

ESRC Seminar Series: Social Justice and Public Policy - RES-451-26-0305 End-of-Award Report

1. Details of the award (award holders, amount awarded, duration).

The original award was for the period 1 November 2004 to 30 June 2006. A first extension was agreed as the original instigator for the series and budget-holder, Prof. Robina Goodlad, passed away in June 2005 after a period of illness. This delayed the start of the series. A second extension was agreed to the 31 December 2006 as the final conference date had to be put back to accommodate the needs of key speakers. The total sum awarded was £14,978.

The original award holders were Goodlad with Burchardt, Craig, Fitzpatrick, Gordon, Lister, Paxton and Wolff. The Steering Committee was expanded after the award to strengthen links to public policy communities, by bringing in representatives of devolved administrations (Harmer and Tibbit) and a representative from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (McDonagh/Kelly). Bailey replaced Goodlad as grant holder for the latter stages of the award. See Appendix 1 for details.

2. What were the aims and objectives of the seminar groups?

The objectives were to:

- examine the differences, similarities, tensions and complementarities between the ideas of social justice found in different disciplines;
- investigate the implications of these ideas and the challenges for the formulation and implementation of public policy, especially with reference to reconciling tensions between distributional justice and claims based on cultural inequalities;
- explore the boundaries between individual and collective responsibility; and
- identify opportunities and implications for theoretical scholarship and empirical research.

3. What approaches did you adopt to publicise the series?

Given the aims of the series, there was a strong desire to have an audience that comprised researchers from different disciplines together with people working on policy. Given this and the potentially wide appeal of the series, a selective approach was taken to advertising initially with broader marketing as necessary where space permitted. Academic networks were used along with the circulation of emails through key contacts in public policy organisations and the voluntary sector. The response from the public policy sphere was a little disappointing in spite of various efforts by key individuals to encourage engagement. A dedicated website was established for the series, which was kept up-to-date with details of future events and carried short reports from previous seminars (<http://www.scrsj.ac.uk/centres/scrjs/esrcseminarseries/> - note that only a summary version remains live).

4. Details of the actual programme of events.

The series consisted of four one-day seminars and a final conference, as planned. Additional funding from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and Social Policy Association, and benefits in kind from the University of London Institute of Philosophy and the London School of Economics were received for the conference, which enabled us to host an international keynote speaker (Prof Nancy Fraser) and provide travel bursaries for unwaged participants.

Full timetables for each of the seminars and the conference are shown in Appendix 2. In summary, the events were:

- Seminar 1: Public policy and social justice: Contexts and concepts (London, 21 March 2005).
- Seminar 2: Distributional justice and inequalities (Bristol, 13 July 2005)
- Seminar 3: Social justice and multiculturalism: tensions and possibilities (York, 24 November 2005)
- Seminar 4: New approaches to understanding social injustice (Glasgow, 28 March 2006)
- Conference: Social justice and public policy (London, 6 December 2006)

5. Participants

In total the four seminars accommodated 160 participants. (In some cases, participants participated in two or more seminars.) Established academics (including research fellows and lecturers) accounted for the majority of the participants but the seminars did also reach a group of people involved in the policy making process both within Government (national and devolved government, and its agencies) and within the voluntary sector. Over a third participants fell into those groups. There was some financial support available to facilitate the involvement of PhD students and they made up 8 per cent of total participants.

Type of participant	Seminar				All
	1	2	3	4	
Academic	50%	68%	52%	57%	58%
PhD	12%	2%	11%	6%	8%
Government	15%	17%	20%	14%	17%
Voluntary sector	24%	13%	16%	23%	18%
All	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	34	47	44	35	160

The conference attracted 150 participants, with a very similar profile to the seminar series: approximately 60 per cent academic, 20 per cent Government and 20 per cent voluntary.

6. Demand for participation

Demand for participation was very strong with all the events full to capacity and a number of requests for places having to be turned down. By the time we came to market the conference, we had a database of over 350 people who had been involved in or had expressed interest in one or more of the four earlier seminars.

7. How nearly were the objectives set in the seminars met?

The series was particularly successful in relation to the first two objectives – exploring differing conceptualisations of social justice and identifying how these perspectives might translate into public policy. From an academic perspective, the series brought together philosophers and social scientists with contrasting approaches and conceptualisations, as demonstrated particularly in the first and second seminars. The relationships between distributive and relational perspectives were examined in the first and third seminars. All four events combined people working from a more theoretical perspective with those whose focus was more empirical or applied. The latter includes those working in Government and the voluntary sector but also a number of the academics. Across the steering group, there was a concern that the policy perspective had not been given sufficient weight within some presentations (based on their own experience and informal feedback) – and the fourth seminar made some attempts to redress that. It was also true that, in spite of efforts to get a more equal balance between academics and the policy community, the representation of the latter was lower than hoped.

The seminars themselves made less progress perhaps with the third objective about the relationships between individual and collective responsibility. That weakness was remedied in the final conference where the issues about responsibility was addressed more directly.

The events have helped to foster new collaborative research in a number of ways. Three of the applicants (Burchardt, Craig and Gordon) have begun work on an edited book on social justice, of which further details are given below. In addition, a number of individual participants expressed an interest in exploring how the gap between philosophical theory and empirical, policy-oriented social research could be bridged. The series was not focussed around a narrow area of enquiry but a very broad field. There is no doubt that networks across academic disciplines have been strengthened and that new links have been built with the policy community.

