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RESEARCH ARTICLE

HISTORY OF SOCIAL RIGHTS DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

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ABSTRACT

The origin of the idea of modern social care traces back to Western Europe, to the age of enlightenment and the concept of bio-power introduced by the French philosopher, Michel Foucault. I will track the development of social rights by trying to provide a meaningful insight into their history and conceptualization in Western Europe. This theoretical and historical introduction will be followed by an analysis of the general social conditions of the modern West. During this evaluation we will see the tendencies and typical social problems that the states in Europe have to cope with. Also, I try to summarize the means by which the social care programs intend to tackle the newly emerging problems. To balance my analysis, unsuccessful attempts and constant problems of the contemporary society is also worth mentioning. This essay intends to define a fundamental idea and form of activity, namely the social care and find its historical focus points. It is a challenging task to do so owing to the diversity of historical records, therefore my narrative necessarily contains a certain amount of reduction. This analysis aims to describe the governmental and communal forms of social responsibility and does not intend to shed light on the individual forms of care connected to social history. My aim is first to follow the historical developments of social care from its beginnings in the Early Modern Age until the formation of the European Economic Community and then the European Union that intends to extend the system to an international level.

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INTRODUCTION

Since nobody can span every tiny aspect and connection point of the elements of history, there is no escaping from selection. I use some examples of social care development from Germany and Great Britain, the two masters of social transformations in the Age of Industrialization. These cases will lead us to the modern definition of welfare state and the emergence of social rights in the West. The last component of this article focuses on the immediate postwar period in Western Europe. All the other developments of social care systems in the West will be discussed under the umbrella of the European Integration in the next chapter and the Hungarian system will be included to that part as well. During the whole process of social care development, we can see that the extension of the executive power of the state was indicated by not only a conceptual change, but by a revolution of technology as well. This revolution encompassed phenomena such as the expansion of market, growing speed in transportation, technical improvement in the army, and the spread of printing, just to mention the most important ones.

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These developments from the beginning of the Early Modern Age, served as pillars to the projection of state power to areas never seen before. Also, the capitalist system and the increased amount of government receipts fostered rivalry among different powers of Western Europe, which again contributed to establishing an extended administrative staff dealing not only with strictly state affairs but with related social issues as well. Not only the states extended their scope of interest to broader areas of society but, the individuals also created common incentives replacing the duties of the church and sharing responsibility for the community in a secular sense. These self-help groups were larger than the traditional socially organized caretaking systems. They concentrated their efforts not only on the family and its direct environment; rather they could broaden the scope of their activities in larger and larger cities full with people of different origins. Indeed, living in cities is the key for the development of modern social thought. Cities make contacts among individuals more frequent and they necessarily induce greater cooperation in qualitative and quantitative sense as well. Cities function as the places of high opportunities and high risks at the same time and make the people possible to gain or lose. We will see that the social care systems are the direct outcome of the capitalist competition in

the society and fundamentally has been serving as a balancing tool of abrupt social changes ever since.

Social Care in Western Europe

Researchers treat the 'European Social Model' as an umbrella term rather than one referring to an organic entity, because there are four clearly separable variations in existence, each covering different regions of the continent. These model variations, namely the Nordic, the Anglo-Saxon, Mediterranean and Continental models are discussed one by one together with the history of social care of all the relevant countries including Hungary as well. This historical overview helps recognize the motivations of answers to different challenges of various nations and eras thus explaining the present state of social care. The experience of the past is important to every society in a sense that it helps define the directions and dimensions of development. It also serves as a lesson for the social workers and politicians of the future in defining the target by knowing the failures and challenges of the past. My focus will be mainly on the Western European developments since the continent can be regarded as the pioneers of regulations and practice of social care issues.

