

Contents

<i>Foreword</i> by Nathan Glazer	vii
INTRODUCTION	
The New Social Question	3
 <i>Part One: REORGANIZING SOLIDARITY</i>	
CHAPTER 1	
The Decline of the Insuring Society	ii
CHAPTER 2	
Remaking a Nation	27
CHAPTER 3	
New Forms of Solidarity	41
 <i>Part Two: RETHINKING RIGHTS</i>	
CHAPTER 4	
The Limits of the Passive Welfare State	57
CHAPTER 5	
The Right to Work: History of a Problem	68
CHAPTER 6	
The Inclusive Society	82
CHAPTER 7	
The Individualization of Society	96
CONCLUSION	
Rethinking Social Progress	107
 <i>Notes</i>	 109
<i>Index</i>	129

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

The New Social Question

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

INTRODUCTION

The New Social Question

THE SENSE that the welfare state is in crisis has been with us since the 1970s. Yet the meaning and form of this crisis have changed considerably over recent decades. It has undergone three stages, and each of them has weakened the welfare state. The first two were financial and ideological,¹ while the last may be termed philosophical. The financial crisis was triggered in the 1970s by the slowdown in economic growth, which automatically set off a serious rise in compulsory contributions to compensate for the deficits of public finances. The 1980s was a decade of ideological crisis, fueled by the suspicion that the state could not effectively manage social problems and a dissatisfaction with an increasingly opaque and bureaucratic approach that blurred goals and led to a crisis of legitimacy.

These last two dimensions of the crisis are still with us. Control of health costs and various social benefits still constitute a fundamental preoccupation. Demographic factors (longer life-expectancy) and technical ones (medical progress) helped fuel a permanent increase in expenses, on both sides of the Atlantic. While Medicare in the United States involves only 37 million elderly or handicapped persons, it is this population whose medical costs increase most rapidly. In 1970, those costs were only \$6 billion a year, while today they amount to an annual sum of \$200 billion. Projections for the year 2030 indicate that Medicare might absorb 7.5 percent of the GDP, as opposed to 2.6 percent currently. The total sum of health expenses has also reached a very high level in France, currently absorbing 7 percent of the GDP. This development is cause for concern: in both countries, it has led to a silent revolution in the structure of public expenses. If medical consumption continues to advance, it is gradually going to devour available resources for other essential functions like education or research. The American case is quite striking: although health spending is only partially public, its development has had important undesired and unconsidered repercussions on other expenses. The portion of national wealth devoted to health care in the United States has grown from 4.6 percent to 13 percent since 1960, while the share devoted to education has stagnated at 3.5 percent. If the explosion of obligatory forms of contribution has finally been curbed since the mid-1980s, it is at the price of reducing certain

benefits or precarious reforms, often decided in haste, on an impromptu basis.

Study of the efficiency and organization of the welfare state is essential. The reform of social policy management is on the agenda everywhere, though the acuteness of the problem varies according to national idiosyncrasies. For example, the financial regulations of a centralized government health service as in England, or of a system tightly supervised by contractual regulation as in Germany, seem more efficient than the French method, which demands universality without constraint. Administrative styles of offering assistance also vary considerably from one country to another. But these differences should not mask the most important new dimension of the crisis: a third weakening of the welfare-state, the philosophical one.

We are not yet fully aware of this philosophical crisis, nor how it is related to the new social question. This book intends to explore some of its aspects in order to help chart the new social landscape being created. Two major problems appear in the wake of the crisis: the disintegration of the traditional principles of social solidarity, and the inadequacy of “social rights” as a framework in which to resolve problems of social exclusion and fully legitimate assistance programs.

The old mechanisms that once produced social solidarity are clearly disintegrating. Solidarity used to be based on the increasing “mutualization” or sharing of social risks, so that the welfare state was conceived as a kind of *insurance society* under the “veil of ignorance,” to use John Rawls’s famous expression. The system, which had the advantage of producing solidarity through methods of redistribution opaque to the actors, has begun to crumble. This is particularly obvious in a country like France, where it is increasingly difficult to grasp the new social problems (like exclusion) in terms of concepts of *risk*. The development of social knowledge, and the greater visibility of the “gains” and “losses” resulting from that knowledge, has involved a lifting of the veil of ignorance. In other words, it has become much more problematic to consider the whole nation as a single class facing identical risks. At the same time, the pressure to develop more restrictive forms of sharing (that is, reduction of the size of risk-classes to coincide with the principle of actuarial neutrality) is also very strong. Other factors—including demographic developments, growing dissociation between groups of contributors and beneficiaries, increased knowledge of differences between individuals and groups—are combining to deteriorate further the insurance model of social solidarity.

The traditional conception of social rights, on the other hand, is also proving to be ineffective in dealing with major problems like exclusion. The traditional, or “compensatory,” welfare state is based on the princi-

pled dissociation of economic and social factors. But in a context of mass unemployment and increasing exclusion, this vision of social rights as compensation for a temporary problem (illness, short-term unemployment, etc.) becomes inappropriate, giving rise to the pernicious effects of what I call the *passive welfare state*. Economically, it destroys solidarity by increasing the indirect costs of labor (taxes, contributions), eventually reducing employment. Socially, it then justifies the break between individual indemnification and social inclusion.

The problems posed in the United States by AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children; and by the Temporary Aid for Needy Families, TANF, after 1996) and in France by the RMI (Minimum Income of Inclusion) are very similar in this respect. AFDC was the center of heated controversies in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s, which led to the establishment of TANF in 1996, marking an historic change in the welfare principles established in the 1930s. In France, the institution of a Minimum Income of Inclusion in 1988 led to a genuine revolution in the social system, establishing a guaranteed minimum income, beyond the normal system of unemployment compensation. More than one million individuals currently receive the RMI in France, about 3 percent of the adult population. Under these conditions, the links between assistance and work tend to be close. In both France and the U.S., then, marginal programs of social assistance have been transformed into ones that play a central role in social regulation. When AFDC was established in the United States, the affected population were widows or those in temporary difficulties. But by the early 1990s, more than two-thirds of those on the welfare rolls had been there for nine years or more. Similarly in France, the RMI, which was originally designed to constitute a short-term benefit of re-inclusion, has become a permanent source of revenue for a considerable population. Discussions of the nature and bases of the new social rights, and studies of the ultimately “pernicious effects” of the new assistance policies, are also similar in the two countries.