The breadth of the subject makes it difficult to identify whether or how the series has impacted on public policy. People attended the conference from a wide range of UK government departments and agencies, devolved administrations, and regional and local government. However, there is no coherent group working on “social justice” across Government so it would be unrealistic to expect direct outcomes from this series.

At the fourth seminar, the discussion focussed on devolution and the extent to which different approaches were being pursued between the nations/regions of the UK. This did highlight the extent to which there was a clear lack in this area of a forum in which to highlight or debate these differences, and there was a strong desire to follow up on this.

8. What feedback have you had from participants?

Detailed feedback collected after each seminar was very positive overall, with people finding the great majority of individual contributions stimulating and events well planned and delivered.

More generally, the events have been successful in bringing together individuals from diverse backgrounds with a common interest in how social justice may be conceptualised and how it may be pursued through public policy. Without the ESRC funding, it is difficult to see how this group would have met with this specific focus.

Feedback suggests that the attempt to bring together members of the academic and policy/practitioner communities to explore the implications of various theoretical perspectives on social justice worked reasonably well. This came to fruition in the final well-attended conference which married theoretical and policy discussions and which informal feedback suggests was very well received.

One participant (and grant holder) commented that the series had had a definite impact on a book he was completing at the time. “The seminar series has helped me develop the book in a more policy-oriented direction, helping me to develop my understanding of ways in which philosophical argument needs to be adapted if it is to have policy applications.”

9. Have any activities arisen as a result of participation in the seminars?

Several notable activities have arisen as a result of the ESRC seminar series. The key ones would be as follows:

1. International conference on “Social Justice and Public Policy”

The conference was the culmination of the seminar series and attracted very high profile speakers (including Prof. Nancy Fraser, Trevor Phillips, David Willetts MP), with a capacity audience. Additional funding provided by Joseph Rowntree Foundation and by Social Policy Association (£3750 total).

2. Scottish seminar series

The Scottish Executive were persuaded to fund a parallel seminar series under the same overall title of “Social Justice and Public Policy”. This consisted of three events over the same timescale as the ESRC seminars, following broadly the same structure as that series and with some overlap in terms of speakers. The idea here was both to repeat the series in Scotland to help build capacity and connections there, but also to allow discussions to reflect the distinctive Scottish context – both socio-economic, political and cultural differences but also the different constitutional position, post-devolution. Funding of around £10,000 was made available for that series.

3. Journal special issue

A special issue of *Benefits: A Journal of Poverty & Social Justice* was produced in June 2007 (Vol 15, Issue 2) under the title “Social Justice and Public Policy”. It was edited by one of the original applicants (Tania Burchardt). Authors included Trevor Phillips, David Willetts MP, Ruth Lister, Robin Wilson, and Mark Drakeford, all of whom had contributed to the seminars and conference. The link to that series is explicitly acknowledged in the editor’s introduction (pp. 111-2).

4. Edited book

Three members of the Steering Committee are editing a book drawing very largely on contributions to the original seminar series and final conference. Appendix 2 shows the proposal sent to Policy Press. Authors will include Kymlicka, Lister, Burchardt, Craig, Wolff, Swift, Bertram, Gordon who all participated in the seminar series or final conference. The role of the ESRC seminar series is explicitly acknowledged. The proposal was accepted and work on the manuscript is nearly complete, with publication expected in summer 2008.

Appendix 1: Steering Committee

Nick Bailey (from Jan 2005)

Senior Lecturer, Department of Urban Studies and Scottish Centre for Research on Social Justice, University of Glasgow

Dr Tania Burchardt

RCUK Senior Research Fellow, ESRC Research Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), London School of Economics and Political Science.

Professor Gary Craig

Professor of Social Justice, Director of the Centre for Research in Social Inclusion and Social Justice.

Professor Suzanne Fitzpatrick

Joseph Rowntree Professor of Housing Policy, Director of the Centre for Housing Policy at the University of York.

Professor Robina Goodlad (until Jan 2005)

Professor of Urban Studies, Department of Urban Studies and Director of the Scottish Centre for Research on Social Justice, University of Glasgow

Professor David Gordon

Professor of Social Justice and Head of the Centre for Poverty and Social Justice at the University of Bristol's School for Policy Studies.

David is lead academic, with Tania Burchardt, for the second seminar in this series.

Mike Harmer

Head of the Social Justice and Regeneration Department Research and Information Unit in the Welsh Assembly Government.

Kathleen Kelly (from Mar 2006)

Research Manager, Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Professor Ruth Lister

Professor of Social Policy in the Department of Social Sciences at Loughborough University

Theresa McDonagh (until Mar 2006)

Principal Research Manager, Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Will Paxton

Research Fellow in Social Justice at the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr).

John Tibbitt

Senior Principal Researcher in the Development Department at the Scottish Executive Social Research Unit.

Professor Jonathan Wolff

Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy at University College London.

