms of local community activities in social policy and development are:

1. Identifying, following up and presenting needs and interests in the social sphere.
2. Arranging contacts and discussion with wider social communities, particularly in self-managing communities of interest covering social care, child care, health, housing and education, so that local citizens' interests and concerns are fully taken into account.
3. Taking part in the discussion and decision-making process over social planning undertaken by larger-scale bodies, such as communes.
4. Organizing and initiating various caring activities for persons who cannot properly take care of themselves (sick or poor people, children of employed parents, or those living in unfavourable conditions).
5. Stimulating citizens to voluntary activities on the principle of self-help and mutuality to share in the action of humanitarian voluntary organizations.

Local communities have different socio-cultural characteristics and demographic structures and consequently their needs are quite different. Their potential for meeting needs is also different, but within individual areas they

represent a considerable self-organizing force through which more favourable living conditions and better human relations are built, thus contributing to the ultimate achievement of the goals of social development.

Self-managing communities of interest in social policy are a form of social and political organization unknown in other political and social systems. The communities of interest have as their main purpose to integrate labour in production and in public services (especially in social services) and to ensure that the "providers" and "users" of various public services, collaborate effectively. The workers who provide services and those who use them can thus associate without any intermediary role of the state. The self-managing communities of interest have thus a most important role in planning, pooling resources, financing social services, regulating relationships and activities of common interest in a particular field such as child care, social care, housing, health insurance, or pensions and invalidity insurance. They can make investments and create the framework of specialist institutions, as well as deciding on conditions, for the beneficiaries of services as well as the measures to be undertaken to meet social needs.

Self-managing communities are organized on the basis of equality between the providers and the users of the services. The Assembly of self-managing communities is organized so as to assure equal opportunities for active participation in decision-making by both sides. Self-managing communities are basically organized at commune level. They also have means of consulting at regional, provincial and republic level, whenever they have common interests and goals. These include opportunities for association with the other self-managing communities in the neighbourhood.

Through self-managing communities of interest the material basis for the satisfaction of the needs of working people and citizens is generated. It is there that the decisions on the proportion of workers' personal incomes to be allocated for this purpose are taken. Their service prices and the financing programmes are determined, being previously adjusted and accepted by the delegations of the users of the providers of the services.

The Role of Socio-political and Humanitarian Organizations and Citizens' Associations

By taking part in establishing the targets of the global policy of a self-managing society, various socio-political organizations share in defining the targets of social development and in helping to reach the goals of the social policy. Although the names of some of these organizations denote political characteristics, in Yugoslav society they do not play the role of classical political parties. For example, the League of the Communists, acting as the representative of working class interests, acts in this connection as a vehicle for expressing, presenting, adjusting and guiding people's different interests and needs. Through their activity they can articulate needs, mobilize people to adjust their felt needs in some order of priority in accordance with the human targets of society. They are active within self-managing structures not only for ideological and political concerns but also because of the involvement in everyday activities aimed at accomplishment of social objectives, and these activities may be the responsibility of various other agencies.

Social-humanitarian voluntary organizations and associations of citizens are an important form of active citizenship. These organizations, through the interest of their members in the fields of health, social care, education, culture, sports, physical training, hobbies, leisure, etc., help to meet the needs of their members and thus contribute to society.

The constitutional and legal basis for these "humanitarian" organizations is the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federal Republic and the individual constitutions of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces. Their modes of activity, system of decision-making, structure and competence are regulated by various legal enactments.

There are many types of voluntary humanitarian organizations: the Yugoslav Red Cross, various foundations such as the Foundation of Memorial Solidarity, Tito's Fund; associations of various categories of disabled persons, members of their families, experts and others interested in the welfare of the disabled, such as: the Union of the blind, Union of deaf and hearing-impaired, Union of labour invalids, Union of war invalids, Society for assistance of mentally retarded persons, Societies for the struggle against cancer, Union against alcoholism and narcotics, Societies against smoking and numerous vocational associations in the field of education, health, social work and care.

Conclusion

The principles of Yugoslav social policy in theory and practice are based on a very wide concept covering living and working conditions as well as social status and security. Policy is translated into practice on the basis of self-management; working people and citizens associated in various forms of self-managing organizations of Yugoslav society are the real determinants of social policy.

The process of developing self-management in practice is subject to certain difficulties which slow it down, while inheritance, tradition and contradiction through which society is passing play a considerable role. In the mid-1980s discrepancies between economic and social development are evident due to the effect of economic difficulties, which impose limits on finance available for meeting social needs. The efficiency of economic activities and rational consumption are in question. The resulting situation is that economic and social development are not harmonized as they should have been on the basis of the consistent application of the principles of the system of self-management. Under such circumstances social policy is unavoidably aimed not at the creative and active but at the curative approach to social problems. This may bring about certain state intervention not in determining social policy but in helping to create the economic opportunities which must provide the basis for social development.

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The “Three Worlds” of Human Services

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Abstract

The “three worlds” referred to in this article are the three environments in which human services are delivered: the public, private non-profit, and private for-profit sectors. This article analyses the situation of human services in the USA, while suggesting that the arrival of privatization in other western industrial societies makes it relevant there too.

After defining each of the three environments, an attempt is made to generalize about broad differences in management behaviour that tend to result from the different kinds of pressures inherent in each of the three worlds. Relationships between the three worlds are discussed, with special reference to the field of alcoholism treatment services.

Introduction

“Human services” in the USA covers six areas: income maintenance, health services, education, housing, employment training, and personal social services.¹ The struggle to deliver human services effectively and efficiently requires that we study the organizational context in which they are delivered. Three different contexts, environments, or “worlds” must be considered: the public, private non-profit, and private for-profit. In each of these three environments human service organizations function differently. The “three worlds” do not operate in three neatly separated arenas, though. They overlap and interrelate in complex ways that must be understood. For example, in order to offset reduced public subsidies some non-profit agencies have diversified their programming to increase the services that they provide to paying clients, so that those revenues may help to subsidize their traditional services to the indigent. We shall develop this analysis with reference to the broad range of human services, drawing especially on the field of alcoholism treatment services for illustration. In this article we shall examine these “three worlds”, their characteristics and some aspects of their interrelationships, as they are seen in the USA. The phenomenon of “privatization” affects human services to various degrees in other western industrial societies, giving this analysis more than academic interest.

The "Three Worlds" of Human Services

The three different "worlds" of human services, based on the legal status of the organization, may be labelled as follows:

1. The *public* sector in which human services are operated directly by government, either as an agency of the federal, state, or local government or as a statutory body with its own governing board, which is either directly elected or appointed by elective officials; for example, a city hospital, public school department, state child welfare agency, or bureau of vocational rehabilitation.
2. The *private non-profit* sector in which human services are run by philanthropic organizations separately incorporated; this is a very old sector with roots in mediaeval times, which includes all United Way agencies, service agencies sponsored by religious bodies, foundation-supported philanthropies, and most community action programs that sprang up in the 1960s.
3. The business world of human services run *for profit*, newest of the three sectors and a simple extension of the profit motive into fields of endeavour that have recently acquired profit-making potential due to several recent trends, including the expansion of private insurance covering health and related services, and the empowerment of low-income clients through voucher-type government funding such as Medicare and Medicaid.

Note that we are classifying these three sectors based on who owns and operates the agency (under what type of legal charter), rather than who funds its activities. Thus private agencies, both non-profit and for-profit, may be funded by grants and contracts from public agencies but the former remain private, based on their ownership and form of incorporation.

Some types of human service are found in all three worlds, for example hospitals. Veterans Administration and military hospitals are run by the federal government, other public hospitals are run by state, county and city governments; "voluntary" hospitals are run by various non-profit organizations including religious bodies and universities; and other hospitals are run by investor-owned, for-profit corporations. Similarly, in other types of human services the same service may be operated by agencies located in different sectors. For example, education can be offered by agencies located in any of the three sectors, and nursing homes can be operated in either the private sectors, non-profit or for-profit.

Each field of human services has a different history of relations between the three sectors. In the hospital field the early leadership was taken by the non-profit sector and the public sector entered later to fill some major gaps.² In higher education the picture is similar, but in US elementary and secondary education it is the public sector which has always been dominant, despite a recent boom in private non-profit schools. In the field of public welfare (including child welfare) private philanthropies and religiously-affiliated charities (both in the private non-profit sector) led the way. Later the public sector entered and eventually came to hold the dominant position. The first surge of public sector involvement came during the Great Depres-

sion and the second during the Great Society period of the late 1960s.³

The history of the field of alcoholism services has so far been one in which the first major breakthrough occurred in the private non-profit sector with the creation and spread of Alcoholics Anonymous. Then some important initiatives were taken in the public sector with several pieces of federal legislation designed to spur the states into decriminalizing alcoholism and funding treatment services. There were substantial results from this federal initiative. Some states chose to operate their treatment programs directly, as public sector agencies, while others chose to make the funds available to private non-profit agencies for this purpose. Either way, the alcoholism services system in the USA from around 1965 to around 1975 was structured in two major parts, one consisting of AA (private non-profit sector) and the other consisting of the treatment services planned, funded, regulated, and in some cases directly administered by the states (public sector).

The latest phase sees a major sea-change in the alcoholism services system with the rapid growth of a successful private for-profit sector. These programmes entered the system, not to compete directly with the non-profit agencies for state contract and grant funds, but in response to a new set of funding opportunities. These for-profit programmes (such as CompCare, Edgehill, Mediplex, and Charter Medical) are responding to the availability of funding through third-party mechanisms created originally to pay for traditional medical services. These third-party payment systems, some public such as Medicare and Medicaid and some private such as Blue Cross or any of the numerous private health insurance companies, added alcoholism treatment benefits as a minor component (from their viewpoint) to a package of medical benefits, typically biased towards hospitalization. Since a large part of alcoholism treatment services are delivered through hospitals, a brief analysis of the hospital system in the USA is necessary.

Hospitals in the USA

One unique and remarkable feature of the system for funding hospital costs in the USA (until about 1982) was the fact that it was a retrospective and open-ended system. Unlike funding for any other type of human service, the hospital was not held to a predetermined budget. It provided whatever services the physician thought necessary for the patient and billed the patient or the third-party payer for the "usual" cost, including many kinds of indirect costs, such as the cost of indigent care and the costs of training new professionals within the programme. Like the notorious cost-plus defence contract, this funding system rewarded loose management and free-spending rather than frugality.

A second remarkable feature of the structure of the hospital industry in the USA concerns the relationship between hospital and physicians. In the public-sector hospitals the physician is a salaried professional employee of the hospital but in all other hospitals (both the non-profit "voluntary" hospitals and the for-profit hospitals alike) the physician operates independently of the hospital as a private practice, self-employed professional or independent business. The physician is affiliated with a hospital only to the extent that s/he has admitting privileges there. In effect the physician is in partnership with the

hospital. When a patient is admitted to hospital s/he receives two sets of services (and bills): hospital services (including room and board, nursing, routine medical supervision by junior medical staff, lab tests), and physician services from the admitting physician plus any other specialists (such as radiologist, surgeon, disease specialist) deemed necessary by the primary physician or the patient.

In some communities a group of physicians has incorporated to operate its own hospital but more commonly the hospital is independent, so that the physician need not endure either the financial risks or the administrative burdens of running a hospital, while they have the benefits of its availability.⁴ Our point here is not to argue the advantages or disadvantages of this situation, but mainly to use it as a reference point to help us to understand the structures through which services can be delivered.

Alcoholism and Other Substance Abuse Services

In the pre-1982 funding environment in-patient alcoholism treatment could be remunerative for the well-managed agency. Compared to the traditional forms of in-patient hospital care, it was much less expensive, especially in capital costs. It therefore became a popular strategy with the administrators of general hospitals, who generally had a surplus of in-patient capacity, to convert under-used 'med-surg' beds to alcohol treatment. This was a major force driving the initial expansion of the field during the last five to ten years.

In the post-1982 period cost-containment forces continued to favour growth of the substance abuse field and the for-profit sector continued to be the one best equipped to move rapidly to take advantage of the situation. When the boom dropped on cost containment in health services it was the Medicare program that was used for the pilot test. The general approach was imposition of a flat payment for each admission according to the DRG (diagnosis-related group). In several states, however, the state obtained a waiver in order to implement a more comprehensive all-player system of prospective budgeting and payment that would cover *all* patients, not just the Medicare ones.

At the time of writing this the substance abuse field is poised for the imposition of DRG-based payments. Managers in this field are very worried because the first payment schedules announced set payment rates for alcoholism at a level considerably below the current average cost of in-patient treatment. Before the advent of DRGs the operative reimbursement limit had been the third-party payer's ceiling on number of days of treatment. Although more stringent for alcoholism (and mental health) than for physical illnesses, the field had learned to operate within these limits.

It was the appearance of third-party payments for alcoholism treatment as part of a health care benefit package that provided the latest big opportunity for the great expansion of alcoholism services. The over-building of hospital beds reinforced this advantage by providing a ready supply of physical facilities. The profitability of alcoholism programmes compared to other med-surg specialities ensured the popularity of this type of programme with hospital administrators. All programmes, in all sectors, presumably need

more revenue. But all are not equally well-equipped to do what is necessary to get it.

Management Behaviour in the Three Sectors

Good and bad managers are found in all three sectors of human services. Whether they are found in equal proportions I could not guess. Nor shall I try. Certainly there are no objective data on the subject. However, it is clear that one can see evidence of good and bad management in all three sectors. It is important to emphasize this, since in this section we shall review some ideas about how certain sectors might be conducive to different kinds of managerial behaviour. To say that a certain sector is not conducive to the good management of human services is not to deny that there may be examples of good management in that sector in spite of this handicap. If the hypothesis is valid, however, this is to suggest that the achievement of these good managers, working in adverse conditions, is all the more remarkable and praiseworthy.

With that disclaimer, we shall tread the dangerous ground of making some comparisons between the three sectors in terms of the kind of management behaviour which they tend to encourage, through the structure of rewards and controls they contain. These hypotheses are based on experience and observation only. They are put forward in the hope of stimulating and clarifying further discussion and research, which I believe is badly needed in this important area. We look first at the public sector.

It is difficult to make changes in a government agency and hence difficult to manage efficiently and effectively. Several factors tend to make this so. Civil service personnel rules make the hiring process slow and cumbersome; they make it hard to modify job descriptions to fit changing needs; and they make it hard to remove the unsatisfactory employee. In other ways too, necessary management flexibility is proscribed in the public sector. Rigid line-item budgeting is often a problem because it prevents the shifting of resources in the light of new information and changing situations. State accounting rules often require all revenue to go into the state general fund, rather than being associated with a specific project. Hence a project that is capable of generating considerable revenue may be prevented from doing so because it is not allowed to spend any more money for necessary expenses which would earn many times their cost. Archaic public accounting systems often prevent the budget office from offsetting the revenue against the extra expense and there is a fixed limit on that line-item of expense. There is a solution to this fiscal problem in the form of the revolving fund but it does not address the personnel management problems.

Whereas the state civil service bureaucracy makes change too slow, at the top levels of administration, by contrast, change comes too often and frequently for reasons unrelated to performance. As the elected officials who oversee the agency are replaced, so are their senior managers heading agencies. During one incumbency the elected official may reshuffle senior managers or fire certain ones, based on the politics of the system. The perspective of elected officials is dominated by the wish to be re-elected, hence the time-frame of all planning is the next election. This is very short-term and precludes a lot of necessary agency planning. It is not just the perspective of

these elected officials, but also the perspective of the electorate which is important here. It is very difficult in the public sector to get approval for investment in unglamorous plant and equipment, and almost impossible to get money for maintenance and renewal of this capital equipment. If the agency is eligible to issue bonds that is some help. Basically, however, it takes a crisis (often a dramatic, publicized tragedy) to instigate any serious effort in these areas. As the agency bounces from crisis to crisis, what could have become good long-term planning in response to the first crisis is pushed aside by the urgency of the second crisis.⁵

For these reasons the public sector is not a good place to locate an agency that needs to be managed well, especially if operational flexibility and long range planning is necessary. Kouzes and Mico⁶ make an important distinction between the domains of policy-making, management, and service delivery. Public sector agencies are much better at *formulating policy* through balancing opposing views in a context where the issue is *equity* than they are at *operational management* in a context where the issue is *implementation, efficiency, and effectiveness* — especially in a shifting and competitive environment. That is why the public sector often resorts to contracting for services with private organizations. This practice goes beyond human services. The Department of Defense purchases virtually all military hardware and supplies from outside contractors; NASA achieved its spectacular successes in space through using outside suppliers; cities and towns now increasingly contract out for services such as garbage collection, street maintenance, and ambulance service; and many state departments of mental health, social services, youth services, and elder services use private agencies under contract to provide community-based services.

To be fair to the public sector, I must also acknowledge that there are indeed cases where outstanding managers have created agencies or programmes which exhibit all of the features of the well-managed HSO. Though water naturally flows downhill, it can be pumped uphill. Once stored in hilltop reservoirs it can then be released at will to flow to other locations. When the successful public sector manager has created his/her well-managed HSO this deserves much extra credit because of the uphill conditions. This brings us to consider the private sectors, for-profit, and non-profit.

Most managers of human services in all three sectors, I believe, have as their top priority running good programmes for the sake of their clients. Yet there are other significant priorities to which they must pay attention as a matter of survival. In the public sector managers must avoid antagonizing powerful stakeholders or constituencies — especially those which are well connected to the party in office. They must keep the agency out of the media, except in the most flattering context. In the private sectors (both for-profit and non-profit) managers must meet or exceed revenue goals. And in all three sectors they must control costs and maximize efficiency.

The two private sectors come from quite different traditions and do behave differently in certain ways from one another. However, they also share important features which differentiate both of them from the public sector. By contrast with the public agency which is typically large, old, and responsible for a multitude of services, which are frequently redefined, so blurring the

clarity of mission, the ideal private agency embodies a spirit of commitment to a specific goal of service to a specific target group. That commitment is still fresh for agency staff because the agency is young and still close to the spirit of its founders. By contrast to the big, old, rigid multi-purpose public agency, the ideal private agency, either non-profit or for-profit, can have a great clarity of mission which is supported by the high degree of cohesiveness among staff. This, we repeat, is the ideology of the private sectors. It is not always true, though I believe that it can be made true by good managers.

Having reviewed the common characteristics of the non-profit and for-profit private sectors, we turn now to consider differences between the two private sectors. If they share an emphasis on having a high level of commitment to their specific goal and to being flexible and creative in pursuing it, they nevertheless see major ideological differences between each other. In fact they seem to be more aware of their differences than their commonalities. The emphasis on commonalities is an outsider's perspective. What the participants emphasize is the difference between their two traditions and ideologies. From an historical perspective the non-profit sector has a long tradition of charity work and altruism, reaching back to at least the middle ages. Part of this tradition is a religious one including people in religious orders, living under vows of poverty; it includes the Salvation Army, and other nineteenth century organizations founded and headed by people willing to work for very little pay — including the settlement house movement, child protection agencies, orphanages, sailors' and soldiers' homes, schools for the blind and deaf, etc. On top of this charity tradition was superimposed the ideology of the newer social work profession, asserting a claim to expertise and authority in the work of HSOs. Charity plus professional social work ideology resulted in the 1950s in a maternalistic outlook, totally antithetical to the notion of running an HSO for profit — but also opposed to certain other ideas at that time, such as the idea of clients' rights to shape agency policy. In the intervening time both ideas have earned more understanding but less than complete acceptance.

If human services were nothing more than providing subsistence needs to the destitute, it is unlikely that a for-profit sector would have arisen and so the rivalry between the two private sectors would have been avoided. Because human services came to include the provision for many other kinds of needs not so clearly defined, for populations that were entitled to insurance benefits or which were functioning as independent individuals in most respects and hence potential fee-payers, it therefore became attractive to profit-oriented providers. The formula for attracting this kind of provider is a situation of scarce services, where the traditional (non-profit or public) providers lack the capacity for sufficient expansion, large demand from a population that can pay or which is entitled to third-party reimbursement (where there is an open-ended fund).

A classic and notorious example is the entry of for-profit providers in the nursing home field in the 1970s. Medicare and Medicaid were the open-ended funds that made it possible. The example is notorious because of flagrant fraud in certain for-profit companies that received much publicity and little punishment.