Origin of an Idea in Europe

Caring people is one of the most basic values and instincts of all human beings regardless their religion or traditions. It can be seen as an organizing idea of humans living together – caring, cooperating and communicating in very sophisticated ways are among the main distinctive features of human beings from the nature. The traditional form of caring was carried out in small local communities and within the families. By the emergence of social care systems, this basic idea evolved. But the idea that beyond the family, there can be a possibility of social solidarity exercised by the state covered long distances in the European history. By now, not at the end of the process, the net of caring covered a more comprehensive community than in the ancient times. The society recognized itself as an identity making entity; therefore, its members provide common security against the challenges outside and exercise solidarity inside. In the ancient times, the ad hoc forms of providing help first started to be institutionalized in moral and religious teachings. For example, according to Thomas Aquinas (died 1274) the state should be the representative of the idea of common good by maintaining the equity of rights and justice. Every religion emphasizes the persistent power of the community and the necessity of its maintenance. By doing so, they implement serious social programs, e. g. almsgiving, taking care of elderly people, responsibility for the ill people and orphans. (Interestingly, among all these traditional values taking special care of children did not receive as much emphasis as nowadays.). During the Middle Ages, there were social classes that did not possess any rights (slaves) or they had them only partially (peasantry). These classes lived under the auspices of the nobility thus being hierarchically dependent on their help. Because of having these social connections, there was no need of systems of social policies since the existing system together with the help of the church could maintain a limited but suitable form of social care.

The era of great geographical discoveries in the early modern age can be described by the notion of bio-power introduced by the French philosopher Michel Foucault. This is based on the idea that humanity is one race, and every individual is a

biological being having (only) biological needs to deal with. For the satisfaction of these needs, the state has to make actions, for example organizing the supply of the cities centrally, or the common defense against epidemics. This transformation with regard to the state–population relations was triggered by the large-scale growth of the population in certain areas of Europe in the Early Modern Ages. The increase in population concentration tested the traditional administration systems that answered the challenges by the introduction of central norms and rationality. As a consequence, this process caused the growing influence of the state administration on the individuals and helped the formation of absolutist regimes. The concept of bio-power was embodied in three areas of administrative life: the extension of legal sovereignty, the discipline, and the implementation of security. The latest meant social security as well. In practice, rulers tended to eliminate the chaotic spatial structures of the cities of the Middle Ages with the aim of streaming the people and goods fast, thus helping the maintenance of security and transparency. The development of a unified road system narrowed the chances of theft, fostered trade activities, and provided the city a "healthier layout", because in certain unified areas managing epidemics or fire became possible. Besides, the whole idea was about the efficient control and governance over the territories. Apart from social security, the implementation of these principles was important from the aspect of the ruler (the monarch), who tried to organize the administration in the most efficient way (enlightened absolutism) that was essentially important to maintain big armies in a very conflictual era.

The emergence of capitalist economic system provided ways for wider fields of social transactions, competitions, economic and social struggles. The traditionally countryside domination of the Middle Age feudalism dissolved and made place for a more uncertain social distribution that started to be prevailed by the urban lifestyle. The tumultuous and insecure eras of the 17th and 18th centuries made a large amount of opportunities for the new bourgeoisie and lessened the social status of the traditional ruling elites. Religious foundation of caring people and reformation movements played roles in the development. "Even if Protestantism and the Reformation cannot lay sole claim to having caused the reforms of poor relief and health care which occurred in the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries in Protestant Western Europe, the speed and thoroughness with which they were undertaken would not have been imaginable without the theological rationale which the Protestant reformers gave to these reforms." In the Early Modern England, the elementary system of fifteen thousand parishes contributed to the maintenance of poor services, which were, of course outside the realm of governmental management. They provided a nursing service for those of their fellow pensioners who were ill paid for by the parish. This was a system which seems to have been mutually beneficial to both the poor and the parish. In the 18th century, scholars of Enlightenment advanced and promoted technology and science for greater masses and were advocates of education, social change and ideas with great potential social impact. But the emergence of social management can be originated from the dual revolution of the 19th century, namely the industrial and the civil revolution. The civil revolutions destroyed the strongly hierarchic social system and the socially or religiously dependent system of care giving. By the end of these traditional connections between the nobility and peasantry, the revolutions managed to reach equal rights for the whole

society at least theoretically. By the mechanization of agricultural production and the formation of large estates, the traditional village communities were dissolved in the countryside. Small guilds could not keep the competition with the factories thus ceasing the outdated system of caretaking in the cities. As a natural consequence of this process, the 19th century saw the recognition of the state's responsibility for maintaining the society. Before the civil revolution, the weak social development and growth could not meet the criteria of comprehensive social care, since it necessitates financial and moral transformation of the society, moreover the equity of rights is also a key component in the origin of social care. The better and better living conditions increased the level of life expectancy, therefore making a split in the traditional household system. Due to the growing urbanization, more and more generations started to live together having no place for privacy and individual life. In these crowded places, people did not even live with relatives as they had once done in the countryside.