Appendix 2: Detailed programme of events



Social Justice and Public Policy

Seminar one: 'Social Justice in 2005'

March 21, 2005, 10.00am-4.30pm

Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics,
Houghton Street, London, WC2A 2AE

- 10.00 *Registration and coffee*
- 10.30 *Introduction and welcome*
Robina Goodlad (Co-Director SCRSJ)

Session one: Old and new issues in social justice and public policy

- 10.40 **David Miller, Nuffield College, Oxford University**
'What is social justice? Recent developments in political philosophy'
- 11.15 **John Hills, CASE, London School of Economics**
A response: 'Trends in income and wealth inequality'
- 11.50 Discussion: *'The context for debating social justice and public policy'*
Chair: Jonathan Wolff, UCL
- 1-2pm Lunch

Session two: Old and new challenges in social justice debates **Chair: Howard Reed, Deputy Director, IPPR**

- 2.05pm **Ruth Lister, Loughborough University**
'Recognition and voice: the challenge for social justice'
Questions / discussion
- 2.40pm **Alan Carter, University of Glasgow**
'Environmental sustainability and duties to future generations?'
Questions / discussion
- 3.15pm **Véronique Munoz-Dardé, University College London University**
'Not unlike that of the Golden Age': state of Nature, original position and equality in Rawls
- 3.50pm Discussion
- 4.30pm Close



Social Justice and Public Policy
Seminar two: ‘Distributional Justice’
July 13, 2005, 10.00am-4.30pm

Room 7G1, School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol,
10 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1TZ

09.45 *Registration and coffee*

10.15 **Dave Gordon, University of Bristol**

Introduction and welcome

Brief silence in memory of Robina Goodlad

Session one: Principles and problems

10.30 **Christopher Bertram, University of Bristol**

Principles of distributive justice

11.15 *Coffee*

11.30 **Olli Kangas, Danish National Institute for Social Research &
University of Turku**

Distributive justice and social policy

12.15 **Sally Witcher, University of Edinburgh**

Currencies of justice

13.00 *Lunch*

Session two: Social justice in policy and practice

Chair: Tania Burchardt, London School of Economics

14.00 **Norman Glass, National Centre for Social Research**

Sure Start: social justice in the making?

14.45 **Fran Bennett, University of Oxford**

Social justice and gender: inside the ‘black box’

15.30 *Coffee*

15.45 **Liz Such, Department for Work and Pensions**

Children’s views on social justice

16.30 *Close*

Social Justice and Public Policy

Seminar three

‘Social justice and multiculturalism: tensions and possibilities’

November 24, 2005, 10.30am-5.00pm

York CVS, Priory Street Centre, 15 Priory Street, York

- 10.30** *Registration and coffee*
- 11.00** Chair: Gary Craig, Professor of Social Justice, University of Hull
Introduction and Welcome
- 11.10** Professor Will Kymlicka, Professor in Political Philosophy, Queens
University, Ontario
A multicultural welfare state
- 11.50** Professor Andrew Jakubowicz, Professor of Sociology, University of
Technology, Sydney
*This mongrel breed: the politics of inclusion in contemporary Australian
policy*
- 12.30** Break-out groups and discussion
- 1.15pm** Lunch
- 2.15pm** Professor Haleh Afshar, Professor of Politics, University of York
Muslims in Britain: what are the choices?
- 2.55pm** Avila Kilmurray, Director, Community Foundation Northern Ireland
Developing social justice in a divided society
- 3.35pm** Break-out groups (same as in morning session) and further discussion.
Refreshments available
- 4.20pm** Closing plenary session to include feedback from discussion groups and
responses from a panel of speakers.
- 5.00pm** Close

Social Justice and Public Policy

Seminar four **'Social Justice and Devolution'**

March 28 2006, 10.00am-4.15pm
Medical School Building, University of Glasgow

- 10.00 *Registration and coffee*
- 10.25 **Session 1 Social Justice in the Devolved Administrations**
Chair: Nick Bailey, SCRSJ, University of Glasgow
Introduction and Welcome
- 10.30 **Mark Drakeford** (Professor at Cardiff University and Adviser to Welsh Assembly)
- 11.00 **Gerry Mooney** (Senior Lecturer in Social Policy and Staff Tutor, Faculty of Social Sciences, The Open University (Scotland))
Social Justice in the Devolved Scotland: Representation and Reality
- 11.30 *Coffee*
- 11.45 **Robin Wilson** (Democratic Dialogue, Northern Ireland)
- 12.15 **Discussion of morning's presentations**
- 13.00 *Lunch*
- 14.00 **Session 2: Separate Experiences, Shared Lessons: What can each of the UK nations learn from one another?**

Chair: Ruth Lister, Professor of Social Policy, Loughborough University; Donald Dewar Visiting Professor of Social Justice and Public Policy, University of Glasgow

Panel: Alice Greenlees (Wales Council for Voluntary Action), **Bronagh Hinds** (Queens University, Belfast and Equality Commission for Northern Ireland), **Jim McCormick** (Scottish Council Foundation) and **Katie Schmuecker** (ippr north)
- 15.00 *Tea*
- 15.15 **Plenary discussion**
- 16.15 *Close*



Social Justice and Public Policy Conference

Wednesday 6th December 2006, 9.30am-4.45pm

Abbey Community Centre, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London SW1P 3BU

