Social Policy as a Reflection of Social Distance Concerns

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It is difficult to gain a reasonably complete perspective on all the activities that are carried out in the pursuit of social policy goals. This is partly due to the fact that these activities have been launched and defended by rather diverse ideological groups in the community, arising from a struggle between people of many opinions, often as compromise solutions in deeply rooted conflicts of interest.

This paper proposes some ideas about what happens in the concrete situations where social welfare policies are designed. It is suggested that the design takes shape on the basis of a model of society where the dimension of _social distance_ plays a prominent role. It is also argued, tentatively, that social policy may be seen as a matter of manipulation of social distance.

Within this perspective social policy activities have three aims: (1) To reduce social distance both within and between certain groups, through transfer of social resources in a broad sense. (2) to impede the widening of social distance both within and between certain groups, through preventive work. (3) To establish norms about how much social distance there should be within and between certain groups, through setting priorities and transferring social resources to defined problem groups.

What is social policy?

There seems to be a great need for boundary-making and
legitimation of social policy in relation to other areas
of work or responsibility, for in the course of time
there have been many attempts to define what social policy
is or ought to be. Assumptions that are not always
explicit lie in most of these definitions; one main
assumption being that according to given criteria of
justice a redistribution of resources to various groups
in society should (or actually does) take place. Historically
the definitions of social policy have reflected the
shifting theories about causes of social problems, and we can
see how individualistic explanatory models have been gradually
replaced by various types of structural explanatory models,
so now the searchlight is directed more toward the processes
that bring about the problems.

One type of definitions specifies programs to special groups
as the goal of social policy. This applies, for example,
to the classic definition of social policy as the effort
to improve the living conditions of the working class.[1]
Gradually, as class distinctions have been made on other
and more diffuse grounds, boundary problems have appeared.
In the Swedish discussions during the 1960's, social
policy and "equality policy" are closely connected. Social
policy, through compensation of needed resources to the
underprivileged, is assumed to be a means to achieve
greater equality.[2]

A second type of definitions takes its departure in
certain political ideas or ideologies about what "social
problems" include. There is a comprehensive literature
on this subject, and in the social sciences there has been
a notable tendency to develop "schools" around the various
approaches to the definition of social problems. [3]
In some cases attention has been directed toward the

consequences of such definitions for the "solutions" of
problems, and the implications for their causes.
Some contributors have emphasized the importance of
understanding the various forms of social disorganization.
Others have stressed the idea that a social problem must
be regarded as whatever people consider to be a social
problem, or that which they label as a social problem.
An important development in recent years has been to point
out how particular social problems are necessary costs
of the way the society is organized, and the objectives
of social policy, then, are concerned to a greater extent
with the community's own organization.[4]

A third type of definitions of social policy is based on
the institutional arrangements that are intended to
further given social policy goals. At times these goals
will have been given in advance, in the form of official
political positions. Also, at times those who are the
defining party will reformulate these goals through their
indication of which institutions they choose to call .
social policy institutions. Dich's definition of social
policy as consisting of the type of official subsidies
that citizens are not expected to pay back, may be seen
as an example.[5] Rold Andersen's development of a social
policy tool chest as a means to help political decision-
makers make more rational choices, must also be seen as
connected with this type of definition.[6]

Others have raised the point that so far the attempts
to define social policy have not been very fruitful,
partly because the boudary problems have not been over-
come and partly because the definitions have not been
capable of encompassing all the various social policy
activities.[7] But on the other hand, others have
raised the point that it is neither necessary nor possible

to define social policy as a distinctive discipline or a
distinctive area of responsibility, because social policy
is part of politics in general. As such, its activity
is so integrated with other community phenomena that it
is of little use to make it a distinct object for study.

A Theoretical Framework

As one of many approaches to achieving an improved
understanding of what social welfare policy is and what it
implies, it could be appropriate to take the concept of
social distance as a point of departure and regard
social policy as an attempt to influence social distance,
through a redistribution of resources, in such a way
that distance between and within given groups in society
is reduced. Reduction of social distance must be seen
as tied to the society's normative standards, the basic
assumption being that an evaluating process takes place,
which reformulates conceptions of resource equality to
conceptions of social distance. Resource equality may
be considered in various ways, but the more sociological
realities of resource equality can be understood through
analysis of its connection to social distance. Of course,
certain resource inequalities are the immediate target
for social policy efforts. But in order to understand
better the processes that are connected to social policy
activity, it seems important to regard social distance as
a fundamental underlying variable. I believe it is
largely this variable that people's attitudes about
social policy are tied to.[9] People's judgment about
what constitutes an acceptable compromise with respect
to the social distance between and within groups shapes
the possibilities as well as sets the limits for social
policy contributions.