The theory of the business firm offering a service or product in a competitive

market is that in order to make a profit it must successfully identify an important unmet human need and then find a way to meet it more successfully than its rivals. This is essentially the same way that a non-profit HSO is supposed to design its programs. Both are supposed to “stay close to the customer” in the way that *In Search of Excellence* advocates.⁷ For those populations which have the purchasing power (note this important qualifier) this produces an interesting situation where several would-be providers compete with each other for the privilege of serving them, some of them being non-profit and some being for-profit agencies. Competition may also exist between two or more non-profits.

Within the non-profit sector there are major differences in how enterprising is its management. For many purposes, this variable of managerial enterprise may be more important than the legal one that discriminates non-profit HSOs from for-profit ones. In some agencies management is just as creative and aggressive as the best of the for-profits. Yet other non-profits, after the initial burst of creativity that marked their foundation, have settled into lethargy and complacency. The more enterprising part of the non-profit sector, which is diversifying its funding base and building up its revenue from newer sources such as client fees and insurance, operates under some of the same managerial imperatives as the for-profit sector. (Control those costs. Cultivate revenues.) The more traditional part of the non-profit sector, where it still depends exclusively on the same public and private grants, operates under managerial imperatives similar to those of the public sector. (Keep the funding body happy, whether it be a state agency, private foundation, sponsoring religious body, etc.) Whereas the for-profit agency and the enterprising non-profit must attune themselves to the demands of the paying clientele, the public agency and the traditional non-profit agency must attune themselves to the wishes of those who pay on behalf of clients.

Just as the critics of public sector agencies have criticized them for being too slow to adapt, so has the non-profit sector recently come under some of the same criticism from the for-profit sector. This is ironical since the non-profit sector came into its present prominence based on the expectation that it would be an improvement over the inflexibility of certain public agencies. These critics feel that programmes in the non-profit sector, as soon as they are no longer new, become slow to identify and respond to further changes in client needs, because managers in this sector are conditioned to respond to feed-back from funding and sponsoring agencies but not from clients. This is claimed by the critics to be a very natural pathology that develops in agencies that serve populations which have no ability to pay. Among these critics are some who formerly worked in the non-profit sector, committed to its ideals of responsive client service. They say that they moved to the for-profit sector when they repeatedly failed to get support for programme improvements that they believed to be necessary. In earlier years when grants for new programmes were more plentiful they might have started their own new agency in the non-profit sector. Now (in certain fields of human services) some discontented managers are going for-profit — either signing on as salaried managers or in some cases going into business for themselves, borrowing some of the start-up money and finding investor capital. Investors are taking a risk of losing their

money in such a venture, so there must be some expectation of premium returns in the event of success. This is what creates the need to earn a profit.

Peter Drucker⁸ maintains that the distinction between the two private sectors is greatly exaggerated since, he says, "profit" is just another one of the costs of staying in business that must be met by any programme — for-profit or non-profit. The latter may call it a "fund balance" when saving for the future or "interest on capital borrowed" when dealing with the past. The difference is semantic and legal, no more, Drucker maintains. But does it not have great implications for managerial behaviour? The for-profit corporation *must* make a profit to persuade its investors to keep their money in the project. Staff may have a deep personal commitment to human services but their investors need not. Their capital could just as well be invested in (say) railroads, chicken farms, or Treasury Bills, if those promise a better return. If they lose confidence in the ability of this programme to earn them a profit the investors will soon sell their assets or convert them to a more profitable purpose. Then there is not more human service agency.

To prevent that outcome managers of such a program will be under great pressure to make it profitable, which is likely to affect their behaviour in various ways, for example, how aggressively they will recruit clients, how selective they will be in "creaming" the population, how tempted they will be to prescribe profitable "extras", how tough they will be in enforcing rules that would cause a client to be terminated early, and so forth. This is not to say that professional ethics dissolve into thin air in the for-profit agency, but that these pressures are present. The role of the manager now includes an extra responsibility for safeguarding professional ethics and quality of care standards.

What about the enterprising non-profit agency? Since we were earlier arguing how similar this can be to the for-profit, does this not mean that these same dangers apply there too? Even though it does not need to earn premium profits, it does need to cover the costs of operation including the costs of future growth. That too implies a risk of failure and similar pressures on managers and staff to maximise revenues, as we discussed above.

Bearing this financial risk in the case of the non-profit organization is either a public agency or philanthropic donor that provides the start-up capital without expectation of personal reward. If the non-profit venture is unsuccessful, in the worst case the program is closed down. If the non-profit venture is "successful", there will not necessarily be any extra revenue. Consider the agency that provides only free or subsidized service to the indigent. "Success" is defined by reaching the target group with services of quality and achieving some desired outcome, such as increased sobriety and improved family relations. The more subsidized service is provided, the greater the deficit. In this context one cannot afford to be too "successful".

One main area of dispute between representatives of the three sectors centres around the issue of how to divide up clients among the sectors: who shall serve the indigent? who shall serve the paying clients? In the next section we look at some alternative models.

Dividing the Service Delivery System

Recognizing that the real world does not conform to theoretical typologies, still they are useful tools for understanding differences in the ways that it can work in different places. The following typology represents different approaches to structuring a service delivery system when there are two classes of recipients (payers and nonpayers) and three classes of provider agencies.

1. Unified system. Those seeking services go to any agency, regardless of ability to pay. Allocation of programs to different sectors is determined by the public sector.
2. Two-class system. Indigent services are provided by the public sector and/or by the non-profit sector, supported by public funding. Services for those who can pay or who have insurance are provided by the for-profit sector.
3. Free market system. All types of services for all types of clients may be offered by all sectors. This system tends towards an equilibrium in which the public sector serves only the indigent, the non-profit sector also serves this population, and the for-profit sector serves the insured and self-pay clientele. The more enterprising of the non-profit agencies also compete with the for-profits for this paying clientele, however, preventing a simple division of the market.
4. Co-ordinated system run by the for-profit sector. This model supposes that the for-profit sector outmanoeuvred the non-profits. Not only did they underbid them to secure all public funds for services to the indigent, they also guaranteed to mainstream indigent and paying clients together in programs reflecting the quality of care hitherto only available to paying clients.

It is assumed that a residual non-profit sector remains, providing some special service not available in the co-ordinated system.

5. Co-ordinated system run by the non-profit sector. This model supposes that the non-profit sector outmanoeuvred the for-profits. They have secured all public funds for services to the indigent, based on a mainstream model, as in model no. 4, with quality of care standards equal to those of the best programmes, for-profit or non-profit. It is assumed that a residual for-profit sector remains, providing some special services not available in the co-ordinated system.

Conclusion

Between the three worlds or sectors of human services in the USA there is a shifting balance in their efforts to respond to client needs while also meeting the organizational imperatives of each sector (to cover costs, to make a profit, to avoid scandal, to re-elect the governing party, etc.). To compensate for the perceived shortcomings of the public sector services the development of the private non-profit sector was encouraged by policymakers in the public sector itself. Based on human service voucher systems and a cash economy for services the for-profit sector arose. Still controlling only a minority portion of services, the for-profit sector has attracted attention disproportionate to its

scale. It has caused heads to turn like a newcomer wearing a dinner suit walking into a room full of people in casual dress.

“Privatization” has come to human services in other societies besides the USA and will require careful study. The notion of “three worlds” or sectors is only the beginning of such analysis.

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The International Social Security Association after 60 Years

J. D. Leach

Abstract

The International Social Security Association is marking this year its 60th Anniversary, and this is an appropriate time to consider and evaluate the organization's work. Does the apparatus of Committees, reports and a triennial Assembly justify the cost of participation by members, ultimately borne by contributors or taxpayers? The paper gives a brief history of ISSA and its forerunners, describes the working methods, gives an account of the 22nd Assembly held in 1986 in Montreal, and concludes with an assessment of its efficacy.

Twelve Days in Montreal

Twelve days in a good hotel in Montreal, dinners, receptions, a Sunday coach trip to Quebec, much conversation — and meetings of Technical Committees, the Bureau and the Council, plenary sessions, great quantities of paper. The normal pattern of an international conference, in this case the 22nd Assembly of the International Social Security Association in September 1986. There were over 900 delegates from 107 countries, and the same thing will happen again in Vienna in 1989. The outsider, especially the taxpayer and social security contributor, may well ask what actually goes on, and what is its value. Does it constitute any more than an occasional reward for good service, a busman's holiday for hard-pressed senior officials, somewhere to pigeon-hole someone inconvenient? After all, the ILO, the Council of Europe, the European Community and other bodies discuss international social security, and set up international agreements. The question is particularly relevant in 1987, which ISSA is proclaiming as its 60th Anniversary Year, and when it is claiming in a PR handout "unquestionable success . . . through the years".

A Brief History

The origins of the organization go back much further than its official beginning on 4 October 1927, and happily the *History of the International Social Security*

Association published to mark the anniversary incorporates Maurice Stack's 1957 history with its account of the Permanent Committee on Social Insurance (CPIAS) which operated from 1889 to 1914. This was a voluntary association of individuals interested in what was then mainly a subject for theorizing, in effect an international learned society, and something of that flavour persists in the present organization. Had the conference in Paris which was planned for September 1914 taken place CPIAS might have gone on to be the parent of a formal organization. CPIAS did not survive the war, but by 1921 the International Labour Organization was in being and had formed a Social Insurance section, and some of the former members of the Permanent Committee were recruited to an ILO Advisory Committee. In 1927 the ILO Assembly was discussing a Convention on Sickness Insurance, and some of the tripartite delegations included as advisers representatives of mutual benefit societies and sickness insurance funds. Having tasted international discussion, and with ILO support and encouragement, they went on to found a new association, the International Conference on Social Insurance, at a Constituent Assembly in Brussels. Its headquarters was to be in Geneva, and its Secretariat to be composed of ILO officials.

The division of functions between ILO and ISSA which was established then still exists today. The ILO concerns itself with principles, e.g. what social security benefits should be provided, at what level, and subject to what conditions; or how should particular groups of workers such as seamen or agricultural workers be protected. It aims to produce international conventions (ie treaties) to be signed and ratified by member States, and does this through meetings of tripartite national delegations. ISSA is an organization of social security institutions aimed at gathering information, publishing reports, holding a library of information and publications, and organizing international discussion on topics of current interest. It must be remembered that in most countries social security is organized on a basis which UK practitioners recognize as "pre-1948", namely that benefits are provided by institutions which have a special legal status and are under varying degrees of government supervision. The picture is also complicated for the British observer by the circumstance that in international parlance social security means social insurance (including health care) but not "social assistance" (Supplementary Benefit).

One of the aims of Albert Thomas, the first Director of the ILO, when he backed the formation of the new organization, was to mobilize support for the ILO's social policy Conventions, and at a time when benefit societies and sickness funds were working class organizations with trade unions much involved, this was a reasonable aim. It must be doubted whether modern bureaucratic institutions have such influence, or even wish to: and the Trade Unions have their direct involvement in ILO. The representatives of those countries, such as the socialist states, UK, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, where social security is provided by government departments, are normally concerned to defend their governments' policies, and can do no more than carry information back to their offices.

Once established, the International Conference on Social Insurance (CIMAS) grew steadily. In 1927 nine countries were represented, in 1928,

eighteen: all were European. Despite the defection of the German institutions in 1933, the organization gained further members and continued to operate until events repeated themselves and the 1939 Assembly in Liège was cancelled. In 1940 the small Secretariat wound up its affairs in Geneva and ILO itself emigrated to Montreal, not returning to Geneva until the war was over.

In 1946 R. A. MétaI, an ILO official who had worked for CIMAS, was made Acting Secretary General and given the task of blowing on the embers of international co-operation in what was now called social security, and by October 1947 there was a proposal before the ILO Assembly to re-establish an organization on CIMAS lines. Despite a French counter-proposal, presented by Pierre Laroque, for an inter-governmental organization, it was agreed that what was now to be ISSA should be an organization of institutions: to have had both ISSA and ILO composed of governments would certainly have led to overlapping and confusion. Initially 14 countries, all European, were concerned: the UK did not join until later. Then in 1949 the expansive Leo Wildmann was seconded from ILO to be Secretary General. He set to work to build up ISSA, and by 1957 there were 139 members for 21 countries; by 1967 219 members from 104 countries, and there are currently 316 members from 129 countries. The close association with ILO continues: although the present Secretary General, Vladimir Rys, who was elected in 1974, is the first who did not start his career in ILO, the ISSA offices are in the ILO building, and the Organization continues to provide a small but useful subvention.

The ISSA Constitution

This provides for the control to be in the hands of the Council, where the member organizations' voting power, like their contributions, is based on the membership of their schemes, with a limit on the power of any one country. In practice the operation of the organization differs from the paper structure: since the Council meets only once in three years, and then for three hours, it can do little more than give formal assent to what is put before it. Effective control is in the hands of the Bureau and, inevitably, the Secretariat. The Bureau, geographically distributed and recently expanded to 35 delegates so as to give more representation to the Third World, has a two-day meeting twice a year at which the countries nearest to Geneva tend to be the most regular attenders. (The Secretariat is small for a world-wide body, fewer than 50). One of the weaknesses of the Bureau is its taste for amending the Constitution, in which it resembles the committees of some much lesser organizations: but this has not produced any basic changes, and the current text is better drafted than its predecessors.

The Assembly

The Assembly meets every three years and its meetings are the most important event in the ISSA calendar — and the most expensive for all concerned.

The size and membership of delegations to the Assembly depends mainly on two factors: the size of the country concerned and whether social security is

provided by the government or by quasi-independent bodies. Government departments in large countries, such as the DHSS in the United Kingdom, are mainly represented by a small group of their international social security staff, often with the addition of specialists such as doctors, actuaries or lawyers. For the internationalists there is always work "in the corridor", checking on progress in bilateral negotiations or sounding out possibilities in other organizations. Ministers rarely appear. As in other international bodies, the smaller the country the higher the level of representation, and a small country's delegation may consist of the political head of a scheme supported by the Director of his organization. The quasi-independent institutions are normally specialized in one particular benefit, such as old age pensions or sickness, or a particular group of workers, say in metal trades or agriculture; or even cross-specialized, as in a pension fund for bank staffs. They can be very numerous — France and the Federal Republic of Germany are noted for the size of their delegations, and delegates may well be heads of important organizations.

The formal opening is as one might expect, with speeches which have little to do with the matter of the Assembly, but it brings delegates together and accustoms everyone to the interpretation system and the distribution of papers. The first real business is a plenary session of the full Assembly which devotes half a day to the Secretary General's report on "Developments and Trends in Social Security", a well written and informative summary of developments in the social security world. Some delegates use the occasion to recite the virtues of their schemes. In 1986 the USSR managed to make a political point in a non-political forum by saying that as the socialist countries had no unemployment their social security schemes had been unaffected by the economic crisis, whereas the market economy countries' schemes had been damaged; and that it was essential to abolish nuclear weapons so that resources could be devoted to social needs. The UK delegate asked for some factual amendments to the report, pointing out that one trend is the maintenance of the essential structure of social security schemes despite the pressures to which they had been submitted.

The Assembly breaks up into meetings of the Permanent Technical Committees, two meetings taking place simultaneously. Each of these has had two subjects under consideration for the past three years: a questionnaire has gone out to member organizations, a report has been drafted by a rapporteur, the Committee has met once and the report has been revised and there is now a final text to discuss. Specialized delegates who are not concerned with any of the day's subjects talk to old friends in the corridor, do some lobbying, seek information, collect photographs of themselves taken at the plenary session, or go shopping. Government delegations split up to cover the meetings.

In the Committee on Old Age, Invalidity and Survivors' Insurance, Russian and Polish delegates query whether equal pension ages for men and women are necessary and progressive, or whether there are social reasons for women to retire earlier, perhaps to care for grandchildren? Egypt thinks the paper and discussion not very relevant to the needs of developing countries which look to ISSA for guidance. In the second session, on invalidity insurance, there is a divergence between those who value close links between invalidity

insurance medical assessments and rehabilitation and those who prefer, like the UK, to have other agencies responsible for rehabilitation while the social security system provides cash benefits for those incapable of work. In the Family Allowances Committee the Director of a Family Allowance fund criticizes the report for lacunae in the material provided by members, and because it does not cover the full needs of single-parent families. In Unemployment Insurance a delegate from the Federal Republic of Germany, an official of a tripartite unemployment insurance fund, questions whether unemployment is an insurable risk: he points to the difficulty of fixing a contribution rate to cover a risk which is liable to swings produced by government action or events abroad.

The Organization and Methods Committee shows the Assembly at its best and worst. In the morning there is an interesting discussion in which delegates talk about their practical experience in the use of paper and plastics for forms and cards, and the design of forms. Several people emphasize the importance of involving scheme members in the design and testing of the forms which they will have to understand and fill in. A French delegate says that there are difficulties in the handling and enveloping of "smart cards" because of their thickness; Senegal points to the advantages of electronic records in a tropical climate where paper can be rotted by humidity or eaten by insects. An FRG delegate winds up the session with an interim report on the establishment of an ISSA databank on EDP (electronic data-processing) systems, which is expected to be functioning in early 1987.

The afternoon is very different. An unfortunate stand-in spends one and a quarter hours reading verbatim a report on decentralization, and delegates begin to walk out before he has finished. The report is based on muddled thinking and is badly constructed, and the chairman's long explanation of the difference between decentralization and deconcentration in his country's administrative law does not help. About half the delegates return after the coffee break, and proceedings re-start with a long jargon-laden speech on intelligent work-stations which seems to have little relevance to the report and is delivered in a heavily-accented non-native French which has the interpreters in trouble.

This stage takes five working days. Some delegates, their Committee meetings over, depart, and a few more arrive as their committees come up. Some heads of delegations go to Ottawa for a day or two or discussions with Canadian government departments, some go home early leaving their juniors to see the Assembly out. When we have done with the Committees there is a plenary session at which rapporteurs give a summary of each Committee's work, useful for catching up on subjects missed, and filling out one's notes of meetings attended. The Committees have adopted subjects for the following triennium and these can be noted. There is the Council meeting at which a new Bureau is elected and holds a brief meeting. That is the end.

The Quality of Work

Unlike an organization such as OECD, generously staffed with specialists who are able to gather information from member states and turn it into well polished articles and reports, ISSA is like its forerunners in that it relies very

largely on part-time help from already busy officials of its members organizations. Some governments or institutions value the prestige which can come, especially in small countries, from international involvement, and like their officials to participate; some officials are interested and can persuade their employers to let them spend official time, or use their own. Such people become Committee members, chairmen or rapporteurs, the latter being the most demanding job. The Secretariat provides support and operates the routine of sending out questionnaires, gathering the answers, reproduction and distribution. The standard of the results varies. Too often a report is based on an unimaginatively constructed questionnaire, to which puzzled junior officials have given play-safe answers by reproducing scheme provisions at length. A report based on such material may recite the answers with little structure and less analysis. When it comes before the Committee at the Assembly it may be read verbatim to an audience who have either read it in advance or will find it difficult to digest much of what is said; interventions may consist of minor corrections, additions by delegations which did not answer the questionnaire in time, or even repetitions of material in the report, with little or no real discussion.

It will have been seen from my account of the 1986 Assembly that some committees are better and livelier than others: it is not surprising that data processing, in continuous development, produces new material and interesting discussion, nor that there is much less to be said about sickness benefit between countries which have been operating it for half a century or more. Nevertheless, at worst a report assembles a body of information which remains available for those interested, and when the process works well news of new developments can be spread rapidly and new approaches generated, particularly, in the smaller countries' delegations. When both the political and officials heads of a system are present and pick up a new idea, a few minutes of on-the-spot discussion and perhaps a telephone call home for data can see a policy initiative launched.

The Bureau has in recent years accepted that the re-hashing of information in a manner which was acceptable in a renewed and rapidly growing organization is no longer good enough. An Evaluation Committee has reviewed activities and methods. Better control of budgeting has been developed, committees have been urged to give attention to the study of problems, particularly those experienced by developing countries, rather than to recitals of existing provisions, and in Montreal there was a crisper atmosphere than in Geneva three years earlier. Not everyone wants change: in a discussion on budgeting, one elderly delegate said worriedly, "But if the budget shows that something is too expensive to be worth doing, we shan't be able to do it." He is near retirement and younger delegates did not seem to share his problem. It must be hoped that the Bureau will be able to keep up the pressure towards more useful and interesting results: one area which needs urgent attention is the choice of subjects for study.

