

Edgar K. Browning, *Redistribution and The Welfare System*, American Enterprise Institute, 1975, Pp. 131, \$3.00.

This study brings together a wealth of solid data and analysis in a concise and readable form. There is also a competent treatment of the relative demerits of various schemes to overhaul the political near-monopoly of the welfare business. The author's central theme, however, bases remarkably strong conclusions on rather flimsy evidence. In particular, Edgar Browning argues that once we take account of federal in-kind transfers, worth some \$15 billion in 1973, "poverty became virtually nonexistent in the United States in 1973."

The thesis that there has been a sizable *net* redistribution toward the poor — estimated at \$78 billion in 1973 — is presented as a novel finding, even a heresy. The author asks: "How could prevailing opinion be so wrong?" And he answers that economists have neglected the recent explosion of in-kind transfers, and have neglected to "consider the welfare system in its entirety." Unfortunately, it isn't quite as simple as that.

For one thing, Browning generally assumes that the full benefit of in-kind subsidies accrues to the recipients rather than to the providers of the subsidized goods and services. To the extent that food stamps, housing subsidies and Medicare tend to bid up the prices of food, housing and medical services, for example, this basic assumption is invalid.

Secondly, Browning has a very restricted view of which government activities affect the distribution of income. His "comprehensive evaluation of the effects of government on the welfare of the poor" is no such thing. It should come as no surprise that a study of "federal programs conferring benefits to the poor" shows that such programs confer benefits to the poor. Studies of government programs conferring benefits to the rich invariably come to the opposite conclusion.

Even if we arbitrarily omit from consideration such things as government-enforced cartels, subsidies, tax preferences, the incidence of taxes, and the effect of various policies on investment and productivity — as Browning does — other problems still remain. Studies of individual social programs have often shown that the programs are of little use to the poor, or even harmful, yet studies of the aggregate effect of those same programs added together typically show them as progressive. Far from being unique in this respect, Browning's study is just like all the others, perhaps because it shares the same method.

In calculating the percentage of expenditures going to the poorest 25% of "households" (a rough proxy for the poor), Browning relies critically on the following estimates by Benjamin Okner, based partly on a controversial 1966 O.E.O. survey:

Social Insurance	54%
Public Aid	87
Health & Medical	50
Veterans	50
Education	18
Housing & Other	50

Redistribution And The Welfare System

**Alice Kessler-Harris, Maurizio
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