In both Europe and the United States, this is how the terms of the new social question are defined today. If the nature of assistance programs, the styles of management, and forms of collective foresight are different in the two continents, the collapse of the insurance society and the weakening of the traditional concept of social rights have led to the same challenges. In both cases, the philosophical crisis of the welfare state indicates a decisive change in the perception of society that has prevailed for more than a century. Beyond financial and management difficulties, it corresponds to a new period of modernity.

The philosophical crisis has led first to a radical reconsideration of the concept of rights as formulated by seventeenth-century liberal individual-

ism, leading beyond the old oppositions between formal rights and real rights, social rights and political rights. Thus far, social rights have been conceived in the same terms as civil rights, a simple extension of the idea of freedom and autonomy, but this will no longer do.

Today, social rights are considered unconditional "rights." As long as the cost of these rights remained relatively small, affecting only populations in a constant state of turnover for short periods, it was possible *practically* to reason in these terms. But it is now evident that, far from being unconditional, these social rights are linked to a given state of the economy. Social rights must therefore be considered like political rights, that is, as rights that produce a certain kind of social bond and consequently are tied to certain activities. The current problems of the welfare state show the pernicious consequences of ignoring this social dimension in our individualistic societies, and the naive faith in the possibility (and by the same token, the right) of everyone living autonomously as he has chosen. For two centuries, the welfare state has constantly worked to make individuals more independent by freeing them from the obligation to rely on others. The new crisis of the welfare state, the philosophical one, forces us to end this wishful thinking and reconcile those obligations.

On the other hand, with the decline of the insurance society the very foundations of social solidarity must be redefined. Lifting the veil of ignorance has meant that the problem of social justice must now be posed in direct terms of *redistribution*. This is much more difficult because taxation and the forms of social life must also be relegitimated. This is why the issue of the *nation* becomes central today and cannot be separated from that of the welfare state. And this is also why we can no longer be satisfied with a purely procedural view of democracy. What was possible when the veil of ignorance existed is no longer possible when that veil is torn.

Clearly, discussions of law, the transformations of democracy, and the modes of financing social expenses are closely connected. It would be an illusion to believe that the financial aspects of the welfare state can be considered autonomously. In this respect, liberals and conservatives in both countries will be forced to reformulate the very terms of their philosophies of the civic and social bond. Wherever we look today, we see that the issue of the welfare state has become inseparable from that of work. In the United States, as in France, the problem is not simply knowing how to finance increasing social expenses in a period of budgetary restriction but, rather, the economic re-inclusion of populations who have been excluded from the world of work. In the United States, the issue of *non-work* is directly linked to the situation of the African-American population, while it presents diffuse and more complex aspects in France. But the current disjunction between political citizenship and social inclusion is spurring identical studies of the problem in both countries.

Although *The New Social Question* places the transformations of the welfare state in France in a broad philosophical perspective, it is not confined strictly to the French situation. It is intended to contribute more broadly to an analysis and resolution of problems that are becoming increasingly common to all modern societies.

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

PART ONE

Reorganizing Solidarity

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

Index

- AAH (allowance for handicapped adults), 62
- accidents: collective, 18; and social victimization, 36; welfare state paying for victims of, 62; work accidents, 13, 18, 19, 22
- actuarial neutrality, 4, 44
- AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), 5, 85, 86, 87, 94, 105
- African Americans (blacks): American social policy shaped by, ix; in the Democratic Party, 47; and non-work, 6; and social victimization, 35, 36, 113n.17
- agricultural colonies, 75, 121n.31
- aid, public. *See* public aid (assistance)
- AIDS, 18
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 5, 85, 86, 87, 94, 105
- Alaska, 118n.24
- Algeria, 121n.31
- allowance for handicapped adults (AAH), 62
- ANPE (national employment agency), 94, 104
- Aristotle, 113n.14
- assembly-line production, 60
- assimilation, x
- assistance, public. *See* public aid (assistance)
- Association for the Inauguration of a Basic Income, 65
- autonomy, 36, 89, 92
- bad debtors, 97, 126n.5
- Balladur, Édouard, 42
- Barère, 89
- basic (subsistence) income, 63–65
- beggars: begging as a human right, 92; distinguishing between paupers, the unemployed, and, 80; French Revolutionary charity workshops for, 71–73; French Revolutionary Committee on Begging, xi–xii, 71, 73, 74; putting them to work, 70, 119n.8; transformation of legal status of, 91–92
- behavioral differences, 31, 32
- beneficiaries: culture of dependence in, 84; disparity between contributors and, 41; dissociation from contributors, 4; French population of, 57; as inferior, 88; of Minimum Income of Inclusion, 83; policing, 102
- benefits, 25; in Bismarckian model, 25; and citizenship, 51; in commutative justice, 112n.11; in French health insurance, 22, 23; means testing for, 47–51; as an obligation, 15; selective distribution of, 47–51. *See also* beneficiaries
- Bernard, Jean, 20
- Beveridge, William H., 28, 81
- Beveridgian model, 25–26, 29
- biography, 98, 101
- Bismarckian model, 25–26, 29
- black Americans. *See* African Americans
- Blanc, Louis, 76
- Blum, Alain, 101
- Bonaparte, Louis-Napoléon, 75
- Boncerf, Pierre François, 69
- bourgeois freedoms, 91
- California, 85, 102
- Canada, 37, 102
- capital, social, 64
- Castel, Robert, 46, 119n.8, 127n.30
- catastrophic risk, 17–18, 19
- Caussat, Laurent, 115n.4
- Center of Studies on Incomes and Costs, 34
- CES (job-solidarity contracts), 93, 95
- chance, 31
- charitable institutions, 45–46
- charity workshops (French Revolution), 71–73; 74; 75
- Charmouset, Piarron de, 12, 109n.4
- Chaufon, Albert, 109n.7
- child care, vii
- Christian political economy, 76
- citizenship: as determined and fixed, 38; for liberalism, 36; as moral covenant, 27; right to inclusion considering individuals