If we imagine, for the sake of simplicity, two partners
in social policy activity, namely givers and receivers,
the efforts to reduce the social distance between the two,
can be seen as a continuous game where the givers'
conceptions of the extent of their own and others' social
resources are confronted with the receivers' conceptions
of the extent of their own and others' social resources.
If this dynamic game somehow comes into equilibrium, the
effort to reduce social distance is likely to cease.

This is not to point out specific giver groups and
receiver groups. These can be whatever groups or even
individuals who engage in activities, which reduce the
social distance between them. Receivers can be traditional
client groups or the so-called new client groups, or just
as well single individuals in a dyadic relationship where
the giver, through an ordinary human relationship, tries
to give the receiver "self confidence" or stimulation to
utilize his or her own resources. The giver can be the
tax-payers, or the neighborhood that accepts a home for
alcoholics in its immediate surroundings, just as well as
other groups or individuals who give out of their own
resources in order to reduce the social distance to re-
ceivers.

Social resources here is defined as all the individual or
structural qualities an individual or group posesses in
order to maintain, improve, or control their own living
conditions.[10] At the individual level, important resources
are education, health and position in the social network,
for example. Aggregated to the group level, such and other
resources will improve the group's chances of getting its
own conceptions about its need for further resources more
widely accepted. A social resource is whatever is defined
by the society as useful, or what is convertible to some-
thing useful.

In sociological literature the concept social distance is connected with the degree of contact and intimacy that is allowed or acceptable between groups with different characteristics. The concept also is associated with the problem of stratification: If one looks at the positions that exist in the society, for individuals and for groups, there is a certain degree of prestige or rank connected with each. The socially defined difference between the prestige or rank of the various positions usually is called social distance.[11]

In other words, social distance may be seen as something that comes out of a kind of mental matrix that people carry in their heads. This matrix corresponds to people's model of society as hierarchially arranged, and one can "walk into" this individual mental matrix, localize a particular cell, and read off the distance between, for example, individuals A and B, or between two categories of people described in terms of particular sets of socially relevant characteristics.

Research in social stratification indicates that people's mental distance matrices are rather clear and consistent. Of course, there must be certain systematic differences between groups of individuals with respect to which values they have "registered" in each specific cell in their matrices, and probably there are fields in the matrices that are rather diffuse for particular groups of people. But consider how the distance matrix is activated and utilized, for example, in connection with salary adjustments. It is not sufficient to uphold the rank order Also, we invariablyencounter clear requirements that even reciprocal distance between the groups be upheld.[12]

We are trying to see social policy as interference with social distance. Social distance enters here as a comprehensive concept, in that it is tied through a social process to a wider spectrum of social resources

than what is usually included in the concepts of prestige and rank. But prestige is a dominating dimension in the sense that it is highly correlated with the extent of other central resources.

A broad definition of social distance makes it possible to develop a wide perspective on social policy activity. One can, for example, include health policy as a part of social policy. Having good health is a resource, and in our terminology one may say that health policy has as its most important function the reduction of the distance between people who have good health and people who have poor health, by channelling social resources of various kinds to those who have poor health. In the same way, certain parts of educational policy have a social policy goal that starts with bringing the resource, education, to those who are in the weakest positions, or who are farthest from given norms about what minimum requirements should be set for the group's education.

Some Clarifications

In society there are different points of view regarding the question of which groups are most likely to become "social problems", and also different points of view about which deficiencies in the distribution of social resources shall be taken to indicate that we are faced with social problems. Often these two sets of opinions are so inter-woven that they are difficult to distinguish analytically.

Figure 1 is a simple matrix that can help to clarify this problem. On the vertical axis are placed those groups that are traditionally regarded as especially exposed to social problems (group A), such as low income workers, single parents, and the handicapped, for example. Below are placed those groups that cut across the population and are not considered as especially exposed to the risk of becoming a social problem (group B). Such groups

could be youth between the ages of 15 and 18, the audience
in the national theater, housewives in the home, et cetera.
Along the horizontal axis are placed different social
resources. These resources can be expressed in very
general terms, for example, as health or working conditions,
or they can be specified concretely, for example, as the
conditions of one's feet, or as some measure of friend-
ship among colleagues.