- 09.30** Registration and coffee
- 10.00** *Introduction and welcome*
Richard Best, Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- 10.15** *Dimensions of justice*
Nancy Fraser, Professor of Political and Social Science, New School for Social Research, New York
- 11.00** Coffee
- 11.30** *Equalities and human rights: siblings or just rivals*
Trevor Phillips, Chair-elect of Commission on Equality and Human Rights, Chair of Commission for Racial Equality
- 12.15** *Social justice and family values*
Adam Swift, Director, Centre for the Study of Social Justice, University of Oxford
- 13.00** Lunch
- 14.00** Chair: Ruth Lister, Professor of Social Policy, Loughborough University
Social justice
David Willetts MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Education
- 14.45** Tea
- 15.15** *Where next for social justice?*
Panel: **Bea Campbell** (writer); **Tariq Modood** (Director, Bristol University Research Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship); **Jonathan Wolff** (Professor of Philosophy, University College London)
- 16.30** *Closing remarks*
Ruth Lister

Appendix 3: Book proposal to Policy Press, for Social Welfare or Social Theory Series

March 2006

Provisional title:

Social Justice and public policy in a globalising world

From:

Professor Gary Craig, Professor of Social Justice, University of Hull

Professor David Gordon, Professor of Social Justice, University of Bristol

Dr Tania Burchardt, Senior Lecturer in Social Policy, London School of Economics

Context and rationale

Social Justice, though increasingly widely used in political and policy discourse, is a contested term. Although it is a concept that has been debated – in different guises - for thousands of years, it is only since the 1970s (with the publication of Rawls' book: 1971) and particularly in the past fifteen years, that it has re-emerged into political discourse, notably – though not exclusively - amongst governments which have characterised themselves as social democratic or 'Third Way'. As Miller argues (1999), however, in the context of the development of liberal democratic societies, 'the quest for social justice is a natural consequence of the spread of enlightenment' (p.4).

However, the concept has been adopted from a variety of political positions, and linking to wider arguments about the roles of the state, the market and the individual. Although contemporary social democratic governments appear to 'own' the approach of social justice, it has also been espoused from the political right in the UK (with a former Conservative Party leader establishing a Centre for Social Justice) and in Australia, where, for example, the government argues that social justice is achieved best through an approach which privileges individualism - when individuals are able to compete in the market place, unconstrained by the action of the state. Current arguments about social justice also expose the tensions with other overarching political goals of economic competitiveness and environmental sustainability (Dobson 2003; JRF 2004). One of the goals of this book would therefore be to identify ways in which different understandings of social justice reflect varying value bases and theories.

The concept of social justice received prominence within the United Kingdom with the work of the Commission for Social Justice established by the-then Leader of the Labour Party (CSJ 1994). In a context of deepening inequality and poverty, the Commission suggested that the elements of social justice would include:

- the equal worth of all citizens
- the equal right to be able to meet their basic needs
- the need to spread opportunities and life chances as widely as possible
- the requirement that we reduce and where possible eliminate unjustified inequalities.

This begged important political and policy questions and the policy programme of New Labour governments – and similarly disposed governments elsewhere - continue to beg some of them even though the present UK Prime Minister and Chancellor make frequent use of the

concept of social justice in political discourse. One example of these unanswered questions is the issue of what basic needs are. Social democratic governments provide systems of social assistance but have not effectively defined the adequacy of that assistance to meet basic needs as defined by a range of participatory research studies. The UK government's programmes to address social exclusion and reduce poverty, for example, are titled *Opportunity for All* but most such governments do not go beyond goals related to equality of opportunity to promote equality of outcome, which many would argue was a more robust indicator of a socially just society. As Ruth Lister argues, 'What is not yet acknowledged is that genuine equality of opportunity and recognition of the equal worth of all our citizens is incompatible with the savagely unequal society we now live in. Equality of opportunity in the context of economic and social structures that remain profoundly unequal is likely to remain a mirage' (Lister cited in NICF 2001).

Critics of social democratic governments argue that the state has to intervene more strongly to promote social justice both in terms of the process by which it is achieved and of redistributive policies; the market – covering all the institutions of society which operate to deliver goods and services – distributes those goods and services, as well as opportunities (or life chances) unfairly and the state has a key role in correcting those deficiencies. Governments focusing only on the poor and disadvantaged are also failing one key test of social justice, which is that it is concerned with the fair distribution of the good and bad things across the whole of society and not just amongst the poor. Within the UK, the adoption of the goal of social justice – with a stated commitment to an agenda of equalities - has been used to mark off the policy agenda of the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive 2003) from that of the UK Parliament. The Welsh Assembly also produces an annual social justice 'audit'. However, the Scottish Executive goes only some way towards a position of fairness to all: its 2003 spending manifesto argued that 'Scotland must be a society of strong inclusive communities where everyone can live with dignity ... every policy we introduce ... will be measured against success in closing the gap between the most disadvantaged and the average.'

The concept of social justice relates strongly to a number of key issues within social policy discourse. For example, Miller argues that social justice – which he regards as interchangeable with the concept of distributive justice - provides the political and philosophical basis for deciding 'how the good and bad things in life should be distributed among the members of a human society' (Miller 1999:1). These things incorporate, in his view, familiar material dimensions of a 'good life' – income, wealth, education, housing, health and so on. He also identifies three key principles which connect strongly to the concept of social justice: desert, need and equality. The concept of social justice is also linked closely to other key concepts such as need, citizenship and rights and to Marshall's classic 1950 exposition of Citizenship and social class which advanced a taxonomy of civil, political and social rights by which one could identify the characteristics of citizenship, another key – and disputed - political concept at the present time. Social justice – as a framework of values – also has implications for the way policy and practice is developed in relation to important social divisions such as 'race', gender (see e.g. Lister 2003) and disability.