- citizenship (*cont.*)
as active citizens, 88; and social benefits, 51; social citizenship, 27–29, 41; social rights without in socialist states, 91; the victim contrasted with the citizen, 35; and the welfare state, 27; worker and citizen dissociated, 61
- civic welfare state, 29
- Civil Code of 1804 (France), 13–14
- civility, 93
- civil rights, 6, 35, 74, 78
- class struggle, 33, 36
- Clavière, Étienne, 12
- Clinton, Bill, viii, 36, 49, 84–87, 102, 122n.4
- Code des secours publics* (Year II), 29
- Committee on Begging (1790), xi–xii, 71, 73, 74
- communitarianism, 92
- commutative justice, 31, 35, 112n.11
- compensation, generalized, 35
- Connecticut, 102
- conscription, military, 39–40, 114n.29
- Considerant, Victor, 77, 121n.34
- consumption, 100–101
- contracts: for labor, 91; in Minimum Income of Inclusion, 83, 88–89; in social work, 88. *See also* social contract
- contractual individualism, 92
- contributions: in Beveridgian model, 25; in Bismarckian model, 25; and the civic welfare state, 29; in commutative justice, 112n.11; in French health insurance, 22, 24, 111n.26; French Supplementary Social Security Contribution, 42, 52–53, 116n.21; in French unemployment insurance, 22; reinventing the form of, 52–53; rule of contributivity, 44; taxation replacing, 41–43
- contributors: disparity between beneficiaries and, 41; dissociation from beneficiaries, 4
- criminal economy, 93
- criminal justice system, 103
- Croizat, Ambroise, 28
- CSG (Supplementary Social Security Contribution), 42, 52–53, 116n.21
- Dahrendorf, Ralph, 64
- debt, social. *See* social debt
- debtors, 97, 126n.5
- Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens, 68
- De la bienfaisance publique* (Gérando), 75, 90
- democracy: custodial democracy, 103; inclusion contributing defining right of, 88; political and social life as increasingly identical in, 37; principle of inclusion in, 93; social democracy, 48, 113n.15; and socialism, 34, 78; solidarity and deliberative, 33–34
- Democratic Party (U.S.), 46–47, 49, 86
- demographic revolution, 24–25
- dependence: Barère on banning in French Republic, 89; of the elderly, 17, 110n.15; increasing number of individuals, 41; modern individual as eager to remove, 89–90; political insignificance associated with, 90; rights derived from social debt as based on, 88; welfare creating culture of, 84
- dependence insurance, 110n.15
- deregulation, 101
- De subventionne pauperum* (Vivès), 70
- difference, principle of, 30
- differentiation, social. *See* social differentiation
- differentiation of social cost, 60
- Directory, the, 29
- direct taxes, 45
- disability: French Revolutionary public aid for, 14; and risk, 16, 17; socially disabled, 62; taxation for financing expenses of, 42; wages for, 62–63, 118n.18
- discrimination, 31
- disease. *See* illness
- distributive justice, 31, 35, 112n.11
- Donzelot, Jacques, 122n.3
- Duchâtel, Tanneguy, 91
- Dufourcq, Nicolas, 49, 116n.15
- Duport, Adrien, 68
- Durkheim, Émile, 102, 127n.29
- economy/society separation, 57–58; as accompanying mass unemployment, 60–61; and basic income, 64–65; doing away with, 92; as going too far, 66; and wages for exclusion, 62–63
- Edsall, Thomas and Mary, 47, 115n.9
- Edward VI (king of England), 70
- efficiency, 60, 64, 66, 82, 94, 117n.16
- elderly, the. *See* old age
- Ellwood, David, 86