Within such a matrix it is possible to imagine how the
various social resources are _empirically_ distributed
to each of the different groups. So far, little such
empirical mapping has been done, but we have the
beginnings in the Swedish low income study and in the
Norwegian level of living study.[13]

Figure 1: Groups with greater or lesser risk of social problems, in relation to various social resource components.

| Groups in society		Resource components				
		c_1	c_2	c_3	$\cdots$	c_K
A. Greater problem risk	a_1	$(ac)_{11}$	$(ac)_{12}$	$(ac)_{13}$	$\cdots$	$(ac)_{1K}$
	a_2	$(ac)_{21}$	$(ac)_{22}$	$(ac)_{23}$	$\cdots$	$(ac)_{2K}$
	a_3	$(ac)_{31}$	$(ac)_{32}$	$(ac)_{33}$	$\cdots$	$(ac)_{3K}$
	.	.	.	.		.
	.	.	.	.		.
	.	.	.	.		.
	a_n	$(ac)_{n1}$	$(ac)_{n2}$	$(ac)_{n3}$	$\cdots$	$(ac)_{nK}$
B. Lesser problem risk	b_1	$(bc)_{11}$	$(bc)_{12}$	$(bc)_{13}$	$\cdots$	$(bc)_{1K}$
	b_2	$(bc)_{21}$	$(bc)_{22}$	$(bc)_{23}$	$\cdots$	$(bc)_{2K}$
	b_3	$(bc)_{31}$	$(bc)_{32}$	$(bc)_{33}$	$\cdots$	$(bc)_{3K}$
	.	.	.	.		.
	.	.	.	.		.
	.	.	.	.		.
	b_m	$(bc)_{m1}$	$(bc)_{m2}$	$(bc)_{m3}$	$\cdots$	$(bc)_{mK}$

If one were to look at the concrete contents of the cells
in the matrix, one would find in the population both
conceptions of the assumed distributions within the
individual cells, and to some extent quite strong if
not uniform opinions on how the distributions ought
to be. In particular, norms will be connected to the
question of where the upper and lower boundaries of the
distribution ought to lie.

The confrontation between these two "realities", the
assumed and the prescribed, creates one of the greatest
tensions in social policy. We also have seen examples
of the tension that can arise when the assumed is confron-
ted with the actual, as when the results of the Swedish
low income study were published.[14] It created consider-
ally reaction when it was shown that the actual resource
inequality between certain groups in the Swedish society
was significantly larger than would be expected according
to widespread assertions about the welfare state.

Let Figure 2 represent the frequency distribution in one
of the cells in Figure 1, that is, the distribution of
one of the social resources, c_j, in a given group, a_i.
Let us imagine that according to official goals, this
group's living conditions in terms of this resource shall
not be below a given threshold, let us say x.[15] To the
extent the society really places high priority on this goal
it will make attempts to move that part of the group
which falls to the left of x toward the right side of the
distribution. Or put in another way, efforts will be
made to reduce the social distance between the group's
members, so as to give that part of the group which be-
longs to the left side of the distribution greater advan-
tage with respect to these particular resources. Usually,
the official goals will not include the setting of boundaries
for the upper part of the distribution, so the group still
may have widely different living conditions.[16] Resources
in the group may even become more unequally distributed
through the process that is supposed to be giving more

advantage to the lower part of the distribution. For example
it can be maintained that the efforts to make education
available to larger groups on the elementary level have
caused more educational differentiation i the society.[17]

Figure 2. Hypothetical frequency distribution for a
group with respect to one resource component.