At the same time, the younger generation could not maintain the traditional caregiver services for the elderly people within the framework of households owing to fiscal problems and the increasing workload in the cities. The traditional bonds among people weakened: the increasing number of old people in cities needed special caregivers and special services to maintain their lives. During the nineteenth century, due to the increasing fertility rate of the society and the dramatic decline of infant mortality, there was persistent reinforcement of the youth population in the cities mainly coming from the countryside. Their motivations to get a job and better opportunities have been the constant driving force of urbanization that is still an ongoing process nowadays. The consequences of urbanization in the sphere of social cohabitation are among the largest ones in the history of humankind contributing to the intensification of social transformations beyond family relations, therefore exposing the systems of social care to continuous challenges. The sheer logic of capitalism contributed to the exploitation of great masses of workers: in time of great supply of human resources, they could be easily replaced by someone else. The feeling of defenselessness, the lack of moral control over the people falling into a different world of villages and small communities often caused alienation and as a consequence, alcoholism, loose life, prostitution and criminal activities.

Social Care at Work: Means and Problems – Some Historical Examples

In Western Europe, especially in Great Britain, two ideologies defined the relation between the state and emerging problems of the society. According to the ideology of the New Right, the government must encourage free enterprise and should make interference as few as possible. This system was ideally based on social workers employed by the private sector. On the contrary, Fabianism contends that the state itself is more efficient than the market and "*The Welfare State* is the vehicle to promote altruism, solidarity and community by providing universal social services to all." The Fabian Society was founded in 1883 with the aim of advocating collectivist principles in Great Britain and challenging the prevailing system of free market. The idea of the intervention of the state in the regulation of industrial contracts was a relatively new phenomenon and in a certain way it violated the freedom of employing people. The idea of social care in Great Britain became very much connected to the working conditions and

the regulations of labor force. In the first time, during the 19th century the interventions were not drastic: it covered only certain branches of industrial production (e. g.: in 1842 the Mines and Collieries Act forbade the employment of females and boys underground who were under age thirteen). For example, in 1802 the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act forbade certain working conditions, such as danger from machines, poor sanitation or night work, but the effect was restricted only to cotton mills. Nevertheless, these first attempts were – by our contemporary standards – considerably modest and these programs influenced only fractions of the national populations.

During the 19th century, various institutions were found to care for the mentally ill, expanding public education and public hygiene systems, and fight against epidemics (e. g. the first law of public health in 1848). In 1847, a new law concerning the whole system of industry was introduced: the workweek was limited to fifty-eight hours for the females and boys between thirteen to eighteen years old. The first political movement in defense for the rights of workers was established in the 1830s in Great Britain. By referring to certain charters of the constitution, the movement of chartists intended to extend the political rights (right to vote, fair elections, secret vote, electability of workers, etc.) that could have been the precondition for the development of working conditions. Several of their petitions was did not find response of the legislation, but they contributed to the legal development of social conditions in the 1840s.

Same time when the slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1834, the Poor Law Amendment Act was introduced. The latter based on the idea that because the poor were unwilling to work, relief must be maintained at a level below that of the poorest laborer that dramatically reduced the expense of poor relief. This law was an embodiment of radical individualistic laissez-faire ideology that denied the necessity of governmental regulations or reforms in the realm of social life. It created a distinction between the categories of the deserving and the undeserving poor and made the use of police forces possible to force the poor people to take part in the labor market. The law prescribed the minimum means of life in closed workhouses.

In 1869, the so-called Charity Organization Society (COS) was established with the aim of systematic examination of people's conditions and motivations to ensure that only the deserving ones would receive help. This overall assessment of poor people was carried out by volunteers and contributed to set up the School of Sociology in 1902 to train social workers in Great Britain. The Fabianists resisted the idea of the Poor Law and the administrative settings of the COS on the basis of inefficiency and promoted the "locally elected authorities to be responsible for the poor in education, childcare and health, leaving the unemployed to be dealt with nationally by central government." They rejected the prevailing individualist approach to poverty that claimed self-caused poverty was a crime. In the continent, large middle classes, significant industrial growth, and liberal capitalism contributed to the emergence of social care on the governmental level. Especially in Germany, workers founded self-help institutions to handle the problem of disability of work. These aid services provided certain help in case of disability, death or oldness. In the wake of these developments, lawmaking in Germany centered on social insurances labeled by the name of Otto von Bismarck.