- employment. *See* work
- Encyclopedia*, 68, 74
- England. *See* Great Britain
- entry-level pay, 59
- equality: in American political rhetoric, ix; inequalities of modern society, 100; liberalism valuing impartiality over, 36; natural inequality, 31–32; of opportunity, 104–6; a richer and more complex mode for, 107; the world wars’ equalizing effect, 28. *See also* equity
- equity: in commutative justice, 112n.11; in distributive justice, 112n.11; as equal treatment of individuals, 31; as prevailing over interest, 33; in procedural rights model, 105; and redistribution, 31; and responsibility, 32; of results, 30; separating labor market from, 57; and the veil of ignorance, 29; the “virtuous circle of Fordian increase,” 59
- Ewald, François, 13, 16
- excluded, the, 45–46. *See also* beggars; long-term unemployment; basic income for, 63–65; counting, 98; experimental social practices for, 83; the homeless, x, 45; increasing numbers of, x; as major problem of the twenty-first century, 100; managing the behavior of, 102; as a nonclass, 98; ostracism of, 65; rehabilitation and read-justment in France, 93; social rights as inadequate for solving problem of, 4–5; trajectories and processes of exclusion, 98–100; the underclass, x, 99; as unrepresentable, 99; wages for, 62–63; work for dealing with, xi–xii
- expansion of knowledge: genetics, viii–ix, 19–21; information promoting social differentiation, 30–31; “veil of ignorance” lifted by, 4, 29; the welfare state challenged by, viii, ix
- externalization of social cost, 60
- Extinction du paupérisme* (Bonaparte), 75
- fairness, viii, 29, 45, 51
- family bonds, 66, 85, 104, 123n.10
- family preservation, 104
- Family Support Act (1988), 86
- Ferry, Jean-Marc, 65
- Fitoussi, Jean-Paul, 58
- flexible production, 60
- Florio, Jim, 46
- forced labor, 72–73
- foresight, 11, 13, 110n.8
- formal rights, 84, 91, 106
- France: agricultural colonies, 75; aid for victims of catastrophe, 17–18; allowance for handicapped adults (AAH), 62; aversion to taxation in, 42; Balladur, 42; begging in the law of, 92, 125n.32; Civil Code of 1804, 13–14; contractual social work in, 88; guaranteed minimum wage (SMIC), 41, 57, 59, 64, 93, 94; hierarchy of wages in, 59; income tax in, 44–45, 50; interest rate rise in, 59–60; job-solidarity contracts (CES), 93, 95; means testing in, 49–51; national employment agency (ANPE), 94, 104; National Union for Employment in Trade and Industry (UNEDIC), 22; national workshops in Revolution of 1848, 76–78; Neiertz law, 126n.5; overextended households in, 97; paid community service (TUC), 93; policies for inclusion in, 93–94; population receiving social benefits, 57; right to work before the French Revolution, 69–70; Rocard, 25; Superior Council of Labor, 80; truck drivers dispute of 1992, 33; wealth tax, 45, 52. *See also* French Revolution; Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI); Social Security (France)
- fraternity: in American political rhetoric, ix. *See also* solidarity
- freedom (liberty): in American political rhetoric, ix; bourgeois freedoms, 91; and right to work, 74; versus security, 89–91
- free market: bending society to logic of, 92; as model for the social bond, 12; as natural force, 11; reconciling the old corporatism with, 66; as taking account of difference, ix; as unable to move beyond passive welfare state, 87. *See also* labor market
- French Revolution: charity workshops, 71–73, 74, 75; *Code des secours publics*, 29; Committee on Begging, xi–xii, 71, 73, 74; the dependent excluded from civic sphere, 90; the Directory, 29; law of March 19, 1793, 68–69; on public aid, 13, 14, 68; on the right to work, 68–69, 73; on the social debt, 28–29
- Fréville, Georges, 110n.13
- Friedman, Milton, 64

- frumentum publicum*, 38
full employment, 65
- GAIN (Greater Avenues for Independence) (California), 85
- Garapon, Antoine, 103
- Gaullier, Xavier, 59, 118n.18
- generalized compensation, 35
- Genet, Jean, 76
- genetics, viii–ix, 19–21
- Gérando, Joseph-Marie de, 75, 79, 90
- Germany: dependence insurance in, 110n.15;
social policy management in, 4
- Girardin, Émile de, 16, 110n.11
- Great Britain: archaic model of inclusion in, 93; bending society to logic of the market, 92, 125n.35; Beveridge, 28, 81; complementary, nonuniversalist aid allowances, 26; Edward VI, 70; hierarchy of wages in, 59; social policy management in, 4; Thatcher, viii
- Gribaudo, Maurizio, 101
- guaranteed minimum wage (SMIC), 41, 57, 59, 64, 93, 94
- guilds, 91
- Gurvitch, Georges, 124n.18
- Hacker, Andrew, 114n.21
- handicap, 17, 32, 62–63
- handicapped adults, allowance for (AAH), 62
- health care, controlling costs of, 3–4, 43
- health insurance: benefits in French, 22, 23; in Charmouset's *Plan d'une maison d'association*, 12; Clinton's proposed national system for, 36, 49; contributions in French, 22, 24, 111n.26; genetic knowledge affecting, ix, 20; intergenerational transfer in, 24; knowledge of difference affecting, 30; Medicare, 3; selectivity in, 50; taxation for financing, 42, 52–53
- hemophiliacs, 18
- HIV-contamination of blood transfusion, 18
- Hobbes, Thomas, 11
- Holland, 75
- homeless, the, x, 45
- horizontal redistribution, 22
- humanitarianism, 39
- human rights, 92
- idleness, 14, 69, 71, 122n.46
- illness: genetics changing concept of, 19–20; as risk, 16. *See also* health insurance
- immigrants, assimilation of non-European, x
- inclusion: archaic model of, 93; from compensation to, 65–67; contract of, 89; the economy of, 92–95; experimental social practices for, 83; French policies for, 93–94; the inclusive society, 82–95; rights and policy connected by, 89; right to, 88; in the social contract, 68; U.S. workfare for, 84–87. *See also* Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI)
- income. *See* wages
- income tax, 44–45, 50, 51–52
- indemnity, 35, 57, 61, 64, 82, 87
- indirect taxes, 45
- individualism: and begging, 91–92; citizen and worker dissociated in, 61; classical contrast between individual and collective, 107; contractual individualism, 92; the individualization of society, 96–106; passive welfare state and classic, 89; and the welfare state, 104, 127n.29
- individualized rights, 83
- information: insurance companies collecting, 34, 113n.16; social differentiation promoted by, 30–31; social peace seen as resulting from, 33–34; social protest based upon, 34
- insecurity, new forms of, 19
- insurable risk, 20–21
- insurance: as changing our perspective on society, 15; Chaufon on development of, 109n.7; foresight contrasted with, 13; as freeing man from chains of nature, 11; information collected by companies, 34, 113n.16; as instrument of solidarity, 11–13; insurable risk, 20–21; life insurance, 12, 109n.7; as model for the social bond, 12; the myth of, 23; private insurance, 21, 44; as redistributive, 22; and responsibility, 12–13; social differentiation affecting, viii, 30; under the veil of ignorance, 31, 32. *See also* health insurance; mutual insurance; retirement insurance; social insurance; unemployment insurance
- insuring society: Clavière's *Prospectus* as manifesto of, 12; decline of the, 5, 11–26; development of, 13–15; joint control in, 25; responsibility socialized in, 18; welfare state as, 4, 11
- interest, 33, 39