Frequency

Resource

o   y x z
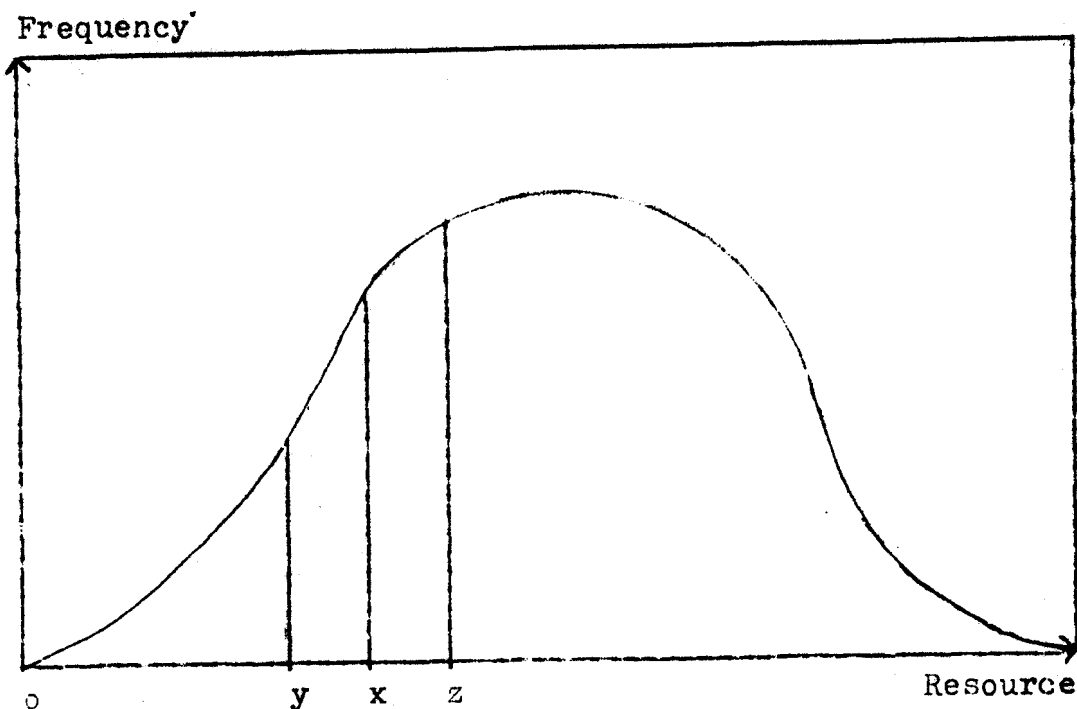
Now, it is not only through official goals that norms relating
to a group's living conditions are being established. Also
there are informal community norms concerning this matter.
Let us say that the average of these expectations is at y,
that is, the community as a whole wants to be more restrictive
with help to this group than what is expressed through the
official goals. Part of the official program will therefore
designed to create better understanding in the community, so
that the norms allow movement of the threshold from y to x.
Thus, an adjustment of the threshold indirectly means an
acceptance of less social distance, both within a given group
and between this and other groups in the society.[19]

Certain influential people or groups with recognized
expertise may have norms that deviate strongly both from
the official goals and from the average opinion in the
community. Let us suppose their threshold is at z.
Assuming that the particular problem group's living
conditions are a matter of concern to these opinion leaders
or experts, they will work in the direction of bringing
that part of the distribution to the left of z up to a
level corresponding to z. The work of these individuals
and unofficial groups toward reducing the social distance
between this and other particular groups will also be con-
sidered as social policy, according to our definition.
This definition also applies where members of the problem
group itself work actively to improve their position.

However, not only that part of the distribution which
falls under a given threshold, that is, the distribution's
left side, is the object of social policy efforts. It
is also desirable to invest resources in that part of the
group that is farther to the right in the distribution,
to assure that they do not exhibit downward mobility and
end up on the left side of the threshold. Such efforts
are called preventive social work, and in the terminology
used here, it means that social policy efforts are made to
hinder further widening of the social distance between
certain groups. Such preventive efforts will not be limited
only to groups exposed to social problems, cf. group A
in Figure 1, but also will be used across the population
as well, cf. group B.

Another important form of social policy activity is that
of pointing out problem-causing structures in the society
and to make efforts to change them. This activity also
has to do with redistribution of resources, carried out
for example, through employment policies, and industrial

or regional development policies. Through these inter-
ventions, one hopes to prevent contraction of the resource
potential for particular groups. In other words, one
tries to reduce the probability of downward mobility for
particular groups, and to see that the social distance
does not increase between these and certain other groups in
society.

According to what has been said so far, social policy
has these three tasks:

1) To reduce social distance both within and between
   certain groups, through transfer of social resources
   in a broad sense.
2) To impede the widening of social distance both within
   and between certain groups, through preventive work.
3) To establish norms about how much social distance
   there should be within and between certain groups,
   through setting priorities and transferring social
   resources to defined problem groups.

In the following the concept of social distance and the
interaction between normsetting groups in social policy-
making will be discussed in more detail.

Resources and Distance.