Other Fields of Work

Besides the Technical Committee/Assembly process, there is also a regional

organization, with a Regional Director and a tiny staff in each centre which organizes regional meetings. (Europe is an exception in that it is serviced directly from Geneva.) There is a body of opinion in ISSA which considers these meetings to be generally more useful than the Technical Committees, and there are obvious advantages where there is greater community of interest and in some cases a common language. As with the Assembly, a considerable burden falls on the host country; where the government is prepared to treat such an occasion as a public relations exercise it appears to spend willingly.

There are also the near-autonomous Special Sections, which concern themselves with industrial safety. These depend largely on voluntary efforts by member organizations, which are usually but not always members of the main organization, and which run meetings on an ad hoc basis to discuss current questions. With the rapid changes in industrial processes and the development of demand for higher safety standards there is active interest in their meetings.

One of the natural outcomes of the contacts made at meetings of social security officials is that people go home with names and telephone numbers of opposite numbers in other countries who can be consulted when a snag arises.

An Assessment of Value

Given this outline of the work done in ISSA, what value should be attached to it? What use is made of the knowledge and ideas gathered and generated? My own view is that there is a definite benefit for small countries with a serious interest in social security. One of the problems of those who have to formulate policy in such circumstances is the shortage of informed colleagues with whom to exchange ideas, discuss alternatives and on whom to sharpen one's wits. ISSA provides a forum where this can be done and a means of keeping up with changes, or gathering material for the future. Advanced states on the other hand may be thought to have all the technical knowledge they need, or be able to obtain it easily. They may be content to regard their input to ISSA as bread cast upon the waters, or less high-mindedly as a legitimate way of advancing their reputations and influence. In fact, leading states are known to pay serious attention to the experience of others. Whether in the larger countries with their complex bureaucracies, pressure groups and political conflicts, enough of this information is digested by those formulating policy is less certain: it is sometimes apparent that information about what others do or have done is sought only at a late stage of decision-making instead of being part of current thinking. This, though, is an argument for more attention to be paid to international work rather than against doing it. If ISSA did not exist there would be a strong case for creating it, or for similar work being done by other organizations.

For governments, whether they are represented directly or by delegates from institutions, there is also a foreign relations aspect. The UK remains a major power in social security, respected and consulted, and to leave an organization in which it can act on a par with the USA and USSR would be seen by friends and opponents alike as one more retreat. On balance we may

accept that the contributors' and taxpayers' money is being spent to reasonable effect.

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This article is the author's own responsibility and does not necessarily represent the views of the DHSS.

Elderly People's Care in Germany

Rosalind Brooke-Ross

Introduction

Two reports in 1986, one from the Audit Commission¹ and one from the Select Committee on Social Services² were critical of the mushrooming expenditure on supplementary benefits payable to residents in private and voluntary residential and nursing homes and the distortions it was creating both geographically and for the long term policies of community care. The chairman of the Select Committee (Mrs Renee Short) maintained that the Committee's concern was not that this was an "unreasonable amount to spend on supporting elderly people in need of residential care and without the means of paying for it themselves . . . but that the vast growth in spending is not the result of a well thought out policy decision and careful consultation: it has happened by accident and is the result of bureaucratic mismanagement".³ Similar concerns about the rising amounts of social assistance payable to those in institutional care in the Federal Republic of Germany had led to some significant changes in the legislation and levels of social assistance payable⁴ and access to institutional care.⁵ The West German legislation is ten years older than the English legislation, but again, mirroring the recent DHSS circular⁶ higher physical standards were to be relaxed following new federal regulations; cutbacks on social assistance coupled with requirements for higher standards.

The West German Legislation

1. *Regulating Residential and Nursing Care* The Federal Homes Act sets the scene for the voluntary, public and private sector.⁷ The Act seeks to protect the residents by giving them some rights as a counterweight to the strong position of the providers of residential care and by setting out objectives which are important for the regulatory process, since they can then be used as guidelines. The requirement to have a contract is contained within the legislation, and provides, therefore, an avenue for regulation by the resident and relatives or representatives. There are detailed federal regulations governing building standards and physical amenities, the operation of homes councils and the safeguarding of deposits made by residents. This legislative package sets

minimum standards for the whole country, while regional (i.e. *Land*) standards may be higher. Generally speaking, this legislation covers both residential and nursing care institutions (to use the English terminology) although different standards exist for these sectors. Registration of the voluntary and public sector, and permission to set up a private home, are required under the Act, which makes obligatory the setting up regionally of inspecting authorities. In practice these may be the upper or lower tiers of local government, which have the right to inspect all homes of all providers, and to see that they come up to the required standards — or to grant exemptions from those standards.

The Federal Homes Act sets out to regulate residential establishments for adults and handicapped people (different legislation deals with children's homes) and for the elderly and handicapped people requiring nursing care. It excludes hospitals, day centres and vocational training centres (but includes the section of the latter, if any, where board and lodging is provided, either to elderly or handicapped people). The legislation specifically mentions residential homes, sheltered housing for the elderly and nursing homes, and similar establishments. In practice, many voluntary and public homes are mixed, part residential and part nursing and are much larger than English establishments. A federal association of public and voluntary welfare organizations concerned with the provision of welfare does give some guidance⁸ on the optimum size for a home and the nature of the care which ought to be provided in each type, but it cannot be compared to *Home Life*.⁹

The range of establishments is vast: a large site with a complex of buildings providing nursing care, residential home and sheltered housing would be covered, as would a small family-run establishment in a converted pub, hotel or flats above a garage. The distinction between the groups contained within the overall definition — old people's home, nursing home, sheltered housing, is important, because some of the detailed regulations may differ for the different type of establishment. But the system of regulation is similar: the same legislation, the same registering and inspecting authorities, although in some regions inspection and registration functions may be allocated for the different sectors to different tiers of local government. All three groups of providers are regulated by the legislation. Permission is required for private homes and registration for the voluntary and public sectors and this was essentially designed as a sop to the voluntary welfare authorities, who did not wish to be brought into the regulatory framework, and by bringing in the public sector as well, their compliance was obtained.

A curious feature of both the German and English legislation regulating individual residential homes is that registration authorities lack powers to affect distribution of homes and the number of places. In England and Wales this will become a more acute problem with the private homes concentrating on the more lucrative areas. Although certain regional governments in West Germany have drawn up programmes for the future provision of places for residential and nursing care establishments, this does not appear to affect directly the granting or refusal of permission to run a home, in the case of a private home, while public and voluntary homes can be influenced more by the provision of capital funding by regional government.

The Homes Act regulates the type of resident: namely, adult, handicapped

and the elderly. Private homes are given permission to operate for a precise number of rooms in each type of accommodation (i.e. for residential, sheltered housing or nursing homes). The maximum number of people per room is prescribed in federal legislation, although regional requirements may have a lower ratio per room, e.g. for new premises. These latter requirements which in fact operate in relation to premises and building standards, also apply to the other two sectors (voluntary and public). The number and sizes of room, coupled with their designation (e.g. for nursing or residential) will prescribe the numbers permitted in that building. A key distinction is made between someone who is in need of care (*pflegebedürftig*) and someone who is not, and there are regional differences but it is essentially a social not a medical one, and relates to those deficiencies which hinder or prevent the carrying on of normal daily life.¹⁰

The German legislation requires the making of a contract between the resident and the homes authority/proprietor, and this is for all homes, although the mechanism may be different in some public homes. Further, to protect the rights of residents before entering into the contract, the homes authority/proprietor is required in writing to inform the prospective resident about their rights and duties in the home, the house rules (which may deal, for example, with such items as visiting hours and tipping of staff), the services and facilities provided in the home. There are some complicated safeguards laid down for deposits or loans made by a resident which ensure repayment and insurance cover to achieve that objective. Staff in a home are forbidden to take property or money by will except for very small sums, and unless it is to be used for a charitable purpose. Some of the local authorities and voluntary welfare associations have standard form contracts, and house rules.

Another safeguard for residents is the requirement in the Act for the setting up of a participatory council in homes with six or more residents to which they may elect their representatives. These councils can obtain information but have no power to make decisions which could bind the home's authority. They can state their views and opinions and act as a buffer or intermediary between residents and management. It is one of the functions of the homes inspecting authorities to see that these councils are set up, and to meet with them on their visits, without management present.

Information has to be provided to the prospective resident about the services and facilities; brochures and plans of the home may show what rooms, such as therapy rooms or swimming pools, are provided. The inspecting authorities have to pay regard to the relationship between fees charged to the resident, and the services and facilities provided, as well as to the interests and needs of the resident. The homes council can ask for information about the running, services, conditions of residence and house rules in connection with the home, its services and facilities.

The most precise details are laid down about premises: lifts, corridors, floor coverings, light switches and electrical points, the size of rooms, sanitary facilities, the opening and closing of doors, heating, access to the outside front door. The regulations, dating from 1979, were amended in 1983, and gave more flexibility to the administering authorities. Draft regulations set out requirements for candidates for directorship of a home. In practice, numbers

and qualifications of staff will be regulated by the agreements drawn up by the appropriate parties to set the daily cost rates paid for social assistance to nursing homes.

The managing authorities and managers can be required to provide information in writing if necessary to ensure the implementation of the Act, and within the time specified by the inspecting authorities. Those authorities must be informed of certain changes in connection with the running of the home, as well as the arrangements for the medical and health care of residents, e.g. the availability of medical consultations by doctors from outside the home, and nursing facilities within the home. Information has of course also to be supplied to the social assistance authorities about the running costs of the home, as well as the number of occupied places.

2. *Inspection of Homes* All homes can be inspected. The primary objective of inspection is to see whether the interests and needs of the residents are being met.¹¹ The inspecting team can get in touch with the residents, the homes council, and can question staff in the home. The federal legislation stipulates that those responsible within the inspecting authorities should have relevant training and experience.

The Homes Act requires the setting up of an inspection authority but left it to the regions to decide how these duties and responsibilities should be allocated. But the officials of local government are not alone in having inspecting powers: the voluntary welfare associations and the associations of the local authorities can, through their regional associations (i.e. at *Land* level), participate in the supervision and inspection of homes run by their members. This means in practice that the inspector will notify the relevant *Land* Association of the impending inspection, and the report form will indicate who else was present during the visit. In the case of a visit of which the home is not given advance warning, e.g. when a complaint has been made, or concern is felt about some aspect of the home, the inspector would notify the relevant association shortly before the visit was being made (e.g. one hour beforehand).

The principal concerns of the inspectors and their range of duties are considerable: to look at plans and proposals for private homes before permission to set up a home is given, to receive information required under the Act in order to register all homes, and to receive notification of changes in homes registered or for which permission is required. Since there are a variety of grounds on which permission can be withdrawn or refused, or a registered home can be forbidden to operate, they must examine: the qualifications and numbers of staff, qualifications and experience of the director and financial aspects of the home (e.g. deposits and value for services paid for by residents); whether there is a homes council; whether building requirements and physical standards of provision are in accordance with regulations. The inspecting team does not consist only of the inspector and a representative of the association to which the home belongs, but also includes other local officials, who may differ according to local regional regulations, but may include a doctor from the local authority concerned with the storage and distribution of medicines, the nursing of patients, standards of hygiene in the kitchen, and/or

an official concerned with the planning and building aspects of home provision.¹²

Social assistance authorities can and do inspect the homes' accounts and question residents to see whether or not social assistance payments have been received and so investigate allegations of non-payment, and check whether a home has spent money on behalf of a resident which was inappropriate (e.g. fresh fruit or fruit drinks which would be regarded as part of the board and lodging payments already met by social assistance). To this end, the social assistance authorities have powers to visit, to receive information and to talk to residents and staff, so that they know the number of recipients and the amount of finance going to any one home.

3. *Provision of Residential and Nursing Homes* In West Germany some 15.2% of the total population is over 65 and it has been estimated that by 1990 the figures would be little changed.¹³ Of these, 425,000 live in approximately 6,000 institutions for the elderly (sheltered housing, homes for the elderly and nursing homes).¹⁴ Of these homes 18% were run by public authorities, 55% by voluntary welfare organizations and 27% commercially. Over 12 years there had been an increase in provision of 40% of residential and nursing home places, an increase in sheltered housing places of 95%, 56% in nursing home places and 22% in residential places for the elderly.¹⁵ There are 6 voluntary welfare associations which have a recognized special legal status constitutionally and for social assistance. The largest from the point of view of extent of provision, services and employment of staff, are linked to the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. Others are associated with the German Red Cross, the labour movement and the Social Democratic Party, Jewish welfare and organizations with no specific religious, political or other objectives. All of these are organized locally, regionally, and at Federal level. At the lower level and at regional level they provide directly residential services, employing staff and being represented on the inspecting teams for residential and nursing homes. The precise ways in which they are organized differ, so that, for example, the lower level association may be responsible for the initiative in setting up a home and running it but the regional association may own or put up the capital. What is important to note — and compare with the private provision of residential care in England — is that the normal pattern would be for the staff of a home to be employed, not by that individual home, but by the voluntary welfare association in that area, which may run other homes. They will then be responsible for salaries and conditions and terms of employment, and an employee's contract may be such that s/he could be required to work in any home within an area for which that association is responsible.

Private residential homes are organized privately, though there is now a federal association which organizes conferences and publishes an information paper for its members, containing articles of general interest and policy, and detailed information about fire protection methods, incontinence products, insurance for employees, changes of legislation.

4. *Policy Changes* What have been some of the policy problems which relate to the regulation of residential and nursing care? Rising expectations on the part

of residents and attempts to improve standards have led to rising costs. These pressures, coupled with the increasing numbers of elderly and the frail elderly have led to pressure on social assistance. There have been enquiries into the pension systems, and in particular, the income and pension system affecting women, and into health insurance which makes a critical distinction between sickness (*Krankheit*), with its connotations of curability and acute illness, and declining health associated with old age. A Federal Working Party Report recommended three alternative ways to meet the problems of financing long-term nursing care for those in need: the first was that statutory health insurance legislation should include such benefits; second, that there should be compulsory nursing care insurance covering the whole population, or three, that there should be a nursing care statute, financed from the federal and regional governments and administered by the local authorities.¹⁶

Many of the cost agreements with both the voluntary and private sector homes were abrogated in 1981/2 and led to new ones being negotiated. At the same time, the voluntary welfare organizations united in condemning the continued use of social assistance for maintaining the elderly in homes. Important changes in social assistance were made in late 1983. It was to be a legal requirement to have an agreement between a home and the social assistance authorities and wherever possible, social assistance should be paid to someone outside the institution despite the right of the social assistance recipient to choose.¹⁷ Although physical standards of provision in some homes may be improving, there has also been criticism of the general regime in some homes, leading to demonstrations and action by the Grey Panthers.¹⁸ Hopes for improved rehabilitation services, despite important innovations, appear not to have been realised. Principal policy concerns in 1983/4 revolved around the role of social assistance, rising costs and improving quality of care, and the provision of alternative daily services through day centres for the elderly.

It has been estimated that in 1980 the social welfare authorities spent DM5,000 million on nursing care of the elderly, and that approximately 70% of those in institutions needing nursing care were in receipt of social assistance. The support system for some 250,000 living in nursing homes, residential homes and hospitals was considered inadequate, while it was emphasized that possibly some 640,000 in need of some nursing care were living in their own homes. One effect of the social assistance amendments was considered to be some degree of planning over future provision of institutional care and its relationship to day care.¹⁹

A responsible system of institutional care is provided by the voluntary welfare associations which are the largest provider of such care. In that sense, clearly the associations, particularly the larger ones, with their committee structures, are responsible for a certain degree of internal regulation by standard setting in the homes which they run, e.g. guidelines on the bathing of incontinent residents or the prohibition of locking residents into their rooms. In England, where there are many small private homes with frequent changes of ownership and personnel, the possibility of self regulation might be important, so that membership of a home owners' association would be required, and that Association would have to assume some responsibility for its membership and their services (as is done by other professional associations).

Conclusions

Legislation regulating residential care for the elderly is only a small part of the framework for "making a reality of community care", but nevertheless there are important insights to be gained from some of the features of the West German legislation, with its emphasis on the objectives of the Act (not usually found in English Acts or Parliament), and its emphasis on the rights and needs of the residents (not found in the 1984 Registered Homes Act specifically but in the regulations and now the decisions of the Registered Homes Tribunal),²⁰ and the network of committees to assess and negotiate appropriate levels of fees payable by the social assistance authorities for residents in receipt of social assistance. The terms of legislation and its implementation can affect the successful carrying through of policy changes: higher standards of care, greater emphasis of the rights of residents and their needs for fulfilment, dignity, autonomy and privacy.²¹

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Notes

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1. Audit Commission, *Making a Reality of Community Care*, 1986, pp. 24-25.
2. *Fourth Report from the Social Services Committee, Session 1985-86*, vol. 1, Report (HMSO 387-1, 1986) para. 73.
3. *Hansard, House of Commons*, vol. 101, 9 July 1986, col. 308.
4. W. Ruckert, Freedom of Choice and Economy in *Welfare Provision for the Elderly and the Role of the State*, Rosalind Brooke Ross (ed.), Anglo-German Foundation, 1985, p. 63.
5. Margaret Dieck, Provision and services for Old People — Prospects for the Future in *Welfare Provision for the Elderly and the Role of the State*, Rosalind Brooke Ross (ed.), Anglo-German Foundation, 1985, p. 103.
6. DHSS Circular LAC(86) 1 Summary: It recommends a flexible approach to design and operational policies in all instances.
7. Compare the narrower scope of the English legislation: Rosalind Brooke Ross "Regulation of Residential Homes for the Elderly" in England and Wales, *Journal of Social Welfare Law*, 1985, p. 85.
8. *Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge, Nomenklatur der Veranstaltungen, Dienste und Einrichtungen der Altenhilfe* (1979) pp. 29-34.
9. *Home Life: A Code of Practice for Residential Care*, 1984.
10. Federal Social Assistance Act s.68 and P. Schulte und P. Trenk-Hinterberger, *Sozialhilfe*, 1982 pp. 276-299.
11. Homes Act s.9(2).
12. C. Stork, *Erfahrungen mit der Heimaufsicht*, 1982, p. 39.
13. M. Dieck, *Social and Medical Aspects of the Situation of Older People in the Federal Republic of Germany*, 1981, p. 59, Table 1.
14. *Report on the Situation of the Elderly in the Federal Republic of Germany*, 1982, p. 6.

15. M. Dieck. D. Tesic, *Kostensteigerung von Heimen für ältere Menschen — Eine Frage von Luxus?* in *Theorie und Praxis der Sozialen Arbeit*, Juni 1983, vol. 34, p. 209.
16. *Bericht der Bund-Länder-Arbeitsgruppe, Aufbau und Finanzierung Ambulanter und Stationärer Pflegedienste*, 1980.
17. *Themen des Deutschen Caritasverbandes*, 6.9.83.
18. *Der Spiegel*, no. 30, 1983.
19. O. Dahlem *Planwirtschaft oder Planung im Heimbereich?* in *Altenheim*, 1983, p. 242.
20. Rosalind Brooke-Ross, *Regulating Care*, to be published by the Social Care Association in June 1987.
21. *Home Life*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1.

“Ask a Policeman”: Community Consultation in Practice

Stephen P. Savage and Charles Wilson

Abstract

This article examines the development of police–community consultation arrangements in one large county in southern England: arrangements made under Section 106 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. It analyses the various responses of the main parties in the process: the police, the police authority, and the local committees themselves; and considers the extent to which the practice of consultation relates to wider claims for the enhancement of police accountability.

The main conclusions are that, at least in the force area concerned, the predominant conflict was not, as might have been expected, between police representatives and the local community, but rather between the police authority and the local committees, for which they were formally responsible.

In so far as such tensions can occur, the article argues for a more cautious approach to the question of the democratic accountability of the police to the extent that the police authority is to be entrusted with a central role in the reform of the current system of police accountability.