- interest rates, 58, 59–60
internalization of social cost, 60, 66
international trade, 65–66
Iribarne, Philippe d', 59, 117n.16
- James, William, 38
jobs. *See* work
job-solidarity contracts (CES), 93, 95
joint control, 25, 42
justice: Aristotle on, 113n.14; commutative justice, 31, 35, 112n.11; defining in terms of encounter of groups and individuals, 21; distributive justice, 31, 35, 112n.11; and equal distribution of risk, 16; and knowledge of differences, 31–33; Leibniz on insurance as instrument of, 11; and nature, 32; as prevailing over interest, 33; as procedural, 30, 32; risk yielding new understanding of, 15; social arbitration for, 37; and social victimization, 36; and solidarity, 31; as uncertain, 33; and the veil of ignorance, 29–31. *See also* social justice
just remuneration, 112n.11
- Keynesianism, 80
knowledge: deciphering society, 100–102; two kinds of, 34; the “veil of ignorance,” viii, 4, 21, 29–31, 32, 33, 126n.13. *See also* expansion of knowledge
- labor: cost of, 5, 41, 57, 66; the *Encyclopedia* on, 68; post-labor society, 65; the proletariat, 14, 90–91; skilled labor, 59, 60; unskilled labor, 41, 59, 60, 93, 94. *See also* labor market; work
labor market: France facilitating youth into, 93–94; and minimum social income, 64; OECD on keeping equity out of, 57
labor unions, 25, 42
Lamartine, Alphonse de, 77
La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, François, 72, 75, 120n.17
Laurent, Émile, 15, 66
law, 33
law of March 19, 1793 (France), 68–69
learnfare, 102
Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste, 77, 78
left, the: on national workshops, 76; on selectivity, 48–49; on workfare, 86
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 11–12, 109n.1
Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, 13
Libanius, 124n.28
liberalism: autonomy as emphasis of, 36; blindness of, viii; on differences in wealth, 32; exhaustion of philosophy of rights of, 105; poverty affecting vision of, 14; reconsideration of concept of rights of, 5–6; on right to assistance, 78, 79; and social debt, 35; on social insurance, 15–16, 110n.8
libertarianism, 64
liberty. *See* freedom
life insurance, 12, 109n.7
Locke, John, 32
long-term unemployment: economy/society separation in, 58; as excluded, x, 45; insurance/assistance distinction eroded by, 87; as not forming a population in traditional sense, 96–97, 98; policies for returning to work in France, 93, 94; as stable condition, 17; in the United States, 125n.34
low-paying jobs, 93
- Maastricht Treaty, 38
Malon, Benoît, 16
Malouet, Pierre Victor, 69, 119n.4
market economy. *See* free market
Marrast, Armand, 77
Marx, Karl, 84
Maryland, 102
Massachusetts, 122n.46
mass unemployment, 5, 27, 58, 60, 61
Mead, Lawrence, 85, 86
means testing, 47–51
medical malpractice, 18, 110n.20
medical risk, 19
Medicare, 3
methodology, 101
middle classes, 46–48; and means testing, 49–51; reorganization of differentiation in, 100; revolt of New Jersey, 46
mid-level professions, 101
military conscription, 39–40, 114n.29
Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI), 83–84; and basic income, 64; as a contract, 83, 88–89; for individuals not fitting traditional categories, 99; as inventing new relationship between rights, 84; managing behavior in, 102; and nationality, 38; and obligation to work, 124n.21; as permanent source of revenue, 5; as revolution in French social system, xi, 5, 100; as a social right, 83; third type of society established

- Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI) (*cont.*)
by, 84; transferring to autonomous agencies, 94
minimum wage, 41, 92–93
minorities, 35–36, 47
Mirabeau, 11
modernity: radicalization of, 60–61; the social bond in, 11
modernization, 61, 66, 87
monogenic ailments, 19
Montaigne, G., 120n.19
Moreau-Christophe, L.-M., 91
Moynihan Report, 123n.10
multiculturalism, 36
Mutual Benefit Plan (France), 111n.25
mutual insurance: as established under condition of ignorance, ix; Leibniz on, 11–12, 109n.1; suspicion of, 21; universalizing in France, 27. *See also* social insurance
mutualism, 15, 88, 109n.7
mutual utility, 65
- nation: as central issue, 6; as a single class, 4, 29; as space of accepted redistribution, 37; welfare state requiring the remaking of, 37–38. *See also* citizenship
national employment agency (ANPE), 94, 104
National Fund of Old Age Insurance, 23
nationalism, 38
nationality, 38, 114n.23
national service, 40, 114n.29
National Union for Employment in Trade and Industry (UNEDIC), 22
national workshops, 76–78
natural inequality, 31–32
Neiertz law (France), 126n.5
Netherlands, the, 62–63, 75
New Jersey, 46, 102
New York State, 85
New Zealand, 48
Nicole-Drancourt, Chantal, 97, 126n.4
- obligation: Minimum Income of Inclusion and obligation to work, 124n.21; no obligation without corresponding jobs in new welfare state, xii, 92; positive obligations, 88–89, 92; problem of, 71–72; social insurance benefits as obligatory, 15; in workfare, 85
OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development), 57
Ohio, 102
old age: dependence of the elderly, 17, 110n.13; intergenerational transfer in social insurance, 24; as risk, 16. *See also* retirement
opacity, 33–34
opportunity, rethinking equality of, 104–6
Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 57
overextended households, 96, 97–98
- paid community service (TUC), 93
Parodi, Alexandre, 115n.11
passive expenses, 57
passive welfare state: classic individualism unable to move beyond, 89; contradictions of, 61; and economy/society separation, 57–58, 92; limits of, 57–67; solidarity destroyed by, 5; a third sector required for moving beyond, 87
paternalism, 103
pensions. *See* retirement insurance
permissiveness, 85
Plan d'une maison d'association (Char-mousset), 12, 109n.4
Police des pauvres de Paris, La (Montaigne), 72
policy, social. *See* social policy
Political Liberalism (Rawls), 113n.20
political rights, 6, 34
politics, 33
Pommeuse, Huerne de, 75
poor, the. *See* poverty
post-labor society, 65
poverty: assistance through work, 75–76, 80–81; Clavière on insurance for addressing, 12; entitlements of the pauper, 79; and exclusion, 45–46; French Revolutionary charity workshops for eliminating, 71–73; individual behavior in, 85; individual responsibility as not enough to eliminate, 13; industrialization and expansion of, 14; liberal vision affected by, 14; no statistical explanation for extreme, 99–100; political rights for the poor, 90; providing work before the French Revolution, 69–70; reducing unemployment by increasing, 93; Roman slavery compared with, 124n.28; as social fact, 14; “true” and “false” paupers, 71–72; the war on poverty, 39. *See also* beggars
predictive medicine, 20, 21