In Figure 2 we saw a simplified illustration of how one
single resource component may be used in the manipulation
of social distance. However, the concept of resource is
complex, and as indicated in Figure 1, it needs decomposing
in order to be analyzed. The critical question then becomes:
How does one return to a synthesis after an analysis of
components? The assumption here is that the underlying
dimension of social distance can contribute to such a
synthesis.

Some complications in the use of the concept of social
resources lie in the following points. First of all, a
listing of either total resources or of specific kinds of
one resource could be continued for a long time, if not
infinitely. Secondly, the resource components are connected
with different structural levels in the society. Some
resources are predominantly individual: abilities, skills,
health, appearance; but in many ways they are contingent
on resources in the social milieu. Some resources are
collective: those connected with families or households,
voluntary or formal organizations, political structures,
local communities, national communities. One resource
can be gained with the help of another, but if enough
resources are convertible, there are social and other
restrictions on their exchange, as Coleman and others
thoroughly have discussed.[18] The concept of conversion
of energy used by ecologists reminds us of how complex
the chains are, and how they are socially bound, with
great cultural variations.[19]

Thirdly we have not made much progress so far in linking
the components together into a theoretically compact
system which, if we had it, could be used to predict and
test system consequences of changes in particular components.
It has been asserted that this is the main weakness in the
development of social indicators, and that what we need is
development of models of the sort that economists use.[20]
Of course, one difficult problem is the lack of a common
standard for transposition of the single components.
Another problem is that fixing the rate of exchange between
resource components can occur only through a dynamic social
process where people's shifting desires and goals are
eventually made manifest.

Without going into any concrete empirical solutions here,
one may point to the possibility of letting the relative
weight of the single components be unveiled by the way
they reflect the dimension social distance. The resource
inequality that exists between individuals, or between

groups, gets its sociological meaning and content through
the significance the community attaches to this inequality
in the light of social distance. According to this view
the concept of distance - insofar as it can be given an
adequate mooring in data - will be useful to throw light
upon the isolation of the single resource componente as
well as the optimalization of the redistribution of
resources that social policy is concerned with.

It is important to amphasize the interactional character
of the concept of social distance. General stratification
theory tells us that the question of which criteria shall
be the basis for differentiation in rank or prestige,
can be answered only with reference to the culture: culture
determines through processes over which professionals still
disagree. The social policy focus is the distribution of
resources. As we have seen, we are dealing with complicated
multiple resources and a continuous resource conversion,
from component to component. When we, as here, depict
social distance as a social deposit of differences in
extent of resources, we are still entangled in cultural
evaluations and the concept social distance may be under-
stood only as the result of interaction between social
partners.

The Norm-setting Process

Let us consider one of the columns in Figure 1. It
concerns one resource component and its distribution
among various groups. Each group may be characterized by
some measure of control tendency as well as dispersion,
and we have variation both within and between the groups.
We have discussed, in connection with Figure 2, the activity
that is directed toward establishing the lower boundaries
of resources, symbolized by x, y or z. There is
probably little reason to assume that the value of x, for
example, on one resource scale, is constant for all the
groups. It may be more reasonable to suppose that there

are different values for x,   so that each group has its
x-value. The relationship is indicated in Figure 3.
The fact that x cannot be seen as one fixed value is
due to the fact that evaluation does not take place from
above or from the outside according to autonomous
criteria, but through a dynamic interaction among group
members and between different groups having inequal powers to
work towards the acceptance of their views. It is also
likely that deviance within a group is defined in its
context, so that a condition considered to reflect a lack
of resources within one group would not necessarily be
considered similarly in another group.

Figure 3: Hypothetical frequency distribution for four
           groups with respect to one resource component.