By relying on the existing structures (e. g.: 1854 Law of Welfare in Prussia) he reformed the social insurance system of the whole empire forming the system of compulsory insurances. The social insurance covered invalidism, old age, industrial accidents and illness. These laws implemented by the “Iron Chancellor” did not mean that their contents became part of the constitution as basic rights; they remained under the hierarchy of the constitution therefore not providing unassignable rights for the society. Although the Weimar Constitution of 1919 mentions social rights, it was rather an action program for the government, not general basic rights that could be enforced by legal measures. The insurance system became complete by introducing unemployment insurance to the social supply system in 1927–28 and the German scheme itself was widely imitated in different countries of the continent: in Austria (1889), in Hungary (1891), in Switzerland (1911), and in France (1928). During the interwar period, the Scandinavian countries also established their fairly comprehensive social welfare systems that can be labeled as social democratic with relatively high taxes, but universal social benefits. Behind the origin of the German system of social care, we can see that from German feudalism came the notions that the state had to promote social welfare and to exercise social control. The governmental intervention was supported by the powerful, authoritarian German bureaucracy and influenced by the Catholic ideals of tradition and stability. Therefore, the literature mentions the German welfare regime as a conservative one, in which working class movements had strong influence and were able to forge coalitions first with farmers and later with the middle class of the society.

The church also played an important role to reinforce the responsibility of the state for the working class. The so-called “*Rerum Novarum*” or “Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor” encyclical of 1891 issued by the Pope started to fight an ideological war against the serious challenges of extreme liberalism and socialism. Beside the humanistic ideals, governments recognized the importance of general poor maintenance systems for industrial workers, thus hoping to dampen their enthusiasm for socialist ideologies. For example, in their work, *Regulating the Poor* (1971) Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward emphasized that political and economic elites were primarily concerned with controlling the poor, conserving existing social establishment, and not helping the needy out of problems. However, in *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers* (1992) Theda Skocpol noted that in some places welfare provisions predated industrialization. The end of the 19th century saw the emergence of trade unions, both industrial and nonindustrial providing the key to a mass-based socialist party. In Great Britain, the Labor Representation Committee (LRC), colloquially referred to as the Labor Party, was formed under trade-union auspices in 1900. While the British social policy was dominated by securing the working conditions, in the Continental form, the focus was on the social security systems. By launching the National Insurance Act of 1911, the British social security system became more generous than the German one. The Act introduced unemployment compensation, health and disability insurance, hospital insurance, and even maternity allowances. During the interwar period, the harsh consequences of the economic crisis made serious challenges to the systems of social insurance and the adoption of psychoanalytical concepts from the USA “was an important step in moving beyond the investigation and moral exhortation of the poor.”

The main focus of handling the “problems of the poor” slowly shifted to the idea of rehabilitation with the aim of bringing people back to “normal” society by understanding the nature and motivations of the different individuals determined by diverse living conditions and experiences. The basis of the all-embracing social welfare state was the efficiency and hierarchy. Beyond the requirement of how to make society work at peak efficiency, the idea that human health as a basic value was also an underlying issue in the creation of social welfare systems. Several tragedies and eras with harsh conditions made the Europeans understand the importance of the quality of human life. Industrial revolutions, economic crises, and world wars made it evident that the liberal market alone cannot be able to regulate and secure the social welfare of the people, therefore the governmental introduction is necessary. Also, the Second World War proved that the most important value of a society is the human resource, the labor force, enough to consider the rapid revival of the German economy in the 1950s from the ashes of a devastating war, but still having technology and significant experience of organizing production. World Wars contributed to at least one more aspect of social care: “When whole city blocks were flattened, emergency services had to re-house and rehabilitates best they could. In addition, the medical services had to be centrally organized and distributed, diminishing significantly the independence of medical practitioners. In case of Great Britain, prewar anticipation of civilian casualties in air raids produced the first full survey of medical services in the country. This was a prelude to the creation of a National Health Service after the war.” Historians call this the “concentration effect” of war. For sure, after the war there was no way back, the social services and initiatives of wartime had to be maintained.