- principle of difference, 30
principle of universality, 48–49
privacy, 34
private insurance, 21, 44
procedural rights, 84, 105–6
programs, social. *See* social programs
progress, social. *See* social progress
proletariat, the, 14, 90–91
prosopography, 101
Prospectus de l'établissement des assurances sur la vie (Clavière), 12
protectionism, 65–66
public aid (assistance): adults qualified for, 14; and civic dignity, 63; effects seen as pernicious, 5; in the French Revolution, 13, 14, 68; as moral duty, 79; and obligation to accept work, 72; reducing the welfare state to, 48, 51; right to, 13, 14, 68, 72, 74, 78–80; as “sacred debt,” 28, 68; social insurance contrasted with, 15, 87; social regulation by, 5; through work, 75–76, 80–81
publicity, 34
public-spiritedness, 39
public works, 70, 80

quantitative methodology, 101
Quebec (Canada), 37, 102
Quételet, Adolphe, 102

Rawls, John, viii, 4, 21, 30, 31, 113n.20
Reagan, Ronald, viii, 85
real rights, 84, 89, 91, 106
recipients. *See* beneficiaries
redistribution: all exchange as redistributive, 43; all insurance as redistributive, 22; conflicts of interpretation replacing conflicts about, 33; in distributive justice, 112n.11; and equity, 31; hidden redistributions, 21–24; horizontal redistribution, 22; income tax for, 51, 44, 52; mass unemployment as, 60; nation as space of accepted, 37; in production of solidarity, 4; social justice posed in terms of, 6; and social victimization, 35–36; vertical redistribution, 22
Republican Party (U.S.), 49, 85
responsibility: beggars refusing to take, 92; and equity, 32; and indemnity, 35; and insurance, 12–13; limits of a system based on, 13–14, 110n.8; reconciling with solidarity, 13; recovery of sense of individual, 18; risk versus, 15; and will, 32

retirement: insurance as not adequate for, 17, 110n.13; retirees as privileged group of 1980s, 53. *See also* retirement insurance
retirement insurance: French solidarity fund for, 43, 115n.3; intergenerational transfer in, 24–25; Leroy-Beaulieu on compulsory, 13; as redistributive, 43; rescue of French system for executives, 22; rule of contributivity in, 44; social differentiation affecting, 29–30; Social Security (U.S.), viii; transformation of French, 23–24
Revenue Minimum d'Insertion. *See* Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI)
Revolution of 1848, 76–78
right, the: conservatives and workfare, 86; on national workshops, 76; on selectivity, 49
rights: civil rights, 6, 35, 74, 78; exhaustion of liberal philosophy of, 105; formal rights, 84, 91, 106; human rights, 92; individualized rights, 83; linking with behavior, 13; Minimum Income of Inclusion inventing new relationship between, 84; political rights, 6, 34; procedural rights, 84, 105–6; real rights, 84, 89, 91, 106; reconciling with social progress, 105; reconsideration of seventeenth-century concept of, 5–6; rethinking, 56–106. *See also* social rights
right to work, 68–81; before the French Revolution, 69–70; in French Revolutionary charity workshops, 71–73; the French Revolution on, 68–69, 73; as leading to socialism, 77; as a limited right, 74; paradoxes of, 73–74; after Revolution of 1848, 80–81; in Revolution of 1848, 76–78; as topical again, 82
risk: catastrophic risk, 17–18, 19; decreasing relevance of, 16–19; genetics changing notion of, 20; insurable risk, 20–21; medical risk, 19; social problems approached in terms of, 15; and social victimization, 36; solidarity based on sharing of, 4
RMI. *See* Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI)
Rocard, Michel, 25
Roosevelt, Franklin D., ix, 80
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 28, 40

Saint-Étienne, Christian, 24
Saint-Just, Louis Antoine de, 89
salaries. *See* wages
Saleilles, René, 18