Introduction

There can be little doubt that the disturbances in Handsworth and Tottenham in September 1985 reflect, at least in part, similar social problems to those which underpinned the inner-city riots of 1980 and 1981 in Brixton, Toxteth, St Paul's and other areas. Uppermost, in the opinion of many commentators, are the serious deficiencies in police–community relations which exist in certain areas of our cities and, above all, in relation to particular sectors of the community, most notably the ethnic minorities. Yet any attempt to draw broad parallels between the mid- and early 1980s must address a central issue: in virtually every police force area in England and Wales major changes in the organisation of police–community relations have taken place. We refer here to the development of police–community liaison arrangements set up in the wake of the Scarman Report and given statutory backing in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (PACE). It would seem reasonable to assume that the widespread institutional innovations brought about by the creation of

statutory machinery for liaison will have had some positive impact upon the relationship between the police and the community they serve. Indeed, major steps to encourage the establishment of new consultative arrangements were taken some time prior to the Act, most notably in Home Office Circular 54/82 which set out very clearly the government's aims and preferences for the liaison process between the police and the community. Many forces and local authorities had begun in earnest to follow the Home Office guidelines well in advance of 1984 (Morgan and Maggs, 1984).

It is against this backcloth that detailed research on the nature and outcome of the consultative exercise seems warranted. What has police-community liaison and consultation meant in practice? What sorts of roles have the various participants in the process adopted? Overall, what contribution has it made to alleviating the acknowledged deficiencies in police community relations? These are the types of questions which must be posed in the present climate. For our own part we have been involved in a research project investigating the arrangements for police-community consultation in a large police force area in southern England. These arrangements were developed both before and after their statutory grounding in PACE. The basis of this project has been observations made at formal meetings of the police liaison committees (PLCs) together with informal interviews with participants in an attempt to ascertain their views of the consultative exercise. While this research will need to continue for some time in the future, given that the consultation process is still, relatively speaking, in its infancy, we would claim that our findings to date do raise some very interesting questions for any evaluation of a strategy supported by the government concerning police-public relations.

Police-Community Consultation

Central initiatives It is still the case that those at present involved in the consultation process talk about the exercise in terms of the "Scarman proposals" or "Scarman-type committees". There is no doubting the fact that the Scarman Report, in terms of its specific proposals if not so much in the terms of its philosophy, has been the foundation on which the development of the PLCs has been based. The decision by the government to establish a statutory framework for police-community consultation flowed directly out of the central proposal of the Report which recommended that police authorities should have imposed upon them "a statutory duty to co-operate in the establishment and supervision of liaison committees, or other consultative machinery" (p. 95). This proposal was welcomed on publication of the Report by the then Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, who pledged his support for the idea (but, significantly, as a means of "enhancing police effectiveness" rather than increasing accountability). What followed was the widely influential Home Office Circular 54/82, which set the PLC machine in motion throughout England and Wales and took not only the basic principles from Scarman, but also its recommendations on membership, constitution and format for the consultative strategy. Full statutory backing for consultation had to wait until 1984, not because of any real dispute in parliament

concerning the Scarman proposals, but because of delays occasioned by other more contentious features of PACE, and, of course, the 1983 General Election. Section 106 of the Act states:

Arrangements shall be made in each police area for obtaining the views of the people about matters concerning the policing of the area and for obtaining their co-operation with the police in preventing crime (p. 99).

As far as central government has been concerned, the purpose of the exercise was seen as inseparable from the wider pursuit of enhanced police effectiveness, efficiency and crime prevention, a point made clear in the Home Office publication *Criminal Justice: A Working Paper*, 1984, the official statement of government criminal justice policy (see particularly p. 8). The extension of consultation is consequently justified in terms of its potential for improving public confidence in the police and for a generally more effective campaign in the fight against crime. Furthermore, as Morgan and Maggs have argued (1985), this whole strategy has as its cornerstone the utilization of the community as a central resource in crime prevention, and, as community resources are generally free (or, at least, far cheaper than a police officer's salary), has the potential for considerable savings on the law and order budget. The recent proliferation of neighbourhood watch schemes, many of which have direct links with consultative committees, is testimony to this fact, as evidenced by the "Newman plan" for the policing of the Met (Command 9790, HMSO, 1986)¹. The Scarman proposals, far from being forced onto an unwilling Home Office, have become very quickly a central component in the wider strategy of Government crime control policy.

It is the local response to these central initiatives² which is the primary concern of our research. How has the purpose of the exercise been defined within a specific police area? What form has the consultation process taken? What has been the impact, if any, on policing policy and operations?

A local response The police area which has been the subject of our research has developed a staggered response to the initiatives and directives of the Home Office. The police authority most certainly was not enthusiastic about implementing the guidelines enshrined in Circular 54/82. In police committee meetings in which the issue was discussed it was frequently argued that the problems identified by Scarman in Brixton, Toxteth and elsewhere were not found in their force area, and in any case, it was claimed, the police already enjoyed a good relationship with the community. This lack of enthusiasm was demonstrated by the fact that even by 1985 only a small number of PLCs were in operation. It was not until early 1986, following adverse comments by the Inspector of Constabulary, that the scheme was extended to cover the whole force area and a pattern of county-wide consultation initiated. This small number of PLCs was originally set up as a "pilot" or "experimental" scheme. However, little attempt was made to evaluate this experiment and after some two years of their existence they were abruptly transformed into committees with a very different constitution. Effectively, therefore, our research on consultation within the force area became a study of the pilot scheme and

subsequently of the revealing process by which this scheme became re-located within a framework for the whole county.

The establishment of the pilot scheme was a two-stage affair, leading on to a two-tier structure of consultation. At the initial stage, the police authority created a "City-Wide Forum". The geographical basis for this committee was the police division of one of the major cities in the county. A wide variety of organizations, both statutory and voluntary, together with city councillors and other city-based representatives were invited to attend. On a point we shall return to later, this committee was identified as both a forum of (city-wide) consultation in its own right, and as a co-ordinating body for PLCs of a more locally based nature. The police representation of the City Forum involved a Chief Superintendent (the Area Divisional Commander), together with occasional appearances by lower-ranking officers who were introduced to outline their particular functions in the force. This committee eventually spawned a second tier of consultation at the sub-divisional level, with Chairpersons chosen by the City Forum, and with a membership partially overlapping with it, together with local community representatives (e.g., youth club leaders, General Improvement Area members, headmasters etc.). At the local level police representation was made up of the local sub-divisional commander (Superintendent), and, again, local lower-ranking officers from time to time (in particular, area beat officers in an attempt to maximize local community contact).³ The PLCs at both levels met at roughly quarterly intervals, although on a number of occasions ad hoc meetings were arranged by the sub-divisional groups to allow visits to local organizations (e.g., youth clubs or old people's homes), and interim visits were made to local police stations.

Before long, in a process actively encouraged by the Police Authority, the City Forum became much more of a co-ordinating body than an arena for consultation in its own right, i.e. more and more of its business became concerned with reports from the sub-divisional groups⁴ and discussions relating to them. This gradual change in emphasis and role was not without its problems and contradictions. Firstly, it did seem wasteful, to say the least, to have taken so much trouble in building up a membership which was (broadly) representative of the community, only for those representatives to find themselves acting merely as overseers of police-community consultation at a different, sub-divisional, level. That this view was shared by at least some of the participants themselves was illustrated by the responses to a questionnaire we issued to all members of the City Forum in 1985. A number of representatives voiced their dismay that the Forum was losing an important opportunity to develop consultation at the City level. Frustration was expressed that members felt unable to represent the views of their organizations because their role was becoming limited to simply one of co-ordination. "Real" consultation, it was felt, seemed to be taking place elsewhere.⁵ This may have had something to do with the extremely erratic attendance at the City Forum for a long period. Secondly, the development was to place the Forum in a rather vulnerable position in relation to longer-term developments within the county. As we have already indicated, the county's eventual strategy was to opt for sub-divisional PLCs as the preferred "model" throughout the county. If these PLCs were to report directly to the

Police Authority (and this proved to be the intention), questions would inevitably be raised about the need for a middle-tier PLC between the Authority and the sub-divisions. In fact, it was the Police Authority who came to raise such questions, and who subsequently attempted to abolish the City Forum as the county-wide system was introduced in the ensuing period. This step in itself raised some very revealing questions about features of the consultative exercise in the county, particularly in terms of the relationship between the Authority and the PLCs. We shall go on to focus on this in more detail before moving on to discuss the nature of police-community consultation as we have observed it in practice.

The Role of the Police Authority

Most commentators at all critical of the Scarman proposals would focus on the tensions and problems inherent in the relationship between the police and the community: how potential criticisms of the police may be side-stepped; how the police may act to set the agenda for consultation, and so on. Our own observations have indicated another problematic relationship, not so much between the police and the community as between the local community and the police authority. Without denying that there have been important limitations imposed by the *police* on the organization of consultation, we would argue, further, that equally interesting questions are raised by the role of *police authorities* in the creation and operation of the process.⁶

It is now the statutory duty of the police authority, not the police or local community, to establish a framework for police-community consultation. As pointed out earlier, many authorities undertook the task of establishing a framework for consultation well in advance of PACE, in some cases with determination. The Police Authority of our research area was, however, extremely slow in responding to central initiatives. In fact the Conservative majority on the Police Authority explicitly opposed the creation of formal consultative machinery, apparently with the full approval of the Chief Constable. It was frequently argued that less formal "liaison" arrangements were more than adequate to the task of maintaining good police-community relations which in any case were not seen as problematic. Despite this opposition the Authority did concede to some of the pressure imposed by the Home Office in favour of formal arrangements. The "concession" was, as we have seen, a "pilot" scheme set up in one area of the county. It was hardly surprising though, that given the stance taken by the Authority these original PLCs were left very much to their own devices. They were given very little guidance by the Authority concerning what was and what was not within their terms of reference, despite the fact that the Home Office had clearly set out basic guidelines and on more than one occasion.⁷ They were also given little support and assistance, the most obvious manifestation of this being a failure to supply any secretarial facilities. Chairmen especially were forced to carry much of the burden for the effective running of their committees, particularly during the early stages.

However, given the statutory nature of the consultation process, it was inevitable that the Authority's attitude would have to shift somewhat. Since

the introduction of PACE, HM Inspectors of Constabulary have included an evaluation of consultation arrangements as an important part of their brief. While authorities are left with discretion as to what system of consultation it will operate, the Inspectorate have clearly put pressure on individual forces to conform to some standardized format. This was indeed the case with our research county, which was criticized by the Inspectorate for not demonstrating what was seen to be an "adequate" response to Section 106. Such criticism contributed, along with other factors, to the adoption of a more concerted campaign on behalf of the Authority to set in motion the machinery for consultation on a county-wide basis. But this was seen as necessitating a quite drastic restructuring of the constitution of the small number of PLCs then in existence, and herein lay the source of tension and in some cases explicit conflict between the Police Authority and both the City and sub-divisional PLCs. Following this criticism by the Inspectorate the Police Authority had, during 1985, agreed to adopt a new "model constitution" for all its PLCs. Significantly, this model was copied almost in toto from that in use in a nearby police force area, after a team of authority members had visited and taken advice from senior officers and authority members of that force! Apart from being more elaborate than anything which the Authority had previously operated under, there were several key features of the model which had direct implications for those PLCs already in existence. Firstly, it stated that the basis for consultation should be the police *sub-division*. Secondly, it required that the Chair and Vice-Chair of the sub-divisional committees should be *Police Authority representatives*. Indeed, it went as far as instructing that if both were unable to attend a meeting it should be rearranged at a later date. Thirdly, it set out rigorous conditions for the selection of members, all of whom were subject to approval (and possible dismissal) by the Authority. The process of implementing this new model constitution involved steps which generated the tension and conflict referred to previously. In different ways, the Police Authority's new found assertiveness had contradictory effects on the PLCs already in operation.

Firstly, it led to an attempt to abolish the City Forum. After a period encouraging its status as simply a co-ordinating body, the Authority ruled that it had now served out its useful life and should come to an end. This proposal had a quite dramatic effect on the Committee. The Authority had seemingly decided, without directly consulting members of the Forum, that it was no longer needed. The meeting immediately after the decision was taken to recommend closure was unusually well attended (after a long period of erratic but generally declining attendance), and the hostility to the proposal was almost unanimous. A motion was carried which roundly condemned the Authority's intended action and a delegation was sent to meet the Chairman and Clerk to the Police Authority to state the case in support of the City Forum's continued existence. As a result of this pressure it was given a stay of execution subject to review in the future. Subsequent meetings have enjoyed good attendance and active participation with those Police Authority members present being subject to criticism for the Authority's stance. At a recent meeting (July 1986) a motion which read: "The City Forum has a useful purpose and should continue to meet" was passed without opposition, together with one condemning the failure of any Police Authority representa-

tive to attend that session, even though they were by then chairing the local sub-divisional PLCs. A community representative commented at this meeting: "We are the community, not the Police Authority!" Paradoxically, the Authority's actions had created the assertiveness and determination in the City Forum that it had previously lacked. This was evidence of conflict between the County and City levels, between the statutory police authority and a local consultative body. The second major consequence of the new model constitution was at the sub-divisional level, and for different reasons it produced further tension between the County and local bodies. The benign neglect of the PLCs involved in the pilot scheme had left them very much to their own devices. The response of one PLC in particular was to seek to actively define its responsibilities (even to the point of writing directly to Lord Scarman) and to work out for itself a programme of action. A great deal of the initiative for this rested with the Chairman and a small number of committed members. This PLC decided to be flexible in its membership, and to attempt to "reach out to all sections of the community". Despite the inevitable difficulties involved in this venture, the committee did embark on a varied and ambitious series of meetings and presentations. The local police superintendent was fully and actively involved in this and even arranged for secretarial support (none being provided by the Authority).

The subsequent decision by the Authority to opt for the new constitution meant that the Chair and Vice-Chair of these existing committees would have to be replaced by appointed representatives of the Police Authority, and that all existing members would be subject to "approval" by the Authority. After some two years of existence (for the earliest PLC, at least), and after exhibiting a great deal of independence, initiative and self-determination (with little direct help from the Police Authority), these PLCs were required now to "change hands". Many members have commented on the irony by which an Authority which had at first given their committees virtually no support at all had then decided to take over and "run the show". In one case a member felt so strongly about this that he wrote a formal letter of complaint at the high-handed behaviour of the Police Authority, and in others, members, previously active, effectively dropped out of the whole exercise. It was the Authority's early lack of interest which had created the independence and determination of the sub-divisional PLCs: the Authority's new found commitment required that they placidly accept the new constitution. Some found it hard to swallow!

What we are referring to here is not a "natural" conflict of interest between the Police Authority/county level and local groups and communities. Much of the tension could be seen as a product of the Police Authority's shift in emphasis from disinterestedness to an insensitive domination of a process they were initially reluctant to even embark on. There does seem to be evidence, however, of potential for conflict or tension in a situation whereby a consultative exercise aimed at the local (sub-divisional and City) level is managed, supervised or directed by an Authority at county level. It may well be, as one of the present authors has already indicated (Savage, 1984), that the forms of representation of community views on policing at Authority level are not always adequate to deal with the complexity of issues involved in policing localities (issues of local concern, preferred policing priorities, local com-

plaints etc.). A system heavily dominated by the Authority may serve to limit and constrain the scope of such questions. At the very least it does call into question the assumption made by many commentators on the Left, that police authorities have a natural potential for enhancing the accountability and control of the police. At least in the county which we observed (and continue to observe), the Authority has exhibited distrust and even hostility to the extension of community influences over the police, other than through the Authority itself.

Consultation in Practice

If we have discussed at some length issues relating to the structure of consultation, it is only fitting that we make some comment on its content. Research on this issue is continuing, and early conclusions must always be treated tentatively: in our research area many committees have met only a few times. However, we shall conclude with some observations on the nature of consultation in practice.

We have already referred to the fact that the Scarman proposals endow the police–community consultation process with a variety of overlapping objectives. It would not be possible to evaluate the performance of the system in practice independently of determining which of these objectives is at issue. This in turn is subject to the aims and priorities of central government (as implemented through legislation and administrative guidance) and the interpretations placed upon the process at local level. This involves, as we have seen, not just the stance taken by the Police Authority at county level, but also the reading of the process at City (divisional) and sub-divisional levels. All of this, of course, operates within the boundaries set by the terms of reference and formal constitution of the committees, including the important issue of the role and status of the Chair. Given these factors, what has consultation between the police and the community meant in practice?

In an earlier paper (Savage, 1984) one of the authors offered a cautiously optimistic view of the potential of the Scarman-type exercise for the enhancement of police accountability. Given that most policing decisions are made at the on-the-street level by lower-ranking officers, it was argued that the consultation scheme, far from being purely a public relations exercise and a poor substitute for genuine accountability, held out the promise of actually influencing policing policy according to local priorities. Given this we would have to conclude that, at least at this stage, there is little evidence that such a potential is being realized. For a start, it is still the case that an enormous amount of the business of the PLCs is taken up with issues of self-definition and planning for the future, and relatively little on police–community or even simply policing issues. This has not just been the case for the City Forum, which anyway has taken on increasingly the role of umbrella committee, but also for the sub-divisional PLCs, in spite of the initiatives referred to previously. As one frustrated member stated recently: “We’ve spent years trying to find out why we’re here, but we haven’t really *done* anything yet!” Despite repeatedly stated intentions to avoid using the PLC’s as mere “talking shops” many members clearly feel that this is all they have ever really been.

Part of the blame for this, again, must lie with the lack of direction emanating from the Police Authority, rather than any lack of commitment by local members.

When policing and police-community relations *are* discussed, however, we have still found little by way of dialogue and "community involvement in the policy and operations of policing" (Scarman Report, *op. cit.* pp. 92-3) which the optimist might wish to see. If anything, it is the *legitimacy* and *efficiency* functions of consultation which have figured most prominently, a development which fits closely the scenario outlined by Morgan and Maggs (1985). The legitimacy function has been most apparent in what can be called the "presentational" stance adopted by the police during most of the proceedings to date. When operating within this stance the police representatives present to the committee an account of force development and structure, system of patrols, major responsibilities of the ranks, and other information which they deem to be relevant to an enhancement of the understanding of their task amongst community representatives. They have clearly been well prepared and, possibly, even rehearsed. However, this inevitably presents a "police view" of the policing task, emphasizing the claim that crime is ever on the increase and police resources drastically limited in the fight against crime. Now there is no doubting that information of this nature is indispensable to the development of the consultation exercise. Their effect on committee meetings, however, was very much to set the scene in terms of "here are the problems we face, with limited resources etc. etc.", to which the typical response was "how can we help?" In all meetings so far observed, these presentations seemed to stimulate an attitude of support for police endeavours and sympathy with the sorts of problems they face. It was apparent that community representatives were disinclined or at least found it difficult to respond with any presentations of their own problems, criticisms or concerns. On this point we should note that we found no occasions on which the police representatives refused to answer and discuss an issue raised by any members. When at one early meeting of the City Forum a critical point *was* raised, it was a Police Authority representative who intervened and ruled out of court any "complaints" against the police.⁸ In justification for this it was stated that there is an "established complaints procedure" already available under the Police Act 1976, and so the PLCs were not legally empowered to deal with them. This intervention, although (unfortunately) respected, was of course quite misleading, for it failed to distinguish between specific complaints concerning individual officers and incidents and complaints of a more general nature concerning policing policy, which are outside the scope of the complaints system and some would say very much within the scope of consultation between the police and the community. Indeed, it is the very inability of the police complaints system to deal with other than specific complaints which some have seen as a major weakness and corresponding justification for the consultation process itself.

Although the presentational approach of the police, with its predominantly one-way agenda-setting function, has declined relatively as the PLC's have gained in experience, we feel that it is still the case that the mode of discussion it helped generate has remained as a template for later PLC deliberations.

Furthermore, with the introduction of the new model constitution and associated restructuring of the system referred to earlier, we have witnessed a return to the more explicitly presentational approach of the early meetings. As one exasperated long-standing member stated: "We've seen it all before!" We shall have to assess the extent to which such a relationship between police representatives and community members continues to operate in the future.

The efficiency function concerns the extent to which community bodies, with the aid of the consultation process, are mobilized to assist the police in the task of crime prevention and control. It is now well established that the public play a crucial role in the prevention of crime and the detection of criminals (see Lea and Young, 1984 and Clarke and Hough, 1980). We have seen that the Home Office has quite openly linked the consultation process with the wider campaign to enhance police efficiency. It is revealing that in *Criminal Justice: A Working Paper* (1984) the Home Office cited, as the first of its list of subjects for discussion at such meetings "joint efforts to promote crime prevention". Our own observations testify to the fact that this element in the process has frequently been uppermost in PLC deliberations. Not least, there is a significant overlap between the PLCs and Crime Prevention Panels. On a number of occasions the work of the Panels has been discussed and joint tasks have been undertaken. Members have frequently seen crime prevention and consultation as being virtually synonymous. Indeed, the Police Authority has now stated in its model constitution that one role of the PLCs is to be:

The promotion of police/community crime prevention projects and co-operation, and the development of links with Crime Prevention Panels,

and further insists that at least one member of each PLC must be from a Crime Prevention Panel. That the committees have, so far, gone along the crime prevention path should, therefore, be hardly surprising. What may be disappointing is that many members do not seem to distinguish the crime prevention function from any wider purpose of the PLC system.