The modern interpretation of welfare state and the system of Social Rights in Western Europe

By definition, social care is “the provision of support in helping people maintain or improve their place in the community. This may involve people working in housing, education, welfare, occupational or recreational settings.” Social rights are the norms that enable the implementation of these ideas mentioned above. As for the legal basis of social care and social thought, social rights belong to the realm of positive rights meaning that the state has to make intervention to enforce their effectiveness. In the international law, social rights together with economic and cultural rights are part of an independent group of rights. In the legal system, the emergence of this so called second generation of rights is the outcome of growing expansion of the state. As we seen before, the capitalist system of the 19th century based on private ownership, contractual freedom and unrestricted economic contest did not provide protection against pauperization. This contributed to the idea that the state should take part in the redistribution of goods and in a certain way confine the right of private ownership. Moreover, not just the thought of passive intervention was developed in the 19th century, but the governments recognized the importance of the welfare of the working class and the citizens in general as well by providing them protections in oppose to their employer.

By the development of social rights and social care activities, the most important elements of social rights are:

- Social security (social insurance, social help and health insurance)

- Rights to protect groups liable to damage
- defending the rights of workers
- Right to residence

In general, the subjects of social rights are individuals; the obligates are not only the government itself, but non-governmental organizations (employers, educational institutions) as well. The social care support is not the part of the capitalist market system; benefits are not distributed by the market law of the economics. According to the common sense, social rights and benefits systems point towards individuals, but satisfy common needs and interests. Social care underpinned by social rights reacts to the malfunction of individual subsistence. Since humans are social beings having families and relatives, if something deteriorates the production capacity and standard of living of the family, the greater community (individuals, non-profit and for-profit organizations, civil society) or the government itself has to intervene with the aim of restoring the former status of the family. The distribution of these tasks among the different players of the society and the accessibility of help in these cases differ from country to country.

Regulations of social and welfare law encompass the following parts

- Social assistance
- Youth care
- Family care
- Old people care
- Care of handicapped people
- Social work in a community
- Health care
- Social security
- Legal protection of workers

The legal protection of social rights can be found in the 55–56th articles of the Charter of the United Nations and also in the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966. The first constitutions that mentioned social rights were the Mexican of 1917, the German of 1919, the Spanish of 1931 and the Soviet of 1936. There is a debate in jurisprudence on the acceptance of social rights as human rights. Those who are against the recognition, maintain that there is no moral basis of these rights since they cannot be derived from the human nature of human beings. They claim that the social rights can prevail only in expense of the first generational rights, namely by the violation of free property right. The advocates of social rights as basic rights say that there exist certain minimum life conditions that are necessary to maintain the dignity of an individual and if those conditions are met, can one exercise his or her right to freedom of expression. Of course, it is difficult to settle a measure for proper life quality, but still, solidarity must be achieved as it is in the third idea of the French Revolution, fraternity. In reality, the standard of social care is always relative, cannot be measured on absolute standards. Therefore, the state has the right to interpret social care dynamically, in accordance with the disposable material goods. At the same time, the burden of financial maintenance and the benefits of social supply systems have to be proportionate. Those who are against the constitutional incorporation of social rights argue that these rights always depend on the existing financial sources of the state; therefore, it is dangerous for the state to announce these

rights as enforceable rights in all circumstances. For example, in time of crisis or war it is dubious whether the state has enough resources for providing health care services on constitutional standards or not. At the same time, the enforcement of social rights can encourage the state intervention in areas not really intended to cover by the administration and this potential outcome is in opposition with the defense of citizen rights (e.g. freedom of property) guaranteed in the constitution. The financial background of a fairly expanded social care system means extra burden for the citizens and their contribution to the social budget way more than what the requirement of solidarity demands. Social rights cannot be universal and therefore be the part of a national legal document with general characteristics. They effect only concrete groups of the society and oftentimes not in general and continuously, even if everybody can be potentially part of these groups.

Advocates of constitutional incorporation of human rights do not see any danger in practical hindrance of basic human rights: they can be limited without losing their fundamental contents. They emphasize that even the first-generation rights are not universal in every case, for example the freedom of assembly is not used by everybody, although it is an accepted and undeniable right of a modern constitution. The same should be applied to social rights that very much work in the same manner.