What the more historical debates about the nature of social justice have generally failed to address is the nature of social justice within increasingly multicultural societies and particularly those characterised by institutional and individual racism, although this has been the subject of more recent writing by Kymlicka (1995) and Barry (2000). Multicultural societies have been struggling with the difficulties of incorporating respect and recognition for cultural diversity and difference within a framework of universal rights: to date, within the UK, these arguments have been couched in terms of debates about social integration,

assimilation and cohesion rather than about social justice. In other countries, such as France, Germany, Australia and the USA, understandings of multiculturalism and its relationship, for example, to citizenship, differ widely as a result of differing historical and political conditions (Craig 2002) and the concept of multiculturalism itself is now under political attack. Social injustice might however be said to emerge not just from the unconstrained workings of institutions, groups and organisations through the mechanisms of the market, leading to significant differences in income, wealth and the opportunities and outcomes that these bring, but also because of cultural and socially-constructed differences based on, for example, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and disability (Fraser 2001).

Social justice is also about the non-material aspects of life: these incorporate critically the dimensions of respect and recognition between different groups and individuals (and not just the poor). This complementary 'recognition' or 'relations of respect' aspect of social justice has been strongly argued in recent years by e.g. Young (1990). For her, social justice as a distributive issue needs to be set within a relational context, in particular 'the elimination of institutionalized domination and oppression'.

Most major conceptions of social justice also fail to consider the role of those most disadvantaged by social injustice, as actors - rather than simply victims - in the search for social justice. The United Nations (see e.g. UNDP 1993) points to the many ways, including organizational, informational, developmental, constitutional and legal, political and economic ways, in which participation by the disadvantaged themselves may promote social justice. Many governments have now also acknowledged - at least rhetorically - the importance of processes which empower the disadvantaged to act and speak on their own behalves. An additional dimension might thus be on the role of community development as the means by which the excluded and the marginalised can act in the search for social justice. To put it another way, social justice is not simply about achieving forms of human welfare - of whatever kind - but the means by which that welfare is obtained and the role that all recipients of welfare have in determining and meeting their needs.

It has also been argued (see e.g. JRF 2004) that geography has an important influence on the achievement of social justice. Differential equality of opportunity, poverty, access to rights and so on, may be accentuated for those in rural areas as compared with their urban counterparts, (e.g. the costs of accessing goods and services and their frequently poorer quality), or those living in deteriorating neighbourhoods compared with those in well-resourced communities.

It is increasingly necessary to consider how the processes of globalisation - that is, the impact of economic groupings which have no allegiance to particular political entities - affects this approach. In some of the earlier writers' analyses, it is possible to define social justice within the context of a 'closed' political community in which all relevant actors could be identified and encouraged to engage with the debates about social justice. Globalisation, according to many commentators, has generated increasing divisions, in terms of income and wealth, both between and within all nation states. How then is it possible to advance a strategy for social justice within this increasingly globalised context?

The rationale for this book is therefore to address the question of the meaning of social justice from a theoretical and empirical basis, to challenge - by identifying the value base of differing perspectives - the increasing 'catch-all' use of the term, and to demonstrate how the values of social justice could inform social policy and welfare provision in a context both of globalisation and multiculturalism. One unique aspect of the book will be the way in which it will bring together contributions from social policy and political philosophy; the book will be organised in such a way that the two sections will mirror these two strands. Another

important aspect will be its determined attempt to locate discussion within the dimensions of multiculturalism and globalisation; and the third will be its close relationship to key current dimensions of social policy debate.

Background to the book and editors

The idea for this book has emerged from an ESRC-sponsored international seminar series on Social Justice and Public Policy. This series started in March 2005 and will end with a major conference in London in December 2006. The series is being managed by a small steering group of academics from UK social policy and political philosophy backgrounds and each seminar involves contributions from a range of academic and policy experts, including members of the Steering Group, from within and outside the UK. The series has explicitly linked speakers coming from public policy and political philosophy backgrounds.

The Steering Group has nominated the three named editors to take this proposal forward exclusively to Policy Press. The structure of the book (below) will incorporate contributions from many of those contributing to the series, but their chapters in this book will be based on and develop seminar papers, rather than reproduce the papers as such. Each seminar has allowed for considerable feedback and discussion and the seminar series has a website (www.scrsj.ac.uk/esrcseminars) to which has been added a discussion mailbase to enable further debate on the papers as they are presented. The contributions to this book will thus, in almost every case, be entirely original ones based on a group of key writers and thinkers in this critical ideological area and the content of the book will represent cutting edge debate in this area.

Audience and competition

The book is aimed at final year undergraduates, postgraduates, academic staff and researchers within and outside higher education in both the UK and other countries where debates about the meaning of social justice are salient, particularly North America, Australasia and Northern Europe but more widely (for example debates are developing within Islamic Universities about the meaning of social justice); and at policy-makers in government, local government and the voluntary and charitable sectors. In academic terms, the book will appeal to those working within the fields of social policy and related disciplines, politics, philosophy, ethics and public policy. It will therefore have a wide potential readership and we believe that the fact that we will have gathered key writers and thinkers in this field together will also add substantially to its marketing impact. We anticipate sales of the order initially of 1500 assuming appropriate pricing strategies.