In no sense are we implying that the legitimating or crime prevention function of the PLCs are some sort of "perversion" of the Scarman proposals. Indeed, notions of public acceptance of policing and efficiency are part and parcel of the Scarman thesis. Nevertheless, one must question whether these features alone are sufficient to provide the basis for the enhancement of police accountability that at least some commentators hoped was one potential of the Scarman recommendations. It may well turn out to be that the cynicism with which many of the Left view the consultation strategy is in fact well founded, given our own evidence of PLCs in practice.

Having said this, we should note that at least in our research area, future developments may complicate the picture presented in skeletal form here. A number of newly created PLCs have opted for a more open forum, as seems to be the preference of the Home Office,⁹ having decided that all, or, at least, some of their meetings should in future be open to the public. Given that at least one of them is in an area with a substantial ethnic minority population, which has not been the case in the pilot area, it is just possible that an approach more challenging to the police than those we have observed so far may

develop. Furthermore, a number of PLCs have recently demonstrated a concerted attempt to involve young people in the process, a group glaringly absent from discussions to date. We shall be undertaking further research to determine whether such variations in the framework for liaison, some of which would seem to threaten at least part of the Authority's preferred *modus operandi*, constitute a challenge to the image of consultation presented in the longer-running committees.

Conclusion

The automatic response to the relatively negative impression of the consultation process depicted here might well be to insist that the only realistic alternative is to opt for the "hard" strategy on police accountability: the creation of statutory powers for Police Authorities to determine policing policy (see Savage, 1984). This has become the preferred policy of many Left and civil libertarian bodies. While we can offer no real evidence that police – community consultation has, in practice, allowed any significant extension of public influence over policing policy, we would end, however, with a note of caution. In addition to the limitations of the PLC system, we have also found evidence of shortcomings in respect of the *police authority* concerning its possible role in the enhancement of police accountability. It would seem that much of the reluctance of the Authority in our research area to respond to central initiatives lay in the belief that the police had no need for further exposure to public scrutiny and that police–public relations were fully adequate under the existing statutory framework. Such situations should at least make us more sceptical about a police authority's capacity to seek to make the police more answerable to the community they serve, and not be too ready to entrust to an authority the full responsibility for an accountable force. While the Scarman proposals can be found wanting, the enhancement of the role of the police authority may not necessarily be an alternative magical solution.

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Notes

1. See the discussion of "Newman's plan: who benefits?" in *Policing London*, No. 22, Jul./Aug. 1986, pp. 1–2. This article includes a quote from the Newman plan that "neighbourhood watch schemes, crime prevention panels, lay visitors and victim support schemes could all fit rationally and beneficially within the purview of the consultative group".
2. According to Mollie Weatheritt (1986), in recent years the Home Office and the Inspectorate of Constabulary have "taken a significantly more interventionist stance towards the police than had previously been the norm" and increasingly have "tended to act as a spur to innovation" (p. 4).

3. It appears that the sub-divisional format seems to be the most common mode of organizing PLCs across the country (Morgan and Maggs, 1985).
4. Eventually four sub-divisional PLCs were set up across the City.
5. One respondent commented: "Things seemed O.K. at first; quite promising. But then we seemed to change direction a bit when the other groups started up. It seemed that we were going to talk about what *they* were doing rather than doing anything ourselves".
6. Obviously this analysis would have to exclude the Metropolitan Police which, of course, lacks even a Police Authority within its framework of organization.
7. As well as Circular 54/82 ("Local Consultation Arrangements between the Community and the Police"). Circular 114/83 ("Manpower, Effectiveness and Efficiency in the Police Service") drew attention to the crucial importance with which community consultation was then, as now, officially regarded in the pursuit of efficiency and effectiveness in policing. For an analysis of the impact of this Circular see Weatheritt (1986).
8. Ironically, it was a policeman, and a Chief Superintendent at that, who forcefully pointed out at a later meeting of a PLC that this misleading view of the situation would seriously limit the issues available for discussion and, thus, hamper the potential effectiveness of the committee.
9. See Home Office Circular 2/85 ("Arrangements for Local Consultation between the Community and the Police Outside London").

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Army Welfare

Tony Lerwill

Introduction

In peacetime soldiers may not always enjoy a popular image amongst the public at large. They are, however, doing an important service for the Nation at some personal stress to themselves. A soldier is first and foremost a citizen of the UK in that he and his family have the same entitlements to assistance in times of personal need as all other citizens. The difference between the Army family and the majority of other families lies in the turbulence imposed on them by the Army in meeting its defence commitments.

There are some 37,000 married quarters spread from the Shetlands and Benbecula in the North to Bodmin and Deal in the south, dispersed in some 470 locations. Overall there are about 44,000 families in the UK, several thousands living in their own homes. The population of married men, women and their children amounts to well over 154,000. Caring for and housing a city-sized population with a relatively large estate of homes is a considerable task. This is compounded by dispersion and the turbulence; In 1985 over 26,000 married quarters occupants changed over – a throughput not likely to be found in a local authority housing estate.

The average officer and soldier can expect to move home every 20 months or so, and many will experience six or more months' a year separation from their loved ones on operations and in training. The men and their families do not complain about this; it is part of the job, and generally, as professionals, the men and women enjoy serving. Nevertheless it does bring extra stress to the business of living as a member of an army community. The army realizes this and well understands it and goes to great lengths in providing for the well-being of its families to alleviate the additional tensions and stresses of army life.

Historical

It is a long time since the baggage train of wives and assorted women appearing over the hill at the battle of Bannockburn caused the English to turn as they thought it was reinforcements. In those days the wives were the army's cooks and ambulance service to the soldier, apart from the other comforts they brought. Jumping some 500 years to the mid 19th century, we find a beginning

of official acceptance of wives and families. A few officially recognized as "on the strength" were provided with the end of a barrack room cordoned off with blankets. These were the lucky ones, but they were, nevertheless, expected to provide a service to their husbands' fellow soldiers in sewing on buttons, repairing uniforms, even tea making and stoking the fire. Behind these blankets babies were born and suckled.

The less fortunate wives had to fend for themselves in locally acquired accommodation. When the battalion went overseas only those "on the strength" went too. The others were left on the quayside, generally in tears, destitute and dependent upon local Poor Law grants. Frequently they teamed up with the other soldiers probably never to see their husband again. It was a sorry situation.

By the late 19th century the army had begun to follow the Victorian philanthropic initiatives and in the 1880s we begin to see some married quarters being built. Those who can remember Aldershot, the military town, of the 1960s will recall the rows upon rows of terraced housing, some of which, certainly up to 1950, still had outside lavatories and wash basins. A letter of 1892 from a wife to the battalion quartermaster is held in army archives. It reads:

Dear Mr Quartermaster

Will you please send a man to clear the human waste from my privy. If he is too busy will you please send the carpenter to raise the seat.

The 1950s and 60s, with the close of National Service and the change to an all-volunteer army, saw a period of massive married quarters building, so that by 1970 it could be said any married man could be provided with a home on station. In 1969 lowering of the age of consent for marriage preceded a sharp increase in married soldiers to some 56% of the total army strength. This percentage of married soldiers has remained to-date, although recently the number of very young marriages has decreased a little.

The Command Function

A fact of the function of command, whether a corporal commanding a section or a Lieutenant Colonel commanding a regiment, is that the commander is concerned for the welfare of his men and women, which must include the wellbeing of their families. Pressure on the soldier from his family, be it an unhappy wife or an ill-behaved child, imposes a worry which can, and does detract from his concentration on his job. The whole basis of operations is one of team work and trust between the team members, whether at section, platoon or company level. The commander needs to know if one of his team is "off colour" and whose threshold under pressure may be temporarily below par. When he knows this he can not only help, or obtain help for the individual, but can watch for the signs which will show him that an individual has reached his limits. This is vital to the success, and perhaps survival, of the remainder of the team.

The Support Elements

A commander needs a supporting network of other people on whom he can rely to provide such help. He has these within the Army and possibly within his unit in the shape of unit families officers, chaplains, doctors and paymasters, all of whom in their own discipline counsel, advise and practically help officers and soldiers and their families.

The supporting network in the UK is the Families Housing and Welfare Service. Its concept of operating is that it administers and allocates the home or married quarter as the most important factor of family well-being. From the home stem the needs to provide practical welfare support for any individual or family problem arising, to provide an information giving and enquiry answering service, and to motivate community activity. This is the role of FHWS, in the immediate support of the commanders and as an extension of their responsibility to ensure the wellbeing of the men, women and children of the Army.

Under a controller, FHWS based in the Army HQ in Salisbury, are nine principal commandants FHWS responsible for the housing and welfare of families in the UK districts. In each garrison or area, of which there are some 50, is a commandant FHWS with a staff of estate wardens and usually a warrant officer or sergeant WRAC, who is a welfare assistant. All personnel of FHWS undergo a short course at Bristol, Exeter or Birmingham Universities on families welfare subjects, including social practices, welfare rights, the law relating to marriage, children and debt, together with initial, basic counselling techniques. The welfare assistants undergo six months' social work training and may eventually become qualified in CSS or marriage guidance and loss counselling.

Closely associated with FHWS in UK is a small SSAFA social work service with an assistant director in the Army HQ Salisbury and five social workers in the five large garrisons of Aldershot, Tidworth, Catterick, Colchester and Bulford, who carry a case load of more complicated cases and are advisors to the army within their areas.

Within the Army Welfare Support system there is a considerable caring ability. However, none have a statutory authority and therefore a feature of the FHWS work is the maintenance of a wide civil communications network to enable referrals to be made and advice sought. This includes Social Services Departments, DHSS, the probation service, police, and local authority housing departments, together with many voluntary Agencies, notably SSAFA, the British Red Cross, NSPCC, WRVS CRUSE, and PPA. Where a statutory case is referred, FHWS commandants and welfare assistants will support social services and act on their direction. FHWS commandants represent the army on child abuse case conferences. We are concerned for the client and that we conform to decisions of case conferences.

The support provided is one of a confidential team or group effort in the interests of the family or individual. Most commandants have a regular coordinating, discussion meeting of their "Team", which will ideally include the local doctor, and representative of the social services local team. This team concept depends upon mutual trust between its members and this works well in the interests of clients.

Last year over 140,000 enquiries were answered by the Army Families Advice Bureau and the satellite FHWS information centres in garrisons and estates. The Central AFAB is run by two CAB trained warrant officers and contains a full CAB library. It researches and publishes a library of Information Sheets which are distributed within the army worldwide. There is the closest co-operation with local CABs each of us helping the other on request. This enquiry answering service is an integral element of the Families Housing and Welfare Service and in practical terms a very worthwhile "preventative welfare measure".

Problems Encountered

The soldier and his family are but a slice of the whole nation. They experience the same difficulties as their fellow citizens and most probably in similar quantity. Of course, the demands of a defence service do incur a far greater than average turbulence, but to offset this the army does provide caring sympathetic and understanding service as a vital part of good management (or command).

The divorce rate in the army, at about 1.5% per annum of the total married strength, is thought to be a little below the national average. Certainly the counselling provided by FHWS, and in particular its Welfare Assistants, achieve a reasonable reconciliation rate and follow up visiting generally cements these reconciliations. The Army Families Advice Bureau (AFAB) enquiry and answering service, together with information received from social services and voluntary agencies, suggests that every year about 20% of the army, married and single, have a problem of some sort which needs help. A majority are of a minor nature and easily resolved, although of course, of considerable concern and importance to the individual or family. The problems range over finances and debt, relationship problems, child difficulties and education, housing (the married quarter) and re-housing in civil life on discharge or retirement. There is little doubt in the experience of FHWS that debt and marriage breakdown are inseparable twins.

To instance a few of the more bizarre or difficult cases in recent years:

1. A very caring husband and wife adopted, or so they believed, a slightly handicapped little Chinese girl when in Hong Kong. On return to a married quarter in UK, they found they had inadequate documentary proof of adoption to be able to claim child allowance, free milk etc. They appealed to FHWS for help. Investigations showed the adoption had no legal validity in UK, at least, and that they were technically in breach of the immigration laws. With the help of the Home Office and local social services, the adoption was legalized remarkably quickly and the immigration problem resolved retrospectively.
2. The army, inevitably, has a relatively small number of children registered as in need of protection. In these cases we are meticulous in reporting suspicion and placing our resources in the support of an appointed key social worker. There is, however, a salutary lesson from one particularly unfortunate and unhappy case. A fairly senior soldier's small boy was

registered with a social services department as "at risk". They did not inform the army of this. The army posted the soldier and with his family he was given a married quarter in a different county. Within a week the child had been killed. Had the army been aware of the registration it would have ensured the continued supervision of the family in its new location. Fortunately, the new DHSS guidance will require the armed services to be informed of any child with service connection placed on Child Protection Register.

3. A soldier was killed in a traffic accident in Belgium en route to his unit in Germany. His widow with four small boys was in married quarters in UK. They were in debt, he had no insurance on his life, and his motor policy taken out in Germany excluded any death benefit if any alcohol was found in his blood. He had had half a pint of lager on the cross channel ferry and this matter is still being argued with the help of army legal services. An army chaplain undertook the bereavement counselling. The FHWS Warden obtained neighbourly assistance in temporarily looking after the four children and in cleaning up a singularly dirty married quarter. The soldier's regimental headquarters undertook the recovery of the body to UK and the funeral arrangements. A paymaster was provided to advise on the regulations over pension rights and the commandant FHWS co-ordinated these various helpers and later, in 6 months, acquired council housing for the widow. This particular case shows the amount of help available within the army's own resources and as this case discloses the need to co-ordinate the help so the widow is not inundated with people at a moment of stress when she cannot cope.

These exemplified cases are described in practical terms, but it will be appreciated these and many, many other cases entail professional counselling in depth, which it is not appropriate to discuss here. However, the army does have an ability to provide such counselling from its psychiatrists (RAMC), its chaplains, its welfare assistants, its SSAFA social workers and to an extent in its commandants FHWS and unit families officers.

It would be misdirection to suggest the army totally cares for its own. This is not so. Our ability is limited, particularly in view of the dispersion of our families and indeed that families, themselves, as citizens have every right to seek help from statutory and voluntary agencies outside the army. The army does not mind this. Our concern is that our families get satisfaction for their problem, whatever it is. Experience shows, however, that a majority of cases are not soluble without army involvement in one way or another and thus there is frequent cross referral, in confidence, between civil agencies and FHWS, if only for advice.

In conclusion, the army cares for its families because, apart from its humanity, it is cost effective in relation to its most important "equipment", the soldier; and it is necessary to the efficient functioning of the team at any level. It knows it stretches the endurance of its families, but believes with reason the majority understand the meaning of the word service to the nation, and are proud of their association with their service and in particular *their* regiment. Although it only comes obliquely within the heading of "welfare", the men

and women of the army community have security which many others do not and they do have fun and enjoyment in their community. That we are a community of grumblers, which is probably a national characteristic, is true, but it does not mean we do not like and have pride in what we have. The army is proud of its caring nature and of its supportive system for soldiers and families, but it is sufficiently pragmatic to know its provision is not total or entirely without faults.

Paul Kline, Ronald Fletcher and Cyril Burt

Editor's note: We were the first journal anywhere to give Ronald Fletcher the chance to put forward his doubts, based on original research, that the case against Cyril Burt alleging fraudulence had any valid basis. Fletcher called in question the conventional view of Burt's "fabrications" which led to his disgrace at London University. In our last issue Paul Kline replied to Fletcher. Meanwhile Fletcher has published a long article in the *Sunday Telegraph*, followed by correspondence there and in *The Times* on the Burt controversy. Neither of these newspapers made any reference to the original articles in this journal. After our protests the *Sunday Telegraph* published a letter from us drawing attention to our role in giving space to a re-assessment of Burt. We do not usually publish articles on psychology or on the special field of psychometrics and our unusual initiative was taken in the interest of uncovering the truth about a classic academic controversy. Below we publish a final comment from Fletcher, after which the matter is closed as far as this journal is concerned. Our role in opening up this issue should not be forgotten.

Whilst welcoming Professor Kline's response to my article on Sir Cyril Burt, may I point out certain inadequacies in his comments?

(1) Saying he will "assume for the moment" that the 1966 study of twins was fraudulent, he then goes on to write as though this was, in fact, so. But it is this very supposition (so deeply entrenched) which is radically in doubt, the testimony of Burt's critics having been proved, on examination, to be in many respects of such an unreliable, indeed disreputable, nature.

(2) When he comes to consider the charges of fraud, he states his belief that they are "reasonably convincing" but cites no evidence. Jensen's critique of Burt's statistics uncovered *mistakes* and *misprints* which were not at all (on Jensen's own careful insistence) evidence of *fraud*. Jensen was swayed finally, it is true, by the apparently balanced nature of Hearnshaw's biography, but the evidence now proves this itself deeply questionable, and Jensen retains an open mind about the whole matter.

(3) Charlotte Banks and Brian Cox are considered doubtful witnesses because they strongly support Burt, but the evidence referred to lies no longer in the realm of biased feeling (one way or the other) but in that of *fact*. Hearnshaw insisted quite specifically that the diaries over 15 of the last 18 years of Burt's life were so complete as to constitute "*decisive*" proof that any

claim of continuing research and the collection of new data during those years was “a complete fabrication”. But Cox and Banks find the diaries far from complete. Hearnshaw’s “decisive” evidence falls to the ground. In other ways, too, the evidence strongly suggests the probability, at least, that Hearnshaw was too readily swayed by the growing tide of denunciation and that his treatment and judgment — far from being balanced — is decidedly one-sided. As Lee Cronbach put it (*Science*, Vol. 206, December): “Hearnshaw, once convinced, wrote a prosecution brief.”

Over many years, the case for the prosecution has enjoyed the widest publicity and received no detailed scrutiny. The case for the defence now deserves a full hearing. Evidence and questions alike can be clearly stated, and Professor Hearnshaw, together with Burt’s other and more ideologically motivated detractors, must now give public answers to them. Only in this way can the truth become known.

*Ronald Fletcher,
Southwold,
August, 1987*

Editor’s note: We have just received the following final comment from Charlotte Banks and C. B. Cox.

Paul Kline refers to our having studied some of Cyril Burt’s diaries in the Liverpool Archives and “finding that these were by no means (as Hearnshaw claimed) full accounts of all Burt did”. But he goes on to say: “Yet as I have argued Banks and Cox are not without their own bias”. This suggests we have in some way, unconsciously perhaps, fudged our inspections of the diaries because of bias in Burt’s favour. We would like to reply to Kline’s doubts by giving some details about the diaries which anyone can check by going to Liverpool and looking at them.

The first entries begin in 1900 and, missing 1901, run from 1902 to 1912. The earlier years, covering Burt’s later school and early Oxford days, are fairly full, but a good deal is missing later on, except for fairly full accounts of his time at Liverpool University in Sherrington’s Department, and during that time, of his typing the 1909 paper. There is then a long gap after 1912, and from 1953 onwards there is a pocket diary for each year until Burt’s death in 1971. Here again, a good deal of information is missing.

Hearnshaw said in the biography (p.240) that “though there are some gaps in the diary record, the diaries are so nearly complete for fifteen of the last eighteen years of Burt’s life, and record so many trivia . . . that we can be reasonably confident that no important activity or contact has been omitted. On the basis of this evidence we can be sure that Burt himself did not collect any data on twins, or any other topic, during these years, and that he was never visited either by Miss Howard, or Miss Conway, or by any other assistant actively working for him.”