- Schumpeter, Joseph, 126n.3
security, versus freedom, 89–91
seniority system, 59, 60
service jobs, 94
skilled labor, 59, 60
Skocpol, Theda, 29
slavery, 70, 90–91, 124n.28
SMIC (guaranteed minimum wage), 41, 57, 59, 64, 93, 94
Smith, Adam, 11, 40
social aid, 84, 88, 99
social benefits. *See* benefits
social capital, 64
social citizenship, 27–29, 41
social contract: as basis for the social bond, 11; dramatizing, 38–40; implicit contract of the 1960s, 61; insurance becoming substitute for, 12; justice as derived from debate about, 33; social differentiation as straining, 30; and social inclusion, 68; and the veil of ignorance, 21; the wage contract, 58–60; and the world wars, 28
social debt: and charity workshops, 72; French Revolutionary wars creating, 28–29; reconstructing welfare state implying stricter construction of, 35; social rights as based on, 28, 74, 79, 88; and sympathy, 40
social deflation, 57
social democracy, 48, 113n.15
social differentiation: “blurry” differentiation, 100; difficult cases multiplied by, x; information promoting, 30–31; justice and knowledge of differences, 31–33; social programs affected by, viii, ix; solidarity as compensation for differences, 31, 51; and the veil of ignorance, 29–31
social insurance: in European welfare states, 87; fairness as issue in one big system, viii; growth of, 21–24; as an invisible hand, 16; new forms for, 41–53; public assistance contrasted with, 15, 87; rule of equity and mechanism of distribution in, 31; socialism avoided by, 16; Social Security (U.S.), viii; solidarity distinguished from, 42–44. *See also* benefits; contributions; health insurance; retirement insurance; Social Security (France); unemployment insurance
socialism: crisis of the welfare state and deterioration of, 108; and democracy, 34, 78; and national workshops of 1848, 76; redistributive income tax for changing society, 44–45; right to work abandoned by, 80; the right to work as leading to, 77; social insurance for averting, 16; social rights without citizenship under, 91
social justice: French Social Security justified in terms of, 115n.11; as legal not political issue in United States, 36; posed in terms of redistribution, 6
socially disabled, 62
Social Minimum Benefit. *See* Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI)
social partners, 42
social policy: African Americans in development of American, ix; American versus European, vii; of the ancien regime, 89; inclusion connecting rights and, 89; insurance opening new path for, 15–16; managing behavior in, 102–4; reform as on the agenda everywhere, 4; as relating people to society, xii
social programs: American attempts to exert educational pressure in, 102; of the Democratic Party, 47; as providing aid without exchange, 85; social differentiation affecting, viii. *See also* social insurance
social progress: elements of, 96; expressible only in terms of rights in U.S., 124n.19; reconciling with rights, 105; rethinking, 107–8
social protection: contributivity, 44; the family as close form of, 104; for foreigners in France, 114n.23; French law of 1994, 25; French White Paper of 1983, 22; insurance concept versus universal minimum, 43; managing behavior in, 104; minimal net for, 62, 99; Minimum Income of Inclusion contrasted with, 84; percentage of French residents dependent on, 116n.3; welfare state taking over from business, 61
Social Protection in Europe (report), 48
social rights: characteristics of, 74; without citizenship in socialist states, 91; civil rights compared with, 6, 74; exchanges for, 88, 107; Gurvitch on, 124n.18; inadequacy for solving problem of exclusion, 4–5; inclusion connecting policy and, 89; to live in society, 88; Minimum Income of Inclusion as, 83; movement from assistance to, 105; political rights compared with, 6, 34; as positive rights, 79; as procedural rights, 105–6; to public aid, 13, 14, 68, 72, 74, 78–80; and right to inclusion, 88; social debt as basis of, 28, 74, 79, 88; as un-

- conditional, 6; unemployment insurance as not, 87. *See also* right to work
- Social Security (France): establishment of, 16; joint control in, 25, 42; as not suited for long-term situations, 62; as polymorphous system, 23; as segmented, 22, 111n.25; shift to taxation for, 41–43; and social citizenship, 27–29; Supplementary Social Security Contribution, 42, 52–53, 116n.21; universality as principle of, 48–49, 115n.11; and World War II, 28
- Social Security (U.S.), viii
- social services, American versus European, vii
- social victimization, 35–37
- social work: charity as approximating, xi; contracts in, 88; for the difficult cases, x; social workers as new nannies of the subject, 103; social workers in the welfare state, 96; and workfare, 86
- society: deciphering, 100–102; holistic view of, 92; the inclusive society, 82–95; the individualization of, 96–106; insurance changing our perspective on, 15; Minimum Income of Inclusion creating third type of, 84, 87; modern view of, 11; mutual involvement of individual and, 88; mutual utility in, 65; post-labor society, 65; redefinition of, 87; right to live in, 88; social policy as relating people to, xi. *See also* economy/society separation; insuring society; social contract; social protection; social rights
- solidarity: in American political rhetoric, ix; and autonomy, 89; becoming more directly political, 21; as compensation for differences, 31, 52; and control over personal behavior, 21; and deliberative democracy, 33–34; differential treatment as new basis of, 31; disintegration of traditional principles of, 4; and efficiency, 60, 64, 82, 94; forms of, 11–13; insurance distinguished from, 42–44; insurance in guarantee of, 11–13; and justice, 31; liberalism valuing tolerance over, 36; movement toward logic of, 21, 26, 27; mutualization as basis of, 4; national and family, 127n.30; and nationalism, 38; new forms of, 41–53; objective content for, 51–52; opacity as condition of, 34; passive welfare state destroying, 5; reconciling with responsibility, 13; redefining after decline of insurance society, 6; redistribution in production of, 4; reorganizing, 9–53; wage of solidarity, 59; welfare state requiring substantial, 37; the world wars reinforcing, 28, 39
- state, the. *See also* welfare state: external and internal tasks of, 110n.11; Saint-Just on the imperative of, 89; as unable to move beyond passive welfare state, 87; as universal insurer, 16
- status, disparities of, 51
- Steele, Shelby, 113n.17
- subsistence (basic) income, 63–65
- Superior Council of Labor (France), 80
- Supplementary Social Security Contribution (CSG), 42, 52–53, 116n.21
- Sweden, 87
- sympathy, 40
- TANF (Temporary Aid for Needy Families), 5
- Target, Guy-Jean, 68
- target populations, 96, 100
- taxation: aversion to, 42; in the civic welfare state, 29; direct taxes, 45; income tax, 44–45, 50, 51–52; indirect taxes, 45; on labor, 57; relegitimation required for, 6; the shift to, 41–43
- Temporary Aid for Needy Families (TANF), 5
- Thatcher, Margaret, viii
- Thiers, Adolphe, 77–79, 121n.37
- third sector, 87
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 91, 120n.20
- tolerance, 36
- top-down coalition, 115n.9
- transparency, 33–34, 113n.15
- TUC (paid community service), 93
- Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, 70, 74, 120n.14
- uncertainty, 15, 16, 33
- underclass, the, x, 99
- UNEDIC (National Union for Employment in Trade and Industry), 22
- unemployment: African Americans and non-work, 6; American rate of, 93, 125n.34; changing perception of, 80–81, 122n.46; deciphering society made harder by, 101; in French census, 81; before the French Revolution, 69–70; as heart of challenge to welfare state, 61; labor cost reduction in struggle against, 41; mass un-