The following principles can be regarded as the basic principles of social law

- Free access to work and the right to free choice of occupation
- Minimum subsistence that can be derived from the right to human dignity
- The rehabilitation criterion says that the primary aim of social care is the individual to be able to return to the labor market without any further assistance (long-term solution). Governmental measures should provide assistance for the maintenance of the basic values of the society, namely the working class by contributing the sustainability and the reproduction of the whole system.
- Principle of equal treatment on the basis of race, ethnicity, nation, gender, religion, age, disability or sexual orientation. This principle, of course, cannot be interpreted as equal benefits for everybody from the social care system.
- Principle of need examined by the specialized authority
- According to Raimund Waltermann, social supplies can be classified by three types on the basis of the nature of the service: financial, material, and personal (e.g. counseling, providing medical adviser). On the basis of entitlement, there are supplies according to the enjoyment of a right on the one hand and consideration on the other. The financial background of the services can be originated from the central budget or public contributions.

Traditionally, social rights systems separate three types of subsystems within the realm of social supply. The first is the social insurance that provides mainly monetary assets financed by subsidies in case of illness, oldness, and unemployment not regarding the financial status of the applicants. The support in case of the second category is made based on the enjoyment of a right or due to the handicapped status of the entitled person.

According to the third subsystem, the assistance is allocated on the basis of need and this requires assessment of financial status of the subject.

European Social States after World War II until the emergence of common regulation of the European Integration

The emergence of social states was a direct consequence of the social and administrative development of the interwar period. The notion of "social state" was first used by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. In its 20th article, it is stated that the Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic, social, and federal state. However, this supposition does not mean the emergence of social rights in the constitution; it is rather a tendency an attempt that points towards the constitutional recognition of them. In the same manner, France is also a social republic as it is declared in the constitution of 1958. Spain is also a democratic and social state defined by the rule of law according to the first article of the constitution of 1978. In the countries of East Central Europe, the same declaration can be found in the constitutions of the early 1990s as a heritage of the socialist times, when the idea of social state had no real normative meaning, rather it was a source of legitimation for these non-democratic regimes.

However social the countries under socialist regimes were declared, in practice, legal security is a key component to ensure the implementation of any social agenda. Several elements of the principle of rule of law encompass the requirements of social state. But social state is more than rule of law; it includes social security that ensures the individuals against the social risks by providing certain institutions and conditions to do so. Sometimes, it is enough to encourage the self-sufficiency of the citizens and intervention is necessary only in case of the failure of this idea. In modern sense, social security is based on the idea of solidarity, meaning that welfare has to be divided to a certain degree among different classes of the society. This can lead to the rearrangements of social relations, but the basic idea of rule of law and the first-generation rights are stronger when it comes to conflicting principles of political and social rights. In West Germany, for example, mentioning of the social state in the constitution had and still has a normative role in legal regulations. The task of the state is to provide and maintain appropriate and just social supply system and during administrative measures, social obligations have to be regarded. Social state does not provide social rights as an enjoyment of a right but enforce the legislative body to take the idea of social security into consideration.

In Great Britain the foundations of post-war welfare system were laid down by the so-called Beveridge Report of 1942. The report suggested full employment and security for the society. The idea behind this was the conviction that a high level of employment is the best guarantor of individual welfare because of the additional payments coming from the great number of employed people. The report intended to introduce an overall system of social affairs with a new ministry, with a unified administration providing each type of financial contribution. As a consequence of the commitment of the post-war Labor government, a national insurance scheme went into force in 1946 giving unemployment insurance, pensions, and new family allowances.

Two years later, a national health service was introduced contributing to a universal welfare state service pack. The Children Act of 1948 followed the trend of having an overall administrative body over the system, but local authorities and their committees were responsible for the delivery of services. Beside children committees, health and welfare committees were introduced making the coordination of services difficult and reducing the universality of the whole system. Unfortunately, orphan children, similarly to older people of the previous Poor Law, were placed in large residential establishments.

Conclusion

An effective welfare state actually does not withhold resources from the economic development but make way for a strong and sustainable economy instead. "Political polemics suggest that market-making and social policy are opposed in a zero-sum game. The evidence, however, argues that they are complementary advances in either one requires advances in the other. Welfare services are social investments that require long-term thinking and strategic vision. Unfortunately, this is in opposition with the policy of profit making in the short term. To form social policies and address the latest challenges, social systems have to follow one direction, one designated strategy. The constant change and curtailment in the system undermine the stability of the system and make it more susceptible to public distrust. Beside all these considerations mentioned above, the fundamental task for Europe in the future is to preserve the legacy of the last two generations that after decades of bloodshed and conflicts created and maintained peace in the old continent. Europe in this form is a young project from historical distance, therefore it needs time and patience even during these turbulent times of ours.

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