The last fifteen years of Burt’s life (he died on October 10th 1971 at the age of 88) would include the years 1956 or 1957 onwards depending upon whether or not one includes 1971. Some of these years contain many days where there are no entries. For example, 305 days are blank in 1959, the largest number of

all — 84 per cent; 177 in 1958 — 48 per cent; 151 in 1961 — 41 per cent; 110 in 1963 — 30 per cent; 84 in 1965 — 23 per cent. Surely Hearnshaw can't be right. In any case, why did he pick the last fifteen years? The time when Burt was most likely to have done any testing would have been in the early '50s, when his Meniere symptoms had abated, and before his other ear began to deteriorate. And this was the most likely time for previous assistants to be in contact with him. However, the years '53 to '57 have many days containing no entries, 287, 263, 259, 76 and 94 respectively, so Hearnshaw's conclusion would not be valid here either. Why he wrote what he did is a mystery.

Kline also draws attention to Professor Jensen's disappointment that there were no references to twins in the diaries, presumably to Burt's testing twins. The answer lies in the lack of any records between 1912 and 1953, for most of Burt's testing was undoubtedly done between 1913 and the mid-'30s.

There are, however, entries in 1963, 1964, 1965 and 1966 about the controversial 1966 paper on twins, as follows: November 3rd, 1963 "Deduced diffces for twins from correlatns". May 13th, 1964 "Started on BJP paper on twins". May 16th, "4 more pp of twins". (This one of us took at first to mean 'pairs', but finally concluded that in the general context of the diaries it meant 'pages'). May 19th and 20th, "After paper on twins working on Reviews etc." The entries continue in August and September 1965. On August 26 "Revising Twins for BJP". On 27th "Gretl retyping paper on twins", and on the 31st "Table for paper on twins. "Gretl types it". September 7th "... Twins to Summerfield". And lastly, on December 12th "... twins". On April 19th, 1966, there is an entry which reads "Proofs of twins. Unstable all morning, but could read". Burt was apparently at this time in the middle of a Meniere attack, for the entry on the 18th reads "Giddy . . . sick twice and giddyish most of the day. Resuming 3 pills". On the 20th "Proofs off to Seneonoff", and finally, on September 7th, "Another ULP report and Reprints of twins".

We shall probably never know if there were diaries for the years 1912 to 1953, and, if there were, whether they were lost, or thrown away.

It is possible, of course, that in copying from the diaries we may have made minor errors, but these little books in the Archives are open to public scrutiny and anyone can check the dates and entries we have given. It is a matter not of subjective feeling one way or the other, but of objective fact.

Dr Charlotte Banks
Professor C. B. Cox
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International Conference on Social Welfare, 1988

Bill Seary

The International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) has, as its subtitle, "A world organization promoting Social Development". In reality it brings together some eighty national committees (grouped in five regions), and some thirty international non-governmental organizations in the cause of strengthening the processes of social development everywhere. As the leading generalist international non-governmental organization in the field, it has Category I consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council. It also has consultative status with UNICEF, WHO, ILO, FAO and various regional intergovernmental organizations, including the Council of Europe.

The origins of ICSW lie in the late 1920s and early 1930s with the first few of the continuing series of International Conferences on Social work. These were renewed in the very early post-war years and there has been one every second year virtually without a break since 1948. In the early days the work of the organization was entirely concerned with running conferences, but this uncovered needs and created expectations of activities between conferences to help national groups to assimilate and disseminate the lessons of the conferences. In 1966 ICSW decided to become the International *Council* on Social *Welfare* and adopted a constitution which envisaged activities in general support of social development and exchange programmes as well as the running of conferences and meetings.

ICSW's work now covers three main areas:

- promoting social development in the UN and other international bodies;
- strengthening the NGO structures which are essential to social development. ICSW is now recognized as the leading agency in the work of helping the organizational self development of national social development structures;
- organizing conferences and meetings for regional and worldwide groups.

The biennial International Conference on Social Welfare is still the core activity of ICSW and its Secretariat. Typically one of these conferences offers participants the chance to hear world figures address plenary sessions, to hear and add to discussion in smaller sessions and to contribute to face-to-face discussions in groups of twelve or so. There are also many "fringe" meetings and normally an exhibition and an "Authors Forum" with many short papers which can be given with considerable enthusiasm. Perhaps the most

important feature though is the opportunity for informal discussions with people from other countries. Normally an ICSW conference attracts between one and two thousand participants. They come from over a hundred countries and they include people from the voluntary sector, local government officers, civil servants and academics. Some will have a general interest in social welfare and social development and will return time and again for the contacts and the stimulation of the conference. Others will have a specialist interest in the theme of the conference and they will have an unrivalled opportunity to broaden their range of contacts.

The themes picked for the conferences have to be broad enough to be of interest in all parts of the world. At the same time, they have to be sufficiently focussed to allow for serious preparation and discussion. A good example was the theme chosen for the 1982 conference (which was held in Brighton). This was "Action for Social Progress: the Responsibilities of Government and Voluntary Organizations". The theme was broad and covered all aspects of social development, but it was also closely focused and provided a clear lead for table discussions and for some memorable plenary speeches.

In 1988 the 24th International Conference on Social Welfare is being held in West Berlin from 31st July to the 5th August. The theme on this occasion is to be "Law — Social Welfare — Social Development". This may on first sight appear to be a rather narrow theme, but under scrutiny, it can be seen as having many fruitful strands from law and the protection of the dignity of the individual to International Law and a Just Economic Order. A basic document to be published in the spring will tease out these strands from legal and social viewpoints.

The Berlin conference will combine many of the features of the regular West German welfare gatherings. It is expected that up to 3000 participants will attend and there will be a sort of welfare fair with many stalls and demonstrations. The structure of the conference will be broadly in line with normal ICSW practice, but there will also be "commissions" of invited experts deliberating on ten specialist subjects which are expected to be:

The responsibility of the law for

- unemployed people;
- families;
- children and adolescents;
- disabled people;
- people needing residential or other care;
- landless peasants and homeless people in urban areas;
- migrant workers;
- refugees;
- offenders, and the victims of crime;
- the social position of women;
- working people.

The UK National Committee of ICSW will shortly be forwarding names of suitable experts for these Commissions to the organizers. Anyone interested could contact the Secretary of the Committee, Bill Seary. He can also supply general information about ICSW, an information sheet on the work of the UK

committee and (when it is ready) full information about the Berlin Conference. In due course he hopes to arrange for some pre-conference discussion of the basic document in the UK. *Bill Seary* can be contacted c/o *National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 26 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3HU* (tel: 01-636 4066). From other countries, information is available from *Ingrid Gelinek*, Secretary-General of ICSW, *Koestlergasse 1/29, A-1060 Vienna, Austria*.

Editor's note: Social Policy & Administration expects to have a stand at the conference in Berlin. All our readers all warmly invited to come to our stand — with their colleagues — to meet the editor and discuss the future development of this journal from 1988 onwards.

Reviews

British Conservatism: Conservative Thought from Burke to Thatcher
By FRANK O'GORMAN
Longman, 1986. London & New York, pb £5.95

It is of course a great mistake to think of British Conservatism as reactionary and pragmatic; there *is* a set of beliefs and attitudes which have persisted from the time when the Tories emerged in the seventeenth century, although admittedly it is not always easy to define them in essence because they have varied in emphasis and there has been some development. Suffice it to say that British Conservatism possesses coherence and is very different from the conservatism of the continent; in short, there is such a thing as British Conservatism, and it should never be underestimated. What is worth noticing is the way British Conservatism has changed with the times, not so much pragmatically as in terms of principle. It is to Dr O'Gorman's credit that he delineates this development, whilst providing excerpts from a variety of writer's on the subject by way of illustration.

The author identifies four major themes. Conservative writers, he says, are at pains to emphasize the inherent evil residing in human nature. It is this imperfection in mankind which makes them sceptical about social and political engineering, and especially of ambitious schemes of reform and of radical change. Secondly, many writers profess an organic theory of society or, if not a theory, a notion of this kind. Society, they say, is much too complex to be easily understood; it is like a living and growing organism of great intricacy, and to interfere with its natural growth is to risk causing unpredictable consequences, probably detrimental to the public weal. There is therefore a bias in favour of upholding the *status quo*. Thirdly, there is a considerable emphasis on historical tradition which entails placing a high value on the variety and complexity of life, and especially social life, as opposed to a narrowing uniformity; such an attitude is inimical to egalitarianism and to utilitarianism. Fourthly, there is a belief in the conservation of existing structures, estates and classes, in the preservation of property relationships and so forth. In sum, the nature of social order rests on a political legitimacy, not based on the will of the people or indeed only some people, but on what Edmund Burke called "the steady maxims of faith, justice and fixed fundamental policy".

In his introduction Dr O'Gorman traces the history of British Conservatism from 1790 to 1830, a period of Romantic Conservatism, to Peelite Conservatism of the period 1812–1846. The former was a response to the French Revolution; it enunciated conservative principles, but not a party ideology, for there was no party. The latter prepared conservatives for the task of coming to terms with industrialization, it prepared also for the great conservative administration of 1841–46 which whilst being strong on law and order reformed many abuses and introduced professionalism into politics. This in turn produced the Disraelian Conservatism of 1839–1880, to some extent inspired by the earlier romantic ideas, but more democratic, nationalistic and imperial. Then followed the late Victorian movement associated with Salisbury's desire to control the march towards democracy, but which also spawned tariff reform. In this period Conservative thought was undergoing some revision, it was a period of party debate and up to World War I some fragmentation of views became apparent. The inter-war period, dominated by Baldwin's rhetoric led to the New Conservatism of the period 1940–1975 which had come to terms with certain collectivist ideas and where the debate centred on the need to redefine the role of the state in a free enterprise economy. It may be said that the policies that emerged were less a commitment to collectivism than a modernization of capitalism. Lastly, there is the New Right which reasserted older conservative ideas, abandoned the so-called consensus politics, reducing the role of the state, and offered more individual choices and sought to release energies and to promote inventiveness and stimulate growth. It is this that brings us to the 1987 election when the reaction of the country to this outlook was tested. The present position appears to be whilst the Party proclaims free enterprise capitalism it also wishes to intervene to rescue the poor, the weak and the sick, hence it must provide services and facilities to those ends.

It cannot be denied there is a tension between those two aims so that some conservatives favour the one rather than the other; hence the differences between Thatcherites and the Wets. The author appears to favour the latter. He writes: "The old Conservative virtues of stability, continuity, compassion and moderation have been most in evidence when State intervention has been used to moderate and to cushion the impact of market forces" (p. 58).

Dr O'Gorman's conclusion ends on a sceptical note. Having contrasted the New Conservatism of the period 1940–1975 with the New Right, representing *inter alia* the move from consensus politics to confrontation, he identifies twentieth century British Conservatism with the desire to conserve the financial and economic structures of liberal capitalism together with their supportive political, institutional, social and occupational structures, whilst I suspect not really believing it possible. For British Conservatism also wants "the services and facilities proper to a civilized society in the modern era" (p. 60). He sees in the New Conservatism of the post-war period both old Disraelian traditions of 'one nation' and the newer liberal economic ideals combined; but today it is the latter which dominate. He is clearly uncertain if the New Right will be left to conserve a socially divided country, but he does recognize that it is possible the New Right may revive the nation and that a new era of prosperity and self-confidence may provide the felicity that

unemployment threatens to destroy. In the vulgar terms of today he is a Wet and not a Thatcherite.

What Dr O'Gorman does not do in his introduction is discuss the effect of the New Right on those who look for a reformation of the party system in Britain. Can there be a new alignment of forces to produce a different kind of opposition — a New Left? Will the Labour Party break up and the Liberal Alliance be the centre to attract not only support from the left but also from the right? Here we enter the world of speculation.

The 1987 election returned Mrs Thatcher's government to power with a surprisingly large majority, albeit smaller than previously. It also showed the weakness of the Liberal Alliance, which since the election is in disarray. The election left the Labour Party with its traditional strongholds in the north, but surprisingly weak in the Midlands and the south, so much so that it is clear the Party will have to abandon much in its programme and its policies and possibly alter its ideology if it is to regain power at all. The big question is about the centre. Will labour and the Liberal Alliance come together? This seems unlikely. Will a merger of Liberal and SDP take place? Possibly, but to what effect? One is bound to ask questions about who voted for the Conservatives in 1987 for clearly a sizeable portion of the working men and women of England must have done so; I suspect more women than men. The presentation of government policies as "good housekeeping" surely appealed to many women, and especially after a period of high inflation in the 1970s and the painful but unsuccessful coal strike, the defeat of which effectively clipped union power. Men may feel more loyalty to a union than their wives. The conservative working man has long been underestimated, even more so the conservative working woman.

Thus the question we must ask is twofold. Is the country, or a significant part of it, backing radical conservatism as it has emerged? Are the Wets who are still numerous in the Party less influential after what was a presidential style of election leaving the Prime Minister owing little to any of her colleagues? However these questions are answered, what is becoming clear is that there is no easy reconciliation in sight, even were it at all possible, between certain collectivist ideas and the kinds of economic and social freedom upheld by conservative thought and desire. The consensus has been abandoned and the Wets are high and dry. Mrs Thatcher has re-educated the people if not the Party. Those with greater sympathy for collectivist ideas will be forced to find a new alignment with the centre and the left; it will never be easy. One may ask what difference there is between some Liberals and the Wets, but will they come together or will the advantages of power lead them to follow their leader, albeit reluctantly?

Politics is about power, but it is also about policies, and for voters almost entirely about policies. Nothing succeeds like success. If Mrs Thatcher can effect the radical changes she is committed to without too much disruption, damage to interests and with manifest benefits then there may well be a great shift in conservative ideas rather than fission. Fissiparous tendencies are the bane of the left rather than the right. On the other hand radicals can leave a successful party defeated as a result of their obsessions as Joseph Chamberlain did to both Liberal and Conservative administrations successively, but then

he failed. Three successful elections in a row may indicate a different situation. Of course there are those who will say, indeed have said, pride goes before a fall. Yet since Enoch Powell there has been no party theorist, only a determined and able woman, singlemindedly following her political convictions. The ideas are the policies, and vice versa, and as there is no breath of scandal to destroy her the changes to be effected will supply the illustrations for the policy which is becoming more and more explicit — the destruction of socialism.

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The Emergence of the Welfare States

By DOUGLAS E. ASHFORD,
Basil Blackwell 1986, £25.

The comparative study of social policy seems to suffer from a dearth of essays on the distinctiveness of welfare states. While studies of individual countries might highlight distinctiveness, the best-known multi-nation studies often appear to strain towards a common image of “the” welfare state. Rimlinger (1971), Wilensky (1975) and Flora and Heidenheimer (1981), for example, all show some sensitivity to national differences and “micro” issues, but their comparative methods — often employing data on indices of Welfare development such as the proportion of GNP spent on various social services — all too often submerge subtle differences and divergent trends. The major contribution of Marxist writing is to have whistled the old tune of convergence to a new arrangement. Gough’s work, for example, pays lip-service to national differences but concludes with a top-down vision of a common crisis of “the” welfare state (Gough 1979, Selby 1981).

Ashford’s *The Emergence of the Welfare States* is therefore a welcome change, at least in some respects. The intention of the book — to provoke and challenge those who seek common determining causes and convergent trends — is likeable. It is written in a jargon-free way, though its elegant style shades into over-elaborateness in places. And it is refreshing to read a book in which there is hardly a statistical table or an international summary of welfare development in sight. Ashford presents us with a broad view of change from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the institutionalization of welfare after the second world war, concentrating on Britain and France but also making passing reference to Germany, Sweden and the USA.

Sadly, however, this book is not likely to satisfy either historians or those interested in comparative social policy studies. We should not underestimate Ashford’s task. It is always difficult for non-historians, relying on second-hand evidence as does Ashford, to write solid history; equally, historians do not usually make good social policy comparisons. With these difficulties in mind, why is Ashford’s book not quite the contribution to the debate that it might have been? First, it lacks a self-conscious discussion of key aspects of comparative method. Second, there are question marks over the way Ashford sets out to demonstrate his hypothesis that “the subjective dimension in the

growth of welfare states" (1986:20) — democracy, ideas and chance developments — has been of leading importance in shaping the welfare states we have today.

Methods of Comparison

The criticisms put forward by Ashford concerning the limitations of earlier comparative studies are well-founded and have been discussed elsewhere (for example Carrier and Kendall, 1977). Comparative studies are often over-schematic, compressing developments over time and between many nations into a few "objective" categories or variables. Though it does depend on the level of generality one is aiming for, perhaps Wilensky's four types of state — used to classify 64 countries (1975:21) — are a good example of this kind of over-classification.

While Ashford sharply criticizes these studies, however, the reader searches in vain for a defence of his own comparative methods. It will come as no surprise to those who know the author of *British Dogmatism and French Pragmatism* that Ashford's latest book concentrates on the two countries he knows best (the others play only bit-parts). But why do Britain and France provide us with particularly valuable illustrations of the emergence of welfare states? Their value is simply assumed, never explained; moreover, the costs of excluding other countries are not thoroughly explored.

There is also a lack of self-consciousness about the entirely chronological framework of the book. It is possible to combine chronological accounts with systematic international comparisons, as Jones suggests (1985:77), but Ashford seems to discount this possibility. Not only are the main sections of the book divided into (a) nineteenth and early twentieth century developments, (b) inter-war developments and (c) the post-war stage, but we also find that within each major section time is the organizing framework. Changes in one country are considered, followed by contemporaneous developments in another, then by a return to the first country at the next stage, and so on. Not only is this rather laborious, like a slow wagon train rolling across the prairie, but it also distracts attention from across-the-board comparisons at any one time. Jones's (1985) use of charts and diagrams illustrates how such systematic comparisons can be achieved. Admittedly such techniques oversimplify, but this may be a necessary stage to obtain any comparison at all; historical detail can then be employed to show exceptions and divergences.

It is not as though there are "right" and "wrong" methods of comparison and that Ashford has chosen the wrong ones, but rather that we are not provided with a debate about the choice of time as an organising framework. The same point could be made about Ashford's country-by-country approach. Does juxtaposition achieve comparison?

An example from the book illustrates some of the costs of concentrating on one country at a time. In the relatively early introduction of social insurance in Germany we admittedly find a difficult issue which has taxed the powers of other authors to the full. But Ashford's treatment of it is fragmented by his "juxtaposition" approach. Barely two pages (39-40) are devoted to an explanation of the paradox that "by 1890 Germany had built the most

complete system of social insurance in the world, but democratic forces were excluded . . .". This is despite the fact that Ashford places so much weight on the significance of democracy in western welfare development. Before a proper discussion can develop, Ashford has steamed on to Sweden by page 41 and, though there is a promise to return to German social insurance development, it is only briefly touched on again on pages 56–60. Here, only an indirect explanation is provided — that Prussian ideas of the state as a protector of the people played a significant part in encouraging acceptance of Bismarck's policies — though no evidence is provided. For a fuller explanation, we must turn for example to Ulman's (1981) history which shows how support from key sectors of the German commercial and industrial classes helped overcome opposition from both liberal and conservative quarters.

In summary, though Ashford's work is historically detailed, these resources are not always used to the best advantage for comparative purposes. Rapid movement from one country to another leads to a disjointed approach and an evasion of cumulative arguments. We are left with the impression that Ashford may not have searched for similarities as assiduously as he has for differences. In a way, this is an opposite kind of flaw to most other comparative studies, whose methods often seem to exaggerate similarity and convergence. To Ashford's credit, there is some attempt to draw parallels in a discussion of "weak" and "strong" states, but this theory is never fully developed to provide a genuinely comparative analysis.

The Subjective Dimension

Ashford argues that his emphasis on the role of ideas and on the open-ended nature of change is "primarily to restore balance in our understanding of the democratic state" (1986:28). *The Emergence of Welfare States* is at once an exploration of subjective influences on welfare development and a critique of the dominant objective evaluations in comparative analysis. Though Ashford is critical of studies heavily influenced by modernisation theory such as Rimlinger's (1971) and of other studies which appear to lay too much stress on quantitative data, one is given the impression that the sharpest criticisms are reserved for Marxist political-economic studies.

How successful is Ashford in restoring balance and exposing the flaws of political-economic approaches to comparison? Is the leading role of ideas as significant in accounting for divergent developments in social policy as Ashford suggests? One way to resolve these questions is to examine how far Ashford has attempted to test the weakness, as well as display the strengths, of his own hypotheses; a balanced approach also demands that the strengths of others' explanations be given a fair hearing.