Frequency

x   x   x   x   Extent of
                                          the resource
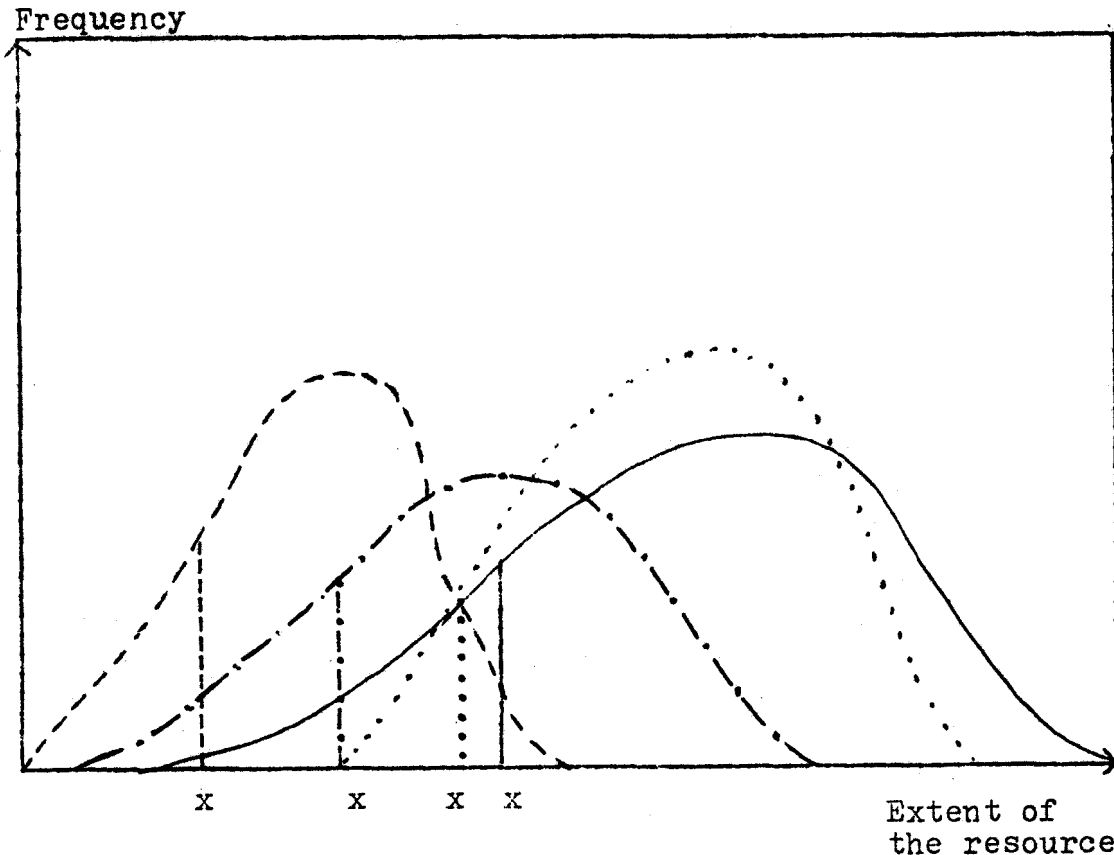
Considering here the problem of how one resource component
is distributed in various groups, we also must be able to
conceive of a situation where we have many groups as well
as many different resource components. Within such complicate
reality the conflicts of interest in social policy take
place.

In the above a distinction was made between the "givers"
and the "receivers" in the social policy field. It now
becomes evident that the complex situation we are dealing
with does not allow an unambiguous distinction between
these two sets of partners. Since many resource components
are at play at the same time, the givers in one situation
will be the receiver in another. But the assumption here
is that the game goes on within established boundaries, in
that the social distance dimension provide an ordering
principle and places the actors in a hierarchical pattern.

Conflicts of interest and tugs of war hardly are worked
out only between those who wish to increase their resources,
that is, client groups and receiver groups on the one side,
and the rest of society on the other side. On the contrary,
there is much evidence to indicate that those who have
the fewest social resources also are those who have the
least power to protest, so that a good deal of the effort
to reduce distance is led by other groups on behalf
of the receiver groups. It looks as if the strongest tug
of war goes on between giver groups, that is, those who
must tolerate, to varying degrees, a direct, indirect, or
relative reduction in the extent of their social resources.[22]

Let us now look at some examples of how the manipulation
of social distance works in a number of social programs.

If an individual deviates strongly enough from the norms of
society, his behavior will call forth sanctions that aim
either to force him over towards the acceptable or to punish
him for his deviance. If the deviance is the kind that
comes into conflict with enacted laws, imprisonment may be

the result. The punishment consists of restriction of
freedom, which means among other things that the prisoner
is put into a position where he cannot procure the
resources that help to define his social position in the
society at large. At the same time his confinement is
stigmatizing, as his social position in his society
becomes negatively affected by his imprisonment. Relative
resource deprivation as well as downward mobility thus
are components of the punishment. When the imprisonment
is terminated there are social programs that begin when
the exprisoner walks out through the prison gates.
Ideally, it is important to get him back to the position
he had before he went to prison, or in any case to better
his present position, that is, to give him upward mobility.
This can be achieved through helping him with a job or
job-training, housing, clothes, improved self-respect, or
in other words, by transferring sufficient social resources
to him so that the social distance is reduced between him
and those he uses as his reference group.

