Contents

	List of illustrations Acknowledgements	vii :
		ix
1	Introduction	1
2	Self-interest and pocket-book attitudes	4
	Beneficial involvement 5	
	Rising demands and ungovernability 7	
	Legitimation crisis: value for meaning 9	
	The welfare backlash and a rational opposition 12	
	Entrenched interests and 'varieties of capitalism' 14	
	Policy reforms: designing institutions for knaves 17	
3	The admixture of motives: broadening the perspective	20
	Preference formation beyond self-interest 21	
	Institutions: material incentives and social norms 27	
	The moral economy of welfare state institutions 31	
	The homo reciprocus 35	
	Policy designs and the repertoire of motives 38	
	Summary 41	
4	An analytical framework	43
	Welfare institutions and public attitudes 43	
	Survey data and methods 47	
5	The state of welfare	55
	A comparative framework 55	
	The welfare legacy in Britain 60	
	The welfare legacy in Germany 71	
	Welfare regimes and their moral economies: some preliminary	
	thoughts 81	

VI	Contents		
6	The logic of popular support for welfare schemes and their		
	objectives	88	
	Redistribution in our heads: givers and takers 89		
	The two moralities of giving assistance to the poor 110		
	Unemployment provision: the messy contract 127		
	Old age: transfers from the active to the inactive 147		
	Health: risk distribution and cost sharing 166		
7	The moral economy revisited	185	
	Notes	198	
	Bibliography	208	
	Index	989	

Illustrations

Figure			
3.1	A moral taxonomy	38	
Tab	les		
6.1	Attitudes towards redistribution	95	
6.2	Attitudes towards redistribution by structural	33	
	determinants: linear regression analysis	97	
6.3	Attitudes towards tax progression and redistribution	101	
6.4	Perceived tax burden and income groups: cross-tabulation		
	and analysis of variance	103	
6.5	Attitudes towards redistribution by structural		
	determinants and subjective tax burden: linear regression		
	analysis	106	
6.6	Subjective tax burden and redistribution: correlation	108	
6.7	Perceptions of poverty and poverty relief	119	
6.8	Assumptions about the causes of poverty	121	
6.9	Causes of poverty and support for guaranteed minimum		
	income: linear regression analysis	122	
6.10	Support for poverty policies: structural determinants		
	and moral hazard problems: linear regression analysis,		
	Britain	124	
6.11	Unemployment provision and spending	133	
6.12	Attitudes towards unemployment policy by social		
0.10	position: logistic regression	136	
6.13	Flat-rate or earnings-related benefits for the unemployed:		
	Britain	138	
6.14	Unemployment benefits in Britain: too high or too low?	141	
6.15	Benefit system sets disincentives, Germany	142	
6.16	State responsibility for welfare structural determinants		
	and the welfare disincentive issue: linear regression		
	analysis, Germany	144	

viii	Illustrations	
6.17	State responsibility for the unemployed, structural	
	determinants and the welfare disincentive issue: linear	
	regression analysis, Britain	145
6.18	Pension evaluation by the retired	153
6.19	Attitudes towards pensions policy by age cohorts	157
6.20	Future expectations and solidaristic commitment by age	161
6.21	Disapproval of the 'generational contract': Logit model	163
6.22	Responsibility, user satisfaction and healthcare quality	175
6.23	Spending preferences in the area of health	173
6.24	Attitudes towards spending on health: linear regression	177
	analysis	180
6.25	Sickness benefit: which system and how much should be	
	paid out	182