Two examples serve to illustrate that Ashford does not fully put his ideas to the test. The first example is his discussion, in a concluding chapter, of British labour problems in the 1930s and the failure of policy-makers and political leaders to tackle these problems imaginatively. Ashford tries to show that it was a combination of limited British perceptions and administrative compartmentalization of labour and social policies which led to Britain's dismal employment record. Sweden in the 1930s provided a markedly more successful

contrast. But surely the failure of Britain to deal as capably or imaginatively with its economic and social problems stemmed from a complex interaction between political, intellectual, economic and social factors? For example, many contributory factors arose from Britain's earlier success as an industrial nation and role as an imperial power — legacies with which Sweden did not have to contend. Ashford would have to extend the analysis much farther than he has in order to satisfy minimal requirements for the testing of his suggestions about the role of subjective factors. As it is, we are left with ad hoc comparisons between Britain, Sweden and France, as far as employment policies in the 1930s are concerned. Not only is there a lack of systematic comparison but also some sketchy history. For example, Ashford suggests that in France "the unemployment problem was not as severe as in Britain" (1986:315), but no data or indicators of the regional or social distribution of unemployment are given.

A second example leads us to wonder whether, for all Ashford's stress on the role of ideas, they are so significant after all. In nineteenth century France, Ashford argues, republican ideals and a concern for social solidarity contrast sharply with the individualism and utilitarianism so prevalent in British thought. Thus, according to Ashford's thesis, we would expect to find that the French poor were treated less punitively than the British and that the introduction of French welfare improvements would have predated any across the Channel. But this was not so, as Ashford readily admits (1986:85). He cites several reasons for the delay to a full commitment of the Third Republic to a framework for a welfare state, including dependence of radical republican leaders on conservative peasant support. But in citing these factors Ashford appears to slip away from the realm of ideas and from the effects of political conflict in government circles towards the world of structural economic and class influences. In France the peasant classes seem to have strongly conditioned political action and thought. According to Rimlinger's historical survey of French opinion (1971: 24-31 and 44-46), there was little public sympathy for the legal right to relief. Rimlinger concludes that French ideas on the causes of poverty and the solutions to it were "quite similar to those advanced in Britain" (1971:44).

Whether Ashford or Rimlinger is right or wrong in this particular respect is not that important. From the methodological view, however, the illustration is significant because we find again that Ashford has not devised a conceptual means to test the hypothesis that distinctive French ideas and political institutions led to welfare developments independently of social and economic factors.

An underlying reason for Ashford's failure to do this is his rather rigid distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective' influences. This is not to argue that the distinction is useless. Ashford has reminded us of the role of ideas, of the importance of chance and opportunity in political development and he has argued against applying a priori reasoning to analysis of change. Welfare policies in the western countries have not developed along prescribed or inevitable paths. However, one does not have to be a Marxist to see that ideas and political developments can only be fully understood in their social and economic contexts. One suspects that Ashford would agree, but in his

attempts to "balance" the so-called objective approaches he has written a polemical book with a rather one-sided view of things. This is a pity, because possibilities of a more fruitful approach, marrying historical evidence on political ideas with some of the observations on material indicators made by previous authors, would have complemented rather than weakened his message.

Another sign of Ashford's unwillingness to fully engage with competing explanations is shown in his treatment of Marxist approaches. Nowhere in *The Emergence of the Welfare States* does Ashford really come out to fight Marxist writers on their own ground. There are only passing references, in which the Marxist view is summarized as one which stresses "economic" determinism, a caricature which hardly merits serious comment. No one would wish to impose the more arid stretches of Marxist terminology on the reader, but Ashford could have made hay with some of the notable inconsistencies in Marxist discussions of welfare state development: for example, the tendency to pose infallible arguments in which contradictory social forces provide ready-made solutions to awkward questions raised by empirical evidence. But Marxist discussions of the relationship between ideas and social reality, or between the state and social classes, are also more sophisticated and forceful than Ashford appears to believe; his refusal to give them some credit only weakens his own case.

In conclusion, the contribution of Ashford's book as a balance against earlier comparative work is marred by his reluctance to discuss the pros and cons of his own comparative methods or to fully debate with competing explanations of the relationship between objective and subjective influences. On the face of it, Ashford's work seems to present us with valuable material on the divergent paths of western social policy development. As few convergent trends have been apparent in the past, one might conclude that there is little reason to suppose that convergence will occur in the future. But in the end Ashford's arguments are unsatisfactory in this respect. What is meant by convergence? There is little discussion of this in the book. If, perhaps, convergence referred to similarity in the fine detail of social legislation, then Ashford's comments about diversity would presumably hold true. But if convergence referred to another level of generality — for example, convergence towards broadly similar pensions arrangements in western Europe, contrasted with trends in less industrialized countries — then one might wish to disagree with Ashford. As with the other shortcomings of this book, it is Ashford's reluctance to expand upon theoretical issues which seems to prevent him from making the most of his valuable collection of historical material.

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Bricks of Shame: Britain's Prisons.

By VIVIEN STERN

London: Penguin, £3.95.

On January 29th a seminar was held at the Stockwell headquarters of NACRO, of which Vivien Stern is director. The speaker was Dr Hans Tulkens, former director of the Dutch prison service: his subject "Accountability and the Dutch Prison System". Dr Tulkens spent a good part of his time describing prisoner grievance procedures in the Netherlands. As he did so his audience, persons intimately acquainted with the British system including several Prison Department administrators, grew increasingly wide-eyed. How, someone eventually asked, was it possible that the Dutch authorities were willing to introduce a system so open (all internal administrative circulars are available to prisoners), so juridical (prisoners have a right to be legally represented no matter what their complaint) and so exhaustive (there are several layers of appeal)? Dr Tulkens thought a while. "I remember," he said, "someone wrote a book — an academic. We all read the book and it was generally agreed that the author's criticisms were valid and his proposals reasonable. So his recommendations were adopted." Everyone laughed. Later that evening there was a party to launch *Bricks of Shame*.

The anecdote is worth pondering. *Bricks of Shame* will almost certainly enjoy the largest sales — a second updated edition is already being prepared — of any analysis of British prisons policy since the publication of Winifred Elkin's *The English Penal System* (1957). What impact is the book likely to have on policy? Perhaps the best way of approaching that question is to consider what policy developments Vivien Stern will have to acknowledge in her second edition.

First, the prison population has increased faster than her most pessimistic estimates. In the autumn of 1986 there were 47,500 prisoners: today, as I write (July 1987) there are 51,500. This means that we are already, four years prematurely, approaching the latest Home Office demographic projections for

the prison population in 1991. Second, it follows that overcrowding has got worse. There are now at least 10,000 more prisoners in the system than it is said officially to be capable of holding. Thus, not for the first time, a measure to which Parliament agreed in a crisis has come to be used permanently. In 1981, because of a dispute with prison officers, the Prison (Temporary Provisions) Act was rushed through both Houses so that prisoners could if necessary be held in police stations. Prisoners have been so held almost continuously ever since. The prison system now *relies* on police cells and currently over 600 prisoners are in them.

Third, it is now officially conceded that the Government's massive prison building programme — the largest since the mid 19th century — will, *ceteris paribus*, not suffice to eliminate overcrowding: twenty new prisons, plus additions to existing buildings providing 17,200 new prison places and yet, in 1995, there will still be prisoners three-up in cells designed in the 1840s for one. Stopping out will be with us into the 21st century and it seems likely that prisoners will continue sewing mailbags, still one of our most popular prison "industries". Fourth, while wallowing in these stormy waters, the Prison Department has pressed on with a major management repair to its ship, the so-called "Fresh Start" for prison officers. By paying them basic salaries the equivalent to that which officers currently earn working 55–60 hours a week the Department hopes to eliminate overtime within three years. Fifth, because the prison population has gone on rising, and because the deal with prison officers has to be kept on an even keel, the Home Secretary has had to resort to opening an escape valve which will do nothing to enhance his reputation or the integrity of the system but may avert a crisis. Mr Hurd is to release 3,000–4,000 short-term prisoners by increasing their remission, open an army camp as a temporary prison, and possibly charter a prison hulk. By announcing these measures just before the summer recess he hopes his backbenchers will not draw too much attention to these arbitrary panic measures. Finally, by bringing the private sector into the prison planning and construction process the Home Secretary also hopes to speed up the building programme and keep pace with the harvest his Party's rhetoric and the courts have reaped.

Most of these developments are sign-posted in Vivien Stern's existing text and deprecated. Her second edition will simply confirm how much worse things have got. At best the increased remission announced for short-term prisoners will do no more than restore prison numbers to what they were when first she laid her pen to rest, that is to say a population larger relative to overall population than any other country in Europe bar Turkey. Ms Stern's analysis will remain intact, her hopes of change further set back.

Bricks of Shame, a title well lifted from Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* is not a research monograph. Nor is it a book which lays claim to originality in subject matter, analysis or prescription. It is quite simply an eminently readable account of who we imprison, how we imprison and what some of the consequences are. Originality was not required: the conditions are longstanding, the alternatives readily available. An accessible text setting out the principal facts for the inquiring lay citizen was what was needed and Vivien Stern has completed the task admirably. She explains clearly that the reason we have a large prison population is not because we send a much higher

proportion of offenders to prison than other countries, but because we send them for longer. She points out that the majority, 81 per cent, of prisoners are sent to prison for non-violent property offences. She reviews the evidence that longer sentences are no more effective on any of the criteria one might evaluatively employ than shorter sentences. She describes the appalling conditions in which the majority of prisoners are housed and prison officers work. Above all she chronicles the frightful cost, the degradation and the unimaginable waste of it all. Finally, Ms Stern's measured conclusion appears to assume that right-thinking readers will, now they are better acquainted with the facts, do something to join her in removing this blot on our body politic.

The truth, however, is that our prisons policy is not readily susceptible to this sort of rational argument, no matter how much, like Vivien Stern, most critics feel obliged to employ it. In the current political climate, prisons can scarcely fail: their success does not depend on turning out changed (deterred or reformed) criminals, which is why dismal Home Office statistics have done little or nothing to diminish the Government's attachment to so-called experiments like the "short sharp shock" detention centres. It matters little that prison conditions are frightful for, as many Government supporters and sections of the popular press regularly intone, those conditions can readily be avoided by those who suffer them. It does not even matter if prison industries are a farce commercially. The only performance indicators that truly concern Prison Department are keeping staff at their posts at a cost below the rate of inflation and that prisoners do not escape. It matters scarcely a jot that released prisoners generally take again to crime as soon as their reduced life chances become apparent to them. It follows that further reports from HM Chief Inspector of Prisons castigating prison conditions will not perturb the Home Secretary, unless of course mass disturbances appear to be in the offing. The number of official quotes that Vivien Stern is able to marshal for her cause is demonstration enough that the failure of the prison to reform, individually deter, or merely contain in civilized conditions, counts for little when assessing the prison's appeal.

The prison is a political virility symbol. It signals the limits of tolerance, it constitutes the State's supreme denunciation and, consistent with a 19th century utilitarian principal which has lost none of its force, its inhabitants are the least eligible of citizens. Finally, the prison is a moral statement in its own right and is particularly important to administrations committed to cutting back the domain of the State.

There are perennial arguments about whether the State should provide most goods and services — education, health, housing, etc. — but political philosophies of the left and right are agreed that the primary justification of the State lies in its securing the safety of individual citizens and their (legitimate) property. If market solutions are employed to distribute goods and services the likelihood is that there will be strains, in particular the creation of social and economically marginal groups. The more market-oriented the system the less tolerance there is likely to be for those individuals and groups who fail. The market system is built on the altar of individual choice which in the language dominant in our criminal justice system means that individuals are free to

choose the alternate paths of virtue or crime. For those who choose crime, the vicissitudes of the market — poverty, unemployment, living in the inner city — will be no excuse. Indeed, according to cruder versions of the economics of deterrence those who have least must be punished the most, what else will deter them?

There is nothing odd or inconsistent therefore in a Government committed to cutting public expenditure and returning to the market place as many services as it is able, simultaneously allowing spending on law and order services — principally the police and prisons — to grow at an unprecedented rate. It is one of the Government's proudest boasts that expenditure in this area of policy has risen in real terms by more than a third since 1979 (Home Office 1986). The burgeoning prison population is not a Government objective — far from it — but it is a consequence of its tough law and order rhetoric from which it will not and, ideologically, cannot shrink. Accommodating in prison all those offenders the courts choose to send is a demonstration of what the Government sees as the *proper* responsibility of the State. The version of liberty to which it is attached is not denied by the expanding prison population. Rather it is confirmed. By refusing aggressively to manage the prison population — for example, by curbing the powers of the courts or employing amnesties — the Government is restating what it sees as its duty to ensure that the alleged newly fleshed-out freedoms of the people are not abused. How better to do that than by denying offenders their liberty?

My conclusion is that there is little or no prospect of Vivien Stern's hopes being realized in the short-term. Slyly — during summer recesses for example — the Government will manage the prison population within limits. If they do not there will be riots. But no radical changes in direction can be looked for. The population will go on rising and, as long as prisoners are generally submissive, prison conditions will not greatly improve. The domestic courts — always reluctant to interfere in public administration — will do virtually nothing to alter this state of affairs: there is no real prospect of prisoners' rights litigation on the American model (Maguire, Vagg and Morgan 1985).

Cameo evidence in support of this dismal conclusion is provided by the Government's response to the report of a recent working party, of which Vivien Stern was a member, on prison disciplinary procedures (Prior Report 1985). The Committee, acknowledging the totally unsatisfactory present arrangements, recommended a radical change. There should be a new independent Prison Disciplinary Tribunal chaired by lawyers of standing. This change, combined with more generous allowance of legal representation at hearings, would facilitate a more judicial and hopefully rights-based approach to prison discipline. The Government has rejected the proposal and proposes instead to allow some members of the boards of visitors (lay committees who currently combine disciplinary, inspectoral and grievance ventilation functions) to specialize in disciplinary matters (Cmnd 9920, 1986). Meanwhile boards of visitors are granting legal representation more and more parsimoniously, a situation which the courts and Government endorse and probably provides a foretaste of things to come.

I cannot foresee any British minister or civil servant recalling on some future date how either Vivien Stern's book or the Committee Report to which she was

a contributor had an impact on prisons policy. The fault lies not with Ms Stern's analysis. It is simply that prisons policy in Britain is driven by an ideological engine which is substantially immune to the sort of rational administrative considerations to which Ms Stern is committed. In Holland, where an elite coterie of administrators and lawyers are responsible for fine-tuning all aspects of criminal justice within an integrated Ministry of Justice, and where such matters have a lower political profile, things are different. Regrettably the only thing likely to divert the Government from its present course would be the prison equivalent of the 1981 Brixton disturbances. We might then find Ms Stern's strictures being given the attention they deserve.

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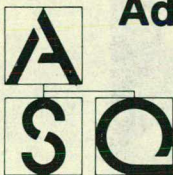
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POLICY AND POLITICS

VOLUME 15 NUMBER 4

OCTOBER 1987

The influence of party competition on post-war UK tax rates: *Oliver Morrissey and Sven Steinmo*

Co-operative ownership of former council housing: *David Clapham, Peter Kemp and Keith Kintrea*

Private children's homes: an analysis of fee variations and a comparison with public sector costs: *Martin Knapp*

Local authority registration staff and the boundary between public and private sector care: *Simon Biggs*

Tribunals hearing Supplementary Benefit appeals: the members' role: *Michael Jackson, Heather Stewart and Rosemary Bland*

Abstracts

Index to Volume 15

POLICY and POLITICS

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University of Bristol
School for Advanced Urban Studies
Rodney Lodge Grange Road
Bristol BS8 4EA Telephone 0272 741117
Editor Glen Bramley

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Stewart MacPherson has been Senior Lecturer in the Department of Social Administration and Social Work at Nottingham University. He has recently been appointed Professor of Social Policy at the University of Papua New Guinea, from where he will continue his column in this journal on social development.

Milosav Milosavljević is Professor of Social Policy at the University of Belgrade where he has also been responsible for the school of social work training. For some years he has collaborated with the editor in programmes of Anglo-Yugoslav exchange in social policy studies aided by the British Council.

Barry Sugarman is Professor of Management at Lesley College Graduate School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he is also Director of the master's degree program in human services management.

J. D. Leach recently retired from the international relations branch of the (British) Department of Health and Social Security, where he represented the United Kingdom at many international meetings and conferences.

Rosalind Brooke-Ross has taught law and social policy in Britain and in Germany and recently completed a Nuffield Fellowship at Goldsmiths College, University of London.

Stephen Savage and Charles Wilson are senior lecturers in criminology and social policy at Portsmouth Polytechnic.

Tony Lerwill recently retired from the post of controller of Families Housing and Welfare Services for the United Kingdom Land Forces, holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Contributors are invited to submit manuscripts for publication on subjects within the field of Social Policy and Administration. They should be submitted in double-spaced typescript on quarto or A4 paper. Two copies should be sent and each should be accompanied by a summary of not more than 250 words. Articles of about 5,000 words are preferred. All editorial communications should be addressed to:

Professor R. A. B. LEAPER,
Birchcote, New North Road, Exeter EX4 4AD.
Tel. (0392) 72565

System of Referencing

The following system of referencing should be used in *Social Policy and Administration*.

- A References to books published should be as follows:
Beltram, Geoffrey; *Testing the Safety Net*. Bedford Square Press, 1984.
- B References to articles should be given as follows:
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- C If you wish to quote the actual page(s) of an article in a journal, the page number(s) should be given immediately after the title of the article and before the name of the journal.

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From: C D FORD
Date: 10 February 1988

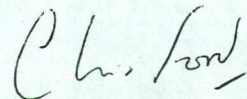
PS/FINANCIAL SECRETARY

cc: Mr. Scotter

FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

The Financial Secretary asked for a note on the "double counting" of VAT increases in this report.

2. The report's comparison of real income in 1979 and 1985 is based on figures published by CSO for each family type (an extract is attached).
3. The report uses the line "Income after cash benefits and all taxes". It then compares this with the corresponding 1979 figure inflated by the change in the RPI.
4. The VAT increase in 1979 leads to an increase in the RPI and also reduces "Income after cash benefits and all taxes" because "Taxes on final goods and services" go up. As a result this increase is included twice.
5. Comparing real disposable income avoids this problem. Direct taxes enter through changes in disposable income and indirect taxes through changes in the RPI.



CHRIS FORD

Average incomes, taxes and benefits, 1985

By quintile groups of original income within household type

TABLE 4 (continued)

	£ per year					Average over all quintile groups
	Quintile group					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	
(v) 3 or more adults, with no children						
Quintile points (£)	8 530	13 487	17 279	22 951		
Number of households in the sample	152	153	152	153	152	762
Original income	5 057	11 004	15 407	19 865	30 494	16 363
Direct benefits in cash						
Contributory						
Retirement pension	831	529	318	211	120	402
Sickness/ injury related	656	157	143	90	62	221
Unemployment benefit	186	124	94	46	55	101
Other	89	44	62	63	2	52
Total contributory	1 762	854	617	410	239	776
Non-contributory						
Supplementary benefit	755	202	123	148	63	258
Child benefit	48	73	61	88	79	70
Rent rebates/ allowances	221	21	1	8	8	52
Sickness/ disablement related	384	124	117	87	50	152
Other	377	78	116	83	73	145
Total non-contributory	1 784	497	418	413	274	677
Gross income	8 603	12 354	16 441	20 688	31 007	17 815
Income tax ¹ and Employees' NIC	829	2 104	3 311	4 554	7 443	3 647
Disposable income	7 773	10 250	13 130	16 135	23 564	14 168
Domestic rates ²	282	369	415	464	578	421
Taxes on final goods and services	1 601	2 039	2 456	2 982	3 565	2 529
Intermediate taxes	439	560	669	801	1 036	701
Income after cash benefits and all taxes	5 452	7 283	9 590	11 889	18 385	10 517
Benefits in kind						
Education	1 033	427	521	536	670	637
National health service	838	726	734	752	759	762
Housing subsidy	94	60	57	38	13	52
Travel subsidies	105	83	85	117	238	126
Welfare foods	3	3	2	1	2	2
Final income	7 524	8 582	10 989	13 332	20 068	12 096
(vi) 1 adult with children						
Quintile points (£)	-	177	1 664	4 676		
Number of households in the sample	81 ³		41	40	41	203
Original income	15		886	2 931	7 859	2 350
Direct benefits in cash						
Contributory						
Retirement pension	-		-	-	-	-
Sickness/ injury related	29		58	51	-	33
Unemployment benefit	11		-	46	9	15
Other	114		303	316	257	221
Total contributory	154		361	413	266	269
Non-contributory						
Supplementary benefit	1 912		1 276	257	112	1 094
Child benefit	658		737	745	670	693
Rent rebates/ allowances	749		653	359	87	519
Sickness/ disablement related	25		-	-	-	10
Other	5		99	178	73	72
Total non-contributory	3 349		2 765	1 538	941	2 388
Gross income	3 518		4 012	4 882	9 066	5 007
Income tax ¹ and Employees' NIC	-27		-70	129	1 038	210
Disposable income	3 545		4 081	4 754	8 028	4 797
Domestic rates ²	72		113	196	391	169
Taxes on final goods and services	538		520	695	1 030	665
Intermediate taxes	187		209	252	400	247
Income after cash benefits and all taxes	2 748		3 240	3 610	6 207	3 716
Benefits in kind						
Education	1 016		1 321	1 352	1 057	1 152
National health service	669		487	421	407	530
Housing subsidy	207		127	93	63	139
Travel subsidies	25		20	14	50	27
Welfare foods	215		193	158	61	168
Final income	4 879		5 388	5 648	7 845	5 733

¹ After tax relief at source on mortgage interest and life assurance premiums.² Net of the rate rebate element of housing benefit, but including water, etc. charges.³ More than a fifth of these households had no original income, so the bottom group is undefined.