There are relatively very few books published within the UK which confront the meaning of social justice in relationship to public policy discourses. Miller's book from 1999 views the concept from a political philosophy standpoint as does Rawls' earlier classic text. The Commission for Social Justice book, *Social Justice: strategies for national renewal*, was written for a clear political purpose and one aim of this book will be to interrogate the claims made by New Labour (and similar governments) to have inherited the mantle of this Commission's thinking in its policy practice. Several of the books referred to below approach the issue from a partial or adjacent perspective, examining related issues such as citizenship or rights, or viewing policy, political or practice issues through specific lenses, such as that of feminism. There are very few UK texts which have addressed the issue of the meaning of social justice within a multicultural context although the issue is addressed in passing in some

other texts (Barry 2000). Barry's more recent book (2005) and the new IPPR text, *Social Justice: Building a Fairer Britain* (Pearce and Paxton) are probably the nearest competitors, the latter being focused more strongly on policy issues. This text might be said to be the nearest thing to an update on the CSJ report and indeed draws on some of the key contributors to that original volume. There is a question as to the extent to which it may be perceived to be too close politically to the present UK Government and too dominated by UK metropolitan contributions, and in any case it does not address the issue of cultural diversity. Nor does it incorporate discussion of the meanings of social justice within the devolved administrations or explore the meanings of social justice beyond the UK. Critically it is not written in a way to ensure that the value base of social justice is used to inform a critique of social policy.

Structure

The structure of the book is based on a series of longer essays (6000 words), grouped into three sections as follows (indicative synopses provided). The structure will ensure that there is an effective interplay between the perspectives of social and public policy on the one hand, and political philosophy on the other and this will be a key selling point of the book. Each of the authors contributing theoretical chapters will be directed to make policy implications explicit and those writing on policy and practice will be asked to reflect on the theoretical chapters most closely related to their area of concern: this will slightly extend the drafting process but we think will result in a much more coherent book. The intention is to ensure that there is a strong engagement between the key disciplinary interests represented in the book. The group of writers, each of whom has now given their agreement to participating in this book, represent many of the key thinkers and writers in this area. The book will be approximately 80000 words in all. The editorial introduction will provide a strong linking argument drawing together the key themes within the book

I. Editorial introduction: The editors

II. The concept of social justice

1. Jo Wolff, Professor of Philosophy, University College, London

Social justice and public policy

In recent decades there has been relatively little consideration of how the theories of social justice developed by political philosophers can be brought to bear on public policies. This chapter will explore some of the difficulties in applying contemporary egalitarian theories to practice, and will argue that both political philosophy and public philosophy can be improved by bringing the two together. Political philosophers will need to develop a richer array of concepts in order to have practical relevance, while public policy will be better placed to address difficult questions of priority setting.

2. Will Kymlicka, Professor of Political Philosophy, Queens University Toronto, Canada

A Multicultural Welfare State?

In the modern Western world, the main tool for pursuing social justice has been the national welfare state. However, it is widely believed that the welfare state is being undermined by the impact of increasing ethnic/racial diversity. There are actually two concerns here: (a) that ethnic/racial diversity as such makes it more difficult to sustain redistributive social policies, because it is difficult to generate feelings of national solidarity and trust across ethnic/racial lines; and (b) that the "multiculturalism" policies adopted to recognize or accommodate ethnic groups tends to further undermine national solidarity and trust. If either of these hypotheses is true, the very idea of a "multicultural welfare state" – a welfare state that respects and accommodates diversity - would be

almost a contradiction in terms. This paper reviews the existing evidence, and suggests that both hypotheses are overstated. While the evidence to date suggests that there is no inherent trade-off between heterogeneity/multiculturalism and the welfare state, much remains to be studied regarding the conditions and mechanisms at work.

3. Iris Young, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, USA
Structural injustice and the politics of difference

This chapter aims to clarify differences in approaches to political and theoretical debates about justice: whether and to what extent justice calls for attending to rather than ignoring social group differences. The fact that the politics of cultural difference has more occupied political theorists in recent years than a politics of positional difference is lamentable for several reasons. It tends to narrow the groups of concern to ethnic, national, and religious groups, and to limit the issues of justice at stake to those concerned with freedom and autonomy more than equal opportunity of people to develop capacities and live a life of well-being. Its reliance on a liberal paradigm, moreover, tends to limit politics to shaping state policy and to reintroduce normalizing discourses into what began as denormalizing movements. The chapter does not aim to reject the politics of cultural difference, but to encourage political theorists to re-focus their attention to group differences generated from structural power, the division of labor, and constructions of the normal and the deviant, as they continue also to reflect on conflicts over national, ethnic, or religious difference.

4. David Piachaud, Professor of Social Policy, London School of Economics,
Economic Inequality and Social Justice: when is inequality unjust?