- unemployment (*cont.*)
employment, 5, 27, 58, 60, 61; public aid for the unemployed, 14; reducing by increasing poverty, 93; as risk, 16; wages of exclusion, 62–63. *See also* long-term unemployment; unemployment insurance
- Unemployment, a Problem of Industry* (Beveridge), 81
- unemployment insurance: AFDC contrasted with, 87; contributions in French, 22; harmful effects of, 57, 58; reform of French, 43; taxation for financing, 42
- unions, 25, 42
- United States: AFDC, 5, 85, 86, 87, 94, 105; Alaskan basic income, 118n.24; begging in the law of, 92; bending society to logic of the market, 92; civic dimension of welfare state in, 29; Clinton, viii, 36, 49, 84–87, 102, 122n.4; Democratic Party, 46–47, 49, 86; European welfare state contrasted with that of, 87, 105; family preservation in, 104; Family Support Act of 1988, 86; hierarchy of wages in, 59; means testing in, 49; Medicare, 3; new paternalism in, 103; Reagan, viii, 85; Republican Party, 49, 85; Roosevelt, ix, 80; shift to the right in, 47; social programs exerting educational pressure in, 102; social progress expressible only in terms of rights in, 124n.19; Social Security, viii; Temporary Aid for Needy Families (TANF), 5; unemployment rate in, 93, 125n.34; victimization model in, 35–37; welfare reform, 84–87, 122n.4; workfare, xi, 84–87; Works Progress Administration, 80. *See also* African Americans
- universal allowance (basic income), 63–65
- universality, principle of, 48–49
- unskilled labor, 41, 59, 60, 93, 94
- vagrancy, 91–92, 125n.32
- Vaillant, Édouard, 122n.42
- Van Parijs, Philippe, 118n.24
- “veil of ignorance,” viii, 4, 21, 29–31, 32, 33, 126n.13
- vertical redistribution, 22
- victimization, social, 35–37
- Vidal, François, 76
- Villeneuve-Bargemont, Alban de, 76
- virtual reimbursement, 30
- “virtuous circle of Fordian increase,” 59
- Vivès, Juan Luis, 70
- Vivre en travaillant* (Vidal), 76
- wages: basic income, 63–65; destabilization of, 46; dissolution of the wage contract, 58–60; entry-level pay, 59; for exclusion, 62–63; in free market countries, 92–93; French guaranteed minimum wage, 41, 57, 59, 64, 93, 94; hierarchy of, 59; just remuneration, 112n.11; low-paying jobs, 93; minimum wage, 41, 92–93; wage of solidarity, 59. *See also* Minimum Income of Inclusion (RMI)
- Walzer, Michael, 39
- wealth tax, 45, 52
- wedfare, 102
- Weitzman, Martin, 59
- welfare reform (U.S.), 84–87, 122n.4
- welfare state: American and European contrasted, 87, 105; in American shift to the right, 47; basic human drives assumed by, x; Beveridgian model of, 25–26, 29; Bismarckian model of, 25–26, 29; and citizenship, 27; civic welfare state, 29; crisis of, 3–4, 87, 105, 108; deferment as function of, 24; demographic revolution’s effects on, 24–25; different meanings in France and U.S., 47; elements of, 96; financial pressures on European, vii; financing, 6; fiscal crises of, 3, 42; future of, 107; genetics invalidating logic underlying, 20; ideological crisis of, 3; as indemnifying machine, 57, 61; and individualism, 104, 127n.29; insurance paradigm as basis of, 16; as insurance society, 4, 11; intergenerational transfer in, 24–25; key challenges to, ix; managing behavior in, 102–4; moral dimension of, 85; movement from assistance to rights, 105; as no longer a model for the future, 96; no obligation without corresponding jobs in new, xii, 92; permissiveness of, 85; remaking the nation required by, 37–38; as a service state, 105; solidarity as underpinning, ix, 37; Thatcher’s partial withdrawal from, viii; two ways of telling the history of, 27; unemployment as heart of challenge to, 61; veil of ignorance in, 4, 29; work as inseparable from, 6; and the world wars, 28, 39. *See also* passive welfare state; social insurance
- will, 32

- WIN (Work Incentive Program) (New York State), 85
- Wisconsin, 102
- Wootton, Barbara, 117n.8
- work (employment): and assistance, 5; basic income pushing employment issue into background, 64–65; citizen and worker dissociated, 61; for the excluded, xi–xii; full employment, 65; job creation, 66–67; low-paying jobs, 93; Minimum Income of Inclusion and obligation to work, 124n.21; no obligation without corresponding jobs in new welfare state, xii, 92; public assistance through, 75–76, 80–81; a radical approach to, 82–83; seniority system, 59, 60; service jobs, 94; society as unable to guarantee, 61; “unfit” for, 63; the welfare state as inseparable from, 6. *See also* labor; right to work; unemployment; wages
- work accidents, 13, 18, 19, 22
- workfare, xi, 84–87
- Works Progress Administration (WPA), 80
- world wars, 28, 39
- youth, 24, 93–94