From the Editor

Telephone: (0392) 77911 (09.00-17.00 hours),
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Birchcote, New North Road, Exeter EX4 4AD

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16th February 1988

Mr Nigel Lawson,
Chancellor of the Exchequer,
House of Commons,
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Dear Mr Lawson,

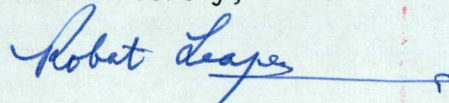
I read in The Times of your reply to a parliamentary question in the house last week on a recent Policy Studies Institute study alleging an increase in income differentials in Britain.

You may know that this journal is concerned to establish objective evidence and reliable criteria in social questions. To that end we have recently published a critical analysis of Professor Peter Townsend's studies of "Poverty", allowing Townsend, ofcourse, space for a reply. We adopted the same editorial policy over such matters as health services management and long-term unemployment.

In our next edition I propose to review recent Policy Studies Institute publications on income distribution. I should very much like to publish in the same issue an article of up to 5,000 words expanding on your critical comments on the P.S.I. study's. If you or one of your colleagues would let me have such an article by the end of April, it can appear in our summer number. This will be published at the International Council on Social Welfare in Berlin where we will have a stand to ourselves. I am anxious that questions such as income distribution in Britain should be presented to an informed international audience in a balanced and well-documented manner.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,



PROFESSOR R.A.B. LEAPER, C.B.E., M.A.

Ch
Worth asking PST (or EST)
to take this on?
(I rather doubt it)



Ask EST if he
has time of hour
or
Sask:

From: C D FORD
Date: 23 February 1988

MISS WALLACE

cc: Mr Riley
Mr Scotter
Mr Wilkinson (CSO)

Ch/
for information
Post Circulator
from HM. &
advisors for info. ✓
input 24/2

FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

During Oral Answers on 11 February the Chancellor said "we" would be writing to the Family Policy Studies Centre pointing out errors in the data used for their study. In fact CSO wrote to the Centre on 4 February. Thus no further action is required.

2. I attach the briefing prepared on this report, together with the letter from CSO to the author. I also attach the written reply referred to in the briefing.

Chris Ford

CHRIS FORD

surplus was Roy Jenkins, now Lord Jenkins? Does the Chancellor expect that his career will follow the same glittering progress?

Mr. Lawson: I have never before been compared to the noble Lord Jenkins. [*Interruption.*] I have long since given up drinking claret. He was, of course, only Chancellor of the Exchequer for a relatively short time.

Mr. Ralph Howell: Will my right hon. Friend give top priority to raising the tax thresholds in his forthcoming Budget, to help restore incentives to work and help the lower paid generally?

Mr. Lawson: My hon. Friend is quite right. He has been waging a campaign for a long time pointing out the importance of reductions in income tax to create incentives and to help the lower paid and indeed all those in the economy to make the economy stronger. I think he will agree that the economy is now very much stronger and one of the reasons for that, although not by any means the only one, is that we have been pursuing a policy of reducing levels of income tax.

Mr. John Smith: If Britain's public finances are as sound as the Chancellor says, why are the Government not spending the money where it is desperately needed, in the National Health Service? Or does the Chancellor now tell us that enough is being spent on the Health Service? Will he give us a direct answer?

Mr. Lawson: I shall say two things to the right hon. and learned Gentleman. First, as my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Treasury said in an answer to an earlier question, we have provided in this most recent public expenditure White Paper for the biggest ever increases in spending on the National Health Service in the next three years. Secondly, as my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister has already made clear, health provision is currently under review by the Government. Finally, I make it clear to him that anybody who knows anything about provision of health care in the National Health Service in this country knows that the problems—and there are problems—go far beyond the simple question of funding.

Personal Disposable Income

4. **Mr. Redwood:** To ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what has been the growth of real personal disposable income since 1983.

Mr. Lawson: Real personal disposable income has grown by 13 per cent. since 1983.

Mr. Redwood: Does my right hon. Friend agree that these excellent figures show that policies that promote enterprise, competition and fiscal prudence certainly deliver the goods?

Mr. Lawson: They do and they will continue to do so.

Mr. Tom Clarke: Is the Chancellor aware that figures put forward by the Family Studies Institute suggest that, under this Chancellor, the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer? Should we not have a strategy against poverty, beginning with the scrapping of the notorious social fund, which the Government are determined to introduce in April?

Mr. Lawson: The studies to which the hon. Gentleman referred were based on incorrect data and we are writing

to the institute to point that out. The truth of the matter is that, at all income levels, the vast majority of the people of this country have seen a substantial increase in their living standards since the Government came to office.

4. Low earners haven't had same increase in earnings as average. Even if account taken of actual earnings growth, all points on distribution have had increase in real take-home pay since 1979 - single person at lowest decile up 5 per cent between April 1979 and April 1987. Low earners have done better under this government than under Labour.

5. Standard of living of nurse - fell under Labour but up 22 per cent since 1980-81.

6. Increase in real take-home pay just result of pay rises not government action. Income tax cuts - increase in allowances and cutting basic rate from 33p to 27p in pound - have contributed to increase in real take-home pay.

7. Report from Family Policy Studies Centre (extracts attached) claims bottom 20 per cent have suffered a decline in real income 1979-87. In fact bottom 20 per cent have received an average increase of 13 per cent in disposable income. Disposable income has increased for all family types in the bottom 20 per cent.

8. FPSC report shows lone parents had a fall of 11 per cent in real income between 1978-79 and 1987-88. This used CSO data which incorrectly classified some households. Small sample makes accurate estimates difficult but reworked figures suggest this group have had a 1 per cent increase in real take home pay over the period. CSO will be writing to the author of the report. [DHSS will have answered PQs on this by 11 February.]

Family Fortunes:**Parents' Incomes in the 1980s**

Occasional Paper No 7

Table 4: Who's better off in 1985?

Changes in Average Real Income by Household Type between 1979 and 1985

	Original ^a Income			Post Tax/Cash Benefit ^a Income		
	1979 ^c £ per year	1985 £ per year	Change %	1979 ^c £ per year	1985 £ per year	Change %
Retired^d						
1 adult	868	1,156	+43	2,217	2,560	+15
2 adult	1,767	3,056	+73	3,600	4,490	+25
Adults with children						
1 adult +	3,789	2,350	-38	4,188	3,716	-11
2 adults + 1	9,808	10,542	+ 7	6,589	7,204	+ 9
2 adults + 2	11,346	11,668	+ 3	7,658	8,106	+ 6
2 adults + 3+	9,990	10,228	+ 2	7,469	7,997	+ 7
3 adults +	14,891	15,009	+ 1	10,182	10,579	+ 4
Adults without children (non retired)						
1 adult	5,995	6,344	+ 6	3,862	4,119	+ 7
2 adults	10,854	12,187	+12	7,077	7,878	+11
3+ adults	15,461	16,363	+ 6	10,249	10,517	+ 3

Notes

(a) and (b) See Table 1

(c) Adjusted to 1985 prices

(d) The classification of 'retired' households has been slightly changed between 1979 and 1985 but this should not greatly affect the figures. In this table, both types of income are affected.

Sources: Economic Trends (dates as Table 1), Table 4 of the Appendix to the articles.**Table 5: Who's better off in 1985?**

Changes in Average Real Income between 1979 and 1985 in each Band, Households with Children

20% bands (of each household type)	1 adult & children %	2 adults & 1 child %	2 adults & 2 children %	2 adults & 3+ children %	3 adults & children %
a) Original Income					
Bottom ^c		-38	-43	-94	-43
Second ^c	-94	- 7	- 2	-27	-11
Middle	-69	+ 2	+ 5	+ 3	- 1
Fourth	-45	+14	+10	+ 9	+ 4
Top	-23	+24	+11	+25	+17
b) Post Tax/Cash Benefit Income^d					
Bottom ^c		-11	- 6	- 9	- 5
Second ^c	+ 1	+ 3	+ 4	- 6	-11
Middle	+ 1	+ 2	+ 5	+ 3	- 3
Fourth	-17	+15	+ 8	+13	+ 4
Top	-21	+19	+ 9	+17	+19

The level of income after taxes and cash benefits in 1985 is shown below in £ per year.

Bottom	2,748	4,205	4,906	4,610	6,506
Top	6,207	13,204	14,374	15,118	19,228

Notes:

(a) and (b) See Table 1

(c) More than 20% of the households had no original income in 1985 so the bottom 2 bands have been amalgamated

(d) These are bands of original income

Sources: As Table 4

Poorest families are worse off as most grow richer

By Peter Pallot

WHILE most people are becoming richer, Britain's poorest families are becoming worse off in real terms, according to a report out today. Allowing for inflation, benefits and taxation, the income of the poorest fifth has fallen by six per cent while that of the richest fifth has risen by nine per cent.

The report by the Family Policy Studies Centre, which is partly funded by the Department of Health and Social Security, is based on Government figures for 1979-85.

The Government maintains that almost everyone has been getting richer but the report shows

Family average earned income has fallen by 38 per cent, and their average income after tax and benefits by 11 per cent.

'Era of affluence'

Mr Malcolm Wicks, the centre's director, said: "While we are told that we are in a new era of affluence, which indeed we are, the worrying thing is that the bottom fifth is being left behind in a pool of poverty which is getting wider and deeper."

He said the main causes were unemployment, the very low wages that some now earn, tax changes and the impact of widespread divorce.

The study is based on not income groups — unlike other studies.

Its author, Miss Jo Roll, said: "The results are startling.

Unlike other studies, ours shows what has been happening to women with children.

"Contrary to the general trend the average income of the parents has fallen."

"Among couples with children, income differences have got wider not just because the rich have got richer, but also because incomes of the poorest have fallen."

Mr Robin Cook, Labour's social services spokesman, said the picture for families on low incomes would get "even bleaker" in April, when changes in the social security system would mean "a lower level of entitlement for most people currently on benefit."

The centre is an independent body, part charity-funded, chaired by Sir Campbell Adamson, chairman of Abbey National Building Society.

Family Fortunes, Family Policy Studies Centre, 231 Baker St, London NW1 6XE.

Poorest families are becoming worse off

Britain's poor are becoming poorer, both in real and relative terms, says a report published today by the Family Policy Studies Centre.

The report was based on official figures used by the Government to defend its record on wealth and poverty. The Government says almost everyone is better off even if inequalities have been growing as the rich improve their position faster.

However, says the centre, many families, especially one-parent families, have become worse off in real terms.

Jo Rolls, a research officer, who wrote the study, analysed statistics on wealth from 1979 to 1985. She says her analysis, unlike others supporting government policies, is based on family types, not income groups.

And she says even allowing for social security benefits and tax allowances, the income of the poorest 20 per cent has dropped by 6 per cent, and the income of the richest 20 per

cent has increased by 9 per cent.

The steepest decline in wealth is among single-parent families, whose average income between 1979 and 1985 fell by 11 per cent.

Mr Malcolm Wicks, the director of the centre, which is partly funded by the Department of Health and Social Security, said the report showed the picture for poorer and single-parent families was "far more gloomy than realized".

Mr Robin Cook, Labour's social services spokesman, said: "Since unemployment has doubled under the present Government, it is just not credible for it to claim everybody is better off".

He added that the picture for families on low incomes would get "even bleaker" in April when changes in the social security system would mean "a lower level of entitlement for most people currently on benefit".

1/10

Social Policy & Administration

From the Editor
Telephone: (0392) 72565
Birchcote, New North Road, Exeter EX4 4AD

~~BF 3/3~~

RABL/EB

23rd February 1988

Mr Nigel Lawson,
Chancellor of the Exchequer,
House of Commons,
London S.W.1.

~~map~~
Thanks put with more
~~BF 8/3~~ recent opp
(on BF)

Dear Mr Lawson,

Further to my letter of February 16th I learn that the study referred to seems to be emanating from the Family Policy Studies Centre. I also receive for review all their publications as well as those from P.S.I.

May I say that this change is of no consequence to us. We should still like to do a short article summarising the study in question and to give you space for an article as described in my previous letter.

~~BF 10/3~~

I very much hope you will be able to respond to my invitation. I have received many enquiries from abroad about our economic and social policy. To publish articles of the kind I propose in our journal on the occasion of the International Conference on Social Welfare would be a splendid opportunity for us all.

pse ask
EST's if they
want answers
yet

Yours sincerely,

Robert Leaper

R.A.B. Leaper.

✓
AWAITING MR LEAPER'S
REPLY HOPEFULLY
TODAY

TL
10/3

Thanks

BF 11/3
14/3

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Social Policy & Administration

From the Editor

Telephone: (0332) 72511 (09.00-17.00 hours)
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Birchcote, New North Road, Exeter EX4 4AD

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RABL/EB

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I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

PROFESSOR R.A.B. LEAPER, C.B.E., M.A.

(Under desk)

Ask BST
W.S. 12/2/88
Gardner



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. P. Wallace'.

FROM: MISS M P WALLACE
DATE: 25 February 1988

PS/ECONOMIC SECRETARY

cc Chief Secretary
Financial Secretary
PMG
EC Secretary
Mr R I G Allen
Mr Pickford
Mr Riley
Mr Ford
Mr Scotter
Mr Gibson
Mr Hudson
Mr Cropper
Mr Tyrie
Mr Call

FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

I attach a letter the Chancellor has received from Professor R A B Leaper inviting him to contribute an article to the Journal Social Policy and Administration, expanding on his critical comment at First Order about the "PSI's" (we assume he means the FPSC's) study on income differentials in Britain.

2. The Chancellor does not think he can take this on himself. However, he wonders if the Economic Secretary would be interested in taking this on.

3. The Chancellor has also suggested that Ministers and Advisers might be interested to see Mr Ford's minute of 23 February which sets out the background and the terms in which the CSO have now written to the FPSC.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. P. Wallace'.

MOIRA WALLACE

Apologies for Omitting
The Attachment



BB 2/3

FROM: MISS M P WALLACE
DATE: 25 February 1988

PS/ECONOMIC SECRETARY

cc Chief Secretary
Financial Secretary
PMG
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Mr R I G Allen
Mr Pickford
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FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

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Mpw.

MOIRA WALLACE

papers pse w

From: C D FORD
Date: 29 February 1988

PS/ECONOMIC SECRETARY

BF 113

cc: PS/Chief Secretary
PS/Financial Secretary
PS/Paymaster General
Miss Wallace
Mr R I G Allen
Mr Pickford
Mr Riley
Mr Scotter
Mr Gibson
Mr Hudson
Mr Cropper
Mr Tyrie
Mr Call

Mr Wilkinson (CSO)

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FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

As Miss Wallace's minute of 25 February points out, Professor Leaper is under the impression that this report was produced by the Policy Studies Institute. This stems from Mr Tom Clarke's reference (attached) to the "Family Studies Institute" which The Times reported as the "Policy Studies Institute".

2. If the next edition of "Social Policy and Administration" is to review recent Policy Studies Institute publications it would seem inappropriate for it to contain an article by the Economic Secretary concerning the publication of another research body.

3. PSI would be justifiably aggrieved if additional confusion were to be created concerning the authorship of this report.

Ch. Ford

CHRIS FORD

to the institute to point that out. The truth of the matter is that, at all income levels, the vast majority of the people of this country have seen a substantial increase in their living standards since the Government came to office.

Personal Disposable Income

4. **Mr. Redwood:** To ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what has been the growth of real personal disposable income since 1983.

Mr. Lawson: Real personal disposable income has grown by 13 per cent. since 1983.

Mr. Redwood: Does my right hon. Friend agree that these excellent figures show that policies that promote enterprise, competition and fiscal prudence certainly deliver the goods?

Mr. Lawson: They do and they will continue to do so.

Mr. Tom Clarke: Is the Chancellor aware that figures put forward by the Family Studies Institute suggest that, under this Chancellor, the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer? Should we not have a strategy against poverty, beginning with the scrapping of the notorious social fund, which the Government are determined to introduce in April?

Mr. Lawson: The studies to which the hon. Gentleman referred were based on incorrect data and we are writing

From: C D FORD
Date: 10 March 1988

ECONOMIC SECRETARY

cc: PS/Chancellor
Mr Culpin
Mr R I G Allen
Mr Pickford
Mr Riley
Mr Gibson
Mr Scotter
Mrs Burnhams
Mr Cropper
Mr Tyrie
Mr Call

Mr Wilkinson (CSO)

Mr Kew (DHSS)

FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

Professor Leaper's letters of 16 and 23 February invited the Chancellor to contribute an article to the Journal Social Policy and Administration expanding on his critical comments regarding the FPSC study "Family Fortunes: Parents' Incomes in the 1980s".

2. We would advise against accepting Professor Leaper's invitation. We think it would be inappropriate for ministers to get into the business of formally reviewing studies of this type. Even if it were, in principle, desirable to do so it would not be possible to review every one of the large number of such studies produced by outside bodies. A selective approach could be taken to imply less criticism of other - perhaps equally unsatisfactory - studies.

3. In our judgement there is likely to be little or no gain from putting on record our views concerning changes in the income distribution. If it were thought desirable to do so, this journal might not provide the most suitable forum.

4. We think the appropriate course is for officials to pursue factual and technical issues with the report's author. Mr Wilkinson (CSO) and Mr Kew (DHSS) are currently corresponding with Ms Jo Roll. Their work suggests that whilst no group experienced a decline in real income over the period 1979-85 (as the FPSC claimed), the real income of the bottom 40 per cent of two parent families would be "virtually unchanged" whilst the top 20 per cent experienced an increase of 19 per cent.

5. I attach a draft reply to Professor Leaper.

CHRIS FORD

DRAFT

Professor R A B Leaper CBE MA
The Editor
Social Policy and Administration
Birchcote
New North Road
Exeter EX4 4AD

prototype
for me
to send

-- March 1988

The Chancellor has asked me to

Thank you for your letters of 16 February and 23 February ~~to~~
~~the~~ Chancellor inviting him to provide an article on the recent
Family Policy Studies Centre Report for publication in your Journal.

As you will of course be aware, a large number of papers of
this type are published every year. I hope you will understand that
Ministers are not in a position to review them and must therefore
decline your offer.

Officials in the Central Statistical Office and the Department
of Health and Social Security have written to the author of the
report drawing attention to a number of statistical problems
associated with the approach adopted.

MPW

BF15/B

~~papers psc (X, family
kenn)~~



FROM: G R WESTHEAD
DATE: 11 March 1988

APS/CHANCELLOR 2

cc Mr R I G Allen
Mrs Burnhams
Mr Ford
Mr Cropper

FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE REPORT

The Economic Secretary has seen Mr Ford's minute of 10 March, following on from Professor Leaper's further letter which tried to atone for his earlier mix-up between the Family Policy Studies Centre and the Policy Studies Institute.

2. Professor Leaper's further letter does not change the Economic Secretary's view. He thinks that the invitation should still be declined. I assume therefore that you will write to Professor Leaper along the lines of Mr Ford's draft.

X

Guy Westhead.

GUY WESTHEAD
Assistant Private Secretary