The chapter will begin by examining why there is economic inequality. Among the explanations are: unequal starting points (in terms of physical, genetic, human and social capital); labour restrictions; monopoly; changing demand for products; unequal technical progress; and 'unequal' political economy (eg laws, regulations, taxes and benefits favouring rich). These may be illustrated in relation to a. individual life chances and b. global inequality. These are not merely causes of present inequality but lead to persistence of inequality (contrary to the views of economic liberals). Second, the paper will examine four major theories of what is a just society, namely those of Nozick, Rawls, Dworkin and Sen. These will be briefly described and common features and differences will be identified. The differences will be analysed into those relating to the past, the present and the future. Third, the causes of economic inequality will be related to the approaches to social justice in order to consider which economic inequalities are, according to each approach, acceptable and even equalizing and which are unjust.

5. Harry Brighouse, University of Wisconsin – Madison and Adam Swift, University of Oxford.

Social Justice and the Family

The family is both an obstacle to the realisation of social justice and an essential element of the good society. Parents are not only naturally motivated to treat their own children differently from other people's, they are also justified in acting on that motivation; a society without family relationships would be unjust, denying parents and children relationship goods to which they have a right. In an unequal society, however, the transmission of advantage and disadvantage from parents to children impedes the achievement of equality of opportunity, tilting the playing field in favour of some and against others. Our contribution will put the family under the microscope, carefully examining what makes the family a valuable institution - for parents, for children, and for others - and exploring the implications of family values, properly understood, for social policy.

6. Chris Bertram, Reader in Social and Political Philosophy, University of Bristol,
Globalisation, social justice and the politics of aid

Rawls's originally theory worked out a doctrine of social justice for a self-contained society. Since then there has been much attention to the problem of how we might extend and adapt a broadly Rawlsian theory to the global context. Rawls's critics have suggested that the world today already possesses the kind of basic structure that make principles of distributive justice applicable to the planet as a whole. But whilst it is certainly true that institutional features of the global system are profoundly fateful for the life chances of individuals it is far from clear how we might address its

shortcomings. The Rawlsian ideal of allowing distributive shares to emerge via the operation of pure procedural justice looks utopian for the planet as a whole because we simply lack the knowledge necessary to design a system that would ensure particular outcomes. Any mechanism powerful enough to enforce something like a global difference principle would also challenge valuable features of the state system. Accordingly, we need to compromise between various important values and this paper will defend the idea of a global sufficiency threshold as such an appropriate compromise.

III. Social justice in policy and practice

7. Ruth Lister, Professor of Social Policy, Loughborough University,
Recognition and voice: the challenge for social justice

This chapter provides a bridge between the more theoretical and policy-oriented parts of the book. It begins with an overview of a range of theoretical perspectives on the relationship between the distribution and recognition paradigms of social justice. This is followed by a discussion of the association of the recognition paradigm with social movements and identity politics and the move beyond identity politics. The chapter then argues that the politics of poverty can be understood as a politics of recognition. The final section draws out some policy implications, focusing in particular on low income, participation in policy-making and service delivery.

8. Gary Craig, Professor of Social Justice, University of Hull
Social justice, 'race' and multiculturalism: the UK in an international context

This chapter will explore the question of whether social justice is being delivered to the black and minority ethnic (BME) groups resident within the UK. Multicultural societies have increasingly been struggling with the difficulties of incorporating respect and recognition for cultural diversity and difference within a framework of universal rights: respect and recognition for minorities might be seen as ways in which equality of status, of common citizenship, are put into operation. To date, within the UK, arguments about cultural and ethnic diversity have been couched in reality in terms of debates about social integration, assimilation and cohesion rather than about social justice. The chapter will argue that the UK has a long way to go in terms of providing equality of status, of opportunity and of outcome, and of respect and recognition for BME communities. The experience of the UK will be set alongside some examples of multiculturalist policy in other relevant countries.

9. Tania Burchardt, Senior Lecturer, London School of Economics
Monitoring inequality: putting the capability approach to work

In 2007, Britain will establish a single commission for monitoring and promoting equality on the grounds of sex, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, age, and religion. A number of other countries already have similar bodies. This chapter argues that equality commissions of this kind should be concerned with the 'substantive freedom' enjoyed by individuals with different characteristics. Translating this concept, derived from Amartya Sen's capability approach, into a practical measurement tool is challenging. Firstly, the aspects of substantive freedom which are most relevant must be identified and a corresponding selection of dimensions of inequality made. This can be done either *a priori* or through participative research. Secondly, it is necessary to consider whether, and if so, how, different dimensions are to be aggregated into a single index of inequality. These two problems are common to all multi-dimensional measures of inequality. A third challenge, unique to opportunity-based conceptions of inequality, concerns how to differentiate between an individual *choosing* not to take up an opportunity and an individual being *unable* to do so. Some progress can be made on the assumption that, for many basic freedoms, differences between broad population groups are more likely to reflect differences in capability than in freely-chosen values. The chapter concludes by using empirical data on Britain in the early 21st century to illustrate how the capability approach to the measurement of inequality in the context of a single equality commission could be implemented.

10. David Gordon, Professor of Social Justice, University of Bristol
Children, policy and social justice

Children's needs and services are one of the UK government's policy priorities. In 1999, Tony Blair gave a commitment to end child poverty, for ever, within a generation – this is arguably the most radical and far reaching commitment made by the New Labour governments. More recently

Children's Commissioners have been appointed in every country in the UK and the Children Act 2004 and the *Every Child Matters* framework are designed to coordinate services for children at all levels of government. Internationally, children's rights have received widespread policy support with every member state of the United Nations (193 countries) signing the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. By contrast, both the social and economic/distributional justice literatures effectively ignore children – often relegating children to a mere property of their household or family. Children's agency is usually absent and where theory does engage with children it is often as future workers or citizens rather than as actors with justice claims in their own right.