It is within the prison system that one most clearly sees
the effect on social distance through stigmatizing.
It is accepted in this sector, because deviance is defined
as socially undesirable. But within social programs, which
are designed to help people, we often find the same kinds
of stigmatizing. We find it to varying degrees, we find
it in individuals and built into the structures. It is
there, working against the intentions of social policy
to reduce social distance. One study shows how the receivers
of social welfare benefits are so stigmatized by their
neighbors, that one could ask whether the increase in social
distance through stigmatization from the neighbors counter-
balances the effect of the economic transfers from the
social welfare office.[22] Another study shows how single
mothers are not very interested in contact with the social
welfare office and the therapeutic support offered there,

but rather prefer to go back to a system with
anonymous money transfers. [23)]

In a study of the Norwegian Social Care Act, it was shown,
that those who administer the law also feel that they
personally are affected by changes in clients' social
position, and many of them were little willing to reduce
the distance for the various types of clients through
transfer of resources. [24)]

Closing Remarks.

Allardt has used Maslow's motivation theory to develop
a classification scheme for social indicators, assuming
that society as a system functions with the aim of satis-
fying human needs. He also has shown how in a functional
analysis á la Stinchcombe one may see needs as homeostatic
variables, factors that work through the social structure
as tension variables and community allocation (for example,
through social policy) as control variables. The definition
of needs, or of tolerance boundaries for satisfaction of
needs, are socially conditioned, and therefore must be made
the subject of constant mapping. [25)]

The possibility of pursuing another orientation is suggested
here. It is believed that it may be useful to regard
what comes out of the social distance matrix as social
policy's homeostatic variables.

Many kinds of tensions would have the effect of changing
the cell values in the distance matrix. But what happens
when control variables are allowed to work is that the
distance matrix is upheld to a great extent, and the
solutions come to lie within a certain tolerance of movement.
As have been mentioned, we even see that an increase of
resources in the form of money, for example, can lead to
stigmatizing from immediate neighbors that partly or
completely counteracts the distance-reducing effect of the
benefit. Much of the debate about alleged misuse of

national insurance programs also may be understood in this perspective.[26] Of course, the content of the distance matrix is socially defined and constantly changing.

One may get the impression in the course of social policy debate that what we strive for is a distance matrix with the value zero in all cells, in other words, an egalitarian society. In reality a matrix with different values is practiced. It is an important task to increase our knowledge about what this matrix really looks like among the various groups involved in putting social policy goals into practice.

NOTES

1. Fredrik Zeuthen, _Arbejdsløn og Arbejdsløshed._
   Socialpolitik. Bind 1 (København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag,
   1948), p. 28. See also reviews given in
   Bent Rold Andersen, _Grundprincipper i socialpolitikken_
   (Albertslund: Det danske forlag, 1971), pp. 12-31, og
   Jørn Henrik Petersen, _Socialpolitisk teori._ Bind 1
   (Odense University Press, 1972), pp. 10-35.

2. Leif Holgersson och Lars Svenning, "Socialpolitiken som
   ett medel til jämlikhet", in _Socialvård och samhällsför-_
   ändring. (Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1970),
   pp. 11-22.

3. See John A.Kitsuse and Malcolm Spector, "Toward a
   Sociology of Social Problems: Social Conditions, Value-
   Judgments and Social Problems", _Social Problems,_
   20(1973), pp. 407-419;
   Arnold M. Rose, "History and Sociology of the Study of
   Social Problems", and
   Irving Tallman and Reece McGee, "Definition of a Social
   Problem", both in _Handbook on the Study of Social Problems,_
   edited by
   Erwin O.Smigel (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971), pp. 3-18
   and pp. 19-58; and
   Edwin M Schur, _Labeling Deviant Behavior. Its Sociologi-_
   cal Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

4. Cf. the review given in Kenneth Westhues, "Social
   Problems as Systemic Costs", Social Problems, 20(1973),
   pp. 419-431. Cf. also E. J. Mishan, _The Costs of_
   Economic Growth (Middlesex: Penguin, 1967).

