Contents

Figures and Tables ix
Acknowledgements x

1 The British Welfare State: Origins and Myths 1
   Origins 1
   The Basic Principles of the 1940s Welfare State 5
   The Myths 8
   A Re-evaluation 18

2 Beveridge: Founding Father? 20
   Beveridge: the Man 21
   The Ambition: a New Britain 23
   The Report: Radical, but did it add up? 28
   The Report’s Main Proposals 36
   The Rejection of Beveridge? 39
   Family Allowances 41
   An Unsound Foundation 42

3 The Right to Health, Knowledge, Food, Shelter and Work, 1945–51 44
   Citizenship Rights? 44
   A National Health Service Created 46
   The New National Health Service 53
   Education For All 55
   The 1944 Education Act 60
Contents

Labour's Policy 60
Children 63
Food Rationing 64
Shelter 65
Jobs for All 68
Services for Citizens? 68

4 The New Conservatism and Social Policy, 1951–64 71
Back to the Drawing Board 72
Trying to Contain the Welfare State 76
Inflation and Full Employment – an Early Warning 81
Social Services: Wasted Years? 82
Conservative Achievements 95

5 Completing the Post-war Agenda 1964–76, Part One: the Poor and the Poorest 97
An Old Agenda 97
What is New? 98
Social Policy Moves Centre Stage 99
Reforming Beveridge 104
Labour Comes to Power 107
Conservatives Reverse Engines, 1970 112
Labour Tries Again 114
Child Poverty Again 115
Balance Sheet So Far 120

6 Completing the Post-war Agenda 1964–76, Part Two: from Equal Access to Equality? 123
Health Care 123
Social Work 127
NHS Reform Again 131
Education and the Pursuit of Equality 134
Housing 142
Race Relations 146
Equal Pay 149

7 Morality, Family and the State: the Legacy of the Sixties 152
Homosexual Law Reform 154
Abortion 157
Divorce 159
Lone Parents 162
Domestic Violence 164
Sex Education 166

8 The Party Over, 1976–88 168
Labour 1976–9: Cuts and Fag Ends 176
Containment, Continuity and Tentative Change, 1979–88 178
Social Security Reform 180
SERPS 184
Housing Reform 187
Continuities 189

9 New Directions, 1988–97 191
A Radical Manifesto 192
Housing Choice 195
Standards in Education 198
Student Loans 201
A Poll Tax 202
Health Service Reform 203
Community Care 207
Another ‘Fundamental’ Review 209
Taxation 210
Majorism 212
The State and the Family 213
Lone Mothers 214
Children 219
The End of an Era 221

10 Sixty Years On 222
A New Start? 222
Institutional Change and its Sources 224
A Dual Premiership? 224
Changed Economic Circumstances 225
Devolution 227
Changing Families 228
Welfare Reform 230
Teenage Pregnancy 240
Children at Risk 240
Institutional Reform: From Monopoly to Diversity and Choice 242
Contents

Ageing and Pensions 256
Housing and Urban Policy 263
Inequality: Turning the Tide? 265
Sixty Years On 272

Appendix: Social Policy Ministries and Ministers 1940–2006 275

Bibliography 281
Index 305
Figures and Tables

Figures

2.1 The making of the Beveridge Report 29
2.2 Causes of poverty: Rowntree’s evidence, 1899 and 1936, from his surveys of York 33
10.1 Welfare spending, 1900 to 2004 227
10.2 Numbers of people on benefits, 1979 to 2005 237
10.3 The size of the Welfare State, 1951/2 and 2004/5 273

Tables

6.1 Planned and actual expenditure of Conservative and Labour governments, 1963/4 to 1976/7 125
8.1 Real public expenditure on selected programmes in the United Kingdom, 1976/7 to 1982/3 177
10.1 Impact of policy on poverty levels, 1997 to 2005 269
10.2 Inequality before and after taxes and benefits, 1937 to 2003/4 271