11. Katie Schmuecker, IPPR North,

Social justice in the United Kingdom: one route or four?

Some on the left have traditionally been wary of devolution, concerned about the effect it could have on achieving equity and common standards. Conversely, there has always been a strand of opinion that advocated devolution on the grounds it could allow Scotland and Wales to achieve a more 'progressive agenda', based on a belief that their populations are more 'left wing' than that of England. This chapter will explore the challenges and opportunities that devolution poses to progressing social justice in the UK. It will chart some of the key policy divergences and convergences across the UK since devolution, and what this might mean for social justice. We will also explore the general themes in a number of specific policy areas potentially including child poverty, education (early years, schools and higher) and personal care for the elderly.

12. Jake Elster-Jones, DEFRA

Just sustainability

In spite of the rising profile of environmental issues like climate change, sustainable development is still not a mainstream issue for the British left. The traditional left has been at best ambiguous and at worst hostile to the environmental agenda regarding it as a barrier to job creation and economic growth that are seen as prerequisite to social justice. This chapter will argue that environmental sustainability is a prerequisite of social justice, though an insufficient condition since there must be equal regard for the distribution of environmental goods and ills. Environmental sustainability should become a mainstream issue for progressive politics in Britain through the discourse of 'just sustainability', as proposed by Agyeman and Evans (2004), reconciling objectives of environmental sustainability and social justice. The thinking will be applied to contemporary issues including economic development, climate change, use of natural resources and quality of life.

Timetable

The present seminar series ends with the major conference in December 2006 at which some of the contributors to this book will be presenting papers. In the next months following agreement with the publishers to proceed, the editors will (in conjunction with the Steering Group) confirm final titles with the contributors for the book and, where papers are delivered to the seminar series, ask those contributors to update and enlarge their papers in line with the agreed format for the book and with PP's requirements. By the time of the conference, therefore, we expect that most of the papers produced as a result of the seminar series will be in our hands in a fairly polished form. The final two or three papers will be produced after the conference, together with an extensive editorial introduction to be jointly written by the editors, and the manuscript of about 80,000 words can be delivered in the Spring of 2007 with a view to publication as soon as possible thereafter.

In detail:

Final negotiation with proposed authors and agreeing final list: March 2006

Negotiation with publisher: till May 2006

First drafts: December 2006

These are circulated to authors as appropriate: Second drafts February 2007

Final drafts and editorial introduction: April 2007

Delivery: May 2007

Publication: Early 2008

The editors

The editors will be jointly responsible for managing the process of the production of the book, for writing contributions themselves, and for all necessary editorial work. Gary Craig will liaise with Policy Press.

Gary Craig is Professor of Social Justice at the University of Hull, where he directs the Centre for the Study of Social Inclusion and Social Justice. He has managed a wide range of research studies for government, local government, the voluntary sector and charitable foundations, and has about 250 publications to his name including such books as *International Social Policy* (Palgrave, with Alcock), *Community Empowerment* (Zed, with Mayo), research monographs such as *The local impacts of International Migration* (for ODPM), *Living on the Edge* (for DoH), *The Paradox of Compacts* (for the Home Office) and *Evaluating the Local Network Fund* (for DfES), and journal articles such as ‘Social Justice, social work and poverty’ (British Journal of Social Work), ‘Older people, exclusion and citizenship’ (JSP), and ‘Visibility, immobility and stigma’ (Children and Society). He is an Academician of the Academy of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and President of the International Association for Community Development.

David Gordon is Professor of Social Justice at the University of Bristol. He is Head of the Centre for the study of Poverty and Social Justice (<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sps/research/cpsj/default.shtml>) and Director of the Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research (see <http://www.bris.ac.uk/poverty/>). He is the editor of the Poverty, Inequality and Social Exclusion book series for the Policy Press and has published extensively on the topic of distributional justice and poverty related research. Recent books include *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain*. (Policy Press with Pantazis and Levitas), *Beyond Criminology: Taking Harm Seriously* (Pluto with Hillyard, Pantazis and Tombs) and *World Poverty: New Policies to Defeat an Old Enemy*. (Policy Press with Townsend).

Tania Burchardt is a Senior Research Fellow at the ESRC Research Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics. Her research interests lie in developing the capability approach to analyse equality and social justice, concepts and measurement of social exclusion, and applied welfare policy analysis. Her publications this year include, *Frustrated Ambition: the education and employment of disabled young people* (forthcoming 2005, The Policy Press); “Just happiness? Subjective well-being and social policy”, in N. Pearce and W. Paxton (eds) *Social Justice: building a fairer Britain* (2005, Politicos); and “Selective inclusion: asylum seekers and other marginalised groups”, in J. Hills and K. Stewart, *A More Equal Society? New Labour, poverty, inequality and exclusion* (2005, The Policy Press). She is a member of the Human Development and Capability Association, an international association that promotes cross-disciplinary research on poverty and injustice.

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