5. Jørgen S. Dich, _Socialpolitikkens Teori,_ 1. bind
   (København: Dansk Videnskabs Forlag, 1964), Ch. 1,
   especially p. 34.

6. Rold Andersen, op. cit., p. 27.

7. Paul Lindblom: "Ekonomi och välfärd - socialpolitikk
   för sociala behov", in Ekonomi och välfärd (Malmö:
   Föreningen Sveriges Socialchefer, 1972), pp. 60-68,
   especially p. 60.

8. I have also been among those who have argued in favor
   of this point, see Else Øyen, "Sosialpolitisk forskning:
   avgrensning eller begrensning", Innlegg ved Det første
   nordiske sosialpolitiske forskerseminar, Rungsted,
   Danmark 1972, and "Issues in Social Policy Research
   in Norway", Paper prepared for the Colloqium on Social
   Policy, UNESCO, Sigriswil, Switzerland, February 1973.

9. Cf. Richard M. Titmus, Essays on the Welfare State
   (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), ch. 2.

10. Sten Johansen, Om levnadsnivåundersökningen (Stockholm:
    Allmänna Förlaget, 1970), ch. 1, and
    James S. Coleman, Resources for Social Change (New
    York: John Wiley, 1971), pp. 1-36.

11. Svalastoga distinguishes between these two interpreta-
    tions of social distance. The first one, which is
    related to intimacy and friendship, is called horizontal
    distance. The second one, which is related to stratifi-
    cation, is called vertical social distance. In accor-
    dance with Svalastoga it is here assumed that these
    two variants of social distance is interdependent and
    must be treated as such.
    Cf. Kaare Svalastoga, Prestige, Class and Mobility
    (København: Scandinavian University Books, 1959), p. 319.

    A review of different relations in which the concept of
    social distance has been used is found in
    Delbert C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and
    Social Measurement (New York: McKay, 2nd ed., 1970)
    pp. 222-229, and

Charles M. Bonjean, Richard J. Hill and S. Dale
McLemore, Sociological Measurement: An Inventory of
Scales and Indices (San Francisco: Chandler, 1967),
pp. 150-162 og 359.

12. Torstein Eckhoff, Justice. Its Determinance in Social
Interaction (Rotterdam University Press, 1974).
Eckhoff discusses the importance of status and rank as
one of several principles underlying the distribution
of resources, Ch. 9. Included in our concept of
social distance is also an evaluation of the distance
between different positional ranks.

13. Cf. Sten Johansson, op. cit., and Levekårsundersøkelsen,
NOU 1976:28, Sluttrapport

14. Per Holmberg, Ekonomi och välfärd, op. cit., pp. 46-59.

15. The official goal for a social program is not always
stated very precisely, and the official goal is not
necessarily the actual goal, see Else Øyen, Sosialom-
sorgen og dens forvaltere. En sosialpolitisk undersøkelse
(Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1976), Ch. 3 and 10.

16. Taxation policies intend, of course, to counteract too
much differentiation.

17. Gudmund Hernes, "Om ulikhetens reproduksjon", Arbeids-
notat nr. 28, Levekårsundersøkelsen.

18. Coleman, op. cit., pp. 37-78.

19. Ørjar Øyen, "Økologisk metode", i Sociologisk metodik,
edited by Kaare Svalastoga (København: Jørgen Paludans
forlag, 1971), pp. 47-69

20. See for example the discussion given in
    James G. Anderson, "Causal Models and Social Indicators:
    Towards the Development of Social Systems Models",
    American Sociological Review. 38(1973), pp. 285-301.

21. Else Øyen, Sosialomsorgen og dens forvaltere,
    op. cit., Ch.7 and 10.

22. Knud Knudsen, Sosialhjelp og nærmiljø (Sosiale indika-
    torer, rapport nr. 2, Sosiologisk institutt, Universi-
    tetet i Bergen,1972).

23. Kari Wærness, Verdikonflikter ved realisering av
    sosiale hjelpetiltak for enslige mødre (Sosialpolitisk
    rapport nr. 6, Sosiologisk institutt, Universitetet i
    Bergen, 1972).

24. Øyen, op. cit., Ch. 9.

25. Erik Allardt, "A Frame of Reference for Selecting
    Social Indicators", Commentationes Scientarium
    Socialium, 1. 1972.

26. Else Øyen, "Trygdemisbruksdebatten som sykliske fore-
    teelser som kommer og går", Mimeo, Bergen 1974.